

BRONX HIGH SCHOOL OF SCIENCE

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And Now A Word From the Editors...

A Message from The Editors

How does the past connect to the present? Through *Trends and Trajectories*, our American History classes endeavored to answer this question. By identifying trends that characterized past decades, we were able to trace their development to the present day, and even project them into the future. When taking a closer look at these, we realized that there were many political, social, and economic factors that influenced their progress, hence the idea of a trajectory.

As with last year's AP US History publication, *Change and Continuity*, the task of creating such an extensive publication posed a significant challenge. This year, however, the undertaking proved even more demanding. For example, this year there were two classes, rather than one, working to put the publication together. We all had to communicate frequently and collaborate closely. Countless E-mails and phone calls tied the project together.

Each student was committed to making the project the best it could be. This entailed dedicating a significant amount of time to each aspect of *Trends and Trajectories*. The publication includes a combination of trend-specific essays, student artwork, and a list of all works that were cited. In addition to the features found in the hardcopy, there are a number of additional materials that can be accessed online at maskin.bxscience.edu/tat. These include: learning activities, original document-based questions, and an image archive.

For our "Meet the Press" feature, each group invited an expert to answer unrehearsed questions on the specific trend under analysis. We found that the speakers were both knowledgeable and interesting.

We designed the publication to be useful for research purposes, so that other United States History students can benefit from our hard work and dedication. We hope that this project will be captivating for readers of all ages and knowledge levels.

Andrew Beckwith and Kory Byrns

Trends and Trajectories- Project Outline

Purposes:

1. To discover societal trends which had their origins during the time period, 1920-1970, to follow the course of these trends to the present and to offer a thesis as to their future direction-
2. To begin a dialogue with scholars and activists who share our interest in this time period and in these specific trends-
3. To share our research findings through the publication of a magazine in hard copy, on-line, and in CD-ROM formats-
4. To reinforce our research, writing, and teamwork/cooperative learning skills as we build towards an intellectually and emotionally satisfying interclass effort-

Procedures:

I. DECADE AND TREND SELECTION PHASE

1. Learning Teams composed of students in both AP one-year classes are organized by decade ('20s, '30s, '40s, '50s, '60s).
2. Each Team then does research in the service of selecting a political, diplomatic, military, economic, social, cultural, or scientific trend whose origins can be traced back to one of the above decades and whose manifestations are present, in some form, in our present decade.

NOTE: The trend that each team selects must be considered to have produced a distinctive transforming force in some aspect of American life at the time of its emergence—and still have a measurable impact in the present.

II. FOCUS QUESTIONS:

1. From what overall context did the trend emerge? Were similar trends already in motion? Did the new trend amplify other changes in American society already under way? What political, economic, military, cultural, social and/or scientific shifts had occurred in advance of its emergence?
2. From the decade of its origins until 1990, which forces in American life helped shape or transform its course? (Examples of such forces include but are not limited to demographic, foreign relations, the role of government, cultural values, market factors, technology.)
3. In its present form, does the trend represent more of a continuity from its original shape or has it been fundamentally transformed? If the latter, by what? If the former, why the lack of change?
4. Offer your own thesis— In the future (by 2010) will the trend be integrated into other trends; will it evolve into a stronger or weaker force in society; or will it be substantially transformed, and if so, by whom or by what?

III. INFORMATION-GATHERING PHASE:

Working individually, but within a team format, students begin the process of finding answers to the above questions by accessing the following reference sources:

1. Written— primary (contemporaneous accounts)
secondary (interpretive essays, statistical analyses, etc.) These will take the form for:
 - a. encyclopedia entries
 - b. periodical articles from scholarly journals
 - c. periodical articles from mass circulation magazines and newspapers
 - d. books
 - e. on-line database (see classroom bulletin boards for site addresses)
 - f. U.S. government publications
2. Evidence supplied by scholars and activists(contacted only after initial research has been done and a tentative thesis statement developed)- their input as to additionally useful source, comments on the direction of the team's research effort as well as the team's tentative thesis statement is vital-

Contacts with such individuals can occur through:

- a. S-mail
- b. E-mail
- c. AOL Instant Message (AIM)
- d. Listservs
- e. telephonically
- f. in-person

NOTE: Specific assignments with specific due specific dates will be given as a means of monitoring the progress of each team in accomplishing the requirements of the information-gathering phase of the project.

IV. TEAM PRESENTATION PHASE

Each team's findings and thesis statement will be shared in a variety of formats:

1. Beginning in April, each team will contact scholars and/or activists who share an interest and have expertise relevant to the team's topic of inquiry. Each team will invite one of these experts into our classroom to participate in a "MEET THE PRESS" event. The highlights of each event can be incorporated into the interclass publications.
2. Student editors will work with their classmates to compile the highlights of their research and information-gathering activities into a visually attractive and intellectually stimulating publication. This will appear in the three formats mentioned above. The exact structure and content of our publication will be decided by interclass editorial board.

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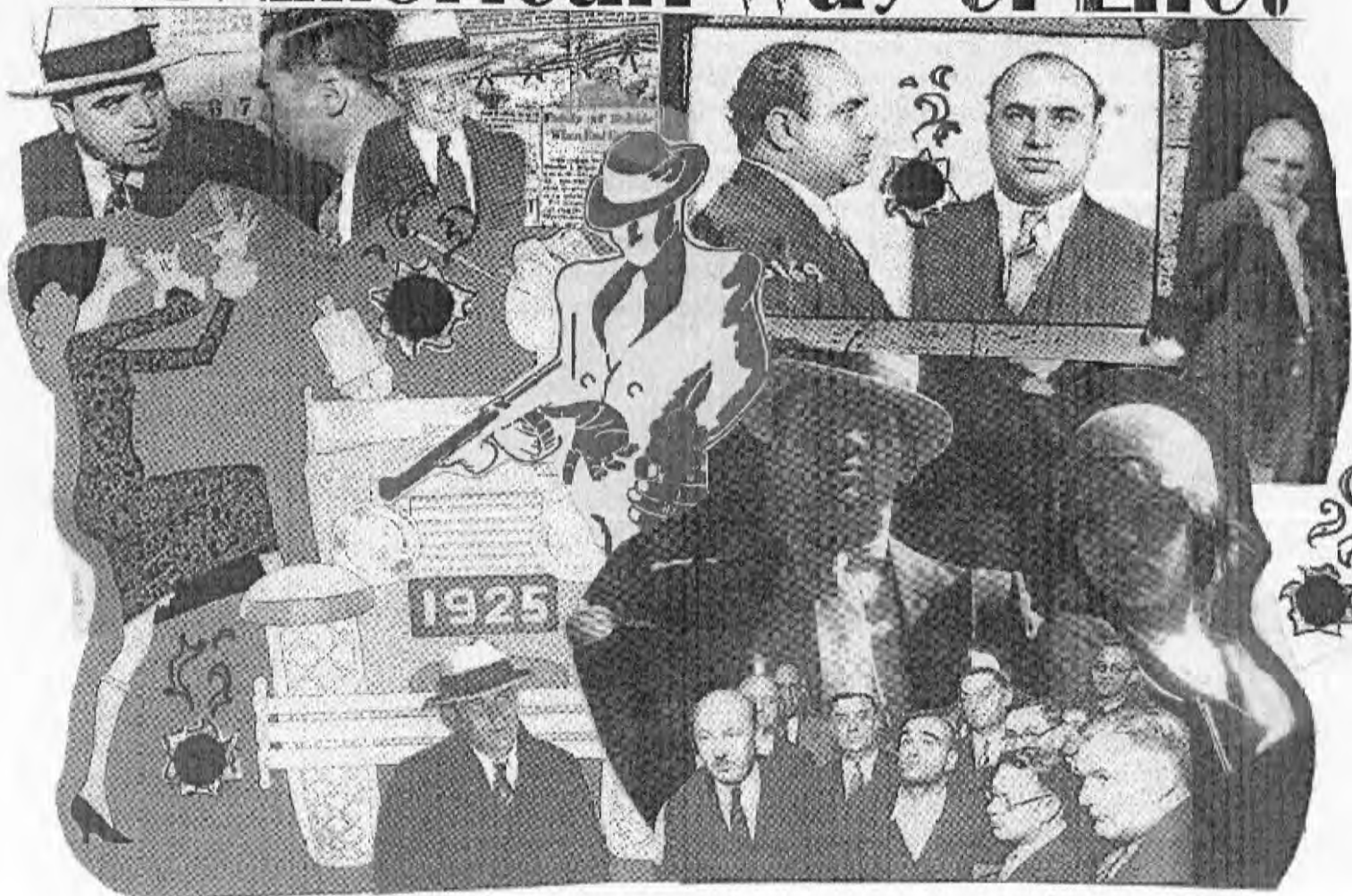
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JURY CONVICTS CAPONE

Organized Crime:

An American Way of Life?



Introduction

The extravagance of the Flapper culture, the failure of the Prohibition era, and the mystique associated with the Mafia all led to our group's decision to research organized crime, from its emergence into the public eye during the 1920s to its current existence. Since organized crime is a rather broad topic, the topic was broken up into several components for research purposes. These subtopics include the structure and scope of organized crime as well as the role of law enforcement in controlling its activities. Using a wide range of resources such as the Internet, books, current articles, and periodical articles from each of our specific time periods, each member of the 1920s group wrote an essay addressing one of the three subtopics as it applied to the specific time period. Furthermore, our research and correspondences with appropriate authorities on the topic aided in the prediction we made regarding the future role organized crime will play in American society.

Although each person in our group researched a different subtopic and/or different time period from every other person, we found many trends that cut across all of our essays. One of the prominent trends that we discovered in the course of our research was that organized crime has repeatedly become involved in areas where there was a public demand for an illegal good or service. This includes the trafficking of alcohol, drugs, gambling, and prostitution. Organized crime has been profitable at times when the government imposed laws in an attempt to regulate people's morals but failed to eliminate the desire for these "immoral" things. In every decade, organized crime catered to the fact that the government cannot successfully regulate the private behavior of American citizens.

Our research efforts culminated in our "Meet the Press" sessions in which FBI Special Agent Vadim Thomas and author Jack Kelly offered knowledgeable and experienced opinions regarding issues such as the role of organized crime in America, the possibility (or impossibility) of eliminating organized crime, the decentralization of the Mafia, and the portrayal of organized crime by shows such as "The Sopranos." Special Agent Thomas, who has worked in the field of Russian organized crime for six years, provided interesting insight into the activities of the Russian Mafia, its means of intimidation, and the scope of its control and influence. Jack Kelly, an author who has researched and written about organized crime for approximately twenty years, informed us of the many nuances and controversial opinions surrounding organized crime. He informed us that while organized crime cannot be seen as "an American way of life," it can never be eradicated regardless of the efforts of law enforcement.

We have come to understand the complex nature of organized crime and its role in American society. We now recognize the opportunism of organized crime and its determination to succeed and profit at all costs.

1920s	Section Editors: Doaa Elkady, Andrew Kobets				
	<u>Emergence</u>	<u>Development</u>	<u>Development</u>	<u>Current</u>	<u>Projections</u>
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1920s:

EMERGENCE DECADE

"The prestige of government has undoubtedly been lowered considerably by the Prohibition law. For nothing is more destructive of respect for the government and the law of the land than passing laws which cannot be enforced. It is an open secret that the dangerous increase of crime in this country is closely connected with this."
-Albert Einstein, 1921.

SCOPE

By Rimma Ayzen

In the midst of the Charleston, flappers, jazz, Charles Lindbergh, Charlie Chaplin, and Mickey Mouse, the "Roaring Twenties" also witnessed the emergence of organized crime. The enactment of Prohibition in 1919 created fertile soil for criminal activity to flourish, primarily due to the fact that organized crime supplied alcohol, a product in increasingly high demand (Wukovits, 10). As a result, the 1920s also became known for the Volstead Act, rumrunners, speakeasies, Al Capone, racketeering, and bootleg-

ging.

Fueled by the Anti-Saloon League, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the outbreak of World War I, the 18th amendment to the Constitution was adopted, banning the manufacture, sale, and transport of intoxicating liquors in the United States (Pietrusza, 23). While it was nearly impossible to enforce, Prohibition led to the emergence of an entire subculture. Although pharmacists and doctors were caught up in the movement (prescribing alcohol to those that supposedly required it), organized crime dominated the sale of illegal

alcohol (Pietrusza, 26). Blatant violations of Prohibition (using the excuse that Prohibition did not outlaw the *possession* or *consumption* of liquor) encouraged gangsters, who commonly fought each other in order to monopolize the liquor trade in certain cities and states (Pietrusza, 31).

Becoming a celebrity by making the most of an irrational social policy and of the corrupt environment of Chicago, Al Capone was one of the most prominent figures associated with organized crime during the 1920s (Will, 56). He sincerely believed that his enterprises, gambling, prostitution, and especially bootlegging, provided jobs for

deserving men and women. Capone viewed the shootings and beatings he was involved in as simply vigorous solutions to business disputes (Bergreen, 55). Furthermore, he was convinced that his activities were justified by the illegitimate nature of the Volstead Act and other laws that gave rise to the markets he served (Bergreen, 55). Viewing himself as a businessman, he commented that he simply made his money "by supplying a public demand," adding that "If I break the law, my customers...are as guilty as I am" (Boorstin, 84).

In the 1920s, Americans celebrated commercial and industrial concentration,

ORGANIZED CRIME: AN AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE?

centralization, and organization (Bergreen, 56). President Coolidge famously proclaimed that "The business of America is business." This attitude influenced organized crime, which required a significantly higher level of organization during the 1920s than in previous decades. Prohibition "unleashed competitive violence and served to reverse the power order between the criminal gangs and the politicians" that characterized pre-Prohibition gangs (Abadinsky, 95). Capone, a lifelong Republican, used modern technologies such as cars, trucks, and machine guns, to help him achieve prominence by satisfying the "thirst of Chicago" (Bergreen, 56). His success and the heavily publicized rise of "gangsterism" in the midst of law enforcement's inability to eliminate bootlegging flawed the "noble experiment," a movement that rested on its moral superiority (Best, 1803).

The lawlessness and corruption that reigned in large cities was caused by the fact that gangsters took advantage of the prevalent disapproval of Prohibition (Price, 18). Organized crime syndicates often had police, judges, politicians, and even Prohibition agents working in favor or support of their interests (Abadinsky, 94). While resulting in competition between various gangs, Prohibition also en-

couraged cooperation between gang leaders from different regions due to the international scope of alcohol smuggling. Rum and whiskey had to be transported from Canada, the Caribbean, or Europe and moved across the Great Lakes or the Atlantic Ocean to the

king that dominated in New Jersey, the Broadway Mob, and Samuel Bromfman provided strong organized crime forces during the 1920s (Abadinsky, 53). The Broadway Mob was a group of Prohibition racketeers that dominated bootlegging in New York by of-



East Coast (Abadinsky, 96). The smuggled goods then had to be trucked to various warehouses at distribution points. Each step in this process required both political and physical protection, something that was effectively provided by dominant groups of organized crime. Waxey Gordon, a Prohibition bootleg-

ger, their top-quality whiskey to all the most renowned speakeasies, while Bromfman was a liquor manufacturer and underworld supplier, who supposedly put the "dollar sign in organized crime in America" (Abadinsky, 53).

Organized crime before 1920 was seldom characterized by resort to mur-

der. The 1920s, however, ushered in a level of violence that continued well beyond the decade, especially by groups that became accustomed to violence as a means of dispute settlement (Wukovits, 21). After the repeal of Prohibition, many continued their careers in gambling, labor racketeering, and other illegal activities. The development of organized crime marked a new era of centralized and highly structured gangsterism and indicated the willingness of Americans to support their illicit activities in defiance of an unpopular law. As a result of the prominence of bootleggers and their active criminal careers after the 21st Amendment (which repealed Prohibition in 1933), there developed the myth that the 1920s had created organized crime in America (Wukovits, 20). However, while organized crime did exist prior to the twenties, figures like Capone served to "develop, elaborate, and organize" it (Boorstin, 83). Whereas the repeal of Prohibition removed bootlegging from the list of illicit activities that organized crime was involved in, racketeering, prostitution, gambling, and loan-sharking remained and would become popular activities for organized crime in latter decades. What role did organized crime play in gambling? How did organized crime affect wire services?

STRUCTURE

By Raluca Albu

All the men walked into the room wearing their white on white shirts slicked hair and stern facial expression. Two men stood on one side, two on the other. They were all waiting for the ceremony to begin. The new member took a seat between them. The most important day in a mobster's life was being inducted in the Mafia. The new member was informed that the Mafia would be his top priority. A member of the Mafia would be required to kill anyone they were assigned to kill (including a member of their own family). A drop of blood from the new member's finger was spread over a picture of a saint. The picture would then be burned to serve as symbolism for a soul burning in hell if a man would go back on his word. The new member was referred to as the "new made" guy (Sifkasis, p. 133). This induction ceremony was conducted in Italian. The mobster was now officially part of the Mafia. He was part of a huge Italian "family" of ethnocentrism, organizational nuances, initiations and murderous activities which flourished in such cities as Chicago, New York and New Orleans.

Since the middle of the 19th century, criminal bands of Sicilians would conduct lawlessness and violence in

Sicily. Much of the Mafia was strengthened by the Napoleonic threat in Southern Italy when the people grew to dislike the strong autocratic dictatorship. This led to the proliferation of the Mafia, which openly defied authority and stressed strong loyalty to the "family". This Mafia, however, was persecuted and attacked by the Italian fascist government in the 1920s (Abadinsky, p. 90). Its members then gravitated towards America- where they did not abandon the Mafia ideology. The Volstead Act gave many Mafioso the opportunity to engage in the lucrative business of bootlegging, an activity conducted often in basements and other set-up organizations. The Mafia considered this activity "higher education" in that there were many skills to be attained in this business such as management, planning, cooperation, and the nurturing of political contacts.

The strong ethical ties in the Mafia helped keep it successful and organized. The main influence behind the codes of conduct in the Italian Mafia mimicked that of the Sicilian Mafia. The members would not have the same sense of kinship if they did not come from a place with the same culture and attitudes. The structure of the Italian Mafia included a rigid ethical code called

the Omerta. This meant that any member suffering an alleged injustice was obligated to take up revenge while avoiding all interaction and cooperation with the legal authorities. Although there was no universal set of terms from family to family the basic codified rules were called "The System of Norms". Every person involved in an activity had a duty of getting revenge in blood for any affront. To help defend or retrieve any member who was taken under the powers of the legal authorities, it became the duty of each member to keep the secrets of the families and members under penalty of death. Each member had the right to benefit economically and earn respect for each activity they were involved in according to the leaders (Abadinsky, p. 98-9).

The Mafia was split up into different groups with different objectives. There was one large Mafia in the 1920s called La Cosa Nostra (translated to "This House of Ours") based in Chicago and New York. It was made of smaller organizations called cosche, which loosely translates to "tufts". Through the bigger organization, leaders could get in contact with each other and collaborate. Amongst these organizations, there were roles that many members had to play. The capo de tutti capi (Boss of Bosses) was in charge of the small organization (also

Emergence Decade
known as a "family"). The supreme leader of La Cosa Nostra was not picked but lived up to the position through the successful activities that he executed (Hess, p. 161-9). This was true of famous bosses like Al Capone whose success at executing many of the requests made by Chicago Boss, John Torrio, brought Capone to a leadership position (Sifkasis, p. 235). Below the position of the Boss, there was the Under Boss. This man interacted with the main boss to make decisions and evaluate members of the families. There was also a general advisor called the Consigliere who watched over the activities of the organizations and made sure everyone lived up to their assigned role. The members of the Mafia were called henchmen and they executed many of the activities and murders.

There were other organized crime groups during this time. One famous gang was called the O'Banion gang and comprised of Jews, Irish and Russians. (Abadinsky, p. 101). They lacked the ethnic cohesion that kept the Mafia together. Would the Mafia continue to flourish as a predominantly Italian organization with strong loyalties intact? The Luciano brothers proved otherwise in the 1930s, with the rise of the destructive Castellammarese Wars.

REACTION

By Bowen Slate-Greene

On the morning of January 16, 1920, national prohibition officially began in the United States. By December 5, 1933, the "great social and economic experiment" would be over, ushering in a new era of depression and war. In the interim, state and federal enforcement agencies were given the responsibility of keeping America dry, in the face of internal and external attacks on the integrity of the government's enforcement procedures. The effectiveness of these attempts at enforcement were not only burdened by the enormity of their task and the prohibition laws themselves, but also by a lack of necessary support from federal agencies and from the various state governments.

Congress approved the prohibition amendment to the Constitution on December 22, 1917, and just over a year later in January, 1919 Nebraska became the 36th and last state necessary to ratify the 18th amendment to the Constitution. On October 27 of that same year, the Volstead Act was passed by Congress to establish enforcement guidelines for prohibition (Allen, 207). The Volstead Act was composed of three parts. The first part added to the Wartime Prohibition Act, and clarified enforcement procedures. The second

imposed a 0.5 percent alcohol standard for illegal liquor, and gave enforcement responsibility to the commissioner of the IRS, a branch of the Treasury Department. The final part established rules for the production of industrial alcohol, an important facet of the chemical industry (Pegram, 151).

The IRS Commissioner's agents, collectively known as the Prohibition Bureau, were given considerable power. The Bureau was authorized to seize and sell cars, boats, airplanes, and other private vehicles used to carry alcohol. The Bureau was given the ability to use court injunctions to close known sites of alcohol production, a very effective tool known as the "padlock law." Bootleggers could be fined \$1,000 to \$10,000 by the Prohibition Bureau, and sentenced up to five years in jail depending on the number and degree of violations (Pegram, 151-152).

The limits to enforcing prohibition were visible in the Volstead Act, limits that would undermine the efforts of many prohibition agents. Congress allowed for alcohol in private residences as long as it was for personal consumption only. Sacramental wines, medicinal alcohol, and the commercial use of alcohol in vinegar and hard cider were all allowed with proper per-

mits (Pegram, 150). Beer, with an alcohol content under 0.5 percent, dubbed "near beer," was permitted, but could only be created by brewing real beer and removing alcohol, which created an obvious means for illegal activity (Pegram, 153). This, coupled with the Volstead Act permitting industrial alcohol, normally undrinkable after certain chemicals were added, presented severe problems for prohibition agents.

The rare instances of effective enforcement in the United States always drew much attention. Izzy Einstein and Moe Smith were two officers whose use of disguise in infiltrating bootlegging operations was nationally celebrated (Pegram, 159). Another example was the "Black Chamber," a covert Coast Guard program used to break codes by which smuggler ships communicated (Waters, 134). These successes were far and few between, the reality being that enforcement officers were faced with a nearly impossible task. The Prohibition Bureau was responsible for the many stipulations of the Volstead Act, the most troublesome being the distribution of permits for prescribing medicinal alcohol. Keeping track of the permits given to thousands of doctors and druggists was simply beyond the scope of the enforcers (Allen, 207). The results were not surprising. Production of industrial al-

cohol in the U.S. rose from 28 million gallons in 1920 to 81 million gallons in 1925, an indication that it was being sold illegally (Pegram, 157). The production of corn sugar increased six times over during prohibition as a result of illicit distilling of corn whiskey in bootlegging operations. To follow the production of legitimate alcohol, the sale of alcohol, and track the movement of the purchased alcohol was a job too immense for the agents of the Prohibition Bureau, who were left to handle bootlegging as well as smuggling without much external support (Allen, 210). Ships like the 135 ft. ex-trawler *Hohenlinden*, under the guise of a fishing boat, shipped 15,000 cases of rum to New Jersey ports on a regular basis, proving the inadequacy of the Coast Guard (Waters, 138). Canada's prohibition laws had been substantially weakened in the early 1920s, providing ample smuggling opportunity from the north (Waters, 104). Likewise, the efforts of the Custom Services and Immigration officers were minimal at best, leaving an overworked and underpaid Prohibition Bureau to keep track of 18,700 miles of American oceanfront and borders. If the whole army of Bureau agents had been spread along U.S. borders, there would have been one man for every 12 miles, an impossible task of surveillance

with few legitimate financial incentives to promote enforcement of the law (Allen, 208).

The first director of the Prohibition Bureau, John F. Kramer, had insisted that for prohibition to work, Congress needed to allocate sufficient funds, and state laws needed to reinforce national enforcement laws (Pegram, 158). Between 1921 and 1925, Congress gave between \$6 and \$10 million a year to support the salaries of 3,060 agents. These men were making roughly \$35 or \$40 a week, explaining why bribery was such an attractive alternative (Allen, 208). One in twelve agents was fired for taking bribes, issuing false permits, or conspiring to sell liquor in 1926 (Haynes, 3). Men in the Coast Guard could make up to \$50,000 through bribes with little effort, further decreasing their already limited effectiveness (Waters, 131). Lincoln C. Andrews, head of the Prohibition Bureau beginning in 1925, described the situation well, "A \$2,000 man ought not to be asked to stop \$50,000 worth of business a year" (Warner, 14).

Congress was happy to be done with the legislating of prohibition (Allen, 207). In fact, they were so happy that in the first four years of prohibition, Congress passed only one additional prohibition

law, preventing doctors from prescribing beer as medicine. Most politicians were silent on the issue of a dry America, speaking of moral duties to uphold the law, but not giving those laws support (Pegram, 157-158). President Harding put it best when he stated, "The Federal Government is not equipped with the instrumentalities to make enforcement locally effective" (Haynes, 3). Although many

game laws (Pegram, 160). Fourteen states, including Illinois, California, New York, and a number of the northeast states including Massachusetts and Delaware, refused to pass state enforcement laws (Saunders, 15). Some states, like New York and Massachusetts went as far as to repeal all of their prohibition acts (Pegram, 149).

A lax attitude towards prohibition enforcement was



states enacted "baby Volstead" laws to enforce prohibition in their states, little money was spent to support these laws. Total state enforcement contributions were just one-fourth of state money spent on parks, and barely one-eighth of the total money spent on securing compliance with fish and

prevalent not only in government, but in society as well. The honest efforts of policemen and enforcement agents often resulted in thousands of arrests, but very few convictions, because juries, in accordance with their discontent with prohibition, would acquit their peers (Pegram, 160). The courts became overburdened, and were not given enough funds to hire the clerks and judges needed to handle the volume. By 1925, "bargain days", a term used to describe Volstead Act viola-

tors being given fines instead of jail time, had become common (Haynes, 1). Disillusionment with prohibition was expressed in a nationwide concern over violence, especially after it was revealed that in 1929 gunfire between smugglers and federal officer had resulted in the deaths of more than 1,000 people including civilians (Allen, 214).

Herbert Hoover, the first president to attempt real enforcement of the Volstead Act, responded to the obvious faults of prohibition enforcement with the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement known as the "Wickersham Commission." What the Commission showed was a national defiance of the Volstead Act, and a general failure of prohibition enforcement (Pegram, 165). Hoover's final push for enforcement resulted in the creation of six new federal penitentiaries, including Alcatraz in San Francisco (Saunders, 3).

By the end of Hoover's presidency, however, the Great Depression was in full swing, seriously weakening any remaining interest in prohibition. When Roosevelt was elected in 1932, his pro-repeal attitude ensured an end to the prohibition era. On December 5, 1932, the 21st Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, ending national prohibition.

1930 TO 1990: DEVELOPMENT DECADES

"This American system of ours, call it Americanism, call it capitalism, call it what you will, gives each and every one of us a great opportunity if we only seize it with both hands and make the most of it."

-Al Capone, 1932.

SCOPE 1930-1959

By Joanna Lau

In 1933, Louis McHenry Howe, personal secretary to President Roosevelt, remarked that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment would serve to increase crime ("Predicts," 4). However, many believed contrarily that the repeal would lower crime rates. The Eighteenth Amendment was considered to have the impetus for organized crime's entry into the industry of producing, distributing, and selling liquor (Haller, "Crime," 3).

While it is true that

Prohibition provided an ideal opportunity for organized crime to flourish from the manufacture and sale of illegal liquor, in reality, organized crime existed before the passage of the Prohibition and dealt with various businesses. One such business was gambling. Bootleggers were interested in the profits from gambling and often invested in gambling enterprises (Haller, "Changing," 364). The transition from bootlegging to gambling was made easy because bootleggers were accustomed to the violence involved and had the re-

gional, national, and international connections necessary, along with established relationships with police and politicians (Haller, "Changing," 364). The relative youth of bootleggers contributed to the transition to gambling as they succeeded into the positions of deceased gambling leaders (Haller, "Changing," 364).

During the 1920s, casinos prospered alongside gangster-protected speakeasies and roadhouses while slot machines and other gambling machines allowed gangs to build gambling empires (King, 24). Soon, organized crime groups spread to local lottery operations, with estimated revenues totaling an approximate \$500,000,000 annu-

ally (King, 24). In 1930, a Chicago newspaper reported that total gang profits amounted to \$6,000,000 a week ("Profits," 3).

The repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1933 marked a significant period for the gambling industry. Louis McHenry Howe was correct in predicting that crime would rise. It marked a period of expansion and unprecedented levels of involvement of organized crime in which gambling became the most lucrative industry available (Bell, 115). With the exception of the few bootleggers who were able to ease into the industry of legalized alcohol production and distribution, crime syndicates were left with gambling as

their only recourse (King, 25).

As a result, casinos opened up throughout the country. Mobsters such as Frank Costello opened many "ritzy" casinos in the East (Bell, 115). Many mobsters turned to other gambling activities such as bookmaking, the act of determining the odds of a race or a game and taking bets on the results. The 1940s marked the rise of horserace betting and the control of racing information (Bell, 115, Haller, "Crime," 4). Horseracing became an extremely lucrative market after the legalized opening of horse tracks (King, 25). Between 1930 and 1940, eighteen states contained regulated tracks, and by the 1950s, twenty-five states followed suit (King, 26). The proliferation of racetracks provided a foundation for the growth of off-track bookmaking, an industry that became organized crime's "largest single illegal enterprise" (King, 27).

Bookies needed accurate information on the odds of a race as late as one minute before the start (Bell, 115). They needed to acquire this information efficiently because of the many simultaneous races occurring throughout the nation (Bell, 115). As a result, the racing wire became the essence of horserace betting

(Bell, 115) and was vital to the control of the bookies (King, 27).

Race wire services were first introduced in the 1920s by Moe Annenberg, who developed the idea of a new service that would collect information from tracks and send it instantly to bookies, horse parlors,

related (Bell, 116). Organized crime groups realized that whoever controlled the wires controlled the gambling activities (King, 28). With control of the wire services, groups were able to profit from tactics such as secretly placing bets on horses that had already won their races (King, 28).



and scratch sheets (Bell, 115). Annenberg dominated the wire industry until 1939, after which his manager, James Ragen, adopted it (Bell, 116). Under both Annenberg and Ragen, the wire industry contained many illegal subsidiary operations such as supplying information to bookies and stealing news. (Bell, 116).

However, it was not until 1946 that the wire services industry became gang-

Thus, by the 1940s, organized crime dominated the wire news services, making it into a series of elaborate organizations in an effort to gather information efficiently and profitably. According to Rufus King, in Gambling and Organized Crime, "the wire services furnished a structure almost literally analogous to a great spider's web blanketing the nation" (27).

By the 1950s, the to-

Development Decades
tal amount spent annually on illegal gambling by Americans reached fifteen to twenty-five billions (King, 33). In fact, organized crime's role in gambling reached such depths that they wielded control over law enforcement, thus increasing their profits. For example, it was found in 1952 that the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D.C. was directly involved in the running of the illegal gambling in the area (King, 32).

The gambling industry proved to be highly profitable, particularly with the development of the wire news services and the corruption of city officials. Organized crime would maintain its dominance of the illegal gambling industry in the following decades while expanding to other rewarding enterprises, including drug trafficking and securities theft.

SCOPE

1960-1990

By Ariel Applebaum-Bauch

During the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, organized crime groups remained involved in areas that had been central to their income in previous decades. Gambling, which had emerged as an important activity for organized crime during the 1930s, continued to be a lucrative area of organized criminal activity. During the 1960s, however, new trends arose in the scope of organized crime that continued through the 1970s and

During the 1970s, as legal options for gambling increased, the scope of organized criminal involvement in gambling increased

'80s. The 1960s saw the rise of organized criminal activity in two new areas: narcotics trafficking and securities theft. The expansion of organized crime into these areas led to the growth of organized crime from a nationally localized phenomenon into an international enterprise. During the 1960s, organized crime also became more heavily involved in legitimate business enterprises, often as fronts

for money-laundering.

The most profitable activity for organized crime during the 1960s, '70s, and '80s was gambling (Woetzel, 4; Homer, 145; Fox, 358). During the 1970s, as legal options for gambling increased, the scope of organized criminal involvement in gambling increased. Taking illegal bets on horse races and sporting events comprised a large portion of the income for organized crime groups. It was common for many organized crime groups to fix the outcome of these competitive events (Homer, 148-150). Organized crime was also involved heavily in running lotteries (Abadinsky, 281; Homer, 147; Sellin, 14). The most common games, numbers and policy,

changed little over the three decades. Casinos and organized card and bingo games were also sources of income for organized crime. Organized crime operatives might hold card games in a

During the 1960s, increased recreational drug use in the United States contributed to an increased demand for narcotics, leading to the emergence of drug-trafficking as a major area of organized criminal enterprise

fixed location such as a social club or veterans' hall (Abadinsky, 284) or have bingo games that claimed to be raising funds for charitable purposes (Abadinsky, 286).

During the 1960s, increased recreational drug use in the United States contributed to an increased demand for narcotics, leading to the emergence of drug-trafficking as a major area of organized criminal enterprise. Drug trafficking by organized crime rings was allowed to flourish during the 1960s because of the reluctance of the FBI to become involved in trying to stop an activity that was international in scope. During the 1960s, profits from drug sales were highest in densely populated urban regions such as New York City (Woetzel, 5). Organized crime was involved in all levels of drug trafficking, from importation to street-level drug trade (Abadinsky, 324-326). Drug trafficking expanded the nature of organized crime from a nationally-contained enterprise into one involving international dealings and trade.



During the 1960s, organized crime was involved in selling alcohol illegally as well.

he securities industry was especially vulnerable to organized crime because it employed many people at relatively low wages, some of whom were willing to cooperate with organized crime to supplement their income

Although alcohol could be legally obtained, high federal taxes on liquor made alcohol-selling a worthwhile activity for organized crime to pursue (Woetzel, 4).

Theft of securities was an important source of income for organized crime during the early 1960s and continued to be so as the number of securities being traded rose drastically throughout the late '60s and early '70s. As the volume of securities trading increased, it became easier for banks and brokerage houses not to notice when money was missing. The securities industry was especially vulnerable to organized crime because it employed many people at relatively low wages, some of whom were willing to cooperate with organized crime to supplement their income (Abadinsky, 291). Organized crime operations be-

came involved in the securities market through black-mail, extortion, and most often through loan-shark activities, which involved loaning money at extremely high interest rates (Hodson, 8). They also directed stock-manipulation activities. Like narcotics trafficking, infiltration of the securities industry led to the internationalization of organized crime (Lefkowitz, 55).

Throughout the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, organized crime operatives were heavily involved in legitimate businesses. Both gambling and narcotics were areas of organized criminal involvement that required large-scale organization and coordination. As a result, organized crime often became heavily involved in legitimate businesses in order to increase the efficiency of illegitimate ones. Sellin explains that "An illegal liquor business, for instance, must own or have access to distilleries, means of transporting the wares, warehouses, outlets in sa-

Organized crime operatives often owned restaurants, grocery stores, and other cash businesses that made it easier to falsify tax returns

loons, clubs, restaurants, or private establishments. This requires capital, managerial

personnel, and employees of various kinds" (Sellin, 13).

Organized crime often became involved in legal businesses as fronts for illegal activities (Woetzel, 6). As organized crime syndicates made money through illegal activities, it was nec-

Narcotics trafficking and gambling were large sources of income for organized crime operatives

essary to establish some type of legal business for the purpose of money-laundering, making illegally obtained money appear to have come from a legitimate source. Organized crime operatives often owned restaurants, grocery stores, and other cash businesses that made it easier to falsify tax returns. During the 1970s, instances of money-laundering increased as the FBI began to crack down on organized crime, increasing the necessity of making it appear as though money made through illicit activities had come from a legitimate source (Abadinsky, 289; Homer, 155).

Traditionally, organized crime has been heavily involved in the sale of goods and services that are illegal but for which there remains a heavy public demand. The 1960s, '70s, and '80s

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were no exception. Narcotics trafficking and gambling were large sources of income for organized crime operatives during these decades. Organized crime would become even more heavily involved in drug trafficking during the 1990s. The scope of organized crime has often been determined by the scope of illegal activities in which people want to participate. This continues to be the case.

STRUCTURE

1930-1959

By Derek Yadgaroff

The key to understanding the structure of organized crime is to examine its roots and cultural values. The continuing trend from previous decades shows that the organization of the Mafia did not experience much drastic change in its physical structure, from the 1920s through the 1950s. The great influx of Sicilian immigrants in the early twentieth century, to an extent had transplanted the traditional Sicilian Mafia into an American one. "While we are confident that American organized crime is not merely the Sicilian Mafia transplanted, the similarities between the two organizations are direct and too great to be ignored" (Abadinsky, 11).

The similarities could be seen in the binding factor of the Mafia. The code *omertà* (manliness) was the guideline for all members, from the "cappo de tutti capi," all the way down to the "Soldati." The severity of *omertà* was expressed in each part of the code, the first of which stated to put the organization above wife, children, country, or religion. Other parts were to follow the orders of the captain without question, including murder, and to disclose nothing

about the organization to outsiders or to help a law enforcement agency (Philcox, 21). The physical structure too, did not change a great deal from the 1920s. The hierarchy was basically the same. At the head of each family was the "Boss," sometimes referred to as "Don" or "Il Capo." The next level was shared by the "Underboss" or "Sottocapo," who oversees all operations, and the "Consigliere" who acted as an advisor to the "Don." Finally there were "Lieutenants," "Caporegima," followed by the lowest level of "Soldiers," or "Soldati." This hierarchy was the basis of the Mafia's operations through the 1950s with relatively little change (Herbert, 27, Abadinsky, 21).

The major shift or discontinuation of the trend of the structure of the Mafia does not deal with the physical structure. The shift however, was in the leaders of La Cosa Nostra. The Castellammarese War between the Camorra and the Mafia led to the rise of a younger generation of leaders. The battle began in New York City in 1930, involving the gang led by Guiseppe (Joe the Boss) Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano. Both were powerful Mafioso intent on

becoming "cappo de tutti capi," the "boss of bosses." After two years of fighting, Salvatore "Lucky" Luciano betrayed his boss Masseria and lured him to his bloody death in a Coney Island restaurant. After the death of Masseria, Luciano wanted to replace the boss of bosses and other older gangsters with a commission of several younger leaders. Maranzano and other old timers were known as "Mustache Petes" or "Greaseballs" (Kelly, 53). The "Americanization of the Mobs" occurred on September 11, 1931, when Luciano ordered a nation wide hit on all "Greaseballs." In a single night of executions, which was known as the "Night of the Sicilian Vespers," a new age of organized crime emerged with Luciano as the boss of bosses, and "Mustache Petes" around America were replaced with younger Mafia leaders (Humbert, 179).

After Luciano's sentence and conviction in 1935 for controlling prostitution in New York, it wasn't until the late 1950s that there was a struggle for power between the Mafia leaders. From the mid 1930s, leaders like Frank Costello and Joseph "Joe Bananas" Bonnano, enjoyed unquestioned leadership with their respective families until the late 1950s. Around 1957, the rise of Tommy Luchesse, Vito Genovese, and Carlo Gambino led to both the kill-

ing of Costello and Bonnano losing his power. While the physical structure of the Mafia had not changed from the 1920s, there was a change in the leaders of La Cosa Nostra between the 1930s and the 1950s (Hooker).

The Castellammarese War (1930-1931), between the Mafia (Italian) and Camorra (Sicilian) gangs, united the Mafia and Camorra as La Cosa Nostra and became the most powerful crime association ever. However, opposed to many beliefs and trends of the Mafia crime organization, La Cosa Nostra was not limited to native Italians and included various American born Italians and non-Italians. Membership in the Mafia no longer restricted membership to Sicilian emigrants, such as crime leaders like Meyer Lansky (Jewish) and Abner "Longie" Zwillman. The continuing trend of membership and initiation into the Mafia showed no special privilege to descendants, but privilege toward those who displayed great aptitude and abilities in the turmoil of the underworld (Balsamo, xv).

From the emergence of La Cosa Nostra as a dominant power in organized crime through the 1950s, the organization and structure underwent no serious change. However, there was a change in the leaders of La Cosa Nostra.

