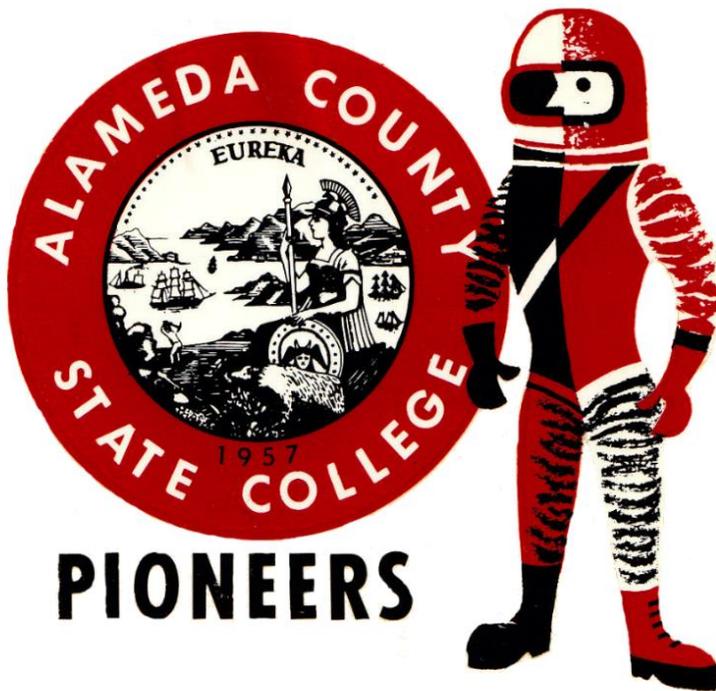


The East Bay Historia

California State University, East Bay's
History Department Journal

Volume 2, 2018





The East Bay Historia

California State University, East Bay History Department Journal Volume 2, 2018

The annual publication of the
Student Historical Society
and the Department of History
California State University, East Bay

This issue of *The East Bay Historia*
is dedicated to

The first Pioneers whom attended California State University, East Bay
(the State College for Alameda County/Alameda County State College)
when classes were still being held at Hayward High School. Those
Pioneers truly understood the true meaning of
Per Aspera Ad Astra (Through Adversity to The Stars).

*“We were all pioneers in a new and exciting enterprise – the literal
construction of a new and hopeful era.”*

– Dr. Charles Merrifield, Professor of Social Studies, 1964

The East Bay Historia

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The East Bay Historia is an annual publication of the California State University, East Bay (CSUEB) Student Historical Society. This volume was sponsored by the Friends of History. It aims to provide CSUEB students with an opportunity to publish historical works and to give students the experience of being on an editorial board and creating and designing an academic journal. Issues are published at the end of each academic year. All opinions or statements of fact are the sole responsibility of their authors and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff, the Student Historical Society, the History Department, or California State University, East Bay (CSUEB). The authors retain rights to their individual essays.

California State University, East Bay's Student Historical Society's mission is to promote the study of history at CSUEB, give history majors and non-history majors alike opportunities to express their passion for the subject, and to empower students, faculty, and staff who are studying or are interested in history.

Cover photo of the Alameda County State College Pioneer, circa 1961.

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First Edition: May 2018

Printed in the United States of America

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Introduction & Acknowledgements

Welcome to the second year of our journal, *The East Bay Historia*, Vol. II. The Journal was launched last year, and we were uncertain as to how successful it would be. Since its initial publication, many students, faculty, and alumni of the history department have commented on the quality of the articles published and that we finally have a venue for student research. Like last year, we were uncertain as to how many submissions we would receive, but our fears were unfounded--we received more submissions this year than last year, and we expect this trend to continue.

The topics of the articles published in Vol. 2 range from Ancient Greece to the modern world and really highlight the depth and breadth of research from our undergraduate history majors and graduate students. This year the Student Editorial Board, consisting of Jennifer Faggiano, Mark Katz, Alejandra Magallon, and Israel Sotelo, received a number of papers and we are very proud to publish eleven articles. Those who have edited articles know how much time and effort it takes, and the Student Editorial Board went above-and-beyond what was expected in that they not only reviewed these submissions, they also provided extensive feedback. We owe a debt of gratitude for all the work they did and especially to Robyn Perry for doing the final copy editing. Finally, we would like to thank the Student Historical Society for its support, once again.

We hope you enjoy reading *The East Bay Historia*, Vol. II!

Professors Kevin Kaatz and Anna Alexander

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Editor & Author Biographies

Michael Agostinelli, Jr. is a senior at Cal State East Bay majoring in both history and philosophy. His principal area of historical interest revolves around studying military conflicts of the past (regardless of era, though focusing mainly on wars involving Europe and the United States) and using lessons learned therein to better understand more recent conflicts. His writing is primarily inspired by the works of historians John Keegan and Donald Kagan. Last year, Michael contributed an article and served on the editorial board of our inaugural issue of *The East Bay Historia*.

Nicholas Aprile is a third year History major at CSU East Bay and will be graduating in June of this year. It's hard for him to pick a favorite historical period or area because they are all so uniquely different. For example, he loves learning about ancient European cultures, but also has a strong interest in modern American history. His goal is to become a secondary school teacher, and he hopes to inspire students to not only understand the importance of history, but also enjoy learning it.

Bryan Doherty is a student in the Graduate Program at Cal State East Bay with a thesis option with a focus in Ancient and Medieval history. Bryan has a particular interest in the peoples and cultures in the Ancient and Medieval world that are often outside the academic spotlight, many of these are "barbarian," cultures or those without a written tradition or are only part of the narrative of history in their relation to or interaction with the three major western powers of the Ancient World Greece, Rome and Egypt. It is Bryan's goal to teach history with a focus on the contributions and importance of these lesser-known cultures of the Ancient and Medieval world.

Jennifer Faggiano graduated during the summer of 2017, receiving her BA in history. She is currently in her third quarter of the history MA program, focusing on teaching. After graduating next year, she will enter the credential program with the ultimate goal of becoming a high school history teacher. She has a deep love for medical history and spends much of her free time reading and listening to podcasts on the subject.

Shane Glover is currently a junior/senior at CSUEB studying to become a biochemist. Since a young age, he has always been interested in ancient

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history, and he remembers his love of history growing the fifth grade when he did a report on Alexander the Great. This all culminated when he was fortunate enough to walk on the Great Wall of China and visit Boracay Island, which is one the locations the American and Philippine armies fought the Japanese.

Sabrina Harper is a transfer student from Cañada College who will be graduating with a bachelor's degree in United States History in May 2018. She is beginning the graduate program in United States History – Teaching Option in the fall. Sabrina is interested in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, particularly how the experiences of immigrants, African Americans, and women have impacted and been impacted by moments of conflict. An undercurrent that runs through all her work is that of politics, religion, and spirituality, especially as expressed in Catholicism. Sabrina works full-time at a Catholic parish in the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

Mark Katz graduated from CSU East Bay in 2017 with a BA in American History. He is currently enrolled in the MA Program at CSUEB and is in the process of completing his first year. For him, twentieth century American History is his focus, particularly the impact American politics has had on citizens. After obtaining his MA he plans on working as a historian in the field of politics, government, or public policy at the federal, state, or local level. He believes that history is much more than a link to the past. It is understanding the context of the time in which we research. Mark served as a member of the editorial board for this volume of *The East Bay Historia*.

Ivana Kurak is a history major at Cal State East Bay finishing her second year of graduate school with a university thesis option. Her thesis is titled, “Divine Mothers, Earth Goddesses, and Wicked Harlots: Refuting the Stereotypes of Counterculture Women In Northern California and New Mexico’s Communal Societies.” After graduation she hopes to work at a historical society or museum. This is Ivana’s second time publishing an article in *The East Bay Historia*.

Alejandra Magallon is a third-year history major with a focus on U.S. History. She enjoys nineteenth and twentieth century U.S. History because of the diversity and evolving viewpoints. She is currently working on a project with Dr. Nichols researching Mexican American and African American relations in Los Angeles from 1940-1980. After graduating she hopes to attend graduate school and earn an MA in U.S.

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History, so that one day she can teach at the community college level locally. Alejandra served as a member of the editorial board for this volume of *The East Bay Historia*.

Robyn Perry is a third-year undergraduate student at CSU East Bay, majoring in history with an option in United States History, dual minoring in Anthropology and California Studies, and pursuing a certificate in Public History. Robyn's primary interests lie in rock & roll and American popular culture and how they have affected, and continue to affect, individuals, American society, and the entire world. After graduating from CSUEB, Robyn plans to pursue a Master of Arts in Popular Culture and eventually get her Ph.D. in American History. She ultimately hopes to teach courses related to these subjects at the university level while continuing to research and publish on rock & roll and American pop culture. This is her second year acting as the editor-in-chief of *The East Bay Historia*.

Tyler Rust is a National Board-Certified teacher with nineteen years of experience teaching social studies at the secondary level. He currently teaches United States History, Advanced Placement United States History, and Mock Trials. He coaches the Mock Trials team and is the faculty advisor to the Black Students Union. In addition to National Board Certification he holds a Master of Arts in Teaching and is pursuing his Master of History with CSU East Bay. When not busy teaching, coaching, and being a spouse and father to two teenagers, he enjoys hiking in the East Bay hills, lots of yoga, and blogging about history at HistoryDojo.com (historydojo.wordpress.com).

Bryan Amezcua Sanchez is currently a junior hoping to complete his bachelor's degree in U.S. history. His most knowledgeable area of U.S. history is the twentieth century, with an emphasis on the Cold War. However, being a sports fanatic, he spends a lot of time, sometimes unintentionally, looking into sports history and their direct ties to American culture.

Israel Sotelo is a junior majoring in history with an option in Latin American history. He is the captain of the cross-country and track and field programs at CSU East Bay. After he receives his bachelor's degree he plans to get his teaching credential while pursuing a master's in library science. He is most interested in the history of Mexico and hopes to one day call himself a Mexican historian. Israel served as a member of the editorial board for this volume of *The East Bay Historia*.

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Randy Utz was born in Dallas, Texas. He graduated high school in 2006 from H. Grady Spruce High School. He moved to California in 2012 to take part in the Occupy movement and decided to stay after falling in love with the Bay Area. His love of history combined with his passion of telling oft forgotten stories prompted him to enroll in college to study history. He completed his first two years at Los Medanos College before transferring to CSU East Bay in 2017. His areas of focus are the Roman Republic and twentieth century anti-fascist and anti-colonial movements.

Edward (Ted) White is a history major and music minor at CSU East Bay where he is finishing his last quarter of his senior year. He loves all areas of history from Prehistory to Contemporary and finds it hard to pick a favorite. He's found that like most everything else in life, all areas of history have their compelling and redundant aspects, but nearly all have a worthwhile lesson to be learned. He's spent the majority of his life working construction and looks forward to seeing where life will take him now that he's a learned historian.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS: FRAMEWORK AND HISTORY

By Jennifer Faggiano

*“In the environment, as in history, everything is connected to everything else and nothing stands on its own.” – J.R. McNeill and Alan Roe, *Global Environmental History**

In contemporary times, much discussion and discourse has been dedicated to the topic of the environment. This is a topic that has grown increasingly controversial due primarily to the growing concern for protecting the environment, while at the same time nations of the world cause greater harm to it. Those concerned range from small local organizations to major international world powers. This concern is supplemented not just by witnessing global environmental degradation, but also by recent scientific understandings that show how much of an impact humanity truly is having on the planet. Global warming is something that is becoming increasingly more difficult to deny, as the IPCC’s 2007 “Summary Report for Policymakers” announced that human responsibility for the warming was between 90% and 99%.¹ Industrial disease, biodiversity loss, and deforestation are also cause for concern, as human action causes further damage to the environment. This concern has prompted discussions regarding who is responsible, who should be held accountable, and what should be done. However, before any of these questions can be answered, a framework for analysis must be figured out.

Oftentimes, the nation state is used as a framework for analysis of the environment, however there are flaws with solely using this method. On its own, this approach is limiting, yet when this is used in tandem with a global perspective it provides information that is necessary to understanding a more complete picture of the international environment. Humans and the nation states that they inhabit are powerful forces, and throughout history they have influenced both the local and global environments. Because of the interconnectedness that modern globalization brings, the relationships between the different nation states and their impacts on the environment cannot be ignored. Neglecting to consider this will lead to obtaining only a partial understanding, and partial understandings will only provide partial solutions to the

¹ Spencer R. Weart, *The Discovery of Global Warming* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 193.

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environmental problems the world is facing. Historically, environmental regulations have been created and implemented at the level of the nation state, but environments do not stop at national borders. This has been exemplified throughout history via the interactions of nations with the environments both local and distant, and has increased with globalization, industrialization, and imperialism.

To begin, one must understand what the nation state is, and how it relates to the environment. A nation state is defined as a homogenous, sovereign state in which the people are united by one polity, and typically a common culture. Because of this structure, a single nation state is primarily responsible for regulation of any environments that exist within its own territory. However, there are exceptions to this, which is one reason why using a nation state as a framework for analysis is limiting. One example of this is the semi-sovereign nation of the native peoples in America. They exist within the territory of the United States, however they (in theory) have their own sovereignty from the United States nation. The Native Americans have their own relationship with the environment, and have their own impact on it, however they are still territorially bound to a larger hegemonic nation.² Another example would be a less powerful nation that is subject to imperialism by another. The larger power exerts forced influence over the other, often controls and utilizes the natural resources, and establishes laws and regulations as to their use. This causes immediate environmental impacts to the less powerful nation that has little say in the environmental changes happening within its borders. This can be seen in interactions across the globe, such as in the relationship between the United States and Mexico in the development of maquiladoras. The maquiladora industry is the result of mid-twentieth century changes to United States tariff schedules, which encouraged U.S.-Mexico joint business ventures. Even with the joint nature of these endeavors, the maquiladoras were primarily under U.S. operations despite the factories being built within Mexico. The rapid population growth and industrialization contributed to a drastic increase in water and air pollution, along with resource shortages. Factory workers and nearby residents were exposed to toxic chemicals due to both workplace exposure and accidental discharges.³ In this instance, the hegemonic power is causing environmental impacts outside

² Carolyn Merchant, "Reinventing Eden: Western Culture as Recovery Narrative" in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 144.

³ Darryl M. Williams and Nuria Homedes, "The Impact of the Maquiladoras on Health and Health Policy along the U.S.-Mexico Border," *Journal of Public Health Policy* 22, no. 3 (2001): 321, 23, and 25.

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of its own borders, and within the borders of another nation, therefore only looking at one of these nations would erase half of the picture. Laws and issues often ignore national boundaries, as these examples show.

These examples highlight one of the key issues with the nation state framework, which is how the nation state affects itself versus how it affects others (and the planet). Historically, nations have acted in more self-serving ways, and gave little consideration to the impacts they had on foreign environments. In modern times, there is a rising conceptualization that the environment and nature are life sustaining, so more effort is placed on environmental protection.⁴ However, much of this effort is still domestic in nature, and many environmental issues are exported to developing countries. This can be seen in the global waste trade, in which developed countries send their industrial waste to developing countries. This may provide temporary domestic relief, but it does not solve the environmental crisis at hand, as regional and global environments are interconnected. Pushing the problem somewhere that it cannot be seen does not eradicate it. The consequences of the waste trade did not gain international attention until the 1980s when several African nations suffered severe environmental and health damage as the result of imported toxic and radioactive waste.⁵

This continued self-serving attitude represents another problem with the nation state framework. National interest drives the decisions of a nation, and in many occasions these decisions cause ripple effects. An example of this is modern Japan. Japan is a nation that has historically faced environmental complications, is currently one of the world's leading industrial powers, and is a relatively small nation with a large population density. Despite all of this, Japan has forests covering 80% of the country, which is the highest percentage of forested area in any developed country. But how? This has been made possible due to Japan exporting its deforestation to other nations.⁶ Between 1964 and 1973 Japan imported approximately 3.7 million cubic meters of timber from the Philippines, with imports decreasing in 1974 due to decreases in timber supply from the deforestation.⁷ By consuming natural resources from other nations, Japan has spared itself deforestation. This

⁴ David Frank, Ann Hironaka, and Evan Schofer, "The Nation-State and the Natural Environment over the Twentieth Century," *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 1 (2000): 96, 100.

⁵ Zada Lipman, "A Dirty Dilemma: The Hazardous Waste Trade," *Harvard International Review* 23, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 67.

⁶ Jeremy L. Caradonna, *Sustainability: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 42.

⁷ Bao Maohong, "Deforestation in the Philippines, 1946-1995," *Philippine Studies: Historical & Ethnographic Viewpoints* 60, no. 1 (March 2012): 121.

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deforestation has not disappeared, it was simply moved elsewhere.

Historically, many islands have been badly deforested by dominant global powers. This is often due to land clearance policies and overconsumption of wood for industrial purposes and is an ongoing form of ecological imperialism.⁸ In many instances, dominant nations have attempted to establish conservation efforts in the nations they control, however these efforts are oftentimes not due to concerns for the wellbeing of the land and its inhabitants. Environmental historian Jeremy Caradonna discusses this further in *Sustainability: A History*:

Colonial states increasingly found conservationism to their taste and economic advantage, particularly in ensuring sustainable timber and water supplies and in using the structures of forest protection to control their unruly and marginal subjects.⁹

Some historians theorize that sustainability was initially an imperialist agenda, arguing the imperial powers were concerned with power, industrialization, and profit, and not protecting nature for anything other than to later take from it.¹⁰ This is surely a debatable theory; however, it is not debatable that imperial nations have placed environmental burdens on other nations. This further supports the argument that the nation state is too limiting of a framework to analyze the environment and its history. This exportation of environmental burden has an immediate impact. This environmental impact is worsened when one considers the pollution caused by transportation of the natural resources between the nations, especially when involving island nations where the transportation often takes place over international waters.

National interest such as this has been closely linked historically with the ecological imperialism that has transformed landscapes around the globe.¹¹ This kind of imperialism changes the landscape of colonial regions via the introduction of non-native species of plants and animals.¹² Elinor Melville addresses this issue in her book *A Plague of Sheep*, in which she discusses the ecological problems that arose with the introduction of sheep, a non-native species, to the Mexican landscape

⁸ Caradonna, *Sustainability*, 44.

⁹ Caradonna, 45.

¹⁰ Caradonna, 46.

¹¹ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹² Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (1990): 1088.

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during European expansion.¹³ Landscapes are further transformed with the development of globalization and global economies. Monoculture, in which part of nature is reconstituted to yield a single agricultural product, arose with market demand.¹⁴ This was followed by agroecosystems that are systems that contain a variety of plants and animals, instead of a singular product. This was due to increased agricultural technology, as well as ongoing global biological exchange, migration, and mixing.¹⁵ This ecological imperialism happened in many of the regions in which European colonies settled, such as the Americas and Australia. In the instance of the latter, Europeans utilized fire to make the land livable for themselves and their agriculture, which consequently encroached upon the aborigines and made the land *un*-livable for them.¹⁶ This again exemplifies the interconnectedness of nations and shows how their impact on the environment cannot be confined to a singular framework.

Ecological imperialism came as a result of globalization. This is the increasing interaction between people and nations around the globe and includes spreading ideas and culture. Globalization also opened up the world market, and in more modern times, the world society. Many historians theorize that globalization is responsible for much of the large-scale environmental degradation that exists today, due to the effects of global industry and market demands. It is also theorized that the accompanying world society that has developed is responsible for the growing environmental concern. This was seen as early as the nineteenth century during the height of romanticism. American Romantics such as Henry David Thoreau and John Muir emphasized an Edenic perspective of nature, seeing it as untouched and pristine, and advocated for conservation and federal protection of the land.¹⁷ This mindset prompted many others to call for nature protection, and as romanticism spread around the globe, these ideas spread with it.¹⁸

The echoes of Romanticism have been one of the primary motivators for non-governmental entities to rally behind modern conservation and preservation efforts. This is ongoing today and can especially be seen in the Amazon rainforests. Developed nations such as the United States

¹³ Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁴ Worster, "Transformations of the Earth," 1101.

¹⁵ Worster, 1103.

¹⁶ Stephen J. Pyne, "Firestick History," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (1990): 1136.

¹⁷ Carolyn Merchant, *Reinventing Eden: The Fate of Nature in Western Culture* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), 115 and 121.

¹⁸ Franz-Josef Brüggemeier, *How Green were the Nazis?: Nature, Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 23.

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tend to view locations like the Amazon through romantic lenses, and it is commonly seen as “Edenic,” or uncorrupted and natural.¹⁹ The rainforests are also perceived to be fragile, which has prompted international conservation efforts. “Save the rainforest” has become a popular slogan in developed nations (and curiously not in Amazonia itself), suggesting a need for intervention. Edenic perceptions of the jungle evoke images that interest individuals living in highly urban regions of the world. It appears “exotic” and makes these individuals want to preserve and protect what they perceive to be there.²⁰ This is ironic, as these uncorrupted “rainforests” that people want to protect are simply seen as “woods” by the local Amazonians. This is where romanticism becomes harmful in regard to the environment, because these Edenic notions blur the reality of the situation. In her essay entitled “Amazonia as Edenic Narrative”, Candace Slater explains, “Its luminous distance encourages the outsider to imagine a struggle between obvious victims (the “virgin land) and equally obvious villains (miners, loggers, ranchers) in which he or she is in no way complicit.”²¹ These “hobby conservationists” are so disconnected from the region in which they feel compelled to protect, and their ignorance leads to neglect of the true environmental and social justice issues that need to be addressed.²² Their concern for the environment is not wrong it is just misguided.

Alternatively, Chico Mendes provides a good example of how to more appropriately approach the issue of rainforest protection. Mendes was a rubber tapper in the Brazilian rainforests, who worked to establish cooperation between his fellow tappers and the Yanomami natives living within the forests. This cooperation made further preservation efforts possible, and the activists created blockades to prevent destruction of particular regions of the forests. Mendes also called for government-established reserves that would protect the land for both the rubber tappers and the natives.²³ His approach is vastly different than that of the previously discussed conservationists, for he was concerned with the native population inhabiting the forests, as well as protecting the land to ensure proper (and continued) use of it.

Going back to global economies, it is important to understand that societies around the globe have always impacted the environments that

¹⁹ Candace Slater, “Amazonia as Edenic Narrative” in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 116.

²⁰ Slater, 125.

²¹ Slater, 126.

²² Slater, 129.

²³ L. Michael Trapasso, “Deforestation of the Amazon – A Brazilian Perspective,” *GeoJournal* 26, no. 3 (March 1992), 318.

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they live within. However, pre-industrial environmental degradation was overall less damaging than it is today. With industrialization and globalization, environmental degradation has significantly increased and become more global in scale due to interactions between the nations. The effects that the practices of a single nation can now have on the globe have also drastically increased.²⁴ The case of Japan provides a good example of the former. One can look at Japan's history of agriculture and easily see how it has evolved over time. During the eighteenth century, Japanese farmers would remove insects from their crops with an oil burning method. Eventually, Japan followed the American example and began using insecticides instead of burning oil. The use of insecticides grew exponentially, and Japan eventually began domestically producing pesticides. The resulting toxified environment poisoned and killed a growing number of Japanese people, as well as contributed to higher suicide rates relating to the chemicals. Japan also further toxified its environment via its metal mining industry and practices, causing an explosion in industrial diseases among its people.²⁵ Japan's avoidance of the aforementioned deforestation did not protect it from other deadlier environmental issues.

Where Japan provides an apt example of how a nation can harm its own environment, China provides an apt example of now a nation can cause harm on a more global scale. When compared to western nations, China has historically had a different attitude regarding its relationship to nature. The primary religions of the country (Daoism, Confucianism, and later Buddhism) contributed to the development of a culture that emphasized the relationships between everything in nature, causing the nation to view itself as a part of nature instead of separate from it.²⁶ Despite this, China's continued efforts to rise in the ranks of the developed nations and reach first world status has had serious consequences, such as a significant increase in pollutants and pollutant related issues. China continues to experience rapid urbanization, and rapid growth of its already large economy. The nation is currently responsible for the export of fourteen percent of the world's total pesticides, and is currently the largest producer of steel, in addition to other consumer and industrial products.²⁷ Of course, this is not China's

²⁴ Caradonna, *Sustainability*, 22.

²⁵ Brett L. Walker, *The Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2011), 50 and 91.

²⁶ Ti-Fu Tuan, "Discrepancies Between Environmental Attitude and Behavior: Examples from Europe and China," *The Canadian Geographer* 12, no. 3 (September 1968): 176.

²⁷ Jared M. Diamond, *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 359-360.

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fault alone, as the global market is responsible for the demand.

Nevertheless, as a result of their efforts, and perhaps also as a result of the global demand for their products, China's environmental problems are among the most severe of any major modern country and continue to worsen. The list includes air and water pollution, biodiversity loss, cropland loss, desertification, and increasing frequency of human caused disasters. These problems are causing significant economic and health issues within the nation. However, due to its size, China's environmental issues will not remain domestic, and will spill over to affect the rest of the world. In his book *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*, Jared Diamond states: "China is already the largest contributor of sulfur oxides, chlorofluorocarbons, and other substances that deplete the ozone. It is also responsible for large amounts of dust and other aerial pollutants being transported to neighboring countries."²⁸ China is currently also experiencing severe soil quality and fertility declines as a result of long-term fertilizer and pesticide use. This decline could theoretically require them to develop an increased demand for food related imports, placing this environmental burden on other nations.²⁹ This further supports the argument that the environmental impact of a single nation cannot be confined to a single framework, especially in instances such as this, where major world powers have impacts that reach far beyond their own borders.

The question of who should be held accountable for impacts on the environment is a difficult one. In instances of smaller scale environmental degradation, it is easier to identify those responsible. This can include instances such as the pollution of a small body of water, or the seepage of buried waste into the ground of an urban neighborhood, as seen in the Love Canal disaster, where suburban families faced risk of toxic injury due to negligent municipal and industrial dumping.³⁰ However, in instances of large-scale degradation, such as what is being caused by China, it becomes harder to point fingers. Is it the fault of the consumer who demands the cheap goods, the industry that produces them, the government that allows the production, or the world economy? There is no one answer, which means identifying who is at fault will ultimately prove fruitless. At this point, the best bet for improvement is regulation and oftentimes the entity best equipped to handle regulation is the governing body of the nation. Furthermore, when the problem being addressed is as international in scale as the environment, international

²⁸ Diamond, 358-359.

²⁹ Diamond, 364.

³⁰ Phil Brown and Richard Clapp, "Looking Back on Love Canal," *Public Health Reports* (1974-) 117, no. 2 (March 2002): 97.

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cooperation is necessary. This multinational cooperation has already been seen in the Paris Agreement, but more cooperative action must occur for there to be a solution to the environmental crisis.

Both those who want government interventions and those opposed to it, often hold governments accountable for the environmental impact on their nation. Historically, government involvement in environmental affairs has typically involved regulating natural resource use in order to preserve the resources for the use of the state, such as the Ming dynasty preserving forests for military use.³¹ Protection and preservation of the environment for capitalism has been emphasized over protection and preservation of the environment for its own sake.³² Unfortunately, the time has come for this sentiment to shift, and more emphasis must be placed on environmental protection. The future of land use will depend largely on the current patterns of land use, and if these trends do not change then nothing will improve.³³

One instance in which government policy and intervention was able to stop and actually reverse much of the environmental damage that had occurred was when the Brazilian government intervened in the urban intrusion into the Tijuca forest. Rio de Janeiro has historically utilized the forest for its natural resources. The Growth of the mining and coffee plantations in colonial Brazil caused an economic and population boom. This growing population increasingly encroached on the forest, which threatened the local environment, as the Tijuca was the main regional source of fresh water.³⁴ Thus, policies were enacted to protect it. The present status of the forest is due to these policies, and the deliberate involvement of the government. These policies included reforestation, forest and watershed management, and urban planning. Urban encroachment continues to be the primary threat to the forest; however, the damage has been drastically lessened due to these policies.³⁵ The example of Rio de Janeiro and the Tijuca serves as a good model of action for other nations to follow. However, as of yet protective laws have not overshadowed destructive ones for most of the world.³⁶

It is true that not every nation, in fact most nations, are capable of

³¹ Tuan, "Discrepancies Between Environmental Attitude and Behavior," 183.

³² Caradonna, *Sustainability*, 27.

³³ Norman L. Christensen, "Landscape History and Ecological Change," *Forest & Conservation History* 33, no. 3 (July 1, 1989): 117.

³⁴ José Drummond, "The Garden in the Machine: An Environmental History of Brazil's Tijuca Forest," *Environmental History* 1, no. 1 (1996): 89.

³⁵ Drummond, 83-85.

³⁶ David Frank, Ann Hironaka, and Evan Schofer, "The Nation-State and the Natural Environment over the Twentieth Century," *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 1 (2000): 100.

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causing environmental degradation on a mass scale, especially degradation that can be felt internationally. It is primarily the developed “first world countries” that are causing this harm. However, as is seen in China’s case, the race for first world status encourages nations to throw heed for the environment out the window and move full speed towards industry. This has serious, dangerous consequences, and therefore it will take a global effort and international cooperation to slow the destruction to Earth’s environment. At this point in time, stopping and even reversing the damage seems impossible because dramatic change would be necessary. Nations would need to mutually work together to achieve true sustainability. To be sustainable they must address not only environmental issues, but also social, and economic ones. Nations would need to plan for the future, and not create “undue burdens” on future generations.³⁷ Presently, this is not reality. Many of the nations of the world are too focused on their own individual issues and national interests, but this has not stopped them from affecting those lands outside of their borders. It is because of this, and the international cooperation that would be required to stem the tide of environmental destruction, that the nation state cannot be solely used when analyzing the environment. It is a partial image that does not allow you to see full picture. In order to truly effect change, there must be a collective understanding of the crisis at hand, and the international efforts that must be made. Humanity must learn from the lessons of history if true sustainability is ever to be achieved.

³⁷ Caradonna, *Sustainability*, 19.

‘THE WORLD WILL BE A MESS’: THE U-2 AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION

By Tyler Rust

The United States in the early years of the Cold War was a nation of strict conformity, Red Scare politics, and high living standards. The nation emerged from World War II in a unique position of power and wealth and sought to maintain that position in the future. Containment of the new Soviet menace, as well as the desire to retain the appearance of global leadership required new efforts by the United States. The CIA was born out of this desire to ensure the hard-won advantages of World War II.

Despite the best efforts to use human intelligence to monitor Soviet movements behind the Iron Curtain, most proved fruitless. The greatest and most valuable achievement was the development of the U-2: a supersonic, high altitude spy plane capable of photographing secretive military sites within Russia. The missions behind the Iron Curtain were of great risk, both to the spy plane and to the reputation of the United States. Despite the illegality and hostility of violating Soviet airspace, the ultimate decision was born out of a sense of jingoistic leadership and a prevailing national insecurity about Communism known at the time as the Red Scare.

The violation of Soviet territory contradicted established international law. The United States argued that its actions were justified in order to maintain peace and parity with the Soviet Union during a time of increasing tensions over the development of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles. In addition to the legal violation, the public reaction to the violation was also just as provocative. It was seen in the eyes of the public that American military planes were right to violate international law and sovereign airspace, because Cold War America had the right to do whatever Cold War America wanted to do.

When the U-2 crashed into Sverdlovsk, Russia on May 1, 1960 the risk became reality. Much to the surprise of President Eisenhower, the reaction was the opposite of what was expected. The public greeted the news with general acceptance and support, focusing more on the righteousness of the mission rather than on the criminality of the act itself. The downing of the U-2 spy plane piloted by Francis Gary Powers revealed surprising jingoism in the American public. During the early years of the Cold War the American people were blind to events that did not support American global, moral leadership. The US crash should have elicited a public outcry, but instead was defended with tribal

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jingoism, justified in the eyes of Americans regardless of the criminality.

Literature Review

The recent scholarly writings about the crash of Francis Gary Powers reveal some important legal principles but tend to rest largely on settled facts surrounding the events of May 1, 1960. The cause of the crash remains widely interpreted and without a clear answer even today. The legal understanding of the overflights shows clear fault in the actions of the United States and remarkable restraint on the Soviet side. Generally, the most recent literary insights help to establish that the obvious reaction to the illegality and aggression suggest a different public outcome from the American people than what took place.

The analyses of the effects of the crash were deconstructed by Quincy Wright, a professor of political science and a member of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg in 1945, who went on to be an advisor in the U.S. Department of State. In an article for *The American Journal of International Law*, Wright asserts that the violation of international law was less defined by statute than by tradition and common understanding. The Soviet Union did not ratify the Chicago Convention of 1944, which defines the national sovereignty of airspace. Nevertheless, the violation by the U-2 was clearly understood by all parties to the events of May 1, 1960 to be illegal. With that understanding the actions of the United States at the Paris Peace conference later that year take an interesting context.

If President Eisenhower had conformed to international law and tradition, his actions would have altered the future policy options of American presidents in the later years of the Cold War.

President Eisenhower's declaration that the flights had been "suspended" did not repudiate them nor condemn lawlessness, and the assertion that such flights would not be resumed carried no assurance, "since the breaking of international commitments had been promoted to the rank of official policy" and, as stated by the President, this declaration did not bind his successor.¹

This gross deviation from international legal obligation would come to define the United States in the Cold War. Eisenhower admits here that his country will not merely violate international law but will do so

¹ Quincy Wright, "Legal Aspects of the U-2 Incident," *The American Journal of International Law* 54, no. 4 (1960): 836-54.

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blatantly as an official policy declaration to the world. It cannot therefore be an accident that the United States accepted a jingoistic foreign policy. The President’s own words stand as proof that the United States is hostile to the international community and unbound by it, treaty or otherwise.

The understanding of how international law affected Eisenhower's response and effect on the Cold War negotiations in Paris, 1960 reveals another side of the relationship that guided presidential decision making. This legal framework did not affect American public perception, however, as it was never explained or emphasized in public statements by the White House or in media reports of the U-2 Incident.

Oliver Lissitzyn follows this same line of reasoning in his article for *The American Journal of International Law*. Lissitzyn was the Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Columbia University for thirty-four years and wrote extensively on international law and air transport. In his analysis of the laws governing sovereign nations, he observes that, “The failure of the United States to protest against the actions of the Soviet Authorities toward Powers and the plane he was flying provides additional evidence that national sovereignty is a rule of customary international law that it applies to the Soviet Union.”² This finding reveals that the actions of the United States are just the same as Wright describes in his analysis of the legal literature. The United States was bound by tradition, expectation, and law to behave in a manner decidedly differently than what was on display in Paris. There is general agreement that this unilateral behavior by the United States caused the peace talks to collapse, and not as a result of a tantrum by the Soviet leadership as was commonly reported in the American press.

In contrast to this legal analysis of the U-2 Affair, the scholar Norman Polmar takes a different approach. Polmar has written extensively on Soviet Naval and Air forces and has advised both United States Senators as well as the U.S. Speaker of the House of Representatives on military affairs regarding the former Soviet Union. His research into the U-2 shows a more positive evaluation of the utility of the U-2 overflights, and a lighter criticism of the American President. Polmar lays blame for the failure of the mission at the feet of the Central Intelligence Agency, all but accusing that institution of lying to the President.³ Considering Polmar’s close ties to Washington leaders, it is not surprising that he would have so little to criticize about the U-2 missions.

² Oliver J. Lissitzyn, "Some Legal Implications of the U-2 and RB-47 Incidents," *The American Journal of International Law* 56, no. 1 (1962): 135-42.

³ David L. Snead, review of *Skyplane: The U-2 History Declassified*, by Norman Polmar, *The Journal of Military History* 66, no. 1 (2002):

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“We would defend ourselves with an absolute disavowal and denial...”

The Soviet Union, along with international law and treaty, condemned the actions of the United States in repeatedly and deliberately violating the airspace of a sovereign state. For Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, the U-2 flights revealed the imperialist predisposition of the new postwar American superpower. In his legal analysis of the trial transcript of the Soviet trial of Francis Gary Powers, Harvard University Professor of Law Harold Berman explained that it was the obligation of the United States to apologize for the violation of Soviet airspace.⁴ This was especially pertinent after the admission by the United States that it had sent the U-2 on a spying mission.

