# OFFICIAL GUIDE

# I HAVE SEEN THE FUTURE

BY AGITPOP PRESS

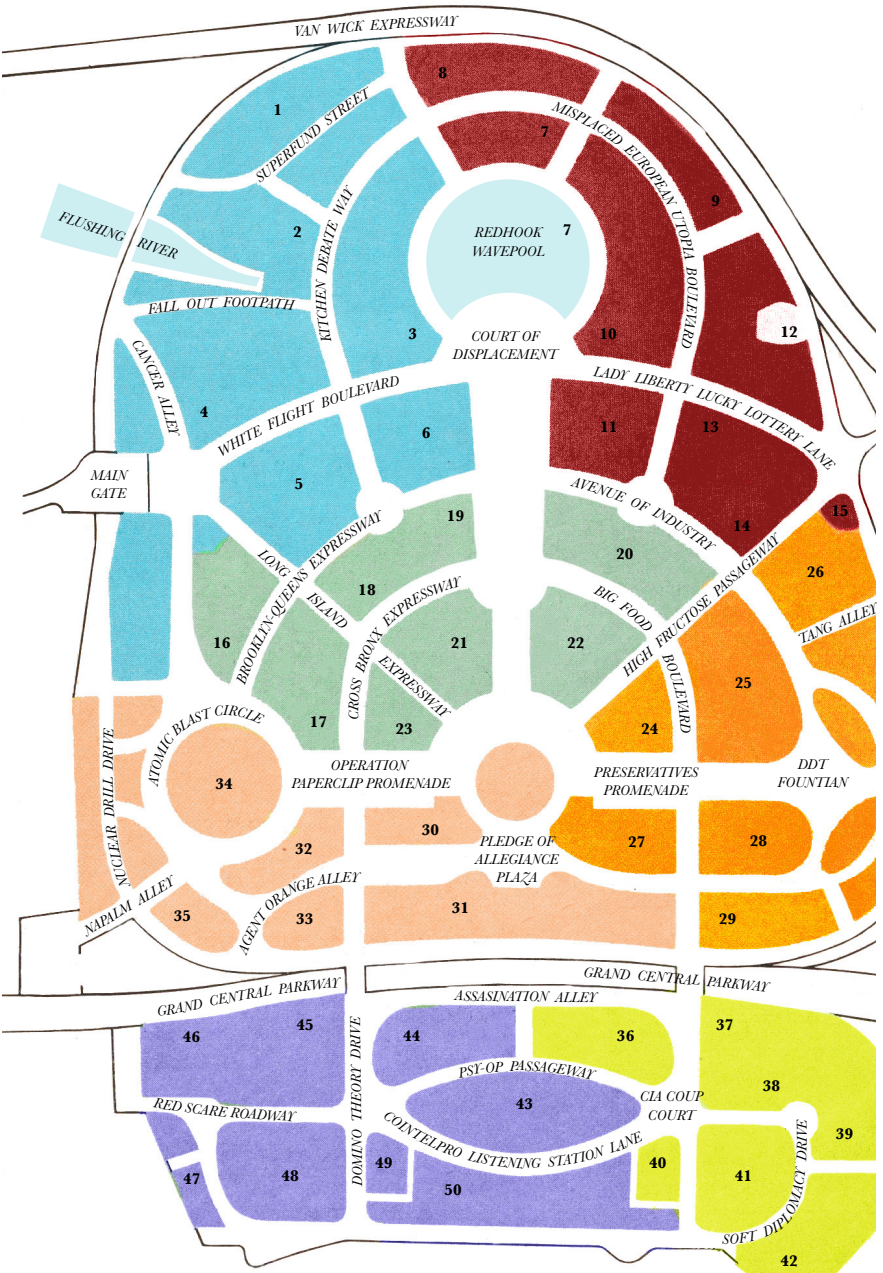
1939/1964

I HAVE SEEN
THE FUTURE
GENERAL MOTORS Futurama

**There is no system more corrupt than a system that represents itself as the example of freedom, the example of democracy, and can go all over this earth telling other people how to straighten out their house, when you have citizens of this country who have to use bullets if they want to cast ballots.**

**—Malcolm X**

# MAP OF THE FAIR



## PLAN OF THE FAIR

### THE SEVEN AREAS

- **THE AMERICAN HOME**
- **URBAN RENEWAL**
- **TRANSPORTATION**
- **FOOD**
- **SCIENCE & EDUCATION**
- **INTERNATIONAL**
- **COMMUNICATION**

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**2** KITCHEN DEBATE MODEL KITCHEN
**3** LONG ISLAND BREAST CANCER BEAUTY PAGEANT
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**50** LOST & FOUND

**"IT'S A SMALL WORLD,"** *when you don't really consider anything outside of America! Visit the Fair's International Area to glide down this Disney ride. See the entire world from a single point of view! Trade agreements, ad campaigns, expos, and appliances win the day—and will surely win you over to the best way of life on the planet.*

# WELCOME TO THE FAIR

Twenty-five years apart, in the very heart of the American Century, two World's Fairs were held in Flushing Meadows. On the precipice of World War and at the height of the Cold War, the world came to New York City, and New York City showed itself to the world. Tens of millions of visitors flocked to Queens to glimpse the American Way, paved the world over as an unyielding, uniform path hewn by capitalism and democracy. They stood in awe before the unisphere and beheld the unilateral force that thundered forth as mushroom clouds—and Coca-Cola.

The World's Fairs are a testament to a time and a place when America looked both within and without, from a city that dares to call itself the Capital of the World. Neither the 1939 nor the 1964 Fairs had a central architect, both were as cacophonous and contradictory as the general notion of promoting "peace and understanding" at a time of global warfare. Each featured countries, states, religions, and corporations, represented (especially in 1964) on the kind of equal footing that presaged a day in America when corporations would be considered people.

This Guide Book follows the example of the two Fairs'. In it you will find the sensibility and synthesis of collage, guided by the velocity of the American Century's legacy. This book hails from a province of forgotten lands that debuted as pavilions in Corona, Queens: Democracity, Futurama, Tomorrowland, Progressland, Carousels of Progress, and the breathless, lunatic optimism of the Triumph of Man. It comes from the same class of minds that brought you the Great Society and the New Frontier.

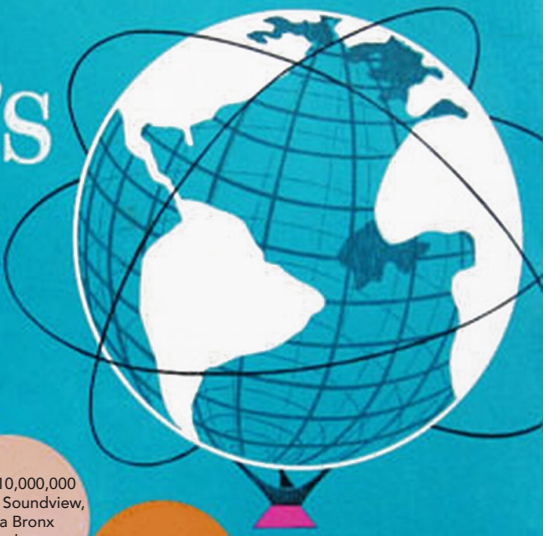
The pictures you will see are of architectural models rendered in ravishing hues—as the photographs in the original guidebooks were largely images of structures yet to be realized in our great, big, beautiful tomorrow. Peruse the pavilions of the tomorrow that was yesterday, and take a moment to read a word form its (many) sponsors. In these pages, we invite you to behold the future we were told to hope for.

—Johannah Herr & Cara Marsh Sheffler

**Women of the future will make the Moon a cleaner place to live**

Presenting: Tomorrow's Lestoil!
Nothing, nothing, nothing cleans like it.
It leaps through dirt, soaks up grease, and makes everything fresh and new.
Its solvents, cutting agents and steady, tireless action make your day lighter.
Everything in your beautiful house can be cleaned, immaculately.
(Tomorrow's Lestoil makes Standard International grow some more.)

# NEW YORK is a WORLD'S FAIR



$92,000,000 worth of contracts for the Throgs Neck Bridge about to be let

Robert Moses was presiding over $2,800,000,000 worth of city and state projects

$10,000,000 for Soundview, a Bronx development mired in scandal

$345,000,000 worth of bond issues for the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge

$243,000 in Slum Clearance Committee fees paid to Robert Moses

$100,000,000 worth of new bridge-connecting expressways

$100,000,000 worth of jobs to build the new bridge-connecting expressways

1,400 acres of Flushing Meadows

$120,000,000 earmarked for new expressways in Queens

1,044 paying guests at a ticketed banquet to honor Robert Moses

$13,000,000 in questionable, "prime, risk-free" FHA loans for Soundview

$892,500 for Robert Moses personally as President of the World's Fair

## The 1964 World's Fair

# BY THE NUMBERS

a glimpse of Robert Moses' reach when he assumed the presidency of the World's Fair.

YES it's REAL!

## WELCOME TO THE FAIR

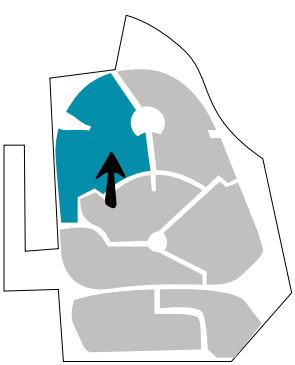
The Fair aims to be universal, to have something for everyone.

What is it you want? Vast forces dormant in nuggets of imprisoned sunlight? Machines that fly, think, transport, fashion and do man's work? Spices, perfumes, ivory, apes and peacocks? Dead Sea Scrolls? Images divine and graven? Painted lilies and refined gold? The products of philosophy, which is the guide of life, and knowledge, which is power? We have them all.

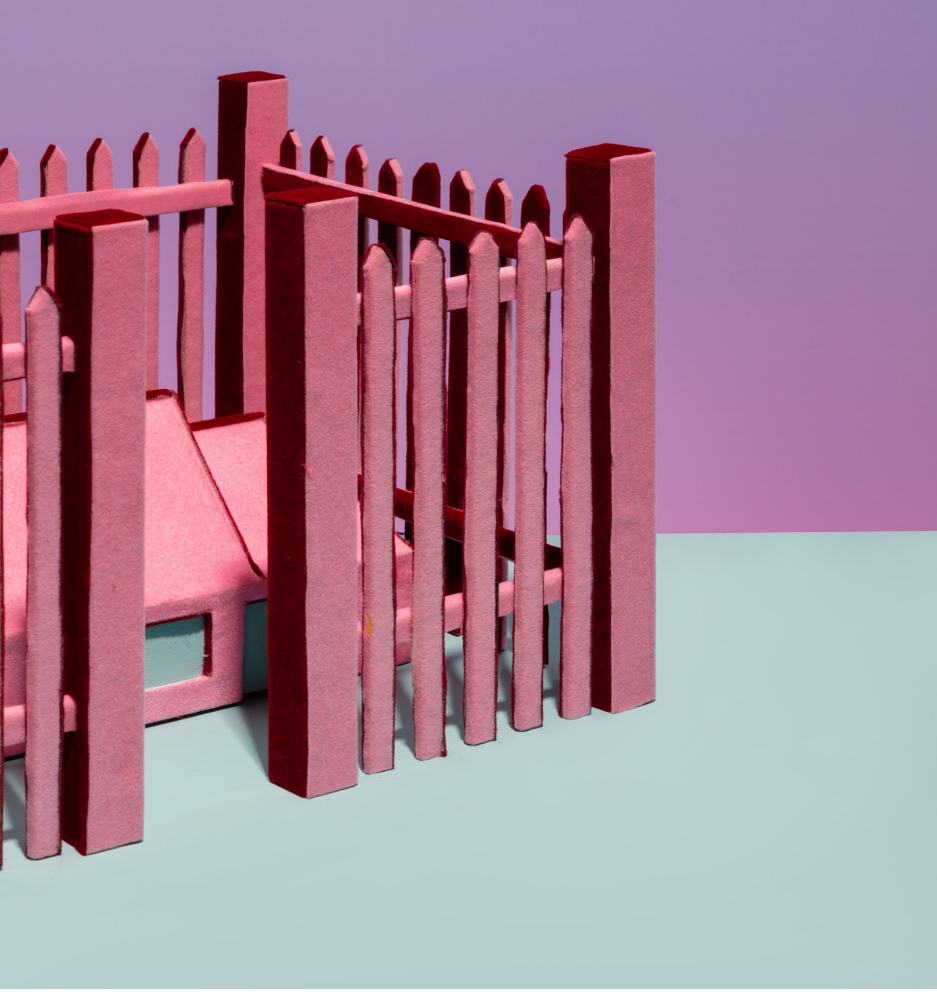
Study the Fair. Come often. When you get here, don't rush. Be wise. Space your visits; save your arches, spare your muscles, use your head; patronize buses, rolling stock, rides, ramps and escalators; spot the oases and cultivate repose in the midst of multifarious activities.