STRUCTURE

1960-1990

By Dev Ramudit

Following the 1960's, organized crime underwent a large change in its organization, structure and ethnic control. The emergence of drugs as the most lucrative underworld business profited organizations that could procure them easily, namely Cuban and Columbian gangs, as well as the newly formed "Black Mafia" (Mass, 78). From the 1960s to the 1990s, the Mafia moved away from the overt violence and direct involvement it had used in the past. Rather, it focused on profitable business ventures, financing upstart companies, and engaging in loan sharking and extortion. They moved away from the street, and reduced their firearms and gunmen, concentrating instead on business deals to keep them going. This was due to the government pressure that was applied following the passage of RICO (Racketeer-Influenced Corrupt Organizations Act) in 1961. Their ranks began to thin, and they kept their power more through their well-set reputation than in any substantial firepower. No gang was willing to go up against the Mafia, as it was an established crime organization with staying power. Others were seen as mere upstarts

compared to it (Tritt, 191).

While their reputation continued to be strong, the Mafia was losing the power it once had, mostly due to government intervention. This was first seen through the very loosely worded and powerful RICO (Kaufman, 5). It allowed law enforcers to persecute the leaders of crime organizations, instead of only the street-level operatives they used. This law was passed after, although not necessarily in response to, the increasingly open public figures that Mafia leaders were becoming. This was illustrated in cases such as Joseph Colombo, as prominent speaker for the Italian-American Civil Rights League and powerful Mafia leader, who was under investigation by the FBI in 1971 for his Mafia-related crimes. Many of these figures now found themselves behind bars, and their positions taken over by upstarts who the family had not had time to groom for the task (Van Gelder). This lowered the overall effectiveness of the Mafia, and can be attributed to their lack of ability to monopolize the extremely lucrative drug market that emerged in the 1960s (Tritt, 134).

Cuban and Columbian drug smugglers began to take advantage of the popularity of their products

and they created vast criminal enterprises to market their goods. Organized crime flourished with the growth of the drug trade, and by 1969 there were many crime organizations that had been created solely to smuggle illegal drugs. With leadership based in Latin American countries, they were much harder to prosecute than the American Mafia. However, they were not nearly as organized as their Italian counterparts, having no oaths of fealty, organized structure or hierarchy. They were usually age-structured, with older members leading the newer ones. They also had no code of ethics, killing rival groups family members and innocents, and engaging in unprofitable violence. These new groups deviated from the traditional ways and set the new standard that would be followed by most groups other than the Mafia (Kaufman, 119).

Another group was growing at this time as well, the Asian gangs. They were referred to as "triads" because of their triangular structure. Triads were originally formed in China as part of the Nationalist political movement, and they were considered freedom fighters there. However, with the coming of the Communist regime in 1949, they relocated to the U.S., where eventually they began a more lucrative field - crime. Beginning with the emergence of the drug trade in

Development Decades

the 1960s, the Asian gangs became a powerful competitor to already existing organized crime elements (Chin, 25). Asian gangs are typically divided into two groups, tongs and street gangs. Tongs are organizations of highly skilled adults, including prominent Asian businessmen, financiers and politicians. They operated the same way the Mafia did during this period, focusing on high-level business crime. Asian street gangs are made primarily of Asian youth, with a single leader, and usually are affiliated with a tong. The Tongs provide guidance and leadership, using the gangs as their muscle should any disputes arise. Asian gangs also follow the "old" practices of the mafia: extortion and drug-dealing. This combination of powerful adults and thugs allows the Asian gangs to achieve goals at any level, and sets them apart as more organized than any other existing gangs during this time period (Chin, 93).

Weakened from government pressure and unable to capitalize on the drug market, the Mafia was beginning to lose the influence it once had on American crime. Latin American and Asian gangs were taking its place, with their decentralized structures allowing them to better dodge government attacks. Traditional crime organizations were falling in place of new drug-ring gangs (Kaufman, 190).

REACTION

1930-1959

By Andrei Vrabie

The response of law enforcement agencies to organized crime in the 1930s-1950s was largely inadequate. As was the case in the 1920s, the war against organized crime was ineffective due to the weakness of local law enforcement agencies and the deprioritization of anti-Mafia actions on the federal level. What resulted was a disjointed attempt at stopping the actions of the crime organizations rather than a concentrated effort at closing down the entire organization.

The local law enforcement bodies were too easily corruptible, under-funded and inexperienced to significantly combat the spread of highly structured crime syndicates (Kwitny, 73). By the 1930s, the different crime families were well-entrenched in urban centers such as Cleveland, New York and Chicago, with large numbers of public officials and law enforcement officers on their payrolls. As a result, most actions taken against organized crime groups were reactionary and superficial. Radical attempts to significantly decrease the power of the Mafia were opposed by corrupt leaders of police forces or policy makers in

local government (Jacobs, *Gotham Unbound*, 124). Successes like the convictions of Al Capone and "Lucky Luciano," as well as the Apalachin bust in 1957, were dwarfed by the growth of organized crime (Kelly, 16-17; Coppola, 16). In fact, the Apalachin incident of November 16th, 1957 served as a perfect example of the inadequacies on the local and state levels; the meeting was accidentally discovered by a state trooper and despite the imprisonment of over sixty mobsters, the local officers could not create a strong enough case to convict many bosses (Kwitny, 52). Lacking funding and enough power, local law enforcement could only limit the activities of the crime families locally and posed little danger to the vitality of the organizations.

The economic and political situations of the 1930s-1950s crippled the Federal Bureau of Investigation's efforts. The Great Depression of the 1930s exhausted the resources of the government and created cutbacks in funding greatly reducing the effectiveness of the FBI's anti-organized crime units (Salerno, 329). In conjunction with a major reorganization of the Bureau in 1924, the FBI remained weak into

the 1940s.

Politically, the anti-communist sentiment of the 1940s and 1950s profoundly affected FBI involvement in organized crime. The 1933 repeal of prohibition took an important and prominent source of revenue for the mob and took its dealing out of the public eye (Kelly, 145). Starting in late 1940s, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover believed the main threat to law came not from the Mafia but from the communist threat within, and publicly denied the existence of a Mafia. Hoover went on record stating that there was no Mafia or "Cosa Nostra" in America (Jacobs, *Busting the Mob*, 22). Lacking support from the leadership, FBI offices left organized crime to the state and local agencies; the FBI New York office in the 1950s had over four hundred agents engaged in stopping the spread of communism while only four were actively investigating organized crime. (Kwitny, 53). As a result, crimes were investigated and lieutenants were brought up on charges, but the core of the Mafia, the Mafia bosses and heads of the families, remained untouchable until the late 1970s (Kwitny, 56). It would only be through careful surveillance and infiltration of the organizations that the FBI could get past the vow of silence and to the well-insulated Mafiosi.

Despite overall failure

on the local and federal levels to eavesdrop on organized crime in the 1930s-1950s, an increasing public awareness of organized crime contributed to a call for government to take action against the mob. Public attention was drawn to the mob during Burton Turkus' prosecution of the Murder, Incorporated, case in 1940, which linked the group of contract murders to several Mafia families and blamed them for the murders of many people that posed a threat to the rackets (Kelly, 222-223). The televised Kefauver Senate Committee Hearings in 1951, which broke the careers of some powerful individual mobsters like Joseph Adonis and Frank Costello, led the public to question Hoover and the FBI's assurances that a national Mafia did not exist (Kwitny, 53). As a result of the Kefauver Committee Hearings, the organized crime problem began receive significant attention from the Justice Department. Robert Kennedy was appointed the head of the department and from 1957 onward, the law enforcement community took notice of the mob (Kwitny, 62).

By the end of the 1950s, the public was left wondering if the let-up of McCarthyism (and therefore freeing up of FBI resources) and the federal attention to organized crime would cause a significant change in the fight against the Mafia.

REACTION

1960-1990

By Candice Plotkin

The period ranging from the 1960s to the 1980s was one of increasing strength for organized crime. In an effort to curb such crime, law enforcement reacted in several ways. A 1962-1972 campaign marked a change in the trajectory of gambling enforcement as it shifted from a local to a federal level. However, a significant decline in such efforts can be shown in the late seventies and early eighties. In the sector of drug enforcement, intensified enforcement occurred during the course of the '70s and '80s, which involved the creation of new agencies and task forces.

Prior to the 1960s, efforts at controlling the gambling market were concentrated on the local level. Yet, such efforts failed due to local police corruption, the alliances

formed between gamblers and political parties, and the utter lack of heavy penalties for gambling offenses (Reuter, "Police Regulation," 41).



with organized crime (Reuter, "Disorganized Crime," 41). The FBI also failed to recognize the existence of the Mafia and was given only slight jurisdiction over organized crime (Reuter, "Disorganized

Crime," 177). The Kennedy administration changed this trend by passing several bills which gave the FBI the right to investigate illegal gambling involving interstate transactions and quadrupled the staff of the Organized Crime and Racketeering Department. Fed-

eral Organized Crime Strike Forces were also set up in seventeen major cities (Reuter, "Disorganized Crime," 178).

The nature of fed-

Development Decades eral law enforcement also changed due to the passage of the 1968 Safe Streets Act. This act authorized the use of electronic surveillance in anti-racketeering investigations and other efforts to curb organized crime (Elliff, 66). In the first four years of the strike forces, 72% of

such federal wiretap surveillances were used for gambling offense charges (Reuter, "Police Regulation," 451). However, the federal campaign was only successful to a small extent. Such efforts may have reduced the dominance of organized crime since local police could no longer franchise monopolies. A moral ambivalence with regard to gambling still created a reluctance to give heavy sentences to gamblers. The agencies were also unable to show that enforce-

ment had a significant effect on targeted activity (Reuter, "Police Regulation," 36).

By the late 1970s, a decline in federal efforts to curb gambling occurred.

ORGANIZED CRIME: AN AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE?

Such a decline resulted from society's ambivalence towards the activity, the spread of legal gambling operations, tighter legal restrictions on evidence gathering and decreased commitment to the concept that gambling markets are central to organized crime (Reuter, Disorganized Crime, 180). According to the statistics of Uniform Crime Reports, in 1960 there were 145,000 gambling arrests as compared to 38,000 in 1980 (Reuter, "Police Regulation," 37).

The decline in federal gambling enforcement, however, was coupled with an increasing awareness of a growing drug problem in the U.S. During the course of the '70s and '80s, such a drug problem had spread to both the lower and the middle classes. According to the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, while only four million Americans had tried an illegal drug in 1962, an esti-

From the 1950s to the 1970s, La Cosa Nostra controlled an estimated 95% of all heroine entering New York City

mated 20,000,000 marijuana users existed by 1982 (Kleiman, 294).

Domestic organized crime families distributed drugs, such as heroine

and cocaine, throughout the U.S. to street level drug dealers. According to the 1986 President's Commission on Law Enforcement, from the 1950s to the 1970s, La Cosa Nostra controlled an estimated 95% of all heroine entering New York City. In the late '80s, international organized crime syndicates, such as the Cali Mafia, were in control of the international drug trade in locations such as Colombia (Napolitano, 40). By the 1970s, new federal efforts had a primary objective to reduce the importation and distribution of illegal drugs (Reuter, Disorganized Crime, 179). In order to combat drug trafficking and restrict the power of drug cartels, the federal government created specialized organized crime units in prosecutors' offices and developed new administrations (Reuter, Disorganized Crime, 180). By the mid-1970s, reconnaissance flights were undertaken to track ships importing drugs and hundreds of additional DEA agents were sent to areas such as Miami. In addition, American law enforcement sent funds and cooperated with international police forces, such as the Colombia National Police, to combat the spread of drug trafficking (Giuliani, 714).

By the early 1970s, the Nixon administration launched a national drug enforcement program known as ODALE (Office

of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement). ODALE focused on the arrest of street-level dealers and failed because it required a task force beyond its means. ODALE proved that law enforcement should focus on violators on the multi-state or international levels of drug trafficking (Giuliani, 715). Federal enforcement against drugs had to be aimed at importation and high level distribution because of the size of the market (Kleiman, 289). By 1982, law enforcement responded to growing drug trafficking by creating a ma-

American law enforcement sent funds and cooperated with international police forces, such as the Colombia National Police, to combat the spread of drug trafficking

jor link between the DEA (Drug Enforcement Administration) and the FBI. Greater organizational assistance in the form of an increase in the number of agents available to investigate drug crimes and the ability to plan drug enforcement strategy in concert with federal crime plans furthered the war against drugs (Giuliani, 714). Ultimately, the 1970s and 1980s were marked by an increase in both funding and organiza-

tion on the part of the federal government in order to combat drug trafficking.

Thus, the period from 1960-1989 was one of major transition in the reaction of law enforcement against organized crime. It was marked by a shift away from local gambling enforcement to the federal level and a growth of organizations to combat drug trafficking. The shift occurred primarily as a result of the public's perception that drug use had truly become a national problem: a problem no longer confined to lower-income, ghetto-dwelling minority youth.

1991 TO 2001: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

"They move into a legitimate business and they take it over and compete with other businesses, but if they feel they are losing out, they will revert to breaking legs. True American corporate competition does not include breaking legs."

-Thomas L. Sheer, 1991

SCOPE

By Christina Huang

Organized crime knows no borders. Large criminal organizations have been involved with every illegal transaction known to man. Since President Clinton appointed Louis Freech as FBI Director in 1993, organized crime has become increasingly transnational. Today, the FBI is "in incredible flux," says N. John MacGaffin, a former CIA member. "It's going from being a reactive to a proactive organization," he says (Meek, 5). Organized crime is also visible since its emergence in the thirties and forties after Prohibition, in the business world; stock fraud and ma-

nipulation, wire and mail fraud, and money laundering are among the many corrupt activities that exist.

Since its introduction in the 1960s, from the period from 1990 to the present, drug trafficking has emerged in the 1990s as the most profitable criminal activity of the time. According to the United Nations, drug trafficking accounts for 8% of all international trade and is estimated to pull in about \$400 billion a year (Ehlers, 1). It is a business bigger than the entire American farm industry (Johnson, 19). The illegal drug industry is an expansive, proud and sovereign "empire" (Mills, 11). Its most lucrative market is in the United States, where Americans buy 60%

of the world's illegal drugs (Johnson, 19). It is obvious that drug trafficking has become an ominous national issue: today's movie media exploits the growing drug problem with box-office hits like *Traffic* and *Blow*.

"The Sopranos" and "Boiler Room" depict the corruption in brokerage firms, "only this isn't TV, this isn't Hollywood," says New York Attorney General Eliot Spitzer. U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of New York, Loretta Lynch says many Gambino associates actually manage brokerage houses fraudulently selling stocks at inflated prices and threatening anyone wanting out. According to Loretta, thousands have been identified, across the country, as victims of stock fraud. At least

two people lost \$1.2 million in just 12 months of trading, she says. Spitzer called the stock scheme an indication of the Mafia's effort to expand. "Now we are increasingly seeing organized crime's tentacles in Wall Street," says Spitzer (Christian, 7).

Drug trafficking originated in the era of Prohibition. When the Eighteenth Amendment was repealed, criminal organizations, particularly the Sicilian Mafia, no longer made huge profits because legal suppliers were able to meet the people's demand. Instead, the Mafia turned to the trafficking of illegal drugs. Drug use in America has fluctuated according to the political and social atmosphere of the country. During the 1930s and 1940s,

ORGANIZED CRIME: AN AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE?

drug use was relatively low because of the detriment of the Great Depression and World War II (Stewart, 23-24). Due to the skyrocketing drug use by youths in the 1960s, cocaine, heroin, marijuana and other illegal drugs infiltrated the country in large amounts.

Drug use continued to grow throughout the decades producing more and more drug-dependent Americans. In our supply-and-demand economy, more drugs were being trafficked into the nation as the demand rose at staggering rates. Drug trafficking continues today due to the tremendous demand for the illegal substances. An estimated 61,000, or 16%, of convicted jail inmates committed their offense to get money for drugs. Two-thirds of convicted jail inmates were actively involved with drugs prior to their admission to jail (Bertram, 49).

Drug trafficking has grown in the 90s for several reasons. Drug users' demands will inevitably be met. William Bennett, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy under George H.W. Bush, argues that the current drug problem is due to President Clinton's administration's "malign neglect" of the nation's drug policy. According to Bennett, Clinton immediately and dramatically cut the size of anti-drug staff when he came to office (Bennett, 9). Within

Clinton's presidency, 1992-1999, rates of current drug use increased by 15%, rates of marijuana use increased 11% and rates of monthly drug use among high school seniors increased 86%. Bennett applauds the drug war and anti-drug efforts of the period between 1979-1992 and blames the swelling current rate of drug use on the Clinton Administration's negligence.

Drug trafficking is one of organized crime's major sources of revenue. Its direct dealings in narcotics tend to be limited to importation from abroad much like the importation of booze during the 1920s and wholesale distribution. Most of the heroin that comes to the United States is made from opium grown in the Golden Triangle: Laos, Burma and Thailand (Stewart, 33). The heroin is grown and processed in the Golden Triangle and then directed by large Mafia-type syndicates called Triads. Triads are highly secretive gangs centered in China. They operate in Hong Kong, Bangkok and other cities of Asia. "Any country or city that has a fair-sized Chinese population has Triads" claims a Drug Enforcement Agency worker. Triads hire smugglers to transport heroin to the United States; they usually operate out of Chinatowns (mostly in New York and San Francisco). When they get into the country, more Triads are at hand

to sell and distribute the drugs. To protect their business, Triads are well-armed and extremely violent.

Similar to the Triads and their heroin business, Colombian cartels deal with cocaine. The core and center of the drug trade is undoubtedly the country of Colombia. It is the leading drug trafficking nation in South America. It is there that most of the cocaine processing takes place, in large plantations owned by wealthy and often well-known drug lords. This was not always the case, however. The export of drugs as a major form of industry in Colombia took shape in the early 1960s, when marijuana became a major, increasingly commercialized crop. After the execution of "Operation Intercept" by President Nixon in 1969, which slowed down the flow of marijuana into the United States from Mexico, Colombia began playing the main role in its importation. The time period between the late 1960s and mid 1970s became known as the "marijuana boom" in Colombia, and it is of no surprise that it paralleled the marijuana boom in the United States. The export of marijuana eventually led to the commercialization of cocaine as an export, and it was not long before the marijuana boom was converted into a cocaine boom.

Until the mid-1980s, Mafia families have been heavily involved with the

trafficking of drugs, particularly heroin and cocaine. But their involvement is decreasing, due partly to arrests of key members of the Mafia families. In addition, it is far easier for Chinese and Colombians to keep control over the drugs that are produced in their countries than it is for a Mafia buyer (Stewart, 64). From the Chinese and Colombian safehouses, drugs are sold to youth gangs where they are distributed in the streets.

Drug traffickers seek to transform the monetary proceeds from their criminal activity into revenue with an apparent legal source. This is known as money laundering. Drug profits moving through the United States financial system is estimated to be as high as \$100 billion a year (Ehlers, 1).

Organized criminal activity is everywhere. The scope of organized crime corresponds to the range of illegal activities in which people continue to participate. The direction of organized activity will vary according to the dynamic times, which explains the shifts of criminal focus throughout the decades. If there is money to be made, criminals are ready to operate; organized crime's control of the illegal drug industry is a case in point.

STRUCTURE

By Amy Chan

The highly structured Mafia of the 1920's has transformed into something altogether different. The traditional Mafia has been in decline since the 1960's. Inner rivalry for power within the Mafia has weakened its structure, allowing other ethnic crime groups to penetrate into organized crime as well as allowing the police to make arrests more easily. (Viviano, online) Except in New York and Chicago, the Mafia in other areas can be contained fairly well by the police. There were many successful arrests of top

"The traditional Mafia has been in decline since the 1960s"

Mafia leaders in 1990, like that of NY Gambino boss John Gotti. (Viviano, online). The result is the weakening of the Mafia in Philadelphia, New Jersey, New England, New Orleans, Kansas City, Detroit, Milwaukee and St. Louis. (Raab, A10) These single families have in essence become outdated and globally unaware of modern day organized crime. They are being replaced by other crime groups like the Chinese Triads, which have come to dominate gambling, loan

sharking, labor racketeering, and international crime rings. (Raab, A10) Unless the Italian controlled Mafia can restructure itself, it might very possibly fade out of existence.

This threat holds true for even the Mafia in the urban areas like New York and Chicago. They consist of large families headed by a single boss. The Chicago Outfit was divided into seven groups and the New York Mafia had been divided into five groups. (Kurson, 59) The New York and Chicago Mafia had been large enough to deflect police control. (Raab, A10) However, size doesn't constitute efficiency. In 1995, it was concluded that crime simply doesn't pay for the Mafia. The costs of paying legal fees and looking after family members has become burdening, especially with large families. (Phillips, 1) It became apparent that if the Mafia were to dominate organized crime like it had in the 1920's, the Italian Mafia must be restructured.

This restructuring came in the late '90's. The Chicago Outfit merged into three crews- the North Side, the South Side, and the West Side. Unlike before, the mob leader now must assume low profile in order to avoid the police. The crews are still under the same boss and run similar businesses but the manner

in which they do so has changed. They are moving away from businesses that require constant violence as a way of keeping a low profile. Violent acts are still committed although the Mafia has become more clever in terms of capitalizing on businesses without taking the risk of being caught by the police. Although young and inexperienced, the new mob bosses are learning from their elder's mistakes, and are becoming harder for the police to identify. (Lindberg, online).

This new Outfit places more emphasis on the business aspect of crime than on anything else, as does the Mafia in other areas. La Cosa Nostra's collaboration with other crime families is indicative of that. In exchange for providing connections to corrupt officials and law enforcement, the other crime families would "pay tribute", or taxes, to the Mafia. (Sterling, 151) The Omerta Codes of unconditional loyalty and protection for family members has lost the type of influence that it had had in the twenties. It has given way to a less rigidly structured Mafia. Without question, decentralization has occurred amongst the Mafia. Those groups which have changed their old ways, like the Outfit, have become much more effective and sophisticated in running their illegal organizations.

This is not to say that the Mafia has become

Recent Developments

invincible or immune to the law. They still continue to face attacks from the FBI and from RICO armed district attorneys. They would have to be innovative and keep up with the changing times. Decentralization has made the Mafia more effec-

The new mob bosses are learning from their elders' mistakes.

tive in terms of making money but it has a downside in that loyalty to the family is weakened. Ralph Natale, for example, became the first mob boss to turn the tables and become a key witness for the government in 1995. (Meyer, 10) It is no longer surprising that members will break the code of silence to go against their leaders. (Raab, A10) How successful the Mafia will operate in the future will thus depend on how strong their leaders will be. The mob boss needs to capitalize on his power to make his organization efficient in making money as well as in fighting off law enforcement. One option may be to increase organized crime's influence in the government, like the mobs have done in Russia, Italy, and Mexico. (Viviano, online) It is certain that more changes would have to be continually made in the future in order for the mafia to dominate organized crime and controlled businesses.

REACTION

By Nicaila Matthews

Organized crime has posed a threat to the well being of our society since its booze-smuggling activities during the Prohibition era, up to and including its current efforts to establish drug and gambling networks throughout our society. Prior to the 1990s, efforts at controlling organized crime's gambling and drug markets were concentrated on the federal level through such agencies as the DEA and the FBI (Sterling, 24). In the period from the 1990s-present, the government has continued its drug and gambling enforcement on the federal level, while also developing a greater focus on the international level (Sterling, 24). In recent years, there has been an increased effort at regulating the drug market, while regulation of gambling has steadily declined (Worster, 58). However, new programs continue to be instituted to curtail the spread of organized crime activities.

The fight against organized crime is still largely concentrated on the federal level (Worster, 59). Although the government's regulation of organized crime's gambling institutions has declined in intensity, the effort is not being neglected. The Simon-Lugar bill, introduced by Senator Paul Simon in July 1995, was an example of the federal

government's continued efforts to enforce gambling regulations (Simon, 1). The bill proposed creating a



commission of limited duration

and small budget to address the problem of organized crime (Simon, 1). It also proposed that all new gambling enterprises established after a specific date pay a tax of 5 percent on their gross revenue (Jacobs, 35). The bill, passed in August 1996, was moderately effective in achieving its goal of helping the federal government establish sensible limits on gambling (Jacobs, 36).

A new effort to fight organized crime has emerged on the international level. There continues to be increased funding for drug enforcement (PR Newswire). On February 16, 2001, President George Bush and Mexican President Vicente Fox met to discuss a master plan for the fight against organized crime and drug trafficking (Weiner and Thompson, A10). Mexico is seeking closer law enforcement ties with the United States. Both the United States and Mexico agree that in order to combat organized crime engaged in drug trafficking, each must strengthen their respective law enforcement

strategies and institutions (PR Newswire). The United States helped to establish a new Mexican organized crime investigative unit (Weiner and Thompson, A10). It also screened and helped train Mexican drug enforcement agents (Weiner and Thompson, A11). Mexico in turn is working to eliminate the smuggling of drugs into Mexico from the United States (Weiner and Thompson, A11). Both the United States and Mexico are hoping to defeat organized crime through mutual cooperation (PR Newswire).

A worldwide effort to fight organized crime can also be seen in the gathering of one hundred and fifty governments throughout the world in Palermo, Italy in December, 2000 (Ford, 7). These governments gathered together to enact the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Crime Treaty (Ford, 7). This international treaty, the first of its kind, was designed to bolster existing international organized crime busters such as the FBI and Interpol. The treaty provides for the outlawing of bank secrecy, keeping prosecutors around the world in email contact, and setting up international witness protection programs (Ford, 8).

Many nations realized that organized criminal groups were quick to adapt new technologies while law enforcement's efforts to combat their technological

advances were weak (Volkov, 24). The treaty helps to amend this. Another barrier faced by international law enforcement was not having an agreed upon definition of "organized crime" (Ford, 9). Prosecutors were often stymied as they followed international trails of suspects as they found that what is a crime in their country was not a crime in another (Volkov, 24). To solve this discrepancy, the convention made law enforcement global and set an agreed definition of organized crime. A universal standard was established to fight organized crime. The treaty helps to bolster international crime fighting forces by providing for international arrest warrants via email. It also provides for videoconferences that allow witnesses to testify without having to travel halfway around the world (Ford, 10).

In conclusion, in the period from 1990 to the present, there has been a remarkable shift of concentration of law enforcement from the national level to the international level. There has been a decrease in the amount of attention paid to organized gambling activities and an intensification in efforts of drug enforcement on the federal and international level. How effective will international law enforcement strategies be in fighting organized crime is a question that remains to be answered.

PROJECTIONS

"They change like the rest of society. The younger ones are better educated than their elders, they have more opportunities in life and they know the mob is being pounded by the Feds."

- Howard Abadinsky, 1998.

By Amy Chan

The nature of organized crime in terms of scope and structure is constantly changing in order to keep up with society and the challenges put forth by law enforcement. Since the 1920s, mobsters have expanded their areas of business from bootlegging to gambling, drug trafficking, and securities theft. The scope of organized crime will continue to grow into new markets, like the trading of nuclear weapons, a more recent area of crime. Author Jack Kelly asserts that if drugs were legalized, the mobs would simply move on to another business. Organized crime groups will also further extend its power throughout the world, reaching more

countries in Europe and Asia.

The Mafia was able to grow so proficiently due to its shift in structure. According to Jack Kelly, its present structure can be best described as series of webs where each web contains a focus point interconnected to many other points on the web and where each web, in turn, is connected to an adjoining web. This decentralized structure is quite unlike the "corporate" model traditionally identified with the mob. The Mafia will most likely continue to structure itself in this way because it has proven effective in allowing members to be flexible and to capitalize on businesses.

The only change would be the strengthening of the

foci or the influence of the bosses so that internal aid to the police can be eliminated. Organized crime groups have over the years demonstrated their ability to infiltrate law enforcement. Special Agent Thomas of the FBI asserts that although corruption has occurred in

Organized crime groups have over the years demonstrated their ability to infiltrate law enforcement

the police department, it has been kept at a minimal level. In the future, organized crime groups could conceivably penetrate deeper into the political field and exercise control over corrupt

officials.

The possibilities for organized crime groups to strengthen their penetration of our society appears limitless. It is no surprise that Jack Kelly predicts the elimination of organized crime to be impossible. However, it is not to say that organized crime will be immune to the law. Law enforcement has undergone many changes as well in order to contain organized crime. In recent decades, the fight against organized crime has shifted from a concentration on the national level to a concentration on the international level. The United Nations Convention Against Transnational Crime represents one such effort at bolstering international crime fighting forces

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and is a part of a trend that will continue into the future. In addition, the strengthened forces of the DEA and the FBI will further the fight against organized crime's drug market. Agent Thomas maintains a positive outlook for the future and feels that the FBI will continue to do well in containing organized crime, especially in the areas of prostitution and extortion.

It is also true, however, that Americans are a part of a large and complex society that feeds into the growth of organized crime. For example, the trading of nuclear weapons is a problem that arises from the technological advancement of our society. Organized crime is a global issue that goes beyond the American borders. Prostitutes are sold from Russia to the US and drug trafficking occurs throughout the world, especially in countries like Columbia and Mexico. Due to the adaptive nature of the Mafia and the constant changes society undergoes, organized crime definitely has the ability to make itself an American way of life.



***TRAFFIC* (2000) vs. *WHITE HEAT* (1949)**

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN GANGSTER IN CINEMA

By Bowen Slate-Greene

The gangster movies that were so popular during the '40s and '50s were an extension of the country's preoccupation with organized crime, especially concerning individuals, such as Alphonse Capone, whose gangs captivated headlines in the prohibition era and beyond. Cody Jarrett, played by James Cagney, in 1949's Oscar Winning film *White Heat*, is a vibrant, eccentric man, upon whose personality and character the movie centers. He is epileptic, unstable, violent, and has an unhealthy obsession with his mother, providing the basis for one of the film's most memorable scenes, when Jarrett has a nervous breakdown in a prison cafeteria after hearing about her death. Without Jarrett, the movie would have no purpose, as he is not only the emotional center of the movie, but is the leader of the gang upon which the plot is based.

Traffic, the award winning portrayal of the drug flow between Mexico and the U.S., is markedly different in all aspects from *White Heat*, excluding the fact that both center on organized crime. Perhaps the most obvious difference between the two acclaimed movies is *Traffic*'s focus on international crime. This alone reveals an evolution in organized crime, over time moving more and more into drug trafficking, a business that is one of the most profitable in the world. A comparison between the plot structures of *Traffic* and *White Heat* reveals another aspect concerning changes in organized crime.



movie are independent of each other, each describing one aspect of the drug trade, whether it be through the eyes of American law enforcement, Mexican law enforcement, or a drug czar's wife. When compared to *White Heat*, which is the story of one gang, and one man, Cody Jarrett, it appears that organized crime has come to rely less and less on the abilities of charismatic leaders, and more on the cooperation of smaller forces working together as an effective means for moving drugs, money, and even people. *Traffic*'s decentralized plot illustrates this perfectly, explaining why it has such a potent impact on its audience.



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...: SOCIAL :...



THIRTY MILLION
OUT OF WORK
IN 1933—
OR
\$20,000 A YEAR
INCOME FOR
EVERY
FAMILY—
WHICH?

Return
YOUR APPLICATION FOR A
SOCIAL SECURITY
ACCOUNT NUMBER
through the post office
NOT LATER THAN
DEC. 5, 1936



WHO IS ELIGIBLE? EVERYBODY WHO HAS EVER WORKED IN THE UNITED STATES FOR A CERTAIN NUMBER OF YEARS AND WHOSE EARNINGS WERE AT LEAST \$300 A YEAR IN 1914 OR \$1,000 A YEAR IN 1936. (SEE LIST OF ELIGIBLE OCCUPATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.)

HOW TO RETURN APPLICATION

1. FILL OUT BALANCE SHEET AND RETURN TO SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, 1000 MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.
2. IF YOU ARE NOT A U.S. CITIZEN, YOU MUST ALSO FILL OUT NATURALIZATION APPLICATION FORM AND RETURN IT TO SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, 1000 MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.
3. IF YOU ARE A U.S. CITIZEN, YOU MUST ALSO FILL OUT SOCIAL SECURITY APPLICATION FORM AND RETURN IT TO SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, 1000 MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.



...: INSECURITY :...

INTRODUCTION

Producing our segment of *Trends And Trajectories* proved to be a long and difficult process. Everyone in our group had to write his or her individual essays so that they would “flow” into each other to create a unified whole. All the writers spent long, grueling weeks in the library researching their individual subtopics, and countless weekends at home writing their essays. We are all very happy with our completed paper.

Our teacher, Dr. Maskin, gave us a choice of researching any trend that began in the 1920s through the 1960s. Our group chose a trend that began in the 1930s, and our first step was to look in books to choose pick a trend from that time. We decided to write our “book” on a trend involving the government’s role in protecting the unprotected, demonstrated by Social Security. However, we had a difficult time defining out our exact topic and subdividing the trend we were working on. After many failed attempts at finding an appropriate topic, we decided to research the trend of Social Security through the present, and the factors that might affect its future.

The research process was a laborious one. We found ourselves constantly taking trips to the library as we refined our thesis. In the end, we found many relevant books, articles, and web-sites that helped us write our paper. After we had enough sources, our next step was to contact scholars with knowledge of our topic. Not everyone we wrote to responded, but we had enough replies to help us write the paper. We even invited an expert on Social Security, Professor Stanley Aronowitz, to our class for a “Meet the Press” event which was very successful. It was perhaps the most interesting and rewarding aspect of the project.

Not everything we did worked out perfectly. We had difficulty finding the perfect trend to investigate. Even after we found one, not everyone in the group was on the right page about the topic. We all had to get last minute sources and change what we were writing. However, when we got this matter straightened out, writing the rest of the paper was easier to accomplish.

The essays in this chapter focus on the history and possible future of Social Security based on our research on this program. We divided the chapter into four chapters arranged in chronological sequence: Social Security’s emergence in the 1930s, its development from 1940 to 1990, its current status in the 1990s, and its possible future. We further divided each time period into social, economic and political sections. We wrote about suggested plans to improve the Social Security system and evaluated them to see if the predicted changes would be beneficial. We hope that all of you who are about to read our chapter will enjoy it and find it educational.

1930s

Section Editors: Doaa Elkady, Andrew Kobets

	Emergence	Development	Current	Projections
Political	Kory Byrns	Luke Teng	Jimmy Mark	
Economic	Madlin Kluger*	Marina Raynes	Yifan Ding	All
Social	Maxwell Young	Nona Willis-Aronowitz	Brian Kimmelblatt	

Note: * indicates Assistant Section Editor

1930s: EMERGENCE DECADE

"We can never insure 100 percent of the population against 100 percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against poverty-ridden old age."

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt, signing the Social Security Act of 1935

POLITICAL INFLUENCES

By Kory Byrns

Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Democratic platform of the early 1930s held much promise for change. In a radio broadcast to the nation, Roosevelt promised "a new deal for the American people," a phrase that belied the fact that he entered office with no single, clear plan for doing so. In the years following, numerous political factors and influences would pressure the president into supporting a series of reforms, the most controversial, yet

significant, of these laws being the Social Security Act of 1935 (Gerdes, 111).

The idea that the government had an obligation to provide help for the elderly was not new among American politics. In fact, Isaac M. Rubinow and the American Association for Labor Legislation started a campaign of continuous agitation for the implementation of an old-age pension plan around the turn of the century. That campaign scored its first victory in 1930 when New York

state, under Roosevelt, enacted the Old Age Security Act (Watkins, The Great Depression, 268). Earlier, the progressive

Isaac M. Rubinow and the American Association for Labor Legislation started a campaign of continuous agitation for the implementation of an old-age pension plan around the turn of the century.

governor Robert LaFollette of Wisconsin had introduced social wel-

fare at the state level after his election in 1900 (Moss, 65). His son, Governor Philip F. LaFollette of Wisconsin, continued this program in 1932 with his largely privatized "American Plan," or Wisconsin Plan, for social security (Schlesinger Jr., 302).

The critics that voiced their opinions of the New Deal's shortcomings were many and varied widely, ranging from the far right to the far left. Conservatives invariably accused Roosevelt of fostering a subversion of individual initiative through his federal programs. Most of the criticism, however, came from the factions on the left, who believed Roosevelt had

SOCIAL INSECURITY?

failed to go far enough (Moss, 223). One of the first of these critics to emerge was an obscure, sixty-six-year-old physician, Dr. Francis Everett Townsend. His crusade for national social welfare began humbly with a letter to a local newspaper in 1919, but quickly grew into a political issue that Roosevelt could not afford to ignore (Kennedy, 224).

He proposed a plan, which would provide everyone over the age of 65 with \$200 per month, that he called the Old-Age Revolving Pension Plan, later to be called the Townsend Plan (Watkins, *The Hungry Years*, 247). Although legislators realized his plan would be eco-

"The Congress can't stand the pressure of the Townsend Plan unless we have a real old age insurance program, nor can I face the country" (Watkins, *The Hungry Years*, 257).

Another, more radical challenge to Roosevelt came with the candidacy of famed muckraker Upton Sinclair for governor of California in 1934.

and workers. Although he was decisively defeated in the subsequent election, the fact that Sinclair, an outspoken Socialist, had been elected to office as a member of the Democratic Party proved to be yet another political thorn in the side for Roosevelt (Kennedy, 227).

The most significant challenge to the original New Deal came from

be confiscated and used to furnish each family with over \$7,000 and a college education (Moss, 225). Although the Senate consistently rejected his radical proposals, he made a lasting impression on the public; Percy Lemoine, a student at LSU in 1932 stated that Long "was considered a savior and even the second coming of Christ" (Brewster, 164).



FDR delivering a "fireside chat"

nomically infeasible, his popularity soared; by the end of 1934 more than 5,000 "Townsend Clubs" had been created, with more than 2,000,000 members nationwide (Watkins, *The Hungry Years*, 248-9). The rising tide of Townsendites placed great pressure for reform upon Roosevelt, who was quoted as saying

A lifelong member of the Socialist Party, Sinclair published the impassioned pamphlet *I, Governor of California and How I Ended Poverty*, in which he outlined his plans to enact a program called End Poverty in California (EPIC). Sinclair's plan called for the seizure of public land for distribution to cooperatives of farmers

Huey Long, an ambitious southern demagogue. Long, governor of Louisiana in 1929 and U.S. Senator in 1932, originally supported Roosevelt, but turned against the New Deal in 1934 because of its fiscal conservatism. He made a bid for national leadership with his "Share the Wealth" program, in which high incomes would

Although his expected political career was cut short by an assassin's bullet in 1935, his proposals and expected presidential candidacy left a lasting impression on public opinion and would continue to haunt Roosevelt (Moss, 227).

It was in this politically-charged environment that Roosevelt began to

push for social security legislation. The President first faced the issue through the Dill-Connery Bill and the Wagner-Lewis Bill in 1934. The Dill-Connery Bill, proposed by Abraham Epstein, stated that the government would subsidize a third of the money spent by states on pensions, while the Wagner Lewis-Bill was based directly on the privatized American Plan in Wisconsin (Schlesinger Jr., 303). However, Roosevelt hoped to pass such relief proposals as part of a broad, all-encompassing social security program. Thus, he decided to defer legislation until the following winter. In the meantime, Roosevelt created a cabinet-level Committee on Economic Security (Kennedy, 262).

The Committee only bred heated debate, with

Roosevelt insisted upon a completely self-sustaining system, requiring no money from the Treasury and no funding from a general tax revenue

over 300 so-called "experts" in attendance and with their speeches so arranged as to frustrate one another. In addition, the staff recruited consisted mainly of complete nov-

ices in social security, while the recognized American students of the problem were largely left out (Epstein, 261). When they faced the issue of unemployment insurance, pressure from Roosevelt caused them to favor the conservative provisions of the Wisconsin Plan. However, the nearly unanimous opinion in terms of old-age pensions was to take the venturesome step of following the Dill-Connery Bill's call for nationalization.

After receiving the Committee's proposals on January 15, 1935, Roosevelt insisted upon a completely self-sustaining system, requiring no money from the Treasury and no funding from a general tax revenue. The Committee had advocated a compulsory system of contributory payments and government contributions without a tax increase, while Roosevelt's "Treasury Plan" proposed payroll taxes on workers, allowing for a much larger reserve. Despite the discrepancy, Roosevelt's proposal eventually passed both the House and the Senate (Schlesinger Jr., 312).

The final version of the Social Security Act was weaker than the Wagner-Lewis Bill that had been proposed years earlier. Congress rejected the original proposal to select personnel on a merit

basis; the Social Security Board was specifically denied the ability to establish proper personnel practices. Similarly, the Senate removed from the bill any provisions that set minimum standards in old-age assistance (Schlesinger Jr., 313). A mere 60 percent of those who were to benefit from the new legislation actually received some relief (Bok, 278). Estimates of probable unemployment ranged from six to eight million at the time (Kirchway, 173). Farmers and domestic servants were excluded and

The final version of the Social Security Act was weaker than the Wagner-Lewis Bill that had been proposed years earlier

the same rates were received by all despite income or economic status (Divine, 818). In addition, all efforts by politicians to "balance the budget" would be unrealistic without increased reliance on taxation (Kirchway, 173).