It was entirely relevant that the State Department and the President had confirmed the fact that Powers had been sent over Soviet territory in a Lockheed U-2 plane in order to procure information concerning Soviet military installations.⁵

Experts who have studied this issue have found that the U-2 crash violated international law. Harold Berman writes of the precedent that should have guided America’s leaders in this crisis:

But the chief error in the general American reaction was the failure to recognize that it is entirely customary in international relations, and is indeed a principle of international law, that a state which commits a violation of international law is required formally to apologize and to declare it will take appropriate measures to call to account the person’s responsible.

It was not only the legal responsibility of the United States to apologize for the U-2 flights, but it was also a legal precedent that the United States had demanded from other nations.

In numerous instances have such apologies been demanded and granted. The United States insisted upon such a declaration from Japan in 1937, when Japanese aircraft bombed for three hours and

⁴ Harold J. Berman, *The Trial of the U2: Exclusive Authorized Account of the Court Proceedings of the Case of Francis Gary Powers Heard before the Military* (Chicago: Translation World Publishers, 1960), ix.

⁵ Berman, xiv.

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finally sank the United States gunboat Panay...⁶

For the United States to break with long held principles of international law that it had expected of others, marks a curious public betrayal of principles. The reason for this new unilateralism is due to the jingoism and conformity that dominated American public and political thought in the early years of the Postwar Era.

The reaction of the Eisenhower Administration broke with diplomatic and legal precedent in order to preserve American superiority in the eyes of American voters. In a meeting with CIA Director Allen Dulles, U-2 Operational Chief Richard Bissell, Secretary of State Christian Herter and Brigadier General A.J. Goodpaster, “It was agreed that, in case of protest, we would defend ourselves with an absolute disavowal and denial on the matter.”⁷ The top secret memo describing this subterfuge at the highest level of government does not identify to whom they would have defended themselves, nor whom they anticipated would protest the flights. The statement seems to include lying both to the Soviets and to the American public equally. Considering the domestic conformity that dominated American public life in the 1950s, however, it would seem that fears of protest and the need for denials were overblown.

The American public strongly supported the actions of the government, denying the laws and treaty precedent that were clearly supporting the Soviet complaint. This jingoistic perspective derived from the conformity of the postwar era in the United States and was advanced by media who framed America’s actions in the early Cold War as moral and implacable.

The polling conducted by the Pew Research Center of trust in government reveals that the public trust in the Eisenhower Administration rose after the U-2 crash, despite the illegality. It is interesting to note that it is not until the late 1960s, during the Johnson Administration, that American trust in government turns and declines. It may well be thought that the Vietnam War experience has damaged the public’s trust in government and it has never recovered.

Eisenhower’s Cold War Brinkmanship

Despite the alliance that the U.S shared with the Soviet Union that

⁶ Berman, viii.

⁷ Memorandum of Conference with the President regarding overflight concerns, July 8, 1959 [Office of the Staff Secretary, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Box 15, Intelligence Matters (12); NAID #12008907]

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led to the defeat of the Nazi threat in World War II, the Eisenhower Administration followed President Truman's confrontational policy of confronting the Soviet Union whenever it sought to replace democratic governments with dictatorships. The policy of brinkmanship was adopted by the U.S. because of the desire to prevent the domination of newly freed nations after the war from falling under the influence and control of the Soviet Union. It can also be argued that it reflected the desire of the United States to maintain control over large portions of the world left independent after the war. The fear that Communism would become the dominant world political and economic model was powerful because it would leave the United States and her allies in a position of global minority.

George Kennan's telegram from Moscow on February 22, 1946 laid out the basis of the Cold War policy of the United States as containment of Soviet expansion everywhere. The telegram, known famously as "The Long Telegram"⁸ was from George Kennan to George Marshall. In it Kennan writes, "The U.S.S.R. still lives in 'antagonistic encirclement' with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence."⁹ Kennan understood that the perspective within the Soviet Union was one of desperation, seeing itself surrounded by enemies determined to destroy "the motherland," as it was known at that time.

The recommendations in his famous telegram also reveal an interesting analysis of his own country as well. It is surprising because the telegram speaks almost with equal urgency to control the understanding of the situation regarding the Soviets domestically as it does in recommending aggressive confrontation around the world. Kennan writes,

Among the negative elements of bourgeois-capitalist society, most dangerous of all are those whom Lenin called false friends of the people, namely moderate-socialist or social-democratic leaders (in other words non-communist left wing). These are more dangerous than out-and-out reactionaries, for the latter at least march under their true colors, whereas moderate left-wing leaders confuse people by employing devices of socialism to serve the interests of reactionary capital.¹⁰

George Kennan reveals an interesting bias for right wing governments

⁸ George Kennan to George Marshall ["Long Telegram"], February 22, 1946. Harry S. Truman Administration File, Elsey Papers.

⁹ Kennan, 2.

¹⁰ Kennan, 3.

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and deep suspicion for even fellow citizens who do not share his views. Support for different political perspectives is considered subversive. It is this foundation of suspicion that sets the stage for an era of conformity and right wing American jingoism in the name of national security.

It is interesting to observe how the public perception of socialism and moderate political positions are characterized by Kennan, the architect of the U.S. foreign policy of Cold War containment. In his estimation there exists a “negative element” in “moderate” leadership because it confuses the public into using capital to serve socialist ends.

The threat to capital exposes the nationalist framework of the Cold War conflict to be economic and not nationalistic at its core. The importance of controlling the public narrative is therefore born out of a cause divorced from morality, as jingoistic nationalism of the 1950s became a substitute for Enlightenment ideals that formed the basis of the American nation since 1776.

Even modern historians writing about this era agree with the subversion of democratic ideals in the name of aggressive foreign policy goals. Loch Johnson, the Regents Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia and editor of the journal *Intelligence and National Security* wrote about this suspicion of dissent in American society in the early Cold War. In *The Journal of American History*, Johnson wrote that CIA U-2 Chief Richard Bissell and the U-2 Program stated, “Efforts to keep a close eye on the CIA are warranted. Bissell is correct, though, that democratic safeguards at home must not be allowed to suffocate efficiency against our enemies abroad. The two values must be kept in balance.”¹¹ This would suggest that democracy cannot be allowed to prevent the violation of international law if the nation is to be kept safe. The logic of this thinking is ironic, hypocritical, and jingoistic.

“...if we were willing to adopt the system of Adolf Hitler”

Combined with his fear of another attack on the United States akin to Pearl Harbor, Eisenhower approached the Soviet threat with a deliberately ironic approach. He embraced covert actions while expressing warlike public policies. He campaigned upon “rolling back”¹² the Soviet Union but tried to avoid World War III at all costs. He authorized the overthrow of democratic regimes in the hope of protecting

¹¹ Loch K. Johnson, review of *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945-1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment*, edited by C. Thomas Thorne, and Richard M. Bissell, *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 1 (1997): 296-98.

¹² Tim Weiner, *Legacy of Ashes: The History of the CIA* (London: Penguin, 2011), 74.

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American democracy. Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award winning historian Tim Weiner writes in his history of the CIA:

When [CIA Director Allen] Dulles warned the president that "the Russians could launch an atomic attack on the United States tomorrow," Eisenhower replied that "he didn't think anyone here thought the cost of winning a global war against the Soviet Union was a cost too high to pay." But the price of victory might be the destruction of American democracy. The president noted that the Joint Chiefs of Staff had told him, "we should do what was necessary even if the result was to change the American way of life. We could lick the whole world . . . if we were willing to adopt the system of Adolph Hitler."¹³

The United States could "lick the whole world" if it became a new version of fascism, according to Eisenhower. The irony is that in order to lead the free world, the United States would lose its principled freedom.

This hypocrisy by Eisenhower can be understood in an early CIA coup d'etat against Iran in 1953, as it cemented the importance of the intelligence service in the mind of the President for the remainder of the decade. Undermining a democratic regime friendly to the United States in the heart of the Middle East showed how American power was a "force for good," even if only in the eyes of the American public.

As long as that cover story of American containment of Communism was maintained, the jingoism of Eisenhower's anti-democratic efforts made sense. When the dictatorship of the Shah was removed by the long-suffering Iranians in 1979, one might expect a crisis of identity for the U.S., if not merely an international dressing down. Ironically, when the effects of these policies exploded in the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the cover story of Iran remained unaltered, as the new regime in Tehran became one of the greatest and most obvious "threats" to the security of the United States even until today. Wiener writes of this illusion:

The coup was regarded as CIA's greatest single triumph...It was trumpeted as a great American national victory. We had changed the whole course of a country here. A generation of Iranians grew up knowing that the CIA had installed the shah. In time, the chaos that the agency had created in the streets of Tehran would return to haunt the United States.¹⁴

¹³ Weiner, 77.

¹⁴ Weiner, 92.

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The Eisenhower Doctrine, as brinkmanship became known, advocated for containing the spread of Communism everywhere, and especially in the Middle East, by use of public and covert power.

It Was Dangerous To Tell Him What He Didn't Want To Hear

Weiner writes the motivation of the Cold War “was to steal Soviet secrets by recruiting spies, but the CIA never possessed a single one who had deep insight into the workings of the Kremlin...”¹⁵ Unfortunately, the importance of maintaining the CIA as an institution with access to the President took precedence over offering accurate and true intelligence to that office. “To survive as an institution in Washington, the agency above all had to have the president's ear. But it soon learned that it was dangerous to tell him what he did not want to hear. The CIA's analysts learned to march in lockstep, conforming to conventional wisdom.”¹⁶ In short the CIA bent to the prevailing political winds of the day, always ensuring that their advice and intelligence empowered rather than impeded the desired policy actions of the White House. In the Early Cold War years of the Eisenhower Administration this meant supporting an aggressive, anti-Communist foreign policy with intelligence that proved the threat was real. This created a double bonus for the CIA: the Agency looked valuable to the President and justified the Red Scare that was sweeping the nation in the 1950s.

To see just how jingoistic and blinded to the realities of the motivations of the Cold War that Americans were at the time, it is helpful to consult data taken from the time period. Public opinion of the Soviet Union remained extremely negative. Inside the United States, George Kennan's view that “moderate left-wing leaders confuse people by employing devices of socialism to serve the interests of reactionary capital”¹⁷ would have been universally accepted by the American public. When Americans were asked in 1953 if they had a favorable opinion of the Soviet Union, less than ten percent of Americans answered in the affirmative. Conversely, when asked if they had an unfavorable opinion of the Soviet Union, nearly eighty percent of Americans answered in the affirmative in 1953.¹⁸ In short, less than ten years after helping the United States to defeat the Nazis in World War II, Americans were

¹⁵ Weiner, xv.

¹⁶ Weiner, xv.

¹⁷ Kennan, [“Long Telegram”], 4.

¹⁸ “A Half-Century's Polling On The USSR And Communism.” *Public Perspective* 3, no. 1 (Nov.-Dec. 1991): 25-34.

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nearly unanimous in their rejection of Soviet ideology and society.

The public's support for the Eisenhower and Truman Doctrine of containment is also reflective of the trust that Americans had in their leaders. The opposition to Communism and the deep belief that it needed to be stopped gave American political leaders *carte blanche* to deal with Communism as they saw appropriate. Eisenhower enjoyed popular trust unseen in modern times, as more than eighty percent of Americans expressed "trust in the government in Washington always or most of the time."¹⁹ This translated into unchecked power for an American government more powerful than any other in world history. Without the public holding leadership to account, the absolute power that Eisenhower enjoyed was destined to corrupt him absolutely.

"Distasteful but vital"

During the Cold War the United States was not able to mount a successful human intelligence gathering network inside the Soviet Union. From 1945 until 1991, the U.S. had more success overthrowing democracies than overthrowing dictatorships. The iron police state of the Soviet Union made it nearly impossible for the CIA to monitor the internal workings of the Soviet military.

The U-2 Program was devised to meet the need for information. The plane and the advanced camera system were far ahead of anything any government had yet devised. The information that the U-2 was able to deliver amazed even Eisenhower himself. In selling the program to the President, the CIA flew the U-2 over the President's own farm in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The photographs of the farm from miles overhead convinced Eisenhower that this program not only had use but could prove invaluable to determining the missile locations of the Soviet enemy.

"The world will be in a mess"

Eisenhower had long held a fear of what may come of a crash of the U-2. He is on record in early 1955, warning against any failures because of the public reaction. He said, "If one of these planes is shot down, this is going to be on my head...I'm going to catch hell. The World will be in

¹⁹ "Beyond Distrust: How Americans View Their Government: Broad criticism, but positive performance ratings in many areas," accessed May 19, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2015/11/23/beyond-distrust-how-americans-view-their-government>.

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a mess.”²⁰ Eisenhower understood the risk to his leadership both at home and abroad if the U.S. was caught in an obvious criminal violation of the sovereignty of another nation.

In a memo recording a discussion of the U-2 flights, Eisenhower expressed to Allen Dulles, Press Secretary Herter, CIA U-2 Chief Richard Bissell, and Brigadier General A.J. Goodpaster in 1959 his concerns over what the flights represented in his mind. “There remains in the President’s mind the question whether we are getting to the point where we must decide if we are trying to prepare to fight a war, or to prevent one.”²¹ Because the decision was made to proceed with the flights, the answer to Eisenhower's question must have been that the United States was preparing for war with the Soviet Union.

Eisenhower’s concerns did not reflect the official reaction of the United States to the crash of the U-2. In fact, the reaction reflects the “denial and disavowal” plan first put forth in the Memorandum of the Conference with the President of July 8, 1959, when all the top government men decided denial was the best policy in the face of failure.²² After denials and false claims became untenable, the official response was as follows:

The State Department informed the Soviet Government: In its note the Soviet Government has stated that the collection of intelligence about the Soviet Union by American aircraft is a “calculated policy” of the United States. The United States government does not deny that it has pursued such a policy for purely defensive purposes.²³

The defensive purposes of the flights became the official cover story. It served the public myth that the United States was a honest nation that worked to uphold peace and law around the world. The defensive excuse made little sense in terms of international relations but made perfect

²⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, “Former President Eisenhower Expressed Serious Misgivings About Continuing U2 Reconnaissance Flights Over the Soviet Union As Early As Five Years Before Francis Gary Powers Was Downed, Look Magazine Said Today,” accessed May 15, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp74-00297r001600010086-3>.

²¹ Memorandum of Conference with the President regarding overflight concerns, July 8, 1959 [Office of the Staff Secretary, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Box 15, Intelligence Matters (12); NAID #12008907].

²² Memorandum of Conference with the President regarding overflight concerns, July 8, 1959 [Office of the Staff Secretary, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Box 15, Intelligence Matters (12); NAID #12008907].

²³ State Department telegram to American Embassy in Moscow regarding U.S. position with respect to U-2 incident, May 11, 1960 [Christian Herter Papers, Box 20, U-2 (1); NAID #12009399]

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sense to an American public that refused to see the role of the United States in a critical light. Berman agrees, saying, "In his defense of the U-2 flight, the President had betrayed his 'friend' by espousing different standards of international law for 'open' and 'closed' societies. The distinction would permit us to send over Soviet territory not only reconnaissance planes, but planes 'armed with lethal weapons'"²⁴

The public reaction of the Eisenhower Administration to the trial of Powers in Russia followed the predictable public script but had a different tone behind the doors of the Oval Office. Eisenhower had long hoped to avoid the public embarrassment that his government was now facing. Despite enjoying support from nearly eighty percent of all Americans at the time Eisenhower felt that the violations being done by the U-2 were serious enough that they would ruin him in the eyes of the public.

Eisenhower expressed the nature of espionage in a public statement to the American people on May 11, 1960 explaining, "[U-2 overflights] are secret because they must circumvent measures designed by other countries to protect secrecy of military operations."²⁵ In essence, to the public the response by the United States is understandable in term of the unwritten rules of spy craft, despite international law to the contrary. The hypocrisy is obvious and stunning.

On that same morning, before making his public comments, Eisenhower expressed his own evaluation of the fallout over the U-2 crash to his inner circle of advisors. Eisenhower said, "he did not think the recent theatrical behavior of Mr. Khrushchev would set the tone of the [Paris Summit]; that the United States would not be encumbered by the U-2 incident; and that Khrushchev is much too smart to believe this is the first time such a flight has occurred."²⁶ Eisenhower may be expressing more hope than logic here, as the controversy would not subside and would ultimately doom the negotiations with the Soviets. It is interesting to note the logic, however, that justifies illegal actions on the basis that illegal actions have taken place repeatedly. Eisenhower seems to believe that if you are the American president, two wrongs sometimes do make a right.

In conversation with his military and diplomatic advisors leading up to his summit with Khrushchev in Paris later in 1960, Eisenhower

²⁴ Harold J. Berman, ix.

²⁵ Statement by the President regarding U-2 incident, May 11, 1960 [Christian Herter Papers, Box 20, U-2 (1); NAID #12009412].

²⁶ Memorandum for Ann Whitman discusses Khrushchev and Summit Conference, May 11, 1960 [DDE's Papers as President, DDE Diary Series, Box 50, Staff Notes May 1960 (2); NAID #12010067].

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expressed disdain for owning responsibility for the flights. In the memo Brigadier General A.J. Goodpaster reported:

The essential points are two-- first, that we could not respond to a threat, and second, what might have been done had there been serious consideration at this conference. Mr. Bohlen thought that the Russians are trying to get us to “grovel” or to assert a legal flyway (which they will challenge as untenable.) The President said that espionage is simply a practice that has been carried on throughout history. It is up to the affronted country to defeat spies attempting to operate against them.²⁷

Eisenhower reveals a textbook example of jingoism in his placement of blame upon the Soviet for the espionage of the United States. This is an unusual approach by any statement up until this point, as it breaks with the precedent of international law in the area of violations of national sovereignty by states. James Nathan confirms this in his article for *Military Affairs*:

Apologies for spying, even insincere apologies, are not an uncommon practice in international affairs. A ceremonial declaration of regrets was insisted upon when Japan in 1937 “mistakenly” bombed for three hours the American ship Panay....²⁸

For Eisenhower to refuse to apologize for the U-2 Flights is evidence of the nationalism and jingoism of American foreign policy after World War II. If he had conformed with legal tradition, then his public image would have suffered. He might have been called weak or out of touch, as he was by Walter Lippmann, who wrote,

Why, then, knowing that such flights were being made, did the President fail to realize the risks of continuing them right up to the meeting at the Summit? Is it because he was not paying sufficient attention? It looks like that. It seems as if the country has been humiliated by absent-mindedness in the highest quarters of the government.²⁹

²⁷ Memorandum of Conference with the President on 5/15/60, dated May 16, 1960 regarding U-2 and summit conference [DDE's Papers as President, DDE Diary Series, Box 50, Staff Notes May 1960 (1); NAID #12010073].

²⁸ James A. Nathan, “A Fragile Detente: The U-2 Incident Re-examined,” *Military Affairs* 39, no. 3 (10 1975): 97.

²⁹ Walter Lippmann, “Plane Blame Falls on Ike, Advisers,” *Boston Globe*, May 10, 1960.

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Eisenhower feared being seen as too old, or too absent on the job in the face of the failure of the U-2. His reaction was perhaps born out of defending his personal reputation, manifesting itself as an overly hostile foreign policy.

Reacting to the Crash

The official reaction to the crash is interesting for its elusive and transforming nature. At the outset the cover story was strictly followed. There was complete denial from the White House. The initial reaction on May 7, 1960 by the U.S. Department of States reads:

The Department has received the text of Mr. Khrushchev's further remarks about the unarmed plane which is reported to have been shot down in the Soviet Union. As previously announced, it was known that a U-2 plane was missing. As a result of the inquiry ordered by the President, it has been established that insofar as the authorities are concerned, *there was no authorization for any such flights as described by Mr. Krushchev.*³⁰

The reaction is one of denial in the face of public embarrassment and policy failure and can be considered as such because it was quickly changed to suit the mounting pressures to explain the obvious nature of the crash. In the first few days the President and his advisers had only their hopes of Powers demise to go on:

Unaware that Khrushchev was still holding back some vital information, Eisenhower and his advisers addressed several questions, chief among which was whether the President should publicly admit that the Administration had a definite program to obtain aerial photographs of the Soviet Union. The answer to that question depended to a great extent on whether the Soviets captured Powers alive.³¹

Five days after the State Department's denial of responsibility for the violation of sovereign airspace, President Eisenhower was forced to retract and explain the flights to the press and the public.

³⁰ *Events Incident to the Summit Conference. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-sixth Congress, Second Session. May 27, June 1, 2, 1960.* Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1960. [bold and italics added].

³¹ E. Bruce Geelhoed, "Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Spy Plane, and the Summit: A Quarter-Century Retrospective," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1987): 95-106.

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In his press statement Eisenhower laid out the narrative for the crash not by accepting responsibility for it but by couching the affair in terms of the Soviet threat and the need to protect Americans. He began by explaining that the gathering of intelligence was “distasteful but vital” and needed to happen “below the surface.” In this way Americans could accept the inherent injustice of the actions by seeing it through jingoistic eyes. In essence, Eisenhower blamed the Soviets for the crash and the need to violate their sovereignty. It is akin to blaming the victim for the crime. Eisenhower says as much in his summation before the press:

It is a distasteful but vital necessity. We prefer and work for a different kind of world—and a different way of obtaining the information essential to confidence and effective deterrents. Open societies, in the day of present weapons, are the only answer. This was the reason for my “open skies” proposal in 1955, which I was ready instantly to put into effect—to permit aerial observation over the United States and the Soviet Union which would assure that no surprise attack was being prepared against anyone... My final point is that we must not be distracted from the real issues of the day by what is an incident or a symptom of the world situation today.³²

Eisenhower spins the events of May 1, 1960 into a scenario in which the freedom loving United States had no other option, and that to prevent the criminal violation of Soviet sovereignty in the future the Soviet needed to accept the flights for the sake of open societies and the peace of the world. It was like a child explaining that he took the cookies from the cookie jar because it was safer for the child to have them. Such behavior is audacious on its face, unless you see the world through an aggressive jingoistic lens and are prone to believe without question what the president says. In this way Eisenhower was not speaking to the world but directly to, and only to, the American public.

This press statement by Eisenhower is ironic considering all he had at stake in 1960. With the end of his term and the end of his glorious public career in sight, Eisenhower wanted to go out with a legacy as a peacemaker. As the historian Michael Beschloss wrote in his history of the U-2 affair, “Throughout his term, Eisenhower had shown himself willing to bargain with the Russians...But he was always restrained by his confidence that his was...the superior military power, and his suspicions of Russians and summit meetings and his conviction that a

³² *Events Incident to the Summit Conference. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Eighty-sixth Congress, Second Session. May 27, June 1, 2, 1960.* Washington: U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1960.

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democratic alliance usually bargained with totalitarians at a disadvantage.”³³ This shows the jingoistic nature of Eisenhower himself. His hostility towards another nation prefers a militaristic approach, and his suspicious of detente.

Even Beschloss sees the lost opportunity that Eisenhower squandered because of his jingoism. If he had relied on his iconic position in the minds of a conformist American public, he may yet have achieved the peaceful end to his presidency he so desired. “Had Eisenhower used his bully pulpit and immense popularity to show that a period of detente was possible and desirable, the disappointments of May 1960 might not have sung the nation so deeply into a Cold War mood and reduced his successor’s flexibility in 1961.”³⁴

Eisenhower betrayed his own awareness of his legal responsibilities to apologize for the U-2 violation at the Paris Peace conference. “When Khrushchev demanded a formal apology and assurances of no more American reconnaissance flights over Russia at the 1960 Paris summit conference, he said his interpreter overheard Eisenhower ask Secretary of State Christian Herter, “Well, why not? Why don’t we go ahead and make a statement of apology?” Herter said no- and he said it in such a way, with such a grimace on his face, that he left no room for argument on the issue.”³⁵ The behavior of both the President and his Secretary of State reveals the jingoistic animosity that prevented the United States leadership from conforming to international law and treaty. Storming out of the room is not exactly mature behavior, but neither is jingoism.

One possible explanation for Eisenhower’s response may have been due to domestic criticism of his administration from right wing voices. Like the syndicated columnist Walter Lippmann, those even more hostile to the Soviets saw Eisenhower as “being a part-time president, too inclined to delegate responsibility and authority to his staff and Cabinet members...”³⁶ The domestic pressure to aggressively confront the Soviets placed Eisenhower in a position where he could not pursue peace and preserve a legacy of great leadership. The jingoism and domestic conformity of the public was too much for even the president to bear. Bruce Geelhoed writes that “if Eisenhower failed to refute Khrushchev’s charge that ‘Pentagon militarists’ were responsible for the flights, he would be in fact admitting that he had lost control of his own Administration, particularly regarding his responsibilities as Commander

³³ Michael R. Beschloss, *Mayday, the U-2 Affair: The Untold Story of the Greatest U.S.-U.S.S.R. Spy Scandal* (New York: Perennial Library, 1987), 375.

³⁴ Beschloss, 375.

³⁵ Nathan, “A Fragile Détente,” 100.

³⁶ Geelhoed, “Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Spy Plane, and the Summit,” 99.

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and Chief were concerned.”³⁷ In an era of public hostility towards the Soviets and supranationalism on display in the McCarthy Hearing and the HUAC, Eisenhower did not dare to seem to be weak in the face of Soviet criticism, albeit justified, of the United States.

The Public Mindset: Tradition and Myth

Eisenhower himself seemed to fear the public reaction more than he should, however. According to the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, public trust in government has never been stronger than it was under Eisenhower. When asked if they “always or almost always trust the government in Washington” over eighty percent of American responded in the affirmative. It is hard to imagine this level of consensus today, and the same poll finds that less than twenty percent of Americans alive at the time of the Eisenhower Administration would answer in the affirmative about the government today.³⁸

In a Harris Poll conducted in 1965, the conformity of American public thought is clearly evidenced. When asked, “[Do] you think each of these different types of people is more helpful or more harmful to American life, or don’t they help or harm things much one way or the other?” the American public responded in the following manner:

The number of activities that seem to be considered “harmful” is quite appalling. “People who don’t believe in God,” for example, are condemned as “harmful” by 72 percent, a figure even higher than the one for prostitutes (70 percent). Fully 50 percent condemn “working career women with young children” as harmful, and no less than 36 percent apply the same condemnation to “women who wear bikini bathing suits...”³⁹

This poll shows that Americans were decided against anything or anyone that went counter to the traditional views of American life, family, authority, or leadership. In that way, the narrative surrounding the U-2 crash and the trial of Francis Gary Powers had to conform to the conformity and jingoism inherent in the American public’s mindset. Perhaps because the Soviet Union was officially atheist, it made a

³⁷ Geelhoed, 99.

³⁸ Peter Bell, "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017," Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. May 02, 2017, accessed May 15, 2017, <http://www.people-press.org/2017/05/03/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017>.

³⁹ Jeff Nilson, “The Price of an Organized Society: Conformity in the 1960s,” *The Saturday Evening Post*, Aug. 27, 2010.

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jingoistic narrative inevitable, as according to the Harris poll, the Soviet Union would be more harmful than prostitution in the minds of the American public. With this mindset commonly held by the public, no other reaction was possible except to see American espionage as correct and Soviet sovereignty as secondary to American interests.

Nevertheless, Eisenhower seemed consumed by the public reaction to the crash, and how the effects may reflect upon him. With Congress starting an inquiry into the crash that would become known as the Fulbright Hearings, Eisenhower attempted again to control the narrative. In speaking to a group of bipartisan political leaders over breakfast at the White House on May 26, 1960, three weeks after accepting responsibility for the flights, the cozy nature of the congressmen and the President is obvious, and so too is Eisenhower's desire to appear righteous in his failings. At one point he said, "if anyone were to be punished they should punish me first." He went on to say "that anyone sitting in his chair wouldn't want the CIA on the spot... that in addition to being the President, he was also the Commander-In-Chief, and he didn't see how he could duck his responsibility."⁴⁰

Eisenhower needed to ensure he was responsible, because of the jingoistic political temperature of the day. It seemed to have won over the congressmen at that meeting, as Senator Vinson leaned over to Eisenhower side Jim Haggerty and whispered that "the President had acted quite right in assuming responsibility. He said -'That's the kind of man he is anyway.'"⁴¹ Note how the "man" is Eisenhower. The jingoistic language of the 1950s machismo is on full display. Vinson did not say "That's the kind of leader he is anyway" or "That's the kind of President he is anyway." Vinson's whispered remark paints a clear picture of what Eisenhower was doing and how it was received by those who were about to investigate him for one of the worst intelligence failures of his presidency. Furthermore, with Senator Joseph McCarthy running his anti-communist investigations in the Congress at that very time, Eisenhower's "manly" leadership would inoculate him from serious criticism.

He argued against using the term "investigation" to describe the Senate's work, pushing for it to be known as an "inquiry," to which the pliant Senator Fulbright quickly agreed.⁴² The opposition party, from

⁴⁰ Memorandum of conversation, bipartisan leaders breakfast with the President, held in the State dining room, The White House concerning U-2 incident, intelligence and espionage, May 26, 1960 [DDE's Papers as President, DDE Diary Series, Box 50, Staff Notes May 1960 (1); NAID #12010079].

⁴¹ Memorandum of conversation, 5.

⁴² Memorandum of conversation, 4.

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which the Democrat Senator Fulbright hailed, did not give Eisenhower a public shaming. Instead, the Senate did most of its work behind closed doors.

When Powers returned to the United States, the Senate debriefed him on his experience. In this meeting the soft approach first felt by Eisenhower after the crash was continued, as would have been fitting for an American. Because of the bias of nationalism, a criminal agent under the flag of the United States is still a patriot, deserving of honor and respect. Historian James Nathan wrote of this American show trial in the Senate:

Few questions were asked by Congress the day Powers was to first give public testimony to the Senate about his performance, and the CIA issued an unusual statement even before he took the stand. ...Senator Russell set the tone of the Hearing, "I understand from Senator Byrd that you are a Virginia boy." Ninety minutes of gentle questions later, the official inquest into the incident was over and Powers was on his way, leaving, in the words of a Time reporter, a "persistent feeling that some of his story remains untold."⁴³

The untold story would have been the criminality of the violation perpetrated by the United States against a sovereign nation. Because such a story would have then and still would today, shocked the conscience of Americans, the Powers interview by the Senate was of little significance.

The American Psyche

The immediate and long-term effects of the crash of the U-2 show how public opinion remained under tight control by the White House and the business media interests of the United States. The actions of the intelligence services and the military after Eisenhower left office reveal as disregard for democratic controls on political and military power that are inherent in maintaining a free society under the Constitution. The failure of Eisenhower to normalize relations was only the first of many avoidable negative effects from the crash.

To understand how Americans could embrace so blindly jingoistic a perspective when it came to foreign policy and the Cold war, psychologist William Blanchard wrote a study of this in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. He explained that “Perhaps the most striking characteristic of American morality is that we tend to ignore or hide from

⁴³ Nathan, 101, quoting *New York Times*, 23 March 1960.

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our "shadow side" until it is exposed in such a way that we can no longer deny it."⁴⁴ Blanchard argues that the American public was willing to forgive and forget the illegality of the U-2 flights because the embarrassment was too much for normal Americans to confront. Americans tended to hide from the consequences if they spoke ill of American moral and political leadership. This is evident in the public polling that saw Eisenhower's popularity rise after the crash,⁴⁵ and in media reports of American reactions.

Blanchard continues by citing the media reports of American reaction to Powers' failure to commit suicide, saying,

The "Letters to the Editor" column in newspapers all over the country were filled with criticism of our government for having permitted the over-flight to take place. Perplexed and disillusioned, many Americans were wondering how their government could be guilty of such an immoral act. It was almost as though no one had been willing to admit that the United States would, could, or ever had engaged in peacetime espionage or sabotage; that red-blooded American spies might be required to commit murder, suicide, or steal in order to accomplish their mission.⁴⁶

News reports and psychological analysis of the type conducted by Blanchard provide evidence of the public debate regarding Powers survival and failure. "Although there was not inconsiderable speculation in the press about why Powers had neither used his needle nor destruct button, the terms of the discussion were captured by one headline that read "Hero or Bum?"⁴⁷ Powers adds, interestingly, that Attorney General Robert Kennedy opposed the Powers-Abel trade and "wanted him tried for treason."⁴⁸ Powers was under orders to kill himself before being captured. Significant voices demanded charges of treason be brought against Powers for not conforming to the orders he was given and expected to follow, even unto his death.

The initial media reaction to the Power crash reflects the public assumption of American *noblesse oblige* and moral justification for violating the airspace of another nation. In *The Washington Post*, the

⁴⁴ William H. Blanchard, "National Myth, National Character, and National Policy: A Psychological Study of the U-2 Incident," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 6, no. 2 (1962): 144.

⁴⁵ Peter Bell, "Public Trust in Government."

⁴⁶ Blanchard, "National Myth, National Character, and National Policy," 144.

⁴⁷ Francis Gary Powers and Curt Gentry, *Operation Overflight: the U-2 spy pilot tells his story for the first time* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970).

⁴⁸ Nathan, "A Fragile Détente," 101

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reaction was as follows: “Powers was on the lookout for a space spectacular which the Russians had hinted they might attempt on May Day. His course took him over the missile center which they were expected to perhaps launch a man into space. As it turned out Powers was the May Day spectacular.”⁴⁹ This article, published less than two weeks after the crash, reveals an innocuous motive for the violation by the U-2: observation of a space launch. It hints that the Russians had event alerted the U.S. to the opportunity, and that the missile site was not clearly offensive in nature. While none of this was true, the pure speculation by a national newspaper reveals the public narrative that would reasonable justify the flight, and deliberately ignores or downplays the illegality and provocative nature of the U-2 incursion.

The article continues by portraying Powers as innocent and the Soviets as devious and deceptive; a description that would have conformed with the aggressive nationalism of the day and the psychological duplicity described by Berman. It continues,

Some officials suspect he was lured into a trap which the Russians had baited with their May Day hints. But although Uncle Sam was curious about what the Russians might be up to, surveillance of the missile center was only a small part of his assignment...⁵⁰

The Soviets seemingly are now the cause of their own violation by the United States, after having “lured” the brave Francis Gary Powers into their airspace. These officials in Washington knew the details of the U-2 program and the absurdity of their accusations of Soviet provocation, and yet the public went along with the narrative.

Indeed, Washington officials were presenting just such pablum to the public in order to control the narrative. Just as when George Kennan had warned that that determined “non-communist left wing”⁵¹ voices in a capitalist nation were more dangerous than radical communist reactionaries, the intelligence services used patriotic propaganda to ensure that this failure on their part was inoculated against serious left-wing criticism. Blaming the Soviets for the overflights helped to place the CIA and President Eisenhower beyond public criticism for this scandal.

Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Allen Dulles spread the

⁴⁹ *Washington Post*, "U.S. Heard Russians Chasing U-2," May 12, 1960 [Office of the Staff Secretary, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Box 15, Intelligence Matters (15); NAID #12009414]

⁵⁰ *Washington Post*, May 12, 1960

⁵¹ Telegram, George Kennan, 4.

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propaganda narrative to harness the jingoistic sentiments of Americans in into support for the flights, rather than to see them as the criminal acts they were under U.S. treaty. His comments to the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 22, 1960 were retold on a radio broadcast the following day:

Mr. Dulles said that the Kremlin is jealously guarding the physical areas of the Soviet Union where it is building up in secrecy its formidable military weapons. Dulles declared that the Russians have repeatedly refused to accept meaningful forms of inspection, the best guarantee that disarmament can be honest, and Dulles then charged that Russia believes it is free to prepare in relative security for its spying on, their bases inside, and that this is our only method of getting pictures...⁵²

In his estimation, Allan Dulles described the overflights as necessary for American security and unavoidable due to Soviet “jealousy.” The choice of that term to describe sovereignty and national security reveal the biased interpretation of American actions and thought. When the United States seeks security, the logic of illegality goes unaddressed. However, when another nation seeks security, it is best described with a pejorative term “jealousy.” To the American public jealousy is a bad trait. In this same way, Soviet “refusal to accept meaningful forms of inspect” seems to the layperson as unjustified. American actions were positively described by the Director as “our only method of getting pictures.” In short, we had no other options.