We welcome you to the Fair.

**ROBERT MOSES**
*President*
*New York World's Fair 1964/1965*



# THE AMERICAN HOME



*The American Home is on the move! Across the land, the American family is migrating to a new and verdant frontier: the suburb. Join us and explore this newly settled outpost and its vanguard, Levittown, Long Island. Experience the postwar planned community in all its monolithic splendor. Our main pavilion features the Jubilee Model of a Levittown home, which comes fully furnished with new appliances (and a racial covenant on the home's deed that is nearly impossible to remove). The picture-perfect property is surrounded by the picket fence of the suburbanite's dreams. Mind you it is but a dream fence: we do not allow actual fences in Levittown but there is no need, as all the undesirables have been left 35 miles behind on the Long Island Expressway. Consider the fence your guide and your guiding metaphor as you tour The American Home Area. Come see the myriad benefits of a model community, the kind springing up across our great nation!*

# 1 WHITE FLIGHT TO THE FUTURE

Cruise along Robert Moses' parkways to the sprawls and malls of tomorrow. From corporate planned communities to our pavilion's own mascot, NIMBY, White Flight to the Future promises fun for the entire white, nuclear family! "Residential segregation by jurisdiction generates disparities in public services and education. The distinctive American pattern—in which blacks live in cities and whites in suburbs—was enhanced by a large black migration from the rural South. I show that whites responded to this black influx by leaving cities and rule out an indirect effect on housing prices as a sole cause. I instrument for changes in black population by using local economic conditions to predict black migration from southern states and assigning predicted flows to northern cities according to established settlement patterns. The best causal estimates imply that each black arrival led to 2.7 white departures…American metropolitan areas are segregated by race, both by neighborhood and across jurisdiction lines. In 1980, after a century of suburbanization, 72% of metropolitan blacks lived in central cities, compared to 33% of metropolitan whites. Because many public goods are locally financed, segregation between the central city and the suburbs can generate disparities in access to education and other public services. These local disparities have motivated large policy changes over the past fifty years, including school finance equalization plans within states and federal expenditures on education.
—Leah Platt Boustan, *Was Postwar Suburbanization "White Flight"? Evidence From The Black Migration*

As the population of people of color grows across the United States, white Americans are still prone to move when neighborhoods diversify, and their fears and stereotypical beliefs about other racial and ethnic groups may help maintain segregation, according to research.

—The American Psychological Association, 2021

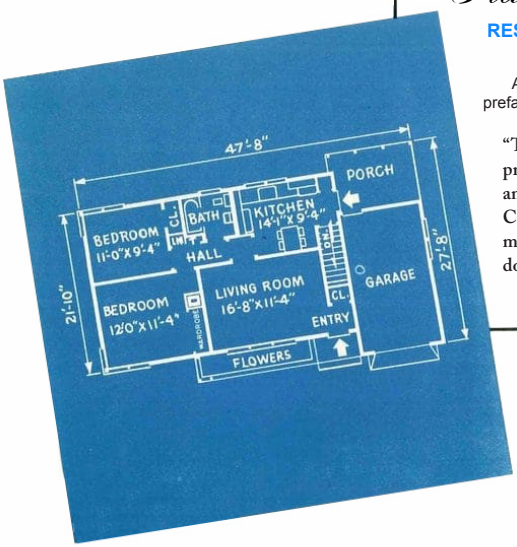
## *Planned Communities*

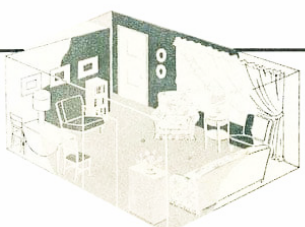
**RESTRICTIVE RACIAL COVENANTS**

***Levittown, Long Island***

A covenant from one of 17,400+ partially prefabricated homes developed by Levitt & Sons

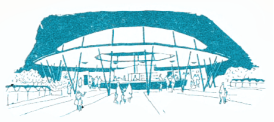
> "The tenant agrees not to permit the premises to be used or occupied by any person other than members of the Caucasian race. But the employment and maintenance of other than Caucasian domestic servants shall be permitted."



'William Levitt called his product—which first sold for $7,990 with a 5% down payment (0% for veterans) and came with a built-in television set and hi-fi—"the best house in the US"...Some sections of American society found entrance to the scheme impossible. For decades, Levittown's population was 100% white—at first because of covenants that restricted any minorities from buying in, and thus supposedly sending the surrounding home values into free-fall.'

—*The Guardian*, 2015



## 2 KITCHEN DEBATE MODEL KITCHEN

We've all heard of a model home, but what about a model argument? Progress needs an enemy to define its direction. "The Cold War began when World War II ended. Both the United States and the Soviet Union wanted to lead the world into a new era of peace. Americans believed that upholding democracy and freedom was the only way to achieve order and stability. Soviets believed communism was the answer.

The idea that America was the world's perfect nation informed more than just political beliefs. It also defined the ideals of daily life in America. In 1959, the U.S. government organized an exhibition at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. The exhibition's goal was to teach Soviet visitors about the United States. But the exhibition did not focus on military or political strengths. Instead, it focused on the "typical" American home, which, in this vision, was led by a white breadwinning husband and a devoted housewife. The exhibition argued that the American home was the epitome of freedom. Americans had the right to spend their hard-earned money on their perfect homes. Such economic opportunity proved that Americans had a level of freedom that communists would never enjoy.

Vice President Richard Nixon visited the embassy exhibition. He toured it with Soviet Union Premier Nikita Khrushchev. While viewing a model American kitchen, the two men began an unplanned debate. This became known as the "kitchen debate." Nixon used American appreciation for housewives as his opening argument. He explained that giving women the opportunity to live in a comfortable home was an example of American superiority. In this way, the American kitchen—and a woman's role in it—became a weapon in the Cold War."
—The New-York Historical Society

# The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women.

It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night--she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—"Is this all?"

For over fifteen years there was no word of this yearning in the millions of words written about women, for women, in all the columns, books and articles by experts telling women their role was to seek fulfillment as wives and mothers. Over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire—no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity…They were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy women who wanted to be poets or physicists or presidents. They learned that truly feminine women do not want careers, higher education, political rights—the independence and the opportunities that the old-fashioned feminists fought for…

By the end of the nineteen-fifties, the average marriage age of women in America dropped to 20, and was still dropping, into the teens. Fourteen million girls were engaged by 17. The proportion of women attending college in comparison with men dropped from 47 percent in 1920 to 35 percent in 1958. A century earlier, women had fought for higher education; now girls went to college to get a husband. By the mid-fifties, 60 per cent dropped out of college to marry, or because they were afraid too much education would be a marriage bar. Colleges built dormitories for "married students," but the students were almost always the husbands. A new degree was instituted for the wives--"Ph.T." (Putting Husband Through).

—Betty Friedan,
*The Feminine Mystique*

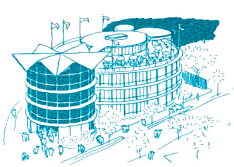
TUPPERWARE

No man who owns his own
house and lot
can be a Communist.
HE HAS TOO MUCH TO DO!
–William Levitt
SUPER
Kem-Tone

## 3 LONG ISLAND BREAST CANCER CLUSTER BEAUTY PAGEANT

Behold the spectacle of a local legacy. "The Long Island Breast Cancer Study Project (LIBCSP) is an umbrella of projects funded by the National Cancer Institute and National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences in response to federal legislation (Public Law 103–43, June 10, 1993), which mandated that a study be conducted to assess environmental and other potential risk factors contributing to the incidence of breast cancer in the Long Island counties of Nassau and Suffolk in New York, as well as the two other counties in the Northeastern United States with the highest mortality rates…The residents of Long Island have long been concerned about the potential adverse effects of environmental contaminants, including the pesticide DDT as described in Rachel Carson's Silent Spring. In addition, the high incidence rates of breast cancer observed in this geographic region (117.8 per 100,000 in Nassau county and 113.6 in Suffolk county in 1992–1996), which translates into some 2,000 newly diagnosed in situ and invasive breast cancer cases annually, have galvanized grass-root activism on the Island, particularly on issues relating breast cancer with environmental contaminants (Members of the Long Island Breast Cancer Network, 1994, personal communication)." —The Long Island Breast Cancer Study Project, 2002

*Bonus scouting activity: find the rare isotope!*



## 4 SUPERFUND SUNDAE ICE CREAM PARLOR

Drop by for fabulous flavors and toppings galore. "Long Island has more superfund sites (combined federal and state sites) than any other region of New York state. Federal sites are controlled by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and state sites

**Walpole, Massachusetts**
*Blackburn and Union Privileges*
Soil and water contaminated with asbestos and lead

**St. Maries, Idaho**
*St. Maries Creosote*
Soil and water contaminated with creosote, a flammable compound made from wood tar

**Haverford, Pennsylvania**
*Havertown PCP*
Soil and water contaminated with pentachlorophenols (PCPs)

# SUPERFUND sundaes!

...the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) determined the correlation between the location of hazardous waste landfills and the racial and economic status of the surrounding communities in eight southeastern states...African Americans made up the majority of the population in three of the four communities where the region's four offsite hazardous waste landfills were located. At least 26 percent of ...had an income below the poverty level.

—United States General Accounting Office, 1983

**Milford, New Hampshire**
*Fletcher's Paint Works*
Soil and water contaminated with lead, arsenic, PCBs, and other chemicals

*The Navy and Grumman set up manufacturing, research and testing facilities* ♦♦♦ *on a more than 600-acre plot in Bethpage beginning in the late 1930s. The facility turned out Hellcat, Tigercat, Albatross and other planes that helped turn the tide during World War II and the Korean War. It was also home to the Apollo moon lander. But that legacy came with contaminated soils and groundwater. Wells on Grumman property were tainted by the late 1940s, volatile organic chemicals had been found in water by the 1970s, and in 1983 the state added the site to its hazardous waste Superfund list. Several cleanup plans are in place, primarily focused on volatile organic chemicals.*

♦♦♦ *"A look back at Grumman contamination on Long Island," Newsday Staff, 2021*

are controlled by the state Department of Environmental Conservation. There are currently 256 designated sites, according to the *Newsday* database (last updated 3-31-2017).

The cleanup process for many sites is a slow and expensive effort. Some sites are very small in terms of the land area. Other sites can be quite large and may have multiple locations that require cleanup. Some of the newest listed sites are locations with PFAS (per- and polyfluoroalkyl substances) contamination. It should be no surprise that 90 percent (231 out of 256 sites) have caused groundwater contamination. At 11 sites that are larger than 100 acres in size, seven have significant groundwater contamination plumes." —Francine Furtado, *The Island Now,* 2019

**Highlights**

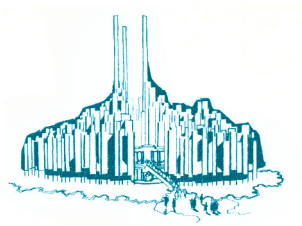
**MISTING STATION: FLUORIDE, MOTHER'S LITTLEST HELPER**

"In March 1957, as Elvis was buying Graceland and the Soviets were preparing to shock the world with Sputnik, Robert F. Wagner, the famously cautious mayor of New York, was having trouble taking a stand.