Despite the Act's initial shortcomings, this essential portion of Roosevelt's New Deal legislation represented a major step forward in the federal government's commitment to financially protect its most vulnerable

citizens. Skeptics at the time wondered if the continued pressures of politics, demographic changes, and economics would serve to reshape the original goals and scope of the program.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

By Madlin Kluger

On August 14, 1935, Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act. This signing marked the beginning of the federal government's acceptance of its security responsibility for providing for the security of the elderly and others unable to support themselves (Aged and Idle, 1). The U.S. lagged far behind other countries in the implementation of social security programs. The first state-funded pensions for the elderly were enacted in Germany in 1889 by Otto von Bismarck, who, in a system similar to that adopted by FDR, financed social security through methods such as payroll taxes and required contributions from individuals and/or employers (Ferrara and Tanner, 14). By 1929, 35 countries had adopted similar programs, financed by payroll taxes, private insurance, or general tax revenues. Thus, the earliest push for social security in America was primarily from European immigrants, especially Germans, who had witnessed the impact of social security programs in their own countries (Eden, 60).

Social security

was slower in developing in the United States and drew less public support partly because of our isolationist tendencies and because it was believed to be socialistic in nature. In addition, many Americans were already covered by pensions--almost 25% of men over 18 were covered by Civil War pensions in 1900, and veterans' pensions increased fourfold between 1910 and 1932. Most state and municipal employees were covered by pensions by 1920 and

15% of the private-sector workforce by 1932 (Ferrara and Tanner, 14-15). However, most of these plans did not guarantee support and allowed pensions to be reduced or eliminated if there was a lack of funding, as there was during the Depression. Some states had passed old-age pension laws, but these pensions were denied to most retirees, were dependent on voluntary care from family and friends, and provided for as little as \$1 per month. Social security often received little support even from labor unions, such as the AFL, until the early 1930s. In 1932, in

light of the deepening economic crisis, the AFL reversed itself and called for the creation of federal old-age insurance (Dubofsky, 4,15).

During the Great Depression, public and private pension systems were greatly reduced. Friends and relatives were no longer able to financially support the elderly, and with so many unemployed, there were fewer jobs for older people. Led by the American Association for Old-Age, the American Association for Labor Legislation, and the Fraternal Association of Eagles, the call for federal action grew stronger



(Ferrara and Tanner, 17).

When FDR was elected president in 1932, old-age pensions were not one of his major concerns. He began to pay more attention to the issue, how-

When FDR was elected president in 1932, old-age pensions were not one of his major concerns

ever, in response to Upton Sinclair's California gubernatorial campaign, Huey Long's "Share the Wealth" campaign, and Dr. Francis Townsend's pension proposal (Ferrara and Tanner, 19). The movement gained popularity and became an important issue in the 1934 congressional elections, as well as in the Republican and Democratic National Committees and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Legislation providing federal aid to states that enacted old-age pension laws, received strong bipartisan support and was the first federal old-age pension bill to pass the House Labor Committee and the Senate Pensions Committee. However, FDR asked lawmakers to delay action, as he was developing his own, more comprehensive social insurance program (Ferrara and Tanner, 19).

FDR did sign the Railroad Retirement Act

in 1934, which established a pension plan funded by employer and employee. Roosevelt then created the Committee on Economic Security (CES), which favored those who supported old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. Although FDR often changed his mind about the importance of old-age pensions, he generally favored unemployment pensions. He took a relatively conservative stance at times, appointing heads of corporations to advisory committees on social security (Fraser, 19). On January 15, 1935, the CES issued a report recommending that the federal government underwrite the cost of state-run old-age pension programs, that it institute a new system of voluntary annuities, and that a national system of compulsory old-age insurance be established for all workers earning less than \$250 a month. The first two recommendations were repudiated by the House.

Roosevelt rejected approaches such as the Clark Amendment and others allowing employers to provide pensions. Instead, he supported the program as fully funded, modeling it after private insurance. He felt that it should be paid for by those receiving the benefits, not by future generations, as was established by fully funded pensions. The So-

cial Security Act provided for fully funded pensions, but by 1939, the system was replaced by pay-as-you-go financing. This provided for the use of current taxes to pay current benefits immediately, and depended on future taxes to pay for future benefits, essentially transferring funds from one area to another (Ferrara and Tanner, 19-23; Ferrara, 22, 35-6).

The Social Security Act included a 1% tax on both employees' and employers' wages. The wages could be no more than \$3,000 with a total of a \$60 tax. Beginning on January 1, 1942, benefits would be given to qualified individuals over 65 as monthly payments. Those

While the signing of the Act did have many economic benefits, drawing large amounts of funds from the upper class did not create the economic equality that many had hoped for

who earned more, and therefore paid higher taxes, would receive higher benefits. Those who worked after 65 would not receive benefits while employed. Similarly, agricultural workers, domestic servants, casual la-

Emergence Decade

borers, seamen, government workers, and employees of any nonprofit organization would not receive any benefits. Other benefits, including a death benefit, were included in the Act (Ferrara, 24-5), (Aged and Idle, 1,4). While the signing of the Act did have many economic benefits, drawing large amounts of funds from the upper class did not create the economic equality that many had hoped for ("Business Aid", 1,3).

Why did Roosevelt choose such a conservative approach? Although the Social Security Act left many people uncovered and proved unsatisfactory to many of those who were covered, it set a precedent for federal intervention to financially protect the unprotected members of society (Eden, 73-5). What factors in forthcoming decades would serve to weaken or strengthen this commitment?

SOCIAL INFLUENCES

By Maxwell Young

Three main social issues can be considered key factors in the creation of the Social Security Act. Demographics in society were rapidly changing and America was aging. The growing number of senior citizens with

The growing number of unemployed people, even during the economic boon years of the roaring 20s, contributed to the general desire for some form of insurance for those thrown out of work

families too poor to support them were faced with living increasingly destitute lives. Igniting this already smoldering need for some form of social security were the speeches of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The population of the United States had been getting progressively older in each census from 1860 through 1930, with 2.7% of the population being older than 65 in 1860, 5.4% in 1930, and projections

that the percentage of elderly would increase in the coming decades. In 1935, there were approximately 7,500,000 seniors in the United States. Behind this

aging of the population lay a plummeting death rate—down 27% from 1920 to 1932— and a dropping birthrate, especially since the depression began (Edwin, 8). Accompanying this was a trend towards higher unemployment that started in 1920 and reached its apex in

1932. The growing number of unemployed people, even during the economic boon years of the roaring 20s, contributed to the general desire for some form of insurance for those thrown out of work (Duffus, 3).

Paradoxically, though the population was aging, men were being forced to “retire” at earlier and earlier ages, so they could be replaced with lower paid, harder working, younger men. This was the culmination of a trend that had started much earlier. In the 1890 census 26.2 % of men 65 and older were unemployed; in 1910, 37.0%; and in 1930, 41.7%. Though the proportion of seniors that lost their job during the early years of the Great Depression was comparable to the percentage of young men that became unemployed, the seniors had much more difficulty finding new jobs.

In surveys taken during the best of times before the Depression, between one-half and one-third of all seniors de-



pendent on their children, and as the Depression worsened, their children no longer had the resources to take care of them (Edwin, 8). Elderly

Paradoxically, though the population was aging, men were being forced to "retire" at earlier and earlier ages, so they could be replaced with lower paid, harder working, younger men

people began filling almshouses, the only option left. In a survey taken by the United States Children's Bureau, it was discovered that the almshouse population jumped by 50% to 75% in the period of 1929 to 1933. In 1926, when charities were far less pressed than they were in the early years of the Great Depression, a book by Harry Carroll Evens was published describing the horrible conditions in these almshouses. These included insufficient and unfit food, filth, and severe overcrowding (Armstrong, 7). Though the number of elderly in these houses remained stable during the 1920s, residents with other afflictions – disease, mental instability or disability – moved to more specialized

institutions. This left the almshouses as clear evidence why an old-age pension plan was necessary, giving the younger population a vision of where they might end up if no Social Security bill was passed (Haber, 97). In addition, the Great Depression severely crippled the ability of middle class, middle-aged people to save enough money for their own retirement (Edwin, 8).

Americans looked across the seas and saw societies where, at least theoretically, old-age security was not an issue. In Australasia across one ocean and Europe across the other, old-age pension plans in various forms had already been instituted in 21 countries, both large

the Great Depression severely crippled the ability of middle class, middle-aged people to save enough money for their own retirement

and small. Most of these plans included unemployment and disability insurance, and 15 of them even offered survivor insurance – payments to the widows or children of injured workers (Armstrong, 7).

Another factor that led to the Social Security legislation was the effect

of speeches given by President Roosevelt prior to the passage of the Social Security bill. On March 4, 1933, Roosevelt gave his first inaugural address, in which he made several declarations that buoyed the hopes of the population. He spoke about evicting the "money changers" from the "temple" of civilization, and the need for action, "and action now." These

Roosevelt spoke about evicting the "money changers" from the "temple" of civilization, and the need for action, "and action now."

quotes, along with his promise to seize broad executive power if need be, gave the people some hope that Roosevelt would institute fundamental change. In June 1934, he further promised the nation "security of the citizen and his family through social insurance." This speech was greeted with enormous support. Thirty-six organizations dedicated to promoting pension schemes "for financial consideration" appeared between the time of the speech and November of the same year ("Pension Proposal Called 'Fantastic'", 19). Subsequently, politicians at all

levels of government began to declare themselves in favor of Social Security, jumping on a bandwagon that they hoped would carry them into office (Epstein, 261).

1940-1990: DEVELOPMENT DECADES

“Should any political party attempt to abolish Social Security, unemployment insurance, and eliminate labor laws and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history.”

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

By Luke Teng

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt enacted the Social Security Act in 1935, it forever changed American society. Its impact on national politics was especially significant. Criticisms of the Social Security system, or any attempt to abolish it, was considered tantamount of political suicide. Social Security soon became the “third rail” of American politics (Carter, 55). From Truman to Reagan, presidents often ardently advocated the extension

of social security and the expansion of the welfare state.

Truman was the first president to expand “*The Buck Stops Here*”

on the basis of Social Security. His program, known as the “Fair Deal,” included the concept of national medical insurance and increases in federal aid to education. Although much of the Fair Deal was blocked by the Congress, which was then controlled by northern Republicans

and southern Democrats, Truman did succeed in increasing minimum wage to 75 cents per hour and extending Social Security

to cover ten million people (Divine, 916).

Eisenhower came into close contact with the “third rail.” During a speech given in Galveston, Texas, before his presidential run, Eisenhower said, “If all Americans want is security, then they can go to prisons.” He soon came under attack by Phillip Murray of Steel Workers Organizing Committee (Hugh, 2). Ike immediately muted his views on Social Security and during his presidency, wholeheartedly supported Social



Security (Carter, 56). He signed into law amendments to the Social Security Act in 1954, 1956 and 1958. These amendments extended Social Security coverage to disabled workers and to women taking early retirement. He also extended old age coverage to clergymen and to most state and local government workers (Carter, 57).

The nation applauded President Kennedy's action when he signed the Social Security Amendment of 1961. This legislation allowed for an increase in minimum benefits for all participants, retirement benefits for men at age 62 and an increase in benefits of widows, widowers and parents (SSA website). He gained even more widespread support when he publicly criticized anti-Social Security groups.

The nation applauded President Kennedy's action when he signed the Social Security Amendment of 1961.

When Dr. Leonard W. Larson, the head of the American Medical Association (AMA), denounced Social Security as a socialist measure, Kennedy immediately informed the nation of AMA's actions and wrote

a letter to Dr. Larson in defense of Social Security. The AMA, under public pressure, soon backed down and withdrew its criticism of the system (Kenworthy, 1). After this incident, Kennedy's popularity soared.

Lyndon B. Johnson followed Kennedy's footsteps. Johnson was a zealous supporter of Roosevelt's New Deal. When he became president following the assassination of Kennedy, he enacted his own program known as the Great Society. The most important aspect of Johnson's Great Society was Medicare. The Medicare program provided health insurance under the Social Security program for Americans over age 65. A Medicaid program was also attached to cover the poor (Divine, 948). On July 30, 1965, Johnson wrote a letter to the first beneficiary of Social Security, Mrs. Fuller. In the letter, Johnson informed the lady and the rest of America of a new 7 percent increase in monthly benefits (SSA website).

Ronald Reagan's presidency saw the budget deficit skyrocket. This huge deficit increase was mainly the result of massive government spending on America's defense. The increases in the cost of living over the years also contributed to the deficit as it increased So-

cial Security benefits by about 500 percent (Divine 1006). Some experts predicted that the Social Security system would be bankrupt by the end of the century. Reagan tried to cut back on government spending by decreasing future Social Security benefits. However, he met with strong opposition. He took Social Security

The most important aspect of Johnson's Great Society was Medicare. The Medicare program provided health insurance under the Social Security program for Americans over age 65.

reforms out of politics by appointing a bipartisan commission to protect Social Security's trust funds in 1981. In 1983, Congress approved a series of proposals made by the commission, which included a gradual increase in retirement age, a delay in benefit increase in six months and a small tax on the wealthier elderly (Schieber, 186).

Social Security has been basically untouchable politically during the post-War period. Will its "untouchability" change as bolder politicians attempt to reform

the system?

How will the later politicians attempt to reform the Social Security system?

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

By Marina Raynes

The Social Security program was established in the 1930s with distinct goals and ambitions. Over the years, Congress has based its social security decisions on justice balanced with social stability, long-run stability, and economic efficiency.(Campbell, 58) The system as originally conceived was designed to provide economic security to American workers and their families in the event of loss of income due to retirement, disability, or death. Such economic considerations are the criteria by which any new legislation is judged and they provide the frame of reference for any current proposals to correct social security's existing problems.(Weisberg, 154)

The original Social Security Act contained an explicit policy of building a large reserve of funds. The issue of how to finance the rising costs of the program received paramount attention as Social Security began to expand from 1935-1940. Franklin D. Roosevelt articulated the self-financing requirement to be accomplished by a pay-as-you-go system. By the end of the 1930s, however, it was

obvious that the pay-as-you-go system was slowly producing a massive decline in total national savings, which in turn, caused an equally serious decline in the nation's capital supply (Ferrara, 21). Individual contributors to the system saw no accumulation in their future compensations to counterbalance the draining of current private savings. Such complications and their solutions were temporarily put on hold by the US entry into World War II.

American intervention in World War II had a dramatic impact on The Social Security System's finances. High rates of employment and delays in retirement pro-

The original Social Security Act contained an explicit policy of building a large reserve of funds

duced large annual trust fund surpluses. By 1942, the surpluses had created a reserve that was five times the highest annual expenditure during the next five years. At this time, President Truman's interest in expanding gov-

ernment intervention in the economy led to his proposals for national health care insurance, massive federal housing program, and the federal expansion of Social Security (Presidential Studies, 331). The Fair Deal, as it was called, when passed

14)

In contrast to the 40s, the 50s saw fewer additions to the system. Expansion of the Social Security system subsided under the Eisenhower administration beginning in 1953. Eisenhower called his philosophy "dynamic



LBJ Signing Medicare Bill

resulted in the G.I. Bill and the availability of Veteran's Administration loans. In addition, Truman's National Health Insurance Act of 1949 served to award social security retirees free health insurance and involved the government in the economic aspects of the program.(Fifty Years of Unemployment Insurance,

conservatism," which was a euphemism for 'go-slow New Deal liberalism' (Fields, 56). By 1950, the reserve had grown to \$11 billion - enough to fully finance benefits for the next decade. As early 1950s legislations increased average benefits by 77 percent in 1950 and 12.5 percent in 1952, the Eisenhower was resistant

in advocating plans calling for government intervention. It wasn't until reelection time in 1956 that Eisenhower signed a plan for disability benefits. From 1956 to 1976 total government spending had increased more than ten-fold while the part of the budget devoted to Social Security programs increased by only 22%. As a result the trust fund experienced its first ever annual deficit in 1958.

The 1965 Advisory Council's Report indicated that by the end of 1955, the Old Age Security Pension (OASDI) trust fund was equal to four times the annual total benefits paid out. In 1960, it was about double the annual total, while in 1963 about one-third as great. ("Reductions in Social Security Benefits" Hearing) This decline in trust funds led to the minor recession of the early 1960s. Following the recession however, the US economy entered into a decade-long period of strong economic growth. This growth was coupled with a sharp increase in the number of women entering the workforce, which fueled a large increase in Social Security payroll tax revenues.

This decade of moderate success should be partially credited to President Johnson, who took office in 1964 and immediately encouraged

changes in the Social Security program. From 1965-1973, benefits were raised by 7% in 1965, 13% in 1968, and 15% in 1970. Johnson's radical approach led to the passage of the Medical Care Act of 1965. Called Medicare, it covered most hospital and nursing costs and provided another plan to help with the medical expenses of the needy regardless of age. (Burke, 128) This enabled government to protect the needs of the 'unprotected'. In the 40 years since Medicare was created, Congress has voted numerous raises in benefits. Whenever such raises were enacted, the tax rate was usually also increased to help cover the additional cost. Throughout the early 1970s Congress continued to enact automatic cost-of-living increases in Social Security benefits. Thus, taxes to pay for these increases continued to climb. (Ellis, 202)

In the 1970s, most Social Security programs were financed by payroll tax deductions. In 1974, the US economy began to deteriorate along with Social Security. The combination of high inflation, high unemployment, large benefit increases, and an error in the 1972 law, significantly worsened the trust fund's financial condition. Reacting to the situation, the Nixon administration increased

payroll taxes to 9.9% in order to cover the cost of higher benefit amounts for OASDI and other programs.

In 1977 the Carter administration further increased payroll taxes by 6.7%, thus increasing the total percentage to a whopping 13% (Presidential Studies, 333). By early 1981, the reserve had fallen to two months' worth of benefits and was projected to be exhausted in two years.

During the 1980's, the birth rate fell as the nation continued to age (Campbell, 342). Hence, there were fewer workers to support the retired. In addition, unemployment and poor wage growth during the 1978-1980 recession caused Social Security tax revenues to fall drastically from 1981-1982. In 1977, the Senate Finance Committee postponed any increase in payroll taxes for at least one year.

Under Ronald Reagan concerns for the future of the program were raised. President Reagan and Congress created a bipartisan commission chaired by Alan Greenspan to enact proposals which were eventually passed in 1983. These amendments raised taxes significantly and modestly reduced future benefit increases. Most benefit reductions were designed to solve the short-term fiscal

Development Decades
problems. They did not however, eliminate financial problems for future generations. As the 1990s neared new obstacles emerged.

SOCIAL INFLUENCES

By Nona Willis-Aronowitz

Since the Social Security Act passed in 1935, it has remained America's most popular government program. It is the one program that cuts across class lines; everyone is entitled to benefits since people pay for them through salary deductions. (Katz, *Shadow*, 267; Bok, 276) Throughout the years, there have been changes in the way social security (including medical care and pension plans) affects different groups. Factors such as age, race, gender, class, and migration have continued to determine the role social security has played in people's lives from the 1940s to 1990 (Conkin, 76).

In the 1940s, the program was too young to make a big impact—only 5-15 years after the act was passed, people had not accumulated enough money to reap its benefits (Berkowitz, 23). Therefore, it did not have full public support. However, certain patterns were starting to develop. During the war, blacks started to move out of the South and take jobs in northern industrial plants, where they paid into social security. When the war was over, many blacks lost their jobs to returning vet-

erans, which resulted in comparatively low participation in the social security system. (Schieber and Shoven, 133). Similarly, during the 40s and 50s—except during World War II—few women worked outside the home, so most were not independently eligible for social security (Divine, 916; Interview with Stanley Aronowitz).

The movement toward extended eligibility for social security was nourished by the growth of retiree organizations (such the National Council for Senior Citizens and the American Association of Retired Persons) and unions in the 1950s. These groups sponsored legislation to address the health and pension plans of the elderly (Schieber and Shoven, 119). By 1956, social security also included the disabled. In the early 1950's, the minimum age of women's eligibility decreased from 65 to 62. Because many women were widowed by their early 60s due to men's lower life expectancy, the earlier age was important (Email from Jim Steely; Cates, 71). The elderly population continued to grow during the 40s and 50s, rising from 7 to 11% of the population in just 15 years (Schieber

and Shoven, 255). This was a result of improved medical care, nutrition, and better working conditions. These changes extended social security to more people.

Generally, advocacy for social security stabilized during the 1950's. It became clear that the middle class benefited more than the poor, as their benefits correlated with their income. As a result, there was no strong push for extended economic assistance during this period of prosperity and under President Eisenhower's moderate *R e p u b l i c a n i s m* (McElvaine, 72).

Between 1962 and 1974, social security simply became a demand of the people—part of the "grass-roots revolution", as the social movements of the 1960s were called. The Civil Rights movement affected social security, as well as the demand of the elderly for a more secure income. Poor, urban Blacks fought for other rights as they simultaneously fought for more government help (Katz, *Shadow*, 272). The debate on public versus private also escalated as the public began to support more benefits, specifically for medical care. In 1962, the King-Anderson bill providing health care for the aged was adamantly opposed by doctors, who even threatened to boycott

elderly patients in New Jersey ("Revolt in New Jersey", 23). Senior citizens, unions, civil rights organizations, and women supported government funded care, but it still faced opposition from pharmaceutical companies, doctors, and the like (Stamford, 70).

During the 1960s, the rate of divorce rose. This was partly the result of the women's liberation movement which de-emphasized family values and stressed a woman's right to be independent from her husband. There were more women in the work force (a fact that was both a catalyst for *and* a result of the feminist movement), who were now independent wage earners. Higher divorce rates meant a higher poverty rate for single-mother families, and an increased need for federal assistance (Social Security Administration Online; Interview with Stanley Aronowitz).

The inflation of the economy in the 1970s upheld trends in who benefited most from social security (Katz, *Improving*, 72; McElvaine, 334). Inflation benefited the already retired, and also preserved social status, as the people making more money gained more through the inflation index that matched benefits with income. The cost of living adjustments meant the continued popularity of

the programs, especially among the middle class (Katz, Shadow, 261). Another important trend starting in the early 70's and continuing through

who was collecting social security (Divine, 1045). By 1980, Congress had succeeded remarkably well in improving the living standards of the aged

middle and lower classes were burdened by higher social security taxes (Madaras and SoRelle, 395). The percentage of the population that was

Development Decades
the 1940s to the 1980s, the Social Security program became more and more needed and popular, with its programs supported by the vast majority of labor unions, minorities, and the elderly.



the 80s were migration shifts. People began to move from east to west, and from the South to the Northwest. In addition, the elderly started moving to the Southwest. Such developments shifted the geographic distribution of

to the level of young adults, and lowering their poverty rates by more than 20% (Bok, 279). Those in poverty over the age of 65 diminished quite substantially. Although taxes were generally lowered during this time, the

elderly made its biggest jump in the 80s, growing to 13% by 1989 (Schieber and Shoven, 255). As a result, they demanded increases in federal assistance. Their increasing number gave seniors more influence. Clearly, from

1991-2001: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

“This fiscal crisis in Social Security affects every generation. We now know that the Social Security trust fund is fine for another few decades. But if it gets in trouble and we don’t deal with it, then it not only affects generations of the baby boomers... it raises the question of whether they will have enough to live on...”

—Bill Clinton, February 9, 1998, at Georgetown University

POLITICAL INFLUENCES

By Jimmy Mark

Although the Social Security system has long been considered an “untouchable” aspect of American politics, it has recently been the subject of much debate. Fueling this ongoing debate is the presence of various reform proposals aimed at correcting flaws that threaten to undermine the future solvency of the program.

While politicians of the past have generally dealt with Social Security by implementing payroll tax increases and extending Social Security’s programs to more people, the decade of the 1990’s has witnessed farther-reaching proposals for Social Security reform. The present

trend has seen the transition of Social Security from a “third rail” subject into a “monorail” issue, meaning that all politicians must now address it (Knubel, 42). Plausible reforms, including implementing the so-called “lockbox” and creating individual private accounts, are numerous and highly partisan, but politicians from both parties agree that changes must soon be made while the system is still solvent. Complicating this problem, however, is Congressional gridlock and the existence of various lobbying efforts aimed at swaying the Congressional position on Social Security reform.

Current politicians

have shown a willingness to take alternative measures in reforming Social Security. While in office, President Clinton proposed plans to invest portions of government money in the stock market, to encourage private savings accounts, and to use large portions of budget surpluses for financing Social Security and Medicare (Schieber and Shoven, 366). Although these proposals were not fully acted upon, they were crafted to avoid tax increases, which have occurred twenty times since 1938 and represent broken promises by past politicians who have pledged not to raise taxes any further. In addition, tax increases have merely postponed the problem of insolvency without actually solving it and have actually increased the respon-

sibilities of the government to the people (Whiteman, 131-134).

During the Bush-Gore presidential campaign of 2000, two of the most current and plausible possibilities for reform distinguished the Social Security agendas of the two major political parties. The Democrats favor retiring the national debt by the year 2012, thus eliminating annual interest payments amounting to 15 percent of yearly total government spending. Democrats propose to implement this “lockbox” to ensure that the existing Social Security surplus is used to pay down the debt rather than to fund more federal programs (Knubel, 44-45). Although implementing the lockbox does little to change the structure of Social Security, it shores up the nation’s fi-

nances and has a high probability for enactment because party gridlock in Congress will restrict most major domestic initiatives. Ultimately, this option may prevail as the default solution.

The Republican's plan, on the other hand, is more far-reaching because it proposes to create individual retirement accounts to be managed by private stock market investment firms ("Social Security, the stock market, and the elections", 1). This plan, also known as privatization, would supposedly enhance the return on Social Security tax funds and provide the nation with an effective solution (Knubel, 44). Although this proposal shows a trend toward less government intervention and more conservatism (as Franklin Roosevelt had hoped), it does, according to its opponents, stray from Social Security's intended goal. When Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act in 1935, it was designed as a safety net for the indigent elderly (Leavell, A27). However, the opponents of privatization argue that such a change would benefit the wealthy and harm the poor, many of who are unprepared to manage a portfolio. Critics respond that this treatment of Social Security as an annuity for all seniors is a large reason for Social

Security's current fiscal problems (Moon, 46).

Implementation of privatization is less likely than that of the lockbox, but still has a significant chance of passage with President Bush in office. However, enthusiasm for the plan has dropped sharply with the recent plunges in stock values, and thus its endorsement will be largely dependent upon economic conditions (Lester, A02). The recent decision by Senator James Jeffords to leave the Republican Party is another key factor affecting Social Security reform. Jeffords' defection transfers majority status in the Senate over to the Democrats by one seat. This is significant because it will now be extremely difficult for President Bush and other Republicans to advance conservative policies, including privatization, for the next 18 months (Toner, A1).

Another key factor shaping the prospects for current reform is the intense lobbying on the part of groups with vested interests in the future of Social Security. One such group is the AARP, short for American Association of Retired Persons, which represents more than thirty-two million Americans over the age of fifty. The AARP opposes the privatization of Social Security because gains coming from individual invest-

ments are risky and thus violate Social Security's purpose as a safety net (AARP website). In addition, the elderly have almost no benefits to gain because privatization's purpose is to foster long-term growth. With the elderly voting in far greater numbers than younger people, the AARP has a much greater influence on the Senators and Representatives who will be drafting the Social Security reform bills of the future (Carter and Shipman, 113).

On the other side of the political spectrum lie Wall Street and the Cato Institute, both of which are avid supporters of the Republicans' plans for privatization. Wall Street's lobbying efforts have been the most intense because the financial community stands to benefit greatly from billions of dollars worth of new investments. At stake is the prospect of 140 million new investment accounts, from which financial interests can extract fees and commissions. For this reason, the Bush campaign received its largest contributions (\$5.9 million as of July 2000) from the investment industry, which has now made privatization its primary political goal ("Social Security, the stock market, and the elections", 9).

Support for privatization has also

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come from a relatively new group formed in 1993. Known as the Third Millennium it represents post-boomers born between 1963 and 1983. These post-boomers, referred to as Generation X, fear that they will receive nothing from Social Security after paying its taxes throughout their working lives. As a result, Generation Xers formed their own organization to counteract the political influence exerted by much larger anti-privatization groups, such as the aforementioned AARP (Third Millennium website). However, this association has yet to make a strong impact on Capitol Hill because younger voters tend to be apathetic. Take for example, the voting results of the 1998 Congressional elections in which senior citizens more than doubled the voter turnout of Generation Xers. While only 28 percent of Americans between the ages of 25 and 34 voted, seniors over 65 had an astonishing 60 percent voter turnout (US Census 2000). Thus, Social Security reform increasingly resembles an inter-generational political fight, with younger Americans appearing to generally support privatization and older Americans generally rejecting it.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCES

By Yifan Ding

The conventional approach to fund Social Security is the pay-as-you-go financing that was advocated by many policy makers and ultimately cast into law in 1972 (Steurle, 126). However, during the economically troubled years of the Carter administration, the future of the Social Security system was in doubt.

The proposals met attacks from congressional leaders in both parties. Their most controversial proposal was the lowering of benefits for those who chose to retire before the normal retirement age of sixty-five (Steurle, 190). In an attempt to prevent the financial collapse of the system, Ronald Reagan and Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker announced a series of proposals that they considered a sincere attempt to deal with the looming bankruptcy of the system (Schieber, 186). By rejecting the proposals to solve the financing problem, the Congress refused to locate and tackle the real problem and thus did not produce a better solution. The financing of Social Security remains a crisis that is

waiting to strike.

Aware of the lurking crisis, the 1994-1996 Advisory Council on Social Security recommended significant restructuring that included some elements of individual ac-

counts (Gergen, 116). The current debate on Social Security reform centers mostly on the concept of "privatization." The term does not have an established definition, but it generally refers to the desirability of funding the system to a greater extent than is provided for under the current system. The present system is a defined-benefit program fi-

nanced largely on a pay-as-you-go basis where workers are allowed to set up individual accounts voluntarily. In reaction to the Council recommendation, Sylvester Schieber and Carolyn Weaver, proposed the creation of Personal Security Accounts (PSA) (Schieber, 318). Thus, funding is once again at the heart of controversy over the evolu-



tion of Social Security in the United States since the Reagan-Schweiker proposals.

To gain a better understanding of the present reform proposals of Social Security, it is necessary to look at the shortcomings of the original pay-as-you-go system. For example, it is impossible to predict when there will be variations in the economy's performance (Steurlle, 63). During economic downturns, the rise in unemployment leads to a decrease in tax collection. To maintain the steady flow of collection, an immediate payroll tax will be necessary. Such a tax would further damage the economy (Schieber, 332). As a price for keeping the current system, more tax revenues would be required (Board of Trustees of OASDI, 169). Because of these necessary increases in taxes, many people familiar with the system think it is better to put contingency funding into trust funds.

The latest suggestion as to how to fulfill increased Social Security obligations is to run a balanced government budget for other federal operations over the next couple of decades (Steurlle, 246). In order to strike the budget balance, the booming year surplus will be used to buy back outstanding government debt. People who have previously in-

vested in government bonds take the cash they received for those bonds and invest it in stocks. In a macroeconomic context, it makes little difference over who holds the assets. What is important is the total amount of wealth in the economy as the health of the Social Security program depends on the overall economic performance rather than individual assets (Schieber, 347).

While the overall wealth may be unchanged, the change in hand may take place. No matter what forms the assets are held, the main issue here is the effect over long periods. In various investment instruments, stocks seem to pay higher average rates of return than bonds. Acknowledging this observation, Henry Aaron and Robert Reischauer want the added central funding to be invested in the stock market. They favor this because if added savings are created through Social Security funding, then Social Security deserves to reap the reward of the higher return generated by the added capitalization of the economy (Karpel, 119). In addition, higher rates of return will reduce the burden to rebalance the system (Karpel, 120). Theoretically, by putting more money in stocks, more money will be generated to finance the retirement of the elderly.

While no one opposes the underlying logic for the proposal to build up trust funds, representatives such as Senator Bob Kerrey and former Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan oppose the reform itself for at least three reasons. Firstly, they do not believe the added funding will materialize. Secondly, they resent the concentration of economic power within the federal government. Some estimates suggest that the Social Security trust funds could come to hold 5 to 10 percent of equity in the economy (Schieber, 310). Thirdly, many critics have little faith in corporate governance. Those who oppose the Social Security trust funds for investment in private equity markets base their opposition on what they see around them. They point to the mistakes of state and local governmental funds and to powerful interest groups that are likely to exert their influence on how the money should be invested (Tejada, 1). Critics of the new plan generally advocate that the funding should continue to be based on pay-as-you-go financing.

With the arrival of the Bush administration in Washington, the current Social Security reform seems to be pointing at "privatization." But a reform is not receiving

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unanimous support amongst experts. Despite the fact that stocks have higher average returns than government bonds, they can be very unstable. According to two Stanford University economists, Thomas MaCurdy and John Shoven, there is no guarantee of a higher return after ten to twenty years (Schieber 379). As a sacrifice for higher average returns, Social Security can no longer enjoy the safety of government bonds. If we go ahead with "privatization," do the possible benefits outweigh the potential risks? What if the stock market refuses to cooperate? Then who will bear the greatest loss?

SOCIAL INFLUENCES

By Brian Kimmelblatt

It has been recently claimed that Social Security is in danger of going bankrupt. Since 1990, the concept behind Social Security has continued to be publicly supported, and thus, the majority of the public wants to save Social Security. Once again, privatization has been proposed as a way to save the system. However, the future of Social Security ultimately depends on social concerns, gender, race, age, and class issues with the system.

Even though a majority of Americans want to keep Social Security, many younger Americans are skeptical and unsure if Social Security will be there for them. In 1994, an EBRI and Gallup survey found that 43 percent of the respondents were not confident that Social Security would still be there for them when they retire (Peterson, 10). Among the respondents who were 55 or older, 15 percent were unsure. However, for the 35 to 45 age group, the percentage was 55 percent and for the 18 to 34 group, the percentage was 52. A higher percentage of the younger people are unsure about the future of Social Security.

rity.

Contrary to popular belief, Social Security is not just a middle class program. For decades it also has helped the wealthy and the poor. Social Security replaces 43 percent of preretirement income for the average retired American.

elderly. Today the elderly are a lot better off financially. Social Security is by far the most important factor that allows for this (Peterson, 78). In 1992, 13.1 percent of the population was living in poverty based on their income. If government cash transfers were deducted from income, then the poverty rate would have risen to 21.2 percent (Peterson, 78). The situation is even worse for the elderly over

the 1930s (Kilborn and Wayne, 1). The House voted 422 to 0 to end the provision that reduced the benefits of workers ages 65 through 69 for every dollar they earned over \$17,000 (Kilborn and Wayne, 1). This aspect of Social Security had a very big social impact on the oldest workers. When they accumulated wages up to \$17,000, they had to resign from their jobs, or face losing money. With



can and an average of 58 percent for low income retirees (Skidmore, 22). It "succeeds in keeping tens of millions of Americans out of poverty" (Skidmore, 22). Before the New Deal and the enactment of the Social Security Act, poverty was very common among the

65 years old. Without Social Security, 50 percent of the elderly would be living in poverty!

Social Security and its reforms have had and still have many effects on society. In 2000, the House of Representatives ended a provision of the Social Security Act from

the end of the provision, older employees got the chance to work and earn as much as they like. This change will have a positive social impact on the elderly.

During the 1990s, unions played a large role in altering Social Security. In 1999, the AFL-CIO

held a union meeting to discuss the privatization of Social Security (Greenhouse, 16). A forum was sponsored during which the union gave retirees post cards to mail to Congress to urge them to stop the partial privatization of the retirement program (Greenhouse, 16). The union believed that the costs to do this would reduce the amount of money for benefits in the long run. They also believed that putting part of the money in the stock market was too risky. (Greenhouse, 16). This is a reason why the labor movement and organizations that lobby for the elderly are against privatization schemes. The proposal to privatize was put forward by businesses who wanted to set up personal retirement investment accounts. Unions definitely posed a major threat to their desires. The AFL-CIO also opposed raising the age at which people receive full benefits from 65 to 70 (Greenhouse, 16). Most workers are against this idea because they do not believe that they can work for so long, especially in very strenuous jobs (Greenhouse, 16).

A majority of young Americans from the ages of 18 to 34 are also against privatization. A poll conducted by Peter Hart Research Associates in 1999 found that 70 percent of young adults en-

dorsed a plan that provides full guaranteed benefits (Jones, 1). Only 41 to 45 percent of the young adults polled supported the privatization plans (Jones, 1).

Many people believe that some privatization proposals hurt minority groups. Poverty among women over 65 is twice as severe as among men over 65 and the current Social Security program recognizes this problem (Munnell, 1). However, most privatization proposals make no provisions for these differences which could make the poverty problem worse (Munnell, 1). Other minority groups also depend on Social Security. Seventy-eight percent of African Americans over 70 have virtually no income from any other source except Social Security (Fierst, 1). Privatization, however, would put them at a disadvantage. Social Security today pays relatively more to those with lower incomes and African Americans on the average have lower income than whites (Fierst, 1). Privatization, on the other hand, pays less money to people who earn less money. (Fierst, 1).

Just recently, President George W. Bush proposed to allow people to invest part of the 12.4 percent Social Security payroll tax in private mar-

kets (Kirchoff, 2). This would allow Americans to receive more money because stocks have generally risen quicker than bonds, in which Social Security contributions are now invested. Businesses and the wealthy support privatization because they will be able to make more money in the long run. The partial dismantling of Social Security is due to an effort by Wall Street, banks, and insurance companies (Dreyfuss, 1). The initial plans to privatize Social Security were financed by many Wall Street donors to both political parties including Salomon Brothers, Prudential, and the Securities Industry Association (Dreyfuss, 2). Bush promised not to increase payroll taxes and to preserve existing benefits for people retired or about to retire. A poll taken also shows that a majority of Americans are against privatization if it provides for a lower guaranteed payment (Kirchoff, 2).

Social Security might be changed for the future through privatization because many people also believe that Social Security trust funds will soon be exhausted some time in the future.

Numerous sources predict that Social Security will be exhausted by 2037 as the baby boom generation retires and

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there are fewer workers to pay into the system (Kirchoff, 2). In 1995, the costs of Social Security and Medicare represented under 20 percent of workers payrolls, but it is estimated that this will go up to 30 percent as the baby boomers retire (Ruyter, 1). What will happen to society however, if a time comes when the Social Security fund runs out?

PROJECTIONS

"The basic problem is this: in 2013 Social Security will begin losing money because it will be collecting fewer dollars in payroll taxes than it is paying out in benefits. How do we generate extra money to keep the system solvent when 2013 arrives? With Social Security insolvency rapidly approaching, the nation's task is to find ways to protect the program's finances without raising taxes or cutting benefits. A solution which has been suggested by some is to invest Social Security funds directly in the stock market. Certainly the market's success of the past decade make that look like a very profitable idea, but what happens if the stock market were to decline? Who would make up for the loss, and would retirees be affected? Also, could the federal government really be trusted to make good investment decisions and manage them accurately? Would retirees be better served if they were given the power to manage their own funds themselves?"

-Congressman Dave Hobson, January 15, 1999

As America enters the 21st century, the debates on Social Security continue to intensify. As the elderly population grows and begins to retire, the demand for financial support for the retired will also grow. From this demographic reality springs a heated debate: Should Social Security be privatized, or should the government continue to provide the elderly with full benefits?

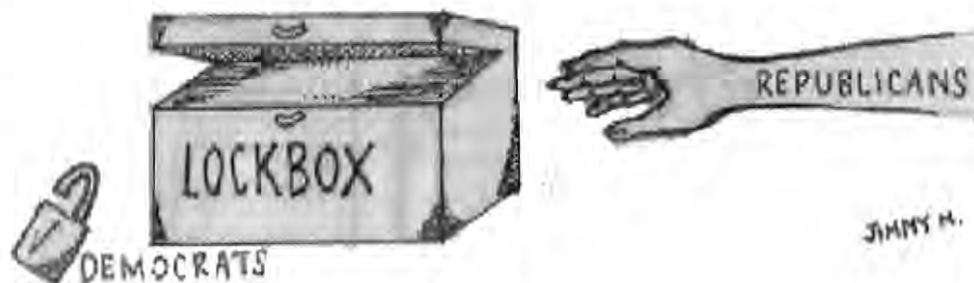
The population growth is indisputable. "Baby Boomers"—babies born between 1945 and 1965—are now in their thirties, forties, and fifties. Within the next thirty years, the elderly population is expected to grow

to 18%—there will be 27 people over the age of 65 for every hundred between 20 and 64. Both the Baby Boom and the Baby Boom echo (called Generation X) will spark an increased need for social security benefits.