Later newspaper articles of the trial of Francis Gary Powers minimized the meaning of the trial itself and highlighted positive aspects of the American pilot for the public to follow. Berman describes this media propaganda in his examination of the American moral character. He writes that, “before our sins are exposed there is, in public speeches and high moral pronouncements of our leaders and legislators, *a casual assumption of moral superiority*. It is this national self-righteousness of Americans that even our best friends hesitate to mention to us.”⁵³ In *The New York Times*, stories for the American public on how their spy was being seen by the world, ensured for the common man that American status and reputation was unaffected by what was taking place at the

⁵² Radio interview with Drew Pearson of Washington Post, August 23, 1960 [Office of the Staff Secretary, Subject Series, Alphabetical Subseries, Box 15, Intelligence Matters (17); NAID #12009418].

⁵³ Blanchard, “National Myth, National Character, and National Policy,” 144. [italics and bold added].

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Powers trial in Moscow.

Reports from the New York Times correspondents around the world showed that the Powers trial was front page news but, while Russia designed the trial to convey a political message, in most places the chief interest apparently was the human drama. The chief emotion aroused was non-political - sympathy for the condemned man, his attractive wife and his parents. Although President Eisenhower and Senator Kennedy said they considered the sentence harsh, Senator Fulbright and most of the European press thought it lenient, in view of the offence.⁵⁴

This description spins the image of an American on trial for criminal behavior, as defined under international law, into a story about “the human drama.” It is more important to remind the public that Powers is a “sympathetic” character, and that the world notes not his espionage but his “attractive wife and his parents.” The use of Powers family in this story is a deliberate attempt to manage the public narrative by invoking imagery that would have played to the traditional, family values American reading the paper on that day. It is as William Blanchard describes, “To the extent that such attitudes remain un verbalized and “intuitive,” the people can be manipulated by an appeal to myth and tradition.”⁵⁵

In his own reported comments on Powers trial, Eisenhower used this appeal to myth and tradition to bias the American public’s understanding of the event. In *The New York Times*, published on August 18, 1960, it reads, “The President defended the U-2 reconnaissance flights, one of which led to Mr. Power’s capture on Soviet territory, as a necessary effort to gain information about a society that is ‘constantly threatening us.’”⁵⁶

This reporting advances the narrative that the Soviets are the aggressors and the United states was merely defending itself in the face of unprovoked hostility. It is stunning in the apparent inverse relationship this view holds to the reality of what actually took place. It is the myth of America being the defender of freedom and the Soviet Union always acting as a menace.

Upon his release from prison and his return to the United States, news reports once again framed the image of Powers as essentially

⁵⁴ New York Times, Powers Drama: Weapon in Cold War, Aug. 21, 1960.

⁵⁵ Blanchard, “National Myth, National Character, and National Policy,” 147.

⁵⁶ William J. Jordan, President Insists Policies Of U.S. Are Not on Trial: President Denies U.S. Is On Trial. New York Times (1923-Current file); Aug 18, 1960.

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innocent of any wrongdoing; a misunderstood family man who was “just following orders.” In the *New York Times* it was reported that Powers would not be prosecuted after his return, “because [the United States government] sees nothing in his conduct to warrant such prosecution.”⁵⁷

“The lie we told about the U-2”

The public reaction to the U-2 revealed a strong support for any action by the United States against the Soviet Union. The common thinking among Americans was to conform to the mainstream thinking on the subject of international politics. Indeed, the everyday American had certainly had enough of international conflict, having suffered through World War II and the Korean Conflict. The second half of the 1950s was a time when the public wanted to look inward and did not want the rest of the world to disturb its halcyon suburban world.

In looking back on his time in the White House, even Dwight Eisenhower noted with regret his reaction to the U-2. “In retirement, Eisenhower said the greatest regret of his presidency was “the lie we told about the U-2 I didn’t realize how high a price we were going to pay for that lie.”⁵⁸ He seems to indicate in this remark that Eisenhower understand what is about to happen to public support for the government, as more and more lies and abuses resulted from his legacy of Cold War deception.

The U-2 crash represents only the first major public revelation of illegality and provocation by the United States after World War II. Other failures followed and began a long dramatic decline in the moral leadership of the United States.

Once gone from office, Eisenhower took with him the simplicity of his day, leaving a young controversial president, John F. Kennedy, to manage the Communist menace. The failure of the Bay of Pigs in 1961 started a downturn in public loyalty to American leadership that culminated in the malaise of the Vietnam War. Polling indicates that public confidence declined more with each passing presidential administration.⁵⁹

Public trust in government peaked under John F. Kennedy in 1963, with seventy-seven percent of American responding affirmatively when asked. Public trust today remains at historic lows, having dropped to just

⁵⁷ William J. Jordan *President Voices Regret At Ruling: Offers Sympathy to Family.* *New York Times* (1923-Current file); Aug 20, 1960.

⁵⁸ David Wise, *The Politics of Lying: Government Deception, Secrecy, and Power* (New York: Random House, 1973), 211.

⁵⁹ "A Half-Century's Polling On The USSR And Communism."

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seventeen percent of Americans responding affirmatively when asked in 2011, and with only twenty percent responding affirmatively under President Donald Trump.⁶⁰

While the distrust Americans seem to have in their government is a concern for a variety of reasons, it does not mean that the jingoism or pressure for social conformity have faded. In many ways the division of American politics into two polar opposing camps seems to be an offspring of this social conformity the stratifying of American society over time has meant that the pressure to conform leads Americans into one political party or the other, with a growing number left as independent or undecided. Nevertheless, while more diluted today, the intensity of jingoistic and social conformity has led America into a new era of isolationism.

It is better now than it was, however. The fragmentation of American jingoism and national identity, as well as the emergence of a nation less defined by Cold War politics has reduced the threat of international conflict between the United States and Russia. While conflict may arise in the future, it is certainly much reduced in the size and lethality that Cold War conflicts represented. What remains of American jingoism is to be monitored, as it influenced the election of 2016, and may yet see more warlike intervention in the future. While the threat of a nuclear exchange is diminished, the national character of the United States and its people remains a threat to worldwide peace in the future

⁶⁰ "A Half-Century's Polling On The USSR And Communism."

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SEPARATION ANXIETY: THE SEPARATION PATHOS IN WESTERN CULTURE AND THE DISCIPLINE IN ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

By Bryan Doherty

Environmental history, in its simplest terms is the study of humanity's relationship with nature and how it has changed from the dawn of humankind to the present day. It is a sub-discipline in history that argues for the validity of the environment as an element of the narrative of humankind. The pathos of environmental history has always been difficult even for the discipline's scholars to define. One problematic element has seemed to persist through the ever-shifting pathos and narratives of the discipline: the separation of humanity and nature.

There is a prevailing narrative in the discipline that there was never a point in all of history that humanity lived in harmony or in an ecologically stable manner. Humankind has always had an exploitive relationship with nature even before humanity had formed cultures of industry or large-scale forms of production requiring extensive use of natural materials. In "Pleistocene Overkill," American geoscientist Paul S. Martin argues that early man was the cause of mass extinction of mega fauna at the end of the Ice Age in North America. Martin cites the cause of the extinction as a limitation of early man's hunting methods such as fire and cliff running which were wasteful. This limitation of methods, according to Martin, is a blend of a need for survival and a lack of ecological understanding. Evidence he uses against arguments for other causes is a pattern of drastic population drops of mega fauna in other landmasses with the arrival of hunting groups of early man.

This framing of humanity in a contentious relationship from the beginning of history creates a dangerous duality that William Cronon, a pioneer in the discipline, warns, "sets humanity and nature at opposite poles and thereby leave ourselves little hope of discovering what an ethical, sustainable, honorable human place in nature might actually look like."¹ It would appear that Cronon's warning has been a constant problem within the discipline of environmental history. This separation pathos is not the fault of the discipline, but rather the result of a deep-rooted cultural construction in Western Culture that has permeated the narrative of environmental history. It also has informed the continual exploitive ecological policies of industrialists and architects of nation

¹ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Global Environmental History: An Introduction Reader*, ed. J.R. McNeill and Alan Roe (New York: Routledge, 2013), 350.

Separation Anxiety

states with dire consequences to not only nature, but also the people that continue to live in a symbiotic relationship with it. In order to course correct not only the pathos of the discipline of environmental history but that of humanity's relationship with nature on a global scale, we as a culture have to view ourselves as part of the environments we use and shape because as historian Richard Foltz states, "All human action takes place within the context of an ecosystem."² If the framing of the narrative of environmental history with this pathos of separation cannot be altered, then the discipline risks, in the words of Cronon, "energizing our historical argument with all the power of prophecy."³

Constructing the Separation Pathos

This separation of humanity from nature has a deep-rooted cultural pathos that extends through academic, scientific, and religious values and practice so pervasively that it makes it difficult to discover the point of origin. The concept of nature as a separate entity to humanity goes back further than the spread of Christianity in Western Culture. The Greek historian Xenophon wrote of nature as a goddess with her own form of justice that operates outside of human justice in 360 B.C.E.⁴ While he goes on to say that it is important to maintain a balance with mother nature in order to assure prosperity, the divide is there and would only be exacerbated with the onset of Christianity and even further so due to the Scientific Revolution.

Historian Carolyn Merchant observes how deep the mother earth pathos goes in Western Culture as she illustrates how the concept of mother earth is further twisted by Christian gender values, correlating femininity with nature and framing them both as something adversarial to human agency which Christianity genders as masculine. Merchant argues the Judeo-Christian story of Eve, an aspect of the sacred feminine, as the responsible party for the fall from grace and Adam's work with farming the land that they are cast to creates a positive association with a conventional male aspect of transformation and control. This cultural mindset also transforms Eve and nature, both spiritual aspects of the conventional sacred feminine into negative forces that must be controlled

² Richard C. Foltz, "Does Nature Have Historical Agency? World History, Environment History, and How Historians Can Help Save the Planet," *The History Teacher* 37, no. 1 (November 2003): 10.

³ William Cronon, "Modes of Prophecy and Production: Placing Nature in History," *The Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (April 1990): 1130.

⁴ Teres Kwiatkowska and Alan Holland, "Dark is the World to Thee: A Historical Perspective on Environmental Forewarnings," in *Global Environmental History: An Introduction Reader*, ed. J.R. McNeill and Alan Roe (New York: Routledge, 2013), 38.

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or tamed setting the precedence for Western Culture's "cultivate and dominate" attitude toward nature as a divine law. This creates a deep-rooted cultural conception of, "the valence of woman is bad. The end valence of nature is bad. Here men become the agents of transformation."⁵ Transformation of nature then becomes the mechanism for the reclaiming of Eden through, "the bringing the light to the dark world of inchoate nature."⁶

Merchant demonstrates that this cultural framing of nature as a wild, adversary that must be tamed by humanity, is not only necessary to the triumph of "mankind" but God's will as well and that by taming the wilderness mankind is reclaiming their connection to Eden and therefore God. This leaves nature as the inactive, submissive constant that humanity can shape and use as it sees fit. By gendering nature within the Christian pathos it creates a culturally shared value that humanity's dominance over nature is part of the natural order of the universe. It is a shared value that lies so deep in the subconscious of Western Culture that few realize that they subscribe to it. This is a learned and perpetuated behavior that stretches deep into the shadows of time and memory in Western Culture.

This cultural re-branding of nature from a kind, nurturing sentience to a dark, adversarial feminine energy is echoed in nineteenth century cultural thought as shown in a passage from Henry David Thoreau's climb of Mt. Katahdin in Maine:

This ground is not prepared for you. It is not enough that I smile
in the valleys? I have never made this soil for thy feet, this air for thy
breathing, these rocks for thy neighbors. I cannot pity nor fondle thee
here, but forever relentlessly drive thee hence to where I am kind.
Why seek me where I have not called thee, and then complain
because you find me but a stepmother?⁷

This culturally constructed schism between nature and humanity was only exacerbated with the onset of the Scientific Revolution. While Thoreau's poem certainly echoes the notion of nature as an adversarial, dangerous, and untamable feminine energy, nature still evoked a sense of awe, a presence beyond the full comprehension or expression of humankind. Indeed, other environmentalists of the nineteenth century

⁵ Carolyn Merchant, "Reinventing Eden: Western Culture as Recovery Narrative" in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 133.

⁶ Merchant, "Reinventing Eden," 137.

⁷ Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 344.

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viewed nature as the Cathedral of God. This was the last bastion of a collective respect for nature in Western Culture and the Scientific Revolution quickly broke it down. This reality comes with no small degree of irony as the Scientific Revolution saw a rousing increase of interest in nature. This interest, however, was one of cold curation, categorization, and dissection. In the scientific community, nature had now become something to, "be poked at, prodded, dissected, tortured for its secrets, and put on display."⁸ Nature as a subject of study in the scientific community stripped what little spiritual or religious mystique or power it had left in the Western cultural consciousness. Nature was now inert and soulless.⁹ The two poles that Cronon had warned of had been firmly set, cemented in the acceptance and perpetuation of separation through the pedagogy of the intellectuals of the nineteenth century. Western Culture followed suit.

Consequences of the Separation Pathos

This cultural construct of an anthropocentric view of natural-human relations has demonstrated dire consequences not only for the very environments that we inhabit and destroy to industrialize or "progress," but also for those populations that remain in close relationship and dependence on nature to make a living. Whether Japan's avid quest to industrialize and catch up to other world powers in the nineteenth century or Brazil attempting to do the same to compete in the global economy or Chinese elites trying to maintain control of a populous and create and maintain a mono agricultural economy, the victims are always the same and their punishment has only escalated even after the advent of environmentalism in the twentieth century. This is due to the fact that the same intellectual class that stripped nature of its spiritual importance and agency is credited with the creation of the term and pathos of environmentalism in Western Culture. This was especially the case in the United States, the self-appointed pinnacle of Western Culture as intellectuals would claim the credit and dictate the pathos despite the fact that the U.S. citizens that first voiced concern for the disappearance of nature on a growing scale were those who relied on it for subsistence and livelihood as opposed to recreation or as a subject of study.

As Ramachandra Guha illustrates, the consequence of the intellectuals dictating the pathos of environmentalism or conservation is the same supposed superiority over nature that extends to those that live

⁸ Jeremy J. Cardonna, "Loath This Growth: Sources of Sustainability in the Early Modern World," in *Sustainability: A History*, 29.

⁹ Cardonna, 42.

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in co-dependency with their surrounding nature. Guha outlines that there are five major parties that are concerned with conservation within India: City dwellers and foreign tourists, political and social elites, state forest and wildlife services, and local tribal or hunter gatherer groups. Guha notes that many of these parties' interests include: recreation, retention, or enhancement of natural prestige on part of the elites,¹⁰ the sake of science for biologists, many of them visiting from the first world. Those with the interest of simple survival, the preservation of their home and section of the natural world on which they depend for subsistence and livelihood, those who have the highest stakes in the issue of conservation policy have the least influence in the conversation. In the case of Nagarahole National Park in Southern Karnataka, Guha explains that there are forty tigers, an animal that has had great financial and political attention both local and foreign towards its preservation. It is also home to some sixty thousand tribal people who claim the Nagarahole Park land as their ancestral home, who, Guha notes, quite possibly have been in the territory before the tigers.

The tribal peoples requested permission to remain on the land and outlined very modest demands for their survival from the land. Despite this, the Forestry Department insisted that they be removed as they represented to great a threat to the tigers. The only active hunting the tribal people engage in is limited amounts of fowl and they do not possess firearms, while coffee planters on the borders of the forest do. Guha is illustrating the fact that those who have subscribed to or are part of "modernity," view tribal people or those who live in close relationship with the land as lesser. In the minds of intellectuals and conservationists these tribal people are more akin to the endangered animals they are trying to protect than an organized populous with political or social agency.

This is expressed in the sobering judgment of conservationist John G. Robinson, who works with the Wildlife Conservation Society in New York and manages over one hundred and sixty projects across forty-four countries.¹¹ Robinson's assessment of the situation in Nagarahole Park regarding the tribal people was that they would, "compulsively hunt for food and compete with tigers for prey,"¹² and the relocation of these sixty thousand tribal peoples was crucial in the

¹⁰ Ramachandra Guha, "The Authoritarian Biologist and the Arrogance of Anti-Humanism: Wildlife Conservation in the Third World," in *Global Environmental History: An Introduction Reader*, ed. J.R. McNeill and Alan Roe (New York: Routledge, 2013), 421.

¹¹ Guha, 426.

¹² Guha, 426.

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preservation of forty tigers. As a biologist, his assessment seems more based on a deep-rooted pathos of his discipline rather than the result of a thoroughly executed study of the context of the local environment. It is little wonder then that Guha refers to Robbinson and others who share his pathos as "green missionaries," who use the tribal peoples as a scapegoat, while the socio-economic elite who cause and profit from ecological damage on a macro scale continue to remain unchecked in any serious way. Guha sees this practice as little more than "conservation imperialism."

Imperialism, along with the industrialization that necessitates imperial expansion and perpetuation has dire consequences for both the land and the people who live in close relationship with it in Japan and Brazil. Similar to the case in India, the ecological consequences of rapid industrialization were given little mind as both Japan and Brazil, in order to preserve some form of autonomy, had to compete in the world economy alongside the super powers of the Western World. In the case of Japan, its hand was forced when Commodore Mathew Perry sailed into Edo Bay in 1853 and demanded that Japan open its trade doors to the United States on threat of military force. Until this time Japan has been an isolationist country and quickly realized that they were far behind the other industrialized super powers. Under this extreme pressure to catch up quickly with other world powers in hopes of maintaining autonomy, the Meiji government embarked on an industrializing frenzy. Massive mining and chemical factory operations grew at incredible rates in Japan with devastating consequences to farming lands and farmers as well as waterways and fishers.

These consequences are chronicled in Brett L. Walkers, *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan*. Through his visceral and haunting accounts of the negative effects of careless and borderline lustful industrial development of Japan had on its people, particularly low income or marginalized populations, a common thread runs through the narrative: A deep cultural dissonance of the Japanese people and their link to their surrounding natural world. Not only a disconnect regarding their impact on the natural world, but also the fact that the people of Japan and the lands of Japan exist in symbiotic relationship one's actions, whether realized or not will affect the other.

Walker notes that Japan industrialized quickly and voraciously developing nearly thirty-two thousand factories in its effort to catch up to Western World powers. Mining both copper and coal were essential to the quest to "modernize." Even early in its operation the Ashio Mining complex was producing incredible amounts of copper, Walker reports

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roughly 647 metric tons in 1883.¹³ By the following year it accounted for twenty six percent of Japan's total copper production and by the turn of the twentieth century it accounted for forty. This boom of industry however came at great cost for the population of farmers in the area downstream from the mining complex. Copper mining and smelting resulted in the poisoning of four thousand acres of farmland due to soil and silt contamination. Walker details that miners would dump waste rock from mining and smelting into the Watarase River, which ultimately contaminated it with sulfuric silt. In 1896 the miners reportedly dumped two million cubic feet of contaminated mining debris into the river, and with torrential rains and flooding of both the Watarase and its tributaries, polluted roughly one hundred and fifteen acres of some of the best rice paddy lands in Japan.

Other than catastrophic agricultural disasters, mining also greatly affected the health of people living near the mines. Walker notes that the Mitsui mining complex, that continually purchased government endorsed land grants to create a mining operation, took up approximately eight thousand four hundred acres in the Jinzu River Basin by 1933.¹⁴ This lead and zinc mining operation was key to Japan's military industry that was in need of expansion due to the onset of the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. The smelting and mining operation of these metals resulted in hundreds of metric tons worth of cadmium pollution in the area. This had a great impact on farming women of the surrounding area creating vitamin D deficient diseases such as osteoporosis. A 1970 study from Institute in Public Health in Tokyo showed that women who had lived in Jinzu River Basin were more susceptible to these diseases and also found that chronic exposure to cadmium was the cause.¹⁵

Along with mining, the Chisso chemical plant also had devastating effects on the fishing community in Minamata City. The Chisso chemical disposed of waste used in fertilizer and plastic crafts into the Shiranui Sea which contaminated a shell fish of Minamata Bay as well as the local anchovy population which was both a staple dietary and fertilizer resource upon which the community was dependant. This resulted in an incredibly high level of mercury in both the shellfish and anchovy population. The cooking process of these marine food sources did not adequately remove the high levels. The first signs that something was amiss occurred in the cat population of Minamata City; cats began to exhibit erratic behavior and uncoordinated movement. What would

¹³ Brett L. Walker, *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan* (Seattle WA: University of Washington Press 2010), 89.

¹⁴ Walker, 111.

¹⁵ Walker, 123.

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become known as "dancing cat disease," was a massive influx of mercury poisoning in the cat population. It is estimated that out of one hundred and twenty cats thought to have populated Minamata City, seventy-four of them had died of the disease by 1956.¹⁶ These early warning signs were unfortunately ignored and an outbreak of mercury poisoning in the human fishing population soon followed. "Minamata Disease," as it was called, was officially discovered the same year. In a study conducted by Kumamoto University twenty years later, revealed that the disease was caused by mercury discharged by the Chisso factory.¹⁷

The haunting, "consequences be damned" narrative of Japanese industrialization is echoed in the events concerning the Tijuca forest in Rio de Janeiro during Brazil's industrialization and its shifting mono agricultural economy. In "The Garden in the Machine: An Environmental History of Brazil's Tijuca Forest," author José Drummond outlines how the mining and coffee plantation industries, which Brazil relied on desperately for influence in the world market, devastated the Tijuca forest in Rio de Janeiro in order to accommodate city expansion and the industry trades. Deforestation for mining led to streams and river deviation or drying up that greatly damaged the city of Rio de Janeiro's water supply so heavily that by the 1940s only fifteen percent of the city's water needs were met by public water supply.¹⁸ Drought issues escalated to such a degree that Brazil's government introduced a policy to purchase private preserve land near watersheds and protecting or restoring forest cover to help ensure water production and conservation. This led to a massive replanting effort by Manuel Gomes Archer. With a team of five men and women who were African slaves, Archer led a massive restoration effort of the Tijuca forest. While Archer and his team were successful and set the groundwork for further restoration work on the forest, Drummond notes it did little to change Brazil's forestry practice. The needs of industry and the country's economic growth and stability seemingly outweighed the consequences of destructive environmental policy.

China, though not driven by the quest to industrialize, also devastated its lands and the population dependent on it. Through its medieval centuries China led the world in agricultural production due to its use of irrigated rice farming. Each new irrigation project brought the destruction of portions or entire forests, which unbalanced the ecosystem

¹⁶ Walker, 146.

¹⁷ Walker, 173.

¹⁸ José Drummond, "The Garden in the Machine: An Environmental History of Brazil's Tijuca Forest," *Environmental History* 1 no. 1 (1996): 90.

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and eventually lead to a water shortage in Northern China. As early as the end of the third century C.E. the Empire of China began to form policies that greatly restricted access to non-farming resources and the lands on which they were for commoners. In doing so, China created a cast system based on resource access forcing the common population into one livelihood: agriculture. The Chinese economy became very dependent on this model for both its food supply and treasury as rice paddies became the primary source of both taxes and conscripts.¹⁹ Due to the water shortage in Northern China, a prime region for rice paddy growth, the Chinese government created a canal system in the region that had a long history of levy failures, floods and other structural disasters that were not addressed properly. This resulted in a long history of unsustainable practice that came at a high cost to the land and the farming population particularly in the Yellow River Valley. In the first phase of the Medieval Period, Yellow River levees broke on an average of once every 3.3 years.²⁰ The worst disaster was a flood that occurred in 1117 C.E. in which more than a million farmers drowned.

The pathos of separation of humanity from nature and modernity from primitive can subvert even the most well intended conservation efforts. As Merchant has illustrated the Edenic narrative can prevent us from looking objectively at the relationship between people and space on the opposite side of the coin that Guha detailed in India. In her study of how the Edenic idolization the Amazon and the tribal people that inhabit it muddy the issues surrounding their sovereign land rites. Two tribes, the "traditionally primitive," Yanomami and the commercially practicing Kayapo have very different interactions with modern society and the land in which they occupy. Conservationists commonly view it as an Eden-like wilderness that must be maintained and kept from capitalist or industrial interference at all cost. The Kayapo however, do participate in modern capitalism by using modern technology and commercial items, while maintaining their cultural traditions. Slater notes that despite this it has, "not significantly altered the deep, and deeply Edenic, association with the land."²¹ By projecting this romantic notion of the "noble savage," in a natural paradise, "untainted," by modern society or industry, Slater argues we, "dehumanize through idealization."²²

¹⁹ Mark Elvin, "Three Thousand Years of Unsustainable Growth: China's Environment from Archaic Times to the Present," in *Global Environmental History: An Introductory Reader*, 243.

²⁰ Elvin, 257.

²¹ Candace Slater, "Amazonia as Edenic Narrative" in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 123.

²² Slater, 129.

Re-connecting

The paradoxical separation relationship has permeated not only Western cultural practices, but also the discipline of environmental history; there are examples of cultures both in the Western World and those outside of it re-addressing the severed connection with nature. The Iroquois Confederacy had a practice when making important decisions in political, social, or environmental fields to consider the impact it would have on the next seven generations.²³ Not all conservation stories or efforts to re-address the lost connection between a given culture and the land are as far sighted as the Iroquois, but there are examples of cultures, albeit for a short period of time, who break the determinist, declinist narrative in the pathos of the discipline of environmental history.

Even a country that has lost the relationship so completely as Japan, can reconnect at times as it did during the Tokugawa Shogunate just before the Meiji Restoration and its forced industrialization. During this period the Shogunate adopted an isolationist policy of its lumber trade in response to a rapidly declining forest coverage in the country. The greatly limited lumber trade with the Dutch and Koreans strongly encouraged a reforestation practice within Japan. It is ironic that the Japanese realized the danger in depending on natural resources as a mono economy and adjusted policy accordingly on the eve of their forced and voracious industrialization.

Even Europe, the home of the Western Cultural principals that would inform the cultural concepts that would lead to the construction of the separation pathos, showed periods of balanced relationships with nature. The most directly balanced conservation effort was that of contraception practiced by the population in eighteenth century France and Germany. In response to simultaneous decline in natural resources and boom in agricultural, the population of both France and Germany increased so much that doctors began warning the populations of the danger of contraception in order to deter them unsuccessfully. There was also a persistence of the Medieval maxim of, "no land, no marriage,"²⁴ among the peasantry in Germany and France.

Reproduction is not often considered as an element of conservation or environmental history for that matter, though Merchant has argued for its consideration. While citing that many native peoples as well as hunter gatherer cultures also practiced forms of population control to maintain a relationship with the local ecology that was as balanced as possible, she

²³ Cardonna, "Introduction," in *Sustainability: A History*, 15.

²⁴ Joachim Radkau, "Exceptionalism in European Environmental History," in *Global Environmental History*, 217.

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also argues that cultures reproduce in socio-political forms as well. "People pass on skills and behavioral norms to the next generation of producers, and that allows a culture to reproduce itself over time. They also structure systems of governance and laws that maintain the social order of the tribe, town, or nation."²⁵ When these native cultures and cultures with natural based religions were terminated or enveloped by the Western Culture the understanding of humankind and nature united in a cyclical existence was lost. This cyclical worldview was based on a dependency on nature and the cycles of seasons and the understanding that a break or deviation in this cycle, if the balance was disrupted all, both human and nature would suffer for it. When this is replaced with a linear trajectory of history the cultural mindset shifts, and adjusts to path of forward and backward, with a strong inclination to forward.

In terms of the paths of environmental history the narrative has had a linear trajectory of a decline with our relationship as a human race with nature. It constructs a narrative with a starting point of exploitive use of nature by human beings that only worsened as our ability to consume and produce magnified to a now global scale. The evidence of this is irrefutable, but if we as environmental historians, more importantly as human beings, continue to insist that we are a separate entity from nature, the connection that was severed long ago will never be mended. How to mend such a schism is very difficult to answer because it involves shifting paradigms on a cultural level. It requires reconfiguring centuries of Western thought. Perhaps we can start by aspiring to achieve a relationship with nature Tanaka Shozo aspires to:

If I make
The sea and the sky my home,
My home is without possessions.
And having nothing,
All things are mine.

If all men would make
The grassy plains their bed
And the mountains their pillow
They would wake to the glory
of the dawning sun.²⁶

²⁵ Carolyn Merchant, "Gender and Environmental History," *Journal of American History* 76 no. 4 (March 1990): 1120.

²⁶ Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, 106.

THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF THE OAKLAND A'S

By Bryan Amezcua Sanchez

April 17, 2018 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Oakland Athletics' relocation from Kansas City. The Oakland A's hit the scene with a brand-new stadium, new green and gold jerseys, along with white cleats, iconic mustaches, an intimidating mascot, all brought together by an owner who was determined to change the game of baseball. It wasn't long before the Oakland Athletics made their franchise's first playoff appearance in 1971. The years that followed were an era of the franchise's wealthiest moments with the help of Hall of Famers Reggie Jackson, Jim Catfish Hunter, Rollie Fingers, and many more. They would go on to win five consecutive division titles and three consecutive World Series titles from 1972-1974. It quickly became a dynasty and is commemorated as one of the greatest teams of all time.

With great success came much tension between players and managers. 1976 showed the dismantling of the Oakland A's wealthiest team in their franchise history. The man responsible, Charlie O' Finley, owner of the Oakland A's, single-handedly put this franchise through the worst and best years of its existence. Today, Finley is held responsible for the downfall of the A's, for not being able and/or wanting to keep the franchise's biggest stars, holding personal grudges with players, and not distributing pay equally. However, without Finley there would be no Oakland A's and all of his revolutionary contributions to the game of baseball would have never existed. Finley is not properly recognized the way he should be by fans of America's favorite pastime, despite the outstanding resume he holds and for being responsible for building the cultural identity of the Oakland A's.

When the dynasty of the Oakland A's ended, it was not the World Series trophies that defined the team, but the green and gold jerseys, wondrous mustaches, and different races, ethnicities, and personalities on the team that impacted baseball and American culture. From Reggie Jackson, Rollie Fingers, Catfish Hunter, and the man responsible, Charlie O' Finley, the Oakland A's of the early 70s revolutionized the game of baseball from their on-the-field perception, into Major League Baseball's rulebook, and in the process shaped a team's identity.

The A's Franchise began in 1901, home of the Philadelphia Athletics behind a legendary player, who then managed, and lastly became the team owner, Connie Mack. The Philadelphia A's started with a professional outlook on the rest of baseball and were very successful in their early years. After winning their first pennant in 1902, only two years into the team's existence, the New York Giants manager John

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McGraw stated they were the “White Elephants,” and today Oakland A’s official website explains, “He meant to imply that Mack shouldn’t be allowed to spend money without supervision. Well, Connie Mack took up the gauntlet and defiantly adopted the White Elephant as the team insignia.”¹ As early as the A’s existence Connie Mack is arguably responsible for the A’s contradistinction look across Major League Baseball. The Philadelphia A’s would bring five world series titles to the franchise, despite this, in 1954 the A’s were relocated to Kansas City as an expansion to the Major League Baseball. Only six short years before the largest share of the Kansas City A’s was purchased by Charlie O’ Finley in 1960. According to Jason Turbow, “The boy (Charlie O’ Finley) was a born salesman, with only one distraction: baseball.”²

Finley’s first job came at the age of thirteen as a batboy for the Birmingham Barons in 1931. This is where he learned the game from the field to the clubhouse among players, and coaches. After high school in 1936, Finley proceeded to work in local mills and then learned to become a machinist. Engineering would become his passion in life and he decided to enroll in Gary Junior College and later started attending classes at the Indiana University extension program. During World War II, he succeeded in selling life insurance and invented a motto in which Finley would follow for the rest of his life, “Sweat plus Sacrifice equals Success. (S+S=S),”³ arguably the very first of many gimmicks by the entrepreneur. By 1950 Finley’s life insurance business had become very successful and had been re-named to Charles O. Finley & Company and was by far surpassing existing policies. Although, Finley was successful in selling life insurance, according to Turbow, “Finley was successful, but lacked one thing he’d always wanted: a baseball team.”⁴

The Kansas City Athletics early years were dreadful and their placement on the standings proved it. The team’s continuous losing records from 1955 (63-91), 1956 (52-102), 1957 (59-94), 1958 (73-81), and right when it seemed it was going uphill a (66-88) record in 1959 ended the potential. The teams lacking success gave Charlie O’ Finley the perfect opportunity to get his hands on a major league ball club. After a first few failed attempts at buying his hometown team the Chicago White Sox, Finley finally succeeded in purchasing the Kansas City A’s in 1960. Almost immediately Finley would push to spread ideas to

¹ “Oakland Athletics Logos and Mascots,” accessed February 26, 2018.

http://oakland.athletics.mlb.com/oak/history/uniforms_logos.jsp.

² Jason Turbow, *Dynastic, Bombastic, Fantastic: Reggie, Rollie, Catfish, and Charlie Finley’s Swingin’ A’s* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017), 19.

³ Turbow, 20.

⁴ Turbow, 21.

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benefit the organization.

1960 marked Finley's first year as an owner and while the product on the field was still projected to have continuous losing seasons, Finley took it upon himself to bring more attention to the ball club. Continuous special events and promotions to attract more fans to the ballpark consisted of a zoo being placed behind the centerfield wall, an electronic bunny to bring the umpires baseballs, and dressing up the grounds crew in space suits. At first, much criticism came not only from minority owners, but also the commissioner of baseball Bowie Kuhn, who would later become Finley's nemesis. Finley had many new ideas to improve the game of baseball and the Kansas City A's, but Finley purchasing the largest share did not mean it was his team completely. Finley simply could not make changes around the team without the approval of minority owners and in trying to receive approval from minority owners he received lots of criticism for his ideas at the time. Using criticism was the coal to his fire, and Finley continued to find a solution to the problematic situation he was in and was determined to do what he wanted, the way he wanted it.

1960 was a turning point for the city of Oakland when it expressed an interest in acquiring a professional sports teams. In comparison to the 1960s, today Oakland is home to the Oakland A's, Oakland Raiders, and the Golden State Warriors. All three franchises have had a rich history of success and built a character over the years in the process. However, the city of Oakland struggled to obtain any concrete guarantees from team owners that they would relocate their team to Oakland in the twentieth century. The city of Oakland was impacted greatly by sports in American culture and a demand for professional sports teams on the east side of the bay was beginning to rise. The Oakland Chamber of Commerce released a public document in 1956 on the valuable information put together that made building a stadium possible and necessary. According to Howard Waldorf, "He Lauded Vice Mayor Youell for "a masterful job" in accumulating interesting and valuable information and declared that the spectacular growth of the East Bay makes the need for a sports arena "more evident each day."⁵ Oakland was in an in-between state of mind of wanting a baseball team and not wanting to run a risk of building a million-dollar stadium with no guarantee of a professional team playing in it.

After years of surveying and calculating there was a widespread approval for a stadium in Oakland by 1960. According to the *Oakland*

⁵ Howard Waldorf, Oakland Chamber of Commerce, Publicity Department, January 27, 1956. Hayward Area Historical Society (hereafter HAHS) Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

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Tribune, “There can be no doubt of the community need for a multi-purpose stadium of this side of the Bay as a sports, cultural and convention center and also as a boon to business.”⁶ Two architects who got the ball rolling Blanchard and Maher were associated with the Ralph A. Tudor Engineering company. They created a preliminary stadium design and specified by the *Oakland Tribune*, “Preliminary designs for the proposed Oakland Coliseum submitted to the civic and governmental leaders last week, did much to develop countrywide support for the project.”⁷ The preliminary designs fueled the civic leaders to make this a reality. One of the major components of the designs that swayed the civic leaders of the proposed Oakland Coliseum would be the transition to both baseball and football.