In two days, the city's Board of Estimate would hold a hearing on one of the most contentious issues of the Cold War: whether to begin fluoridation of New York's drinking water...Critics had denounced it as forced medication, dangerously toxic or a Communist plot.

'I need hardly point out what the stakes are,' Louis I. Dublin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and former president of the American Public Health Association wrote to a supporter. 'A success here will show the way for the rest of the nation. Failure will encourage our opponents in their obstructive tactics resisting public health advances everywhere.' Yet the mayor hesitated. He liked to give problems a chance to go away on their own.

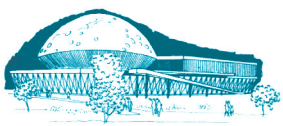
Fluoridation, at one part per million, one milligram per liter, would not come to New York until 1965, after another eight hard-fought years.
—Ralph Blumenthal, *The New York Times*, 2015



## 5 TRI-FAITH TRIUMPH

The plans for Levittown included plurality. Protestants would finally commingle with Jews and Catholics in a nearly even demographic breakdown. Who could be missing? "For journalists like [BBC Journalist Ludovic] Kennedy, Levittown [in 1960] was a metaphor for American prosperity and the emerging middle class. When he visited, the mix of Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant neighbours represented the melting pot ideal of the US, while also allowing easy shorthand for the suburban revolution that was spreading across the country—a strong, growing demographic that had the power to shape the election. —*BBC News Magazine,* 2011

> "This is a Protestant country… and the Catholics and Jews are here under sufferance."
>
> —FDR, 1942

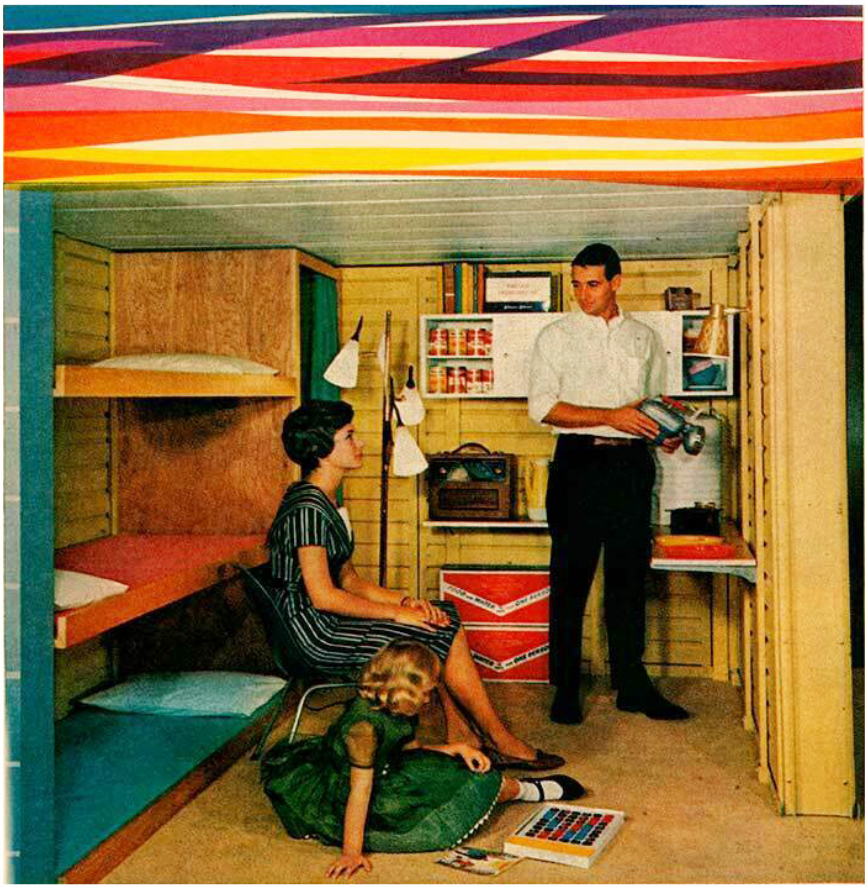


## 6 THE HAPPIEST OF HALF-LIVES

Become a truly nuclear family in the fallout shelter of your dreams! Hunker in your ideal bunker! "Back in the 1950s and 1960s, what many people really lusted after for their suburban dream home wasn't a spa or a tennis court, but an underground bomb shelter.

Death lurked in the atom, and the Russkies—later, the Chinese—stood ready to bomb America into submission. By the early 1960s, fear of nuclear holocaust had become a national mania as the federal civil defense distributed millions of pamphlets explaining how citizens could build their own bomb shelters.

Across the United States, tens of thousands did exactly that, digging themselves holes in which to await Armageddon."
—Denise Hamilton, *The Los Angeles Times*, 1995



# YOU CAN PROTECT YOUR FAMILY AGAINST FALLOUT

An influential article in *Time* magazine in August 1961 titled "Gun Thy Neighbor" examined the ethical cal question of private family shelters, citing a trend of secretive, armed shelter owners and quoting a "Chicago suburbanite" who stated, "When I get my shelter finished, I'm going to mount a machine gun at the hatch to keep the neighbors out if the bomb falls...If the stupid American public will not do what they have to to save themselves, I'm not going to run the risk of not being able to use the shelter I've taken the trouble to provide my own family." The article quoted a number of clergymen who weighed in on the moral implications of private shelter ownership, demonstrating the civic conundrum that would result when survival became the responsibility of individual citizens who would have to decide whether to include others at the expense of their own family's survival. Others criticized the inequity of recommendations that were aimed primarily at suburban homeowners (at that time, almost exclusively white), specifically those with money for discretionary construction.

*—Historic Structure Report: Mansion and Belvedere Nuclear Bomb Shelters*, Naomi Kroll Hassebroek

KELSEY HAYES COMPANY
Automotive, Aeurospace and Agricultural Parts, Hand Tools for Undustry and Home

# Woman makes the home...we make the loan

In many ways, the gap between the finances of blacks and whites is still as wide in 2020 as it was in 1968, when a run of landmark civil rights legislation culminated in the Fair Housing Act in response to centuries of unequal treatment of African Americans in nearly every part of society and business.

In the decades since, white wealth has soared while black wealth has stagnated. Many have pointed out the far larger share of white millionaires than black, but even among the middle class, the inequities are stark.

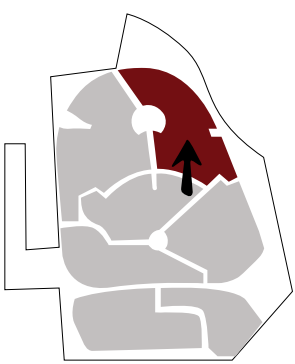
In 1968, a typical middle-class black household had $6,674 in wealth compared with $70,786 for the typical middle-class white household, according to data from the historical Survey of Consumer Finances that has been adjusted for inflation. In 2016, the typical middle-class black household had $13,024 in wealth versus $149,703 for the median white household, an even larger gap in percentage terms.

"The historical data reveal that no progress has been made in reducing income and wealth inequalities between black and white households over the past 70 years," wrote economists Moritz Kuhn, Moritz Schularick and Ulrike I. Steins in their analysis of U.S. incomes and wealth since World War II.
—*The Washington Post*, 2020

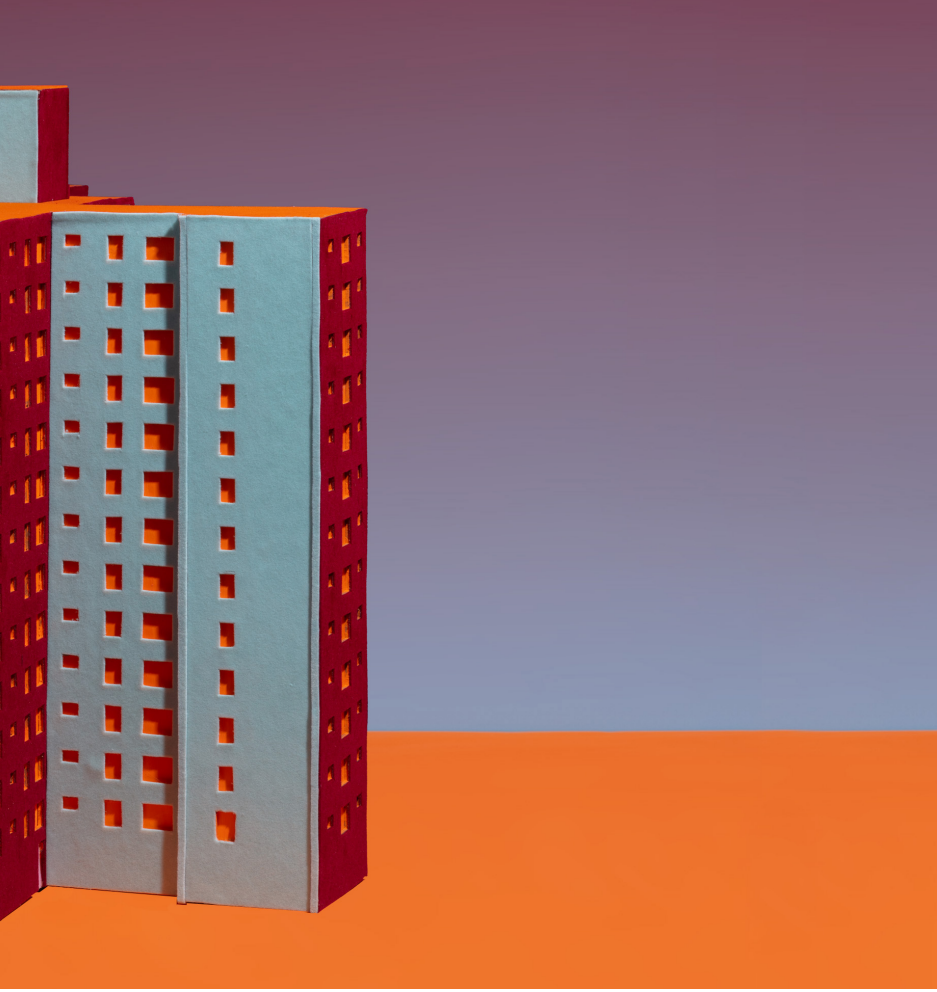

## Insured Savings and Loan Associations

The Savings and Loan Foundation, Inc., 1111 "E" Street, N. W., Washington 4, D.C.

FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN INSURANCE CORPORATION — SAFETY OF YOUR SAVINGS — INSURED — UP TO $10,000



# URBAN RENEWAL



*Get off the grid at New York's newest kind of residential property: the housing project! Our Urban Renewal Area demonstrates what happens when you take an avante-garde architect and man of leisure along the French Riviera with no relationship to New York City, and then allow an overzealous public official with contempt for minorities to freely misinterpret his ideas. What is the Radiant City if not a place to house everyone ineligible for the GI Bill? What is a neighborhood of brownstones and parks along navigable, walkable grids, if not a place that might be interrupted by a parkway? Remember: no lawn is better maintained than one fenced off between difficult-to-access buildings.*

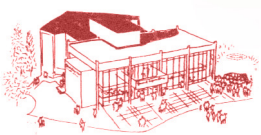
## 7 BRUTALIST CONCRETE JUNGLE OF MISPLACED EUROPEAN UTOPIAS

Run amok with the haute bourgeoise in a city they scarcely understand. "Even before taking his first trip to New York in 1935, Le Corbusier described the city as 'utterly devoid of harmony,'" writes Dana Schulz for Arch Daily. "After seeing it in person, his feelings didn't soften." It probably didn't help that his first trip produced no business. Regardless, writes the MIT Press, "the experience…had a profound effect on him, both personally and professionally." When he returned years later, he was ready to leave his own mark on the city…But one of Le Corbusier's biggest and most controversial ideas—and the one that had the most impact on New York City—was the "Radiant City." In this architectural idea, "blighted" landscapes where low-income communities lived should be destroyed and replaced with towers surrounded by parkland. Cars were to be separated from pedestrians and businesses were to be strictly separated from homes. "Though radical, strict and nearly totalitarian in its order, symmetry and standardization, Le Corbusier's proposed principles had an extensive influence on modern urban planning and led to the development of new high-density housing typologies," writes Gili Merin for Arch Daily. —Kat Eschner, *Smithsonian Magazine*, 2017

## 8 NEW YORK ON THE MOVE!

From 1946-1956, Robert Moses displaced nearly half a million New Yorkers. "Robert Moses played a larger role in shaping the physical environment of New York City than probably any other figure in the 20th century. He constructed parks, highways, bridges, playgrounds, housing, tunnels, beaches, zoos, civic centers, exhibition halls, and the 1964-65 New York

World's Fair. When his tenure as chief of the state park system came to a close, New York had an unprecedented 2,567,256 acres of parkland. He built 658 playgrounds in New York City, 416 miles of parkways, and 13 bridges."
—New York Preservation Archive Project



## 9

### ANOTHER WEST SIDE STORY

Dine lavishly at our West Side Story dinner theater extravaganza about the clearing of the land for Lincoln Center. Listen in on about high-handed decisions on what culture "matters." Lincoln Center was the crown-jewel project of the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, which was overseen by Robert Moses, the man who reshaped the city in the mid-20th century. The "urban renewal" plan, which leveled 18 city blocks on the Upper West Side, also included educational, commercial and residential facilities. The project displaced more than 7,000 lower-class families and 800 businesses. Few, if any, of the 4,400 new housing units were intended for the area's previous residents, who were almost exclusively black and Hispanic. Even worse, the relocation assistance promised by the committee never materialized.

"Moses was not making even a pretense of creating new homes for the families displaced," Robert A. Caro wrote in "The Power Broker," the Pulitzer-winning biography of the planning czar's life and career.

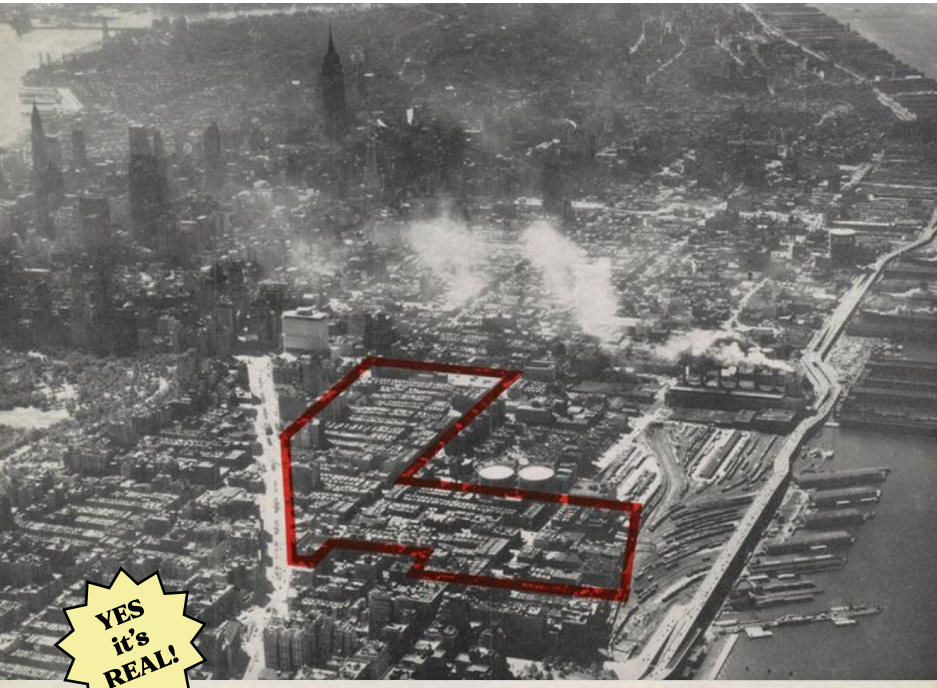
Many of these evicted New Yorkers instead crammed into other low-income areas like Harlem and parts of the Bronx, deepening the rift of segregation and, ironically, creating new slums in a different part of the city.'
—Keith Williams, *The New York Times,* 2017

Reflecting on his background, Stern once memorably quipped that cultural exchanges between the U.S. and Soviet Russia were simple affairs: "They send us their Jews from Odessa, and we send them our Jews from Odessa." —Michael Specter, *The New York Times,* April 11, 1994

# TO BUILD HIS HIGHWAYS, MOSES THREW OUT OF THEIR HOMES 250,000 PERSONS

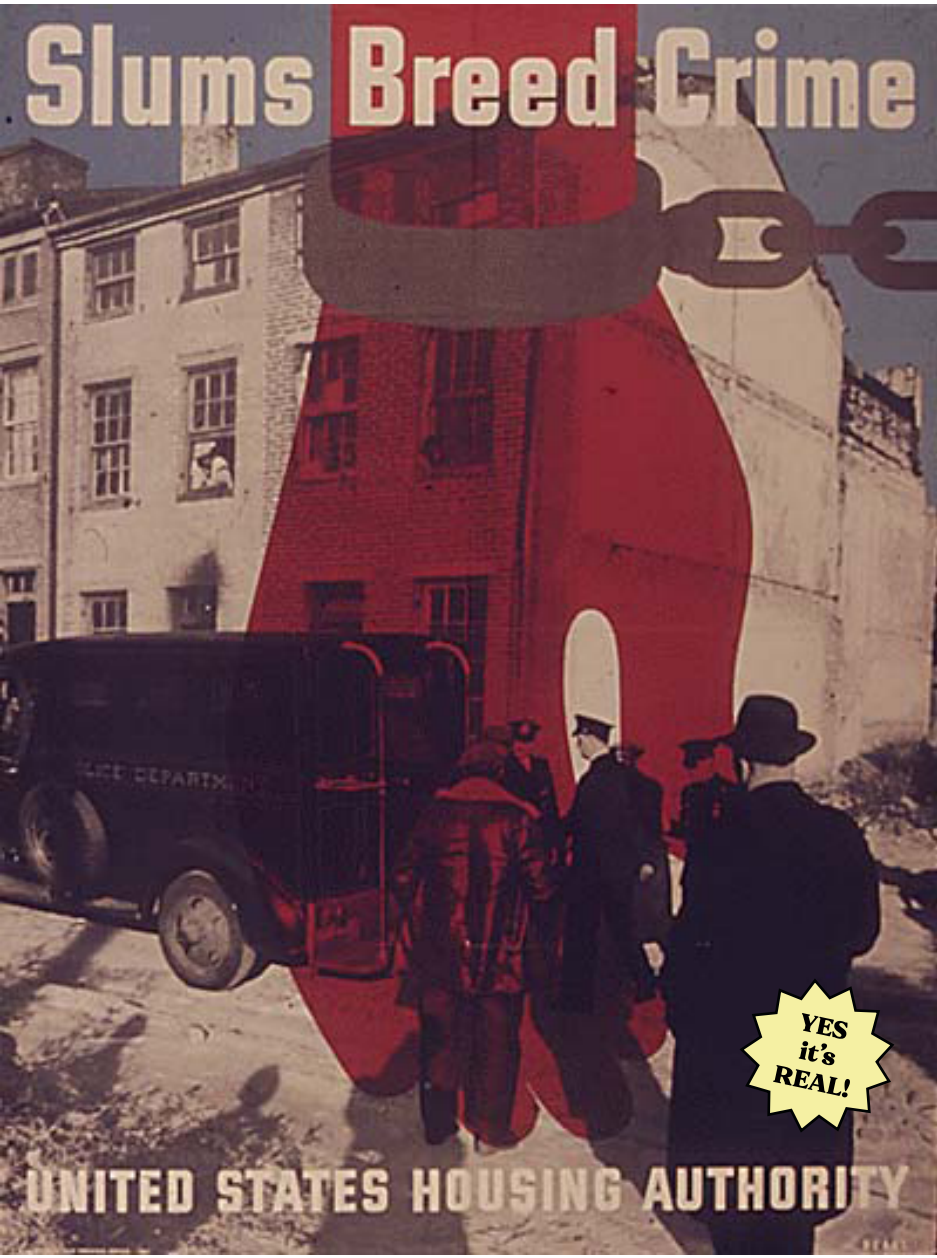
**—more people than lived in Albany or Chattanooga, or in Spokane, Tacoma, Duluth, Akron, Baton Rouge, Mobile, Nashville or Sacramento. He tore out the hearts of a score of neighborhoods.**

—Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*




## LINCOLN SQUARE

SLUM CLEARANCE PLAN
UNDER TITLE 1 OF THE
HOUSING ACT OF 1949 AS AMENDED




'Moses and the private builders created Le Corbusier-inspired superblocks. Because Moses wanted his projects free of commercial life, no neighborhood stores were available. Because he wanted the clean lines of modernist architecture, this housing did not consist of row buildings with their windows close to the street and their front stoops. Instead, a big gulf existed physically between the city grid and these projects. John Cheever wrote..."Their bleakness is absolute. No man has ever dreamed of a city of such monotonous severity, and there must be some bond between our houses and our dreams.'" —PBS

## 10 REDHOOK WAVEPOOL

Cool down in a pavilion that revisits New York's past as a port city, before Robert Moses roads' cut off the shoreline: 'In the 20th century, along with the disappearance of manufacturing, Red Hook suffered a similar fate to other parts of the city: Jobs left, and Robert Moses arrived.

In the 1930s, Moses, then the city's parks commissioner and still under the sharp eye of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, included Red Hook in the list of neighborhoods where pool complexes would be built with money from the Works Progress Administration. The Sol Goldman pool, as it was later named (after a New York real estate mogul; is anything more New York than that?), opened in 1936, replacing a landfill locally referred to as Tin Can Mountain, which at the time of its demolition was also a Hooverville and home to 400 families…

Initially, the pool was surrounded by parks and soccer fields—some of which remain and are being detoxified after decades of disrepair. The long-term plan had been to convert the area into a much larger recreation site, at least until 1938, when New York's Public Housing Authority took possession of the land to the north—this time displacing 300 families—with the intention of building public housing.

The Red Hook Houses, which opened in 1939, were one of the earliest housing projects in New York, as well as the largest (they remain the largest in Brooklyn). At the time of construction, they were envisioned as a safe, clean, modern place to live, free from the unhealthy conditions that plagued the tenements. The first round of highly screened residents—the "deserving poor"—were mostly local Italian and Irish dockworkers. Eleanor Roosevelt toured the Houses in 1940; the great social realist Marion Greenwood painted a fresco for one of the lobbies titled "Blueprint for Living." In 1942, Red Hook's fate as a remote enclave on the other

side of the tracks was solidified when the Gowanus Expressway was pushed through, demolishing a swath of established neighborhoods. Eight years later the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel was opened. Red Hook, until then a comprehensive part of the Brooklyn map, was now on its own, cut off.' —Glynnis MacNicol, *The New York Times*, 2022

**I raise my stein to the builder who can remove ghettos without moving people as I hail the chef who can make omelets without breaking eggs. —Robert Moses**

## 11 STUYVESANT, STILL BUILDING WALLS

Named for Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch director-general of New Amsterdam and erector of the wall at Wall Street, Stuyvesant Town, built in postwar Manhattan under the Mitchell-Lama Program, still made exclusion a priority: "Stuyvesant, the private capital owning and managing its housing project, has the power by its private action to fix its own policies with respect to selection of its tenants without any governmental act, consent or approval. Under the cases the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution and article I of the State Constitution are not applicable to such private action."