Since they are such a large percentage of the population, these elements of the population will also have increased political power. They will be able to

choose candidates they feel will best handle this problem. The debate on how to manage the growing population and their benefits is an extremely important issue in the political arena as evident in the recent presidential election. Both candidates agree that the social security system is running out of money; it is projected to be insolvent by the year 2039. Both major politi-

cal parties have proposed alternatives. The Democrats' plan would keep the system essentially as it is, and shore up the nation's finances through the "lockbox". The Republicans, however, are in favor of private investing to sustain funds for the elderly. In the next four years of President Bush's administration, party gridlock, shown in the extremely close results of the



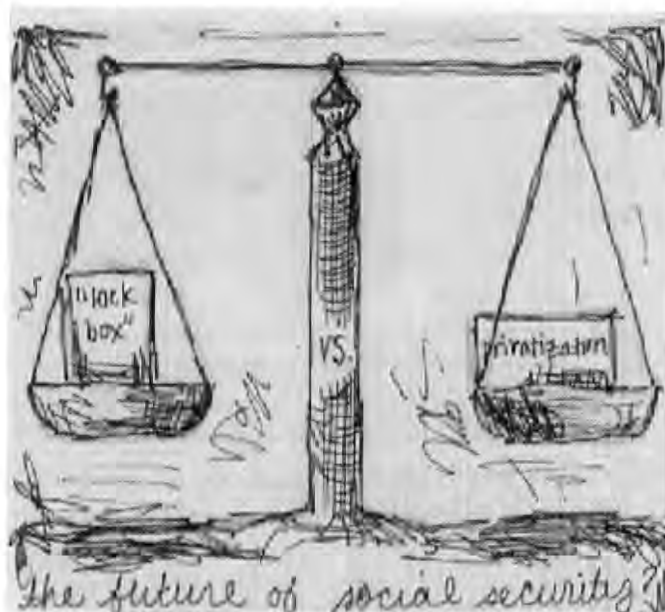
2000 elections and the recent decision of Vermont senator James Jeffords to become independent, will make privatization unlikely.

Another question that future candidates for national office will have to consider is whether privatization is economically sound. The government continually uses the Social Security trust fund to finance other programs and to reduce the national debt. Privatization would cause part of this money to be invested in the stock market. This means that other savings must be increased to make up for the cuts in benefits. People who are not willing to save more will have to face a reduced standard of living after retirement or a longer work life. In addition, if the government puts a portion of the trust fund's money in the stock market, it cannot be guaranteed that there will be a higher return after ten or twenty years. In fact, there is 20 to 25 % chance that the stock would worsen the financial balance after this time. The elderly workers cannot bear the risks that go with individual accounts. Therefore, this system would make more sense for younger workers.

The most important force determining whether privatization gets passed is public opinion. The current situation reflects the

resistance of the American population to privatization. A poll conducted by Peter Hart Research Associates in 1999 found that 70 percent of young adults and 63 percent of retirees support a plan with full guaranteed benefits. Privatization plans, even with Republicans, are never the preference of the majority. Unions have played a big part in opposing private investment as well. They are and will be involved in many meetings to stop the process of Social Security. However, interest groups such as the Third Millennium and Wall street will try to push for private investing.

It's impossible to predict exactly the fate of our social security system. However, the combined pressures of demographic trends and economics will force both major political parties and the American public to make some important decisions about the system in the near future.



The Grapes Of Wrath: A Film Review

By Max Young

The Grapes of Wrath is a John Steinbeck novel adapted for the screen in 1940. It was directed by John Ford.

The Film relates the story of one family, the Joad family, as the effects of the great depression reach their Oakland home, full strength. The events that occurred to the Joad family make them a microcosm for a great number of other sharecroppers living in the Dust Bowl area. As intense farming and nutrient deprivation of the land occurred, the once rich soil was reduced to little more

and agricultural interests that controlled the land of the sharecroppers evicted all the workers and bulldozed all the houses, setting off a great, forced migration. As the farm-



ers moved west to the Garden of Eden, California, they rapidly realize that things are bad everywhere and work may be impossible to obtain.

The Grapes of Wrath is a study of the opposite extremes of the nature of humans and the govern-

ment. On the other hand, there is the government that sets up a well run, comfortable hobo camp, complete with an elected com-

mittee and dances every Saturday night. Human nature is contrasted to an

family food and ask for much less than it was worth as payment. Truck drivers who happen to be eating there decide to pay the difference. Opposed to this view of the sunny side of human nature is the employers in the peach fields that kill the ex-preacher and eventually drive Tom Joad out of the comfortable government-run camp.

This film is indispensable for a student of the Great Depression or of modern American history. It gives a human side to the facts and statistics found in the textbooks we study. The Dust Bowl, which is given an almost positive spin be-

cause it helped to raise crop prices, was given a completely new meaning. It helps avoid looking at the Great Depression from just one angle and out of context, which is the greatest crime a historian can commit.



than dust, which the wind easily blew away. The harvest progressively became less profitable and eventually the banking

ment. On one hand, there is the government that stands by idly as people are thrown off the land and that pays for the

equal degree. At a truck stop, people give the Joad



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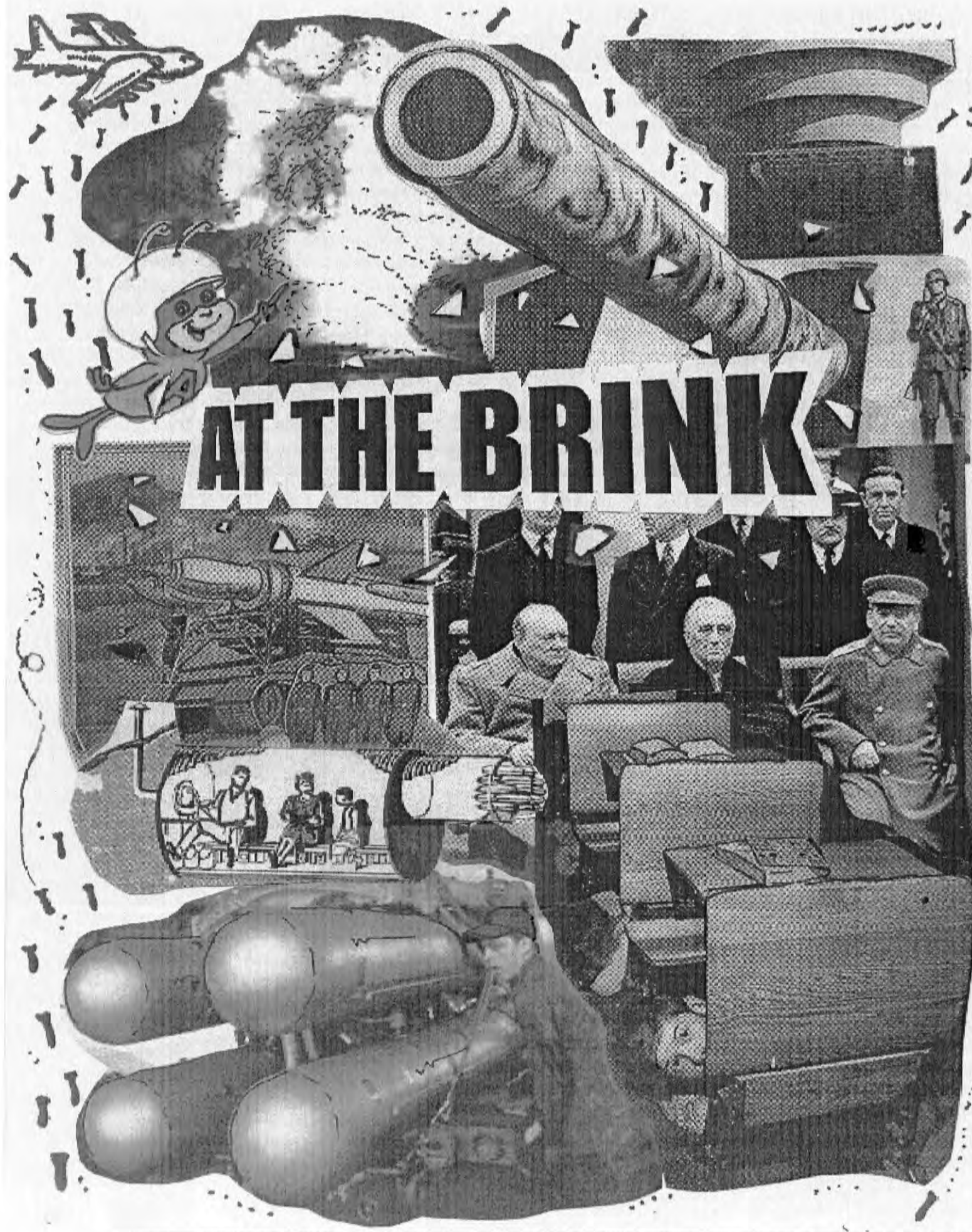
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AT THE BRINK

INTRODUCTION

This portion of *Trends and Trajectories* traces the change in American foreign policy from the quasi-isolationist stance in the 1920s and 1930s to the internationalist foreign policy of the Cold War years. In order to understand and document this shift we isolated four major factors in American foreign policy: the first were military alliances, the second consists of various domestic influences, the third was nuclear proliferation and the fourth was nuclear defense. We did extensive research in each area in order to understand how the trend started, how it developed and what form and/or role the trend has taken in the present era.

We began brainstorming the topic in mid-January, trying to pinpoint the factors on which to focus. To write good essays, team members spent countless hours in the library and doing research over the Internet. We read dozens of book and articles. After we had established a fair amount of background knowledge we contacted over fifty scholars, professors, and activists to help us better understand the many nuances of the topic. The responses helped us find better resources and other scholars that were knowledgeable about our topic. The scholars were most helpful as they made many recommendations on how to limit our focus so that we could more successfully address our main points.

In mid-May Professor Michio Kaku, from the CUNY Graduate Center, spoke to the class. During the discussion with Dr. Kaku we asked questions in a "Meet the Press" format about nuclear proliferation. This meeting was the highlight of the project and was extremely interesting and informative. His work helped us formulate better essays. We are thankful for Dr. Kaku's help, as well as the help of other scholars. Their responses added the criticism and support needed to write interesting essays.

The project was a lot of work and took a lot out of all of us. Since the group was split between two class periods, internal communication was a challenge. We relied primarily on e-mail and a message tree to keep everyone informed. All of the assignments were demanding and required a lot of communication and cooperation. It was hard for many of us to rely on others instead of taking charge and doing an entire section or assignment on our own. At times there was some friction in the group, but our differences were resolved when we realized that we were not just a group, but also a team. There was a huge sense of accomplishment when we realized what we had done and how successful all of our efforts were. It was great to see the entire class excited and interested when Dr. Kaku spoke to us. The final results were very rewarding. Seeing the project come to life from our early meetings in January gave us all a real feeling of success.

1940s

Section Editors: Rebecca Appel, Matthew Niknam

	Emergence	Development	Current	Projections
Domestic Influences	Ben Berringer	Andrew Aprile	Robert Hung	
Alliance Building	Andrew Goldstone	Philip Foxworthy	Rebecca Sacks-Oppenheim*	All
Nuclear Proliferation	William Lake	Jon Vaughan*	Ben Berringer	
Nuclear Defense	Andrew Kobets	Ilya Nikolayev	Michelle Kaku	

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1940S: EMERGENCE DECADE

"There are now two great nations in the world, which starting from different points, seem to be advancing toward the same goal: the Russians and the Anglo-Americans..... [E]ach seems called by some secret design of Providence one day to hold in its hands the destinies of half the world."

-Alexis de Tocqueville, 1835

DOMESTIC INFLUENCES

By Ben Berringer

Although America became a world power following Spain's defeat in the Spanish-American War, our foreign policy in the 1920s has wavered between isolationism and internationalism. During the first two decades of the century, we stayed out of European affairs, with the notable exceptions to this policy being the Moroccan Crisis, World War I, and the support of the Whites during the Russian Revolution (Earle, 170).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, due to domestic factors, our foreign policy

continued on this wavering course. The backlash against the League of Nations during the election of Harding in 1920 created a myth of isolation (LaFeber, 312), which was reinforced by pressure from business leaders to create a "passive," or import-based, economy (Mendershausen, 48). Nevertheless, America remained partially internationalist with the Washington Conference and the Dawes and Young Plans (LaFeber, 321). American officials understood their role as global leaders, but relied on private enterprise



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to rebuild Europe (LaFeber, 323). During the 1930s, US foreign policy moved towards a more isolationist stance, particularly in Latin America. This swing towards isolation was reinforced by public opinion when the Nye Committee released its report in blaming our entry into World War I on the munitions trade (Masland, 110).

Following World War II, American leaders created an internationalist foreign policy because of three domestic influences: economics, political leadership, and public opinion.

The first domestic factor in creating American internationalism was economics. Following WWII, America was the most prosperous nation in the world (Hinds, 69) we produced 50% of the world's goods (LaFeber, 435). With troops returning home, the labor force grew while war-time production slowed. American businessmen feared a second depression (Kunz, 17), and argued that an export-driven economy was key to U.S. prosperity (Mendershausen, 44). America also needed to ensure that the new war-time industries, like synthetic rubber, which had rapidly expanded during the war, did not collapse (Parks, 246). Businessmen also realized that American prosperity was reliant on European prosperity (Kunz, 28). Consequently, American businesses supported re-

building Europe in order to ensure American prosperity (Durr, 52).

Business interests supported two new facets of U.S. foreign policy. First, the Marshall Plan was created because businessmen realized that the only way for Europe to buy American goods and to recover was to lend Europe money to spur economic development (Kunz, 32). Therefore, business interests supported government attempts to aid European economic recovery, because only after that occurred could Europe become a viable trading partner (Lens, 339).

Business interests also supported America's policy of regional security in Europe. At the beginning of World War II, businessmen realized that a totalitarian government in Europe would pose a direct threat to American business interests (Ellsworth, 305). Economists also realized that to promote stable trade, the threat of war among trading partners had to be diminished and regional security in Western Europe had to be achieved (Parks, 241). Therefore, business interests supported the decision by American politicians to leave troops in Europe to ensure regional security.

Foreign policy also changed in response to the domestic leadership following the death of FDR. During the war FDR had relied on his charm to negotiate

with Stalin (Hofstadter, 348) and to broker deals with him. When Truman took power, America developed a very different policy towards Russia. The policy was informed by three considerations. First, Truman saw everything as black and white and thought Russia to be completely evil (Lens, 334). Second, Truman did not believe in reparations and at Potsdam refused to honor the promises made at Yalta (Kunz, 23). Third, Truman felt that the fear in America about depression warranted actions in Europe to ensure our prosperity, and was spurred on by public opinion polls that indicted that 59% of the nation felt America should aid Europe (Strunk, 350).

Increasingly in the post-war world, Americans saw a link between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Americans had a history of distrust of the Russians. It was for this reason that the USSR did not gain diplomatic recognition until 1933 (Hinds, 51). This distrust was intensified with the Russian-German Non-Aggression Pact, which Americans saw as a "betrayal that went beyond abandoning a struggle with a demonic enemy to joining forces with that evil enemy itself" (Hinds, 58). The New York Times proclaimed that "Hitlerism is brown communism, Stalinism is red fascism" (Hinds, 59).

The Dies Committee or the House Un-American

Activity Committee, which was created in 1938 to monitor subversive behavior, also spurred these anti-communist views. The Committee was famous for using harsh tactics to try and convince people to admit their crimes. The most famous of the committee's witch hunts was the hunt for spies in Hollywood which led to the imprisonment of the "Hollywood 10" (Kaplan, 651). The committee spurred on anticommunist public opinion because it led people to believe that communists were infesting our government. This fear also grew with the Soviet explosion of the atomic bomb, which terrified the American people because with that we lost our nuclear monopoly (Morgan, 125).

Therefore, although anticommunist views had diminished during the war, when Russia and America were allies, it remained an underlying strand in American thought (Hinds, 61), with 39% of the nation believing that Russia would not cooperate with America after the war ("The Quarter's Polls," 103). As Soviet intentions became more devious and the Dies Committee became stronger, anti communist views expanded and fears that originally had led to the fight against fascism, morphed into the Cold War (Morgan, 74).

ALLIANCE BUILDING

By Andrew Goldstone

With the charter of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949, the United States entered its first peacetime military alliance marking a reversal of a 150-year nonalignment policy by the United States. This deviation from the United States' original foreign policy of isolationism was produced by a combination of factors in the post-World War period. With the emergence of the Soviet Union as a superpower came the serious threat of the spread of communism. The development of the Soviet atomic bomb, and the arms race that occurred as a consequence of it, directly contributed to the creation of America's first entangling European alliance (Powaski, 76).

The defeat of the Axis powers in World War II left the United States as a world superpower and the Soviet Union, devastated after the war, as a potential superpower

The defeat of the Axis powers in World War II left the United States as a world superpower and the

Soviet Union, devastated after the war, as a potential superpower. During the conference at Potsdam in July 1945, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union discussed the issue of reparations and what to do with the conquered territories. The



United States and Great Britain advocated self-determination, while the Soviet Union planned to create communist states in the conquered area (LaFeber, 23-24). Communist coups

were successful in countries close to the Soviet Union. Within a short period of time, the Soviet Union had formed what Winston Churchill dubbed an "iron curtain" of Soviet communist satellite nations (Gaddis, 91). Coming only a few months after a successful communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin crisis rekindled Western fears of communist aggression and directed attention to the ur-

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tempt to prevent the spread of communism (Brands, 165, 210). In 1947, the Marshall Plan was offered to all European nations, in-

The American people, influenced by the aggressiveness displayed by the Soviet Union after World War II, came to believe that it would be far less costly to prevent another world war than it would be to win one after it had begun

cluding the Soviet Union. The latter declined the offer (LaFeber, 59).

The atomic bomb directly contributed to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (Shalett, 1, 4). Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb in Japan, along with the Soviet rejection of the Baruch Plan sparked a nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union (Gaddis, 88). The United States believed that if it withdrew into isolation, Western Europe would fall under the domination of the Soviet Union. Hence, this situation would again require United States military intervention, and possibly the start of a nuclear showdown (Powaski, 76).

The American people, influenced by the

gent need for a Western military alliance (Smith, 30). The Truman Doctrine in 1947, and the Point Four Program in 1949, were instituted to provide aid to developing countries, in an at-

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aggressiveness displayed by the Soviet Union after World War II, came to believe that it would be far less costly to prevent another world war than it would be to win one after it had begun (Powaski, 76). The discovery in August 1949 that the Soviets had successfully tested an atomic bomb dumbfounded American military experts, who had not expected such a development for at least another ten years. This discovery also led to the growing realization that the oceans no longer offered the United States much protection against attack (Smith, 33). Thus, the development of the atomic bomb by the Soviet Union further strengthened the United States' interest in the formation of a peacetime military alliance.

President Truman did not have an easy time convincing Congress that

The discovery in August 1949 that the Soviets had successfully tested an atomic bomb dumbfounded American military experts, who had not expected such a development for at least another ten

NATO was necessary. From the time of Washington's Farewell Address, American sentiment

had strongly favored avoiding all foreign military entanglements. Hence, the most persistent point raised against the ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty was its violation of the "bedrock principle" of U.S. foreign policy (Kaplan, *The United States*, 14). More specifically, the criticism focused on the automatic declaration of war presumably required, if one of the allies should be attacked (Smith, 32). Critics of NATO were concerned that the new alliance would undermine the United Nations, which they considered the best guarantee of collective security (Kaplan, *NATO*, 36). Critics also feared that the ratification of NATO would cause the Soviet Union to counter with a military alliance of its own. This fear became a reality on May 14, 1955, when the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites formed their own military alliance called the Warsaw Pact (Powaski, 96).

In July 1949 the American Senate ratified the North Atlantic Treaty by a vote of 82 to 13 (Kaplan, *NATO*, 31). The original signatories of the treaty were Canada, Belgium, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States (Reston, 1). NATO's purpose is to enhance the stability, well-being, and freedom of its members through a system

of collective security. The heart of the North Atlantic Treaty and thus of the NATO alliance is Article 5, in which the signatory members agree that an armed attack against one is an armed attack against all (Kaplan, *The United States*, 228). The North Atlantic Treaty itself has provided a

Critics of NATO were concerned that the new alliance would undermine the United Nations, which they considered the best guarantee of collective

model for other collective security agreements, such as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), signed in 1954 by the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan (Powaski, 109).

The wise drafters of NATO developed a simple formula for a comprehensive structure to establish a common security system based on a partnership among twelve countries (Reston, 1, 7). The groundwork for a peacetime military alliance was formed, but several key questions remain unanswered: Will NATO stand the test of time in guaranteeing security and maintaining stability for the United States and its member na-

tions? Will NATO be an effective force in conflict prevention, crisis resolution, and promotion of international cooperation and peace? Will the hegemony of the United States continue in global affairs?

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

By William Lake

Until the 1940s, the concept of weapons of mass destruction had not had a major impact on world diplomacy. Diplomatic relations had focused on weapons such as poison gas, submarines and battleship, and had never before centered on the aspect of a 'super weapon'. The completion of the Manhattan Project on July 16, 1945 sparked the elevation of nuclear weapons production to the forefront of American foreign policy and opened up the issue of nuclear proliferation in the 1940s.

To a large extent, this trend of mass nuclear stockpiling was created from tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. The American fear of the expansion of communism led to an American desire for protection from communism, thus leading to mass weapons creation. Similarly, the Soviets, resentful of American nuclear dominance, retaliated by building their own arsenal, completing a cycle of 'mutual deterrence.' Although some attempts were made

to halt the spread of nuclear weaponry, it was this fear, insecurity, and lack of regulation that led to an even greater degree of nuclear build-up in subsequent decades between these two rivals.

While the Manhattan

superiority frightened the Soviets, who learned of American atomic weaponry through espionage (Somerville, 152-155). In actuality, the Soviet Union was in no position to confront the United States because of the millions of casualties it suffered in World War II and America's atomic monopoly. Russia did not develop the necessary equipment to use

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sition of power, rather than weakness (Kissinger, 428).

The Soviet Union used this strategy effectively at the Potsdam conference in the summer of 1945, and stopped the U.S. from using its atomic monopoly to influence the decisions that were made at the conference. The Potsdam Conference would only further lead to the division of Europe into spheres of influence between the Soviet Union and the United States. It would also be one of the most important steps toward the development of 'mutual deterrence,' as the Soviets now had the Americans believing that it was in America's worst interests to threaten the use of the Atomic Bomb against the Soviet Union (Gilbert, 467-468).

George Keenan's policy of



Army Officials at SAC Headquarters

Project provided the first steps toward the nuclear era, the U.S. utilization of the atomic bomb launched the world into the atomic age. The awesome power of the bomb, demonstrated on Japan in 1945, was the centerpiece of a virtual American monopoly. The Strategic Arms Command (SAC) was created to deliver these nuclear weapons of mass destruction. This American

atomic weapons against America until the late 1950s due to problems with delivery systems. However, being a master advocate of *Real-politik*, an expansionist national policy having as its sole principle advancement of the national interest, Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin consolidated the Soviet position, he bluffed current and possible adversaries into believing the Soviet Union was acting from a po-

containment, along with the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine (the latter designed to provide economic aid to countries under American influence), were used by the Soviets as justifications for their own attempts to increase their nuclear capabilities. The Soviet Union had sustained the heaviest losses during World War II, and was angered when President Truman denied Lend-Lease aid to the

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USSR in mid-1945 (Kissinger, 430-431). Out of this environment of distrust and suspicion a great nuclear arms race began to form. First, the United States and then the Soviet Union began rapid production of nuclear armaments, each trying to outdo one another in their research and development programs. Work was begun on the hydrogen bomb and on second-generation nuclear weaponry, as advocated by Dean Acheson. President Truman ordered atomic weapons to be stockpiled, claiming that, "Since we can't obtain international control we must be strongest in atomic weapons" (LaFeber, 505-510). Reports of superior Soviet

the nuclear age came at a particularly unstable time in the history of the world. Intense competition arose between the United States and the Soviet Union, the superpowers of the postwar era, mixed with deep-seeded ideological differences and World War II grudges

atomic weaponry further spurred the arms race, leading to the acceleration of second-generation nuclear weapons research ("Biolo-

gist Says Soviet Union has Best Atom Bomb," 5). Essentially, the U.S. and the USSR became engaged in a struggle to disrupt world power in favor of their side in the postwar 1940s.

Thus, the nuclear age came at a particularly unstable time in the history of the world. Intense competition arose between the United States and the Soviet Union, the superpowers of the postwar era, mixed with deep-seeded ideological differences and World War II grudges. This competition took shape in the form of nuclear weaponry, resulting in a Cold War commitment to proliferation of nuclear capabilities and to the doctrine of "mutual deterrence" in the late 1940s. With the development and spread of nuclear technology the nations of the world, following the lead of the U.S. and Soviet Union, now had reason to work as fervently as possible to supercede one another. The future would thus bring both proliferation of nuclear weapons and defensive measures by both Russia and the United States, designed as protection in the event that a conflict should escalate (LaFeber, 504-509). Defensive efforts encompassed missile detection systems as well as the stockpiling of atomic weapons. In the end, it was the desire to create a state of deterrence that led to the build-up of nuclear arsenals. In turn, these arsenals cre-

ated the pattern of nuclear deterrence that began in the

The future would thus bring both proliferation of nuclear weapons and defensive measures by both Russia and the United States, designed as protection in the event that a conflict should escalate

1940s and lasted until the end of the Cold War.

The decade ended with several questions unanswered. Would the issue of nuclear proliferation and stockpiling continue to weigh on American foreign policy in the decades following the 1940s? What role would our nuclear arsenal play in creating our foreign policy and would this role change over time?

NUCLEAR DEFENSE

By Andrew Kobets

Concerns over nuclear proliferation and 'mutual deterrence' were sparked by the completion of the Manhattan Project and the subsequent tension between America and Russia in the post-World War II era. The stockpiling of these weapons of mass destruction occurred as each nation spent billions of dollars in order to secure this "ultimate power." Both nations soon realized that the trend that they unleashed would have grave consequences for the future. They transcended Cold war tensions and subsequently realized that arms reduction was desperately needed to check the productions of these weapons, either through limitation or total disarmament.

Aware that the Soviet Union was in the process of constructing its own atomic bomb, the United States began to make overtures to the United Nations for the control of nuclear energy for military purposes (Somerville, 155). The Soviet Union's breaking of the Yalta Conference agreements gave the U.S. a valid reason for fearing the USSR as a nuclear power. In June of 1946, Bernard Baruch, the United States' representative to the UN, presented a plan to the United Nations

Atomic Energy Commission that called for the abolition of nuclear energy for military purposes. The Baruch plan called for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the sharing of nuclear technological information, and for international control of nuclear materials. Thus, the United States made its first attempt to control nuclear weapons in order to restrain the USSR, maintain its monopoly and avert a possible nuclear crisis (LaFeber,

"The Baruch plan called for the abolition of nuclear weapons, the sharing of nuclear technological information, and for international control of nuclear materials."

470).

Another movement in the direction of arms limitations was Congress's passing of the Atomic Energy Act, which essentially outlawed any exchange of atomic-energy information (LaFeber, 471). The United States, feeling secure with its apparent nuclear superiority, felt that by restricting information exchange with other nations, it could remain as the only nation with a nuclear arsenal. We con-

sidered this act, along with the Baruch Plan, to have been a first step towards ending the horrors of nuclear warfare. Although the Atomic Energy Act did not stop the USSR's intelligence agents from learning of the bomb, the act was significant in its attempt to limit arms (Somerville, 152-155). The Soviets also rejected the Baruch Plan, objecting to the United Nations' ability to impose disarmament and the United States' monopoly of nuclear weapons production.

Regardless of their failures, these plans soon led to a similar attempt at regulation from the Soviets in 1947. Diplomat Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union presented a plan to the United Nations aimed at total abolition of nuclear weapons as well as the destruction of all existing weapons (Kissinger, 727). The Soviet interest expressed in this proposal was directed at the American nuclear monopoly. The USSR knew of the massive American arsenal and felt that, because of their lack of preparation to face the United States head-to-head, it must try to level the playing field through the elimination of the American atomic threat. The United States, however, was not willing to give up this great advantage and quickly ended any further attempts at "atomic abolition."

The rift established by the inability to reach a

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nuclear limitation agreement both stunted future weapons control and halted any

"...the world was posed on the brink of an all-out nuclear arms race..."

attempts at restricting future weapons production. Nuclear proliferation had now become inevitable, as no decision regarding weapons control could be agreed upon by the U.S. and Russia. Neither side willingly chose to reduce their stockpiles for the benefit of the entire planet. As a result, the world was posed on the brink of an all-out nuclear arms race (Walker, 120).

By the end of the 1940s several issues still remained unclear: Would the United States continue to favor of nuclear weapons control? Would the Soviet Union prefer total "atomic abolition" to partial disarmament? Would it be possible to establish a single nuclear limitation agreement that would find support on both sides of the Iron Curtain?

1950-1990: DEVELOPMENT DECADES

"The first thing to be observed of the New Isolationism is its rejection of the word 'isolationist'."
- Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. 1952

DOMESTIC INFLUENCES

By Andrew Aprile

From 1950 to 1990, the United States extended its foreign involvement to an unparalleled extent. The events of the Second World War destroyed the doctrine of "Old Isolationism," which had deep, non-interventionist roots in America; and brought about a wave a "New Isolationism," which brought together new realities and old emotions in the form of an openly interventionist policy (Schlesinger, 36). The end of World War II brought about the beginning of Cold War tensions. However, it

was domestic, not foreign issues that had the greatest effect on American foreign policy. The biggest domestic issues affecting this policy were American economic interests abroad, politics (including political leadership and party politics), and public opinion.

Economically, the United States had three main responsibilities throughout the aforementioned period. They were based upon national interests that included access to markets, raw materials, and essential sources of energy (Hoffman, 84). Trading ties in western Eu-

rope and the promotion of free trade were America's biggest priorities. The Marshall Plan, outlined in 1947, provided for a trend that would continue throughout the rest of the century: economic aid and support for Europe. This was a basic principle that provided a market for American goods, and ensured the economic security of that market in the process.

Throughout the four decades in question, free trade and access to raw materials informed American policy. The question was whether to advocate an interventionist policy to promote free trade around the world, or a protectionist policy that would change the

face of the American economy domestically (Gordon, 100). To a large and even harmful degree, interventionism won out. America followed a policy in Asia that closely resembled that of American policy since the 19th century. China, emerging as the second largest Communist power, could not continue its relationship with America as the Cold War began. However, Richard Nixon was finally able to achieve a working relationship with the Chinese by 1972. His policy of détente was a success in opening up trade relations with China. Oil was a strategic resource. The Middle East owned more than 25 percent of the world oil reserves at the time

(McGovern, "Cold War," 46). The region was vital to American interests and the Soviets had infringed upon those interests when it invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Our economic interests, as seen in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, were a guiding force in American foreign policy from 1950 to 1990.

Political leadership also played a large role in shaping American foreign policy from 1950 to 1990. The strategy of containment, as defined by George Kennan in 1946, was applied to all following presidential administrations after Truman's. One manifestation of containment was the Truman Doctrine which grew out of Communist tensions in both Greece and Turkey in 1947. The Eisenhower doctrine of 1957 that followed, declared U.S. willingness to use force in the Middle East against "International Communism" (McGovern, "Cold War," 45). Both Kennedy and Johnson fol-

spread of Communism. The Nixon doctrine of 1969 called for regional substitutes to protect American interests in the Middle East, and the Carter doctrine of 1980 regarded an attempt to gain control of the Persian Gulf region as an "assault" on American interests (McGovern, "Cold War," 45). The Reagan doctrine (also known as Third World rollback) of the 1980s called for a democratic revolution around the world (Bodenheimer, 118-119). George Bush continued Reagan's trend and became the Western Alliance leader with the fall of Communism in Europe (Anderson, 28). There remains an underlying trend of Kennan's "containment" policy in each doctrine.

The political partisanship of this era also had a hand in modeling American foreign policy. Foreign policy immediately after W.W.II was conducted in a bipartisan manner (McGovern, "Crisis Mentality," 56). However, McCarthyism in the '50s shed a new light on domestic issues affecting foreign policy. The inquisition that followed and the expansive foreign policy was a direct result of the Republican fight against liberal Democrats. Political party leaders began to attempt to capitalize on inconsequential events to "one up" the other party (McGovern, "Crisis Mentality," 57). An example of this is how politicians tried

to keep the Cuban Missile Crisis boiling in October, 1962 (McGovern, "Crisis Mentality," 57).

Public opinion also had a great effect on American foreign policy from 1950 to 1990. Burgeoning military expenses reassured Americans of their military superiority, and diverted their attention away from a sagging economy in many cases, which was a major goal for many politicians (Carter, 163). The belief system of Americans was based upon a set of democratic and moral principles that had a considerable effect on the president in power. The Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957 was followed by a massive feeling of insecurity among Americans. For the first time in U.S. history, foreign policy began to be used to reassure the American people of their military and technological superiority. The space race with the Russia ensued, and the development of a multibillion dollar space program was initiated. This policy continued on through the 60s and 70s. It was joined in the 1980s by Reagan's SDI ("Star Wars") program.

By this time, the Reagan administration had run up the biggest peacetime deficit ever, and was using foreign policy to take the public eye off domestic issues like the sagging economy, and the highest unemployment rate since W.W.II (Schoenbrun, 423). Elections were now based

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on foreign, not domestic problems (Sick, 17). After all, it was the firm belief of many Americans since Pearl Harbor that doing too much with regard to foreign affairs was more prudent than doing too little (Helprin). Communism was a fundamental threat to our basic values (McGovern, "Crisis Mentality," 55). The American leaders acted on behalf of the American public with a Christian responsibility in international life (Kennan, 44). The "evil" forces of Communism represented the denial of open political discussion, religious freedoms, elections, and the legal process (McGovern, "Crisis Mentality," 55). Disregarding a minority of anti-war, anti-interventionist liberals, the majority of people in the American public supported the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and events in Nicaragua during the Reagan era.

The end of the 1980s marked the beginning of the end of the Cold War. Would America follow a policy of interventionism without another superpower as an adversary, or would domestic forces propel the U.S. onto the world scene as the dominant force in world affairs? Would our foreign policy continue to be influenced more by domestic considerations or by external threats?

"...America followed a policy in Asia that closely resembled that of American policy since the 19th century..."

lowed a policy of all-out spending to advance the military both technologically and physically against the

ALLIANCE BUILDING

By Philip Foxworthy

During the period from 1950 to 1990, there were increasing numbers of military alliances between the United States and foreign nations. These alliances had a major impact on the U.S. involvement in European and Asian affairs. Three major factors influenced the development of military alliances during this period. The escalation of the Cold War, the rampant U.S. fear of communism, and global economic interdependence were all directly involved in increasing the level of our military com-

mitments around the world. The general fear of the spread of communism and our desire to maintain total superiority over our opponents, resulted in a bitter Cold War struggle with a powerful Soviet nation and shaped the development of military alliances on both sides of the struggle.

The escalation of the Cold War resulted in a nuclear arms race that the United States felt obliged to win over its Soviet opponent. The nuclear arms race added momentum to the newly adopted policy of U.S. expansionism. For the

first time in its history the U.S. could be threatened from abroad. High-speed ships, long-range bombers, jet aircraft, atomic weapons, and eventually intercontinental missiles all combined to endanger the physical security of the United States (Ambrose, X). The fear that its opponent would move ahead on any weapons system drove the U.S. to do all that was necessary to maintain superiority in the nuclear arms race.

Constant fear of an outbreak of nuclear warfare led us to form military alliances with many nations as a form of defense against Soviet aggression. The establishment of NATO in 1949 was the major military alliance formed between the

United States and the nations of Western Europe. NATO was essentially an instrument of collective defense (Yost, 1). Based on the concept that an attack on any one member was an attack against all, NATO served as a threat against Soviet aggression. (Sulzberger, 1). NATO was a response needed to protect vital national interests of the U.S. (Denny, 130). CENTO, established in 1959, was a mutual defense and security organization that functioned between 1959 and 1979. Although not an official member of CENTO, the U.S. actively supported the organization (Denny, 135).

The subsequent period following World War II

Bringing Down The Berlin Wall



brought an increasing Soviet threat to capitalism. The extensive U.S. fear of communism spreading to foreign nations led to the formation of military alliances. At no time after 1945 was the United States capable of destroying the Soviet Union or her allies without creating dangerous threats to itself. Therefore, The United States' crusade against communism took the form of containment rather than attack (Ambrose, XIII). The policy of containment centered on halting the spread and influence of communism to other nations around the world. Much of NATO centered on containment of Soviet power rather than on the defeat of communism and the rolling back of its post-World War II advances (Kaplan, 51). SEATO, established in 1954, was defense alliance in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific area. Similar to NATO, the alliance was intended to prevent the spread of communism in the region (Hancock, 109).

The U.S. policy of containment continued throughout the period, especially during President Kennedy's administration in which he called for a "Declaration of Interdependence" and an "Atlantic Partnership" (Wicker, 1). The policy also became part of President Richard Nixon's detente initiative (Kaplan, 97). The United States, therefore, wished to establish military alliances with as many na-

tions as possible to prevent communism from reaching those nations. The U.S. wished to avoid communist threats similar to what occurred in the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1961 in which the Soviet Union secretly placed missiles on the island of Cuba, thus creating a severe nuclear threat just 90 miles from the continental U.S. (Hancock, 141). The extension of communism was a dangerous threat to U.S. interests, something which was imperative to contain through military alliances.

The United States was also vulnerable to foreign economic threats due to its system of economic interdependence with foreign nations. An increasingly complex economy, coupled with

An increasingly complex economy, coupled with the great economic boom of the postwar years, made the United States increasingly dependent on foreign sources of capital

the great economic boom of the postwar years, made the United States increasingly dependent on foreign sources of capital (Ambrose, XII). The U.S. was forced into alliances with certain nations to protect its economic interests with the latter. This system

of economic interdependence led to a number of military alliances with some nations, as well as conflicts with others (George, 551). The U.S. had used military force to intervene in Indochina, Lebanon, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, Central America, and the Persian Gulf in an effort to preserve friendly economic ties (Ambrose, XI). It also supported an invasion of Cuba, distributed enormous quantities of arms to friendly governments around the world, and fought costly wars in Korea and Vietnam (Steinbruner, 107).

The period from 1950 to 1990 saw the development of major military alliances with many foreign nations, including Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Taiwan. This period also saw the creation of numerous threats to U.S. security and prosperity in the wake of World War II. Three of these threats in particular were the major factors that influenced the development of U.S. military alliances. The nuclear arms race, the U.S. fear of communism, and a reliance on a system of economic interdependence with foreign nations were all imperative issues of the period. The period from 1950 to 1990 marked the

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escalation and eventual conclusion of the Cold War. With the Cold War won in the last decade of the 20th century, would our military alliance structure now become obsolete?

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

By Jon Vaughan

With the continuing Cold War battle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the battle for the most powerful missile arsenal in the world continued as well. With American security at risk a high percentage of the budget was put into defense spending in hopes that in the event of a Soviet first strike we could retaliate and gain the upper hand. As the fear continued in the American mind so did the continued proliferation of nuclear arms. After the Cuban missile crisis and the near approach of a nuclear war, Kennedy saw the dangers of nuclear weapons and wanted to move forward with non-proliferation legislation and treaties. Such treaties were advocated throughout the 60s and 70s but the result was still the same; proliferation of nuclear weaponry continued unabated.

After the dropping of

the atomic bomb on Japan and the testing of the bomb by the Soviets and Chinese, the nuclear arms race moved into high gear but only after the Soviets rejected the Baruch Plan. This plan called for the abolition of nuclear weapons, international control over the processing of nuclear materials, full sharing of all scientific and technical information concerning atomic energy, and safeguards to ensure that atomic energy would only be used for civilian purposes (Reiss, 8).

We were able to test the first hydrogen bomb on November 1, 1952, followed by the Soviet Union on August 12, 1953, by the Chinese on June 17, 1967 and then by the French on August 24, 1968 (Pearson, 45). During the 1950s, Eisenhower was spending up to 62% of the national budget on defense in hopes of calming the fears of the people (Glynn, 134). He adopted a plan of "massive resistance" where any Soviet attack would be met with tremendous retaliation (Glynn, 157).