The preliminary designs for the Oakland Coliseum as a baseball diamond was massive and accordant to the *Oakland Tribune*, “With a seat capacity of 48,500, the Oakland Coliseum would be preceded only by three American League parks- Cleveland, 73,811; New York, 67,000; and Detroit, 52,904.”⁸ The Oakland Coliseum as a baseball diamond was set to outdo almost all the American League. However, due to wanting a football team the preliminary design for the Oakland Coliseum was big enough to transition into a football field. The perfect preliminary design and a big enough location located at Hegenberger Road and Nimitz Freeway gave more than enough reason for the City of Oakland to build the Oakland Coliseum.

The Oakland Raiders were another key contributor towards the establishment of the Oakland Coliseum. The Oakland Raiders were established in 1960 and accumulated very poor performance and low attendance rating in their very early years of existence in Kezar stadium located in San Francisco. According to the *Oakland Tribune*, “The plight of the Oakland Raiders points up to one big thing in the eyes of Mayor John C. Houlihan- the necessity of an Oakland-Alameda County Coliseum Complex.”⁹ The Oakland Raiders were arguably the main sports team the Oakland Coliseum was being built for. Robert T. Nahas president of Coliseum Inc. however, argued that it is a Coliseum

⁶ *Oakland Tribune*, December 7, 1960. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

⁷ “Preliminary Stadium Designs Stir Wide Interest,” *Oakland Tribune*, December 11, 1960. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

⁸ “Preliminary Stadium Designs Stir Wide Interest,” *Oakland Tribune*, December 11, 1960. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

⁹ Ed Schoenfeld, *Oakland Tribune*, November 1, 1961. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

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complex, that meant it would not just be a football stadium but for other professional sports. According to the Oakland Tribune Mayor John Houlihan stated, "It's a misconception to think of this as 'A stadium for the Raiders.' It's a Coliseum complex for all forms of athletic events."¹⁰ The Oakland Raiders had every reason to be relocated to another city and concerns of the Raiders leaving was in the back of everyone's minds. A tension between the Raiders and the city of Oakland caused Nahas to construct a timeframe in which a stadium for the Oakland Raiders will be built.

Robert T. Nahas Coliseum Inc. President was in charge of proposals and setting a construction timetable in which the Coliseum would be finished. In Nahas early proposals he believed the stadium could be done by 1964. According to the Oakland Tribune, "Where a 1964 completion date had been discussed earlier, Coliseum Inc. President Robert T. Nahas said today 'It is possible to have the project ready, in some measure, for the fall of 1963.'"¹¹ Nahas was approved by Country Board supervisors to start construction in spring of 1962.

While waiting for approval to break ground on the new \$25 million-dollar stadium, Oakland had trouble securing a professional baseball team to seek approval to relocate to Oakland. Nahas contributed greatly by reaching out to professional teams to come to Oakland because of the lack of support the Coliseum was starting to receive due to weather, cost overruns, and legal issues, causing the Coliseum to be delayed for nearly two years. Nahas remained optimistic in the process and by 1963 reached out to new Raiders owner Al Davis and Kansas City Owner Charlie O' Finley. According to the *Oakland Tribune*, "Charles O. Finley, owner of the Kansas City A's, expressed an interest in Oakland to his fellow American League owners at an early July meeting in Cleveland, but has not stated whether or not he will request approval for a move here."¹² Oakland received a lot of attention nationwide for their new proposed stadium. While the legal issues did affect the timetable of the completed stadium, progress was made up to 1965. As claimed by the *Oakland Tribune*, "Oakland chances of landing a baseball club are five times as good..."¹³ 1966 marked the completion of the Oakland Alameda County Coliseum. Its first game was held on September 18, 1966 home of the

¹⁰ Ed Schoenfeld, *Oakland Tribune*, October 5, 1961. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

¹¹ Ed Schoenfeld, *Oakland Tribune*, September 12, 1961. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

¹² Ed Schoenfeld, *Oakland Tribune*, August 23, 1963. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

¹³ Ed Schoenfeld, *Oakland Tribune*, May 19, 1965. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

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Oakland Raiders vs the Kansas City Chiefs. The Coliseum would hold a number events and grabbed nationwide attention.

Robert T. Nahas persistent to obtain a Major League Baseball team reached out to many baseball owners. According to Nahas stated a year prior, "The Cleveland Indians and the Kansas City A's have been reported as clubs that might move to Oakland."¹⁴ By 1967 Nahas had more success trying to convince Finley to relocate the Kansas City A's to Oakland. Finley was having trouble in Kansas City concerning changes he wanted to make to improve his team and the game of baseball. The success of the Oakland Coliseum benefited Nahas in swaying Finley to come to Oakland. Nahas stated, "Mr. Finley told me he has definitely made up his mind to ask permission to move to Oakland."¹⁵ Finley was ready to leave Kansas City and when asked if Finley could describe his tenure in Kansas City he stated, "My seven-year sentence... This is the greatest day of my life. I feel like I've been let out of prison."¹⁶ The Oakland A's were set to play baseball in 1968.

In Oakland, Finley made all the decisions and was determined to improve the game of baseball both on and off the field. Finley had many revolutionary ideas; some ideas failed and caused much criticism of Finley's character especially by the Yankees owner George Steinbrenner and the commissioner of baseball Bowie Kuhn. However, till this day some of Finley's failed ideas cause much debate in whether it would benefit the game as a whole. In addition to all of his ideas the game of baseball immediately adopted night games, the designated hitter rule throughout the American League, and his promotion of interleague play. While many of his ideas failed Finley is responsible for baseball's most iconic features in today's game. Finley was a man of ideas and was a character himself but in the midst of all things, he shaped a national identity of the Oakland A's and single-handedly changed the culture of baseball for the better.

Upon the A's arrival in Oakland in 1968, many of Finley's ideas would transition over from Kansas City. Due to the high level of criticism received by minority owners in Kansas City, Finley made the first early moves cautiously and involved the fans' interest. The first decision Finley wanted to take to the fans would be the fate of the

¹⁴ Ed Schoenfeld, "2nd Coast Club Needed," *Oakland Tribune*, November 10, 1965. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

¹⁵ Ed Schoenfeld, *Oakland Tribune*, October 11, 1967. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

¹⁶ George Ross, "The Long Wait Ends; A's Move to Oakland," *Oakland Tribune*, October 19, 1967. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

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Oakland A's jerseys. Finley used alternative green and gold jerseys in Kansas City in order for his team to stand out and the idea was not appreciated in Kansas City. Therefore, Finley brought it to a vote with the public regarding the team's colors in Oakland. According to Finley, "I like the colors, every other sport stands out in contrasting colors. Baseball is stuck with 'prison gray' and 'ivory white' with some piping."¹⁷ Finley took much appreciation for the green and gold jerseys and believed it was to benefit the game of baseball. Wanting to start off new in Oakland he put it up to the fans to vote if they wanted to stick with the traditional white and grey colors or start anew. Finley stated, "But I'll leave it up to the fans. After all, it's their ball club, too."¹⁸ In addition to the green and gold jerseys, Finley had the players to wear white cleats because no other team in the league did so. The white kangaroo leather shoes were a scratch in the head and only added to Finley's outgoing character, but it didn't matter because going into the 1969 season the A's were skyrocketing in talent and on their way to a winning record. Ed Levitt mentioned, "White baseball shoes in a World Series? Could be provided the A's don't run afoul of bad luck."¹⁹ The Oakland A's were re-amplified across baseball and the green and gold jerseys shaped a sense of identity in Oakland.

The Oakland A's early success in the team's beginning years was no fluke. Professional team owners argued that Finley was too unpredictable, firing and hiring new managers and club directors of the farming system would not allow the Oakland A's to have any progression in rebuilding a strong baseball team. As stated by Ed Levitt, "A lot of baseball people didn't think any club owned by Finley ever would contend for a pennant."²⁰ However, Finley invested large amounts of money into his farm system and believed strongly in the future. According to Ray Swallow former A's club director who was promoted to scout for the A's, "We have had a productive farm system as any in the majors. Mr. Finley has spent a lot of money to develop players."²¹ Finley went above and beyond for his new ball club and invested more money in the farm system than any other team in the league. His

¹⁷ George Ross, "Finley Will Put Uniforms to Vote," *Oakland Tribune*, October 19, 1967. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

¹⁸ Ross, "Finley Will Put Uniforms to Vote."

¹⁹ Ed Levitt, "Finley's Big Plus," *Oakland Tribune*, June 30, 1969. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

²⁰ Levitt, "Finley's Big Plus."

²¹ Ron Bergman, "Athletics Enriched By Big Youth Crop," *Oakland Tribune*, October 22, 1967. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

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investment was seen very skeptical at the time but the outcome, in the long run, proved to be worth the investment. Ron Bergman states, "They have the largest complement of farm-developed talent in the majors- 38 of the 41 players on the Spring training roster were developed in the Athletics' minor system."²² Many of the players were high valued prospects ready to hit the scene. It was only a matter of time before the young core would make an impact and according to Turbow, "When his insurance profits began to dip, he shifted the bulk of his budget into player development. The A's had their ingredients. Now the stew needed time to cook."²³ One of the many key attributes Finley changed throughout baseball was investing in the farm system.

Charlie O' Finley had a way of doing things and player publicity stunts were always on top of that list. For the young and talented ball players, Finley had an act of making them fan favorites and felt that giving them permanent nicknames would make them more appealing to the fans, which was another way to market his pitching staff. Some players names stuck with them till their careers ended such as Jim "Catfish" Hunter and "Blue Moon" Odom, but others such as Vida Blue took much offense in Finley's promotional gimmicks. Al Davis Raiders team owner never saw eye-to-eye with Charlie O' Finley and avoided each other at all cost. When Davis was asked about the Vida Blue issue he shared that, "Nobody can speak for Finley."²⁴ Finley was determined to run his team under his circumstances and this would prove to be one of the early tensions between Finley and his players. Vida Blue would run into a number of issues with Finley and after winning the Cy Young and Most Valuable Player award following the 1971 season, Blue insisted on a raise that Finley was not yet ready to give. In the early 1972 season, Vida Blue, frustrated with his low salary decided to retire and according to Ron Bergman, "The rest of the Oakland Athletics don't believe him."²⁵ Vida would hold out until May when Finley and Vida came to an agreement. This was one of the very first player tensions with Finley and further tensions between the players and the owner would shortly arise.

By 1971 the Oakland A's reached its first playoff appearance of the new franchise. They were eliminated in the first round but were now

²² Bergman, "Athletics Enriched By Big Youth Crop."

²³ Turbow, *Dynastic, Bombastic, Fantastic*, 25.

²⁴ Ed Levitt, "Davis vs. Finley," *Oakland Tribune*, March 13, 1972. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

²⁵ Ron Bergman, "Feel About Vida's Retirement," *Oakland Tribune*, March 17, 1972. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

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supporting Finley's vision of being an established baseball team. Respected owners around the league were not tolerating Finley's ways of doing things, such as Yankees owner George Steinbrenner who perceived this team as a joke and believed Finley's publicity stunt would not last. The 1972 season marked the beginning of a dynasty because the team was now backed up by established players such as Catfish Hunter, Rollie Fingers, Vida Blue, Reggie Jackson, Sal Bando, and many more. They would go on to win three consecutive World Series titles in 1972, 1973, and 1974, but each individual World Series title shaped the game of baseball and American Culture with Charlie O' Finley in the spotlight.

Heading into 1972 season the Oakland A's had a bit of everything from long signature mustaches, Finley's continuous promotions, high tension between players and owner, but most importantly a winning culture on the east side of the bay. The A's were the talk of baseball and the talent on the field was proving to backup all of Finley's ideas and remarks around the league. The A's starting pitchers Jim "Catfish" Hunter, Ken Holtzman, "Blue Moon" Odom, and Vida Blue led the team and the offensive support of homerun threats in Reggie Jackson, Sal Bando, and Joe Rudi was a team that was going to be hard to beat. While the players did not have to do much talking to get their names at the center of Major League Baseball, it was Finley and his continuous promotions embedding a culture of the Oakland A's. Finley was now pushing his players to grow their hair and facial hair in addition to the colorful jerseys and white kangaroo leather cleats. Years prior to 1968, Major League Baseball was in a sticky situation regarding the National Football League taking over America's pastime, the league decided it would be best to make sure all players were cleanly shaved. Finley took deep offense to this and as claimed by Finley, "This clean-shaving bit will be taken up by the club owners at our league meeting next month in San Francisco and I'm voting against it!"²⁶ Finley encouraged his players to continue to grow their hair and the players continued to do so, but the rest of the league complied with the league's concerns and for the professional look as well. This would make the A's stand out tremendously and by being in the midst of the early 70s according to Finley, "All the people in this modern generation identified with the Athletics... They saw us as their mod team. We were their symbol."²⁷ Being an eyesore but playing the best brand of baseball that could be

²⁶ Ed Levitt, "Charly O. Goes Mod," *Oakland Tribune*, November 26, 1968. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

²⁷ Ed Gruver, *Hairs vs. Squares: The Mustache Gang, the Big Red Machine, and the Tumultuous Summer of '72* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 3.

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played Finley and the Oakland A's won their first pennant in 1972 and the first since Connie Mack's Philadelphia A's in 1931. The Oakland A's and the Cincinnati Reds were going to meet in the 1972 fall classic and a new culture of baseball was going to change the game forever.

The 1972 World Series consisted of the green and gold jerseys to go along with mustaches and goatees vs. the clean-cut and conservative businessmen. From the conservative standpoint, the Oakland A's were considered the hippies and the Cincinnati Reds were the businessmen in baseball who were bringing back order. Ed Gruver stated, "The tumultuous and unforgettable campaign marked a historical intersection between the games past and future. It was Alpha and Omega, the beginning of one era and the ending of another."²⁸ The culture of baseball was at stake and some players were not ready for the situation. According to the autobiography of Cincinnati Reds star Johnny Bench, "This wasn't a World Series."²⁹ However, the stereotypes were only opinions at the time and baseball games were still going to have to be played. In a seven-game series, the Oakland A's won the 1972 World Series and Gene Tenace was named the World Series Most Valuable Player. The A's shocked the world and Gene Tenace felt inspired. According to Gruver, "They called us renegades, a bunch of hippies from California, but it doesn't matter what you look like. Can you play? And they found out we could play."³⁰ Through this, the Oakland A's built and expanded a different culture throughout the game of baseball.

The 1973 Oakland A's were the talk of baseball and Finley was not ready to stop. The A's were still building around their young core of players and after a down season by Vida Blue, the starting trio for the Oakland A's Jim "Catfish" Hunter, Ken Holtzman, and Vida Blue would all become twenty game winners. Till this day they are the last trio of pitchers to complete this feat. 1973 was a turning point in regards to Charlie O' Finley's connection with his players and coaching staff. New sparks would fly and Finley would consistently find himself with angry tensions from his team. The A's still had the talent to compete and fight for the division title but there was more than one thing competing against them.

Winning put this team in the spotlight, but unfortunately, players were not getting paid as the superstars that they were. In between seasons and games, there was major tension build up with not just Finley, but between players. Heading into the 1973 playoffs Reggie Jackson stated,

²⁸ Gruver, 7.

²⁹ Johnny Bench, *Catch You Later: The Autobiography of Johnny Bench* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1979).

³⁰ Gruver, *Hairs vs. Squares*, 3.

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"If everything the press says about us playing best when we're mad is true, we got this thing wrapped up. I've already ordered me a new Rolls-Royce."³¹ The 1973 World Series was the pivotal point of Finley's reign and made it clear to the media. It was game two of the World Series between the Oakland A's and the New York Mets. The game was all tied up heading into the twelfth inning of this marathon and Mike Andrews, on the A's, made three errors in the same inning that gave the Mets a 10-6 lead and overall a dramatic win. Those errors became very costly by turning the series around. Instead of the A's being up 2-0 in the series, they were now flying to New York with the series tied 1-1. Finley was by far the most upset and couldn't believe what happened. That same night Finley barged into the manager Dick Williams office and stated, "we're putting Andrews on the disabled list and activating Manny Trillo. Dick Williams confused said, "What happened? I didn't see him get hurt." Finley replied, "Oh yes he did, that son of a bitch, he got hurt real bad."³² Andrews was not hurt and was being punished for physical errors for which manager Williams was very displeased with. According to Turbow, Dick Williams replied, "Charlie, you are wrong! You're getting rid of a man because of physical errors, which means you're getting rid of him because he's a human being!"³³ After some back and forth altercations through words, Mike Andrews stepped in having heard everything and decided to agree to sign the paper that ultimately kicked him off the team and replaced him with Manny Trillo. Dick Williams wrote in his autobiography, "It finished him... He had been torn from the inside out."³⁴

The players didn't hear the news until the plane took off for New York and they were in shock. Personal friends of Andrews on the team wanted to boycott the World Series. However, Commissioner Kuhn heard the news and stepped in immediately. The commissioner demanded Andrew's reinstatement, and if not, a delay in the World Series could occur. Andrews was then back on the A's but a higher level of tension arose in the clubhouse towards the owner. The A's would end up winning the world series in seven games. Dick Williams resigned as manager after game seven and did not discuss why with the media. This left a question throughout baseball. Why? No manager has ever quit after winning a World Series, and to make matters worse Williams signed with Finley's nemesis George Steinberg and his beloved Yankees.

³¹ Turbow, *Dynastic, Bombastic, Fantastic*, 138.

³² Turbow, 158.

³³ Turbow, 158.

³⁴ Dick Williams and Bill Plaschke, *No More Mr. Nice Guy: A Life of Hardball* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1990).

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Rumors escalated quickly, but Williams figured enough was enough.

1974 was another run to the World Series and with ease. There was simply too much talent not to go far, but after winning a third straight title with a repetitiveness of drama, players had enough. A rumor quickly escalated within the clubhouse that Finley had the World Series rings made purposely cheap and purposely gave the players stale champagne to celebrate. Wanting to feel some sort of comfort the franchise players wanted to get paid to make things worthwhile, but Finley made it clear he did not have to and was not going to pay them what they deserved. One by one Catfish Hunter, Rollie Fingers, Sal Bando, and Reggie Jackson were the first players among others to play part in this long history of Moneyball. Finley was responsible for his actions and decided he did not want to pay them because he simply did not want to. Finley brought more than success to the Oakland A's, but also brought change across Major League Baseball. Starting in 1968 Finley changed baseball and American culture forever. Finley was seen as delusional and a joke to the game of baseball by well-respected owners around the league and commissioner Kuhn. Yet nothing ever agitated Finley, nor did it make him change. While some of his ideas failed, many of his ideas were successful and were put into action almost immediately.

Although Finley was the owner of the Oakland A's, Finley was also an entrepreneur at large. Finley took the risks needed to improve the game of baseball, but some of his ideas only caused greater criticism of Finley and gave more details to his character. While Finley is remembered for starting a zoo behind centerfield, making a mechanical rabbit come out of the ground to give baseballs to the umpire, and even dressing his grounds crew in astronaut outfits in Kansas City, there were permanent ideas Finley tried changing on the field play. One of Finley's biggest ideas which he tried to push hard for was the use of orange baseballs. In the Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson, Charlie O' Finley was brought on as a guest to talk about his ideas to change the game. On the show Carson asked Finley about his orange baseball ideas and Finley stated, "This will enable the fans to follow the flight of the baseball much easier than a white ball and the hitter would be able to see the ball coming out of the pitchers white uniform an awful lot easier causing batters batting averages to rise, more action in the games and easier on the fans."³⁵ Finley was a real supporter in speeding up the game of baseball and supported many ideas that involved speeding up the game and adding more action. Finley also stated, "I would like baseball

³⁵ Johnny Carson, *The Tonight Show: Starring Johnny Carson, Special Guest Charlie O' Finley* (July 7th, 1976).

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to adopt ball three, and do away with ball four.”³⁶ Finley believed pitchers take too much time pitching around batters instead of going after them. Carson was surprised to hear that from Finley and even asked him how he felt regarding pitchers purposely throwing four balls to the catcher to put a man on first base. Finley stated, “I think that's the stupidest thing that baseball does.”³⁷ For decades debates have fueled regarding to allow pitchers to intentionally walk someone without having to throw four balls but with just a signal to the umpire. Major League Baseball stated it was time to push for ideas to speed up the game and in the 2017 official rulebook of Major League Baseball Rule 5.05 (b)(1) states, “A batter who is entitled to first base because of a base on balls, including an award of first base to a batter by an umpire following a signal from a manager...”³⁸ While Finley is not responsible for this change, Finley did want this change decades prior and stated it on live television. Finley has had some eye-opening ideas, but most of his ideas were meant to better Major League Baseball.

Charlie O' Finley cared for the improvement of Major League Baseball in regards to speeding up the game, adding more offense, and believed games should be scheduled for the benefit of the fans. Finley believed the game needed more offense and pushed to have the designated hitter rule in the American League. According to Ed Schoenfeld, “Finley contends the rule change he seeks would allow more 20 game winners, more starts to play a longer career, and give a manager his best offensive team.”³⁹ This would substitute a batter in the pitcher's place in the batting order, therefore, taking away an “easy out” for a threatening hitter. On April 6, 1973 the first designated hitter was put into play and Major League Baseball's rules and regulations read, “The designated hitter rule allows teams to use another player to bat in place of the pitcher. Because the pitcher is still part of the team's nine defensive players, the designated hitter -- or "DH" -- does not take the field on defense.”⁴⁰ In correlation to the designated hitter rule, Finley wanted a designated runner rule but was shut down. Many of Finley's ideas failed in which he blamed commissioner Kuhn calling him “The

³⁶ Carson, *The Tonight Show: Special Guest Charlie O' Finley* (July 7th, 1976).

³⁷ Carson, *The Tonight Show: Special Guest Charlie O' Finley* (July 7th, 1976).

³⁸ “Official Rules.” *Major League Baseball*, last modified 2017, mlb.com/mlb/official_info/official_rules/official_rules.jsp.

³⁹ Ed Schoenfeld, “Hitter for Pitcher Sought by Finley” *Oakland Tribune*, December 2nd, 1969. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

⁴⁰ “Official Rules.” *Major League Baseball*, last modified 2017, mlb.com/mlb/official_info/official_rules/official_rules.jsp.

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village idiot.”⁴¹ However, some of Finley's ideas could not be ignored and were put into play almost immediately in addition to the designated hitter. Finley pushed for interleague play and according to the George Ross, "I feel 25 percent of the season's baseball games should be interleague games, and a few people I've talked to in baseball at an important level agree with me.”⁴² Finley being an entrepreneur had a very volatile character but in comparison to all the rule changes that are taking place today can be traced all the way back to Charlie O' Finley. In 1965 the American League and National League had a record standing set up across both leagues, but no particular divisions. According to Ed Schoenfeld, "Owner Charles O' Finley of the Oakland A's said today baseball inevitably will go to three eight-team leagues within the next five years.”⁴³ Following the 1969 season, East and West divisions were added into baseball and in 1994 a central division was put in to balance out more teams. Finley is not given the credit for these changes, but an argument can be formed that Finley was way ahead of his time.

1968 was the beginning of a new era in baseball and the Oakland A's were at the center of attention. The players on the Oakland A's won Most Valuable Player, Cy Young awards, Championships, but most important branded a new culture of baseball in America and set a team identity in the process. All of Oakland's success leads back to Charlie O' Finley and his entrepreneur tactics that benefited his team and the years to follow proved his ideas impacted the rest of Major League Baseball. In one of Finley's final interviews before his death in 1996, he was asked: "Do you miss baseball?" Finley's response "No, baseball misses me." Finley is not recognized by baseball for his revolutionary ideas, but to this day the game of baseball continues to play at its highest peak and embedded in the game is Finley's legacy.

⁴¹ Dave Anderson, "When Kuhn Intruded on a Rivalry," last modified March 19, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/19/sports/baseball/19anderson.html>.

⁴² George Ross, "Oakland Club vs. Giants?" *Oakland Tribune*, August 24th, 1964. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

⁴³ Ed Schoenfeld, "Finley Sees Majors Going to 3 Divisions" *Oakland Tribune*, May 29th, 1968. HAHS Reference Collection 2012.087 - Oakland Tribune, HAHS Collection, Gift of the Oakland Tribune.

EXPLOSIVE INHIBITIONS: THE IMPACT OF THE ATOM BOMB IN AMERICAN CULTURE, 1945-PRESENT

By Nick Aprile

Following the creation of the atom bomb and its first offensive use in 1945, the world was forever changed. The incredible technology used in the process meant possible worldwide destruction, but also a powerful new source of energy. After witnessing its power, the bomb created a wide range of responses within America. The realization of the bomb's threat level grew to influence politics, changing already present laws and creating new ones to address the new development as part of America's new domestic and international culture. Social responses show both fear and admiration; the nuke became a part of everyday society—spurring action across all levels of average life. Artists of all types began depicting, portraying, and even singing about it. Advertisements used nuclear vocabulary to sell their products; it was everywhere. The nuclear bomb grew to influence all aspects of America; its idolization affected federal policies, changed societal structure, and permeated throughout popular culture.

When looking at the historiography about the Atomic Age, it is important to note that many writers tend to focus on a particular topic—popular culture, federal policies, among other things. Because the influence of the nuke is so broad, researchers in all areas of study tend to explore very specific avenues into the atomic age. Take for example Kenneth D. Rose, a professor at California State University, Chico. In his book *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture*, Rose talks directly about the practicality and ideological influences surrounding fallout shelters in America. In his in-depth book, he argues that the “nuclear apocalyptic”¹ created a need (or belief of a need) for fallout shelters. After establishing this, Rose recalls the actions taken by the government to create these shelters. The aftermath of which affected the presidency, schools, and businesses.

The social aspects of nuclear culture in America are reflected in Rose's use of news articles. Through analyzing quotes from newspapers like *The New York Times*, the reader gets an understanding of what was being published at the time; this gives insight to public inquiries. There are scripts from media broadcasts which Rose presents, showing public opinions towards nuclear preparation works—some positive and some negative. Many of his sources come from the Office of Civil Defense,

¹ Kenneth Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 38.

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encompassing different aspects of America. In one instance, he even uses a handbook called *A Realistic Approach to Civil Defense: A Handbook for School Administrators*. The large group of works he brings in from the Office of Civil Defense portray official beliefs and reports about nuclear situations throughout America.

Other authors expand on aspects of nuclear culture, describing parts of society influenced by government interest in the bomb. Robert R. Johnson's *Romancing the Atom: Vignettes of the Atomic Mindset from the Radium Girls to Nuclear Green* begins with stories from post-World War I, noting the beginning of nuclear curiosity. As the book progresses, Johnson develops the idea of the "atomic mindset,"² which refers to the overwhelming influence and importance of the atom in American society. He addresses a different social issue than Rose. While Rose looks at defensive programs for society, Johnson discusses the search for uranium. The government offered to pay civilians a guaranteed price for uranium, spurring a frenzy and obsession with finding uranium ore.³

When looking at both Rose and Johnson, government action becomes a major subject of literature about the time. These authors look at how governmental domestic policies, displayed both a desire for safety and an interest in weapon creation. For insight into American minds and the realities of the world after World War II, Pamela Steinle and William E. Kane share their input and stories. In Pamela Steinle's article, "If a Body Catch a Body: The *Catcher in the Rye* Censorship Debate as Expression of Nuclear Culture," she argues that Holden Caulfield's dilemma in *The Catcher in the Rye* is reflective of American thought after the bomb detonated. The book spurred much controversy when it was published, and many parents did not want their children to read it; others, however, felt that they would be irresponsible parents by not preparing their kids for a morally unclear look at the world. This idea that Americans can live with "apathy, denial, and pursuit of superficial comforts in the shadow of nuclear annihilation"⁴ is exactly what Holden is questioning in the book. There was a sense of widespread fear of nuclear destruction that brought into question what parents should teach their children.

In "An Atomic Age Week," Kane notes how schools themselves had

² Robert R. Johnson, *Romancing the Atom: Vignettes of the Atomic Mindset from the Radium Girls to Nuclear Green* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2012), 18.

³ Johnson, 21.

⁴ Pamela Steinle, "If a Body Catch a Body: The *Catcher in the Rye* Censorship Debate as Expression of Nuclear Culture," in *Popular Culture and Political Change in Modern America*, ed. Ronald Edsforth and Larry Bennett (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 136.

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adapted their curriculum to the nuke. In 1948, the University of Rochester brought in Dr. Joseph Platt who explained the science of the atom bomb, listing its affects as well as possibilities for energies. Two days later, the University of Rochester also brought in Dr. Glydnon Van Deusen who brought into question the conflict of ideas that the government deals with in regard to the bomb.⁵ The two guest speakers gave students the ability to formulate their own feelings and opinions about the nuke, bringing light to the reality of the situation. These students are older than those Steinle discusses, but both bring into question how much the growing American youth should know about the nuke. The articles reveal how everyday parents were forced to decide between denying the actual state of the world and acknowledging the powerlessness of their situation. These works and others like it formulate a picture in which the effects of the nuke are shown through the small, sometimes unnoticed things.

As for the nuclear bomb itself, the science involved in creating it became known as the Manhattan Project. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt received a letter from Albert Einstein, and the message clearly stated: "We know how to make a bomb of enormous power."⁶ Upon receiving the letter, Roosevelt put large amounts of money and other resources into establishing this new weapon to help the Allies win the war. The work put into the development was wrapped in a band of secrecy, and only those who needed to know about it did; however, once the first bomb was dropped in August 1945, the cat was out of the bag.

The destructive power of the nuke lies in its scientific processes. Simply speaking, nuclear weapons are powered by the fission and fusion of certain radioactive elements such as uranium-235 or plutonium-239.⁷ The modern detonating power of nukes is measured in "megatons," which is the equivalent of one million tons of TNT.⁸ The bombs that were used in World War II both ranged from 10 to 20 kilotons (kilotons equal one thousand tons of TNT).⁹ The death toll in Hiroshima and Nagasaki is estimated at around at least 150,000-200,000.¹⁰ Since then, nuclear weapons have only grown in destructive capability.

⁵ William E. Kane, "An Atomic-Age Week," *The School Review* 56, no. 5 (May 1948): 297.

⁶ Johnson, *Romancing the Atom*, 15.

⁷ J.H. Green, "Fallout from Nuclear Bomb Tests," *The Australian Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (June 1962): 17.

⁸ Alan F. Phillips, "The Effects of a Nuclear Bomb Explosion on a City," *Peace Research* 36, no. 2 (November 2004): 93.

⁹ Phillips, "The Effects," 93.

¹⁰ "Hiroshima and Nagasaki Death Toll," *Children of the Atomic Bomb*, accessed February 26, 2018, <http://www.aasc.ucla.edu/cab/200708230009.html>.

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When the nuke detonates, there is a blinding flash of light, able to be seen from miles away. The heat and flames create craters and burns all living things within the explosive radius. After the explosion dissipates, there is still radiation everywhere, and some may be floating, slowly falling through the air. Known as “fallout,” this radioactivity can increase cancer risk, and contaminates an extremely wide area, affecting those that may not have been directly harmed by the explosion. Alan F. Phillips notes that this radioactivity would hinder rescue efforts and would make treating those affected much harder for hospital workers.¹¹ Fallout, depending on where the bomb had exploded, may have a “residence-time” of anywhere from a few months to many years.¹² The reality of this situation inspired Americans to become interested in fallout shelters.

For Americans, all of this meant fear, paranoia, obsession, and intrigue. The American government was responsible for detonating a weapon of mass destruction that killed Japanese civilians. This obviously sparked some controversy, so the government was forced into working out these controversies and addressing the elephant in the room: the atom bomb. Less than twenty-four hours after dropping the first nuclear bomb on Hiroshima, President Harry S. Truman gave a speech addressing the event. In his speech, Truman attempted to convince the American people that Japan made it necessary, that they had it coming, and that this may not be the end. In discussing the attack on Pearl Harbor, Truman claimed, “they had been repaid many fold,” but “the end is not yet.”¹³ His implication that Japan left America no choice was the initial argument for the attack. In his speech, however, he also noted how much money, time, and work went into making the bomb—that Americans should be proud of what they have accomplished. This speech served as the president’s official acknowledgement of the nuke.

One year later, the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 was passed, which laid out the restrictions and intended uses for nuclear materials. It stated that the “significance of the atomic bomb for military purposes is evident.”¹⁴ While the Act decided the “effect of the use of atomic energy for civilian purposes...cannot now be determined,”¹⁵ it did establish the Atomic Energy Commission. The commission was responsible for

¹¹ Phillips, “The Effects,” 96.

¹² Residence-time refers to the amount of time for the original quantity of debris to diminish by one half; see J.H. Green, “Fallout,” 21.

¹³ Harry S. Truman, “Statement by the President Announcing the Use of the A-Bomb at Hiroshima,” Speech, Washington D.C., August 6, 1945.

¹⁴ Public Law 585, 79th Congress, Atomic Energy Act (AEA) of 1946, Section 1(a).

¹⁵ AEA, Section 1(a).

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governing the research, acquisition, and experimentation of nuclear materials. These new federal policies were the direct result of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; since the secrecy of nuclear development was now public information, some organization had to be established.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower had a different approach to the atom during his presidency. In his famous “Atoms for Peace” speech, Eisenhower made an effort to turn attention away from nuclear weapons and focus more on the benefits atomic energy and experimentation could bring. In his words, America “wants to be constructive, not destructive.”¹⁶ The speech was addressed to the United Nations and proposed a change in mindset from fear to hope. Eisenhower asked governments involved in nuclear research to “make joint contributions from their stockpiles of uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency.”¹⁷ The combined work of worldwide nations put the idea of nukes into a new mindset, and the American government was willing to help any countries that would join in the project. His hope was that the leading UN countries would “[dedicate] some of their strength to serve the needs rather than the fears of mankind.”¹⁸ Along this line, the American government encouraged its citizens to search for uranium, which was in high demand. By allowing regular citizens to mine the radioactive material, the government could increase its experimentation multiple times. The desire for uranium caused a widespread interest in looking for it, not dissimilar to the Gold Rush of the 1800s. In his song “Uranium Fever,” Elton Britt sings about the struggle to find uranium. Claiming, “uranium ore is worth more than gold,”¹⁹ Britt reveals not only the demand for these materials but also the scarcity of them. He later sings that when “you find the spot where your fortune lies, you find it’s been staked by 17 other guys.”²⁰ This search became a competition, rewarding the lucky and persistent. In 1955, Alvin W. Knoerr and George P Lutjen wrote a book titled *Prospecting for Atomic Minerals* to help guide miners where to go to find minerals and tell them how to sell them.

While the speech has a positive tone, there are multiple important mentions of the Soviet Union that lie inside it. The Cold War competition between the United States and Soviet Union led in part to the growing use of nuclear materials. Once the United States learned that

¹⁶ Dwight D. Eisenhower, “Atoms for Peace,” Speech, New York City, December 8, 1953.

¹⁷ Eisenhower, 1953.

¹⁸ Eisenhower, 1953.

¹⁹ Elton Britt, “Uranium Fever,” RCA Fever: 1955.

²⁰ Britt, “Uranium Fever.”

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Russia had nukes as well, there was an immediate reaction on the part of the government. In their minds, something had to be done so that Russian communists would not beat the U.S. Thus began the space race, a jump in technological research and advancements, and anti-communist ideology. This fear of communist takeover changed American society; added to this paranoia was the threat of nuclear war.

What made Americans afraid also led to a growing atomic field of work. The domestic policies of the government even reached the food industry. The “Atoms for Peace” desire to find beneficial uses for nuclear material facilitated itself in one way as atomic gardens. Atomic gardens were the result of scientists creating irradiated plant seeds as seeing how they mutate and grow. In describing an atomic farm at Brookhaven National Laboratory, Harland Manchester notes that places like this are part of “a worldwide movement among plant geneticists to speed up and control the slow, erratic processes of natural evolution.”²¹ This new form of experimentation worked, and within ten days the radioactive seeds had “grown several inches long, while untreated seeds had barely started to germinate.”²² “Atoms for Peace” was not just a dream—atomic gardens are a prime example of the hope turned into reality. Perhaps the world would be much different if this mindset had stayed.