—*Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town Corp*, 1949

"We remap cities racially in order to solve economic crises"
—Craig Steven Wilde

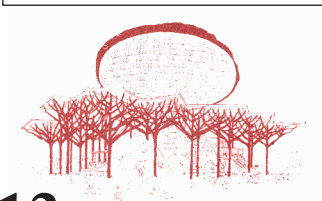
## 12 REDLINE ZIPLINE

Zoom down this high-flying attraction and straight into a denied loan. 'The Federal Reserve defines redlining as "the practice of denying a creditworthy applicant a loan for housing in a certain neighborhood even though the applicant may otherwise be eligible for the loan". The term is a "nod to how lenders identified and referenced neighborhoods with a greater share of people deemed more likely to default on mortgage. Using red ink, lenders outlined on paper maps the parts of a city that were considered at high risk of default, as well as more desirable neighborhoods for approving a loan. Riskier neighborhoods were predominantly black and Latino." Due to a general lack of funding, communities began to crumble and segregated neighborhood lines became even stronger.

Though redlining originated back in the 1930s, and has since been declared by courts to be an illegal racist practice, its lasting impacts can still be seen in cities across the country, including New York. In 2018, the New Economy Project reported that banks and other mortgage lenders were significantly more likely to deny loan applications as the percentage of black or Latino residents in the New York City Neighborhoods increased. The organization also published a series of maps that highlight banks' failure to locate branches in communities of color. Their research found that banks and other mortgage lenders denied black applicants more than twice as often as white applicants (26% over 12%). Further, there are similar denial rate disparities for New Yorkers looking to refinance an existing mortgage (lenders deny 53% of black, 44% of Latino, and 40% of Asian New Yorkers, compared to 30% of white New Yorkers).'

—Blake Michael, *Fordham Environmental Law Review Journal*, 2021

These inequities were exacerbated during World War II and its aftermath, when the Office of Price Administration froze rents nationwide. Without violating regulations, landlords subdivided apartments in already-crowded urban areas and then charged more. These higher costs accumulated throughout the twentieth century, making it more difficult for African Americans, even with stable employment, to save. Reduced savings made it less likely they could afford even modest down payments for houses in middle-class neighborhoods—were such homes made available to them.
—Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*



## 13 LADY LIBERTY'S LUCKY LOTTERY

Defer dreams—but not the draft! Be all that you can be! 'By 1965, many middle-class men had come to expect deferments. Military service, to them, was for "suckers" who had made poor choic-

# EMINENT DOMAIN

18 HOLES WHERE ONCE WERE THRIVING NEIGHBORHOODS!

## MINI GOLF

1. In 1955, 1,530 apartments were demolished in East Tremont for a single mile of the Cross Bronx Expressway.

2. In the ten years it took to build the Cross Bronx Expressway, roughly 4,000 families were forced out of their homes.

3. To make way for the construction of Lincoln Center, 7,000 local families, mostly Black and Latino, were evicted.

4. To construct the New York Coliseum in 1956, 500 families were displaced around Columbus Circle.

5. Construction of the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway around Red Hook led to the displacement of 5,000 local residents.

6. Robert Moses built a total of 148,000 public housing units in New York City.

7. Hunts Point, once a vibrant community with a Latin Jazz scene, lost two-thirds of its population due to the construction of Sheridan Expressway.

8. In 1965, 1,800 families were displaced by the construction of Seward Park on the Lower East Side.

9 Moses placed the Robert F. Kennedy Bridge's exit ramp in Harlem to avoid harming Upper East Side real estate values.

10 The Manhattantown project on the Upper West Side razed six residential city blocks in 1951.

11 In 1957, 421 homes in Clearview were displaced for the construction of the Throgs Neck Bridge.

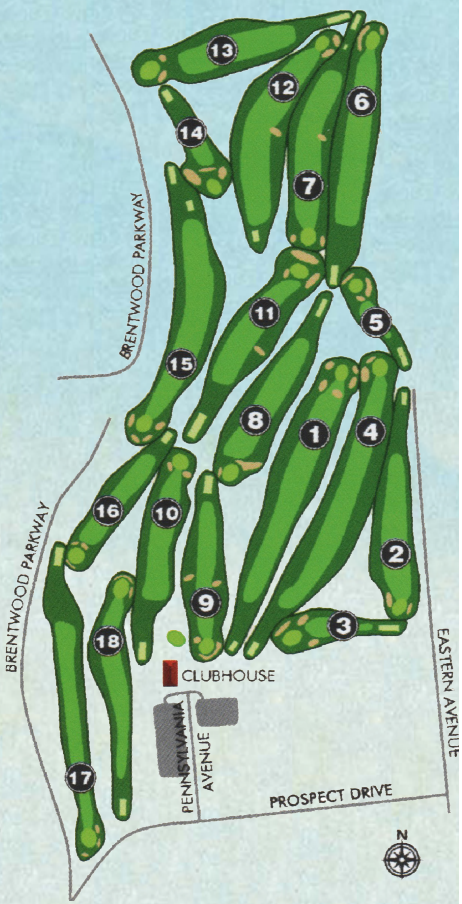
12 In the 1950s, the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway bifurcated Williamsburg and paralyzed its economy.

13 In 1964, 7,000 residents in Bay Ridge were displaced to complete the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge

14 The environmental degradation of marshland from the Belt Parkway's construction is largely blamed for severe flooding during Hurricane Sandy.

15 Moses' plans for segregated housing in Brownsville created one of the largest—and most under-resourced—public housing clusters in the US.

16 "I have recently seriously proposed a workable, uncompromising plan involving at the start 160,000 people, to raze the central Brooklyn slums and move residents." —Robert Moses, 1969 (the plan was never realized)




17 "Democracy had not solved the problem of building large-scale urban public works, so Moses solved it by ignoring democracy."—Robert Caro

18 "To [Moses], the Rockaways' distant location made it an ideal destination for troubled families and individuals. The projects... were soon joined by facilities for recently deinstitutionalized mental patients and high-rise nursing homes." —*NYT*

choices. Working-class men, of course, were not "suckers." Rather, Great Society policies meant to strengthen the economy by alleviating poverty ended up targeting them for military service…Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara actively wanted the armed forces to be part of the solution. He firmly believed that military service could be used to "rehabilitate" men caught in the cycle of poverty. He, along with Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan, argued that military training freed poor men from the "squalid ghettos of their external environment" and the "internal and more destructive ghetto of personal disillusionment and despair." McNamara wanted a program that would bolster national security by eliminating a source of social unrest and benefit American combat readiness by boosting the number of men in uniform. In August 1966, he announced the Defense Department's intention to bring up to 100,000 previously ineligible men into the military each year to "salvage" them. Project 100,000, as it came to be known, would "rescue" poor and especially minority men from the "poverty-encrusted environments" in which they had been raised. These so-called New Standards men—who were otherwise ineligible for military service—were to be admitted into all branches of the armed forces, both voluntarily through enlistment and involuntarily through the draft. —Amy J. Rutenberg, "How the Draft Reshaped America," *The New York Times*, 2017

**Highlights**

**MISTING STATION: SMOG**

This area's cool-down station will leave you in a haze of happiness. 'Once upon a time, you could touch the air in New York. It was that filthy. No sensible person would put a toe in most of the waterways.

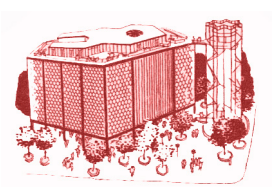
In 1964, Albert Butzel moved to New York City, which then had the worst air pollution among big cities in the United States."I not only saw the pollution, I wiped it off my windowsills," Mr. Butzel, 78, an environmental lawyer, said. "You'd look at the horizon and it would be yellowish. It was business as normal."

Thanksgiving weekend in 1966 was warm, and a haze of smog—sulfur dioxide and carbon monoxide—wrapped around the city. About 200 people died, a toll similar to a smog crisis in 1953.'
—Jim Dwyer, *The New York Times*, 2017

**FIRST AID STATION**

Stop by our medical station for an intolerable, shamefully long, bureaucratically opaque wait to address some of the health issues found in the Urban Renewal Area! "For the many thousands of New Yorkers who live with asthma–including an estimated 174,000 children under the age of 12–the winter months can often be particularly painful and debilitating. Cold, dry air outdoors, and in poorly heated spaces indoors, constricts nasal passages and the body's other airways, exacerbating asthmatic conditions. The long hours typically spent indoors during the winter also increase exposure to the allergens, like mice, cockroaches, and mold, that can trigger attacks.

Poor-quality housing is strongly associated with asthma morbidity…Children living in high-poverty households as well as Black and Latino children are also disproportionately likely to be diagnosed with asthma. Prevalence also varies by place; in 2010, nearly a third of asthma-related emergency room visits in New York City were children from the Bronx. And that doesn't even tell the whole story; asthma rates tend to be underestimated, largely due to lack of primary care and diagnosis for many people."
—Kristen Lewis, Sarah Burd-Sharps, Bruce Cory, The Center for NYC Affairs at the New School



## 14 HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL FLUSHING MEADOWS

Find family fun in the industrial wastelands of yore! Learn about Flushing Meadows' environmental heritage in the early 20th century, and its cameo in American

## LEAD PAINT, STILL HERE: THE TOLL OF NYCHA'S LEAD LIES

The inspectors arrived at the Tompkins Houses in Brooklyn to check for lead paint when resident Shari Broomes was a young woman. They randomly tested a couple of apartments and later declared the entire public housing development—all 1,031 units—to be "lead free."

The Tompkins sampling was part of a citywide effort New York City Housing Authority managers undertook in the early 2000s to reduce the number of apartments they were required to inspect each year. All told, NYCHA deemed nearly 84,000 public housing units in 170 developments citywide to be lead free—even though the vast majority of them weren't actually tested.

Broomes doesn't remember hearing anything about the testing then or anything about the determination of no lead paint problems at Tompkins. Until now.

An investigation by THE CITY has revealed that more than 5,000 "lead free" public housing apartments—including some at Tompkins—contain lead paint. And that number is likely to grow with test results, via a lead-detecting device called XRF, pending for another 40,000 units…

The alarming truth about these units has quietly emerged behind the scenes after NYCHA was forced to re-inspect 134,000 apartments officials suspected might contain lead. That included the 84,000 units previously declared "lead free."

The re-inspections began in 2018 after federal prosecutors filed a damning complaint detailing years of deceit by NYCHA managers to cover up squalid conditions—from toxic mold infestations to busted elevators to rat invasions—tormenting many of NYCHA's 400,000 tenants.

And prosecutors cited NYCHA for lying about its lead paint crisis to the federal government, the press and—most of all—to tenants.

The prosecutors specifically noted anecdotal evidence that raised doubts about whether NYCHA's "lead free" apartments were actually uncontaminated by lead, which can harm children's development. Mayor Bill de Blasio ordered the do-over in July of that year.

Tens of thousands of lab test results remain pending and NYCHA still has to reinspect another 30,000 units, but the results uncovered so far are alarming. In some "lead free" developments, half of the apartments for which NYCHA has received lab results have been found to contain lead…

For the thousands of tenants living in these apartments, the results of the retesting effort are particularly disturbing. For years, they'd believed there was no potential threat.

—Greg B. Smith, "The Toll of NYCHA's Lead Lies: A Brooklyn Girl Poisoned as Officials Covered Up Danger," *THE CITY*, 2021

BENJAMIN MOORE PAINTS
...PREFERRED BY PROFESSIONALS
...PERFECT FOR YOU

Benjamin Moore paints

Literature: "About half-way between West Egg and New York the motor road hastily joins the railroad and runs beside it for a quarter of a mile, so as to shrink away from a certain desolate area of land. This is the valley of ashes—a fantastic farm where ashes grow like wheat into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens; where ashes take the forms of houses and chimneys and rising smoke and, finally, with a transcendent effort, of men who move dimly and already crumbling through the powdery air."
—F. Scott Fitzgerald,
*The Great Gatsby*

## 15 NOSHING NEWCOMERS

Look! There goes the neighborhood! Dine with gentrification's vanguard and find this exclusive oasis in the food desert! Tell everyone—for years to come—that you went first! 'Food culture shapes identity and status, and is integral to gentrification. New restaurants are signposts of trendiness to attract younger and more affluent residents. Restaurants and specialty grocers emphasize ethnic foodways to signify "authenticity" (sometimes ironically) during periods of rapid demographic and socioeconomic change...Even ethnic, street food, and working-class dishes have been elevated to status-conferring products by businesses catering to affluent residents.