With the election of Kennedy and rise to power of Khrushchev, nuclear proliferation expanded as the

arms race escalated. The Cold War remained at a standstill until the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 where communist missiles positioned in Cuba threatened the safety of the US (Reiss, 16). Even though the United States' missiles outnumbered the Soviets missiles nearly 5,000 to 300, with the United States having a four-to-one advantage in ICBMs and a nearly eight-to-one advantage in strategic bombers, it was calculated that 10 missiles could still hit the US and cause massive nuclear damage (Glynn, 191). It was then that Kennedy realized the only way to prevent this destruction was to try and

Russia's Foreign Minister Gromyko Meeting With JFK



stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963 signaled the beginning of efforts to control proliferation. It provided for an end to the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere (Menos, 35). In 1968, a ban was imposed on the sale of nuclear weapons to nations who didn't have nuclear material already (Cozic, 101). The Treaty of Tlatelolco (February 1967) established a denuclearitized zone in Latin America (Greenwood, 52). In 1970 another treaty was passed which prevented the building of nuclear arms although countries were able to easily construct them (Forsberg, 113). Agreements such as SALT I (signed May 26, 1972) and SALT II (signed June 18, 1979) also tried to reduce the number of ABMs in the arsenals of the US and the Soviet Union (Greenwood, 116). The American Government continued in 1981 with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which called for a nuclear weapon free zone in the Middle East as well as in Latin America (Pilat, 111). In addition, the START program, in which negotiations began May 1982, called for discussions on strategic arms reduction between the US and the Soviet Union (Weston, 95).

These attempts at non-proliferation were unsuccessful as there was no presence to keep order and

enforce the treaties that were passed. Many "rogue" nations felt threatened by the growing amounts of nuclear weapons and had to search for ways to maintain security. This search for safety led to illegal action throughout many "rogue" countries such as North Korea, Iran, Libya and Iraq who were able to acquire millions of dollar worth of technology and materials from nearby "nuclear nations" in order to build nuclear bombs (Bidwai, 186). In the 1980s the US even approved the sale of nuclear weapons to Iraq exclusively for America's economic gain (Cozic, 26). Israel was also found to be producing nuclear materials from 1979 to 1980 in hopes of creating its own personal nuclear arsenal (Spector, 17-18). In 1983 the US, and Reagan called for a Strategic Defense Initiative against the Soviet Union (Star Wars) (Bennett, 58). All this action could be traced back to the US and the Soviet Union who agreed to pass legislation banning nuclear testing and trading, but continued to trade and build nuclear arms.

The struggle associated with the arms race soon enough became the struggle to quell the arms race as the battle for non-proliferation waged on into the 90s. Will non-proliferation ever be a reality? Will the Star Wars concept

be revived? And will we witness the continuing use of atomic weapons and a nuclear proliferating world?

NUCLEAR DEFENSE

By Ilya Nikolayev

On July 16, 1945, the eve of the Potsdam summit, the news was flashed to Truman that the first atom bomb test in New Mexico had proved successful. Eight days later, on July 24, Truman "casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusually destructive force." What Truman did not say to Stalin was that earlier in the day he and Churchill and their chiefs of staff had sat around a table in the gloomy dining-room of No. 2, Kaiserstrasse, and agreed to drop it on Japan by August 10 (Mack, 54).

The distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union, as evidenced by the events surrounding the development and use of the atomic bomb, led to the emergence of nuclear proliferation as a key postwar issue. It became clear soon after the start of the Cold War that no defense existed to safeguard the world from this newly developed nuclear technology. Similarly, it came to be understood that population centers were particularly vulnerable to an attack from an enemy nation. A surprise attack could give an aggressor a decisive advantage. It was this gloomy analysis that focused minds on creating a policy of nuclear deter-

rence, and provided the basic rationale for the most expensive military strategy the world has ever seen (Drell, 19).

Until the Soviet Union built up its own nuclear arsenal in the 1950s, the relationship between the two superpowers can best be described as proliferation-induced "unilateral deterrence."

Until the late 1950s, the United States by virtue of its greater technological power, had been able to deter the Soviet Union from aggression by threatening devastation, which the Soviet Union was not able to return (Dauber, 374). By the late 1950s, however, the Soviet Union, having successfully tested a nuclear weapon in 1949 and a hydrogen bomb in 1953, had built up an arsenal of free falling bombs, which could be delivered on the territory of the United States and Western Europe (Walker, 96). Thus, with the increase in nuclear proliferation, uni-

lateral deterrence gave way to "mutual deterrence" by the mid-1950s, a situation of strategic stalemate in which each side was capable of deterring the other by the threat of nuclear retaliation (Kegley, 418). As Robert Oppenheimer pointed out, the situation could be compared to "two scorpions in a bottle, each capable of killing the other, but only at the risk of his own life" (Garnett, 2).

Both superpowers accepted that their mutual vul-

nerability might not be such a bad thing. With this realization, "mutual deterrence" became a major policy objective, and from the mid-1960s onwards an enormous amount of effort was directed towards perpetuating it (Dauber 452). In particular, East-West arms control negotiations enshrined mutual deterrence

each reflected attempts by the superpowers to manage strategic nuclear developments in such a way as to stabilize mutual deterrence (Walker, 308). Ballistic missile defenses were outlawed; "first strike" weapons were decommissioned; civil defense was discouraged. In this "adverse partnership," the two superpowers ma-



manipulated the arms race in the interests of mutual deterrence.

By the late 1950s, however, the difficulties of nuclear deterrence had come to light. Both superpowers recognized that the first requirement of an effective deterrent was that it should either survive or ride out a surprise counterforce targeted attack without being decimated (Levering, 185). Technological innovation forced both sides to spend a fortune on protecting their retaliatory forces via early warning radars, diverse delivery vehicles, "hardened" missile sites and submarine launch systems. The Americans, anticipating a Soviet attack across the Arctic circle and Canada, built a series of elaborate radar networks of which the Distant Early Warning line and the Ballistic Missile

of impending attack provided by these radar networks would give decision-makers time to scramble Strategic Air Command bombers and launch missiles before airfields and missile sites were destroyed. In addition, land-based missiles like Atlas, Titan, and Minuteman were buried in protective concrete shelters capable of absorbing the shock from anything but a direct hit (Arkin, 46). Constant worries about the vulnerability of these land-based systems pushed both superpowers into deploying missiles on nuclear-powered submarines whose location could not be determined (Krepinevich, 56).

Another reason for the international nervousness was an appreciation by strategists on both sides of the Iron Curtain that deterrence might fail. What Berlin and Cuba demonstrated to United States and Soviet leaders was that strategic nuclear deterrence had to be rethought (Ambrose, 307). The strategy of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD), which had previously governed how nuclear weapons would be used, was clearly of little help to superpowers locked in confrontation. One immediate consequence of the events of 1961 and 1962, therefore, was a re-evaluation of the use of these weapons, as nations began to take interest in developing a "flexible response" strategy. Fortunately, this strategy, which

envisaged the use of tactical battlefield weapons in a limited nuclear war, was never put to the test (Roberts, 22).

The stability of mutual deterrence was threatened most dramatically in the 1980s by developments in anti-ballistic missile (ABM) technology (Moore, 33). ABMs were dangerous because in their destruction of intercontinental ballistic missiles, they reduced retaliatory capability and therefore undermined the vulnerability on which deterrence was built. In 1983, when President Reagan outlined his "Strategic Defense Initiative" it looked as if deterrence might be threatened. The Star Wars defense system, if deployed in its most comprehensive form, would not so much have undermined mutual deterrence as actually replaced it with a strategy of mutual defense (Walker, 274). However, after evidence mounted that the new systems were bound to be horrendously expensive and might ultimately be technically flawed, mutual deterrence survived.

Now that the Cold War is history and the long shadow of nuclear war has seemingly been lifted, deterrence seems to have lost some of its relevance. Nevertheless, it remains a foundation stone in the defense policies of both the United States and Russia, and it features equally prominently in the military policies of all

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the nuclear powers. The questions that remain to be answered: Would the United States attempt to manage nuclear developments in such a way as to undermine mutual deterrence in the years to come? Would the U.S. revive the idea behind Star Wars, and attempt to create a ballistic missile defense system?

The distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union, as evidenced by the events surrounding the development and use of the atomic bomb, led to the emergence of nuclear proliferation as a key postwar issue

Early Warning System line were the most effective (Krepinevich, 55). The hope was that the warning

1991-2001: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

"This is a paradigm shift...We are probably not going to be hampered by arms control agreements."

-A senior Pentagon official, May 8th, 2001

DOMESTIC INFLUENCES

By Robert Hung

As a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Reagan era of massive military spending, the US stands as the only remaining superpower with hegemonic responsibilities. From the 1990s to the present, economic interests, political leadership, and public opinion have shaped the nation's foreign policy.

The United States' foreign policy directly reflects the influence of its economic interests. Under the Bush administration, a civil war broke out in Yugosla-

via in 1991; however, because Yugoslavia had little economic significance and was not a major crossroad

"From the 1990s to the present, economic interests, political leadership, and public opinion have shaped the nation's foreign policy."

of world trade, Bush provided little aid in Yugoslavia (Ambrose, 377-372). Later in 1992, since Bush left the

Balkan crisis unresolved, Clinton inherited the same problem, only he chose a more active role in establishing a cease-fire between the Serbs, Croats and Bosnians through NATO. NATO received a certain extent of credibility because of its success in calming these ethnic religious tensions. Clinton believed that peacetime conditions were imperative to an international economy which secured U.S. business interests abroad. He advocated the policy of Enlargement that called for the world's free community of market democracies (Ambrose, 384-385). According to his Enlargement policy, Clinton emphasized that domestic growth was dependent on

a foreign policy that promoted U.S. exports and global free trade. These trade policies created high-wage jobs and accelerated changes in technology, education, and public infrastructure (Ambrose, 408).

Securing a place in Asian markets as trade partners remained a top priority. Bush and Clinton both urged for global integration and technology sharing. Bush pressed Japan to open its markets to American goods and to allow American farm products to come into Japan duty-free (Melanson, 229-230). Further, Clinton visited Japan and South Korea in July 1993 to cement security and trade pacts. Despite the earlier Tianemann Square Mas-

sacré where Deng Xiaoping, president of the Republic of China, used martial law to break up pro-democratic protests, Bush still tried to ease tensions with China (Melanson, 212-213). China proved difficult to accommodate, however because Beijing ignored US demands that it dismantle trade barriers, improve its human rights picture, and stop selling nuclear technology to rogue nations. Trade deficits, increased trade dependency, energy dependency, increasing levels of foreign direct investment and the rise of economic opponents have all affected US foreign policy towards China (Dumbrell, 194). This is why Bush referred to China as a most-favored trading partner, since Chinese exports sold in the United States, created a \$30 billion annual trade surplus.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in the Persian Gulf War, The US oil industry was severely threatened. As a firm believer in punishment for aggression, Bush adopted a four point program that called for immediate withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait, restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, disarmament of Hussein's army, and the protection of American citizens abroad (Dumbrell, 54-56). Unfortunately Hussein was unwilling to compromise, forcing Bush to launch an air attack on Iraq in January 1991, but still, Hussein con-

tinues his acts of aggression against his own people and neighboring nations. President Clinton, more of a facilitator, organized economic summits with Middle Eastern leaders at Casablanca, Amman, and Cairo encouraging normal relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors (Dumbrell, 164-166). Clinton supported the policy of dual containment which prevented Tehran or Baghdad (Iran and Iraq) from destabilizing the Middle East. The United States had always tried to maintain peace in the Middle East since war between oil-rich countries could prove disastrous to American oil imports and ultimately our economy..

Political leadership also had a direct impact on the United States' foreign policy. Following the Eisenhower and Reagan

"Bush and Clinton both urged for global integration and technology sharing"

Doctrine, which stemmed from George Kennan's policy of containment, Bush in the early 1990s continued to promote more military funding. Bush strongly proposed his policy of multilateralism and envisioned a Pax Americana (McCormick, 247). He urged Americans that it was within the nation's self-interest to promote military

readiness to protect the country's overseas markets. When Clinton took office in 1992, he constantly spoke against Reagan and Bush for paying too much attention to global affairs and vowed to decrease military funding. However, in Clinton's later years, with problems of proliferation and military embarrassments in Haiti and Somalia, Clinton increased military funding to \$267.2 billion dollars (Abraham, 362-364). Consequently, the current Bush administration has set a strict policy where military funding will only be given for military readiness, not modernization. Bush feels that the nation is wasting too much money preparing for yesterday's wars, referring to the arms race (Fulghum, 52-55). With the national debt at approximately 5.6 trillion dollars, Bush only provides funds for absolute military readiness such as his NMD defense system. He is trying to lower the federal deficit and simultaneously maintain national security.

Public opinion has been a decisive factor in shaping U.S. foreign policy. Political leaders during the Cold War era reassured the public by displaying military superiority to conceal a sagging economy. Many Americans favored US interventionism during the Cold War and they continued to favor intervention during the Bush years except they preferred economic sanctions to military intervention (Volk,

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1-2). Many Americans supported economic sanctions, during the Gulf War since oil prices had settled down to the pre-crisis level before conflicts in the Middle East occurred. The world was getting along quite well without Iraqi or Kuwait oil; therefore, many opposed sending American soldiers to Kuwait to fight for oil wells. With the federal budget at its highest deficit of \$290 million dollars, the public was tired of massive military funding and interventionism and wanted Clinton to concentrate more on domestic concerns and to reduce the federal deficit (Cooper, 14-17). Recently under Bush, however, the public has requested more military funding for modernization projects such as the latest version of the billion-dollar Navy destroyer, the DD-21 (Hullman, 1-4; Jaffe, 28-32).

With Pentagon officials asking for more military funding for development of new technology and modernization projects and the Bush administration persistently pressing for funds only for military readiness, who will prevail? Will military modernization ever become synonymous with military readiness? Will Bush's attempt to reduce the federal deficit to force his administration to abandon its policies of minimally increasing military spending to fulfill our hegemonic responsibilities of the 21st century?

ALLIANCE BUILDING

By Rebecca
Sacks-Oppenheim

During the 1990s, through U.S. leadership, NATO has continued to stand for democracy, freedom and defense while taking on new issues affecting the world of the 21st century. NATO continues to protect its members from both totalitarianism and communism (although the threat of the latter has greatly diminished) and involves itself in the growing arms races (Kitfield, 1940). Further, even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO continues to work towards economic interdependence, and against the arms race and totalitarian regimes.

In the 1990s a conservative U.S. Congress argued against the taking of any actions by NATO to curb the arms race, because as they believed, the Cold War had ended with the destruction of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the Soviet Union. They were wrong (Dahlburg, 8). The world has continued to be greatly affected by the changing state of the arms race. Though the original arms race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union ended in the 1980s, growing tensions throughout the world; most notably in Asia, the former Yugoslavia, and the Middle East, fueled a sec-

ond arms race (Pierre, 6, Graves, 47).

The creation of new chemical and biological weapons led to an increased desire for superior weaponry and a call for a policy of international deterrence championed by NATO (Dahlburg, 8, Pierre, 8). After being the victim of several terrorist attacks, both nationally and internationally, the U.S. came to fully support NATO's stance against proliferation. American policy towards NATO during the 1990s has supported actions against both nuclear proliferation and the expanding arms race. This is because of the growing power of rogue nations and terrorist groups, which pose a threat to world peace and security.

Though the Cold War had ended the U.S. nevertheless came to realize that the threat of totalitarianism was far from over, indeed it could hit much closer to home. From the 1940s to the 1980s, containment had been the most important strategy in maintaining freedom and democracy throughout the world, and NATO had proved key in this equation. In the present day, the necessity of containment has been replaced by a strong resistance to totalitarianism (Greenberg,

20). With Gorbachev's fall from power and the rise of a new breed of dictators such as Milosovic, totalitarianism remains as a major threat to global stability.

In order to combat this rise, the United States has supported the taking of preventative action by NATO in Bosnia, Kosovo and Iraq (Pierre, 5, Rogers, 6). In 1995, Congress passed the National security Restoration Act, which reaffirmed the need for action by NATO, outside of its jurisdiction (Clemens, 195). NATO has consistently been the most important tool in the United States' arsenal for removing abusive leaders and promoting democracy. In Kosovo, for example, NATO was extremely influential in removing Milosovic were discouraged from power, and encouraging the establishment of democratic elections (Pierre, 11, Hunter, 190, Pitcairn Jackson, 45, Greenberg, 20).

Increasingly in the 1990s, NATO and the U.S. have debated whether or not to expand the region in which NATO promotes peace. While the U.S. wants to promote peace in regions outside the boundaries of member states, most European members support action only if a member state is being threatened. The U.S. won round one with NATO's response in Bosnia and Kosovo, but the debate over NATO's role in foreign affairs is one of the most im-

portant issues facing NATO in the new century (Pierre, 11).

The U.S., through the efforts of the Clinton administration, has continually supported the expansion of NATO (Clemens, 193). In 1994 Congress passed the NATO Participation Act, granting former Soviet republics weapons export privileges, a right usually reserved for alliance members (Clemens, 198). In 1999 NATO voted to admit Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic into the alliance, marking the beginning of a new chapter in world peace (Goldgeier, 1). Expanding NATO farther into Eastern Europe protects the world from the threat a second Russian security zone (Goldgeier, 171). With the inclusion of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, NATO is incorporating more of the ex-Soviet satellites and promoting democracy. The U.S. has risen to the role of virtual leader and controller of NATO; leading the debates over possibly expanding NATO's funding, the political direction of NATO, and most importantly, the role of NATO in the post-Cold War peace keeping missions (Michta, 164-165).

In the 1990s, more so than in any other decade, the actions of NATO have been inspired and influenced by the economic interdependency of the nations of the world. All countries rely

on international markets to sell goods, creating a vast network of trade. If one of these markets were to decline or become hostile, the entire world would feel the economic repercussions (Hunter, 193). The United States especially has been dependent on international trade. NATO, lead by the

of the world (Holbrooke, 2, Rogers, 9). During the Cold War, economic interdependency was a much smaller issue for NATO, because its containment efforts limited most economic threats. Now that the Cold War is over and democracy prevails throughout Europe, NATO has had to defend

government and military if not for international aid. This decline might leave open the possibility for a hostile takeover by a military regime or totalitarian ruler. The United States, with the largest economy in the World, has a vested interest in stopping this effect. Therefore it attempted to use NATO

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Without it the United States would not have been able to fight totalitarian regimes, continue arms control and create greater economic interdependence. Thus, despite the fact that President Bush is currently attempting to limit NATO's role in foreign policy, we can expect that NATO will play an im-



U.S., stopped Saddam Hussein in the early 1990s because the economic stability of the entire world depended upon the supply of oil from Iraq, Iran and Kuwait. The United States continued in this role throughout the decade, and intervened in Yugoslavia partially for trade reasons.

NATO has most recently increased its focus on the growing economic interdependency of its members, as well as its influence on the economies of the rest

the intertwined economies of its members to a much greater extent.

Similarly, economic stability is now linked with regional stability (Dahlburg, 8). If one country in any region were to suffer a depression, the economy of the entire world would suffer because the normal system of trade would be destroyed. A domino effect now exists. If a country were to lose a substantial amount of trade, money would no longer be pumped into its

throughout the 1990s to stop the spread of totalitarianism (Dahlburg, 10).

NATO, throughout the 1990s, was a crucial link in the United States' Foreign Policy. Unlike other alliances formed to protect regional security and stability, such as South East Asia Treaty Organization (which was disbanded in 1977) and Central Treaty Organization (which was disbanded in 1979), NATO has grown both in size and strength since its inception in 1949.

portant role in maintaining international peace throughout the 21st Century.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

By Ben Berringer

By the time President

Clinton assumed office in 1992, America had committed itself to numerous arms control treaties. The Nonproliferation Treaty, which bans the testing and proliferation of weapons by signatories, had been in effect since 1968. The SALT I agreement, signed in 1972, which stopped nations from developing Anti-ballistic missile systems and limited the

number of warheads each country could have (LaFeber, 616). The INF treaty, signed in 1987, banned intermediate-range nuclear weapons and eliminated an entire class of nuclear weapons (LaFeber, 697). Finally, the START I treaty was signed in 1991 by Gorbachev and Bush reducing U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals by 25%.

In the period leading up to the Clinton Administration, American foreign policy had not been based

on curtailing the proliferation of nuclear weapons (Kaku).



The American government in the 1970s had followed a policy, spearheaded by Henry Kissinger, to support a "right wing" country's decision to develop nuclear weapons (Kaku). Under this policy selected regimes would be given support in their nuclear weapons programs like South Africa and Israel; while countries like North Korea and Iraq, would have U.S. support withheld.

During the Clinton Administration support for

arms control negotiations remained constant. Attempts to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the equipment to build nuclear weapons to nations that do not have nuclear weapons

proliferation of weapons because many American leaders feel that that spread of nuclear weapons to smaller states will create a situation where they do not have safeguards on the

weapons and they will be more likely to use them (Sagan, 3). During the 1990s, one of the key American foreign policy goals was to strengthen the global nonproliferation regime, or the taboo against the proliferation of nuclear weapons set with the NPT Treaty of 1968. Traditionally seen as the leader of the nonproliferation movement (Chafetz, 445),

became a key part of U.S. foreign policy (Sagan, 22).

The American government in the 1970s had followed a policy, spearheaded by Henry Kissinger, to support a "right wing" country's decision to develop nuclear weapons

America has become more afraid of further

America attempted to strengthen this regime under Clinton by setting three goals. The first was to limit the demand for nuclear weapons, the second to slow down supply of nuclear weapons and the third was to impede regional proliferation amongst "rogue" nations (Chafetz, 448).

However, in the eyes of some observers America's policies appeared to be self-defeating. These critics pointed to the con-

tradition of being against

America has become more afraid of further proliferation of weapons because many American leaders feel that that spread of nuclear weapons to smaller states will create a situation where they do not have safeguards on the weapons and they will be more likely to use them

and at the same time, encouraging the sale of "dual" use nuclear generators which can be used to produce both military and commercial grade uranium (Millot, 41). By allowing these generators to be sold domestically Clinton gave countries the technical know how to build nuclear weapons (Millot, 42). Critics, further allege that by its refusal to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the U.S. Senate destroyed American arms control attempts that the Clinton administration had counted on to help it deter proliferation (Rees, 28).

Many American leaders including President George W. Bush, Secretary of State Colin Powell, and Senator Jesse Helms also put arms control into jeopardy because of their questioning of the 1972 ABM treaty (Galuszka, 47).

American and Russian relations began to sour to some degree with this uncertainty about the course of future of the ABM, which Russia continues to support. Arms control is further hampered by an inexperienced Russian Parliament, which seriously delayed in ratifying START II. However, further arms control is in danger because the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, has tied continued arms control to the continuation of the ABM treaty.

One place where the Clinton Administration has had success is in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The first way America has prevented proliferation of nuclear weapons is by promising to defend its allies (Goldstein, 45). American policy makers have consistently taken the position that if they can guarantee the safety of allies like Japan, Taiwan, or South Korea, those allies have no reason to develop their own weapons systems. Therefore, America created a "nuclear umbrella" over its allies to help ensure that those allies were safe from a nuclear attack by an adversary (Rathjens, 185). However, reassuring nations of this promise has become more difficult with the possible spread of nuclear weapons to rogue nations, like North Korea.

In terms of dealing with rogue nations, America has followed its traditional

policy of cutting off aid to these nations, which happened to Pakistan. Any nation which the U.S. knows is creating nuclear weapons, is not allowed to receive U.S. aid (Kaku). However, U.S. policymakers have known this will not be enough because the end of the Cold War created a new period of proliferation (Molander, 18). This is particularly true in Eastern Europe and the former Visegrad states, which now have no protection from Russian or Western aggression and desire nuclear weapons to help protect themselves (Rathjens, 184). American policy towards dealing with these new ad-

Any nation which the U.S. knows is creating nuclear weapons, is not allowed to receive U.S. aid (Kaku). However, U.S. policymakers have known this will not be enough because the end of the Cold War created a new period of proliferation

versaries has been to give them incentives like trade and capital investment to stop their nuclear weapons programs.

Although, George W. Bush has only been in office for a little over one

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hundred days, his policies are already becoming clear. Bush's foreign policy team has called its self "neorealist" (Heilbrunn, 24). Bush is likely only to intervene and stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons when a vital U.S. interest is at stake and will allow it to happen anywhere where it will not threaten American interests (Heilbrunn, 26). In terms of arms control however, Bush is likely to turn the entire arms control regime on its head by creating a National Missile Defense which will violate the terms of the ABM treaty (Hagel, 94).

NUCLEAR DEFENSE

By Michelle Kaku

The 1940s began a period of great tension as the United States and the Soviet Union amassed huge stockpiles of conventional weapons, while

Although it cost \$4 billion a year. Though \$60 billion was eventually spent on the system, anti-missile interceptors consistently failed to shoot down dummy missiles or recognize decoy missiles over the Pacific

the U.S held a monopoly on the atomic bomb. The 1950's were a time of mutual deterrence created by the superpowers' ability to destroy each other, which set the pattern for decades to come. Now, for the first time in 50 years, a new nuclear strategy, as announced by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, is being created which will overturn all previous policies such as 1950's Mutual Assured Destruction

(MAD). This new strategy may accelerate nuclear proliferation as nations seek to match the U.S in outer space.

In 1983, President Ronald Reagan surprised the world when he announced plans for the Strategic Defense Initiative (so-called Star Wars plan) (Ota,



3). Though there were approximately 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world at that time, he called for a massive built-up of NATO's Pershing and cruise nuclear missiles in Europe and the creation of powerful laser and particle beam weapons (Caldicott, 27, 116), (Kaku, 200). During the 1990s, however, the plan stumbled

badly. Huge European pro-

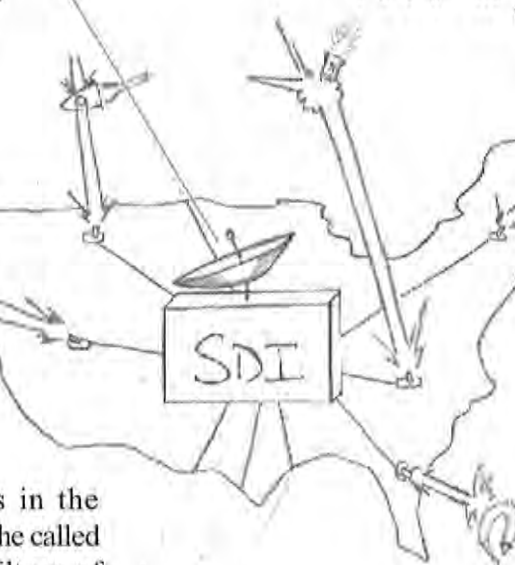
Currently, President George W. Bush hopes that with an injection of funds, he can get Reagan's Star Wars system to work

tests stalled NATO's build up of nuclear missiles. And under President Bill Clinton, the Star Wars plan failed to produce a single operational system, although it cost \$4 billion a year. Though \$60 billion was eventually spent on the system, anti-missile interceptors

missiles over the Pacific (Thomson, 28). Secretary of Defense Cohen promoted the idea of the Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), calling for the placement of 200 missile interceptors in Alaska and North Dakota, and the placement of weapons on jet airplanes, aircraft carriers and ships, and eventual placement of laser battle stations in outer space (Thomson, 23-38). President Clinton, however, was indecisive about these programs, leaving them to the next administration to handle.

Currently, President George W. Bush hopes that with an injection of funds, he can get Reagan's Star Wars system to work.

The President agrees with Donald Rumsfeld's plans to streamline the Pentagon by cutting spending on obsolete programs freeing up funds for the new Star Wars program (Jaffe, 14), (Gordon, 1). Bush hopes to create missile interceptors on a variety of mobile platforms as well as weapons in outer



consistently failed to shoot down dummy missiles or recognize decoy

space including laser battle stations, particle beam weapons and hydrogen bombs in orbit.

Instead of hailing this as a step for peace and stability, European nations such as Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Japan have reacted to the BMD proposal with great skepticism, fearing that the Star Wars plan could unleash a new round of nuclear proliferation. Proponents of the Star Wars system say that a Star Wars system might be effective against a small nuclear strike of perhaps 20 intercontinental ballistic missiles. However, since China only possesses 20 ICBMs, that nation fears that its nuclear force will be completely neutralized. Consequently, the Chinese have vowed to overwhelm the Star Wars

The Chinese have vowed to overwhelm the Star Wars system by multiplying the size of their nuclear arsenal, an action which in turn may provoke China's rival, India, to increase its nuclear arsenal. Similarly, Pakistan, India's sworn enemy, has vowed to match, weapon for weapon, India's nuclear force

system by multiplying the size of their nuclear arsenal,

an action which in turn may provoke China's rival, India, to increase its nuclear arsenal. Similarly, Pakistan, India's sworn enemy, has vowed to match, weapon for weapon, India's nuclear force. Thus a Star Wars system may create a new arms race. Nuclear proliferation in Asia is particularly ominous because, unlike the U.S. and Russia, India and Pakistan have fought numerous wars with each other, have a long shared border, and maintain tenuous control over their nuclear chain of command. (Perlez, 2)

Although most Indians and Pakistanis live in abject poverty, the Indian and Pakistani governments justify spending precious resources on nuclear devices because they view the Star Wars system not as defensive, but a thin cover for U.S. military domination of outer space and the world. Recently, the U.S. Space Command, a branch of the U.S. Air Force, issued a document called *Vision for 2020*, which states that "just as land dominance, sea control, and air superiority have become critical elements of current military strategy, space superiority is emerging as an essential element of battlefield success and future warfare." (Estes III, et.al., 3) The military dominance of space is essential, it states, in a world with "a widening between 'haves' and 'have-nots.'" Not surprisingly, Third World nations have stated that it is

hypocritical for the U.S. to preach nuclear non-proliferation for poor countries, while it simultaneously reaches for military control of outer space with its Star Wars system. As Robert William, editor of the Weekly Standard, states,

Although most Indians and Pakistanis live in abject poverty, the Indian and Pakistani governments justify spending precious resources on nuclear devices because they view the Star Wars system not as defensive, but a thin cover for U.S. military domination of outer space and the world

"Today's international system is built not around a balance of power, but around American hegemony...the international security structures are chiefly a collection of American-led alliances." (William, 3)

Critics of the Star Wars system have pointed out that this costly, untested system may never work, and have instead proposed strengthening the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 and the ABM Treaty of 1972 to prohibit the creation of a new generation of high tech laser-based weapons

Recent Developments
(Hecht, 12, 215). If the U.S., the world's leading nuclear power, were to sign new treaties banning the creation of such weapons, the political momentum generated might be strong enough to bring in a new era of peaceful negotiations. However, many questions arise when considering nuclear proliferation in the future. Will the Pentagon's plan to dominate space with Star Wars push us closer to the brink of annihilation? Or will the non-nuclear proliferation treaties and negotiations in the near future finally create peace and stability?

PROJECTIONS

From 1945 until now, American foreign policy has followed roughly the same course of internationalism, which began with a victory in World War II. With the election of George W. Bush and his "realist" foreign policy, based on the predictions made by groups like the RAND Corporation and the Heritage Foundation, we predict that in the future the following trends will occur:

Domestic Policy

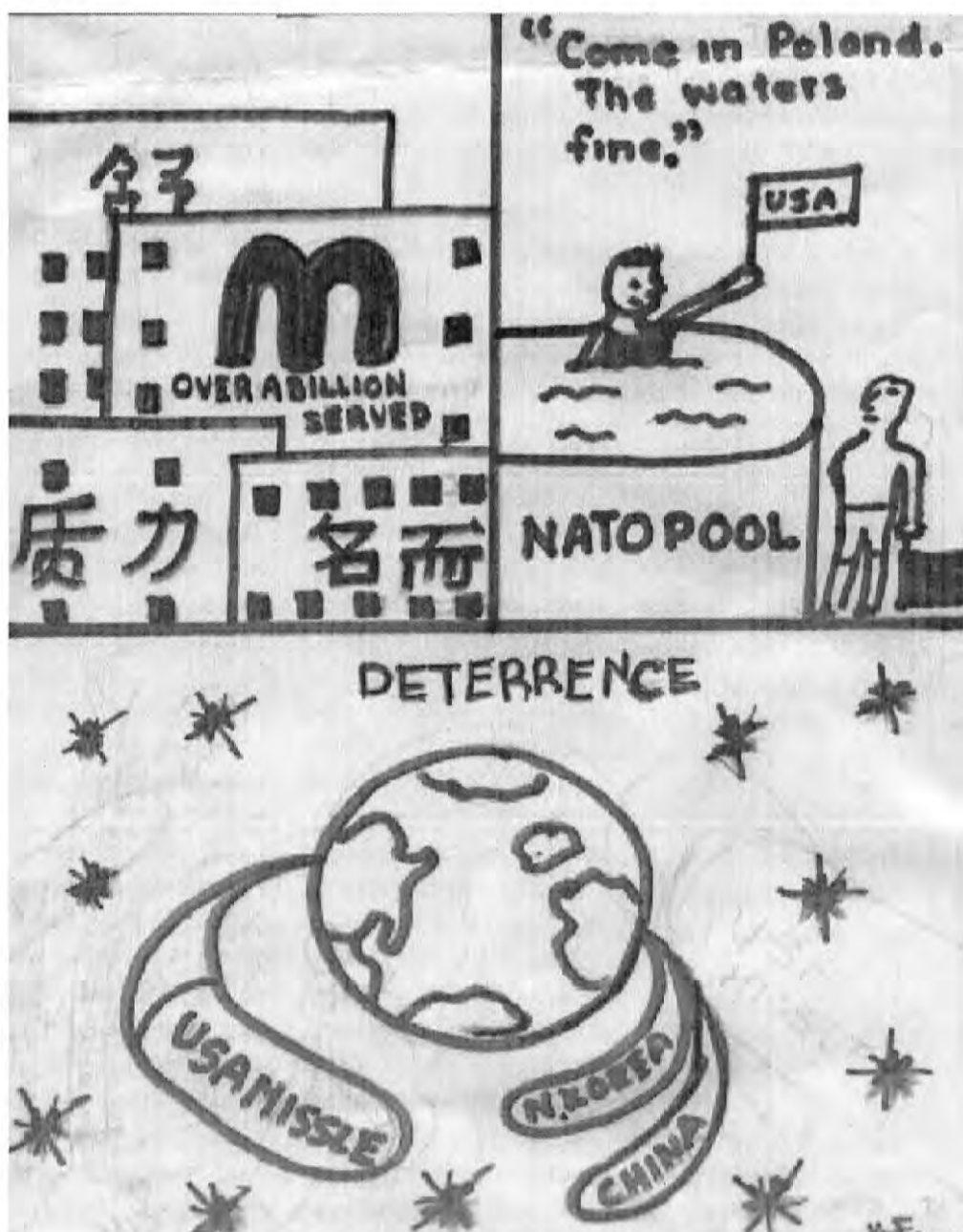
The multinational corporations that dominate American business will govern American foreign policy domestically. These multinationals will use the government as a method of regulating foreign markets and ensuring tranquility in important foreign markets. This will occur because of multinational corporations lobbyists and American business. Since America supports its own business interests, these events are most likely to occur.

Military Alliances

The development of military alliances will continue through the future. As new innovations in nuclear

weaponry increasingly threaten U.S. security, military alliances with foreign nations will expand to meet this threat. Since its creation NATO has expanded and in

the future will continue to do so as it takes in former Iron Curtain countries like Po-



land.

Nuclear Deterrence

The days of deterrence based on MAD are definitely over and because the idea of destroying Iraq or North Korea isn't plausible, American deterrence will move away from this doctrine. Instead it will be replaced by President George W. Bush's "Son of Star Wars" missile defense system. American deterrence can also be expected to be based more and more on the third generation nuclear weapons which Los Alamos is now working on. With these new developments America will likely enter into a new arms race—this time with a nation like North Korea, Iran, or China.

Arms Control

America is probably going to upset the traditional arms control regime in the coming decade when it either revokes or ignores the ABM Treaty of 1972. This will cause another arms race between either China or North Korea, as they attempt to build an arsenal that can beat a Missile Defense System. America will also continue to harm arms control with its refusal to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, because as long as America doesn't sign India, Pakistan and China will all refuse to sign and in all likelihood another Arms Race will occur.

President Bush is probably going to com-

pletely change American foreign policy in terms of Deterrence and Arms Control because America needs a change, now that the cold war is over. But in terms of domestic issues and military alliances its going to stay the same. We are only going to act with the agreement of Europe (minus France) and business in America, because after all the "business of America is business" and we always need trading partners.

Hiroshima: A Book Review

John Hersey's book *Hiroshima* first appeared as a magazine article in the *New Yorker* in 1946. It is a non-fictional account of the events that took place on August 6, 1945 at 8:15 am. Hersey's work was not a call-to-action but merely an investigative report that followed the lives six survivors and described the destruction created by the atomic bomb. The novel depicts the stark realism of the blast and the overwhelming emotions that the individuals displayed in response to the death and destruction that surrounded them. The six survivors explain why the bombing of Hiroshima was truly one of the turning points of modern history.

The American offensive, as described through John Hersey's accounts, destroyed the lives of innocent Japanese citizens who lived simple and innocent lives before they were hit with the Atomic bomb. The characters were from a number of contrasting backgrounds, but each was just an average individual working to support their family.

The effect of showing the before and after accounts of their lives propels this novel to a higher level of criticizing the American attack on Hiroshima.

The United States' goal was clear, an unconditional surrender that would save any further American losses, but at what expense of innocent Japanese lives?

Hiroshima's fourth



chapter, "Panic Grass and Feverfew", is possibly the most significant section because it states John Hersey's hope for the future. Although hundreds died from the explosion and many others injured, the plant life of Hiroshima

still thrived in the midst of the nuclear holocaust. The ability for life to survive after the blast, as encompassed in the six individuals as well as the Panic Grass and Feverfew plants, shows

that total annihilation is impossible and the most destructive weapon known to man is still inefficient in erasing memories of the past. Thus, the survivors of the blast are truly heroes who express life's vitality and perseverance.

Hiroshima is renowned worldwide for its investigation into the affects of the American offensive on Japan. The description of the bomb's affects on the six individuals makes it a great novel and its realism allows the reader to understand an unfiltered account of the blast. By comparing the normal lives of each of the six survivors to their lives during the aftermath,

Hersey allows the reader to understand the devastating effects the Atomic bomb had on the innocent people of Hiroshima and the struggles they faced to survive. Although the novel was meant only to report on the massive destruction, it allows the world to witness the brutal reality that the Atomic age has unleashed upon the Earth.



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Introduction

The 1950s were a remarkable decade. Americanism was riding high on the currents of affluence and the nation was united under the banner of beat-back-communism. The fifties could not have been the decadent and conformist romp in the park that it was, though, without the powerful new medium of television to reach the far flung expanses of the American empire. There had been other inventions in history but none like the television. There had been other decades in history but none like those following the World War II period. Why is it that the decades of the post war era were so unique in their political and social views and consumer trends? How could one invention change and shape the way an entire nation thought and felt? Or did it even do this? The role of television and its influence can only truly be understood by looking at its origins and subsequent development from its blooming in the 1950s to its continuing maturation in the present day.

In order to try to understand the impact that television has had on America, the authors of this section have researched the progression of television and its use throughout the 1950s and on to the present day. The goal was to chart the growth of television during these years and the growth, or decline, of its influence over the American people. Finally, we then hoped to accurately predict what course this television would take in the future through our understanding of its past. A lot of work and time went into the research and a lot has come out of it. For those wondering just why television has been so crucial in the development of modern America, and for those wondering just how crucial it will be in shaping the future, this is an explanation. Enjoy.

1950

Section Editors: Andrei Vrabie, Nona Willis-Aronowitz

Political Life
Consumer Tastes
Gender Role

Emergence

Hanna Roman
 Benjamin Yee*
 Rebecca Appel

Development

Natalie Buchinsky*
 Anna Veksler
 Rayna Wiles

Current

Andrew Beckwith
 Joey Wilamowski
 Kalenna Lee

Projections

All

Note: * indicates Assistant Section Editor

1950s: EMERGENCE DECADE

"Giving the people what they want has degenerated into giving them what they are ready to accept for nothing without protest- and without passion."

- Gilbert Seldes, 1954

POLITICAL LIFE

By Hanna Roman

Despite appearances, the 1950s were a time of tremendous insecurity and uncertainty, especially in the area of politics and foreign affairs. Television was in its infancy. In 1947, one in every one-hundred homes had televisions while in 1955, eighty in every one-hundred owned a television (Rosteck, 23). The medium had begun to have a major impact in shaping public opinion and political events during this decade. President Dwight Eisenhower's use of television, Richard

Nixon's "Checkers" speech, and the exposure and subsequent downfall

Eisenhower was the first president to use television frequently and effectively, portraying himself as an honest and dedicated leader

of Senator Joseph McCarthy were prime examples.