The effect of “Atoms for Peace” is still felt today. The Nuclear Energy Institute notes that thirty U.S. states have operating nuclear power reactors, and the nearly twenty percent of American electricity was generated by these plants in 2016.²³ However, despite progress in science and technology, defense weaponry grew as well. As more countries worldwide gained access to atomic bombs, the government was forced into developing defensive projects in the case of an attack. In a 1961 message to Congress, President John F. Kennedy noted, “there is no point in delaying the initiation of a nation-wide long-range program of identifying present fallout shelter capacity and providing shelter in new and existing structures.”²⁴ They were not easily made (there were only a few naturally occurring areas that fit the standard for creating a shelter), but fallout shelters seemed to be a way to protect Americans from any possible attack. A key aspect of the creation of these shelters is that they were prepared to keep America culturally and politically

²¹ Harland Manchester, “The New Age of ‘Atomic Crops,’” *Popular Mechanics* 110, no. 4 (October 1958): 106.

²² Manchester, 109.

²³ “Nuclear Energy in the U.S.,” NEI, accessed February 27, 2018, <https://www.nei.org/Knowledge-Center/Nuclear-Statistics/US-Nuclear-Power-Plants>.

²⁴ John F. Kennedy, “Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs,” Speech, Washington D.C., May 25, 1961.

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protected, even if the physical country itself was destroyed. Kenneth Rose describes a mission to create shelters across Washington D.C. that would serve as homes for the three branches of government in the case of an attack.²⁵ The idea behind this being that as long as the government can keep running as it had before any attack, the country would survive—it was the order and organization that mattered. These were kept secret from the public, but it was the hope that the American way of life could be saved. Public fallout shelters were put into question throughout the Cold War era. The 1962 Annual Report of the Office of Civil Defense laid out the requirements for a public shelter:

It must have a protection factor of at least 100, which means that radiation inside the shelter would be reduced to one-hundredth or less of that existing outside. Space for at least 50 persons must be available. A minimum of 10 square feet per person is required in adequately ventilated shelters. In unventilated space, 500 cubic feet per person are required. For both, there must be one cubic foot of secure storage space per person.²⁶

These requirements were generally kept constant as years went by. In the 1969 Annual Report there was a slightly different shelter program. An option for finding smaller shelters that fit ten to fifty people were proposed, with the justification that shelters should have a “protection factor” (Pf) of forty. This factor meant “an unprotected person would receive 40 times more radiation than a person at the same location inside a shelter with a Pf of 40.”²⁷ The survey to find possible locations for fallout shelters began in 1961 and was constantly being worked on. At the end of the 1969 fiscal year, the Annual Report noted that there was a total of “195,751 facilities with an aggregate capacity of about 188.2 million spaces.”²⁸ The total number of completely stocked and ready to go shelters reached 98.4 thousand, with about 58.5 million spaces.²⁹ This was a huge number, seeing as how modern-day America has around 300 million people. Even if the number of shelters did not change, that would mean about one-fifth of the country could find room in a shelter today.

It was the very real fear of nuclear attack that spurred this action. Once the world saw what the bomb was capable of, preparations had to

²⁵ Rose, *One Nation Underground*, 114.

²⁶ U.S. Department of Defense, “Annual Report of the Office of Civil Defense for Fiscal Year 1962,” (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office: 1962), 19.

²⁷ Defense, “Annual Report 1969,” 19.

²⁸ Defense, “Annual Report 1969,” 20.

²⁹ Defense, “Annual Report 1969,” 20.

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be made. Despite millions of government-funded public shelters being created, the Home Fallout Protection Survey (HFPS) was created to find average homes that would be fit for shelters, since “a shortage of acceptable public fallout shelters exists, particularly in residential areas.”³⁰ This was a way in which the bomb influenced government policies that in turn directly affected social structures. Magazines and articles were being published to give Americans warnings and suggestions to making their own shelters. A major social change along the same lines was the involvement of schools in the argument, since kids would be in schools for a major part of the week, there had to be some sort of protection there as well. The debate about creating shelters as part of schools was hotly contested. As Rose describes, some of the problems include state buildings laws, expense, and practicality. There would have to be no windows and building a shelter from the school basements would be very costly.³¹ In addition, the responsibility for use of these shelters would be placed directly on the staff and administrators, who would then need much training in the subject—they are also not readily able to provide any sort of medical assistance, in the case of serious injury.

Schools were still important, however, since educating children on the realities of nuclear attack as well as what do to in the case of one was spreading into the everyday curriculum. Schools were equipped with alarms, and the students were taught what to do once they heard alarms whether on or off campus. The most notable source for the information was in the film “Duck and Cover.” The short film was funded by the Federal Civil Defense Administration and portrayed a Turtle named Bert ducking and covering from danger. The cartoon was meant to train children what to do when the bomb was coming (duck and cover).³² In the video were descriptions of signs of nuclear warning as well as an attack without any warning. The narrator begins by noting that the since “[the atomic bomb] may be used against us, we must get ready for it; just as we are ready for many other dangers that are around us all the time.”³³ “Duck and Cover” tried to keep children from being too frightened of the bomb but noted the seriousness of the situation as well. One of the important lessons learned in the film was the sign of an explosion—especially the bright flash of light indicating a bomb was just detonated. In addition, it informed students that places marked with an “S” sign were places to go in case of a warning or attack. On the same line of

³⁰ Defense, “Annual Report 1969,” 21.

³¹ Rose, *One Nation Underground*, 135.

³² “Duck and Cover,” directed by Anthony Rizzo, Archer Productions: 1952.

³³ “Duck and Cover,” 1952.

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thought, there were training videos and pamphlets for adults too. Generally speaking, adults were told to learn the protections that their job offers, and not to go out and try to find their kids. If not at work or school, find the nearest shelter.

The social effect of the bomb was more than just defense. Nonetheless, fear was rampant, and people were always questioning what was right and wrong in regard to the nuke. One particular incident highlighted this fear. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were convicted of selling nuclear secrets to Russia in the early 1950s. The two not only let out information about the nuke, but they gave it to Russia—the country which represented the opposite of Americanism. The judge in their trial claimed that “plain, deliberate, contemplated murder is dwarfed in magnitude by comparison with the crime you have committed.”³⁴ The couple was sentenced to death, and their punishment was enacted on June 19, 1953. What the Rosenbergs did only heightened the country’s sense of panic about nuclear weapons. An article published by *Readers Digest* in 1946 brought forth the question “What would have happened if one of the atomic bombs we dropped on Japan had been used on New York?” Their answer was direct: the bomb could easily level the Empire State Building and the blast radius would be a mile or more.³⁵ This thought scared many people, and social fear facilitated itself in many ways. Some chose to live in ignorance, and others prepared (by using fallout shelters as mentioned earlier). Living with the threat of total nuclear war was something Americans were forced to deal with.

Among the more traditional responses to this threat was a unique reaction that flowed into popular culture. Suddenly, there were songs and movies about this extremely dangerous weapon. A notable movie to serve as an example would be *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964). The film served as a comedic satire of the Cold War era fear of nuclear weapons and communists. Years later, films are still using the bomb as the subject of their storylines. The influence of the atom bomb continues to give inspiration to writers and producers. The 1983 movie *WarGames* involved a supercomputer nearly launching all the United States’ nuclear weapons because of its malfunction—the plot of the movie involves trying to stop what could become World War III. In 1997 *The Peacemaker* was released in theaters; the story involves stolen nuclear warheads and an attempt the

³⁴ Anthony Marino and Neal Patterson, “2 Rosenbergs to Die, Sobell Gets 30 Yrs.,” *Daily News*, April 6, 1951: 3,

<http://www.nydailynews.com/news/crime/rosenbergs-sentenced-death-espionage-1951-article-1.2171393>.

³⁵ Robert Littel, “What the Atom Bomb Would Do to Us,” *Readers Digest*, May 1946.

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stop them from being used. The 2011 film *The Divide* takes a different approach and tells a story after the bombs already fell. In a world after nukes had dropped, everything could change, and this post-apocalyptic theme became a common element throughout American literature and filmography.

Aside from using the nuke as a new way to tell a story, companies began using nuclear language to help sell their products and incorporated the popularity of the bomb into new consumer goods. Kids could ask their parents for the new “Atomic Age Air Rifle,”³⁶ and people could go to Las Vegas to see “Genuine Atoms Split to Smithereens,”³⁷ safely witnessing a nuclear explosion for only three dollars a person. There was an obsession with what atomic works meant. It was powerful and dangerous to be sure, but it also could create more advanced technology and energy capabilities. People take an interest in the taboo and risky—the atom bomb was no different.

The Atomic Age represented a new style and mindset, people were drawn to its promises of power and technology. It soon represented the face of the future, and anything associated with the atom became popular. The new iconography that spawned during this time made its way into music as well. In 1957 The Five Stars wrote a song called “Atom Bomb Baby,” using the atom bomb as a tool for comparison in the context of a woman. They describe her as “anything but calm. A regular pint-sized atom bomb.”³⁸ This romantic view of the bomb was not uncommon, by associating this woman to the nuke The Five Stars intend to show her good features and explosive personality. Skip Stanley’s “Satellite Baby” (1956) involves an abundance of nuclear language. Hoping his “satellite baby” will return, he acknowledges, “radioactive daddy’s found out what you are worth.”³⁹ In her rather indiscreet 1962 song, “Fujiyama Mama,” Wanda Jackson associates the nuke with sexuality, claiming, “the things I did to [Hiroshima and Nagasaki] baby, I can do to you!”⁴⁰ These songs idolized the nuke, and used it to show their love or desire.

Not all songs were positive or had lighthearted lyrics. There were many songs associated with the hopelessness of the situation, or reflected the fear of annihilation. Malvina Reynolds’ “What Have They Done to

³⁶ “Atom Bomber,” accessed April 27, 2018, <http://ken-padgett.blogspot.com/2018/02/>.

³⁷ “See Genuine Atoms Split to Smithereens.” Poster for Cold War atomic testing tourism in Nevada, 1950s, accessed April 27, 2018.

<http://apostlesofmercy.tumblr.com/post/120960075995/history-museum-see-genuine-atoms-split-to>.

³⁸ The Five Stars, “Atom Bomb Baby,” *Atomic Cafe*: 1957.

³⁹ Skip Stanley, “Satellite Baby,” Bear Family Records: 1956.

⁴⁰ Wanda Jackson, “Fujiyama Mama,” *Rocking with Wanda!*: 1962.

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the Rain?” described the dangers of fallout on the world. Singing about how “rain keeps falling like helpless tears/ And what have they done to the rain?” exemplified her opposition to the nuclear weapon testing and creation. She mentions a little boy in the rain, who later in the songs disappears along with all the grass. This creates images of barren wastelands with no life and is what many people thought would be the result of nuclear war. Inspired by a Turkish poem, The Byrds’ “I Come and Stand at Every Door” is about a young boy who died in the Hiroshima bombing. By using lyrics like “Death came and turned my bones to dust/and that was scattered by the wind,”⁴¹ the Byrds addressed the controversy of dropping the atom bomb on Japan and showed their disapproval and sadness at the situation. The songs end with a plead to fight so that “the children of this world/May live and grow and laugh and play.”⁴² Music of all genres had been affected, and whether positive, negative, fun, or disapproving, the underlying influence of the bomb is easy to see.

One major popular culture change was that of alternate leisure forms. Movies and music were already mentioned, but there was more than this across the social culture of America. New games were created to fit the atomic atmosphere. Children could buy the “Atom Bomber” in order to “practice bombing [and] improve your score.”⁴³ It may be a small, but kids that played with this toy dropped small figurine bombs out of a plane into holes in the box in order to perfect their timing. Games like this have been developed ever since World War II. Video games are popular in this regard. In 1989, a strategy game called *Nuclear War* was released; the goal of the player was to be the last country on Earth with living population—since weapons were launched as part of the game, it was possible to have no winners.⁴⁴ Popular games include those that are part of the *Fallout* series, in which the player awakens into a post-apocalyptic world full of radiation, mutated animals, and desperate human survivors to fend off. In some of the *Call of Duty* games, doing well enough in a match gives the player the option to call in a nuke, strictly ending the match since everyone dies. Games like these create an environment in which the players can see the possible consequences of the nuclear arms race. This nuclear theme grew into comic books as well. Kenneth Rose discusses Marvel comic characters Spiderman and the Incredible Hulk, more specifically how “each gain their super powers

⁴¹ The Byrds, “I Come and Stand at Every Door,” *Fifth Dimension*: 1966.

⁴² The Byrds, “I Come,” 1966.

⁴³ “Atom Bomber,” accessed April 27, 2018. <http://ken-padgett.blogspot.com/2018/02/>.

⁴⁴ “Nuclear War,” Classic Reload, accessed February 27, 2018
<https://classicreload.com/nuclear-war.html>.

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when exposed to some form of radioactivity.”⁴⁵ While it is doubtful that readers wanted to expose themselves to radiation to get powers like these characters, nonetheless these comics displayed a different effect of radiation. The influence of nuclear experimentation was introduced to comics and was the source of character origin stories for many superheroes that are prominent today.

These popular culture changes reflect the adoration, disapproval, and intrigue with the nuke. Americans were surrounded by nuclear influence. Whether you were directly involved—such as military or scientific work—or had no immediate connection with the bomb, the impact was felt everywhere. To paint a picture, imagine walking down a city street making sure to remember the locations of public fallout shelters and alarm stations, listening to “Atom Bomb Baby” blasting from the nearby store selling furniture to fit the new Atomic Age styles. Along the way home to a prominent nuclear family, passing a television station, the screens all broadcast the president’s latest update on the nuclear weapons development. This was not an uncommon view of the world that Americans adapted to and others were born into. In some ways, the atom bomb could be seen as a sort of deity. People feared and loved the nuke, praising its good qualities, while simultaneously worrying about its power. Americans’ lack of control made them change their lifestyle in hopes to not face the destruction of the bomb—or to at least survive it. The paranoia of not knowing what is going to happen reflects certain religious aspects. The abundance of atomic influence was the result of years of governmental changes that leaked into social adaptation—which facilitated itself through popular culture.

The modern world still feels the surge of atomic interest after World War II. The idea of the post-apocalyptic environment is a common theme within movies, television, and video games. We use the word “bomb” to mean positivity and negativity. Someone could be so great you would call them “the bomb!” At the same time, however, it is not uncommon to “bomb” a midterm and have your grade drop. These reflect the controversy of the Atomic Age. Historians today still question the necessity of dropping the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the moral debate is not over, and neither is the fear. The paranoia experienced during the Cold War is still felt, but without the same level of rampancy. In recent years, however, the panic is starting to rise again as North Korea develops more advanced weaponry. The nuclear mindset sparked developments in science and technology, and America during the Cold War grew to become a militarily powerful, economically

⁴⁵ Rose, *One Nation Underground*, 39.

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responsible, and socially involved nation. The controversy itself is what spawned so many of the new developments. If everyone agreed one way or another, American music, movies, or culture as a whole could be drastically different.

The reality is that for better or worse the atomic bomb drastically changed the course of American history. Engrained in the American way of life are the leftover pieces of nuclear culture that have cultivated into major parts of the world we live in today. From the initial reaction to the long-term establishment of fallout shelter programs, the government was directly involved with addressing the concerns of the American people. Presidential policies became worldwide information, and the influence of the American government was seen in all parts of society. As people began learning about the reality of their situation, there were numerous reactions. Some felt hopeless, that they no longer had control over their own safety. Others were ashamed and disappointed that America could not only create but also use such a devastating weapon. The political systems tried to imply that there should be a certain level of appreciation for the work that went into the bomb; at the same time, the government created opportunities for scientists to research and find beneficial uses for nuclear power. As the number of government programs increased, society adjusted to fit the new standards of America. Schools began taking nuclear education seriously, and public citywide shelters were created in preparation. Following the evolution of the nuclear mindset, the arts began to introduce a new type of Atomic Age music and other popular culture—one in which people could explore both the morality and reality of the Atomic Age. Present day America is a mixing bowl of differing ideologies, fears, and interests that developed after World War II. As a country, America is still growing, but these Cold War feelings will not go away easily; however, the ability to change is always present, and as a whole our evolution is doing more than crawling, it's booming.

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THE ROSS-YORKE CONTROVERSY AND ANTI-CATHOLIC SENTIMENT IN GILDED AGE SAN FRANCISCO

By Sabrina Harper

The mid-nineteenth century was an especially turbulent time in the United States: The Civil War, territorial expansion to the Pacific coast, and an explosion of immigration radically changed what America had been since the Revolution. Despite the protections enshrined in the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in 1791, which prohibited the passage of any law respecting an establishment of religion and ensured free exercise of religion, Roman Catholics experienced religious discrimination and bigotry since the foundation of the nation. The Protestant majority maintained the myth that the United States had been established as a homogeneous Protestant country. Recent immigrants from Europe and those incorporated as American citizens through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the Southwest and West challenged this homogeneity. This influx of new Americans resulted in new tensions and controversies, first on the East coast, later, in the West.

Prior to the Civil War, strong anti-Catholic sentiment had found expression in the Northeast but had faded into the background by 1860. Early conflicts generally involved three issues: education, immigration, and electoral politics. As an example, during the 1830s, in Boston, a confrontation between Protestants and Catholics resulted in the burning of a convent by a Protestant mob.¹ Riots over the role of religion in public schools took place in Philadelphia in 1844 following Bishop Kenrick's petition to the Philadelphia School Board to allow Catholic students to use the Douay-Rheims Catholic bible instead of the Protestant King James version.² Rioters set fire to St. Michael and St. Augustine Churches, many houses and the fire station, in the predominantly Irish neighborhood of Kensington which resulted in loss of life and several dozen injuries.³ In 1854, the nativist movement established a new political party; the American (known colloquially as the 'Know Nothings') Party. During a local election, nearly one hundred Catholics were shot, and several houses were burned to the ground following an effort by the party to prevent Catholics from voting in Louisville,

¹ John Corrigan and Lynn S. Neal, eds., *Religious Intolerance in America: A Documentary History* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 50.

² Jon Gjerde, *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. S. Deborah Kang (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4.

³ Corrigan and Neal, eds., *Religious Intolerance in America*, 50.

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Kentucky in an event that became known as “Bloody Monday.”⁴

Both Catholics and Protestants answered Lincoln’s call for volunteers to fight the war between the states, and religious conflicts subsided during the Civil War.⁵ The Know Nothings, as a political party faded from the scene and effectively died out in the North. Despite the demonstration of patriotism made by the shedding of Roman Catholic blood during the war, anti-Catholic sentiment did not disappear following the war.⁶ As this episode illustrates, the role of Catholicism in education, electoral politics, and immigration reemerged as contentious issues in the West.

Amid a national economic downturn and partisan elections, a group of Protestant businessmen that was called “lunatic fringe” by historian and Jesuit priest Joseph Brusher in a 1951 article, formed a new anti-Catholic, xenophobic organization in 1887.⁷ Called the American Protective Association (A.P.A.), the organization grew out of a small Midwestern town in rural Iowa to become quite influential, boasting an estimated 500,000 members at its height. It formed chapters in cities in the Midwest and West and was noteworthy in San Francisco in the 1890s.⁸ Basing its private oath and public principles on anti-Catholic stereotypes, rumors, and deep seeded prejudices, the A.P.A.’s membership was firmly rooted in “No Popery” campaigns, whose origins may be found in the Reformation. Taking a page from xenophobic and nativist groups, it sought to limit Catholic immigration, and political influence in public schools and local government. In cosmopolitan, Gilded Age San Francisco, this organization would play a major role in the Ross-Yorke controversy, the focus of this essay.

The Origins of Anti-Catholicism from Across the Pond

This anti-Catholic sentiment originated in the years following the Reformation in Europe. Although religiously based discrimination played out differently in the United States, its attitudes, biases and bigotry were inherited from previous generations. The influx of Catholic immigrants resulted in a resurgence of Protestant apprehension about rising Catholic political and economic power in the United States. In

⁴ Rev. P.C. Yorke, *The Ghosts of Bigotry: Six Lectures by Rev. P.C. Yorke, D.D.* (San Francisco: The Text Book Publishing Co., 1913), 319.

⁵ Yorke, *The Ghosts of Bigotry*, 319.

⁶ Gjerde, *Catholicism and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century America*, 18.

⁷ Joseph S. Brusher, “Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 37, no. 2 (July 1951): 129.

⁸ Brusher, “Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco,” 129.

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Robert Lockwood's study of anti-Catholicism, seven general anti-Catholic assumptions can be identified in the rhetoric used by the A.P.A. First, Catholics are anti-Enlightenment and steeped in superstition and ritual. Because of this, they are natural enemies of contemporary thought. Second, Catholics are intent on destroying personal freedoms and are anti-Democratic because loyalty lies with the Pope, rather than the federal or local governments or democratic principles. Third, Catholic hierarchy was keen to destroy or take over the public-school system, which was the vehicle by which good Protestant American citizens were formed. Fourth, Catholics were identified as people of inferior races. This stereotype is tied with nativism and xenophobia and directed at the immigrant population. Fifth, closely linked with the previous bias, historian Robert Lockwood explains that the religion itself is a "foreign presence within the colonies and within the United States."⁹ Sixth, since Henry VIII, the relationship between sexuality and Catholicism has been the foundation of anti-Catholic assumptions. One view is that due to priestly celibacy, the faith promotes sexual repression and prudery. The contrary view is that women were unthinking breeders. Seventh, Catholics have "long been portrayed as ignorant dupes marching in lockstep at the behest of their hierarchical masters." And, contradictorily, as believers who pick and choose which doctrines to follow.¹⁰

In the United States of the nineteenth-century, these seven assumptions found expression in anti-Catholic organizations. In a series of lectures compiled and published under the title *Ghosts of Bigotry*, Father Peter Yorke made the analogy that, like these prejudices, ghosts are entities that are invisible, but still cause fear and apprehension amongst those who encounter them. He called these ghosts "spontaneous productions of disordered imaginations and hereditary ignorance."¹¹ Tracing these prejudices back to Henry VIII's divorce and subsequent excommunication, then astutely following the thread of history through the era of King James, synonymous with persecution of Catholics and the lack of religious freedom, he concluded that these current prejudices are products of this history. Yorke illustrated that in England,

Let Papist be a name of reproach; let Mary, the Catholic, be 'Bloody Mary;' let Elizabeth, the Protestant, be "Good Queen Bess;" let Jesuitical mean dishonorable and tricky; let monk stand for bigot; let Catholic be another name for superstitious and reactionary, and let

⁹ Robert P. Lockwood, *Anti-Catholicism in American Culture* (Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division, 2000), 23.

¹⁰ Lockwood, 26.

¹¹ Yorke, *The Ghosts of Bigotry*, 34.

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the great Church which civilized the world be the mother of abominations.¹²

Prejudices, like those above, imported to America, became core in anti-Catholic rhetoric and were passed down from generation to generation, shared in Sunday school, from the pulpit and in the public school. Popular literature in colonial America and early nineteenth century took up the cause of Catholicism as something “strange, suspicious and disloyal.”¹³ Out of this environment, the American Protective Association was formed.

Origins of the APA

The American Protective Association (A.P.A.) was founded in Clinton, Iowa in 1887 by Henry Francis Bowers, lawyer and businessman. He, along with other influential businessmen launched the A.P.A. on the heels of a failed local election. Bowers served as the “Supreme President,” and under his leadership, the A.P.A. opened chapters throughout the Midwest and Western United States. At its height, with a membership of up to half a million members, this highly secretive organization coordinated a variety of “patriotic” groups which “militantly opposed the perceived influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.”¹⁴ Bowers claimed personal experience with religious discrimination during his childhood in Maryland in the 1850s. In a late interview, he claimed to have been denied a formal education following the Catholic Church exerting pressure on the state legislature to close public schools. However, historian JoAnn Manfra was unable to find any “record that such a thing actually happened in antebellum Maryland.”¹⁵ Most likely, Bower used this as a justification to achieve “Council No. 1’s agenda” attempt to limit Irish electoral influence by limiting immigration and discriminating against Roman Catholics.

This resurgence of anti-Catholic sentiment and animosities manifest in the A.P.A. was not isolated. Historian Donald L. Kinzer noted in his comparison of the A.P.A. to other anti-Catholic organizations of the nineteenth century, that there were similarities and differences, “like previous anti-Catholic political organizations in the history of this country, the A.P.A. was nationalistic and patriotic; unlike them, it did not

¹² Yorke, 44.

¹³ Yorke, 45.

¹⁴ Jo Ann Manfra, "Hometown Politics and the American Protective Association, 1887-1890," *The Annals of Iowa* 55 (1996): 138.

¹⁵ Manfra, 149.

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limit membership to the native-born. Like them, the A.P.A. engaged in politics; unlike them, it utilized existing political parties rather than seeking to create a new party.”¹⁶ Its expressed goal was to “protect America” from the corruption they perceived would result from “political Romanism,” a growth in the political influence of Roman Catholics.¹⁷

In his personal life, Bowers was friendly with Catholics in Clinton, and evidence shows that he helped with fundraising efforts at the local Catholic parish. However, Bowers and all the other men involved in the foundation of the A.P.A. were Protestant and the organization’s stated goal was a promotion of Protestant values and control of government. The organization was established to appeal to a broad range of people, all who opposed Romanism. It was established as a political organization but instead of establishing a new party, would work within the Republican Party to push its agenda.¹⁸

The A.P.A. had two faces, one based on a private oath and the other on publicly stated principles. The private purpose of the organization was a promotion of and defense of Protestantism. According to their membership oath, members pledged to exclude Catholics from employment opportunities whenever a Protestant was available, to withhold aid in building or maintaining Catholic buildings or institutions, and to never vote for a Catholic candidate for political office.¹⁹ Attitudes expressed in the private oath were masked by the public principles expressed by Bowers, “The A.P.A. does not exist for small and selfish purposes. It lays no plans against individuals, or trade or commerce. It orders no strikes or boycotts. It stands on the broad principles of Protestantism. Let it be observed that the A.P.A. is not arrayed against the rank and file of the Catholic people as a whole.”²⁰ Attempts like this were repeatedly made by the organization to deny that they stood in opposition to the Catholic individuals, but the oath encapsulates the discriminatory attitudes held by its members and their charter.

Following the death of founder Henry Bowers and on the heels of internal dissention, the organization disintegrated in 1911. Shortly following the demise of the A.P.A., a sketch of its history was published

¹⁶ Donald L. Kinzer, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), v.

¹⁷ Kinzer, 41.

¹⁸ Kinzer, 41.

¹⁹ “Protestant Paranoia: The American Protective Association,” *historymatters.gmu.edu*, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5351/>.

²⁰ Les Wallace, *The Rhetoric of Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association, 1877-1911*, ed. Timothy Walch and Edward R. Kantowicz (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 72.

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by Humphrey J. Desmond. This history is the best approximation to “an official record” of the A.P.A. known as it was reviewed and expressly approved by Bowers before his death.²¹ Desmond noted that “constant factors in the anti-Catholic situation” are consistent with Lockwood’s findings and Yorke’s historical analysis. However, Desmond elucidates the pragmatic causes for the perpetuation of these prejudices. Because second generation Catholics achieved better occupations and higher industrial positions, newly arrived Protestants, believing themselves to be more deserving of these positions, “would conspire and relegate them [Catholics] to the positions of hewers of wood and drawers of water, their proper place...in this Protestant land.”²² In the political arena, Irish politicians formed cliques and gave favor to their fellow co-religionists. The question of public funding for schools continued to be a contested issue. Protestants believed that a public-school system, which promoted Protestant values, should be supported by public funds. Because of the lack of religious tolerance, Catholics established their own schools supported by its members and independent of public funding. Finally, the perceived show of force engendered by the “occasional Catholic society parade, or demonstration – including helmeted Polish and German knights, bearing drawn swords...” served to alarm bigotry and fear amongst the Protestant population.²³

The Church’s response to this discrimination against Catholics was measured and reserved. According to Wallace, “the attitude of the Church toward the movement was one of quiet, reserved dignity.” And, according to a suggestion made by Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minnesota, “the best and speediest and surest way to kill the A.P.A. is to leave it alone.”²⁴ This may have sufficed in the Midwest, but perhaps emboldened by a greater concentration of Catholics in the West, San Francisco’s Archbishop, Patrick Riordan rejected a strategy of quiet reservation and appointed Father Peter Yorke as defender of the faith. Subsequently, Father Yorke used his authority and keen rhetorical skills to take up the call to defend the teachings of the Church against the A.P.A.’s allegations.

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On the twenty-first day of November in 1895, *The San Francisco*

²¹ Humphrey J. Desmond, *The A.P.A. Movement: A Sketch by Humphrey J. Desmond* (Washington: The New Century Press, 1912), 4.

²² Desmond, 10.

²³ Desmond, 11.

²⁴ Wallace, *The Rhetoric of Anti-Catholicism*, 74.

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Call reported that Catholic priest and Chancellor of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Father Peter C. Yorke, delivered a speech at the Metropolitan Temple, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Union (Y.M.C.U.). A few days prior, five different Protestant ministers had leveled accusations against the Catholic Church.²⁵ One of them, Reverend Donald M. Ross, secretary of the California chapter of the A.P.A., alleged that Catholics were disloyal to the government of the United States and claimed that, "the Roman church has the right to exercise its authority without any limit set to it by the civil powers." And that, "the Pope and priests ought to have dominion over temporal affairs."²⁶ In his role as defender of the faith, Father Yorke responded quickly and vehemently to these charges and challenged Rev. Ross to prove his claims. In a letter to the editor of *The Call*, Yorke wrote, "I will pay one hundred dollars in gold coin of the United States to any charity named by Rev. Donald M. Ross if he can prove to the satisfaction of three non-Catholic lawyers that the above statement, or substance of them, occur in any Roman Catholic publication as statements of Roman Catholic teaching."²⁷ Claiming moral high ground, Ross refused the challenge. However, manager and secretary of the Patriot Publishing Company, a fellow member of the A.P.A., G.A. Hubbell, accepted the bet on behalf of Rev. Ross and put up the gold coin to back his man.²⁸ So, the controversy commenced, and Rev. Ross went to work compiling and organizing his source material to prepare for his presentation.

Born in 1862 in Ontario, Canada and trained as a lawyer at Manitoba College and University, Rev. Donald M. Ross lived in Zanesville, Ohio before making his way to the Bay Area. In 1891, he graduated from the San Francisco Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in San Anselmo and was appointed pastor, first in Vacaville, where he was touted for building the Church and had "received about 500 into the

²⁵ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 21 Nov. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-11-21/ed-1/seq-11/>.

²⁶ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 2 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-02/ed-1/seq-8/>.

²⁷ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 2 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-02/ed-1/seq-8/>

²⁸ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 25 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-25/ed-1/seq-10/>.

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Church on examination...through his evangelization efforts.”²⁹ During the years of the controversy, he served as Pastor at the Lebanon Church in San Francisco. Because few written records were kept of A.P.A. meetings or initiatives, his length of service and duties within the organization are not known, but his arguments against the Catholic Church are well documented in this controversy.

Peter C. Yorke was born in Galway, Ireland in 1864. Educated for the priesthood in Ireland, he was ordained in 1887. San Francisco’s Archbishop Riordan had identified Yorke as a “bright and talented priest, possibly one with a future in the American hierarchy” and enrolled him in the newly established Catholic University of America.³⁰ Following reception of his doctorate, Riordan appointed Yorke as his secretary and chancellor of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. Once Riordan abandoned the quiet reservation which had characterized the Church’s response to the bigotry of the A.P.A., he unleashed “the eager young cleric on local bigots collectively identified as American Protective Association enthusiasts.”³¹ Father Yorke eagerly took on this new assignment becoming a well-known outspoken advocated for the Catholic Church in and around San Francisco.

The “Ross-Yorke controversy” dominated the pages of *The Call* for the next several months. Reporters attended speaking events and editors printed letters in the daily paper. Yorke’s speech, “Rome’s Red Schoolhouse,” responded to charges made against the Church concerning education. He said, “men who know nothing about history have accused the church of favoring ignorance” and reminded readers that it was the Church that “saved learning when the barbarians extinguished the old Roman civilizations.”³² Contrary to the claims made by certain Protestant ministers that Catholics were uneducated and anti-Enlightenment, Yorke advocated for public school education for children. However, he was opposed to religious education in a public-school setting, because, he said:

Religion is good, but if all religions were allowed to enter the public schools, it would soon be bedlam. Therefore, religion should be kept

²⁹ James Curry, D.D., *History of the San Francisco Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and Its Alumni Association* (Vacaville: Reporter Publishing Company, 1907), 151.

³⁰ James P. Walsh, ed., *The San Francisco Irish, 1850-1976* (San Francisco: The Irish and Historical Society, 1978), 46.

³¹ Walsh, 47.

³² *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 21 Nov. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-11-21/ed-1/seq-11/>.

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out, not because Americans are opposed to religions, but because we have too many of them. The Catholic church believes in teaching religion. To do so, it establishes its own schools and pays for them out of their own pocket. It does not try to bring the catechism into the public institutions, but where it is able to it teaches the catechism and pays for the teacher.³³

Father Yorke's respect for religious pluralism and his advocacy for upholding the separation of Church and State established by the Constitution would fall on deaf ears. Just a few days later, another A.P.A. enthusiast and Methodist pastor, Reverend W.W. Case in the pages of *The Call*, charged that the United States was in danger from "atheism, Mormonism and Roman Catholicism," and that the Catholic hierarchy is "seeking to gain control of the country" and is encroaching upon the public-school system.³⁴ Charges of Catholic political supremacy and influence over schools would ring throughout the controversy. The public-school system was perceived to be the vehicle upon which Protestant values, American patriotism, and loyal citizenship would be taught to children, both native born and immigrant. Furthermore, it was thought that enrollment in parochial schools would insulate children from the patriotism that was valued by the A.P.A. and would result in loyalty being firmly set with the Pope, rather than democratic principles.

Throughout the controversy, attempts were made by the A.P.A. to publicly distance itself from its anti-Catholic sentiments and present itself as a purely political organization. In the pages of *The Call*, Reverend Ross said, "the A.P.A. was called into existence as the Old Whig or Republican party was called into existence, simply to take sides in purely National issues, not to contest any religion or religious belief." His next statement countered this argument, "...righteous laws can[not] be enforced in a nation where a religious sect has control." And, to prevent Catholics from becoming too populous and too enmeshed in the politics of the country, Ross opined, "I believe that immigration should be restricted."³⁵ Despite his protestations to the contrary, the A.P.A. was not merely a political organization, but one that was anti-Catholic and

³³ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 21 Nov. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-11-21/ed-1/seq-11/>.

³⁴ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 25 Nov. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-11-25/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

³⁵ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 25 Nov. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.
<<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-11-25/ed-1/seq-5/>>.

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anti-immigrant supporting candidates and political positions that sought to restrict immigration, public funding for Catholic schools, and increased Catholic political and economic influence.

Other A.P.A. members shared their views in the pages of *The Call* in the lead up to the culmination of the controversy. Attempting to situate the A.P.A. as anti-clerical and not wholly anti-Catholic, local A.P.A. chapter Chairman H.W. Quitzow opened a meeting with the following statement, “the enemy are now under the searchlight of the A.P.A.,” apparently referring to Catholic clergy and specifically, to Father Yorke. Reverend W.W. Case furthered his argument, saying, “I myself am not here to berate or traduce the large class of citizens among the Roman Catholic citizens, who make up the laity of that church. I pity those thousands of people who are now in superstition and paganism, because they were trained in countries where there were no schools.”³⁶ This veiled reference, directed at Irish Catholics, is indicative of the A.P.A.’s main tenants, pro-public-education, and anti-immigration (especially of Irish Catholics) with the express goal of limiting Catholic involvement in politics.