If newcomers reject the food of an existing community it can lead to economic loss, but if gentrifiers refashion these foods and practices, and appropriate them as authentic examples of the neighborhood's culture, they may become attractive to more affluent people but less accessible or appealing to longstanding residents and may lead to the displacement of existing businesses…Symbolic appropriation of the pre-existing food culture can exclude long-time residents who feel they do not fit the identity or cannot afford to patronize the new grocers or restaurants that maintain such an identity.'

—Nevin Cohen, CUNY
Urban Food Policy Institute

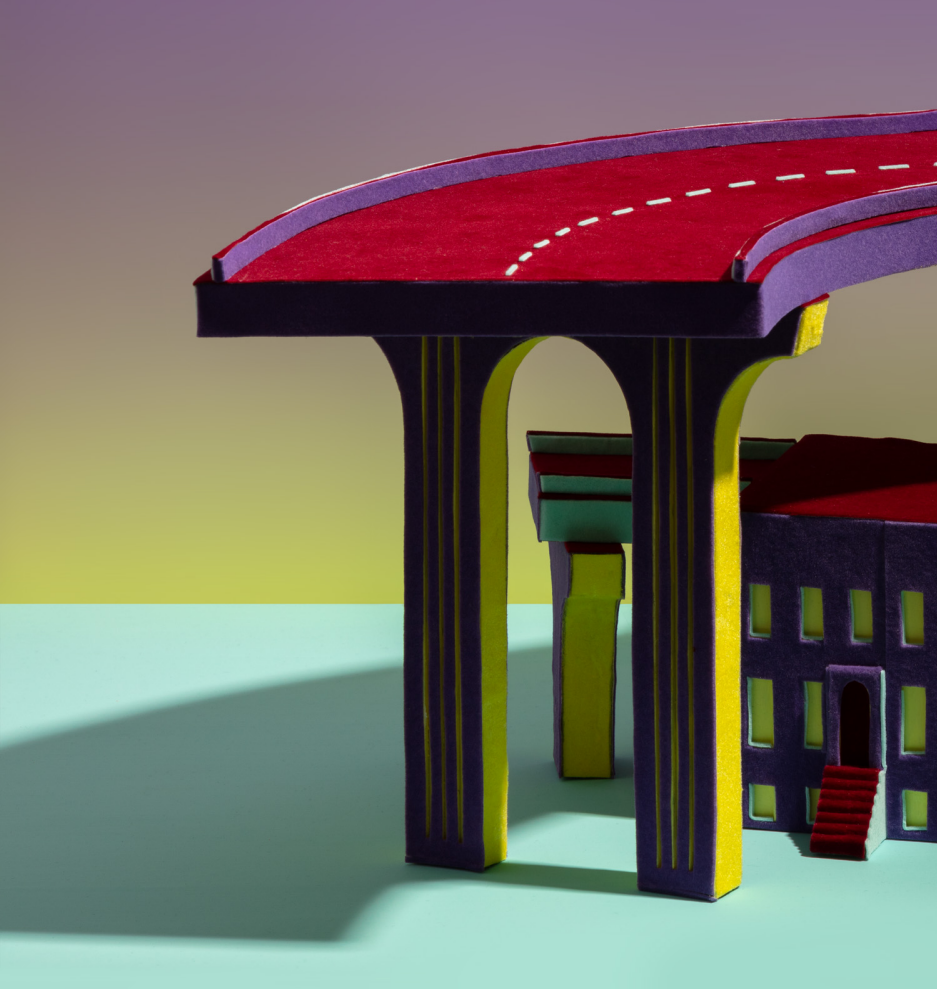
# WELCOME TO THE

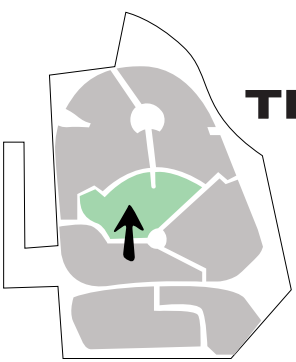
One major consequence of redlining are food deserts. The United States Department of Agriculture defines food deserts as low-income, typically urban communities lacking stores that sell healthy and affordable food. Without access to fresh, good-quality food, impoverished areas are subjected to hunger, poor diets, obesity, and other diet-related illnesses.

# WORLD'S FARE

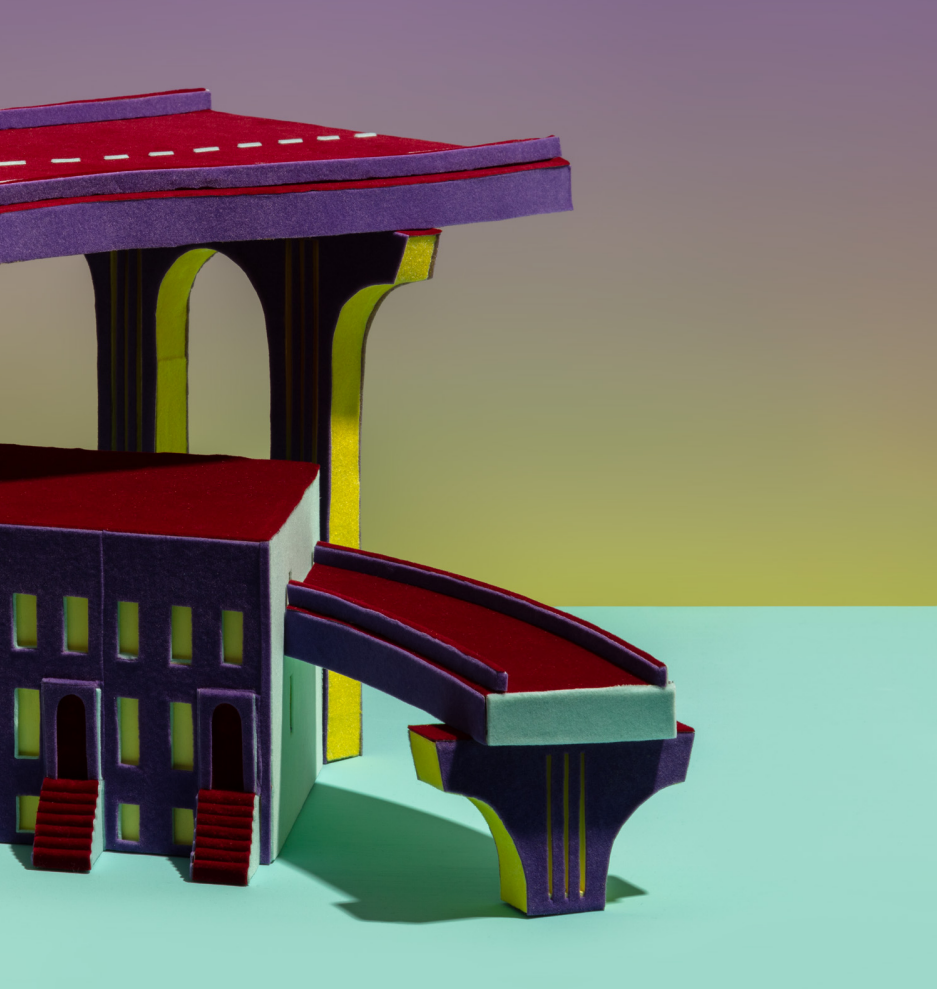
According to The United States Department of Agriculture data, about 23.5 million people live in low-income, food desert areas. This is roughly 8.4 percent of the U.S. population. Also, of all households, 2.3 million people live more than a mile from a supermarket and do not have access to a vehicle. Overall, Feeding America has found that almost half of Americans are below the SNAP poverty threshold. —Move for Hunger

A&P
*Super Markets*





# TRANSPORTATION

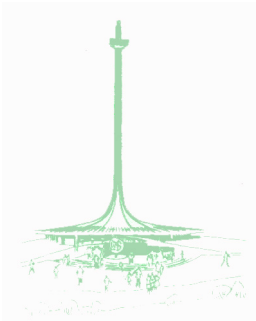


*Make way for the 20th Century! Our Transportation Area's main pavilion brings the highway of the future right into your living room—literally! Learn the story of East Tremont in the Bronx and the brave path it cleared to create a great wide, way straight from Westchester to New Jersey! Robert Moses built 627 miles of road in New York City, but this one mile in East Tremont was extra tricky. See 54 apartment buildings—and 1,530 families—stand down in the way of progress! Watch the Cross Bronx Expressway unfurl and witness the bisection of an entire borough! The story of the single mile that the Cross Bronx cleared in East Tremont is emblematic of a larger strategy of eminent domain: people get out of the way so the car can roam free! Just be careful as you cross that eight-lane highway to say good-morning to your neighbor!*

## 16 BACKSEAT BRAVURA

Have a gander at the selfishness that will someday power self-driving! Kick back without a care in the world about who's at the wheel! Despite building 627 miles of road, "Robert Moses had never, aside from a few driving lessons thirty years before, driven a car. He didn't know what driving was. His chauffeured limousine was an office, to him a particularly pleasant office, in fact, since in it he was away from secretaries and the telephone and in its upholstered confines he could bury himself in work without interruption. Traveling by car had been pleasant for him in the 1920's; it was still pleasant for him in the 1950's."
—Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*

"They just stirred up the animals there, so I just held fast, that was all we had to do."—Robert Moses in response to the pushback of East Tremont residents to the Cross-Bronx Expressway



## 17 LONG ISLAND EXPRESSWAY OVERPASSES LIMBO COMPETITION

How low can you go? See to what depths New York will sink to keep its white powder sand beaches white! 'Roosevelt wouldn't interfere even when he found out that Moses was discouraging Negroes from using many of his state parks. Underlying Moses' strikingly strict policing for cleanliness in his parks was, Frances Perkins realized with "shock," deep distaste for the public that was using them. "He doesn't love the people," she was to say. "It used to shock me because he was doing all these things for the welfare of the people...He'd denounce the common people terribly. To him they were lousy, dirty people, throwing bottles all over Jones Beach. 'I'll get them! I'll teach them!' ...He loves the public, but

not as people. The public is just The Public. It's a great amorphous mass to him; it needs to be bathed, it needs to be aired, it needs recreation, but not for personal reasons—just to make it a better public." Now he began taking measures to limit use of his parks. He had restricted the use of state parks by poor and lower-middle-class families in the first place, by limiting access to the parks by rapid transit; he had vetoed the Long Island Rail Road's proposed construction of a branch spur to Jones Beach for this reason. Now he began to limit access by buses; he instructed Shapiro to build the bridges across his new parkways low—too low for buses to pass. Bus trips therefore had to be made on local roads, making the trips discouragingly long and arduous. For Negroes, whom he

considered inherently "dirty," there were further measures. Buses needed permits to enter state parks; buses chartered by Negro groups found it very difficult to obtain permits, particularly to Moses' beloved Jones Beach; most were shunted to parks many miles further out on Long Island. And even in these parks, buses carrying Negro groups were shunted to the furthest reaches of the parking areas. And Negroes were discouraged from using "white" beach areas—the best beaches—by a system Shapiro calls "flagging"; the handful of Negro lifeguards [...] were all stationed at distant, least developed beaches. Moses was convinced that Negroes did not like cold water; the temperature at the pool at Jones Beach was deliberately icy to keep Negroes out. When Negro civic groups from the hot New York City slums began to complain about this treatment, Roosevelt ordered an investigation and an aide confirmed that "Bob Moses is seeking to discourage large Negro parties from picnicking at Jones Beach, attempting to divert them to some other of the state parks." Roosevelt gingerly raised the matter with Moses, who denied the charge violently—and the Governor never raised the matter again."
—Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*