Eisenhower was the first president to use television frequently and ef-

fectively, portraying himself as an honest and dedicated leader. He used televised campaign commercials, emphasizing his humble origins and devotion to his country. He used simple language—making mistakes became an endearing way to gain public support—and associated himself with the common American. On the other hand, to elevate his presidential stature, on January 19, 1955 he became the first president to televise nationally a presidential news conference (MacDonald, 59-62). Eisenhower's abundant use of television helped the American people to feel

closer to him and won him their overwhelming support in the 1956 election. However, it also reflected a growing trend toward presidential domination and manipulation of television to shape public opinion (MacDonald, 62-63).

Senator Nixon, Eisenhower's running mate for the 1952 presidential election, used television to salvage his political career. During the campaign he was charged with creating an illegal political slush fund, and Eisenhower was reported to be ready to dump Nixon from the ticket. After his nationally tele-

THE PLUG-IN DRUG

vised "Checkers" speech on September 23, 1952, Nixon was kept on the Republican national ticket, having successfully convinced viewers that he was not a crook. During the speech, he declared melodramatically that he would not return the puppy (Checkers) given to his children by a supporter (MacDonald, 66, 150).

Television in the

vision networks (Bayley, 184) filling empty positions in the industry with his protégés (Rosteck, 17). The battle between McCarthy and television reporter Edward R. Murrow of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) is a study of the use of television to counter this hysteria.

On March 9, 1954 "Report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy" was aired on Murrow's documentary show, "See It

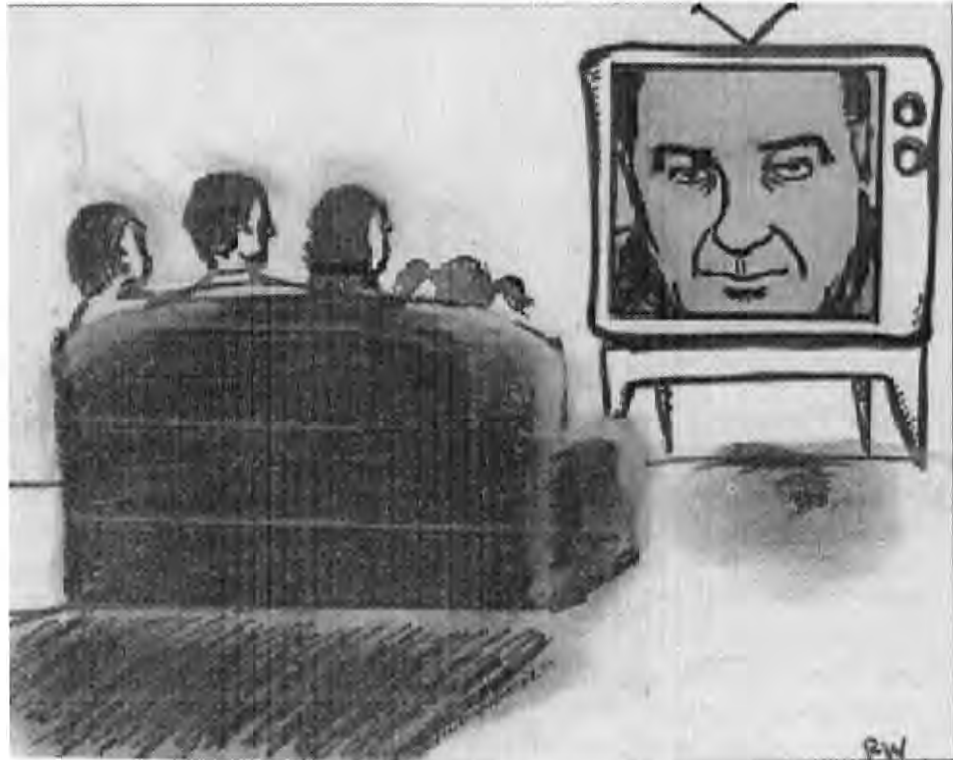
Army, on the Democratic Party, and on distinguished and widely-read newspapers, which McCarthy had condemned as "left-wing" (Murray, 15), and his false accusation that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was a Communist Party front (Donovan, 26). The broadcast highlighted McCarthy's deceptive tactics, like his statement, "I hold in my hand . . ." as he waved some supposedly top-secret document

his eyes bulging, licking his lips, or coldly laughing, to further characterize him as crazy (Rosteck, 122-123). Through television, Murrow touched people and called for action.

On April 6, McCarthy responded on "See it Now," accusing Murrow of subversive activity by claiming that known Communists had praised Murrow (Bayley, 197). The attack seemed a desperate attempt to save himself: "In his anxi-

Senator McCarthy understood the importance of the media to his popularity and became dependent on it for his anti communist campaign, and dominated the major television networks (Bayley, 184) filling empty positions in the industry with his protégés

1950s was used as anti-communist propaganda to create frightened citizens (Parenti, 121-124). Senator McCarthy understood the importance of the media to his popularity and became dependent on it for his anti communist campaign, and dominated the major tele-



Now." It discredited the Senator's tactics, "unambiguously charging him with distortion and misuse of his office" (Rosteck, 131). Murrow discussed McCarthy's attacks on the

naming spies, which Murrow proved was merely a committee-hearing transcript, available to anyone for two dollars. Murrow showed close-up views of the Senator with

ety to still Mr. Murrow's voice and drive it from the air, the senator more effectively confirmed the commentator's thesis than the commentator did." (Bayley, 199). McCarthy

had once controlled much of television, but he did not realize how easily it could be used to sway public opinion against him.

The "See It Now" broadcast showed television's success in influencing public opinion. It helped people to overcome their fear and question McCarthy, starting his decline. An incredible 2,394,000 homes watched "See it Now." CBS received thousands of calls, fifteen-to-one in favor of Murrow's show (Rosteck, 133-134). Murrow's use of television had a profound effect. "See It Now" set a precedent for using television, and introduced the question of how it would emerge as one of the most powerful means of influencing public opinion in the next decades.

One month later, the Army-McCarthy hearings, broadcast nationally for thirty-six days on ABC television, culminated in McCarthy's fall. McCarthy's accusations of subversive activities in the Army were examined. Like McCarthy's attack on Murrow, the hearings undermined McCarthy's support by exposing his unruly actions and unfounded accusations. For example, special counsel for the Army, Joseph

Welch decided not to allow lawyer Frederick Fisher Jr. to prepare the Army's case because of Fisher's previous membership in the National Lawyers Guild. McCarthy pestered Welch about Fisher despite the counsel's repeated suggestions to stop defaming an innocent man. Finally, Welch walked out of the room, complaining of McCarthy's recklessness and cruelty, stated, "Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" The blatant exposure of McCarthy's crude tactics on national television was a major factor in causing his downfall (Donovan, 32). Approximately twenty million people watched. Afterwards, a nationwide poll reported that out of every one-hundred people polled, thirty-one were against McCarthy while only fourteen were in favor ("Army-McCarthy: Clouded Verdict," 20-21). Subsequently, on December 2, 1954, McCarthy was censured in the United States Senate by a vote of 67 to 32. The Senator had gone from having almost complete control over the media to losing his national reputation because of it.

The political use of

television in the 1950s had two different components. On the one hand, it was used as a way to disillusion people through images and facts, as evident in the "See It Now" documentary and in the Army-McCarthy hearings. However, politicians and reporters also began to realize the importance of television in swaying public opinion by playing on people's morality and emotions. Murrow's visual characterization of McCarthy cost the senator support. President Eisenhower and Richard Nixon appealed to people's emotions by portraying themselves as honest and caring human be-

Politicians and reporters began to realize the importance of television in swaying public opinion by playing on people's morality and emotions

ings. Politicians understood that television, because it was so widespread and influential, could greatly help them, but also destroy them. Thus there was a constant struggle to control the industry and a fear of making mistakes.

Emergence Decade

Through the following decades, television did less to simply present facts and more to embellish images, thereby manipulating public opinion. With an increasing penetration in American homes, would television's potential for shaping the public's view of political candidates, the American government, and American foreign policy be realized?

THE PLUG-IN DRUG

CONSUMER TASTES

By Benjamin Yee

In American history, very few inventions have had the revolutionary effect on society and economic development as the invention of television. Revolution can be defined as the drastic change from one system to another. By this definition, television created a social and economic revolution in the consumer culture post World War II America.

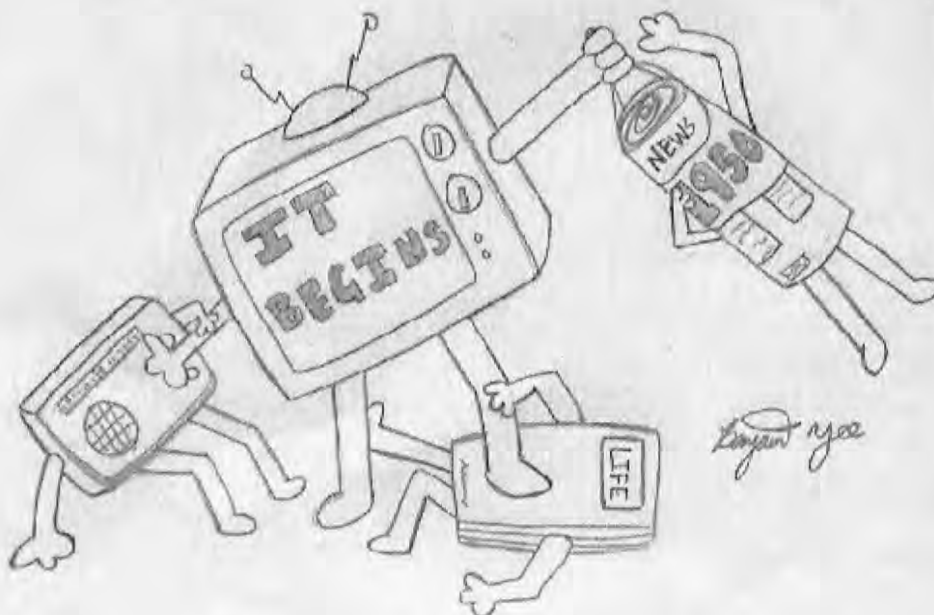
It was during the 1950s that the true potential of television was realized. Television fully demonstrated its ability to persuade and sell an image along with a product. Although a fully functional

television had been created in England by John L Baird by 1926, and a fully electronic television using a camera tube, or iconoscope, and a cathode ray tube had been perfected by RCA in 1932, television did not actually come into its own until the 1950s. In 1941, "Bulova Watches spent [only] \$9 to buy time on the first advertising spot offered by NBC's fledgling New York station" (Newcomb). In the 1950s, however, television experienced a huge boom financed by ad revenue. By the end of the decade, television had become the number one advertising medium,

grossing \$1.5 billion by 1960 (Newcomb). In 1950, advertisers agreed that television was receiving more ad dollars than print or radio.

In addition, due to the incredible growth of the medium, it may actually begin to hurt other media ("TV Competition Minimized," 51). Before television, the media of choice was radio. Radio is essentially a "hot medium,"—that is, it provides high definition information and allows for little interaction between the medium and the listener. Movies, too, are a "hot medium," as they offer large amounts of visual information and, again, little

interaction between medium and audience (McLuhan, 312). Television, despite its apparent relation to movies, is a "cool medium." Physically, it offers a low amount of information and psychologically, it involves a high level of participation from the audience. So what does all this mean? In the 1930s, while the European continent was being brought together by the power of radio spinning kinship webs of unity among like peoples, America and Britain remained aloof. People were only brought together by unified consumer demands in these highly industrial and literate nations with the advent of television.



In the affluence of the 1950s following the hard times of the Second World War, more and more people were willing to indulge in materialistic tendencies. Thus, they bought such appliances as televisions. In the buyer's market of the 1950s and with a massive audience, television was able to work to its greatest extent. At the outset of the 1950s national networks could already reach 60 percent of Americans in their homes (Sivulka, 220). An example of television's influence on the post-war consumer culture is demonstrated by the drinking habits of Americans in the 1950s. In May, 1950, president of the National Beer Wholesaler's Association, R.J. Cheatwood, announced that "there will be no decline in the volume of beer sold throughout the country this year, but there will be much more beer consumed in homes and less in drinking places." Cheatwood then went on to blame this emerging trend on television and added that "many industry leaders have not realized that a buyer's market has replaced the wartime seller's market and have not added salesmen and advertising programs needed under new conditions of marketing"

("TV Changes Habits on Beer Drinking," 43).

The message behind Cheatwood's announcement was that the market of the 1950s—the seller's market, a market in which producers benefit from high prices and consumer competition for goods—had made way for a new buyer's market in which consumers are favored by a drop in prices due to a drop in consumer competition. Thus, as in the 1920s, the buyer's market demanded advertisement to promote the sale of goods and resulted in an all time high of over \$5 billion spent on ads in 1951 alone ("Advertising In 1951 Seen Undiminished," 51). However, unlike in the 1920s, advertisers had a new tool to exploit in reaching the product-hungry American population.

With the television boom of the 1950s, the obvious innovation in advertisement was the television commercial. In the 1950s, the prevalent television advertisement was the 60-second hard sell, which consisted of fragmented bits of information and a repetitive message of how the product was unique (Newcomb). A cigarette commercial from the 1950s, for example, consisted of a 60-second cartoon of a male and fe-

male cigarette extolling their virtues over and over again, but in different ways. They promised to make a person popular, suave, stylish, and intelligent looking ("Video Clips of TV Ads from 1950-1995," MTVR). The "cool medium" of television was especially effective in capturing the minds of Americans who, having been driven from a tribal society by high literacy levels and industrialism, now had adapted to changed feelings for space and personal relations. In the 1950s, Americans experienced new developments in the taste and desire of dance, art, architecture, automobiles, food, and fashion (McLuhan, 315).

It is largely agreed among sociologists that television has a unique ability to create a "mass culture." With its ability to reach 219 million Americans in the comfort of their homes with visual and audio stimulation as of 1997, the television has incredible potential (CIA-Factbook 2000—United States). It was once believed that television had the power to directly "inject" an audience with pre-set ideologies, but that was abandoned for a theory that television is an interactive medium. That it is the interpretation

Emergence Decade
and stimulation, due to the low definition, that makes television so influential and so perfect for creating "mass consumer culture." Would television maintain its grip on the minds of American consumers or had television reached its peak only to give way radio and print again?

GENDER ROLES

By Rebecca Appel

The television broadcasting boom of 1946 marked the introduction of an explosive new medium into American culture. In its early days, television represented women and the family in a manner which reinforced the ideal domestic relationships of the 1950s. This portrayal developed out of a national desire for stability and continuity in the postwar years.

After the Second World War, Americans sought to regain the sense of stability which had been lost to the insanity of war. They were frightened by both recent events and developing trends, i.e., the increasing likelihood of nuclear warfare, the spread of communism throughout the world, and the heightened participation of the United States in foreign affairs (Meyers, 50). The 1950s thus witnessed an overwhelming desire for the reestablishment of prewar social patterns and normalcy within the family structure (Meyers, 55).

The gender messages of the 1940s had been relatively innovative. As men were drafted into the armed services, vast

numbers of women joined the workforce. However, many men who served in the Second World War perceived the movement of women into the workforce, especially the previously male-dominated sectors, as a threat to the traditional pre-war socioeconomic order (Bloom, 79). The rapid lifestyle changes of the war years frightened women as well. With the return of servicemen in the late 1940s, they began to leave the workforce in large numbers, assuming their old positions as housewives and mothers (Morley, 75).

In the early 1950s, marriage ages greatly decreased as the number of children per family increased. This trend caused many women to devote the majority of their time to raising children and taking care of household duties (Divine, 910), a lifestyle which quickly became the socially accepted ideal. Ironically, as family size increased and children began to attend college in record numbers, many women began to enter the workforce in order to increase the family's net income. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of working wives actually

doubled, and by the end of the 1950s, approximately one third of all married women were working outside the home (Divine, 910).

Placed in this context, the enormity of television's power to mold the social values of an entire nation is clear. In its early days, (sometimes referred to as the Golden Age of Television), the medium was dominated by three channels; NBC, CBS, and ABC, whose collective share of national viewership was approximately 95% (Lull, 53). It is therefore telling that these stations produced television programs which depicted only the ideal gender roles of the day, despite the fact that the reality of women's roles in the 1950s was quite different. That is, while a significant number of married females were working in the 1950s, the life of the typical "TV wife" did not extend outside of the home; indeed, her whole ambition was "to be a good wife to [her husband] and a good mother to her children" (Seldes, 26).

In the 1950s, the burgeoning television industry provided the perfect medium for the communication of this domestic ideal to the American public. Women television

characters, though often depicted as intelligent, were framed strictly in relation to their husbands and children, and were imbued with characteristics valued by proponents of the 19th century's Cult of Domesticity. Early television shows such as "Father Knows Best" (1954-1963), "Ozzie and Harriet" (1952-1966), and "Leave it to Beaver" (1957-1962), for example, focused on the exploits of a "typical family," depicting their main female characters as "contented matrons of the house" (Stark, 28), with no obligations outside the domestic sphere (McHugh, 86). In the 1955-1956 show "The Honeymooners," the undercurrent of male dominance pervasive in shows of the decade was reinforced. This show featured a strong male protagonist who, as a theme of the show, repeatedly threatened his wife both verbally and physically. While these threats were meant to be thought of as humorous, their presence clearly indicates that at the time, a base of sympathy existed for the gender dynamic which they espoused (McHugh, 90).

Even "I Love Lucy" (1951-1957), a show considered today to be feminist and revolu-

tionary in its portrayal of women, reflected the overwhelming desire to depict women as domestic and matronly. In the 1950s, this show was unique because it featured as its protagonist a woman who was not con-

constant revolt against her situation and the conventions of her time. "Looking back, it's striking how many of the shows were about Lucy's attempt to begin her own career, get out of the house, change into mens' clothes, or

longed in the home. Nevertheless, by focusing on attempts to change the status quo, "I Love Lucy" did represent a major step forward. Indeed, this show was deemed too revolutionary by contemporary television produc-

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depicted women in a solely domestic setting. Though often portrayed as intelligent, TV wives nevertheless remained dependent, both socially and economically, on their husbands.

Such gender stereotyping sought to propagate the ideal American domestic relationship of the 1950s; that of the strong husband and mothering wife. In promoting these values, contemporary television stations ignored the fact that women were actually becoming less and less dependent as the decade progressed. This disconnect between fact and what was expressed to viewers reflected the intense desire during the post-war years for stability and continuity with the past.

In the decades to come, would this desire for comfortable

images shift to allow for a more realistic portrayal of women in television?



The Ordeals of the Common Housewife

tented with performing only her domestic duties. When compared to the "satisfied, conformist mothers" of *Father Knows Best* or *Leave it to Beaver*, it is clear that Lucy was, in contrast, in

make her husband appreciate her more" (Stark, 31). Ultimately, however, most all of Lucy's attempts ended in failure. This served to reinforce (on the surface at least) the stereotype that women be-

ers, who succeeded in "completely domesticating [televisions'] women by the time Lucy left the air" (Stark, 33).

Thus, programs which aired during the Golden Age of Television

1960-1990: DEVELOPMENT DECADES

"Television shaped the way America saw itself: it became the national source of news and information, diversion and entertainment. By the mid-1960s, many in America were questioning the values and standards on which the postwar world was based...television, of course, reflected this questioning. By then...television [was] a permanent part of the very fabric of our lives."

-Robert G. Athearn, 1971

POLITICAL LIFE

By Natalie Buchinsky

Television's ability to shape or justify its audience's sense of reality has characterized its role in American society from the 1950s to the present. News broadcasts and nationwide programming have, in each decade, been manipulated in order to communicate ideas to the public or to mirror developing trends in public opinion. Such manipulation has strongly influenced the

way Americans react to their government, political leaders, public policy, and the country's overall social and political atmospheres. The stance taken by television journalists on such issues as Vietnam, Watergate, and the presidency of Ronald Reagan did affect changes in public opinion, but even more so reflected and reinforced the changing ways in which the American public saw and related to its government.

Television during

the '50s was used to cover up truths about the country rather than to disclose them. The great majority of the American public would not have thought to openly question our government's motives or our country's values. Popular shows like "the Honeymooners" and "Father Knows Best" encouraged a sense that American values were well in tact and that society was in order – despite the underlying fears and insecurities that wracked Cold-War America. Television jour-

nalism during this period (and the subsequent decades) manipulated information in order to shape the public's sense of reality. Television was manipulated by McCarthy to create the illusion that the country and government were infested by communists. McCarthy's clever use of television air-time was a major factor behind the second Red Scare. Ironically, the 36 days of television coverage of the McCarthy hearings of 1954, as well as the Senator's appearance on "See It Now," played a

large role in the ultimate political downfall of "Tailgunner Joe."

Television journalists of the 1960s manipulated information in their coverage of the Vietnam War in order to promote the antiwar and antigovernment attitudes that had already begun to infiltrate public sentiment. Such biased reporting marked the beginning of a new trend in American journalism all but absent from the previous decade. This trend was referred to as investigative reporting or "partisan journalism" (Venanzi, 62). Here, the reporter's responsibility became one of uncovering and exposing the "real" truth behind the story. This approach reflected a distrust in the government and political activity.

Partisan journalism therefore matched the new trend developing in government-constituent relations during the 1960s as the American public grew more and more suspicious and critical of the government's efforts in Vietnam. One ex-

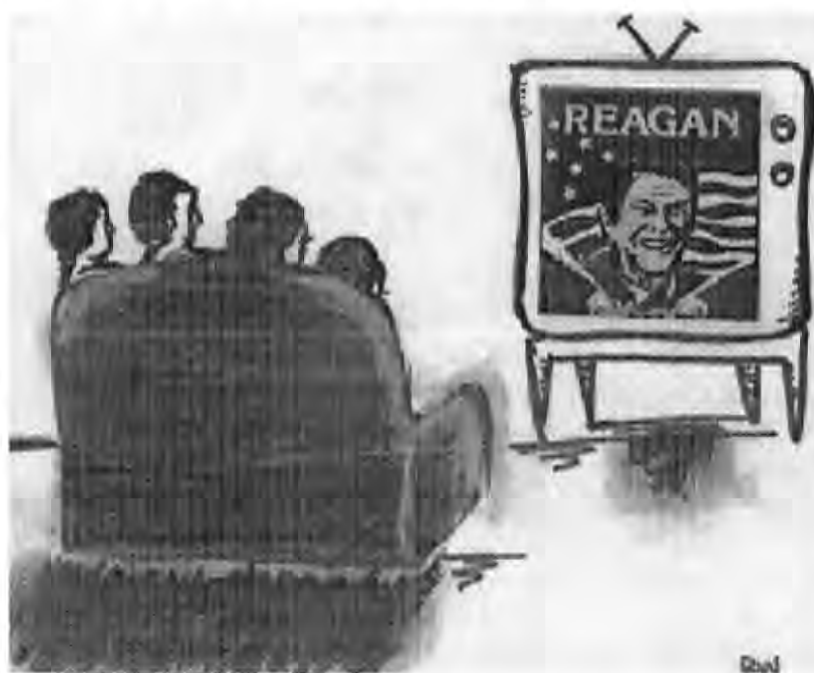
ample of television's biased reporting of the war in Vietnam was its portrayal of the Loan Execution during the Tet Offensive of 1968. The press made the Vietcong sympathizer being executed by General Loan seem to be an innocent and defenseless civilian when he was in fact Nguyen Tan Dat, or Han Son, the commander of a VC sapper unit. The footage lacked explanation and context. It therefore encouraged the American public "to read a moral meaning into what they saw" (Culbert, 424) and intensified the feeling that what the government was doing in Vietnam was immoral and that there was something wrong with American values. Professor Bruce Southard, a

graduate student in 1968, claimed that after he saw the footage of the Loan execution on television "I decided that what we were doing in Vietnam was wrong...I became active in the antiwar movement" (Culbert, 423).

The battle between the television media and the government kept on into the '70s as the search for "truth" continued as a trend in journalism and public interest. Television journalists of the early 1970s continued to fan the public's overall suspicion of the United States government. They bombarded the public with excessive coverage of the Watergate scandal. On May 17, 1973, the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities intro-

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duced nationally televised hearings on Watergate that lasted for thirty-seven days (Donovan and Scherer, 132). Furthermore, the three major networks committed 319 hours to coverage (Donovan and Scherer, 132), and the increasing demands of fascinated audiences encouraged 92 percent of the publicly funded stations to carry the hearings in the evenings (Donovan and Scherer, 132). By late 1973, polls indicated that Nixon's popularity was declining, the result of so much televised publicity. Television thus helped to place national focus on Nixon's guilt, but it was able to do so mainly because the public fed into the media's probing and investigation.

An estimated 90 million Americans tuned into all or part of the impeachment hearings broadcasted on July 24, 1974 (Read, 148), and the more the public watched, the more the television reported, and the more Nixon's support was undermined. In November 1972, 47,165,232



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Americans had voted for Nixon; twenty-one months later, no body or faction of Republicans argued against the recommendations of impeachment (Donovan and Scherer, 137).

The favorable light in which television portrayed Ronald Reagan in his presidency marked a significant change in the way that the media and the American public were responding to their government in the 1980s. The media's antigovernment attitude, as well as the tendency to distrust public officials, seemed to die down. Instead, many in Washington asserted that the public wanted Reagan to succeed because they did "not want to see another failed presidency" (Read, 139). Whatever the reason, Reagan entered into office on a wave of popularity, and very few managers of the press were willing to challenge the majority public sentiment lest they should lose ratings (Donovan and Scherer, 178). Both the press and the public thus became less concerned with investigating Reagan's slip-ups regarding public policy. People were not particularly bothered, for example, when Reagan falsely claimed that Israel was unaware of the US secret

shipments of arms to Iran in '87 (Donovan and Scherer, 191). Furthermore, the public placed nowhere near as much pressure on Reagan to act when Americans were taken hostage in Lebanon in '85 as they had on Carter during the Iranian hostage crisis five years before (West, 216).

In dealing with a less aggressive public and press, Reagan was able to work the television to his advantage. In fact, Reagan's popularity and portrayal as the "Great Communicator" was very much the result of his and his staff's ability to manipulate his image on television, and to communicate personally to the media and key elite just the right kind and amount of information (Read, 131). Reagan's appearances on television were staged to show him on the move, making speeches, visiting schools, strong and heroic, and accessible (Donovan and Scherer, 191). Even reporters were used as props to maintain an image of presidential activity. They were encouraged to shout questions to Reagan as he was walking to his helicopter, and Reagan was often prepared with answers that said just the right amount without provoking follow-up ques-

tions. This set-up decreased the chances of confrontation with the press and also portrayed Reagan as always on the move.

The manipulation of Reagan's television image increased support not only for himself but for his policies as well. For example, in 1982 Reagan suggested that international commerce be expanded in the Caribbean. A survey by a two-way interactive cable television system in Columbus, Ohio, reported that 35 percent of the viewers supported Reagan's policy. After the President presented his proposal in a televised speech on February 24, however, it was found that 64 percent of the viewers favored it (West, 206).

Television and public opinion have had a tremendous impact on each other from the 1950s to the present. Television has been able to both shape and reinforce the ways that Americans view their government and country by mirroring developing trends in public sentiment. In this sense, public opinion has likewise defined the relationship between the television media and the American government. Reagan's use of television in the 1980s indicated the start of a new

relationship between the government and the media, in which the television would be used to sell political leaders to the public. It was realized that "the same mass-marketing techniques that sell hamburgers on television [could] be applied to promoting a president and his policies" (Donovan and Scherer, 177). But could these "mass-marketing techniques" be brought to new heights as political leaders in the 1990s would attempt to influence voters' opinions by cleverly manipulating televised campaign advertisements?

CONSUMER TASTES

By Anna Veksler

From its emergence in the 1950s, television has altered the habits of the American family. From the 1960s to 1990, television has proven to have a great influence on not only individual behavior, but also on societal norms and values. Television has been used as a major medium to promote mass consumerism as well as popular culture. Indeed, television advertising is often viewed as the most effective agent of the gospel of consumption (Encyclopedia of Television). The central concept of this gospel is essentially that satisfaction is for sale. Not only does advertising promote a product, but also an image that viewers desire to obtain.

Buying a shampoo or drinking a Coke came with the assurance that consumers would be just as glamorous, stylish, and happy as the people in the commercials (Falk, 66).

By the 1960s, television had grown more sophisticated and extravagant. The advent of

color television accentuated the visual allure of commercials. The increasing cost of airtime fostered a move away from the 60-second commercials of the 1950s towards 30-second com-

tics, culture, and technology, and was geared towards a new audience. Americans were younger, better educated, and more mobile. They represented a new kind of consumer, one in search

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ative revolution that introduced new ways of doing business, and revitalized the creative approach, leading to an emergence of social consciousness (Fox, 289).

Because the 1960s were a time of social activism and personal

liberation, a new generation of artists used music, fashion, and art to assail conventional values. Commercials were geared towards the young generation because marketers discovered that those individuals were willing to spend great sums of money. The result was the use of models who idealized the American look as youthful, slim, and active. The "outer-directedness" of the 1950s was replaced with an "inner-directedness" exemplified by the slogan of the time proclaiming "Do your own thing." Traditional Puritan ideals of hard work and just rewards were replaced with personal freedom and pleasure seeking.

Advertisers broke away from the objective of raising social consciousness to making the product the centerpiece of the commercial.



mercials that relied on metaphor more than on logic (Fox, 218). Advertising was shaped by poli-

tics of novelty and opportunities for individual statement. The advertising industry underwent a cre-

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Marlboro, one of the most successful campaigns in history, used real cowboys to urge viewers to "Come to where the flavor is. Come to Marlboro Country."

These commercials doubled cigarette sales in the late 1960s. Sales reached 51.4 billion units and launched the brand on a trajectory that would make it the American leader. Another memorable commercial of the decade was for Alka Seltzer: "No matter what shape your stomach is in." The spot, which showed jiggly bellies of all shapes and sizes, was an instant success and dramatically raised the company's sales (Bellaire, 139-141).

During the 1970s artistic creativity and inventiveness gave way to the hard sell approach of the 1950s, deemed more appropriate in light of the tight economy (Turow, 49). The 1970s were hard times with the Watergate scandal, the oil crisis, and recession.

These events eroded American's trust in the government and in the economy, a general increase in public suspicion and skepticism was the result. By the middle of the '70s, advertising campaigns relied on research more than ever before,

pouring vast sums of money into studies focused on audience response (Turow, 55). The result was the rejection of creativity, humor, and aesthetics for a reason-why content. Commercials presented a specific selling point that was repeated to the point of monotony.

For instance, the Purina Cat Chow commercial managed to mention the product Meow Mix a dozen times with a cat singing "Meow, Meow, Meow..." in the background (Sivulka, 339).

The legacy of the 1960s was not only focused on a new form of advertising, but also a spread of new social values such as multiculturalism, feminism, and environmentalism.

For example, from 1966 to 1967 blacks appeared in only 4% of television commercials, being largely excluded from mainstream advertising.

By the 1970s, some companies realized that it made sense to create non-white advertising to promote their product.

Clairol hair coloring with its famous "Does she...or doesn't she?" line used attractive African-American models with hair colored from brunette to blond. Through this targeted advertising, Clairol developed a new market

for their product. Over time, other marketers followed, gearing commercials to the emerging Hispanic-American and Asian-American markets (Sivulka, 332).

In the 1980s televised advertising had once again regained its creative vision and great influence on Americans.

The stagnant economy of the 1970s gave way to a period of affluence and prosperity in the 1980s.

Financial speculation and the rapid rise of the stock market starting in 1982 generated thousands of high paying jobs for young lawyers, bankers, and stockbrokers. In 1984 it was estimated that the 25-35 year old group controlled 23 percent of the country's disposable income. These young professionals seemed to have an unlimited desire for consuming premium goods. Their desire for the best that money could buy lead them to become known as ultra-consumers (Sivulka, 346).

Glamour, wealth, and style were in fashion and this upscale trend initiated a move away from hard sell tactics to build more esoteric brand images for products such as perfumes and cars. Style reigned over substance and advertisers no longer described how the prod-

ucts worked; consumers were left to figure out why they should buy something based on its image and the attractiveness of the models displaying the product.

The L'Oreal hair color campaign theme, "Because I am worth it", flaunted individualism and self-fulfillment. The commercial did not explain the product's unique features or attempt to compare it with another brand; powerful slogans, and more importantly strong images were expected to evoke confidence in the product. During the 1980s, Americans became more comfortable with their sexuality and advertisers used sexual images to sell products to young people.

Calvin Klein's introduction of blue jeans featured a commercial with teen star Brook Shields seducing audiences with her provocative "Know what comes between me and my Calvins? Nothing."

The commercial suggested that an erotic fantasy world awaited consumers, and subsequent sales of the expensive jeans jumped nearly 300 percent.

Would the influence of television on American popular culture continue to grow in the 1990s?

GENDER ROLES

By Rayna Wiles

Television programs of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s failed to portray women realistically. Programs did not correct the image of female characters to better reflect the "real American woman." Instead, the unrealistic housewives from shows of the late 1950s and early '60s were replaced with "mutant females" and seductive detectives in the later decades. Portrayals of women sent negative messages to viewers that defined women by sets of stereotypes. Rebellion against stereotypes fostered the feminist movement of the 1960s and 70s. These stereotypes were of the movement, and the movement, in turn, applied its own pressures on the television industry to alter what were considered destructive female images. The portrayal of women on television should thus be considered in the context of the emergence, climax, and decline of the Women's Liberation movement. The late 1950s and early 1960s were periods of overwhelming social frustration and cultural shocks. The youth rebelled against the conformity of the 1950s and the

Vietnam War in the 1960s. America witnessed the Sexual Revolution, characterized by the popularization of sexual experimentation, and the development of the political New Left movement (Ferree, 26). The liberation society experienced from traditional notions was not experienced by women. Activist women were unhappy that their wages were 60% of men's (Douglas, 40) and that they were apparently being subordinated by the male members of the New Left (Papachriston, 230). Many also felt guilty that they were unable to live up to the televised ideal woman (Douglas, 20). It was in this environment that the New Feminist movement was born (Ferree, 50).

The sitcoms and cowboy shows of the early 1950s and 1960s fueled the development of the feminist movement. Some women rebelled against the image that glorified the domesticated primed mother who was unrealistically happy and at ease (Douglas, 25). Teenage girls were confused by the duality of messages sent by television. One urged them to

be an individual. The other told them to be perky, and flawless in appearance. Shows like "The Patty Duke Show" and "Gidget" proposed such codes of conduct (Douglas, 109). Once the feminist movement erupted, television reacted by creating the "mutant female," as seen in series like "Bewitched," "The Flying Nun," "The Adams Family," and "I Dream of Jeanie (Douglas, 127)." These women had unrealistic supernatural powers that could emasculate their husbands. Instead of portraying a liberated working female, the characters reflected the television industry's attempt to warn against female action (DeGenova, 11).

By the mid 1960s the Women's Liberation movement had matured into a mass of large organized bodies and small radical groups (Freeman, 793). Larger bodies such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and The Women's Equality Action League (WEAL) developed in 1966 and 1967 (Rupp, 170). The radical factions of the movement constituted a left-wing coalition of conscious-raising groups (Freeman, 795). These smaller bodies used "zap" tactics, such as bra-burning at the 1968 Miss

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America Beauty Pageant, to draw attention (Carden, 192). By the 1970's, the proliferation of smaller groups furthered internal dissent over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), lesbianism, and race (Papachriston, 233).

The feminist movement was never seriously addressed or dealt with on television (McNeil, 267). New sitcoms and shows such as "The Beverly Hillbillies," "Green Acres," and "All in the Family" placed feminist rhetoric in the mouths of incompetent characters (Douglas, 194). Women were underrepresented in television and played minor roles. They were portrayed as homemakers and subordinate individuals in order to counteract the Feminist Movement (McNeil, 263). Television responded to the movement by developing the "Bionic Bimbo" shows of the late 1970's such as "Charlie's Angels," "Wonder Woman," and "Bionic Woman." These shows portrayed another breed of fantastical women. They had superhuman powers and acted independently. Despite the efforts of the feminist movement, the women were portrayed as voluptuous sex-icons in provocative attire (Douglas,

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221). The progress of the Women's movement slowed in the late 1970's due to a number of fac-

vision in the late 1970's and 1980's witnessed the development of the single career woman in "The

behinds became the televised ideals of women.

Television from the 1960's through the 1980's



tors. Internal dissention between radical groups caused a lack of consensus between members (Papachriston, 233). The failure of the ratification of the ERA, and the rise of anti-feminist groups also contributed to the decline of the movement (Ferree, 148). At the close of the 1970's and through the 1980's, the American women's movement faced backlash from a new political body. The New Right was an anti-feminist, and anti-ERA coalition formed by Republican activist Phyllis Schlafly (Ferree, 150). Television programs of the 1980's did not reflect the procession of the movement. Instead, tele-

Mary Tyler Moore Show," "Murphy Brown" and female detectives in "Cagney and Lacey (Winship, 120)." These types of programs were not numerous; women were rarely seen in the professional realm (Signorielli, 342). Police shows capitalized on rape crimes and women being hurt rather than inflicting injury (Signorielli, 350). While appealing to the growing number of women professionals, television in the 1980's encouraged total liberation through self-indulgence in narcissistic pleasures (Douglas, 273). The 1950's generation was getting old: wrinkleless faces and tight

failed to narrow the disparity between the ideal and the real woman. While the portrayal of the 1950's homemaker influenced the feminist movement, the movement fueled female character development. The success of the feminists' efforts was the production of the realistic "career girl" shows (DeGenova, 16). Ironically, this advance came during the final stages of the Women's Liberation movement. With the decline of the Women's Liberation movement in the 1980's, the question arises of how women will be portrayed once television is not under the pressure of the feminist movement.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

"As soon as that TV opened its glaucous eye and started beaming in the world, nothing would be the same for [the] radiant family-or for any of the rest of us. Television's powerful hold on our lives must rank high among all the changes that the past four decades have brought..."

-American Heritage, December 1992

POLITICAL LIFE

By Andrew Beckwith

Media in general, and television specifically, has influenced people's opinions of politicians and their campaigns for decades. This proved to be especially true in the presidential elections of 1992, 1996, and 2000. However, it is not the TV news shows, but rather the abundant political advertisements shown during campaigns that exert the greatest influence on the public's opinions of candidates and issues (Tierney, 1). As a matter of fact, news programs have recently been limiting their coverage of presidential campaigns (Tierney, 1) while political

advertising, benefiting from lack of restrictions on its permeation of the airwaves, has skyrocketed (West, 162). Additionally, since the presidential campaign of 1976, the proportion of negative political ads has increased greatly. In 1976, approximately 40 percent of campaign ads were negative; twenty years later the percentage reached 70 (Jamieson, 53).

One major reason that news shows have played a minimal role in elections is that the amount of time that "sound bites," or clips of speeches given by Presidential candidates, are allotted on the nightly local news has been steadily decreasing

(Tierney, 1). As a result, people are receiving less information about the elections and issues from news shows. Even in direct interviews with Presidential candidates in 1992, reporters dominated the airtime, and the candidates received only about 12 percent of the total speaking time. Additionally, such media outlets as talk shows and interviews proved less popular in the elections of the 1990s (Swanson, 1267). Instead, people are getting the majority of their information and basing their decisions, on short, extremely biased political advertisements which often contain only partial truths and sometimes all-out lies (Lau, 11). In addition, political ads

have become increasingly negative: candidates paint their opponents in an unfavorable, distorted light, rather than focusing on their own positive attributes or on the issues (Lau, 12). In the presidential campaign of 1996, the Clinton and Dole campaigns spent well over \$100 million combined (more than 60 percent of their budgets) on political ads (Lau, 13).

And apparently it works. Statistical analyses have shown that people retain the information they learn from negative political ads, and that negative ads (or attack ads) have more of a lasting impact on voters than positive ones (Kahn, 84). This means that, provided campaign finance reform

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legislation will not be enacted in the near future, candidates will continue to run attack ads.