A few days later, *The Call* reported that the challenge made by the “eloquent champion of the Catholics” was accepted by a “silver tongued orator of the American Protective Association.”³⁷ In his letter to the editor, Yorke challenged Ross to prove to the satisfaction of three non-Catholic lawyers that his four propositions; 1) *The Roman Church has the right to exercise its authority without any limit set to it by the civil powers*; 2) *the Pope and priests ought to have dominion over temporal affairs*; 3) *the Roman Church and her ecclesiastics have a right to immunity from civil law*; and 4) *in case of conflict between ecclesiastical and civil powers the ecclesiastical ought to prevail*; were official Church teaching.³⁸ Yorke set the conditions to ensure that the judgement would be rendered by non-biased parties. Ross and Yorke were each to choose a non-Catholic lawyer, and those two lawyers were to choose a third. Ross countered with his terms again in the pages of *The Call*, “...I choose six evenings between the 1st and 28th of February 1896. I am to open my argument each evening for one hour, then you reply one hour; I reply for

³⁶ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 09 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-09/ed-1/seq-12/>.

³⁷ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 02 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-02/ed-1/seq-8/>.

³⁸ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 25 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-25/ed-1/seq-10/>.

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ten minutes, you have ten minutes, and I close with five minutes.”³⁹ Yorke would later refute that he had accepted to participate in a public debate as proposed by Ross.

Father Yorke acted first and chose an acquaintance, Episcopalian lawyer from Oakland, Mr. W.W. Foote to represent him in the controversy. Foote agreed to review the materials provided by Ross, but not listen to or participate in a public debate.⁴⁰ A few days later, prominent anti-Catholic figure, Chairman H. W. Quitzow was appointed by Reverend Ross.⁴¹ Mr. Foote, in a letter to the editor, noted that Mr. Quitzow was associated with the A.P.A. and reserved the right to “reconsider my consent to act on the committee.”⁴² Quitzow eventually dropped out of the contest amid claims of his lack of impartiality. Ross’ next appointment was no better. Major Edwin A. Sherman, well-known as an anti-Catholic bigot and lawyer, was “more devoted to Masonic work than to the bar.”⁴³ A third lawyer was never chosen. Amid doubts expressed by Mr. Foote concerning the lack of impartiality of this episode, and the plans laid forth by Reverend Ross to hold a public debate, Yorke wrote in a letter to the editor that this “so-called debate is a humbug,” a deceptive or false trick to be played on the people of San Francisco. Yorke emphatically stated that he had no intention of *debating* Ross. Further, Yorke condemned Ross’ efforts and wrote, “I do not intend to meet D. Ross.”⁴⁴

Ross ignored Yorke’s response and proceeded to rent the Metropolitan Hall, printed handbills and sold tickets to the event scheduled for four nights, from February 24-28, 1896. Instead of an impartial meeting between two professional men, it became a publicity stunt orchestrated by the A.P.A. designed to further denigrate the Roman Catholic Church and garner support to advance their cause. During the first night, Ross denied that he had even made the four propositions that had begun this controversy. However, following that denial, those very

³⁹ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.], 02 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-02/ed-1/seq-8/>.

⁴⁰ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.], 09 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-09/ed-1/seq-12/>.

⁴¹ Brusher, "Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco": 139.

⁴² *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.], 12 Dec. 1895. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1895-12-12/ed-1/seq-16/>.

⁴³ Brusher, "Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco": 140.

⁴⁴ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.], 24 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-24/ed-1/seq-8/>.

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same propositions were the subject of the speeches given over the four nights. On the fourth night, Ross was declared the victor by his representative, Major Sherman. As noted, neither Yorke, nor his attorney Foote, attended the proceedings. However, Yorke had an “inside man” present who reported all that Ross had claimed. This, and the extensive coverage offered by *The Call*, provided all the material Yorke needed to publicly refute Ross’ arguments over the next few weeks. Ross claimed to have researched from his “extensive library of Catholic sources.” However, Yorke reported that upon careful examination of Ross’ sources, fifteen authors were quoted and only two contained the *imprimatur* or official approval of the Church.⁴⁵ The most plausible evidence for Ross’ arguments came from the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pope Pius IX, however, Yorke found them to be misinterpreted, muddled, and misrepresented by Ross.⁴⁶

In the first lecture by Ross, his fourth proposition was addressed; “*in case of conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers the ecclesiastical ought to prevail.*” In Yorke’s response, he noted that Ross never attempted to “produce the proposition as it stands” nor did he succeed in proving the substance of his claim. Yorke reasoned that this misquote by Ross originated from the forty-second clause of the *Syllabus of Errors*, which read, “In the conflict between the laws of the two powers, the civil law prevails.”⁴⁷ Yorke explained in a letter to the editor which was printed verbatim that this proposition is a universal affirmative and as such is not true:

The American constitution recognizes cases where the civil law does not prevail against the ecclesiastical. Indeed, the aim of the constitution is to remove from the domain of the civil law matters which might cause a conflict. Thus, for instance, our civil law does not prevail in spiritual affairs, it does not regulate the service in our churches, the salaries of our ministers. The proposition condemned by the Pope is also condemned by our American system.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 03 March 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-03-03/ed-1/seq-11/>.

⁴⁶ Brusher, "Peter C. Yorke and the A.P.A. in San Francisco": 141.

⁴⁷ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 25 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-25/ed-1/seq-10/>.

⁴⁸ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 26 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-26/ed-1/seq-9/>.

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Ross' claim implied that Church authority is supreme over civil authority, but Yorke clarified that Church authority is separate and distinct from civil authority. He said, "What we do advocate is her [Church] supremacy as the teacher and guardian of the law of God as the supreme court, which must be recognized and submitted to as such by the state, and whose decisions cannot be disregarded, whose prerogatives cannot be abridged or usurped by any power on earth without rebellion against the divine majesty and robbing man of his rights." In other words, moral law is higher than civil law because it comes from God, which is above the state. "The state does not make it and is not the judge of it."⁴⁹ Ross made the assertion that "when politics and the church come into conflict it is the duty of the church to remain firm and to heed not the State laws that come in conflict with it."⁵⁰ Yorke replied that Ross used that quotation to "impress upon the minds of his hearers the idea that the Catholic Church was interfering in politics, and that when she said such a course was the right course, the politicians had nothing to do but obey." Ross is attempting to elevate Catholic teaching above civil laws to suggest that civil laws that come in conflict with Catholicism are not to be obeyed by Catholics because supreme authority rests in the hands of the Pope, not civic or federal governments.

During the second lecture, Ross treated the second proposition; "*The Pope and the priests ought to have dominion over temporal affairs.*"⁵¹ Yorke pointed out Ross' misrepresentation of Church teaching. His claim originated in the twenty-seventh clause of the *Syllabus of Errors* which read, "The sacred ministers of the Church and the Roman Pontiff should be entirely excluded from all administration and ownership of temporal things."⁵² Yorke's response is telling and indicative of his exasperation with Ross,

The Catholic teaching about dominion over temporal affairs I have explained time and time again. The church and state are two separate societies. One deals with

⁴⁹ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 04 March 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-03-04/ed-1/seq-11/>.

⁵⁰ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 05 March 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-03-05/ed-1/seq-5/>.

⁵¹ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 05 March 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-03-05/ed-1/seq-5/>.

⁵² "Pope Pius IX, *Syllabus of Errors* (1864)," cuny.edu, accessed February 26, 2017, <http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/dfg/amrl/syl-err.htm>.

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spiritual affairs; the other with temporal affairs. The dominion over temporal affairs belongs to the civil authority, not to the Pope or the priests. This is Catholic doctrine. It is also American doctrine.⁵³

Yorke further reasoned that every sect in the United States claimed the right to teach the doctrines, which it holds true. He pointed out that the Constitution guarantees this right in the First Amendment and as long as the teachings of a Church do not offend public morality, they are free to teach what they see fit. Because of this claim Yorke said, “D. Ross declares that the Pope and the priests claim temporal dominion.”⁵⁴

In another letter to the editor, Yorke further clarified that the Pope only has *indirect* temporal power by using this example, “For instance, if he [the Pope] thinks that the liquor traffic is a menace to good morals he might forbid the liquor traffic. But his prohibition would only be by spiritual authority and would be efficacious only for those who recognize that spiritual authority.”⁵⁵ Yorke concluded, “no wonder Ross was afraid to face three lawyers who would not be deceived by the spurious and irrelevant matter which he inflicts upon those who pay two bits to be humbugged. No wonder he preferred to engage in a debate instead of producing his proofs.”⁵⁶

Conclusion

During this episode, Father Yorke responded to Reverend Ross with sound reasoning and enlightened arguments. Ross, on the other hand, repeatedly misinterpreted or misrepresented Catholic teaching to his audience in an attempt to increase the divisions already existent between the two faiths. In context of social and political upheaval and changing demographics, Americans have persistent questions about newcomers. A

⁵³ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 26 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-26/ed-1/seq-9/>.

⁵⁴ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 05 March 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-03-05/ed-1/seq-5/>.

⁵⁵ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 06 March 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-03-06/ed-1/seq-11/>.

⁵⁶ *The San Francisco call*. (San Francisco [Calif.]), 25 Feb. 1896. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85066387/1896-02-25/ed-1/seq-10/>.

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tendency to exclude “the other” is a theme, which runs through our history. Recent arrivals and those perceived to be different become targets of bigotry and discrimination because of fears that newcomers will cling to their own customs, language, and religion. Immigrants are condemned as un-patriotic and anti-American. The challenge that Catholics represented to the notion of a perceived homogeneous Christian (Protestant) nation was the first of many periods in history when normative ideas that constructed the nation were challenged by a religious group.

Protestants appreciated the religious freedom that was enshrined in the Constitution, however, had pinned their hopes that Catholics would give up their superstitious ways and walk into the light of Enlightenment thinking. When this failed, they attempted to use public institutions; first, the public-school system to instruct children in Protestant and patriotic values; second, electoral politics to limit political influence of Roman Catholics; and third, promotion of immigration restriction.

The Ross-Yorke controversy in Gilded Age San Francisco illustrated the Protestant A.P.A.’s attempts to limit Catholic immigration and political influence. The A.P.A. held the view that government was established to promote and uphold Protestant values and patriotism. Anything which challenged that, was a threat. As Catholics in America began achieving positions of authority in civic government, factories, schools and professional occupations, these feelings of resentment and deep-seated fears reemerged.

A rejuvenated nativism was almost certainly destined for a lack of popular support in cosmopolitan San Francisco. However, without the benefit of historical hindsight, Father Peter C. Yorke treated these controversies with all seriousness; as if the political, and religious freedom of Catholics would be wiped out without his resistance. A.P.A. meetings were infiltrated by his agents and their claims were published, then promptly discredited by Yorke’s reasoned and researched responses.⁵⁷ This episode is illustrative of the grip of discrimination and bigoted behavior in the United States. Father Yorke characterized the origins of anti-Catholicism as “ghosts of bigotry,” apparitions that reappear without warning at various times throughout our history, we can certainly see that these “ghosts” have reemerged in our current political climate. One can easily find parallels between the rhetoric used during this episode of anti-Catholicism and current events. The conflicts between religious freedom and American patriotism have not faded into

⁵⁷ James P. Walsh, ed., *The San Francisco Irish, 1850-1976* (San Francisco: The Irish and Historical Society, 1978), 46.

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the past, but have, in fact, reemerged as new ghosts of bigotry in the twenty-first century.

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THIS SHOW COULD CHANGE YOUR LIFE: IT'S NOT A COSTUME

By Edward White

Remember when music mattered? You may be too young to have experienced the days of going to a Warehouse, which for those of you that are unaware was a thriving chain devoted to nothing but music. You'll never know the joy of browsing the endless shelves for half the afternoon, and finally bringing a \$16 compact disk to the front counter with your head held high pushing it forward to the cute girl working the register. You were excited not only to listen to your favorite band and look at the discography, but because she's going to see what a rebel you are based on the down and dirty, take no prisoners, all-out anarchy punk rock music that is a representation of you. Unfortunately, because the album is labeled *Parental Advisory Explicit Content*, and you're taking the term awkward to new levels with a face full of zits, it's clear that you're not eighteen, and you're denied the purchase of your personal identity. Angry, frustrated, and an outcast to those in behind you in line, you march off rejected by societal norms, just like the music you're yearning to hear.

There was a time when people truly cared about the music they listened to, not only because they liked how it sounded, but because it helped them find an identity. Music has always played an important role in culture and peoples' identities that it is associated with. In the 1960s the sounds of The Mama's and the Papas, and Jefferson Airplane came to represent the tie-dye and psychedelic light shows that symbolize the era. In the 1970s The Bee Gee's became the poster child of lighted dancefloors and bellbottom pants. These demographics enjoyed the music that represented their culture, but for movements like the hippies and disco, music was more of an afterthought to the political, drug, and party scene that dominated their cultures. Punk rock however is different. In few cultural movements represented by music, has the music itself, and particularly the live performances derived from it, played such a central role in the creation of an identity, attitude, and mentality that categorize a culture.

For punks, music and music performances (or shows as they're known) are a representation of the culture itself. They convey an attitude and mentality that is directly adapted by the loyal few who follow it in earnest. Like many things in life, punk rock is a young man and women's game, and in general the lifestyle that accompanies it is hardly sustainable for anyone wanting to live a long and fruitful life. Punk movements themselves can be seen as a delta of subcultures, running a

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gambit of sound and culture. These subcultures are like a phoenix that will burn brightly and fall to ashes but be resurrected again in some form down the road. From the British invasion by the Sex Pistols and the Clash, to Joy Division and Indie Rock, to Skater Punk in the 90s, punk has had many faces, and many lives that continue to live and die with the generations it influences.

By examining the rise and fall of this wide range of subcultures we will come to find that although the root creation of this massive decades long and evolving culture is music itself, the term punk has come to represent something more. Punk has come to symbolize a mentality, an ethos for life, an attitude toward living in the present day, embodied by those who were once impassioned by the music and culture, and absorbed by the individuals they influence. This mentality is fueled by an unwavering individualistic do-it-yourself attitude of originality, without regard for its status in comparison to society's normalities. Although punk rock music itself continues to fade in and out of contact with popular culture, it is now primarily symbolic of the mentality it has produced. This mentality has come to manifest itself in various ways throughout mainstream society, effecting people who have never heard punk, pushing the boundaries of what is normal, expectable, and popular in everyday life.

The debate over where punk actually came from is largely subjective. There are countless stepping stones in musical and social history that led to the creation of punk rock. Musically, punk stems from rock and roll, but the story of its mentality and attitude is another story all together. In comparison to its musical forefather rock & roll, punk differs greatly from the du bop, soda shop, happy-go-lucky attitude that is symbolic of the 1950s and early 1960s rock & roll. The attitude of punk erupted due to a culmination of many factors from restrained dissatisfaction with the state of music, to a new way of looking at norms and beauty in society. Several bands contributed to the sound and attitude that finally developed into something definitively different. It was a return to the classic rock & roll sound with added speed and aggression. Lyrically it was a departure from teenage romance into the frustration of conformity and angst against society and government.

The first domino piece to fall in the sequence of bands that led to the birth of punk rock was the Velvet Underground. The Velvet Underground first came onto the scene in New York City during the mid-1960s. Andy Warhol, who at that time was fueling a powerhouse of artistic expression in every medium possible, and was happy to add music to the list, soon discovered them. Although Andy Warhol helped the Velvet Underground make their first record, and got them attention in

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the music scene, it was Lou Reed's unique approach toward making music that helped start a revolution.

Lou Reed's clashes with authority began organically, and at an early age. Reflecting on his childhood, Reed recalls the electroshock therapy he underwent after his parents sent him to a mental institution for his homosexual tendencies, explaining, "They put the thing down your throat so you don't swallow your tongue, and they put electrodes on your head. That's what was recommended in Rockland County to discourage homosexual feelings."¹ An outcast from the beginning of his life, experiences like this left Lou Reed at odds with authority and the mainstream. The electroshock therapy he underwent as a child left him unable to read complete books and limited his comprehension, but also gave him a bevy of adverse emotions that would manifest themselves in musical creativity and lyrical genius. This complete rejection by his parents and society, alongside attempts at forced assimilation, would help mold a mentality that viewed society's standards as not only wrong, but also hurtful and counterproductive to an individual's expression, a keystone of punk mentality.

During a time that can be looked back on as the golden age of music (the mid-to-late '60s) The Velvet Underground was anything but influential in a contemporary sense. Albums that were dropping by artist such as Jimi Hendrix, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and countless other world class musicians produced a wave of creative music that ranged from psychedelic to rock to folk, to everything in-between. It was an era of music that is still seen as monumental. Because of its massive influence in the contemporary sense of music during the '60s, the Velvet Underground is in comparison a small footnote. Their abnormal rock sound accompanied by a beatnik, quirky, solemn poetry feel just didn't fit in with the times, in fact, it didn't fit in anywhere. It's hard to categorize their sound because of their biggest asset, originality. Despite the fact that they never saw commercial success, their influence on music as a whole has been, and continues to be, vast beyond measure. According to rock historian and accomplished songwriter Paul Williams, the Velvet Underground "never had anything remotely resembling a hit record, and they are one of the half-dozen greatest and most influential rock-and-roll bands ever to come along from and go away to wherever such beings come and go from and to."²

The Velvet Underground paved the way for not only punk rock, but

¹ Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, "Prologue" in *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Grove Press, 2006), 3-4.

² Paul Williams, *Back to the Miracle Factory: Rock Etc. 1990s* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 2002), 128.

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countless other creative music types that have come to define music of the late twentieth century. Their sound was drenched in somber expression that was at odds with the peace and love feel of the time. Not only was their message unique, it was composed in a rather simple structure, within a band that lacked world-class musicians. Their raw sound and straightforward approach to songwriting during a time when music was defined by overwhelming talent and commercial success would inspire generations to be original and ignore mainstream influences. This gave fans the confidence to write and perform their own music without being an extremely talented. Along with The Velvet Undergrounds' bold originality, there were other factors at work setting the stage for punk rock.

As the Hell's Angels beat up the crowds in Northern California at the behest of the Rolling Stones, it became clear that the free-loving culture idealized by the music of the '60s wasn't practical, or even followed by the people who preached it. As Steve Pond, writer for *The Rolling Stone* accounts, "Altamont was rock's ugliest moment. For years it deflated the culture's sense of its own idealism."³ In many ways the free concert put on by the Rolling Stones on December 6, 1969, which ended just short of a riot, marked the end of real hope for an idealistic society dominated by peace and love. Not only did this event mark the end of the '60s counter culture, it also marks the time when the pendulum swung away from the optimism of peace and love, and back toward the realism of day-to-day struggles. As the 1970s commenced the hippie movement continued to fade and the pendulum would continue to swing towards the reality of trying to find your place within American society, towards feelings of frustration that would come to embody the punk rock mentality.

In the early 1970s rock music itself entered unmarked territory. In the wake of monumental talents like Jimi Hendrix and The Beatles, it seemed as though musical talent had hit an all-time high. For big acts and big record companies the only thing to do was to push the envelope even further. Musicians began to push their musical talents to the boundaries of exploration. Musically, bands continued to become more talented and accomplish musical feats that would otherwise be impossible without world-class musicians, equipment, producers, and studios. An average local band had no chance of matching the sound or song writing ability of popular bands like Pink Floyd, Led Zeppelin, or Fleetwood Mac. For the average musician there was no place. There was a complete musical no man's land in-between playing a sold-out arena and playing cover

³ Holly George Warren, ed. *Rolling Stone: The Decades of Rock & Roll* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001), 118.

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songs at your local club for a lackluster audience. For the majority of musicians, it seemed as though there was no hope.

As musician Jerry Nolan describes, “These were the days of the ten minute drum solo. The twenty-minute guitar solo. A song might take up a whole side of an album. I was fed up with that shit. Who could outplay who? It had nothing to do with rock & roll.”⁴ The frustration experienced by the average, moderately talented musician who wanted to express himself would continue to build and emerge with bands that created a new wave of sound in the early ’70s. Before this would happen a few more domino pieces had to fall. One of the first bands to bring back the essence of rock and roll and develop it in to something special, that would eventually be punk, was the New York Dolls.

The New York Dolls emerged onto the New York music scene in the early ’70s and took it by storm. Although they would transform into what is now known as glitter rock, shocking audiences by dressing in drag with a highly sexual onstage presents, at the backbone of their identity was the music. Perhaps the most important thing The New York Dolls did was bring back rock & roll with the three-minute song. Jerry Nolan, a New York Musician who would eventually be their drummer (after their original drummer died on tour of an O.D.) noted their raw power in lieu of extreme ability. Nolan explained:

I would get into these incredible arguments with musicians my own age, friends of mine. They couldn’t understand why these guys were getting so much attention- the Dolls were not what you’d call great technical musicians. I’d say, ‘you’re missing the fucking point. They’re bringing back the magic of the fifties!’ They were wild and they were natural... Their songs were like nobody had ever heard for ten years: beginning, middle, end, boom-boom-boom.⁵

This original raw power, and in-your-face antics would manifest itself as the basis for punk music and would be a contributing factor to its mentality.

Besides displaying the true power of rock and roll, the Dolls displayed the fact that you didn’t have to be tremendously talented to be influential. The Dolls were by no means state-of-the-art musicians but were successful because they had the mentality that they were going to do this themselves, despite their inept ability, and they didn’t care what you thought. The realization that you could do this and still be popular

⁴ McNeil and McCain, “A Doll’s House” in *Please Kill Me*, 114.

⁵ McNeil and McCain, 114-115.

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paved the way for many punk bands. Professor of Philosophy and Visual Culture at University College Cork in Ireland Paul Hegarty's take on talent as it relates to punk goes along the lines, "Even when we can 'accept' lack of skill as long as the product is deemed good, there is still the question of 'bad music' the inept are split into good and forgotten, and new cannons are formed."⁶ Of course many untalented bands went by the wayside, but the fact that you could find a diamond in the rough, and discover something magnificent out of mediocrity, gave hope to not only punk bands, but to many punks themselves. It remains within the punk mentality that you don't have to be excessively talented to create something special. This is directly related to another aspect of punk mentality that you don't assess things based on societal standards. Something or someone doesn't have to be deemed beautiful by mainstream society to be creative and influential. This mindset displayed in the musical production of The Dolls engraves itself within the mentality of punk rock, continuing to build this emphasis on originality, doing your own thing, and beauty in the eye of the beholder.

Punk as we know it truly broke out in the mid-1970s when bands like the Ramones and the Sex Pistols got a glimpse of commercial success. Bands like the New York Dolls, MC5, the Stooges, and others had been hinting at a new hard rock attitude, but it wasn't until the Ramones hit the scene that punk found its immortal identity in leather jackets and fast bar chords. Legs McNeil, the co-founder of *Punk Magazine* (and the individual who gave the music genre of punk its name after an interview with Lou Reed, which would constitute the cover story for the first issue of *Punk Magazine*), recalls the first time he saw The Ramones perform:

the Ramones hit the stage and it was an amazing sight. Four really pissed-off guys in black leather jackets"; "they counted off a song, 'ONE, TWO, THREE, FOUR!' -and we were all hit with this blast of noise, you physical recoiled from the shock of it, like this huge wind and before I could even get into it they stopped. Apparently, they were all playing a different song."⁷

Before they even began they failed. Embodying the inexperience and amateur inability associated with punk, the Ramones couldn't even start their first song in unison. In anger the Ramones threw down their instruments and marched off stage in frustration. Legs McNeil goes on to describe the Ramones after they composed themselves and finally made

⁶ Paul Hegarty, *Noise/Music: A History* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2007), 90.

⁷ McNeil and McCain, "Chinese Rocks" in *Please Kill Me*, 205-206.

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it back on stage, going on to play “the best eighteen minutes of rock & roll that I had ever heard.”⁸ The Ramones street look, hard rock sound, accompanied by an unpredictable, energy-filled live performance was unlike anything that had ever been seen before and would in many ways become a poster child for what modern culture defines as stereotypically punk rock.

After the Ramones, the Sex Pistols and The Clash hit the scene, and the word was out. Punk rock had hit mainstream America and U.K. in one way or the other. But the peculiar thing about punk was, as soon as it was in, it was out. According to Rolling Stone, “In 1977 people thought this stuff might take over the world, or at least the Top Forty. In England, at least for a while, it did. Back in the USA it didn’t even come close.”⁹ Even in England where the punk scene supposedly had taken the country by storm, its impact wasn’t substantial. What’s viewed now as a full-fledged assault on the posh culture of London by the Clash and the Sex Pistols may have not been as big of a deal as its made out to be.

According to Matt Miller, long time punk rocker who grew up in England during the era, “It was really really underground... it was you know, considering what a big deal people make about it now, it was a blip...There really wasn’t much of a scene anywhere...it definitely was not cool, people considered you an idiot if you were into it.”¹⁰ The impression I got when interviewing Matt was that although many people look back on punk, especially in England, as this romantic group of rebels, in a contemporary context they were looked at as outcasts, and their population was refined to a few square blocks. From his description punks are painted as a group of Bigfoot conspiracy theorists that had their day in the sun after a sighting in rural Washington State. Their hay day was brief, and no one took them seriously. The music and idea of punk had fleeting popularity, and the mainstream media, and culture never really took it seriously or committed themselves to its qualities. In the contemporary context during its golden age of popularity in the mid-to-late 1970s, punk was more or less a fleeting dot on the timeline of popular music. For the masses it embodied popular fashions, and rebel music, that over time has become highly romanticized. We now define this era of music by leather jackets, spiked hair, and Sex Pistols lead singer Johnny Rotten screaming the band’s, and one of punks most famous lines, “Anarchy in the U.K!”

In the U.S. punk saw some commercial success, and although bands like the Ramones managed to fill medium sized venues, it never really

⁸ McNeil and McCain, 206.

⁹ Warren, *Rolling Stone*, 166.

¹⁰ Matt Miller, interview by author, May 8, 2017.

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had any kind of substantial effect on popular culture as a whole. During an interview in 1979, lead singer Joey Ramone said, “I’m sick of not selling records. I want to draw more people to the shows, make something happen,”¹¹ and he was genuinely puzzled by their lack of success. Despite their best efforts they just couldn’t make it big. In December 1979, well-known journalist Lester Bangs recalled, “all the good bands died two years ago or are struggling to break middle America inch by inch like Patti and the Ramones! Maybe they will! Everybody else is just big fish in a little pond!”¹² No monumental commercial movement ever emerged from punk, in comparison to hair metal in the ’80s, or hippie music of the ’60s punk was a blip on the screen. Punk rock artist continued to be big fish in little ponds, but perhaps punk rock’s biggest achievement was the creation of all these microcosmic cultures. Punk artists became highly influential in small groups of individuals all around the country, putting their ideals and their mentality on the map in nooks and crannies everywhere.

With glimpses of success, yet what big record companies considered superficial, punk eventually turned into a real movement with dedicated grass roots followers. A study in 2014 by Hugh C. O’Connell states that with the more punk records that sold in the ’70s, “the more they seemed to jettison many of punk’s political ideals.”¹³ Although the movement may have seemed a fleeting commercial success, punk took root in big ways. The punk rock of the 1970s may have not turned the musical world upside down commercially, but it began to have a big influence on the populations that did listen to it. Motivated by individuality, embraced by the punk bands they listened to, a counterculture of punk began to take shape in places beyond New York City. It was a culture of people who embraced their differences instead of trying to assimilate them. Punk was beginning to gain grass roots followers. They weren’t motivated by popularity, or superficial benefits, but rather by ideals. And they were beginning to create these idealistic, microcosmic cultures of dedicated grass roots followers everywhere.

The history of punk rock music continued to grow from the end of its golden age in the late ’70s, sprawling into a delta of different music forms that were based on the ideals of punk, despite the fact that its

¹¹ Theodore Gracyk, *I Wanna Be Me: Rock Music and the Politics of Identity* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 25.

¹² Lester Bangs, *Psychotic Reactions and Carburetor Dung* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 284.

¹³ Hugh C. O’Connell, “(Re)Turning the Money into Rebellion: Reification and Utopianism in Early Punk Production,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 47 (2014): 592.

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popularity had diminished. The bands in the '80s that followed the traditional sound of punk rock are widely known as hardcore because they stayed true to and expanded on the ethics and sound of fast aggressive music, despite there being no hope of commercial success. A plethora of other genres sprouted from the seeds of punk ranging from new wave electronic, to grunge. The important thing to take away from this first wave of punk rock is that it would reincarnate itself into a variety of sound and culture, its root values planting the seeds of creation. These values can be seen in the different musical forms it helped create, that in turn created the punk rock mentality that remains today. The grass roots followings that arose are not based on popularity; they are based on values and ideals. They are based on the fact that you don't have to be special or popular or beautiful to be influential or extraordinary in the mind of punk rock. The norms of society are thrown out the window and replaced by a do-it-yourself attitude concerning everything from beauty, to music, to clothes, to social standards.

This do-it-yourself attitude took hold during the golden age of punk in the mid-to-late 1970s. As remembered by philosopher Jesse Prinz, from the City University of New York, "In the late 70's many punks wore 'disco sucks' t-shirts which were usually hand scrawled. This practice of making your own clothing was just one manifestation of a broader do-it-yourself (or DIY) ethic."¹⁴ This DIY ethic that began to form in the late 1980s is something that was by no means original to punks. The hippies made their own tie dye t-shirts, and even tried to start their own communities in New Mexico after the 1960s died but were never really able to successfully sustain their customs and way of life. Punk rock however did not fail to sustain its cultural values and customs; punk was able to preserve these virtues through its practices and mentality. The DIY element of punk is one that can be seen in everything from custom made clothes and merchandise, to individualistic ideals and opinions, to standards of self-reliance that enable these communities to exist without the assistance of the mainstream.

Early punk albums are infamous for being homemade. Many early punk albums are recorded in small, sometimes home studios, easily recognizable from the low-quality audio. These early records are also famous for being independently released and sold by the band themselves after they would receive a limited number of pressings, and pair them with homemade record sleeves that contained independently made album art.¹⁵ Now these original pressings are worth money, and

¹⁴ Jesse Prinz, "The Aesthetics of Punk Rock," *Philosophy Compass* 9, no. 9 (2014): 587.

¹⁵ Prinz, 587.

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modern music producers look back upon the poorly recorded early punk records as a novelty of music history, but back then it was bizarre. It was completely out of the norm, but the followers of punk rock cherished it. The true followers of punk found their identity in the black and white homemade album art and photocopied flyers that have become so symbolic of punk. This DIY approach, born from necessity would slowly manifest itself into one of the most crucial aspects of punk mentality.

What punk really did with the do-it-yourself attitude (that emerged out of necessity for early bands to play, record, and share their music) was set a new standard for a way to go about all aspects of life. It reinforced the ideals of do-it-yourself, don't be influenced by outside standards, and don't be afraid to be different. It was ok, even cool for your album to be homemade and sound like it was recorded in a garage, it was ok to be poor living on the street. It was even seen as cool to be hated and ousted by society. It was acceptable if you were strung out on drugs. Among them there was no judgment, but sometimes for people that weren't among the punk rock community it was often a different story. Some individuals in the Punk community are bitter and prejudice toward people who do fit into and embrace the norms of society. Punk, just like every other cultural demographic within society harbors a vast variety of individuals with their own diverse opinions and views. Like many unique cultures that have been treated with hostility, punks can often be prejudiced towards outsiders who have traditionally been contentious towards their way of life.

The most hypocritical thing about punk rock, a culture that's based on being your own person, is that it can many times be intolerable of other cultures, especially other music. According to philosopher Jesse Prinz, "It might seem ironic that punk emphasizes authenticity and individuality while also being highly prescriptive about acceptable taste."¹⁶ For some punks it isn't cool to be popular, it isn't cool to be colorful, it isn't cool to be signed to a big record label. It seems out of spite that punk is against so many things just because those things are labeled normal, or in many cases, just for the sake of wanting to be different. Some punk circles can be brutally unaccepting and prejudiced toward those that aren't like them, while at the same time be incredibly nonjudgmental toward those within their circles. This seems to be a common occurrence in many tight-knit groups. If punks and partisan politicians have one thing in common, it's their acceptance of each other's faults, and intolerance for others' shortcomings.

Everyone struggles to fit in. Dewar MacLeod, who earned his PhD in

¹⁶ Prinz, 590.

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Philosophy from New York City University, writes about youth culture in post suburbia America in his dissertation. Much of the dissertation explores himself finding his place in L.A.'s punk scene during the 1970s. He tells of how the subculture of punk had "increasingly gathered in opposition to the world outside. Key to the creation of a subculture was the identification punks felt with others like themselves."¹⁷ Trying to create a community, punks will sometimes use their dislike of another subculture, or music genre to bind them together. Whether it's society's pressure to assimilate, or the jocks that beat them up in high school, punks will bond in disagreement, while accepting, even embracing their own shortcomings. Nothing brings people together like a common enemy; this is no different in punk rock communities. In rejecting others' culture, punks try to create a new standard of what it is to be cool within their community. It's no longer being the high school football hero; it's jumping in the mosh pit or jumping up on stage. It's not drinking at a party, its doing hard drugs at the show, a scenario that can be seen in a short story reminiscing about a typical night in a San Francisco punk rock club written by Matt Miller.

In his short story Matt Miller observes how the typical definition of cool had changed in the circles of punk rockers. He witnesses this new standard of cool embraced as young love takes flight on a typical night in an underground San Francisco punk club. "Two twelve year old girls passed us; one girl whispered excitedly into her friends ear 'Bobby just shot two dime bags in a row and is tearing up the pit, I think I'm in love.' Bobby was the quarterback of the junior high football team and in this life too."¹⁸ In this situation punk had set new standards of what was cool, and it wasn't to be the high school quarterback, it was to shoot drugs and go mosh. No matter how unethical and offensive the new standards were, they were there. A complete reversal of standards, the ethics may have been immoral, but they encompassed the punk rock mentality to do what you want regardless of what people think, go against the norms, and in most cases, there is no judgment. They set their own standards of right and wrong, what's cool and not cool, a concept that started in music, and made its way into punk ethics, mentality, and even morality.

Punk's new standard of cool began to manifest itself in a variety of ways. As Jesse Prinz, philosopher from New York City University notes, "Punk we have seen, is not just a kind of music. It is also an approach to visual art and fashion."¹⁹ Punk was one of the first underground scenes to

¹⁷ Dewar G. MacLeod, "Kids of the Black Hole": Youth Culture in Postsuburbia (PhD diss, City University of New York, 1998) 90-91.

¹⁸ Matt Miller "San Francisco-1983" (unpublished manuscript, May 8, 2017).

¹⁹ Prinz, "The Aesthetics of Punk Rock," 589.

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establish the uncool as cool. Prinz continues, “Punk is an assault on prevailing cannons of beauty.”²⁰ The idea that you could do what you want without fear of judgment or intimidation, fueled an underground culture that in turn molded a mentality adopted by a wide group of musicians. This group of musicians began to spread the values and ideals of punk rock’s influence throughout the music world.

A band gone rogue that was a spinoff of the punk rock world was the Talking Heads. The now rock & roll hall of famers got their start at CBGB with the other pioneers of punk and went on to become a definition of original sound. Lead singer and songwriter David Byrne describes how they were being judged by their influences, “The European Press heard it- they go, ‘These people are listening to soul music, but they’re also listening to Velvet Underground and Roxy Music and whatever else, but they’re playing it funky.’”²¹ With their roots and values in punk, the Talking Heads weren’t afraid to be different, so they expanded on their punk roots. With punk values of originality and individuality leading the way, the Talking Heads were confident in creating one of the oddest, but most beloved sounds of the ’70s and ’80s without fear of judgment or prejudice. The punk mentality of do-it-yourself, make your own rules helped the Talking Heads create a completely original sound.

Another example of punk rock’s mentality planting seeds in young minds to facilitate another bands creativity is apparent in the case of one my personal favorite bands, the Replacements. The lead singer and songwriter Paul Westerberg was “Inspired by the Ramones, the New York Dolls, and the Sex Pistols, he formed a band as soon as he got out of high school.”²² Unlike the Talking Heads, the Replacements weren’t playing music in the 1970s, and are a great example of how punk’s mentality worked its way into the minds of later generations. Influenced by their favorite bands, and the attitude that had come to categorize punk rock, the Replacements displayed this attitude in their music and in their personalities.