There is a handbill making the rounds at the Department of Transportation that bears the following declaration: "No more white highways through black bedrooms." The circular was distributed by a Washington organization with the unlikely name "N***** Incorporated." It is an unabashedly militant group whose members reportedly are willing to "lie down in front of the bulldozers" if necessary to halt the creep of the big machines. What stirred the group's ire—and that of similar neighborhood organizations—Is a controversial proposal to build a new super-bridge across the Potomac River and then connect it with several freeways. One would cut through the neighborhood where members of N***** Incorporated reside.
—*The New York Times*, 1967

"Not TV or illegal drugs but the automobile has been the chief destroyer of American communities."
—Jane Jacobs, *Dark Age Ahead*

## 18 MY GOODNESS, BEL GEDDES-DESIGNED BEER PAVILION

Drive drunk—on futurism! Just remember that the only way to pay for concessions at this pavilion is with Robert Moses' own Triborough Bridge Authority bonds: 'Authorities, on the other hand, grew continually more prosperous from revenues guaranteed by covenants that were sacred contacts, safe from pubic whim or will. During the first postwar quarter century, New York City's bonds fluctuated fairly substantially in the rating they were given for safety. Triborough's held steady, year after year—at AAA, the highest rating given. Ask New York bankers why they are so eager to buy public authority bonds and they begin, as does Dwayne Saunders, vice president of the investment division of the Chemical Bank, by speaking sanctimoniously of "our feeling of responsibility to

TRIBOROUGH BRIDGE AND TUNNEL AUTHORITY

1965

Only one borough of New York City—the Bronx—is on the mainland of the United States, and bridges link the island borough that form metropolis. Since 1931, seven such bridges were built, immense structures some of them anchored by towers as tall as seventy-story buildings, supported by cables made up of enough wire to drop a noose around the earth. Those bridges are the Triborough, the Verrazano, the Throgs Neck, the Marine, the Henry Hudson, the Cross Bay and the Bronx-Whitestone. Robert Moses built every one of those bridges."

—Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*

the community" by financing projects that will benefit it. But the longer one talks to bankers, the less the talk is of responsibility and the more it dwells on more mundane considerations. A Triborough bond "is a very, very high-quality instrument, you know"…Moses wanted banks to be so eager to purchase Triborough bonds that they would use all of their immense power to force elected officials to give his public works proposals the approval that would result in their issuance.'
—Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*

## 19 HIGHWAYS & HORIZONS

Every motorist harbors some admiration for German engineering; we invite you to come by and gain a new appreciation for German civil engineering in our everyday lives! 'Eisenhower's interest in the U.S. highway system dated back to his participation in the Army's first transcontinental motor convoy from Washington to San Francisco in 1919, which gave him first-hand knowledge of the poor quality of America's roads. During World War II he became impressed with the German autobahns. In his State of the Union message in 1954, he proposed an American interstate highway system, which he justified as a national defense program. The highways could be used for transporting troops and for evacuating cities in case of nuclear attack.

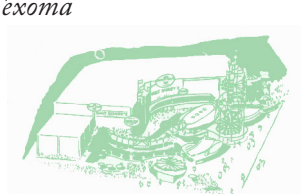
The Eisenhower administration proposed financing the interstate highway system through a federal bond issue, and expected state and local governments to contribute 70 percent of the cost. That plan was rejected by the chairman of the Senate's subcommittee on roads, Tennessee Senator Albert Gore, Sr., who substituted his own bill. Among its features, Senator Gore drew on his harrowing experiences while driving to Tennessee on West Virginia's notorious "suicide alley" turnpike, with its sharp-turn exits. His bill specified that the new interstate highways would feature cloverleaf exits and entrances.' —Senate.gov

## 20 FRONTIER THESIS CAR EXPO

Meet the brand-new Mustang and cross the Continental Divide in cars named for indigenous tribes driven off the very same land! From Pontiacs to Thunderbirds to Winnebagos, we have them all! 'As far back as eight or nine millennia ago, Native Americans forged the trails for purposes of hunting, harvesting seeds, nuts, and fruits, commerce, warfare, and religion. As their cultures grew over time, they mapped out thousands of trails that interconnected from the southern tip of Brazil to the northern shores of Canada and western Alaska.

We have many iconic highways across the U.S., but especially the Lincoln Highway and Route 66. These highways live and breathe today with traffic supporting the same purposes the Native Americans used before European invasion into the Americas. Oklahoma and Texas are not excluded in this history, with many of our roads and highways that began with indigenous ingenuity…

The Native American peoples followed the path of least resistance, just like animals and insects do for survival purposes when forging a trail. The natives used what we call today, Indian marker trees in Oklahoma and Texas. They bent trees by tying them down with leather thongs and ties to mark their trails, pointing to the next direction.' —Kendall Davis, *Lake Texoma*



## 21 BRIDGE & TUNNEL BONANZA

The highway to the future is for cars! And cars alone! 'We have invested heavily in highways to connect commuters to their downtown offices but comparatively little in buses, subways, and light rail to put suburban jobs within reach of urban African Americans

and to reduce their isolation from the broader community. Although in many cases urban spurs of the interstate highway system were unconstitutionally routed to clear African Americans away from white neighborhoods and businesses, that was not the system's primary purpose, and the decision to invest limited transportation funds in highways rather than subways and buses has had a disparate impact on African Americans.

Transportation policies that affected the African American population in Baltimore illustrate those followed throughout the country. Over four decades, successive proposals for rail lines or even a highway to connect African American neighborhoods to better opportunities have been scuttled because finances were short and building expressways to serve suburbanites was a higher priority. Isolating African Americans was not the stated purpose of Maryland's transportation decisions, though there also may have been some racial motivation. In 1975, when Maryland proposed a rail line to connect suburban Anne Arundel County and downtown Baltimore, white suburbanites pressed their political leaders to oppose the plan, which they did. A review by Johns Hopkins University researchers concluded that the residents believed that the rail line "would enable poor, inner-city blacks to travel to the suburbs, steal residents' T.V.s and then return to their ghettos." Maryland's state transportation secretary stated that his office "would not force a transit line on an area that clearly does not want it," failing to explain how he balanced the desires of a white suburban area "that clearly does not want it" with the desires of urban African Americans who needed it.'
—Richard Rothstein, *The Color Of Law: A Forgotten History Of How Our Government Segregated America*

## 22 PEDESTRIAN CONCERNS

Don't miss the bus to our automotive future! And if you

do—watch out! 'The lack of urgency around the problem may, in part, reflect the relatively low status of those being killed. Walking deaths fall disproportionately on those who are poor, black and brown, elderly, disabled, low-income, or some combination thereof—marginalized people with fewer political resources to demand reforms. Their experiences and viewpoints are often lost in a system in which few influential people from politics, media, or business are forced to, for example, rely on the bus in hostile environments like outer Phoenix. Among people privileged enough to avoid these kinds of situations a category that includes most Americans—many view pedestrians as an annoyance or irritation, a potential obstacle on their journey.

That lack of sympathy frequently colors the way these deaths are portrayed. Pedestrians are almost always tacitly blamed for their deaths: for not wearing bright enough clothing, for texting, for wearing headphones, for not making eye contact, and most commonly, for "jaywalking"…Pedestrian victims also contend with an American culture of complacency around traffic deaths more generally. The general acceptance of these deaths as tragic but inevitable has headed off the necessary work of recog-

**Visit the Wonder Rotunda to see the all-new Ford Mustang and ride the Magic Skyway!**

nizing solutions-and finding the will to implement them, even as the numbers have soared.

Understanding the systemic causes is the first step to saving lives. Given the right level of public commitment and resources, pedestrian deaths are preventable.'
—Angie Schmitt, *Right of Way: Race, Class, and the Silent Epidemic of Pedestrian Deaths in America*

## 23 UTOPIA PARKWAY & PLAYGROUND

More than mere ideal, Utopia is a neighborhood in Queens! "Following the consolidation of Queens into New York City in 1898, property developers looked towards Fresh Meadows as an opportunity to build new communities. In 1905, the Utopia Land Company planned to construct an expansive cooperative community for Jewish residents of the Lower East Side on fifty acres of land between 164th Street and Fresh Meadow Lane…The roadways in Utopia were to be named after Lower East Side streets such as Ludlow, Division, Hester, and Essex. When the Utopia Land Company found itself unable to secure additional funding, the project was swiftly abandoned. While the dream of the development faded, the project's name was remembered as the namesake for Utopia Parkway, the major north-south route through Fresh Meadows.

In the post-World War II period Fresh Meadows experienced rapid residential growth…On July 24, 1947 the city's Board of Estimate proposed a new school on the site of nearby Utopia Playground. Citing the high cost and a buried pond beneath the existing playground, NYC Parks Commissioner Robert Moses opposed the idea and Utopia Playground was saved. Instead, Public School 173 was built a few blocks to the north with Fresh Meadows Playground serving as its schoolyard. The playground opened September 1, 1951 and officially transferred to NYC Parks in 1964. The site is jointly operated by NYC Parks and the Department of Education." —NYC Parks Dept.

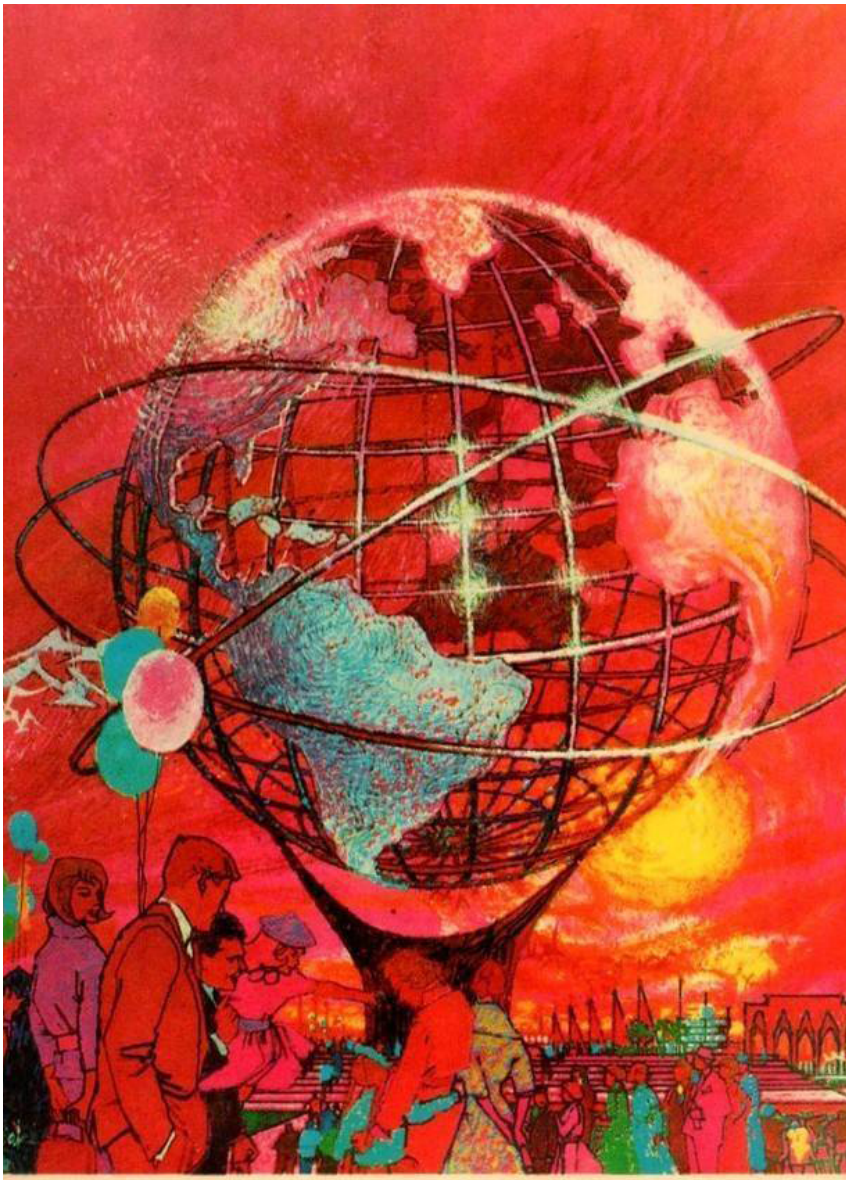
"I have described for you as accurately as I can the structure of the commonwealth of Utopia, which I believe to be the only the best social order in the world, but the only one that can properly claim to be literally a commonwealth. Everywhere else people talk about the public good but pay attention to their own private interests. In Utopia, where there is no private property, everyone is seriously concerned with pursuing the public welfare. Both here and there people act with good reason, for outside Utopia there can't be anyone who doesn't realize that unless they take care of their own welfare they may die of hunger, no matter how much the commonwealth prospers."
—Thomas More, *Utopia*

**Highlights**

**MISTING STATION: OIL SPILL**

The Santa Barbara Oil Spill Misting Station has been made possible with generous funding from Palmolive, which both leaves hands soft while you do dishes and gently removes crude oil from critters! "Fifteen months before the first Earth Day, on January 28, 1969, oil started pooling in a black, tarry slick above the sea, six miles from the postcard-perfect shores of Southern California... Union Oil persuaded the government to issue a waiver for its fifth well—other areas required protective steel casing to extend at least 300 feet below the ocean floor, but Union Oil got permission to install only 239 feet of casing for the new well.