Americans continue to receive a severely distorted image of the candidates and the issues that they represent. For example, in 1992, a lobbying organization called the Christian Action Network ran an attack ad against presidential candidate Bill Clinton's gay rights agenda. The ad portrayed Clinton's views on homosexuality as extremely radical, and accused Clinton of endorsing homosexuality as his "vision for a better America" (West, 149). While it is true that Clinton had a liberal outlook on gay rights, he did not take an extreme position on the topic at any time during his campaign

(West, 150). Due to the pervasiveness of attack ads in political campaigns, some reformers have been advocating to put an end to biased, half-true ads. However, it has been theorized that if attack ads were to be eliminated, the majority of the constituency would have nowhere to turn for information about candidates and their platforms (Scott, 6). The decline in TV news coverage of Presidential campaigns, com-

pounded with decreased public interest in politics, shows that TV networks are extremely reluctant to broadcast political shows (Tierney, 1). In 1992 and 1996, polls revealed that most voters viewed the Presidential campaign as "dull." Consequently, television coverage of the elections decreased

significantly. Commercials require significant contributions from interest groups. The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania estimated that in 1995 and 1996 somewhere between \$135 and \$150 million was spent on ads by interest groups (labor unions, corporations, etc.), endorsing and criti-

more effective. For example, in the 2000 campaign, Republican candidate Governor George W. Bush of Texas ran an ad in which Democrats were referred to as "bureaucrats." Momentarily, the only part of the word "bureaucrats" that showed were the last four letters, "rats." The Bush camp was accused of using a subliminal message. If this allegation is true, it proves the willingness of some candidates to employ underhanded tactics in their advertising (CNN Online). It also proves that campaign managers feel that negative advertising is an extremely important way to bolster their candidate's popularity.

Instead of relying on TV news, people encounter (mostly negative) advertisements, and absorb the information they hear in these ads. They often retain this information, and keep it in mind when they go to vote. Therefore, television is still playing an important role in influencing public opinion regarding Presidential elections, but it is the brief, campaign-sponsored commercials that are influencing them, as opposed to television news shows and interviews with the candidates themselves.



(Swanson, 1269). People seem to be losing interest in politics, and because of this, networks are broadcasting fewer political shows and news stories (Scott, 6).

Campaign advertising provides the public with very brief messages, which are aired during commercial breaks of shows that the public does watch. This practice enables candidates to capture huge audiences. However, such commer-

cizing candidates running for federal office (West, 152). Senator John McCain (R, AZ), among others, has voiced concern over the inherent unfairness of financing by interest groups, but, even today, little has been done to curb the inequities in financing for campaign advertising (Witcover, 277).

Candidates have recognized the importance of campaign advertising and have attempted to make the commercials

CONSUMER TASTES

By Joey Wilamowski

The 1950s witnessed the emergence of television advertising as the perfect tool for promoting consumerism during the post-World War II period—a time when conditions were ripe for consumerism to blossom (Pert). The relative affluence of the fifties has continued to the present day, and is thus responsible for the similar nature between current television ads and those of previous decades.

From the birth of television to the present, advertising has followed the “gospel of consumption,” the belief that satisfaction and image are for sale (Encyclopedia of Television). This tends to be true no matter which decade you inspect. The 1955 “Marlboro” commercial, (Marlboro was previously a women’s cigarette), featuring the “Marlboro Man,” was intended to create an entirely new male demographic. This was strikingly similar to a 1991 “Lori Davis Hair Care” infomercial featuring Cher, the revered actress and role model. Both commercials made the audience, who would have normally ignored the

product, pay special attention to it because of the way the target audience was led to identify with the characters. The sale of the image continues to be a central goal of advertisers today.

Advertising on television presently, however, has become more sophisticated and extensive than anyone during the fifties could have predicted. Television ads have gripped our lives, playing with our sensibilities, convincing us that material comfort is the ultimate good. Our mindless material attachments are results of insightful designing and strategizing on the part of market researchers and psychologists who create false desires for many Americans that cannot be fulfilled unless a product is purchased. Television has not only influenced Americans as consumers, but also as individuals with historically different means of achieving (or rather buying) happiness (Savan, 14).

Television affects consumer behavior through effective advertising, and effective advertising now commands some degree of control over the audience. Sponsors attempt to control the audience by implementing

several techniques meant to manipulate our thoughts, emotions, and desires (McAllister, 96). Most of these techniques revolve around creating an image that viewers are supposed to associate with that product and themselves. The purpose behind these techniques is simple: effective advertising yields revenue.

The Nike Corporation is a prime example of how advertising influences consumers and benefits companies. It seems that the more Nike spends on advertising, the more successful the corporation becomes. In 1987, less than \$1 million in advertising and promotional expenditures barely accounted for \$1 billion in total revenues. By 1997, however, Nike spent close to \$1 billion on advertising, which consequently led to a whopping \$9 billion in sales (Goldman, 13).

It wasn’t just the amount spent that led to Nike’s success; it was the quality and manipulative genius behind its commercials. Nike commercials in the 1990s have turned the corporation into only a logo and an image (Goldman, 19). Through its television commercials, Nike has constructed it-

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self as an icon that embraces a larger image system that possesses both a philosophy and a personality that consumers identify with. This heroic philosophy of champions, “Just Do It,” was embedded in the codes of its commercial style and tone. The reason its effect on consumers was so successful (Nike has an expansive 40% annual growth rate) was that the slogan, logo, and corporation came to stand for the self-empowerment of the individual. It spoke to the restraint and inhibition in everyday life that kept people from the experience of transcendence (Goldman, 20). Touching the heart of traditional American ideologies of individual achievement, Nike commercials and those like it of the 1990s conveyed some of the most powerful and influential messages consumers had ever seen. But if television ads portray these messages, then does advertising shape who we are and what we want, or does it merely reflect back to us our own emotions and desires?

Firstly, the ads would not exist if there were no products, and the products would not exist if they weren’t introduced to us via commercials. In this sense, it is

THE PLUG-IN DRUG

simply the existence of an industrial and commercial economy that spurs our desires for material goods. But at the same time, the media's creation of consumer culture cannot be ignored. The world that television creates is the same world that consumers 'buy' into when they make a purchase.



Over the long run, whether the consumer actually buys a particular product is less important than that the consumer buys the world that makes the product seem desirable (Savan, 8). For example, when a consumer buys a BMW or a Mercedes, he/she buys not only the car but also the status and the image of owning a luxury automobile that was promised in the car commercial. The question is, would the car still have been purchased if it did not fit a role that was made desirable by the television? Studies have shown that advertising does have a significant affect on the penetration and purchases of specific brands, while

unadvertised brands are not as frequently purchased. For example, over the course of 1991, the average proportion of households buying one of the advertised brands (analyzed by Jones, 32) was 17.2 percent, while the average for the unadvertised brands was 10.1 percent. For most brands,

advertising drives penetration. The efficiency of advertising for corporations, however, has results that are not as clear. In a study conducted by John Phillip Jones, of 142 brands, it was found that seventy-five (53 percent) gained share over the course of a year, while sixty-seven (47 percent) suffered a corresponding loss (Jones, 31). So while the car may still have been purchased, as advertising induces sales, the effectiveness of the ads for the company does not always result in a success story like Nike's. Nevertheless, it is almost undeniable that commercials affect penetration and sales.

Aside from the cor-

porate aspect of money making behind TV ads, television is to a large extent responsible for shaping who we are and what we want. It is in this respect the same as it was from the 1950s to the 1980s. Television can be seen as a "cool medium," one that offers a low amount of information, similar to the way it was seen in the 1950s, because it psychologically involves a high level of participation from the viewer. The participation comes when the consumer somehow connects with the commercial and finally makes the purchase.

If television plays such a large role in shaping our desires, than it is also responsible for influencing our moral values and potential for happiness. Television commercials enforce the notion that to gain happiness one must acquire material goods. There is nothing wrong with this type of happiness, except that it often fosters false needs and negative values, especially for individuals without the means to obtain such material happiness. Television is not entirely responsible for this basic western philosophy, but its advertisements only spread and deepen it.

GENDER ROLES

By Kalenna Lee

Negative representations of women have slowly been developing over the years. Television has been one of the most influential factors in forming these representations. Television in the 1990s has served to typecast women as career-driven individuals, who have managed to maintain the ideal of the "aesthetically pleasing" woman.

The television industry has tended to play into stereotypes. In the 1950s, shows such as "Ozzie and Harriet" were accustomed to showing women in only domestic settings. The woman was stereotyped to fit the myth of the "heroine" of the home, whose only ambition was to be a good mother to her children and a dutiful wife to her husband. Today's culture however, forces television to stereotype women to fit a new myth- no longer the "domestic heroine" but the "beautiful heroine" (Wolf, 36). The media now focuses on the woman's face and body, making it seem as if she is only a successful "heroine" if she is tantalizing and subordinate to men.

In the 1960s, women were still depicted

as homemakers on television, as less important characters and with minor supporting roles. It was during the 1980s, with the backlash of feminism, that the development of women on television shows was first seen. "Murphy Brown" for example, was one of the first shows to depict women with roles in the working field. However, the actual number of shows showing independent single working women were still few and sparse. Today, women have made gains with regard to success and equality as depicted on the shows, but are still often subjected to subordinate roles as sexual objects, helpless imbeciles, or sidekicks to men- much like the skimpily-clad overly made-up figures of "Charlie's Angels" in the 1970s. Such images instilled fears in women- the fear of gaining weight, of eating too much food, and of living alone (Anderson, 221). Current television series (e.g. "Ally McBeal") show women who have achieved professional accomplishments in their own right, yet who still feel empty without a man, fragile in relationships, and who constantly fret about their physical appearance.

Television continues to be the driving force behind this kind of characterization and serves to severely retard the movement towards gender equality by deteriorating womens' image of themselves.

For the past 50 years, television has portrayed women in narrow roles- as dim-witted sex objects, perky young things in search of the perfect man, or as one-dimensional homemakers eager to please their husbands and serve their children. But it would be unfair to say, however, that women have not gained some grounds in the media world since the 1950s. In recent years, the media has made conscious efforts to go beyond old stereotypes and redefine the way they portray women (Sivulka, 382). Television has tried to define the "new" modern women of the millennium - one that holds a job, has career goals, and derives pleasure from outside the home. "Providence" for example, revolves around the life story of a divorced woman who is happy on her own, and who is doing a fine job as a lawyer. Television shows today, have given stronger and more intelligent roles to women. They are more frequently shown to be exerting their intelligence,

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independence, and own self-reliance to solve problems. Nonetheless, sex role portrayals on television, also direct women and girls to be more concerned with superficialities such as dating and romance, while men are encouraged by television programs to be more concerned about their occupations and future (Quindlen, 34). Behind the career-oriented façade, females still concern themselves predominantly with looks, the opposite sex, and gossip. A female character that is portrayed as truly strong, such as the lead character of "Dark Angel" who is a super fighting "mutant" female, is not accepted as the norm and is instead used to shock the audience. How society and the media choose to deal with the effects of violence of women's bodies, minds and spirits, is a reflection of the mood of the country and those who run it. In the minds of many feminists, television is not treating women and the women's movement as seriously as they deserve to be treated. Will the producers of future television programs respond to this critique, or will they continue to manufacture programs that will attract and retain mass audiences?

PROJECTIONS

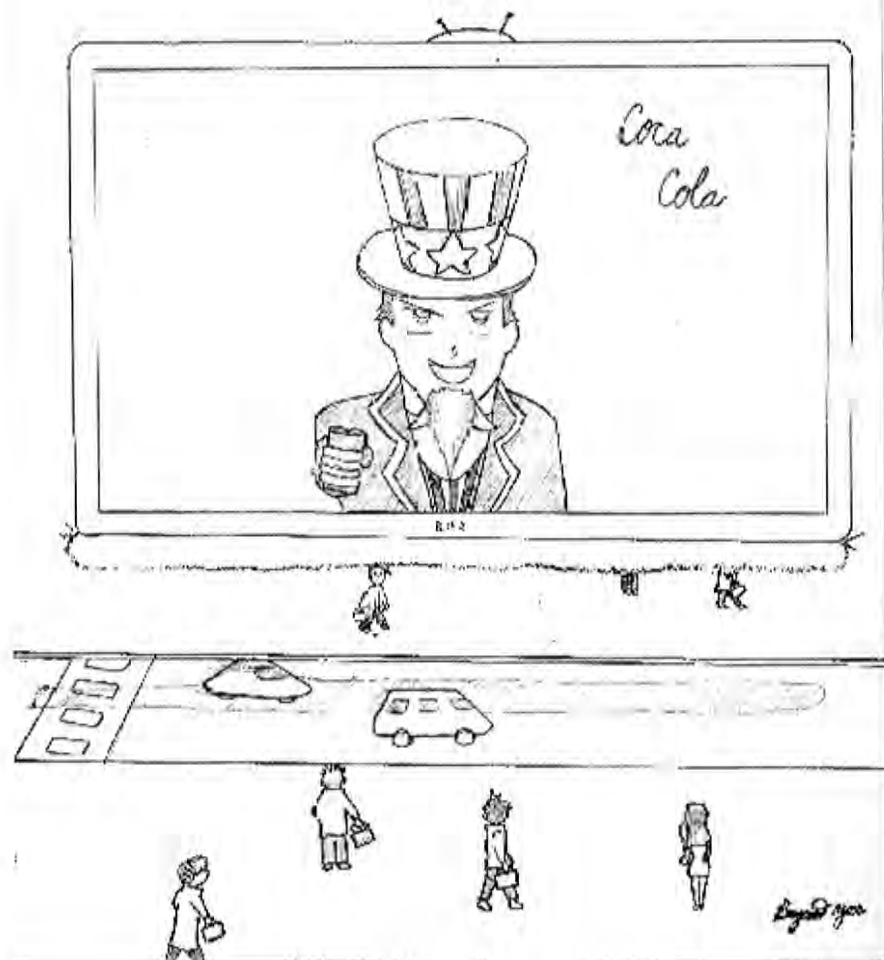
From the beginning television was unique from other media. It was immediately dominated by the large corporate interests that had grown out of radio such as CBS, NBC, and ABC after World War II. More importantly, this new tool of the corporations quickly became the foremost method of indoctrinating the American people. From politics, to advertising, to gender roles, the proverbial idiot box has taken the role of the genius manipulator.

In the future, television will continue to play a major role in the area of politics. In many ways, it will continue to follow the same trends that have developed since the 1950s, most notably, the use of television as a tool to manipulate public opinion. As politicians and representatives of the television industry realize the power of this medium, they become more aware of how it can be used to sway the public. Although there are many different examples of techniques used to achieve this effect, television is definitely becoming

more sleazy, acting as a means of propaganda. Today, many Americans do not want to think for themselves; they instead rely on television to tell

them what to think, and thus they are vulnerable to the techniques used by the television industry to pull them in. Television plays on people's emotions and

morality, presenting them with embellished images, often taken out of context. One example of this is campaign ads. Americans are losing interest in news



shows and are instead being bought off by an increasing number of these crude and often fictitious ads. If the campaign finance reform bill currently in the Senate is passed,

Despite the influence of the new medium of the Internet, television's influence does not look as if it will diminish

there may be a decline or regulation of these ads in the future. However, that will not drastically change television's general role in politics today, where there is far less of a focus on real and important facts and more of an attempt to indoctrinate the American people with certain ideas and make politics seem appealing.

Television's role in politics in the future will be largely a culmination of what has been learned in the previous decades. However, not only is television able to sway the people, but the people also have a profound effect on the television industry. It will continue to be dominated by money and ratings. The industry must appeal to them, and their opinions of what is

shown on television will continue to decide the fate of politicians and the political atmosphere of the time.

We've already seen how television trend in advertising came to be and where it is now, but where is it going? Based on the past, it would seem that advertising on television will only continue to rise. As Mark Crispin Miller lamented, advertisers never think to take a break. Whenever they think they are not reaching people, whenever they get frustrated, they redouble their efforts and try to hit harder, faster. As a result of this strategy, and the urge of advertisers to push into places where they have not been, advertising on television, and indeed, everywhere, will only continue to proliferate.

Despite the influence of the new medium of the Internet, television's influence does not look as if it will diminish. Professor Miller pointed out that while the merging of television and the Internet in Web TV will make television's role more complex, it will not decrease television's power. As long as TV has the incredible power to reach nearly all people in the comfort of their homes and influence them both

audibly and visually, its role in society will probably remain the same if not increase.

In past decades, television failed to take an active role in shaping the roles of women in society. Instead, the medium merely reflected the existing social roles of the day, without taking an innovative stance designed to effect greater gender equality. The women's liberation movements of the late 1960s and 1970s resulted in the portrayal of women and men on a more equal plane. These changes, however, were driven not by the medium, but by larger changes in society which eventually trickled down into all aspects of American culture.

As society becomes increasingly gender blind, it can be predicted that likewise, this trend will continue to be reflected in television. Programs such as "Murphy Brown" and "Ally McBeal," which depict working women as their protagonists, coupled with the vastly increased number of female newscasters and reporters on television, mark the beginning of an era in the which men and women will be depicted in full equality. Perhaps more importantly, however, innovative

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shows like these lead us to predict that in the future, television will take a greater role than in previous decades in actually shaping the image of women in society. Instead of letting society determine what freedoms to allow women in television, we predict that it will be the shows themselves which will have a trickle-down effect on society.



Collection of Letters to

NBC



Dear NBC,

I would really like to commend Edward R. Murrow on his "Report on Senator Joseph R. McCarthy" aired on March 9th (on NBC). It took impressive bravery and will to air such an unprecedented show and effectively condemn a man who has been so popular over the past few years. Murrow showed America the other side of television: its power to bring about social and political change. There are a few people in this nation who will stand up for what is right. Murrow and "See it Now" are a blessing to America.



Sarah Stevenson,
Albany, NY,
April, 1954

dear NBC,
i Love my TV.
Thank you.
Billy



William B. Conwel,
age 7,
Maplewood, NJ,
October, 1955

Listen NBC,

On behalf of myself and the vast majority of women in America, I would like to point out a few odious characteristics of the so-called "women" image your company broadcasts into the homes of the American people. We are kept in an auxiliary position to male characters and shown as mothers, wives,

or sexual objects. In television shows, not only are these women violations of the true female, but they serve as images that brainwash our children as they are sucked further into this disgusting media. What's worse is that your industry is utilizing these visually stimulating two-dimensional females to sell products in commercials. Does your company honestly believe that we women will be led to buy products from companies who refuse to respect our true identities? Obviously some changes need to be made; not only are we humans rather than sheep, but we are women, demanding a revamping of the media system for the good of society.



The sisters of NOW,
Chicago, Illinois,
May, 1967

Dear NBC,

I enjoy watching the nightly local news on your station. I especially enjoy your coverage of political elections. The way you focus on the important things, like the candidates' personal qualities, mannerisms, and physical features, rather than superfluous things, like the political issues that each candidate represents. I also like how short your stories on elections are. You hardly give any time for the candidates to speak on your show. That's great. Hearing the candidates' speeches can get really boring. And who cares about what they're saying, anyway? When I watch your political stories on the local news, all I'm really interested in is the personality flaws of the candidates, and how much make-up they wear. Thankfully, your station, along with all the others, focuses on these issues. Thanks for your quality political reporting on the nightly local news.



John A. Marks
Boston, MA
July, 1974

Dear NBC,

WHAT EVER HAPPENED to the good old-fashioned humor of "I Love Lucy?" It is an undeniable fact that television has drifted from its focus on innocent domestic quarrel between two equally lovable spouses. Now, in the 80s, comedies deal with the workplace; "Murphy Brown" is a perfect example of this new professional breed of humor. Instead of live audience laughter at Lucy's failed attempts to deceive her husband, viewers chuckle along with canned laughter at an argument between a CEO and some subservient employee. Has society become nothing more than a rat-race for success in the business world? What has become of family values due to this shift? Some questions, I believe, are better left unanswered...

Anonymous,
San Diego, CA,
February, 1986

Dearest NBC,

I would like to comment on your truly fascinating commercials. They have come a long way from the live ads that were used way back when in the 50s (the one with the refrigerator- a classic!). The modern "hyper-commercialism" is currently taking the business into warp speed with faster ads, more images, brighter, pretty colors, etc. (the Pentium one with those blue guys- another masterpiece!) I sit anxiously await the new round of ads! Keep up the good work!



Martha Weggman
Salt Lake City, Utah
March, 2000

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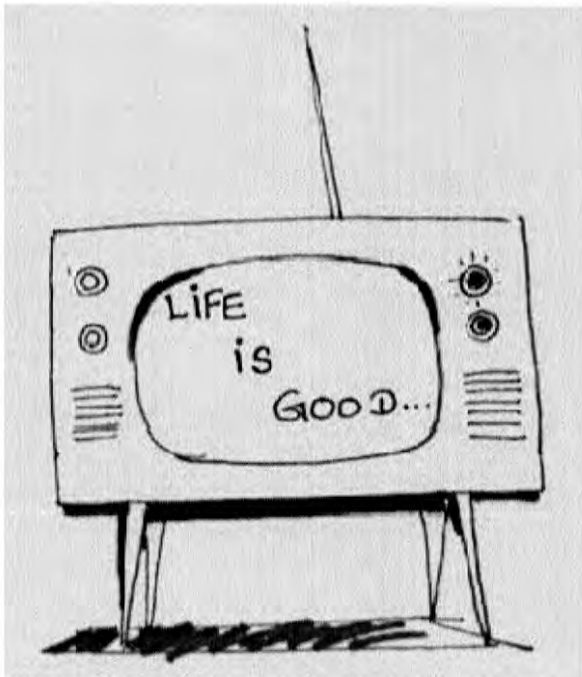
THE PLUG-IN-DRUG

PERIODICAL ARTICLES:

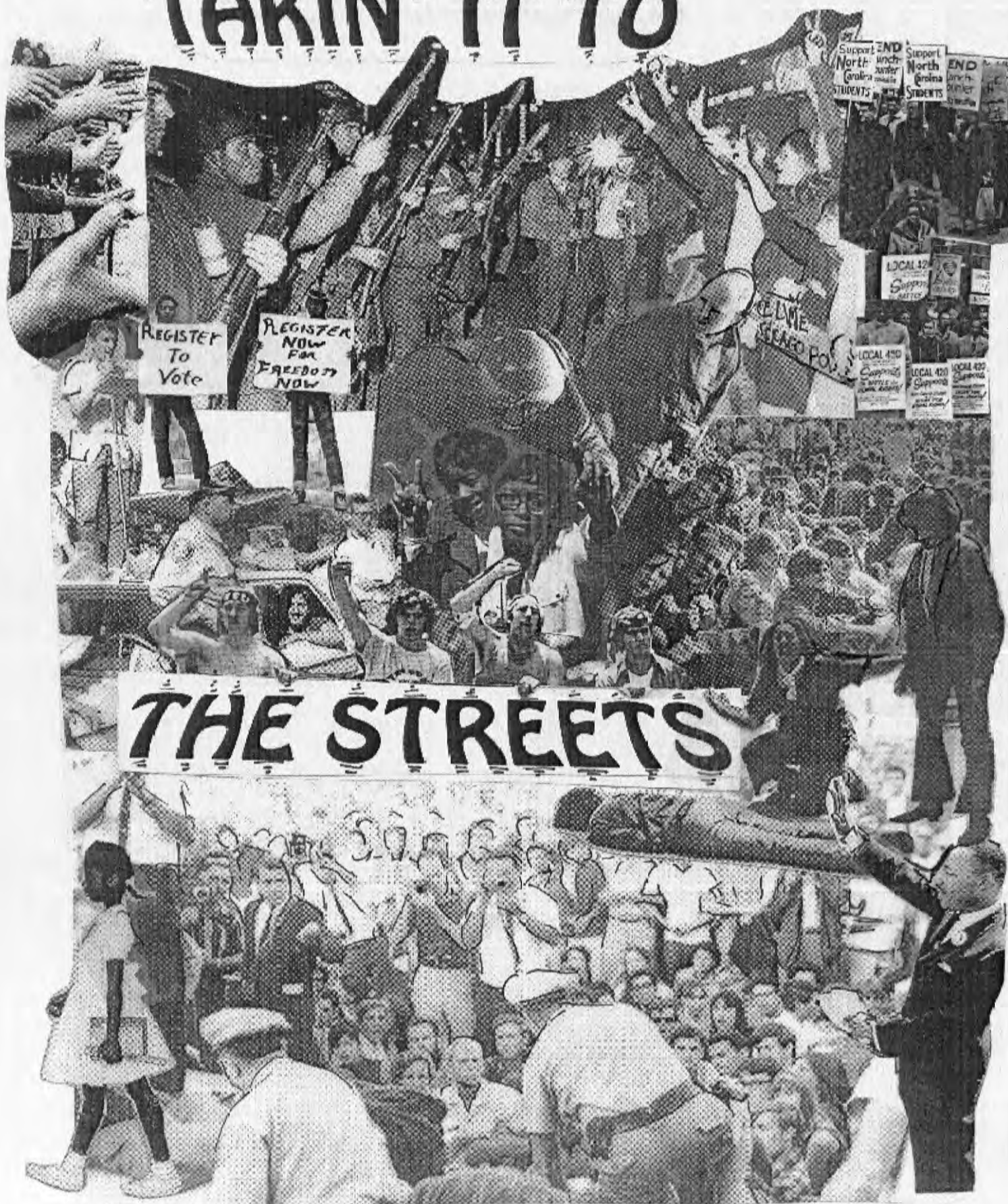
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TAKIN' IT TO



INTRODUCTION:

The 1960s were known to be a decade of turbulence and change. When our group was assigned the 1960s for our *Trends and Trajectories* project, we realized automatically that at the heart of the many movements which arose during the 1960s were the numerous student protests held on college campuses across America. Our team proceeded to break our topic down into three main issues of study: the racial justice movement, the feminist movement, and the anti-war movement. After defining the challenging task at hand, a long and difficult investigation began.

Our primary tool for research was the Internet. We used search engines, book catalogues, electronic newspaper archives, as well as e-mails to noted scholars and activists to help us in our study of the specific student protest movements. After many long hours online and many hours at the library, we had more than enough information on our topic, and thus, we were left task of actually writing our essays. Despite some disagreements, we were able to communicate and work together effectively and get our project done. The task of editing the wealth of content was also daunting; in total, our essays went through 6 different edits before our final drafts were complete.

The highlight of our project was the “Meet the Press” event. We were fortunate enough to host feminist Carol Giordana, a 25-year activist who is most famous as the ‘poster girl’ for the protest surrounding the Miss America Contest in 1968. During the event an unexpected fire drill forced us to leave our school building and resume our discussion across the street from our school, on the infamous Harris Field. Carol was very lighthearted about the incident, and her presence made the event both fun and educational.

When we began, it seemed like we had an impossible task to accomplish, but we were able to manage all the work and eventually get it done with wonderful results. With teamwork and dedication, we were able to overcome the problems within our group while learning how to research effectively, write succinctly, and edit for consistency. In conclusion, we were pleased to have worked together on this project and found it to be very rewarding.

<u>1960s</u>	Section Editors: Ben Berringer, Candice Plotkin			
	<u>Emergence</u>	<u>Development</u>	<u>Current</u>	<u>Projections</u>
Anti-War Protest	Vanessa Febo	Nadya Strizhevskaya and Skylar Schiavone*	Fei Radigan*	
Feminist Movement	Judy Ong	Doaa Elkady	Ariana Balestrieri	All
Racial Justice Movement	Eugene Zayfudim	Robert Goldstone	Matthew Niknam	

Note: * indicates Assistant Section Editor

1960s: EMERGENCE DECADE

"At the beginning they thought they had only to fight a hundred or so 'beatniks, Maoists, and Fidelistas,' but they put eight hundred of the 'hard core' in jail and found they still had to face thousands"
-M2M manifesto, 1965

ANTI-WAR PROTEST

By Vanessa Febo

Vietnam anti-war protests during the 1960s were marked by their famous idealism and infamous radicalism. However, it wasn't a struggle fought by those who were up for the draft. In fact, the core of the Vietnam anti-war movement was made of youths who had been exempt from military service and who enjoyed the most freedom and material prosperity in the nation (Levey, 157). One then must ask why it was started by college students, and why did it become so popular amongst them.

The answer lies in the upbringing and ideals of these youthful participants in protest. The late 1950s and early 1960s were a period of great economic ex-

pansion, the exponential growth of suburbia, and the birth of a consumer society. The Vietnam generation was also raised in relatively affluent surroundings, taught the morals of freedom and the ability of the individual to better society (Garfinkle, 46). These moral ideals would become a central focus to the various student organizations that joined in protest against societal fragmentation before they ever concerned themselves with Vietnam (Gitlin, 106). However, this idealism and moral identity was partly a facade to the underlying feelings of societal angst. The Cold War had brought about a society resigned to the inevitabilities of the nuclear arms race and who prepared for the in-

evitable destruction of the earth by building bomb shelters. Criticism of the complacency and underlying fear in this new society created the 1950s Beat generation which would be a direct influence to the antiwar movement that would also sharply attack the ills of mainstream society (Garfinkle, 42).

Furthermore, while the lower classes and minority groups who often did not go to college faced the draft, many white youths were exempt from the draft due to student exemption policies. As a result, a disproportionate amount of minorities fought in the Vietnam War. Many middle class youths acted on a conscience that could not accept their ability to avoid the draft that created this disproportion (Unger, 299). These feelings were

further fueled by the Civil Rights Movement, which led to the growth of the anti-war movement on college campuses (Clymer, 173).

The civil rights movements in the south would be the spark for organized political action amongst students (Clymer, 173). The Civil Rights movement caused many youths to become disenchanted and to question the role of the American government domestically and abroad. The students saw racism in response to civil rights as the impossibility of real change through American institutions (Levey, 238). As a result, the student protesters against the war would be most active outside the realm of what they deemed the "established" society (Dudley, 121).

TAKIN' IT TO THE STREETS

The methods for fighting segregation, such as the sit-ins of the 1950s, powered the white college youths into activism (Gitlin, 83). The concepts of civil disobedience and peaceful protest, initiated during the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 and through the efforts of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., were adapted to the antiwar movement during the 1960s. The mass media attention paid to the violence in Birmingham and the use of songs, slogans and passive resistance would also be copied by student antiwar groups to exite media attention to protests on college campuses (Greenberg, 4). The Cuban Missile Crisis also helped to create a renewed activism against the Cold War. Political activism against nuclear bomb testing during the 1950s created the groups that would lead the anti-war movement, including SANE, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and the Student Peace Union (SPU) (Gitlin, 86).

The anti-war movement started out as an minor concern for student organizations. The Port Huron Statement was SDS' first manifesto and started the group on its course of anti-authoritarian approaches to war opposition (Unger, 284).

However, until 1964, SDS was still mainly involved with civil rights. The

first group to take a position on the war was SANE, which called for negotiations in 1963. The Gulf Of Tonkin incident in August 1964 brought about minor protests in front of the Democratic National Convention and a small SANE march in front of the White House. Although 1964 marked a transitional period where Vietnam emerged as a major issue on college campuses, it would not be until the war was finally "Americanized" that radicalism and growth would occur within the movement (Garfinkle, 58).

The "Rolling Thunder" bomb attacks Lyndon Johnson began in early 1965 was the "Americanization" needed to charge the major anti-war movement. Teach-ins, reminiscent of civil rights sit-ins, began in response to the bombing ("Manifesto", 18). May 15, 1965 marked the first national teach-in (Garfinkle, 75). M2M released a manifesto, which stated that its goal was to organize student protest against Viet-

nam ("Manifesto", 19). Mario Savio started the Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley Campus. FSM originally focused against campus restrictions on student political activities but expanded to fight against Vietnam (Dudley, 125). In April 1965, SDS brought 25,000 marchers to Washington (Unger, 284). Radicalism began to spread more in the New Left. A SANE rally in Washington was joined by members of the radical National Committee to End The War in Vietnam, who waved Vietcong banners above the crowds (Garfinkle, 80). 1966 and 1967 marked the merging of counterculture and the antiwar movement through the mass introduction of marijuana. The hippies gained through this merger would dramatically increase the number of student antiwar protesters (Garfinkle, 91). The Tet Offensive and a steadily increased body count created an increased anti-war current in 1968 ("Attention All", 1). Violence emerged with the shooting of at least

fifty demonstrators by police in a park named "People's Park" created illegally by Berkeley students (Gitlin, 356). The late 1960's also brought the split of SDS into the more radical Weathermen and other factions and marked the end of SDS influence as an anti-war group (Levey, 142). On October 8, 1969 the infamous Days of Rage took place in Chicago where SDS members went on a violent rampage. However, these violent incidents were still few in number. The late 1960s also brought the split of SDS into the more radical Weathermen and other factions (Levey, 142). This divide showed a trend that would further divide the movement along racial and radical ideologies during the next decade.

The election of President Nixon in 1968, with the promise of winding down the war within the next two years had helped diffuse the urgency of the antiwar movement for some people, but the movement was far from dead (Garfinkle, 177). Many student groups, including SDS, were wary of the new president escalating the war further, despite his promises. They would continue to pressure the Federal government to withdraw during the seventies, esalating the violence of the protests as well.



FEMINIST MOVEMENT

By Judy Ong

During the 1950s most women desired no greater future than being housewives. Urged by public opinion, women gloried in their "femininity" (Woloch, 485). The 1950s were seen as a complacent period yet, in actuality, was a decade of change for women's lives in America. During the 1950s, women were being pulled in two different directions, one towards domesticity and the other towards work (Woloch, 495). However, women were encouraged by the majority of society to take traditional gender roles as housewives, and to only work during an intermediate period between college and marriage (Woloch, 499). In the subsequent decades, this was to change due to the increasing awareness of the injustices women faced. Among the turmoil of the civil rights movement and anti-war protests, a feminist revival arose that dealt with issues like gender discrimination and birth control.

During the 1960s the

women's movement grew with the participation of different groups of women. In particular, young women had significant roles in campus activism, although men overshadowed their leadership (Linden-Ward and Green, 155). Many young women were enlisted in various reform and protest movements during the 1960s. Women were active in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), even though men made most of the decisions. Women were ex-



cluded from power and delegated to be lackeys and protestors (Linden-Ward and Green, 159). One reason for women's exclusion was the curfews imposed on women which prevented them from attending late night decision making sessions (Woloch, 160). However, these

movements did create a climate of protest and taught

In general, the egalitarian feminist organizations of the 1960s were moderate groups that consisted of mature women.

Groups such as the National Organization

women activist techniques.

In general, the egalitarian feminist organizations of the 1960s were moderate groups that consisted of mature women. Groups

Emergence Decade
established in 1969 as a response to NOW's "radicalism". WEAL focused more on female participation in government and politics as well as on changing inequalities through a "conservative" approach. (Linden-Ward and Green, 412)

By the late sixties, a growing number of young women began to reject sexism in both counterculture and mainstream culture. An important factor in this was Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). The book caused housewives to question their lives as wives and

mothers. For female students the book raised questions about the roles women played in society and how society viewed women. For the most part, feminist students called for farther changes than

such as the National Organization of Women (NOW) were reformist and not revolutionary. However, many thought NOW too radical, especially in its efforts to open up abortion laws and expand access to contraception. The Women's Equity League (WEAL) was later

the liberals in the egalitarian movements ever contemplated. Some of these women left male-dominated organizations and welcomed radical feminism. Radical feminists were a generation younger than many egalitarians and repudiated the idea that women were different from

TAKIN' IT TO THE STREETS

men. Influenced by the New Left groups, as well as the counterculture environment, the women's liberation movement was more radical than organizations like NOW. "We were movement girls, not career women; NOW's demands and organizational style weren't radical enough for us. We wanted to build a just society, not get a bigger slice of the pie." (Rosen, 84) A difference of ideology and even a sense of animosity divided the women's movement. Egalitarians failed to address the problems of the poor. Radicals rejected egalitarian gradualism, and egalitarians in turn feared

In general, young feminists protested anything that seemed degrading to women

the undisciplined techniques of radicals.

Feminists faced considerable hostility in the New Left. In 1965, a feminist speaker discussing women's issues faced jeers and rude comments from males in the audience. (Linden- Ward and Green, 414) In most cases, young feminist radicals came from the New Left but created their own groups due to gender discrimination. For example, the 1967 SDS convention created women's groups in New York and Chicago. Univer-

sity of Chicago SDS women formed their own independent group, the Women's Radical Action Project, which gained notice through their sit-ins to protest the firing of professor Marlene Dixon for her radicalism and gender (Linden- Ward and Green, 415). By 1969, women's liberation organizations existed throughout the country.

Young women used different tactics to create change. Demonstrations were small but gained negative public attention. In 1968, women protested the Miss America Pageant for exploiting women. (Linden- Ward and Green, 421) The event received significant media coverage and created anti-feminist sentiment. Members of the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH) also dressed up as witches and put "hexes" on establishments which they opposed. University of Michigan SDS women were organized into a WITCH chapter and invaded the state legislature to lobby for abortion law reform (Linden- Ward and Green, 422).

In general, young feminists protested anything that seemed degrading to women. Women students at U.C. Berkeley protested against the "patriarchal" nature of the university and the fact that they learned nothing about

women's history. Throughout the country, students and faculty began demanding the creation of new courses. In 1969, a group of U.C. Berkeley students held a rally and distributed pamphlets stating that they were trapped in an educational institution that refused them the right of knowledge. They demanded that the ROTC building be converted into a space for women's studies and that the university provide childcare and money to support women's education. Amid television cameras, a group of women students and young assistant professors gathered in a circle and burned their masters and doctorate degrees. (Rosen, 205). The women's movement started slowly in the mid-sixties but quickly gained momentum at the end of the decade. Women activists fought for many things, from greater representation in student move-

other radical groups began to address women's rights and problems in the sixties, but were met with little legislative success. Would the women's movement achieve its ultimate legislative goals in future decades? Or would it face stiff opposition and begin to decline in influence?

In 1965, a feminist speaker discussing women's issues faced jeers and rude comments from males in the audience

ments to abortion rights and women's education in universities. Yet, even amid all the fervor of student activism and protest, many demands were not met and rights were not acknowledged. Organizations like NOW and WEAL and

RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

By Eugene Zaydfudim

The Black Civil Rights Movement emerged at the end of the Civil War but did not affect American society until 1954. In that year, the Supreme Court under Earl Warren overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson*, an 1896 decision that permitted segregation. The 1954 decision in *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* declared segregation of public schools unconstitutional and by implication all segregation. In 1957 the Civil Rights Movement made another monumental dent in Jim Crow laws with the Montgomery bus boycott. The boycott was successful in integrating public transportation in Montgomery and the Supreme Court backed this decisive move (Anderson, 45). Conservative groups such as the NAACP, which tried not to invoke white hatred, led the civil rights movement before 1960.

The events of the 1950's set the stage for student involvement in the next decade. In the 1960's, students advocating immediate change played an increasingly pivotal role in the civil rights movement. On February 1, 1960, four students from North Carolina A&T College in Greens-

boro went to a Woolworth's. They sat at a "white's only" lunch counter and waited to be served. When asked to move to a "black" counter, they refused to sit there. These four students started the "sit-in" movement. Soon, more than 90 percent of the area's black college students were sit-

SNCC later challenged and undermined the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). They ridiculed Martin Luther King as "De Lawd" for his cautious style and willingness to settle for "half a loaf" Anti

ting-in, picketing, or boycotting segregated eating establishments.

Consequently, student involvement in the civil rights movement coincided with the escalation of United States involvement in Vietnam. The government's attempts to maintain democracy in Vietnam led student protestors to point out the contradiction that existed in America. How could we

be fighting to maintain democracy in Vietnam if the United States is oppressing a part of its own population, the African Ameri-

A Although the "freedom rides" were not successful due to bombings, murders, and intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan, SNCC's reputation for fearless militancy worsened

cans? (Browne, 471-474)

In the summer of 1960, in response to the sit-in movement, students from over fifty colleges organized the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). SNCC, with delegates from every Southern state, adopted a statement of purpose that affirmed its commitment to nonviolence "...as the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action" (Burns, 13). However, as the sit-in movement slowed, SNCC shifted from being the coordinating arm of a mass movement to being a cadre of ex-students committed to long-term organizing, mainly in rural Southern communities (Bond, 18).

SNCC later challenged and undermined the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Con-

Emergence Decade ference (SCLC). They ridiculed Martin Luther King as "De Lawd" for his cautious style and willingness to settle for "half a loaf" (Burns, 17). As their leader, John Lewis put it: "We are in revolt, not only against segregation but against the type of leadership, the so-called old guard leadership, where you have had a select few to speak for the Negro people and make deals." In his view SCLC represented this type of leadership (Bennett Jr., 148).

SNCC's first action in the Civil Rights Movement was in the "freedom rides" of 1961, which attempted to desegregate bus terminals in the Deep South. Although the "freedom rides" were not successful due to bombings, murders, and intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan, SNCC's reputation for fearless militancy worsened. During the "freedom rides," SNCC also attempted to register voters in the Deep South. Soon SNCC discovered that no other action was riskier, more militant, or even more revolutionary than organizing Blacks to vote in Mississippi. There the KKK's reputation for terrorism had kept voter registration off limits to the rest of the movement. Before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, SNCC activists were able to register only 5 percent of blacks since the founding

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of the student movement (Anderson, 76).

After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, SNCC members started a revolutionary project called the Mississippi Freedom Summer. During the summer of 1964, a thousand white northern students sympathetic to the Civil Rights Movement helped SNCC register black citizens. The

scribed the summer of 1964 as: "the longest nightmare of my life" (Anderson, 79). Nevertheless, volunteers continued working throughout the summer. Volunteers built "freedom schools" where illiterate blacks could learn to articulate their desires and demands. Activists also attempted to register blacks in the Democratic Party but failed, registering

tion to the convention. (Gitlin, 152-162).