Small town Twin Tone Records co-owner and studio engineer turned manager Paul Stark²³ talks about the frustration of dealing with punk rock antics, while trying to get a band to be commercially viable. “A lot of musicians in town wanted that Holy Grail of a major record label; the

²⁰ Prinz, 587.

²¹ Denise Sullivan, *Rip It Up! Rock & Roll Rulebreakers* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2001), 126.

²² Michael Azerrad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life: Scenes from the American Indie Underground, 1981-1991* (Boston: Little, Brown. 2001), 197.

²³ Azerrad, *Our Band Could Be Your Life*, 199.

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Replacements were just pissing on that saying ‘That isn’t what we want, we’re just going to do what we want to do. If we want to get drunk, we’re going to get drunk. If we want to sound like shit, we’re going to sound like shit.’”²⁴ The Replacements truly were carrying on the flag of the punk rock mentality that we don’t care; we’re going to do what we want. Inspired by original punk rock antics they were carrying this disregard for normality onto the next generation, but they were also adding to it, breaking away from the traditional punk sound and lyrics with a new wave of creativity.

Although the Replacements were embracing punk’s “I don’t care” attitude, they were also taking the music somewhere it had never gone before. Paul Westerberg brought his own element of constant adolescent frustration and heartache to the lyrics with a sound to match, while staying true to punk’s fast aggressive sound and feel. It was a heartfelt form of punk that had not yet been discovered. His ability to capture things with a poetically lyrical sense, such as the line referring to “marijuana as ‘a long haired girl shakin’ way past her years’ it’s a reference to getting tired of pot as much as it’s a beautiful metaphor for the obsolescence of hippie culture.”²⁵ Just like the Talking Heads, Paul Westerberg continued to add to the ever-developing attitude and sound of punk, unafraid of failure, and embracing individuality. The Replacements were creative enough to take those punk ideals, apply them to their own abilities, and come up with something completely original.

Punk means so many different things to different people. Matt Miller and Rich Roche, both aging Punk Rockers, familiar with Punk music and culture for decades underwent interviews on the subject. The first question they both encountered was “When I say punk rock, what is the first thing that comes to mind?”²⁶ The response from Matt was “nonjudgmental...ism, sort of, if that would be a word.”²⁷ For Rich the answer was different. “That’s kind of hard cause that’s evolved so much over time...I guess for me personally right now what comes to mind isn’t necessarily a lifestyle, but it’s part of my identity.”²⁸ A huge problem in trying to define punk is the objectivity of its meaning. Punk can be considered both of these things (nonjudgmental, and a form of identity). An important thing to keep in mind is that for both Rich and Matt punk didn’t refer to music. For them it is an identity, a way to act towards

²⁴ Azerrad, 203.

²⁵ Azerrad, 202.

²⁶ Matt Miller, interview.

²⁷ Miller, interview.

²⁸ Rich Roche, interviewed by author, May 7, 2017.

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others, a personality. According to Andy Bennet, sociologist from Brock University in Canada, “rather than setting out to prove one’s punkness through the more dramatic forms of cultural practice associated with younger punks, older punks appear to have reached a stage where punk is viewed as a ‘lifestyle.’”²⁹ According to Matt Miller this wasn’t just the case for older punks, for him, to an extent, punk music was the byproduct of the punk culture and mentality. “It was basically about music, but it really wasn’t...it was more about community, style, fashion, attitude, the music in a lot of ways was almost a byproduct.”³⁰ Whether or not this is true is completely an objective case-by-case basis and is impossible to determine because the culture never existed without the music. The relationship between punk culture and the music can be seen in the form of a very fitting metaphor, the relationship between the two is like a great concert.

It starts with a performer putting all his energy out there on the stage, and after a while the energy blasting through the speakers begins to fuel the crowd. Before long the crowd’s energy levels are getting high, and begin being directed back toward the stage, encouraging the performer, who in turn expends more energy toward the crowd, so on, and so forth. Punk rock culture and punk rock music are almost (and in many ways) exactly like this. They continued to encourage and fuel each other, and contribute qualities to one another, all while sharing a similar mindset.

As punk matured into a mentality that crossed the barriers between music and culture it became influential in many different areas of society. One stigma that has nearly always followed punk has been its less-than-favorable take on politics. This was no doubt a big part of punk rock for Rich Roche, whose favorite punk music era remains in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This was an era when the attitude expressed within punk music for many bands transitioned from being blatantly rebellious to angrily objective. During the 1980s bands like Minor Threat, the Dead Kennedys and Bad Religion were beginning to focus on serious social and political issues, expressing valid educated views through hardcore music. Rich, a highly aware intellectual who is very conscious of government workings, got his first introduction to politics through punk music.

Rich reminisced about the first time he thought critically about politics...“Propagandi too, when I heard them in high school I had never even thought about the political ideas that they were singing about you know and, Propagandi especially, Propagandi was like you know, the

²⁹ Andy Bennett. “Punks Not Dead: The Continuing Significance of Punk Rock for an Older Generation of Fans,” *Sociology* 40, 2 (April 2006): 226.

³⁰ Miller, interview.

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first band to open up the idea of talking about some heavy political shit in music.”³¹ The introduction into serious political and social issues through their music is a common occurrence for many punk rockers. As more and more time has gone by since its creation, punk has come to have strong opinions about many contemporary issues, politics being a staple, and contemporary punk continues to have strong political opinions. There is no doubt that part of the punk mentality and identity in present day has become highly intellectual. “Punk rockers are using their voices to take back the future they perceive as stolen from them by corrupt politicians, greedy businessman and an apathetic materialistic public.”³² The mentality of not excepting norms always was a big part of punk’s social agenda and mentality, but it has come to represent punk as it relates to politics in a big way. In the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s a plethora of politically charged bands hit the scene.

Punk has morphed into a consciously concerned group of citizens that have, according to scientist and educator Dr. Leonisa Ardizzone, “addressed issues of racism, poverty injustice, George Bush, the War in Iraq, USA/Mexico relations, labor politics, and rampant militarism.”³³ The mentality of modern punk rock has become in many respects, intelligent. What was once portrayed as blatant rebels has turned into educated citizens who are truly concerned with the state of things. A trend that began to pick up steam in the late 1980s and has been a constant with the majority of punk bands through present day, legitimate views on politics and the social order of one’s surroundings has become commonplace for the new generation of twenty-first century punks. Perhaps the best example of this development is the life of Bad Religion singer, Greg Graffin.

Greg spent his youth trash-talking religion, labeling it as a corrupt institution with power and money held in higher regard than divine virtues. His lyrics always had an edge of elite intellectual ability in comparison to other punk rock bands’ advocating a cause. As it turns out, his abilities weren’t without merit, and are now being put to good use in a multitude of ways. As noted by the Hollywood reporter, these days Graffin looks less “the punk icon and more the singing college professor.”³⁴ It’s bittersweet to see a revolutionary punk who once wore a leather jacket and screamed into a microphone take the place of a toned down politically correct college professor playing acoustic guitar in a

³¹ Roche, interview.

³² Leonisa Ardizzone, “Yelling and Listening: Youth Culture, Punk Rock, and Power,” *Taboo* 9, no. 2 (2005): 56.

³³ Ardizzone,” 53.

³⁴ Darryl Morden, “Greg Graffin,” *Hollywood Reporter* 22 (2005): 104.

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coffee shop, blowing into a harmonica, but such is the development of punk rock. A PhD professor in life sciences and paleontology at UCLA, Greg Graffin's advocacy of atheism was always apparent, but after a fruitful career as a punk rock artist, Greg's ideals took an even higher priority in his life. Still playing music, but now a professor of evolution, Graffin explains the connection between his area of expertise and his punk rock roots. "The idea with both is that you challenge authority, you challenge the dogma. It's a process of collective discovery. It's debate, its experimentation, and its verification of claims that might be false."³⁵

A perfect example of punk rock in its mature old age, Greg Graffin's life serves as a metaphor for punk rock's evolution from a pesky rebellious teen, into an introverted intellectual concerned mental state. Early in his life it was all about the music, but as he got old the ideals and mental aspects of punk became more important. Now the intellectual side of rebellion, and punk mentality dominate his day-to-day life. Intellectual punks like Greg Graffin now rebel with carefully composed cerebral expression, rather than distorted bar chords and aggressive vocals. The most punk rock thing to me about Greg Graffin's story is that he broke a stereotype, took people by surprise, did what he wanted, and continues to express himself as an individual doing what he wants, motivating his students and others (who are in many cases oblivious to punk) to do the same, which is what punk rock is all about.

As Matt Miller observes regarding media and advertising during his interview, "now I think there's definitely more of a 'you be you' kind of a philosophy about things you know, which I don't think was prevalent before punk rock." He goes on to explain, "there's definitely more of an air of individuality and self-expression now, I mean even if that self-expression and individuality sucks, it's still there."³⁶ Emphasis on individuality is without a doubt a cornerstone of punk ideals. Punk culture finding its way into so many nooks and crannies throughout America is a contributing factor to the degree our society has become accepting of individuals in present day that in previous decades may have been seen as outcasts. In the last half century, the development of punk rock culture that has played a significant role in widening the barriers of acceptance.

Much of punk rock history, and much of the information accumulated for this study stems from oral history. There are flaws in doing a paper largely based on oral history that should be discussed. According to a study analyzing the dominance of oral history in relation

³⁵ David Biello, "Darwin Was a Punk," *Scientific American* 303, no. 5 (2010): 28.

³⁶ Matt Miller, interview.

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to punk rock, Joseph Turrini has found that in the original book of punk's oral history (and a substantial source to my paper) *Please Kill Me*, Legs McNeil estimated he only used between one and five percent of the interviews he came across. Turrini argues because of this McNeil could have shaped the readers impression of punk to be what he wanted it to be.³⁷ However, Turrini also states that part of the reason for this is that punks apply the do-it-yourself attitude to everything including to the creation of their history.³⁸ Phil Elliot (pioneer of a 1990s punk comic) "played in a band doing Pistols covers, and sees definite links between the Do-It-Yourself attitude of punk and the rise of the DIY or 'small press comic.'"³⁹ The creativity and do it yourself attitude that fueled punk music was applied to all aspects of their culture, including literature on the subject. Just like a punk band, writers of punk express their views without regard for their skill level or style. In the spirit of the punk mentality these amateur writers began publishing new creative mediums of historiography.

What started off as a fast version of rock and roll has created an attitude that once was restricted to certain pockets of society, but can now be seen in mainstream culture everywhere from fashion, to art, to lifestyle, to personality, to historiography. No one knew in the early 1970s that individuals unafraid to express themselves, fueled by the desire to play their own version of rock and roll music, would create such a monumental movement.

Never before in history has mainstream society placed such importance on acceptance of those who are different. It now strives to embrace individuality while opposing conformity. It is these ideals that originally caused punks to create not only their own sound, but conceive their own culture that provided a home for those at odds with the mainstream. These idealistic seeds of individualism planted long ago have come to bear the fruit of acceptance in today's society. Punk rock music inspired an attitude, a mentality, and an ethos for life based on the importance of individuality, doing things yourself, and disregarding the influence of mainstream society. Punk rock now is represented by this mentality through the individuals who hold these ideals sacred. Facilitated by punk rock music and culture, punk has become a mentality that has proven influential on mainstream culture in present day.

³⁷ Joseph M. Turrini, "Well I Don't Care About History: Oral History and the Making of Collective Memory in Punk Rock," *Notes* 70, no. 1 (September 2013): 67.

³⁸ Turrini, 67.

³⁹ Roger Sabin, *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk* (London, US: Routledge, 1999),110.

THE GRACCHI: CATALYSTS OF THE COLLAPSE OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

By Randy Utz

When Julius Caesar marched his army across the Rubicon River in 49 BCE his actions proved to be the catalyst for a series of civil wars that the Roman Republic would not survive. His adopted son, Augustus, in his autobiographical account of his accomplishments, claimed that he “transferred the Republic from [his] own control to the will of the Senate and the Roman people,” but everyone knew that the real power in Rome belonged to his heirs.¹ However, Caesar and Augustus were simply the culmination of a process that had begun roughly a century earlier with the careers of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. Tiberius was born in 168 BCE and was the older of the two brothers by eight years. Their father, Tiberius Gracchus the Elder, was a plebian and a successful politician having risen to the rank of consul twice. He was married to Cornelia Africana, daughter of the famous Scipio Africanus. The Gracchi Brothers became the champions of the poor citizens of Rome and by doing so introduced the corrosive elements that later Romans capitalized on in their quests for power. The use of populism to gain power, abandonment of the traditional aspects of Roman culture known as the *mos maiorum*, and the introduction of violence into domestic Roman politics would all provide powerful generals like Marius, Sulla, and Caesar with a pathway to power and ultimately collapse the Roman Republic.

Unlike previous Roman politicians, the Gracchi brothers appealed to the common people of Rome for their legitimacy. This populism proved cancerous for the Republic as it provided a road map that future generations would exploit and ultimately lead to civil war and collapse. Rome was going through a land crisis at the time of the Gracchi. The long wars of conquest had called many farmers away from their farms for years causing them to fall into neglect and ruin. These farmers turned to the State for help, and even though Rome now found itself in control of large amounts of land that was supposed to be held publicly, called the *ager publicus*, the farmers found no help from the Senate. Instead large swaths of this so called public land came under the control of the elite who used the land as if it were their own personal property rather than land meant to be used for the public good.² These large landholdings were known as *latifundia* and they prevented poor Romans, especially the soldiers who helped acquire the empire, from providing for

¹ Augustus, *Res gestae Divi Augusti* (Milano: A. Giuffrè Milano, 1968), 34.

² K.D. White, “Latifundia,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 14, no. 1 (1967): 62-67.

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themselves and their families. Into this situation stepped the Gracchi.

Beginning with Tiberius in 134-133 BC, the Gracchi brothers argued for major economic and social reforms. Tiberius proposed a land reform bill, the *Lex Sempronia Agraria*, which would cap the amount of public land a person could control. It would also set up a commission, which would reacquire land from people who were found holding more than this cap, and redistribute it to the poorer Romans.³ Tiberius laid out his platform in a speech before the popular assembly where he said, "The wild beasts that roam over Italy have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children."⁴ His brother Gaius would go even further to drive this populist movement.

Gaius rose to tribune a decade after his brother's death at the hands of the Senate and he came with an even more radical populist agenda and would go even further in his use of the popular assembly as a base of power. Tiberius proposed laws that reformed the judicial system, provided Rome with grain sold at subsidized prices, and even wanted to extend voting rights to all Italians (though the assembly rejected this last reform). As a symbolic maneuver to show that for Gaius power rested with the people, he physically changed how speeches from the Rostra were given. Traditionally speakers had turned their heads to face the Senate house when giving a speech, but Tiberius instead turned his head to face the Roman Forum and Popular Assembly.⁵ For the Gracchi it was the people of Rome who held the true power. Both brothers were murdered for their attempts to stand for office after their legal term limits. Tiberius was killed after standing for a second election for tribune, while Gaius succeeded in winning a second election only to be killed trying to win a third time. Despite this they had shown that by appealing directly to the people an ambitious Roman could rise to prominence in Roman politics. The Gracchi used a combination of populist rhetoric and appeals to the people's own self-interest to form a large coalition. Peasants got their desired land reform, the urban poor and public merchants received legal and electoral reforms, and ambitious nobles were attracted by the idea of striking at the entrenched powers of the Senate. According to historian Mike Duncan, these same demographic groups made up the Caesarian coalition and Julius Caesar

³ Mike Duncan, *The Storm Before the Storm* (New York City: PublicAffairs, 2017), 24-25.

⁴ Plutarch. 2017. "Lives. Tiberius And Gaius Gracchus." Digital Loeb Classical Library. Accessed October 23. doi:10.4159/dlcl.plutarch-lives_tiberius_gaius_gracchus.1921.

⁵ Duncan, *The Storm Before the Storm*, 60.

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“would be able to harness these powers to finally destroy the senatorial aristocracy.”⁶

The Roman Senate spent the next few decades trying to clamp down on the populist movement, but their attempts were unsuccessful. In 107 BCE Gaius Marius was elected consul for the first time. Thanks to his popularity among his army it would not be his last consulship. Marius instituted economic and military reforms that followed in the spirit of the reforms of the Gracchi. His most impactful reform was the elimination of the property requirements for entry into the legions. This meant that poor Romans who could no longer provide for themselves on a farm could now make a living in the legions. While this alleviated some of the burden on the plebeians, it also had the side effect of causing legionaries to now be loyal to the general who could provide the most land and plunder, rather than to Rome itself.

Like the Gracchi, Marius too saw the problems caused by the latifundia. To solve this, he created a policy that would see the *ager publicus* distributed to soldiers at the end of their terms of service. All of this meant that Marius would be able to ride his popularity among the armies to an unprecedented seven consulships. This was possible because once the rules surrounding consecutively holding public office had been breached, historian Richard Evans claims it became “easier to set the law aside for a second time, or indeed for as many times as were necessary.”⁷ This popularity would even allow him to raise a private army to march on Rome, which itself sparked a civil war between him and the general Sulla. Like the Gracchi, Marius had demonstrated that if you leaned on the power of the masses you could achieve unprecedented levels of power. The popularity of Marius took the Republic one step closer to civil war and collapse. According to historian P.A. Brunt, the followers of the Gracchi had been unarmed and unorganized and because of this they “could save neither their leaders nor their own interests; men of the same class, with arms in their hands, were the essential instruments for bringing down the Republic” because now they could fight for their leaders.⁸

The greatest danger came from Marius’s son in law, though. This person was Julius Caesar and he learned all the wrong lessons from the careers of the Gracchi and Marius and in the end, it would spell doom for the Republic. Caesar won election to the consulship in a famously

⁶ Duncan, 60.

⁷ Richard J. Evans, “Gaius Marius: A Political Biography,” *Classical Association of South Africa* 38 (1995): 101.

⁸ P.A. Brunt, “The Army and the Land in the Roman Revolution,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 52 (1962): 69.

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corrupt election. After his victory, his first action was to institute land reform aimed at satisfying his ally Pompey's troops shoring up their popular support and allowing them, along with Marcus Crassus, to secure the military appointments they desired. Caesar would be sent to Gaul where over the course of eight years he would subjugate the entire province securing vast amounts of wealth for himself and his soldiers. This success inspired a level of loyalty from his troops that allowed him to refuse the Senate's demand that he disband his armies, and instead, he turned his armies towards Rome. British historian Adrian Goldsworthy claims that when Pompey and the Senate attempted to raise a force to oppose this move they found that "the cause against Caesar had little popular appeal" in large part because Caesar had been generous to many of the communities around Italy.⁹ For the first time in Rome's history, the Senate found itself ejected not just from Rome, but from all of Italy.

A subtler cause of collapse introduced by the Gracchi was the abandonment of what the Romans called the *mos maiorum*, or way of the elders. The Romans were a deeply conservative society that was centered on the precedents set by earlier generations and steadfastly resisted change. This adherence to the *mos maiorum* affected the Romans in all realms of life from politics and religion to family and social interactions. For example, Roman institutions, such as the Vestal Virgins, often had origins that went back to the first days, or even predated the founding of Rome, and lasted for centuries even after the collapse of the Republic. The Gracchi were the first Roman politicians to really abandon the *mos maiorum*.

The first time was when Tiberius decided to pass over senatorial approval for his *Lex Agraria* and appealed directly to the popular assembly. Tiberius knew that the Senate would oppose his land reforms and that only tradition said he must present his bill to the Senate before then seeking approval from the Assembly.¹⁰ Instead, he decided to skip the Senate and introduce his *Lex Agraria* directly to the Popular Assembly. This outraged the Senate, so they recruited another tribune, Marcus Octavius, to veto the reading of the bill before the assembly could vote on it. Traditionally when a tribune vetoed a bill that veto would be withdrawn if it was shown to be extremely popular. After Octavius refused to withdraw his veto Tiberius resorted to vetoing everything and bringing all public business to a halt across the city.¹¹ The brothers also went against tradition when they decided to stand for the

⁹ Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 388.

¹⁰ Duncan, *The Storm Before the Storm*, 27.

¹¹ Duncan, 29-30.

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tribunate multiple times, thereby creating the precedent for later Romans to ignore term limits as well.

Nearly all the generals of the late Republic abandoned the way of the elders. Even Sulla, who was conservative and was attempting to stem the populist tide stirred up by Marius, took the unprecedented step of marching his army on the city of Rome and capturing it by force. Both Marius and Sulla held the consulship multiple times, something not seen previously and following in the steps of the Gracchi's multiple tribunates. Caesar and Sulla would be given exceptionally long dictatorships, with Caesar's being granted in perpetuity. The office of the dictator was a legal office granted to Romans in times of extreme danger. The office expired when the crisis was over or after six months. Earlier generations of Romans had venerated heroes like Cincinnatus, who had twice been selected as dictator and both times solved the crisis and laid down power in mere weeks, but by the time of the collapse of the Republic this tradition had been abandoned as generals jockeyed for power.

The last, and probably most corrosive, impact of the Gracchi brothers on the collapse of the Republic was the introduction of violence into Roman politics. Now the Romans were an extremely war like society and waged war nearly annually for most of its history. But this violence usually targeted external enemies. First Rome subjugated the rest of Italy then they spread out throughout the Mediterranean conquering the inhabitants as they went. This violence turned internal when Tiberius Gracchus was beaten to death in the Roman Forum. These crises of the Gracchi Brothers were the first time a political dispute had ended with a Roman killing another Roman¹²

Prior to the Gracchi Brothers political strife had never turned violent in Rome. For two hundred years, from 494 BCE to 287 BCE, Rome was caught up in what has become known as the Conflict of the Orders. The conflict is one where the plebian class struggled against economic and political inequalities established by the patricians in the early days of the Republic. According to Roman tradition, when the Republic was first founded the plebian class was barred from holding public office. In what might be one of the first general strikes in history, the Roman plebeians decided to protest this inequality by withdrawing to a nearby mountain. This brought the city to a halt and, more importantly, left the city nearly

¹² Charles Rollin and Jean Baptiste Louis Crevier, *The Roman History from The Foundation of Rome to the Battle of Actium: That is, to the End of the Commonwealth. By Mr. Rollin, Translated from the French. In Ten Volumes* (London: Printed for J. Rivington, R. Baldwin, Hawes Clarke and Collins, R. Horsefield, W. Johnston [and 7 others in London] 1786), 3.

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defenseless as at this time the Roman military was still a citizen's militia. This tactic worked, and the patricians capitulated to their demands creating the office of Tribune of the Plebs. Over the next two centuries other political problems would arise, such as a ban on patrician-plebeian marriage and bans on other public offices, and the plebeians would use this tactic each time. The plebeians had found a way to achieve their political aims without resorting to violence.

By killing the Gracchi and their supporters the Romans had demonstrated their ability for political violence, though it was still fairly limited. This changed during the civil wars of Marius and Sulla. In this conflict whole Roman armies launched themselves against each other leading to the deaths of untold thousands of Romans. Both Sulla and Marius also led armies in capturing the city of Rome itself, with Marius's army showing particular brutality. Off the field of battle the Romans were no less brutal. The proscriptions and assassinations of political enemies by the Marian and Sullan factions would see thousands of Romans killed and their property confiscated. Sulla's proscriptions alone claimed the lives of nearly 5,000 people officially, with an unknown number being killed in secret and personal vendettas.¹³

The precedent set in the reaction by the Senate to the reforms of the Gracchi Brothers had culminated in regular Roman on Roman violence. The succeeding generation would build upon this growing level of violence and decades of the strain of civil war would finally cause the collapse of the Republic and usher in the Imperial age.

In 58 BCE a popular tribune named Publius Clodius Pulcher used a combination of populism, such as establishing the free grain dole, and violence, through organized gangs who attacked political rivals, to embark upon one of the most ambitious reform platforms in Roman history, while also marginalizing political opponents of the First Triumvirate. Clodius even went so far as to change his name from the original and aristocratic spelling of his name, Claudius, to the vulgar spelling that even his children rejected, Clodius. Changing the official spelling shows his desire to be associated with the plebeian class.¹⁴ After his relationship with Pompey turned sour, Clodius was murdered by rival politicians who had raised up their own street gang in 52 BC. His would not be the last assassination to hit the Roman Republic.

When the First Triumvirate fell apart Caesar lost the senatorial protection that Pompey had been providing him. The Senate soon ordered him to stand down his army and return to Rome, but Caesar

¹³ A.H. Beesley, *The Gracchi Marius and Sulla*, (Charleston, SC: Bibliolife, 2006), 192.

¹⁴ Andrew M. Riggsby, "Clodius / Claudius," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 51, no. 1 (2002): 120.

The Gracchi

refused. Instead he followed the examples of Sulla and Marius and marched his army on Rome. Caesar would win the ensuing civil war and in doing so ensure his own demise as senators, fearful of his new-found power, assassinated him on the floor of the Senate house in 44 BC. This action was taken to save the Republic but would instead bring to power the man who would signify its death. Augustus was able to use the chaos of civil war to first secure power shared with two of Caesar's generals and then to take power from them. By the end of these wars the people of Rome were willing to allow a single man to hold sole power in Rome if he could establish peace. In fact, when Augustus returned home after the civil wars he was received by a cheering and welcoming population. When he finally returned to Rome, the people flocked to cheer his arrival showing just how popular the young Caesar had really become.¹⁵

While neither Gracchi Brother wanted to overthrow the Republic, at least as far as we know, their choices, and the responses to those choices, would cause the foundation of the Roman Republic to begin to crack. They used populist rhetoric and advocated for popular causes, such as land reform and subsidized grain, as a way to shore up their power base and show ambitious Romans that they could secure power through unconventional measures. When Tiberius decided to skip the Senate and take the *Lex Agraria* straight to the Popular Assembly he violated no law, but he did violate something that was much more integral to Roman societal cohesion. The extremely conservative Romans may not have even noticed it yet, but they were no longer following the "way of the elders." Finally, their actions caused the first introduction of domestic political violence in Rome. When Tiberius and his 300 supporters were beaten to death they were the first Romans killed by other Romans since the kings had been ejected and the Republic established. Sadly, for the people of Rome they would not be the last as untold amounts of Romans died over the next few decades due to nearly continuous civil war.

¹⁵ Adrian Goldsworthy, *Augustus: First Emperor of Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 211-212.

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ENVIRONMENTAL DOWNFALL IN ANCIENT GREECE

By Shane Glover

In recent years environmental change has been a hot topic around the world, with rising temperatures, melting glaciers, water scarcity, and the exhaustion of natural resources. This unfortunately, is nothing new, with a wide range of examples from the ancient world. Ancient Greece saw these problems arise as their empire expanded, which caused the depletion of natural resources due to huge demand by a growing population. The Greeks wanting to expand to more areas to gain influential power over the Greek domain. The only problem was that they neglected the environmental infrastructure that their quick expansion would demand. Many parallels can be drawn between the environmental factors that damaged the political and economic stability of the ancient Greeks, and the similar environmental issues that plague our society in present day. Ancients Greece's environmental damage was deep-seated in bad agricultural techniques, deforestation, and population issues, which contributed to their eventual downfall.

To sustain a population, an economy, and power in politics, Greece's agriculture had to take center stage, if not, chaos and demise would soon follow. To the ancient Greeks, agriculture was by far the most important duty in Greek culture. Farming was so important that the Greeks would stop fighting in spring and summer to go farm; they would resume the fighting in the fall and winter seasons. The problems started to arise within the agricultural community, this was due to yielding, population, and erosion issues. Donald Hughes, a distinguished University Professor and an environmental history researcher, describes the issues with agriculture by saying, "The most limiting factor is light rainfall...with high rate of evaporation that prevails in the summer...precipitation is extremely variable...making dry farming a chancy enterprise."¹ The year-by-year deviation of the climate weakened the potential yield of crops. Though this was not done by human hands it was still an environmental issue that needed to be added to the bigger issue of Greece's eventual downfall. The potential damage this could have caused the Greeks was that in times of true need of food, the soil was too dry to produce a high yield of crops. This in turn would cause people to leave the city states and relocate to areas where famine was not an issue. Fewer people in a city-state meant less money for a government to function.

The climate, along with the Greeks' continued need to plow the land,

¹ Hughes, J. Donald. *Pans travail environmental problems of the ancient Greeks and Romans*. (Brantford, Ont.: W. Ross MacDonald School Resource Services Library, 2007), 137.

Environmental Downfall in Ancient Greece

directly affected the farmable soil. Difficult climates gave rise to a particularly harmful problem for farmers: soil erosion. The beginning of soil erosion started at the beginning of the Greek classical period, which was around 500 B.C. Plato pondered this dilemma in his short-written dialogue called *Critias*, “during all this time and through so many changes, there has been a considerable accumulation of the soil coming down from the mountains...but the earth has fallen away all round and sunk out of sight. The consequence is...there are remaining only the bones of the wasted body...all the richer and softer parts of the soil having fallen away, and the mere skeleton of the land being left.”² Plato who was considered one of the great Greek philosophers recognized the dangers of mistreatment of the land. If the Greeks considered themselves knowledgeable of the soil around them, they consistently only worked one way with the soil. They made leaps and bounds in politics and the structure of society, but they did not want to revolutionize their agricultural practices. The basis of their economy was food, since it was a huge necessity for their migration and establishing new city states. With the decline of farmable land came the decline of stability in the region. Other nations saw this as a weakness and it was only a matter of time before a rival nation took advantage of Greece’s instability.

Soil erosion was a huge problem in Greece that was aggravated by human actions. In the journal article, “Environmental Degradation in Ancient Greece,” Curtis N. Runnels, Professor of Archaeology, further validates the point by saying, “The variation in timing therefore points to a human role. Clearing natural vegetation from the slopes, which was necessary to bring them under cultivation and to open them for grazing by sheep and goats, made the soil unstable and thereby triggered extensive and permanent erosion.”³ Soil erosion was traced as far back as the late Bronze Age (1200 B.C). The Greeks did not see the extent of the damage early on, when their one-track ideology of expansion caused them to be unsustainable. This permanent erosion caused damage for any generation that settled in Greece. The Greeks saw what was happening to the land and chose to spend on lavish designs on buildings and sculpted beautiful pots, all at the cost of the environment. With an economy so dependent on farming it would make sense to invest in better ways to produce more yields or have a better understanding of agriculture. These founding fathers of democracy failed to recognize their earlier implementation of ostracism. Politicians should have voted themselves out, for not understanding that without taking care of the farmers and

² Plato. *Critias*. (Orem, UT: Western Standard Publishing Company, 2013), 17.

³ Curtis N. Runnels, "Environmental Degradation in Ancient Greece." *Scientific American* 272, no. 3 (1995): 98.

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farmland there was no democracy.

Agricultural malpractices played a part in the Macedonian takeover of the Greeks in 338 B.C, but it did not hurt the Grecian economy and the environment as much as deforestation. Deforestation could have happened for several reasons, including clearing the land for agriculture and wood. Wood was an integral part to Greek society as it was used in nearly everything. It was used as structural placements for building, the Athenians' massive fleet, and the main source of energy for the empire. Again, in Plato's *Critias* he mentions how the woods were disappearing, "Phelleus were full of rich earth, and there was abundance of woods in the mountains...for although some of the mountains now only afford sustenance to bees, not long ago there were still to be seen roofs of timber cut from trees growing there... cultivated by man and bearing abundance of food for cattle."⁴ Plato was reminiscing on his hometown that was covered in all the resources possible to sustain life. He only saw what was happening on the surface but did not take a deeper look into the consequences of what was really happening. Population was getting bigger, so more wood was needed to make houses. Shelter and safety are important factors in almost any society. Clearly, he was seeing the effects of deforestation in his native area. The beauty of the area was lost. Soil erosion did not truly come around until deforestation was mass implemented to supply the growing empire.

In the journal article, "Historical Perspectives on Sustainable Development," Clive Ponting a writer and academic on world history explains, "The hills of Attica were stripped bare of trees within a couple of generations, by 590 B.C.E., the great reformer of the constitution, Solon, was arguing in Athens for the ban of cultivation on the steep slopes because of the soil being lost."⁵ The clearing of trees formed a direct correlation with the use of fuel by the ever-growing population. The trees provided charcoal for the people, so they could cook the food. It provided the essentials for heating a home or the basics of providing light. Trees and resources started to become crucial to the economy and stability of Greece. This gave way to the production of armies, so a government could control areas of resources or take the resources from enemies. Without adequate supplies of wood, weapons, ships, and buildings could not be produced making a government unable to defend itself. If Greece could not defend itself, then enemies like the Persian and Roman empires could be waiting to take over. It turned out that is exactly what they did. Timber was essential to every war that Ancient Greece

⁴ Plato, *Critias*, 17.

⁵ Clive Ponting, "Historical Perspectives on Sustainable Development." *Environment: Science and Policy for Sustainable Development* 32, no. 9 (1990): 8.

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was a part of. In fact, “In the Peloponnesian War, one of Athens’s main purposes in launching the Sicilian Campaign was to conquer a source of shipbuilding timber.”⁶ The trees and timber provided material for various supplemental and strategic purposes. Including machinery, fortifications, and fuel, “it was clear that warfare was continually affected by timber supply, and in turn was a major force in the process of deforestation.”⁶ The Greek war machine may have been small, but it was still a feared force for any nation that knew about the Greeks. The force was only truly unstoppable if it had an abundant supply of wood. When wars are fought, both sides are trying to be strategic in their attack and defense. However, they were not always strategic in their use of wood, when all they did was use as much wood as possible to win. They did not think of what Greece would be like after the war. In Greece, the quality of wood was not the highest quality wood and was highly unpredictable in terms of durability.

In “Greek Thought and Forest Science,” author Heinrich Rubner explains the type of wood you might find throughout Greece, “First one must consider that the grade of the deciduous oak forests in Greece was already badly degraded through clearing and grazing, and produced few sizable timbers, and besides in the case of the oak species available there it is very hard to make distinctions regarding wood quality.”⁷ The Greeks wanted to expand to acquire power but their destruction of the land made them much weaker. They knew what was happening to the land when they decided to take forest down. They ignored this because they thought their demand was too great to worry about the quality and security of the resource. The fact that a resource was available does not mean it should be over used to no end. Mother nature has a habit of resetting itself if need be, and in the case of the Greeks, it destroyed their political stronghold in the Mediterranean area. Another important factor towards the deforestation and downfall of Greece had to do with their decision to over domesticate animals.

The main animals they used were pigs, cattle, goats, and sheep. These animals were particularly destructive to the environment and again the Greeks did not realize the potential harm that came with having a bunch of animals. These animals required resources and energy to raise. John Humphrey, a professor, scholar of the ancient Greek world, and author of *Ancient Technology*, described the relationship between humans and animals, “like cultivated plants, animals have become

⁶ Donald J. Hughes, *Environmental Problems of the Greeks and Romans: Ecology in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 70.

⁷ H. Rubner, “Greek Thought and Forest Science,” *Environmental History Review* 9, no. 4 (1985): 287.

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largely dependent on humans for survival...Greek farms supported almost all of the animals that are used today.”⁸ Animals were important to society, but only to a certain extent. They must be accounted for like humans because they require resources like humans. Replacing some animals with humans could have greatly helped the government and put less strain on the environment. If there had been fewer animals grazing and eating all the natural vegetation on the land, there would have been more roots to hold up the soil and more trees that did not have to be cut down to make room for the domestication of these animals. They would not have had to cut the trees in order to create grass. Instead they paid humans to do the job, which should have increased productivity and efficiency. With the money people could afford to invent or get educated. They would not have had to feed as many animals, and this could have in turn helped them spread out to make a stronger domain. Instead, they focused solely on getting rich.

The most detrimental action to the Greek environment was the overpopulation of Greece itself. They were trying to become a super power in the world but failed to realize they lacked the infrastructure to do so. These population issues gave rise to huge demands and the resources to meet those demands. In the book, *An Environmental History of Ancient Greece and Rome*, by Lukas Thommen a professor on Hellenic studies, states, “the Greeks...were driven both by such crises as population growth, scarcity of farmland, the fragmentation of holdings and political disputes, and by eagerness to discover new geographical areas and peoples.”⁹ While genuine curiosity and ambition were strong reasons for Greek migration, other reasons included problems surrounding scarcity and depletion of natural resources. When coupled with political discourse, this forced the Greeks to find new ways to survive. Since Greece was so successful and powerful, inward migration increased and multiplied the population. Unfortunately, the climate, careless farming techniques, and neglect for environmental policy caused a strong depletion of the already strained food and natural resource supply. This weakened the people and state alike, forcing many to resettle their lives elsewhere. While political development, wars, and expansion were the top priorities, the problem of overpopulation was ignored until it was too late. The point was further cemented in the journal article, “The Greek Demographic Expansion: Models and Comparisons,” by Walter Scheidel a professor at Stanford and researcher

⁸ John William Humphrey, *Ancient technology* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 22.

⁹ Lukas Thommen, *An environmental history of ancient Greece and Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 22.

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of ancient social and economic history, who says, "At most, latent 'overpopulation' might arguably be diagnosed in cases in which population densities close to current saturation levels rendered a community perilously exposed to minor and temporary resource deficits."¹⁰ Simply the Greeks could not handle such a huge population due to temporary deficits and long-term deficits.

The Greeks' main necessity came from expansion of its people. The goal was to acquire mass amount of wealth and resources to be given to the parent state whether it be Athens or Sparta. These two city-states are by far the most popular and powerful Greek states. Organization was difficult and demand for that population was extremely high. Philosophers saw this as a problem to the social world and even pondered the idea of sustainability for a population. The journal article, "Keeping the Balance: Ancient Greek Philosophical Concerns with Population and Environment," written by Richard Harrow Feen a researcher at Marquette, gives an excerpt written by Aristotle, "Aristotle's concern with overpopulation is more than tied to his concern with poverty and the resulting political conflict...Aristotle concludes that the 'optimum standard of population was, in a sentence, the greatest surveyable number required for achieving a life of self-sufficiency.'"¹¹ A city-state should only have a population on which it can sustain itself efficiently. Written by another great Greek philosopher and yet ignored in the ancient world. It was often viewed that governments should have more people to be effective and be able to go to war. This ideology has been flawed and proven wrong plenty of times. It has been proven in Greek history when the Greeks were able to drive back the huge army of the Persians. The Greeks themselves were amazed by the huge upset victory. The victory was due to strategic placement and efficiency. With efficiency being the focal point of the Greeks, it's not hard to ponder the environmental effects of a spread-out city-state.

There will be lower need to over grow on the land and less strain due to malpractices of agriculture. The demand for wood, which was the building blocks for the Greek nation, would be better suited to fit smaller populations that do not need to overuse it. With less food to be grown the need for animals would not be so great, which in turns means less to grow for the animals. The fewer animals the less they overgraze, which means the forest can stay intact and better-quality wood can be produced. Wars would not be so open due to the stability of resources and a better

¹⁰ Walter Scheidel, "The Greek demographic expansion: models and comparisons," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 123 (2003): 121.

¹¹ Richard Harrow Feen, "Keeping the balance: Ancient Greek philosophical concerns with population and environment," *Population and Environment* 17, no. 6 (1996): 455.

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spread of populations throughout. The fewer wars Greece had the less wood they needed to build the ships. The less Greece must spend on wars and buying resources the more stable Greece could have become. With overpopulation being the main point of environmental damage it's easy to see why so many problems can be derived from the topic of overpopulation. This was all so important because with fewer people fighting and dying over resources, the longer Greece could have stayed in power and not be dominated by its neighbors.

Greece was and will always be considered one of the most successful and important civilizations in human history. Their creation of democracy and impressive reach continues to resonate through our own present-day society. However, it should not be ignored that we are failing in many ways that the ancient Greeks did as well. Our neglect of issues such as climate change, scarcity of food and natural resources, fixation on war and dominion, and ever-present overpopulation will be the cause of the demise of modern empires. While a lot of damage has been done, we still have time to learn from this great civilization and build the adequate infrastructure that was needed to support an increasing population and extreme climate change patterns. Investing the right amount of time and resources into agricultural innovation, environmental protection initiatives, and general education around the effects of overpopulation are all things that should have been considered then, and we should consider and discuss them now. Having a strong government and army are undeniably important attributes to a powerful country, but there is nothing to govern or protect when powerful societies succumb to environmental downfalls.

JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO AMERICA AFTER WORLD WAR II

By Ivana Kurak

This is Your Life was a popular American live television show that ran from 1952 to 1961. Guests with extraordinary life experience were chosen then presented with a retrospective of their lives. The audience witnessed the guest's life play out through interviews, appearances by friends, family, and other participants. *This is Your Life* most famously had Kiyoshi Tanimoto a survivor from the atomic attacks in Japan along with his surprise guest Captain Robert Lewis co-pilot of the Enola Gay.

In 1953, eight years after World War II, the host of the show as well as the topic of the evening's program surprised Hanna Bloch Kohner. Kohner, originally from Czechoslovakia, gave American viewers a rare insight into what the Eastern European Jewish population had to face during Nazi reign (one must keep in mind the events of the Holocaust were not well known by the general public). Kohner fled Czechoslovakia for Amsterdam where she was apprehended and sent to three different concentration camps. Kohner and her brother who she had not seen since the start of the war were both at Auschwitz at the same time but were unable to contact each other. After the war Kohner moved to the United States while her brother ended up practicing medicine in Israel. On *This is Your Life* the host surprised Kohner with one last surprise guest. The show flew her brother to America from Israel and reunited the siblings.

When Hanna Bloch Kohner and her brother appeared on *This is Your Life* in 1953 they were representative of the transnational dialogue and narrative of accepted whiteness in America. They were also emblematic of the Jewish communities in America and Israel and a larger global dialogue about Jewish identity after World War II. Immigration scholarship tends to focus on the first wave of Jewish immigration in the early twentieth century when Jews in America were shown the most enmity. How did American perceptions of Jewish immigration change after World War II? Intermarriage and secularization were biological and social factors that allowed the mainstream public to accept Jewish immigrants as white. Jewish immigration aligned with the American government's foreign agenda of having Israel as a potential ally in the Middle East. Moreover, Israel provided a contingency in case immigration to America was not successful.

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Jewish Immigration Pre-World War II: Anti-Semitism and Restrictions

Post WWII the Jewish people had several options for where to relocate. Despite European ancestry Jewish people were not considered homogeneous with the rest of the European population. They could stay in Europe and attempt to rebuild, but as noted by the historian Aaron Berman, “The war left Europe’s economy in ruins and many Jewish survivors found it difficult to support them.”¹ The Jewish population faced many struggles. All of their money and belongings were often gone. Survivors would return to their homes being occupied thus forced away again. Some faced continued anti-Semitism. In one case in Poland a mob murdered forty-one Jewish refugees after they had been falsely accused of killing Christian children.² Many Jews such as Hanna Bloch Kohner decided to move to America. Leading up to World War II there had been strong anti-Semitic feelings in the United States. For example, in 1939 President Franklin Roosevelt did not allow the *MS St. Louis*, which was caring Jewish refugees, to dock in America. These refugees instead had to return to Europe and face Adolf Hitler’s concentration camps.

After the war Jewish immigrants encountered a hesitant administration. President Truman was facing a potentially expensive refugee crisis. Congress continued to want to restrict immigration, and as sociologist Paul Ritterband explains, “many Americans expected a dramatic increase in the unemployment rates as discharged soldiers attempted to re-enter an economy making the difficult adjustment to peacetime. The massive influx of DPs would only intensify the competition of jobs.”³ The Jewish population in America put pressure on Truman to support Jewish land development in Palestine but Truman worried that this would undermine his relationship with Britain who still had imperialist interests in the area. If America supported the proposed nation of Israel, then it could solve the refugee problem cheaply by sending Jews to the Middle East instead of America.

Historiography: Scholars Examine Post War Jewish Immigration

There is a wealth of scholarship on Jewish immigration at the beginning of the twentieth century, but little focuses on Jewish

¹ Aaron Berman, *Nazism, the Jews, and American Zionism, 1933-1948* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1990), 155.

² Berman, 155.

³ Berman, 155.

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immigration after World War II. The previously mentioned Aaron Berman holds a PhD in History from Columbia University, he wrote *Nazism the Jews and American Zionism: 1933-1948* in 1990.⁴ This book contains an in-depth background and timeline of the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine from the region's times under the British mandate up through post World War II. Berman makes an argument that Jewish people first sought refuge in the Middle East during the war and the British government attempted to block and denied them access. Jews then attempted to relocate to America where they faced opposition. Berman brings his focus back to American Jewish immigration in his discussion of the Truman administration's handling of immigrants. For his primary sources he uses the Truman Family Correspondence. Berman also looks in depth at the role Jewish people played in the American political parties and subsequently which parties backed Jewish immigration noting that, "Unlike many of their compatriots, American liberals seemed to be particularly sensitive to the 'Jewish problem.'"⁵

The Americanization of the Jews, published in 1995, is a collection of essays edited by Robert M. Seltzer and Norman J. Cohen. For this research I will be focusing on the chapter entitled "Modern Times and Jewish Assimilation" by Paul Ritterband who is a professor of sociology and Jewish studies at the City University of New York. Ritterband focuses on Israeli migration to the United States and is editor of *Modern Jewish Fertility* and *Contemporary Jewish Philanthropy*. Unlike Berman, Ritterband focuses on the cultural aspects of the Jewish population in America that made assimilation achievable. He does not directly compare this assimilation to the concept of "whiteness," but this concept is apparent throughout. Ritterband argues that the Jewish population in America was able to assimilate by adopting practices of secularization, which won over the rest of the American population. Ritterband states, "They [Jews] will engage in episodic acts of 'symbolic ethnicity' rather than a sustaining regiment of life. Jewish self-definition is that of a religious group, but few Jews are believers in any significant way."⁶ Ritterband also chose not to discuss specific political regulations that prohibited Jewish immigration.

Karen Brodtkin is a professor of Anthropology at UCLA whose focuses on social movements, migration, and gender in North American cultures. Her 1998 book *How Jews Became White Folks and What That*

⁴ Berman, *Nazism, the Jews, and American Zionism*.

⁵ Berman, 135.

⁶ Paul Ritterband, "Modern Times and Jewish Assimilation," in *The Americanization of the Jews*, ed. Robert M. Seltzer and Norman J. Cohen (New York: New York University Press, 1995), 377-394.

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Says about Race covers the changing idea of ethnicity and whiteness for Jewish Americans.⁷ Brodtkin is an example of an author who has combined the subject matter of Berman and Ritterband by blending immigration history and the idea of assimilation. Brodtkin is covering this subject from an anthropological point of view and asks what Jewish American identity is. This work is part historical part comparative studies of whiteness in America. She charts the development of how Americans originally considered the Jew one of the “others,” separate from whites, to being Jewish and white, and then finally to being embraced as a white. Over time, their Jewish ethnicity completely disappeared in the eyes of American culture.

In her analysis Brodtkin compares Jewish ethnic experiences to African American experiences in order to provide a greater understanding of mainstream America’s perception of what citizenship meant. Brodtkin argues that government regulations helped push the Jewish people into limited industries that banded them together. Those involved in the film and garment industries for example became particularly successful. After World War II government programs became open to the Jewish population and they assimilated into the white middle class with ease. On the other hand, African Americans continued to have their citizen’s rights disregarded. Brodtkin suggests public discourse has been shaped by what she sees as an enduring “core constitutive myth,” which is the idea that the American nation is composed of only white men and women. In this myth, the alternatives available to nonwhite and variously alien “others” has been either to whiten themselves or to be consigned to an animal-like, ungendered underclass unit to exercise the prerogatives of citizenship.⁸

These authors tackle the subject of Jewish immigration in the United States through different academic disciplines. The general consensus among scholars is that Jewish immigrants had been successful in their assimilation into American culture due to the Jewish population’s inclusion in America’s “whiteness.”

“Whiteness”

Intermarriage and secularization were biological and social factors that allowed the mainstream public to accept Jewish immigrants as white. Truman signed the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 that allowed Jewish immigrants into the United States. Before World War II Jewish

⁷ Karen Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

⁸ Brodtkin, 24.

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people had lived in close proximity to each other keeping the residents interacting with primarily other Jewish people. With the post war economic boom, “All Jews benefitted from the decline in racial and religious discrimination and the resulting expansion of educational and occupational opportunities.”⁹ Armed with economic prospects, Jewish communities began to disperse into the suburbs and mix company with Anglo Americans. This mixing resulted in intermarriage. Mixed families adopted new identities and all the status that accompanies a certain degree of “whiteness.” Since most of the Jewish population in America was of Eastern European or Russian decent their skin was lighter, which made this mixing possible in the eye of a country dictated by segregation. This can be compared to interracial relationships between Anglo Americans and African Americans, Asian Americans or any group who displayed a darker skin tone in a time when America had laws in place preventing mixed marriages based on “whiteness.”

By secularizing their culture Jewish immigrants were able to invalidate notions that their Jewish faith made them a threat to the dominant Christian values that America clung to. When analyzing the connection between secularization and assimilation Ritterband states that, “America in the minds of the Jews is a culturally neutral society, one in which the public arena is secular, allowing space for Jews to enter not as Jews but as citizens. Furthermore, Jews took secularization beyond the public sphere into their private lives.”¹⁰ This strategy of being religiously neutral was new for immigrants. For example, Irish, Italian, and Mexican immigrants were historically Catholic and held onto their beliefs even after arriving in Protestant America, this created conflict between immigrants and citizens. Being white meant being Protestant. This had unintended consequences of creating whole new generations of Jewish citizens who did not identify as religious. With no religious alliances Jewish immigrants were more accepting of Protestant cultural norms, such as working on Saturdays and Christmas trees. Being secular allowed them to blend in with society thus they were considered less of a threat to religious institutions. Scholarship regarding Jewish immigration in the interwar and post war years overwhelmingly agrees that Jewish immigrants achieved “whiteness” in the eyes of the American public during this time period making their assimilation into the mainstream complete. Without the support of the federal government, public opinion would have been easily swayed against the Jewish population as it had been with other immigrant groups.

⁹ Arthur A. Goren, *The American Jews* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982), 90.

¹⁰ Ritterband, “*Modern Times and Jewish Assimilation*,” 379.

Israel: A Divided Home

Jewish immigration aligned with the American government's foreign agenda of having Israel as a potential ally in the Middle East. Israel provided a contingency in case immigration to America was not successful. The occupation of Palestinian territory and subsequent official formation of the state of Israel in 1948 eased the transition of Jewish immigrants to America.

Previously European colonial powers had carved up the Middle East, thus controlling the region. With most of Europe economically exhausted and unable to maintain control of their colonies Israel was an opportunity for the United States to enter into the region without a hostile take over of any kind. This transnational dialogue did not just take place between Israel and the United States but connected a large segment of people from all over the globe as people of Jewish descent from every national background came to reside in Israel. The United States knew what Israel as a potential ally meant for future negotiations in the area. Establishing good relations with the new country meant being hospitable to the Jewish immigrants that came to America. Indeed, to this day the United States and several other nations contribute financially to Israel's government.

In addition to the prospect of Israel as a potential political gain the new nation provided a contingency plan in case Jewish immigrants did not assimilate. Many Jewish immigrants did not want to return to their war-torn home countries. They were fleeing extreme poverty and violence. America was their only option for refuge. Immigrants seeking asylum caused tension for the government and citizens alike in times of economic stress. If the government wanted to exile these people, it would be challenging to do so and America would be seen as a villain in the eyes of the international community. For the Jewish immigrants, America would not be seen as ordering them to leave but encouraging the building of a new nation.

Furthermore, Israel represented an alternative home that was both welcoming and supported by the American Jewish community. Transnational dialogue existed between the two Jewish populations as Jewish people in Israel encouraged Jewish Americans to come to the country. A large proportion of Jews residing in the United States were Zionists who had financially supported the creation of a Jewish nation even before World War II ended. Berman noted that, "During 1944 and 1945, the American Zionist Emergency Council developed the experience and resources that would make it into one of the most

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efficient political lobbies in America.”¹¹ If second wave of Jewish immigration did not pan out and the United States sent the Jewish immigrants to Israel there would be minimum risk offending the American Jewish community since there was already strong support of Israeli re-settlement.

Government encouragement of the Jewish population in America can be seen by the inclusion of Jewish people in federally funded programs. The American Jewish population would benefit from these programs that would eventually help launch the middle-class era of stability of the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast African Americans would be denied access to these programs based on ethnic discrimination. Brodtkin observed that, The GI Bill and FHA and VA mortgages, even though they were advertised as open to all, functioned as a set of racial privileges. Such privileges were forms of affirmative action that allowed and other Euro-American men to become suburban homeowners and to get the training that allowed them, but much less so women vets or war workers, to become professionals, technicians, salesmen and manager in a growing economy.¹² Israel played an important role in the American government’s decision to facilitate the incoming Jewish population after World War II.

Observations

This research began with the question of how did American perceptions of Jewish immigration change after World War II? Scholarship on the subject heavily focused on the first wave of Jewish immigrants in the 1890s through the 1930s. Writers on the topic come from a variety of academic disciplines and all had arrived at the same conclusion that something happened to Jewish immigrants in America during the postwar years; the Jewish immigrants achieved a new level of “whiteness” that allowed them to enjoy being accepted by mainstream American society. Economic success for the Jewish population was made possible from postwar government programs that were inherently biased towards non-white Americans such as the GI Bill and VA mortgages. Intermarriage between Anglos and those of Jewish descent became common in the postwar years. Secularization helped Jewish people achieve “whiteness” by taking away the element of being a religious other. Soon Jewish immigrants saw themselves as white and non-religious and adopted cultural norms of American society.

¹¹ Berman, *Nazism, the Jews, and American Zionism*, 123.

¹² Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks*, 57.

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Scholars ignore the importance of an emerging Jewish homeland in Israel when analyzing government support for Jewish immigration. By taking in Jewish refugees to the United States the American government secured an ally in the strategically important Middle East. In addition, Israel was the government's back up plan in case immigration failed. America would face no resistance from Israel by sending Jewish people there if things did not work out as planned. The American government's support and society viewing the Jews as white lead to a successful transition for second wave Jewish immigrants. When Hanna Bloch Kohner and her brother appeared on *This is Your Life* in 1953 they were representative of the transnational dialogue and narrative of accepted whiteness in America. They were also emblematic of the Jewish communities in America and Israel and a larger global dialogue about Jewish identity after World War II.

America continues to play a crucial role in international dialogue about the fate of Israel. On December 6, 2017, President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital. A controversial political move that calls into question the validity of the state of Israel. This has many wondering how far America will go to protect its ally in the Middle East. There is a strong connection between America's Jewish Zionists and the population in Israel. The dual identity of Jews in America and the government's dedication to their interest despite consequences shows how embraced and assimilated into American culture Jewish immigrants have become.

**GLOBALIZATION AND THE DEATH OF A NATION:
YUGOSLAVIA, 1991-1999**

By Michael Agostinelli, Jr.

Since the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945, perhaps no year has contained as much geopolitical change with as wide-reaching social implications around the world as in 1991. Beginning with the U.S.-led war against Iraq, generally referred to as Operation Desert Storm, and ending with the collapse of the Soviet Union, leaving the world with only one remaining superpower, there was a feeling of transition that seemed to touch every corner of the globe. Nowhere was this more apparent or more deeply felt than in the southeastern European nation known as Yugoslavia. Traditionally seen as being torn apart by the numerous ethnic factions that made up the country and nothing more, Yugoslavia's demise was a complicated combination of internal conflict and external globalist influence and intervention.

The primary focus of this paper is the role played by the international community in lighting the fuse that ignited the Yugoslav powder keg and how the international community then poured gasoline on the flames. Though the dissolution of Yugoslavia was probably inevitable, the actions of multiple external nations and supranational organizations, through economic and political globalization, directly sped up the collapse of the nation and affected the level of violence and the length of the conflict. The international community, specifically the UN, NATO, and the United States, deserves a large share of the blame for the carnage and suffering that occurred in the former Yugoslav nations.

A Nation Born

Following the First World War, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (officially changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929) brought together Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians (along with several smaller minority ethnic groups like the Kosovo Albanians) into one nation. It was not long until the Second World War tore the young nation

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apart, but it would quickly find new life under a very determined leader.

Yugoslavia was reborn under the leadership of Marshal Josip Broz Tito as the communist Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or SFRY in 1963). Under Tito, Yugoslavia was able to attain and maintain political and economic freedom, even at the height of the Cold War when the United States and the Soviet Union made much of the world choose a side. In 1961, alongside India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesia's president Sukarno, and others, Marshal Tito helped to found the "Non-Aligned Movement." This movement was a grouping of nations that intended not necessarily to remain neutral during the Cold War, but detached enough from the conflict so as not to become permanently entrenched in either camp. According to Una Bobinac, the competition between the two superpowers helped to bring together the different ethnic groups within Yugoslavia. Bobinac wrote,

Yugoslavia, under the guidance and rule of Tito chose to participate in and lead the Non-Aligned Movement out of necessity and out of desire to not capitulate to either the USA's or USSR's pushes to follow their specific economic and political ideals. This dual, two-pronged political and economic globalization pushing from both sides forced a united Yugoslavia into existence by virtue of exigency.¹

Yugoslavia reacted to the pressure from competing global influences (i.e. the United States and the Soviet Union) by forging its own self-identity in response. The concept of what it meant to be Yugoslav was shaped as much by outside forces as by internal ones as "Tito brought to light the similarities of the Southern Slavs while highlighting the differences between them and those of the surrounding nations to unify a previously battered region."² Tito bringing the different Balkan ethnicities together was a feat as

¹ Una Bobinac, "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: An Analysis of Globalization Effects on Union and Disintegration of Yugoslavia," *International ResearchScape Journal* 1, no. 1 (2014): 7.

² Bobinac, 7.

some of them, specifically Croatia and Serbia, had been seen as quite different for some time, over a millennium in some cases.³ It could be said that globalization, or at least a defensive reaction to it, helped to forge the Yugoslav nation.

Beginning of the End

The first nail in the coffin for Yugoslavia was hammered in on May 4, 1980, the day Marshal Tito died. Tito was Yugoslavia's greatest champion with his roughly thirty-five years of leadership being akin to sailing a rickety ship through troubled waters. With his passing, Yugoslavia lost its captain, its single, most crucial stabilizing force.

Following his death, it did not take long for the internal divisions to surface, and Richard Ullman explains, "control gradually shifted into the hands of provincial demagogues who styled themselves as democrats and who quickly discovered that beating the drum of ethnic nationalism was the surest way to accumulate more power."⁴ This is the most commonly told narrative of the demise of Yugoslavia, that the nation crumbled under the internal ethnic tensions that had never been completely squashed by Tito, only momentarily silenced. For example, in his 1993 book *Balkan Ghosts*, a book that may have actually impacted American policy regarding Bosnia,⁵ Robert Kaplan blamed the Yugoslav civil wars on "the myth of ancient hatreds," an explanation that, according to some, "crumbled at first touch."⁶ There is no denying the effects the prevalent ethnic rivalries had on the civil wars that would eventually engulf the region and leave up to 300,000⁷ people dead and two million displaced.⁸ But there were

³ Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 14.

⁴ Richard H. Ullman, ed. *The World and Yugoslavia's Wars* (Council on Foreign Relations, 1996), 9.

⁵ Robert Kaplan, "After 'Balkan Ghosts,'" *The Weekly Standard*, December 18, 1995. Accessed May 2, 2018. <https://www.weeklystandard.com/robert-d-kaplan/after-balkan-ghosts>.

⁶ Sabrina P. Ramet, *Thinking About Yugoslavia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

⁷ This number is possibly one of the higher estimates for the number of deaths during the civil wars with most estimates being closer to 150,000-200,000.

⁸ Ullman, *Yugoslavia's Wars*, 1.

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other causes that helped to assure the end of the Yugoslav nation, what Bobinac calls “the single most important and devastating” of these being the external influence of globalization and the “economic pressure on Yugoslavia (particularly by the USA) to change their system into accordance with the neoliberal state system.”⁹ Tito had been able to shield Yugoslavia from external globalist pressures, but without him, countries, specifically the United States, and supranational organizations saw Yugoslavia’s economy as ripe for the picking.

Destabilizing the Yugoslav economy started in the 1980s. With the Yugoslav economy in crisis the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank forced upon Yugoslavia structural adjustment programs (SAPs) which, according to Karen Talbot, did little to help the people of Yugoslavia, or any nation for that matter. According to Talbot, “As happens throughout the world where such SAPs have been imposed as conditions for debt relief, they devastated the economy, laying the groundwork for the breakup of Yugoslavia.”¹⁰ As part of their deal to provide financial assistance, the IMF and World Bank demanded reforms and budget cuts that undermined Yugoslavia’s sovereignty and created panic amongst the citizenry. Yugoslav President at the time, Borisav Jovic, “opposed the devastating austerity measures because of the economic havoc they were wreaking for the people.”¹¹ The leaders of Yugoslavia who then attempted to stem the suffering caused by the IMF and World Bank reforms were then seen as stubborn and unwilling to cooperate. The international community, specifically the United States, reacted to Yugoslav intransigence in ways that further hurt the country. Talbot, explaining the repercussions of the actions of Yugoslavia’s politicians, wrote,

In response to this “stubbornness” by Yugoslavia, the U.S. Congress passed the 1991 Foreign Operations Appropriations Law 101-513 on November 5, 1990. That law abruptly cut off all aid, credits, and loans from the U.S. to Yugoslavia, further demolishing the Yugoslav economy. It also demanded separate

⁹ Bobinac, “The Disintegration of Yugoslavia,” 11.

¹⁰ Karen Talbot, “The Real Reasons for War in Yugoslavia: Backing up Globalization with Military Might,” *Social Justice* 27, no. 4 (2000): 94-116.

¹¹ Talbot, 104.

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elections in each of the six republics making up Yugoslavia, and included provisions for only those forces defined by Washington as “democratic” to receive funding from the U.S.¹²

In other words, Yugoslavia’s economy was struggling to the point where the country was forced to turn to the IMF and the World Bank for monetary assistance. In doing so, they were compelled to make sweeping budgetary cuts that destabilized the Yugoslav citizenry and when they attempted to halt these budgetary cuts the U.S.’s response was to stop *all* financial assistance, further destabilizing the region. And, as if that was not bad enough, the United States demanded separate elections throughout Yugoslavia, an act that directly undermined not only the sovereignty of Yugoslavia but its ability to exist as a single, cohesive, multicultural nation-state. One might argue that perhaps the leadership of the United States did not understand the effects their actions would have, but that is absolutely false as “at the time this law was passed, the CIA issued an unusual public report predicting ‘that the federated Yugoslavia will break apart most probably in the next 18 months and that civil war is highly likely’” and that the halting of “U.S. funds to Yugoslavia” were “the basis of impending civil war.”¹³

Without Tito at the helm there was always the risk of Yugoslavia being torn apart by its inherent ethnic divisions. It is not only possible but also probable that the nation would have succumbed to secessionist movements at some point. The late 1980s had already shown the world how effective anti-communist nationalist movements could be. It is not a stretch to imagine that the same ideological forces that liberated countries like Poland and Hungary from Soviet control would find their way into the six republics of Yugoslavia.¹⁴ But the fact remains that there was at least some level of external causation for the collapse of the nation and it is impossible to say just how much of Yugoslavia’s demise rests on the shoulders of the Yugoslav people and how much rests on the shoulders of the United States, the IMF, and the World

¹² Talbot, 104.

¹³ Talbot, 104.

¹⁴ Ramet, *Thinking About Yugoslavia*, 35.

Bank.

Prolonged Devastation

Helping to bring about the downfall of Yugoslavia was only part of the carnage the globalist forces inflicted upon the Yugoslav people. When civil war finally erupted in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia, a civil war the CIA knew was coming, the international community had a hand in prolonging the violence as well as inflicting their own brand of justice through a bombing campaign that has been called a “reprehensible act of humanity” and a “contravention of all norms of international law, including the Charter of the United Nations.”¹⁵

One of the biggest misconceptions about the breakup of Yugoslavia is that the nation ceased to exist as soon as Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence in 1991. This is not only inaccurate, but it allows for confusion when it comes to understanding what the actual fighting entailed. In theory, if Yugoslavia just fell apart one day then no single nation would have controlled the arsenal of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). But when Slovenia, Croatia, and, eventually, Bosnia seceded, Yugoslavia was still a living, breathing state and the JNA, with its modern weapons of war, was tasked with suppressing the secessionist movements.

With the independence movements progressing, the JNA increasingly became a Serb-dominated army. Slovenia was much more uniform in its ethnic makeup than were Croatia or Bosnia and it was essentially allowed to leave Yugoslavia without much bloodshed.¹⁶ But Croatia and Bosnia had large swaths of territory containing ethnic minorities, specifically Serbs, and the JNA, no longer the multicultural organization it once was, turned its attention away from preventing secession and towards fighting a war to create a “Greater Serbia.”

The international response to the violence that erupted throughout Croatia and Bosnia was either poorly thought out or too

¹⁵ Talbot, “The Real Reasons,” 95.

¹⁶ Svetozar Stojanovic, *The Fall of Yugoslavia: Why Communism Failed* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1997), 89.

late and with little to no attempt at enforcing any sort of change in the region. With the fighting well under way, one of the first acts by the United Nations Security Council was to place an arms embargo on all the groups involved.¹⁷ This might have been helpful if the different sides of the conflict had even remotely comparable militaries, but, as already mentioned, the JNA and its modern weaponry fell into the hands of what remained of the Serb-dominated Yugoslavia. The war was inherently lopsided, and the arms embargo only ensured that it would stay that way for a longer period than it needed to. Another example of the poor international response was the fact that when Germany recognized an independent Croatia they were seen by their international peers as acting in an ill-advised manner and were blamed for possibly pushing the JNA to step up operations in Bosnia before recognition could spread there as well.¹⁸ The concern was not about what was right or fair for the peoples of Croatia and Bosnia, but instead what was in the interests of Europe and the West.

As for an example of the well-meaning but entirely inept attempts the international community made at stemming the violence we need only look to the Bosnian town of Srebrenica. Srebrenica had been made into a “safe zone” meant to protect all its inhabitants, who were primarily Muslim refugees from around Bosnia. In 1993, the United Nations Security Council condemned the actions of Serb paramilitary groups moving in on the town and specifically stated, “a tragic humanitarian emergency has already developed in Srebrenica.”¹⁹ The UN had sent the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to assist in the care of those people displaced by the civil war in Bosnia but they were terribly unprepared to do anything but watch as around 8,000 Bosnian Muslims were killed and 25,000-30,000 forced into a mass exodus from the town.²⁰ Here we have one example of the United Nations preventing one side from defending itself and another example where the United

¹⁷ UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 713 [concerning the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]*, 25 September 1991, S/RES/713 (1991).

¹⁸ Ramet, *Thinking About Yugoslavia*, 8.

¹⁹ UN Security Council. *Security Council resolution 819 [concerning Srebrenica]*, 16 April 1993, S/RES/819 (1993).

²⁰ Christopher Paul, Colin P. Clarke, and Beth Grill, *Victory Has a Thousand Fathers: Sources of Success in Counterinsurgency* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand National Defense Research Institute, 2010), 25.

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Nations tasked itself with the protection of innocent civilians and failed miserably. Eventually the international community would become involved in a more meaningful way but even this would be full of controversy.

In 1999, four years after the fighting had stopped in Croatia and Bosnia, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) presented the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY; what remained of Yugoslavia following the departure of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia) with the “Rambouillet Agreement.” This agreement would have granted Kosovo, a region historically possessed by Serbia, NATO-backed autonomy within the Yugoslav nation. When the leaders of Yugoslavia refused to sign the agreement, NATO used the refusal as a pretext for a bombing campaign against the FRY. Some would argue that it was the U.S. and NATO who “prevented a peace agreement” and that the entire exercise was meant only to secure an excuse for punishing Yugoslavia, specifically Serbia.²¹ Reasons given for why NATO would want to attack Serbia were that the United States wanted to force its influence onto the region, that any war with Yugoslavia would “add more billions to the already bloated U.S. military budget and to fill the coffers of corporations with super profits,” and to essentially advertise NATO’s high-tech weaponry to the world through television coverage of the bombing campaign.²² This U.S.-led intervention was both incredibly late, coming well after the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, and arguably more damaging to the region than any of the fighting occurring in Kosovo at the time. Add to this the fact that the intentions of the intervening nations were morally questionable at best and you have a valid argument against the political globalist movement thrust on the world by certain supranational organizations. In the end, the entirety of the international response to the wars in the former Yugoslav nations after war had erupted was inexcusable and went a long way to prolonging the violence in the region.

²¹ Talbot, “The Real Reasons,” 97.

²² Talbot, 100.

Conclusion

The generally accepted narrative for why Yugoslavia fell apart and was consumed by such apocalyptic carnage tends to focus exclusively on the ethnic tensions of the region and the actions of specific political leaders, most notably Slobodan Milosevic. The ethnic, cultural, and religious differences between the varying factions within Yugoslavia *did* play a role in destroying the nation and allowing for the violence to reach the levels it did. Men like Slobodan Milosevic *did* use the wars as an excuse to both further their nation's borders and their personal power. But to focus entirely on just the ethnic, cultural, and religious aspects of the fighting or on the misdeeds of a handful of Yugoslav politicians does a disservice to everyone involved, including those of us looking to truly get to the heart of the matter. The reality is that there were many causes for the death of Yugoslavia: "economics, demographics, programmatic choices, institutional structures, religious cultures, elite dynamics, and deficiencies in system legitimacy all played a role in pushing the country towards violent breakup."²³ One of the lesser discussed topics when talking about Yugoslavia and the civil wars that would spring forth from its demise is the role that economic and political globalization played.

It is highly probable that without Marshal Tito around to hold the varying ethnic groups together, it was only a matter of time until one or more of the ethnic factions decided to secede. Austria-Hungary could not quell its internal ethnic tensions and even Czechoslovakia eventually succumbed to the separate nationalisms of the Czechs and the Slovaks in 1993. European nationalism has brought nations together and torn them apart, perhaps Yugoslavia would have ended in the exact same way even if there were no external factors. But there were exogenous causes for breakup. The international community intervened in the inner workings of the Yugoslav government and economy as soon as Tito was out of the picture. They wreaked havoc on the citizenry through their demands for austerity cuts across the country. They then further destabilized the nation when some Yugoslav politicians dared to halt these reforms. The United States knew ahead of time where

²³ Ramet, *Thinking About Yugoslavia*, 55.

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their meddling was leading Yugoslavia. Civil war was on the horizon and at least a portion of it was due to the actions of the United States and other supranational organizations.

The interference did not end with the secession of half of Yugoslavia's republics, but instead continued and compounded the problem. The United Nations and the international community failed to act in a manner that would allow for a peaceful solution to the situation. Instead, they prevented two nations from acquiring the arms needed to defend themselves against a highly modernized military. They proclaimed "safe zones" they were ill-prepared or disinterested in defending. The international community was, in no small way, party to the largest act of genocide to occur in Europe since the Second World War. Perhaps they did not pull the trigger, but they did little to prevent someone else from doing so. The Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, and Kosovars all have blood on their hands. Every side committed atrocities. Every side allowed the violence to reach unspeakable heights. But the international community, specifically an organization tasked with "never again" letting such acts occur, failed time and time again to react appropriately, if they reacted at all. And when someone finally did act, the reasons were questionable, the goals morally objectionable, the timing too late. No, the international community did not pull the trigger, they did not even wield the gun themselves, but they did little to nothing to stop it from being used.