After the "failure" of SNCC to create a separate democratic party, Stokely Carmichael became the leader of the organization. He preached black power and militancy and allied SNCC with the Black Panther Party (BPP) in 1968. The BPP's chief mission was to enforce civil rights laws and constitutional guaran-



A charcoal drawing suggesting the damage that the KKK could do to the United States

assumption was that public opinion would not tolerate southerners assaulting white college students from prominent families. However, the KKK had other plans. The FBI did nothing while southerners assaulted and murdered white volunteers and SNCC members. In one incident, three men, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, who were white volunteers, and James Chaney a black volunteer, were murdered by racists (Anderson, 78).

One volunteer de-

less than 1600 black voters. Therefore, SNCC established their own alternate party, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Nearly 60,000 African-Americans joined the MFDP, and these voters elected 44 "freedom delegates" to attend the 1964 Democratic Convention. However, their dream of elected representatives disappeared when the NAACP and SCLC took over the party and in a compromise with Johnson settled for two seats in the white Mississippi delega-

tees, a task the southern movement had neglected (Burns, 49). However, personal and ideological clashes produced deepening distrust and hostility, and the alliance shattered in open recrimination. Unable to surmount its own internal divisions, which were intensified by external repression, SNCC, along with the student movement, faded into obscurity a year later.

1970 To 1990: DEVELOPMENT DECADES

"These students are not struggling for themselves alone. They are seeking to save the soul of America. They are taking our whole nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the Founding Fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. In sitting down at lunch counters, they are in reality standing up for the best in the American dream."

-Martin Luther King Jr.

ANTI-WAR PROTEST

By Nadya Strizhevskaya
and
Skyler Schiavone

As the turbulent sixties came to an end, the student protest movement was still not ready to subside. The student protest movement had reached its peak in the late sixties, and after the turn of the decade, it slowed down and eventually fell apart. The organization whose actions had been the main thrust of the protest movement, Students for a Democratic Society, began to decrease in popularity and effectiveness due to problems within the group and several external factors. The

weakening of SDS was a major blow to the protest movement as a whole, which would ultimately weaken throughout the 70s and 80s, and never come close to the fervor it had reached in the 1960s.

The election of Richard Nixon in 1968 gave students hope that the war would soon come to an end, but these dreams were not fulfilled. In 1970, President Nixon secretly authorized the bombing of Cambodia, and did not make it public until April 30, well after the bombing had happened. This action spurred active protest across the country as students began to target Reserve Officer Training

Corps offices on campuses. ROTC buildings were burned down on 30 college campuses. As the protests blew up, they became too violent for the local police. As a result, the National Guard was called in to 21 universities across the nation to restore order. However, their presence only further enraged students (McCormick, 97).

At Kent State University, students protested all weekend long after learning about the bombing raids. The governor of Ohio sent for the National Guard to restore order. On May 4th the National Guard arrived at Kent State to break up a rally and stop the protestors. After much violence, the National Guard opened

fire, leaving four students dead and nine wounded (Barr, 110). The event shook the country; students went on strike on hundreds of campuses, many of which closed for the rest of the year. This event seemed to drive home, in the minds of a growing number of students, the point of how wrong the war in Vietnam really was. To students protesting the war, it was a sign of the government's insensitivity, and the deaths of the students were unnecessary and senseless, just like the deaths of soldiers in Vietnam (Barr, 112).

In his 1972 campaign, Nixon promised that peace was at hand, yet most activists failed to believe him, and gave their support to the

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antiwar candidate, George McGovern. On January 21, 1973, the day of Nixon's inauguration, students held a massive protest in Washington DC to remind the President of his promise, with over 25,000 people marching. On January 27, the Paris Peace Accords were signed, and the US was no longer involved in the fighting. In July of that year, Congress passed the War Powers Act, preventing Nixon from sending any further aid to Vietnam. Finally, the war seemed to be over (Franklin, 3).

After 1970, the Left on US campuses began to collapse as internal divisions, both cultural and ideological, split the movement. The development of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) within SDS created a great division in the movement, as did the development of black militant groups that diverged to focus on their own problems with society. Problems within SDS, as well as a conservative local environment, ensured that the movement would have great difficulty in recapturing the momentum it had gained in the previous decade (Heineman, 257). SDS chapters across the nation began to lose membership. An attempt to organize a student strike in February 1971 to protest the American-backed South Vietnamese Army invasion of Laos fell apart. Students were divided along class,

ethnic, religious, and racial lines, and could no longer focus on the greater cause that had once brought them together. Such divisions ultimately fragmented SDS and the whole antiwar effort

Anti-nuclear Protest



in general, and spurred movements within movements (Heineman, 259).

Whether or not it was the efforts of the students that finally pushed the US to withdraw from Vietnam can be argued. It is certain, though, that the student movement left a lasting impact on American society. The atmosphere of the rebellious sixties and seventies bred a sense of distrust towards the government and a reluctance to listen to authority. Moreover, it ensured that students would never remain ignorant. Political awareness increased, and students became even more interested in their own student governments. There were fewer demonstrations, but still an estimated 20% of college students in the early 80s participated in student movements (Elrich, 108). Tactics shifted as liti-

gation & grievance procedures, student lobbying, and public interest research replaced traditional forms of protest. Those who had opposed the war in the 60s turned their attention to-

wards anti-nuclear, human rights, and environmental causes (McCormick, 115). Actions took place opposing the re-introduction of draft registration, against cutbacks in student financial assistance, protesting military build-up and interventionist foreign policy, and demanding divestment of economic ties to South Africa. The early 80s were an active time for anti-apartheid protest, as students called on colleges to sell off stock in companies doing business in South Africa (Elrich, 120). The feminist and civil rights movements also grew out of the antiwar protest of the 60s, and both efforts were fully active in the 80s.

Americans were also left with the fear of engaging in another unsuccessful foreign conflict. As trouble erupted in the

1980s, students protested again. In 1983, when US armed forces were sent to ease tensions in Grenada, protesters replied with the persistent cry, "No more Vietnams," thus showing their reluctance to get involved in another war (McCormick, 130). Opposition to Reagan's support of the Star Wars plan on campuses also showed students desire for peace and neutrality. However, the remnants of the anti-war movement were not strong enough to prevent U.S. military action in Panama, Libya, Grenada, Lebanon, and the deployment of half a million troops to the Persian Gulf (Bingham, 6).

The student movement, though, was not a futile effort. Although it soon subsided, it left definite marks in society. American students became permanently involved in the nation's affairs, and learned to stand up for what they believed in, even if it meant defying governmental authority. However, after the 60s, students no longer had a unifying cause or organization that would allow student activism to be as forceful as it was during the Vietnam era. And although they were more splintered and less unified than in the late 70s and 80s, student-led movements around issues of war and peace did not disappear from the American scene during the Reagan years.

FEMINIST MOVEMENT

By Doaa Elkady

When Stokely Carmichael was asked in 1964 what was the position of women in the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, he responded, "The position of women in SNCC is prone". Carmichael's riff on women represented the very reason feminism became so active on college campuses, and became nearly as famous as his calls for Black Power (Brownmiller, 14).

By 1967, through participating in the civil rights and antiwar movements, female student activists found that their radical male colleagues, who worked so hard for radical societal change, failed to see the importance of extending that need for change to include gender roles (Loeb, 273). American society had taught young women that the only way oppressed people gained rights and freedom was by fighting for them (Dixon, 337). Women's liberation was committed to this struggle, and thus, the late 1960's saw the birth of active feminism on college campuses. The movement for change carried into and flourished in the 1970's.

A girl entering college in the early 70's believed that college was a

place where she could define herself. However, she soon found that the university was part of the chorus that told women of their main vocation as mothers and servants to men (Dixon, 329). Many college women saw the need to liberate themselves as they felt the oppression that surrounded them on campus via curfews, 'appropriate' majors, and a lack of female mentors (Rosen, 91). Feminism allowed these girls to define their own boundaries and create their own image as independent, competent female individuals.

One could separate a non-feminist from a feminist via outward appearance. 'Matronly shirtwaists, tight underwear, teased hair, and heavily made up faces were replaced with miniskirts, bellbottoms, granny glasses, unshaved bodies, little underwear, and plain faces' (Brownmiller, 67). As their sense of entitlement grew, the mindframe of student feminists changed even more dramatically. Each year, female students continued to reshape and redefine women's proper role in society. They encouraged the discovery of the social, political, and economic effects of male dominance, while encouraging participants to adopt the belief

that the 'personal was political' (Flacks and Whalen, 217).

Student activists demanded greater sympathy for their grievances. During the 1970's, feminists succeeded in bringing domestic violence to the forefront of America's conscience. 'Coining the term wife battering, law officials, prodded by feminists, renamed domestic violence a crime. From 1970-1980, students, along with social workers and activists, created the first battered women's shelters while lobbying for reform' (Rosen, 56). Feminists also revealed the frequency of assaults made against women on campus. In 1975, a group of female students at Cornell University banded together to expose the sexual behavior of a male professor and coined the term 'sexual harassment' (Rosen, 63). Their efforts led to numerous lawsuits that exposed the frequency of sex discrimination on campuses. By 1972, over 305 class action charges had been filed against some of the nation's most prominent universities by organizations like NOW and WEAL, as well as by individual students themselves (Wandersee, 105). Recognizing the horror of rape on campus, in 1982, 300 students at UC, Davis, participated in an annual 'Take Back The Night' ritual to protest women's fear of

Development Decades
male violence at night (Wandersee, 74).

Similarly, student feminists demanded protection of their reproductive rights, birth control, and their rights to female gynecologists on campus (Wandersee, 88). In the drive to create institutions that suited their needs, feminists urged the creation of thousands of women's centers and women's studies courses. The first women's studies course, initiated by 28 female students at the University of Wisconsin, set the precedent for the women's studies courses that soon became available across the nation (Rosen, 121). Such courses and programs were the most rapidly growing and innovative addition to college curricula in the 1970's (Flacks and Whalen, 128).

With such notable success in breaking gender barriers and in giving women more credibility, feminism soon attracted the attention of the 'New Right' (Dixon, 329). By the 1980's, right wing government officials and other prominent conservatives attacked feminism of all kinds, basing their attacks on false impressions of feminist theory (Rosen, 149).

Moral conservatives and the New Right labeled the movement and its participants immoral destructors of family and the American way of life

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(Dixon, 329). In the 80's, though gender consciousness had increased, growing numbers of female students rejected the label 'feminist'. A 1989 New York Times poll showed that although female undergraduates consistently endorsed feminist issues, only 16% of those asked would have called themselves 'feminists' (Loeb, 212). Founding feminists saw the decline and warned of 'post-feminism', which assumed that the women's movement took care of oppressive institutions and that it was now up to individual women to make decisions that reinforced those changes (Orr,

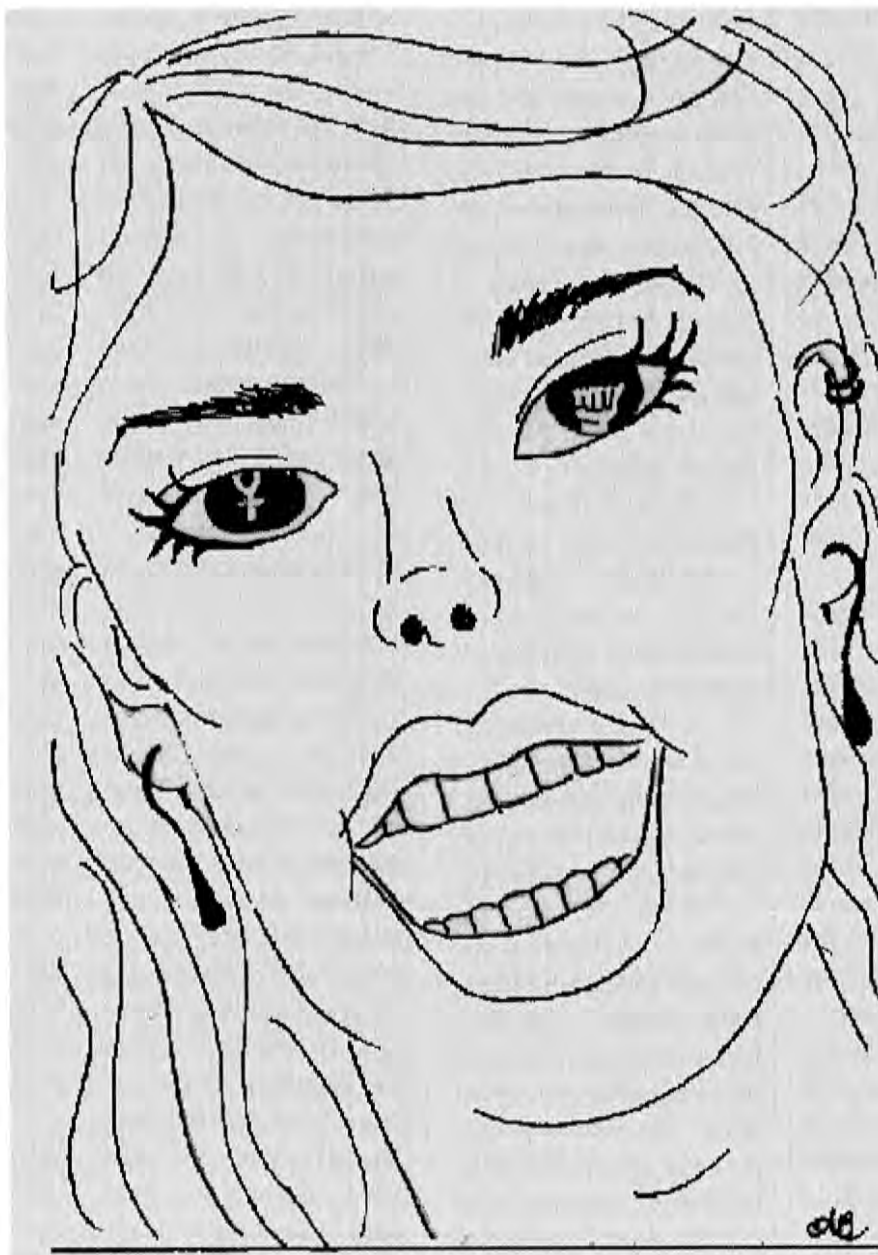
47). The post-feminist student generation took for granted their equal competence with men, their place in the workforce, and their right to livelihood. Many believed that women had already achieved full equality with men. When female students did seek to express their views on gen-

der inequality, they did so in open class discussions rather than by protesting.

reversible changes in American society (Ruth, 102). The media portrayed student

thus leading to a sharp decrease in feminist activism on campuses (Loeb, 213).

As America moved into the 1990's, serious questions were raised with regard to the feminist movement. Would it die out altogether, or would it enjoy a powerful resurgence among the newest, youngest 'third wave' generation?



Thus, by the 1980s, as America came out of the 'radical' '60s and the 'turbulent' '70s, the stability which governmental conservatives promised caused them to portray feminists as unjustified radicals. They made women scapegoats for untraceable problems and ir-

feminists as 'hairy, man-hating dykes in overalls and striking boots', while insinuating that they grew up to be hateful, lonely women who threatened the fabric of American society (Rosen, 296). Such portrayals alienated many young women and left them preferring distance from the movement,

RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

By Robert Goldstone

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by a decline of campus activism for the civil rights movement. The unrest that was prevalent on college campuses during the 1960s radically changed during the mid-1970s, resulting in an era of relative tranquility (McAdam, 325). There were many factors that caused the decline of campus activism, such as the disappearance of viable issues, changes in campus policy, a shift of energy to support different issues, growing disenchantment with radical activism, and the desire of students to pursue personal goals (Astin, 190-193).

Perhaps one of the most critical factors in the decline of campus activism

The student protests of the 1960s were frequently successful in their goals, as measured by the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965

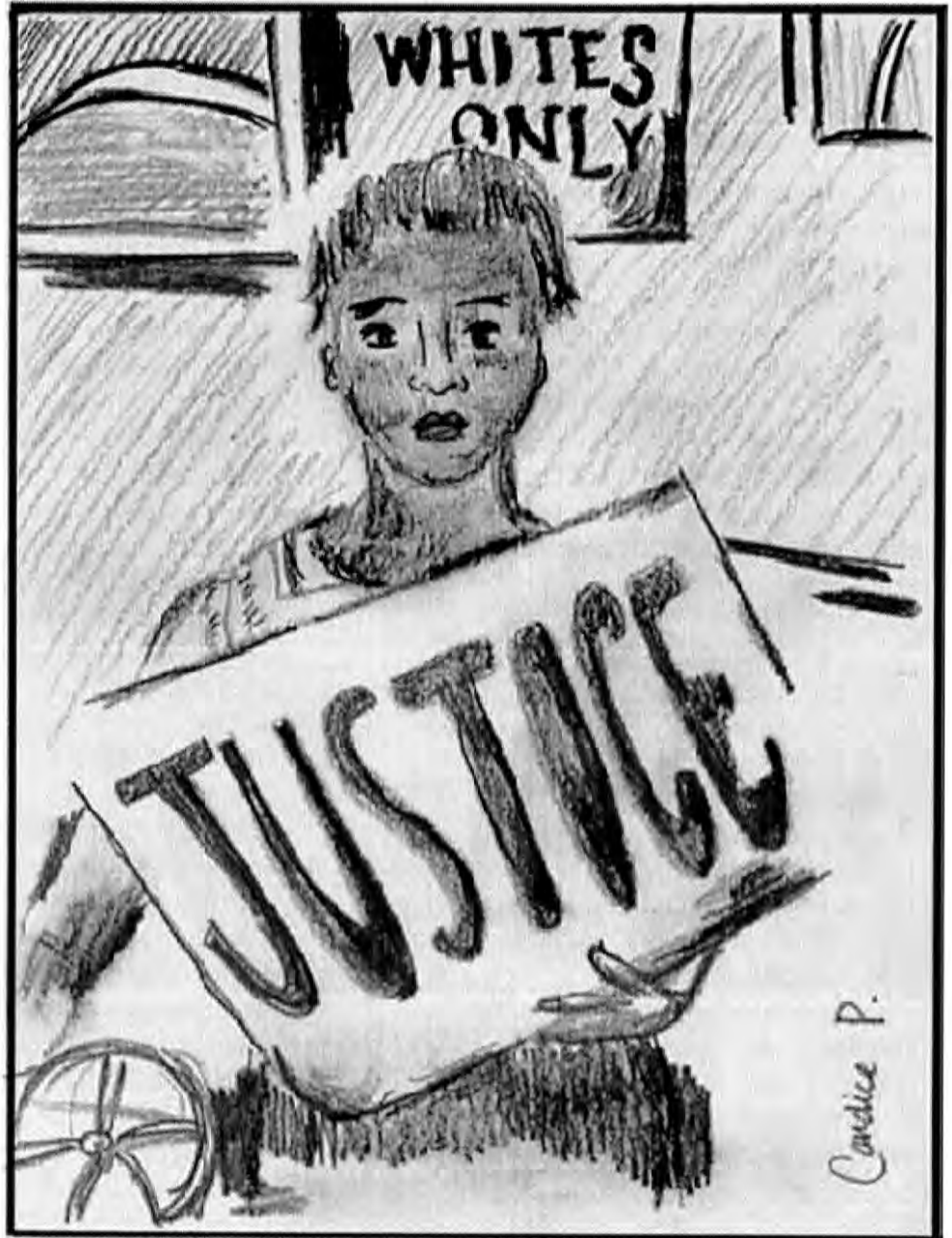
was the relative disappearance of racial issues as focal points on campus unrest. The student protests of the

1960s were frequently successful in their goals, as measured by the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968,

experience protests often made changes in racial policies in order to prevent activism from developing.

The changes in campus policy with respect to blacks were substantial and pervasive. Most institutions undertook serious drives to

Development Decades studies institutes, and black-oriented courses. In a few colleges, attempts at establishing black dormitories were undertaken, and black student organizations were accepted with greater credibility (Glazer, 2-3). Hence, the actions of many aca-



and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Kneeland, "Campuses," 36). Furthermore, institutions that did not ex-

recruit minority students, faculty and staff. Many colleges established black studies programs, African

demic institutions alleviated the concerns that were underlying most racial protests during the late 1960s and

TAKIN' IT TO THE STREETS

early 1970s.

Another important factor that influenced the decline of campus activism for civil rights was the redirection of much of the new left's energy toward other issues, such as the women's liberation movement. The radical student organizations of the 1960s were viewed by some as sexist, with the leadership roles occupied primarily by men, and the subordinate roles staffed by women. A dramatic change occurred between 1969 and 1973 in the attitude of both sexes on the role of women and equal rights for women. These trends suggest that the women's movement drew increasing support from students and thus, posed as an increasingly serious competitor for the energies of civil rights activists (Astin, 192-193).

The decline of campus unrest and student activism was also a result of a growing desire among college students to pursue personal goals. An increasingly tight job market for college graduates led many to turn away from campus activism because of a growing concern for their economic welfare and eventual career prospects (Yankelovich, 19). Radicalism became a more personal matter, and not something to be paraded around in the streets. The battle for black studies waned at many institutions, and students began to focus on improving the admission of more minority students

(Kneeland, "Youth," 48-49).

Student protest, however, had not completely disappeared during the 1970s and 1980s. Despite many concessions granted by universities as a result of racial protests, the economic and educational problems of black and other minorities were still prevalent (Kneeland, "Campuses," 1). The enrollment of minority students, as well as affirmative action issues, instilled protests on a wide range of college campuses. Admission policies presented another problem. In 1975, students at the University of California at Santa Barbara demanded continued funding of Chicano and black studies centers, recruitment of more minorities, and the resignation of

An increasingly tight job market for college graduates led many to turn away from campus activism because of a growing concern for their economic welfare and eventual career prospects

the affirmative action coordinator. A student strike arose at Brown University in position to proposed cuts in scholarships and programs for black students (Astin, 195). In April 1987, hundreds of Columbia University students marched

through the campus and nearby neighborhoods to oppose institutional racism at the school (Vellela, 248).

Student protest was also demonstrated through legal action via civil rights court cases. By the late 1970s the use of racial and minority quotas had led to court challenges of affirmative action as a form of "reverse discrimination," usually against white males. One of the most important of such challenges was in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (5-4) that fixed quotas may not be set for medical school places for minority applicants, if white applicants are denied a chance to compete for those places. While such quota programs were outlawed, the court also maintained that professional schools may consider race as a factor in making decisions on admissions (O'Neill, 6-7). The Court managed to minimize white opposition to the goal of equality, while extending gains for racial minorities through affirmative action. Hence, the quiet campus environment was maintained (O'Neill, 246-247).

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a dramatic decline in the level of campus protest over the issues associated with racial equality. Student activism subsided and certainly changed, reflecting changing times and circumstances, but it never

really stopped. With the ever-changing economic, political, social, and psychological climates, a question remains: would college students continue to identify and confront what has grown outdated, unnecessary, or unjust?

1991-2001: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

"These [student] activists [against globalization], more than any students radicals in years, passionately denounce the wealth gap, globally and in the United States, as well as the lack of democratic accountability in a world dominated by corporations."

-Liza Featherstone, *The New Movement*

ANTI-WAR PROTEST

By Fei Radigan

Student anti-war protests have evolved over the decades. During the 1960s, anti-war protests against the Vietnam War became more vocal (Anderson, 181). The students were united to protest against the draft and the futility of US involvement in Vietnam. However, the protests were based more on disillusionment and idealism than on the actual war (Anderson, 193). Student anti-war protests declined somewhat during the 1970s due to internal dissension and division along racial and class lines (Epstein, 35). In the 1980s anti-war protests gained in strength. Students

still protested the sending of troops into Grenada, hoping to avoid another episode like that of Vietnam (Epstein, 40).

The embers left by the antiwar protests of the 1960s have not entirely burned out. Although student protests against war have declined over the last decade, they have left their mark on American society. However, wars still exist today, and as long as they exist, there will always be pacifist forces in opposition.

Wars in the Balkans and in Iraq have stirred up anti-war protests and feelings. Students held teach-ins and other demonstrations at campuses around the US (Pine, 1). The New

School in New York drew 1,000 students to an April 1999 teach-in (Pine 1). Around the same time, the University of Massachusetts staged a campus-wide teach-in on the war in Kosovo (Abraham, 1). Television pictures of Kosovo refugees describing the "ethnic cleansing" evoked images of the Nazi Holocaust and served to intensify voices opposed to and in support of US military action in the region (Pine, 2).

Today, some university students believe that American involvement in and hostile treatment toward some countries are completely unnecessary. Recently, a group of students at the University of Illinois formed an antiwar

group (Univ. of Illinois website). Their purpose is to promote a sensible foreign policy through opposition to illegal wars, inhumane sanctions and embargoes, involvement in NATO, and peace-keeping missions in which US soldiers must pledge allegiance to foreign commanders. Chip Hosken, at The University of Illinois, believed that President George W. Bush was continuing to bomb Iraq because he wanted to gain favor from military supporters, establish credibility in his foreign policy, and obtain control of the oil by implementing a military operation in that country. Students at Pennsylvania State University opposed the potential draft of troops

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into Kosovo. The prevailing sentiment was "If a war broke out in America, would the Kosovars come and fight for us?" They believed the Albanians were capable of fighting for themselves and that sending US troops into the Balkan region would waste money and human lives.

Today, youth involvement in anti-war protests is not very popular because the world's conflicts are too far-removed (Rudy, 92). The focus is shifted to protest against multinational corporations and globalization (Kahn, 1). The Seattle protest against the WTO, which students participated in, contributed to the collapse of the world trade talks (Kahn, 1). The participants of the Seattle protest felt they were putting the brakes on greed and material consumption (Thomas, 15). The Washington protests, which began with a quiet rally for debt forgiveness and would culminate with an effort to prevent world finance ministers from attending the spring meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, were the second big test for the anti-globalization movement (Kahn 2). While the Washington protests had some social and political impact, their main achievement was uniting groups with different agendas around a common cause. The protests also

attracted new people into the movement, especially college students (Kahn 2).

As part of the anti-globalization movement, students frequently lead protests against the violation of the rights of laborers in foreign countries who produce goods for foreign corporations. These workers receive less than the minimum wage and work in subhuman conditions (Kahn, 2). One such group is the United Students Against Sweatshops, SAS, which turned out for the anti-globalization dem-

onstrations during October of 2000 at the World Bank and the IMF meeting in Prague ("The Old College Try", 2). Unlike the antiwar movement of the 1960's, the SAS is linking students and workers, and making the connection between the environment and workers' rights (Borosage, 2).

In the 1990s, student anti-war activism shifted its targets to the dangers posed by multinational corporations to the world's economy and to the environment. Antiwar protests have diminished in their in-

tensity, but it is highly likely that such protests will emerge in response to conflicts around the world.



FEMINIST MOVEMENT

By Ariana Balestrieri

Over the course of the preceding decade, the nature of the women's movement has changed in a number of ways. One major change has been the decline of female student activism on campuses in comparison to the fervent feminist activism of the 1960s and 1970s. Student activism concerning feminism has not died out completely, however. There is a new wave of youth feminist activism centered on global feminist issues. The protest spirit of 1960s feminism also lives on in the underground movement of the "Riot Grrrls." Though feminism has changed to a large extent from the 1960s and 1970s, feminism in these earlier decades brought about a more widespread consciousness of women's issues in the 1990s and through to the present.

Many argue that the protest spirit of feminists on campuses has declined. Veterans of the movement from the 1960s, such as Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine, and the founder of NOW Betty Friedan of *Feminine Mystique* fame, warned against complacency resulting from women taking the movement's achievements for granted (Drinkard, 13A; Woo, 12). Friedan has attacked

the culture of greed that breeds complacency and complained of the lack of values beyond "purposes larger than ourselves" (Woo, 12).

Student movements no longer question the foundation of American society and generally do not feel the same urgency as in the 1960s. They ask narrower questions and protests are generally safer (Wilgoren, 4.4). The fo-

cus of student protest is now on such issues as free trade, sweat shop labor, issues remain important topics, but few actually rally to protect those rights (Stockman, B1). Many suggest that this is because women feel that their rights are protected and that there is no real threat against them. Ironically, the arena for discussion provided by women's studies may also explain the subsidizing of activism since open discussion in the classroom reduces the need for protest (Koikari, 1270; Palmer, A15).



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environmentalism, and on-campus issues as opposed to domestic issues. This has drawn many women out of activist feminism (West and Blumberg, 13). At women's colleges such as Wellesley, women's is-

As student feminists try to reach out to other young women on campuses, they face the resentment of people who feel excluded or targeted by their ideas (Begley, 71). There is also a lingering taboo and negative reaction to feminism on campuses across the nation. The sensitivity of gender issues and the current apathy amongst young women might forever remain a barrier to the growth of feminism. However, some predict the threat of the Bush administration towards women's

Recent Developments
issues may wake young women up and spur new activism in the future (Stockman, B1).

Despite the decline of campus protest, feminism has not died out. In addition, the new wave of feminism has brought to light previously unexplored topics. While feminists of the 1960s and 1970s focused on the welfare and rights of primarily white middle class American women, student feminists in the 1990s largely reached

While feminists of the 1960s and 1970s focused on the welfare and rights of primarily white middle class American women, student feminists in the 1990s largely reached out to a global community by seeking to protect the rights of women in developing countries

out to a global community by seeking to protect the rights of women in developing countries (Basu, 458). Global feminism largely developed in the United Nations through a series of meetings from 1975 to 1995 (Rosen, 341-342). Such issues as clitoridectomies, dowry deaths, wife beatings, and arranged marriages were

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certified as violations of women's human rights rather than customs. Rape during military conflict, an issue for many refugees, was also redefined as a war crime. The representatives discussed giving women greater control over their reproductive rights to control population growth (Rosen, 342).

Activist global feminism has largely been taken over by students. Such public events and rallies as the Feminist Expo 2000 in Baltimore have emphasized global issues. Specifically, the Expo in Baltimore emphasized the repression of women in Afghanistan and worked to ratify the International Convention to Eliminate All

older feminists from the original movement and feminist students currently active on campuses. Much focus was placed on encouraging the young student feminists to keep feminism alive and active

The "grrrl" movement was never able to break the stereotypes of the music industry for women, but it did encourage women performers to hold all feminist women bands festivals such as the Lilith Fair and the Ladyfest

(Drinkard, 13A). Such organizations as the National Organization for Women (NOW), founded during the movement in the 1960s, are reaching out to student feminists by involving themselves in the global movement as well as by emphasizing young women's issues.

A new student feminist culture arose from the protest spirit of the 1960s as a response to the conservative backlash of the 1980s. The underground punk culture of the "grrrls" or the "riot grrrls" began in 1991 in Olympia, Washington when a few women from the local university began a discussion on music and feminism. The women who hosted the informal discussion hoped

to fight the stereotypes of the music industry against women as well as tackle such issues as rape, abuse, and eating disorders.

The movement spread yet remained underground and some of its ideas were co-opted by mainstream trends. The "grrrl" movement was never able to break the stereotypes of the music industry for women, but it did encourage women performers to hold all feminist women bands festivals such as the Lilith Fair and the Ladyfest. More women also began to address women's issues through their music beginning an era of "pop-feminism" (Foster, 29).

The "riot grrrls" describe young women who protest society's expectations of women through culture. The "grrrls" define themselves and protest through art, websites, underground publications, mailing lists and even their appearance (Garrison, 142). Many "riot grrrls" are often seen wearing their hair dyed and their body parts pierced (Rosenfeld, C1).

While student feminist activism on campuses has been on the decline in the 1990s, underground feminist protest has remained strong. Will feminist activism lose its place on campus and only survive in underground movements in the future? Or will the advent of another conservative-oriented government in the United States prompt

students to rally on campuses and to fight the conservative, pro-values agenda? Perhaps the new wave of global feminism will take away focus from domestic issues altogether.

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Forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW) in the United States. As well as addressing these specific topics, the Feminist Expo brought together

RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

By Matthew Niknam

The level of youth protest around the issues associated with civil rights has declined since the early 1970s. The waning influence of once strong civil rights organizations, continuing shift of youth efforts towards other issues, and changes in the way youth view the society they live in are all factors that have contributed to this decline.

Although youth protest for civil rights has declined during the past decade, it has not ceased to exist. Recently, hate crimes committed against blacks, controversy over police brutality and racial profiling, and the rising influence of "hip-hop" culture among today's youth have served as two very important factors that have kept youth protest for civil rights alive (Ards, 11).

During the past decade, youth protest for civil

rights has encountered a gradual decline due to the lack of influence of civil rights organizations, and a continuing shift of youth efforts towards other issues. Once regarded as a powerful force in young

people's protests for civil rights, the influence of civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, SNCC, and CORE has lessened to a great extent in recent times. Over the past ten years, the NAACP has been troubled by financial problems, while CORE and

the work done by the "Educators for Social Responsibility" in schools districts across the country, and the "Love Can Wait" program, which recently inspired thousands of teens to demonstrate in Washington for abstinence until marriage (Hefner).

Recent Developments

The changing view of American youths towards adults and society have both been important factors in decreasing the level of youth protest for civil rights in the past decade. One significant result of the civil rights protests of the 1960's was the recognition that young people deserved to be taken seriously as members of society.

In turn, youth services such as Covenant House (privately funded) have currently enhanced their efforts in providing crisis care, education, drug abuse prevention and transitional living programs to runaway youths all across America (Rose). In addition, freedom schools and birth control counseling centers such as "Planned

Parenthood of Georgia" have recently been established by states in rising numbers to cater specifically to youth needs (Dailard). In an effort to make schools more responsive to student needs, school districts have set up alternative schools, given



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students a broader choice of courses, and have incorporated social services such as peer counseling. Thus, in today's society, youth voices are heard and heeded in ways they never were in the past.

Although the level of youth protest for civil rights has declined over the past decade, it has not ceased to exist, as it has been increasingly manifested against race related offenses. In 1996, FBI reports showed that almost two-thirds of all race-related hate crime victims were blacks (American Psychological Association). This fact, combined with issues such as police brutality and racial profiling by police have brought forth a wave of student protests during the nineties. A factor which has caused the increase in youth protest in this area is the increasing appeal and popularity of hip-hop culture. Organizations such as the Youth Task Force in Atlanta, Third-Eye Movement in the Bay Area, and "Hip-Hop 2 Educate" are three such organizations which have used the popular musical genre to appeal to urban youth in an effort to educate them about hate crimes and the difference youth can produce through their efforts and involvement (Ards,13).

Youth protests in the area of civil rights have also gained national prominence. At a recent youth

summit and march in Atlanta, sponsored by the National Crime Prevention Council and Youth Crime Watch of America, Martin Luther King III told about 750 youths gathered at his father's grave to protect people being targeted because of their race, just as his father had done decades ago in the sixties (Lahay). The recent shootings of Amadou Diallo, Patrick Dorismond, and Gideon Busch in New York and Timothy Thomas in Cincinnati (just weeks ago) at the hands of city police have led to protests from groups such as the Black United Front, Anti-Racist Action, Citizens for a Humane Economy, and the New Black Panther Party (Lieberman). Recent protests by groups such as the October 22nd Coalition have led to youth meetings such as the "Racial Profiling Conference" led by Rev. Al Sharpton and U.S. Congresswoman Maxine Waters at Illinois State University (Groves). Thus, although youth participation in struggles for civil rights may have decreased in the past decade, it has definitely not vanished from the public eye.

During the past decade, the level of youth protest for civil rights has continued the decline which began in the early 1970s. In recent years, the influence of once powerful civil rights organizations has greatly decreased, and youth efforts at protest have generally

been directed at other issues. Although these factors have contributed to a decrease in the level of activism, youth-led protests against hate crimes, police brutality, and racial profiling are still occurring with some frequency in American society today, and do not go unnoticed.

PROJECTIONS

"Involvement requires solidarity: an ethic that encourages people to act not only for themselves and their immediate families, but for others with whom they feel a basic human connection. Avenues for involvement do exist in most communities, but they aren't always visible. Young activists need to assertively seek them out if they want to do more than just attend sporadic marches or become relatively passive organizational supporters. They need to find continuing ways to take effective stands'."

-Paul Rogat Loeb, *Generation At the Cross Roads*

Protest has been and always will be a force that unites students. Knowing that individuals can come together to make change is a powerful idea that propelled the student movements in the 1960s. So long as students continue to explore their power to change our society, student movements will continue.

The nature of student protest will change significantly from its form in the 1960s. The student movement will most likely never be as centralized as it was in the 1960s. As the movements expanded in the 1960s, students began to branch off. They found new issues to explore that were not seen as important by all students. This pat-

tern of smaller groups of students banding together on specific issues will continue in the future. However, the decentralization will not necessarily destroy unity among the various groups. Knowing they work for the same ultimate goals of equality and the end of discrimination will unite them and prevent any antagonism between them.

Technology will further transform how students organize. The World Wide Web serves as unlimited space for advertising various issues of concern and it will continue to serve as a medium for organizing and recruiting. Since computer technology plays a major role in American student life and

since access to the Web is widespread, the Web will continue to serve as a powerful means by which to expand student movements.

Although decentralized, student movements will become more widespread in the future. Greater emphasis in education on questioning society and history, as well as many arenas for student discussion in the classroom, will help foster interest and activism among students in the future. Within the system, students will continue to play an active role in their school governments and will stay interested in the political affairs of the country as citizens and voters. It is unlikely that violent force will be

used against students as it was in the 1960s by university administrations, the U.S. government, and the police.

Global issues will become a central theme of student protest. Traditional issues of improving and increasing black and women's rights as advocated in the 1960s have been transformed into global issues of helping to secure the rights of oppressed people in developing countries.

The environment will become a central arena for student protest. Improvements in the technology of warfare will cause students to protest against such issues as nuclear testing not only in the United



Woolworths in Greensboro, North Carolina

States, but also across the globe.

As long as America continues its quest for global hegemony, students will continue to question the course of our foreign policy. Students will continue to fight for a balance between America's powerful role in world affairs and a more humane US foreign policy.

There is also something to be said about the generation of adults who were active students in the 1960s. Their knowledge and their ideas will be passed on to their children to motivate our generation of students to question society as it is, an effect seen with our "Meet the Press" event with Carol Giordina. However, the widespread trend seen in the 1960s of affluent students feeling oppressed because of their position in society is not so evident on campuses today. Perhaps the current

focus on economic gain and self-aggrandizement, which began in the 1980s and continues to the present, will discourage young people from participating in student-led protests. It may also serve to keep student protests limited to personal issues and away from issues connected to the struggle for universal economic, political, and social rights.

In the future, the trend of student protest will be very different from its original form in the 1960s. The student movement will adapt to address new, increasingly important issues. New technology will help to improve communication and facilitate organization among students, though the role of the classroom as an arena for discussion may reduce the need for open protest. Open activism on campus may also seem less fervent in the future with decreas-

ing attention from the media. Nonetheless, students will continue to be an important part of protest in our country.

Berkeley in the 1960s: A Film Review

By Ariana Balestrieri

Berkeley in the 1960s, a retrospective documentary directed by Mark Kitchell in 1992, uses historical footage and in-depth interviews with former students to carefully examine the evolution of student activism on the Berkeley campus from 1960 to 1969.

The Berkeley campus was the breeding grounds for all the central movements in the 1960s beginning with the Free Speech movement in 1964 and eventually fostering the growth of the nonviolent Civil Rights movement, the black power movement, the anti-war movement in the mid to late 1960s, and the Women's Liberation Movement.

The film makes several points to disprove popular beliefs about the students involved in the movements and about the nature of the protests. "Berkeley" documents the change in leadership from very well-educated students aiming to secure their right to free speech by working through the existing political system to hippies who led alternative lifestyles in protest of societal expectations of them. The film makes the point that to the delight of the conservative forces attempting to undermine the student movements, the general public stereotyped all politically active students as irresponsible, sex-crazed drug users, only concerned with having fun and doing bizarre, unconventional things.

Berkeley in the 60s also reveals the tragic use of violence to undermine the protest movement of the 1960s. While in the beginning the students resisted passively to police intimidation, in the late 1960s they declared that they would fight back. The height of violence, and the end of much optimism for many students, came in 1968 when the national guard, sent in by Reagan to occupy the campus, attacked students with nausea gas dropped from helicopters. Here, the film depicts the sadness of students who felt scared and defeated by the violence used against them.

The documentary delves into the changes of movement which both hurt and helped it as a whole. Most importantly, it reveals the profound impact the students had on society in encouraging political freedom and the freedom of creativity. Finally, the documentary ends on the thought that the passion of students in the '60s lives on in younger generations today. "No generation," the narrator concludes poignantly, "can do it alone."

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