The shortcut proved costly. The pressure prompted a blowout on the fourteenth day of drilling, jetting mud 90 feet above the platform's floor. The company tried to staunch the oil flow from the well, but soon, oilmen noticed the sea bubbling. The buildup of pressure caused natural gas and oil to find and spew through fissures in the ocean floor. For the first 11 days of the spill, oil escaped at a rate of almost 9,000 gallons an hour. By the time Union Oil managed to stop the leakage, roughly three million gallons (4.5 Olympic swimming pools' worth of oil) had spread over 35 miles. It ranked as the worst oil spill in the country's history. (Fifty years later, after even more disastrous oil spills, it's now the third-largest.)"
—*Smithsonian Magazine*, 2019



NEW YORK

# WORLD'S FAIR 1964 1965

# PAVILIONS OF PLENTY

**By Robert H. Haddow, 1997**

The new military and trade alliances that the United States entered into after World War II made American culture into a vastly more exotic and far-flung network of cultural contacts than it had been at any other time in the past. Containing the Soviets required military bases in strategic locations and encouraged trade with all the nations bordering the USSR.

Internationalism was promoted by the interests of large corporations and, more generally, the allure of a world becoming smaller through trade, travel, and the new communication technologies. Americans did not just try to bring the world home they also attempted to Americanize other nations. At times the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower seemed convinced that the United States would not survive unless the domestic ideal then in force in the nation could be successfully exported to the rest of the world, especially to those countries that teetered on the edge of becoming Soviet satellites. Foreign-policy makers developed a two-pronged approach that used both economics (or culture in the broadest sense of the term) and military power. In strategic countries such as Germany and Japan the economic front sustained war-weakened industry, rebuilt infrastructure, and then focused on getting cheap, mass-produced goods into the hands of the people. There were disagreements among politicians and corporate leaders, between activists and conservatives, as to which approach worked best—developmental aid and corporate expansion or just containment—but the notion that the United States had a sacred mission, or at least an obligation, to export freedom democracy, and capitalism was rarely questioned during

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Trade fairs, international exhibitions, and the American Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair showcased an international liberal capitalist economy dominated by Americans. These exhibitions provide opportunities to place consumer products into narratives of larger import, helped create a dazzling image of the consumer, and fueled the desire for modern products. U.S. administrators and corporate donors hoped that their ideal of progress and material abundance would encourage people of other nations to adopt American business methods and open their economies to American companies.

At international trade fairs and world's fairs during the cold war, an aggressive group of volunteers and contractors advanced the notion that a global consumer economy on the U.S. model was the only effective way of preserving civilization from the clutches of Communist tyranny. This group was drawn from the corporate community, the art world, the industrial design profession, the advertising world, and their counterparts in government—the Department of Commerce, the United States Information Agency (USIA), and the office of the presidency.

Free trade and internation-

*Female US guides at the American National Exhibition, Moscow 1959*

al corporations are hardly an American invention. Expansion-minded merchants from the world's industrial nations formed their very own "businessmen's league of nations" in the years just before World War I: the International Chamber of Commerce. These self-styled "merchants of peace" were followers of Adam Smith and his belief that the forces of industry and trade should be free to operate in accordance with the "natural" economic law of supply and demand. They believed that economic expansion, if not allowed to proceed in a rational manner, inevitably took the form of colonialism, or worse, war. In his history of the International Chamber of Commerce, George L. Ridgeway notes, "The First World War proved to be a catastrophic demonstration of the need to develop world-wide responsibility in political, economic, and social fields. Leading businessmen from the five Allied countries who believed in the basic concept of international trade sought to meet this challenge in the sphere of business by establishing a new world institution free of government control." But the Great Depression taught

*Home economist Anne Anderson demonstrates a faux robotic vacuum in the RCA-Whirlpool 'Miracle Kitchen of the Future' (left) and a woman bakes cake mix at Betty Crocker Kitchen, both displays at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959*

business leaders, in the United States at least, that even if they despised government they would have to try to influence it. By necessity, members of the National Association of Manufacturers, Rotary clubs, the International Chamber of Commerce, and newly formed groups such as the Business Council—an assembly of sixty or so CEOs formed in 1933 to lobby Congress and the Roosevelt administration on matters relating to labor policies-became activists during the New Deal. And businessmen did not limit their efforts to Capitol Hill. The world's fairs of the interwar years in Chicago, New York, and San Francisco proved powerful methods of getting the opinions and visions of corporate leadership out in front of the public, as did advertisements, Hollywood movies, museums, and department stores.

International exhibitions provided excellent opportunities for businessmen to popularize their gospel of free trade, one-worldism, and the benevolent guidance of corporate leadership. The historian Robert Rydell writes of an "exhibition culture" that

had become full blown by the turn of the century, with leadership sharing acquired skills and themes across national and economic boundaries, promoting an ever-widening consensus of support for business culture and the culture of material abundance. At Paris (1867, 1889, 1925, 1931, and 1937); Buffalo (1901); New Orleans (1915); Chicago (1893, 1933); and New York (1939-40) power brokers displayed their wealth within narratives of progress and in educational displays promising the masses universal prosperity. During the depression this message was a powerful counterweight to the New Deal claim that good government and social planning were the only routes to prosperity. At world's fairs, corporations were able to exhibit private versions of benevolent control and development, keeping before the Public dramatic visions of utopian cities developed by enlightened self-interest-socially responsible corporate leadership that rendered excessive regulation obsolete. Corporate exhibits, such as General Motors's Futurama at the 1939-40 New York World's Fair, put before the people tangible examples of a prosperous, responsible capitalism—in this case a planned city with superhighways—in the belief that popular support would follow glamorous design and visionary planning.

As World War II came to an end, traternal business organizations pulled together in order to ensure a renewed prosperity and to counter the perceived threat to business posed by both domestic New Deal programs and Soviet competition. Certain individuals and associations worked especially hard to form a rapprochement between government and industry outside of the existing New Deal model. Paul G. Hoffman of the Studebaker Company, vice chairman of the Business Council, formed the Committee for Economic Development (CED) with William Benton of the Benton and Bowles advertising agency, among others, in order to help advise business and government regarding reconversion to peacetime. The CED was closely allied with the Business Council and the Department of Commerce under W. Averell

Harriman, establishing "a national network of volunteers dedicated to the twin principles of decentralization and voluntarism." If a group of businessmen, for example, in a local chamber of commerce, Kiwanis Club, Rotary organization, or chapter of the National Association of Manufacturers attempted to shape the postwar economy in their particular area, the CED's regional and national offices "publicized their efforts, provided advice, and applauded heartily when problems were seriously addressed." The two thousand-plus members of the CED assisted postwar planning groups scattered throughout the American heartland who were motivated by the concern that depression would follow the war, destroying "the marketplace capitalist system." The Advertising Council, a trade group formed during World War II to help sell war bonds and promote victory gardens, salvage campaigns, and perform similarly patriotic activities, provided crucial publicity for the business community. The historian Robert Griffith explains that whereas the CED was concerned with the manufacture of information in the public interest, the Advertising Council, which never demobilized after the war, deciding to help fight communism and sponsor public service campaigns, was concerned with its mass distribution?

Hope of reestablishing an international economic system after World War II was threatened primarily by the power of the American economy in relation to the rest of the world and by the Soviet Union's growing competition for resources and markets. Corporate leaders who had learned how to work with the U.S. government during the New Deal, despite their dislike of regulation, entered into partnership with government in order to "maintain American economic, military, and political interests in strategic parts of the globe." When Truman needed support for the Marshall Plan, for example, he asked the former Business Council chairman, W. Averell Harriman, to help expedite government-industry collaboration among conservative businessmen. Harriman later became the foreign representative of the Economic Cooperation Ad-

*Nixon and Khrushchev square off in front of the Whirlpool 'Miracle Kitchen of the Future' at the 1959 American Exhibition in Moscow in what became known as the Kitchen Debate*

*The American Atomics Pavilion for the India World Exhibition, New Delhi 1955*

*Afghan workers follow colored-coded markings on structural components to quickly assemble the geodesic US Pavilion for the Jeshyn International Fair, Kabul 1956*

*"Plastics: USA" exhibition, USSR 1961*

ministration (ECA), the economic and technical arm of the Marshall Plan, and Paul Hoffman became the head of the ECA's domestic office.

The U.S. economic system emerged from World War II a highly developed consumer society in which the style and glamour of objects were becoming as important as their availability. Glamour as symbolized by the streamlined look in the 1930s and 1940s was developed by the new industrial designers: Russel Wright, Raymond Loewy, Norman Bel Geddes, and Walter Dorwin Teague. In the United States this superficial modernism was enlivened by the ethics of the Bauhaus refugees, notably Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy, part of the emigration of artistic and architectural talent from fascist Europe. Walter Gropius had established the Bauhaus in Germany "to create cultural integration—more than just industrial design—a blend of arts and humanities." For Moholy-Nagy, who was the driving force behind the transplantation of the Bauhaus to Chicago, design and architecture were a method

of cultural reform, a way of creating "the total man." In the 1950s, streamlined glamour and irrepressible bursts of American-style opulence would be accompanied by the holistic, organic modernism that was a blend of Bauhaus moralizing and the necessarily stripped-down look of inexpensive, mass-produced housing and consumer products. Whatever its virtues, modernism's so-called democratic spirit and progressive, antitraditional aesthetic made it the favorite design choice at international exhibitions during the cold war.

The cultural reform movement inspired by the Bauhaus might not have taken hold in the United States except that it meshed with a tradition of philanthropy carried on by tycoons like Nelson Rockefeller of Standard Oil, and Chicago's Walter Paepke, CEO of the Container Corporation of America. More important, the idea that moral reform could be the core project of a business enterprise appealed to businessmen like Henry Luce, CEO of Time Inc, who had been reared with the social gospel. Luce's parents were missionaries; he was born while the family was winning souls in China. These businessmen were attracted to the idea of improving their commercial empires while simultaneously improving social welfare through a benevolent, global capitalism. To these ends Rockefeller supported fledgling industries in the Third World; Luce used his publishing empire to help reform business culture and celebrate consumerism; Walter Paepke helped Moholy-Nagy revive the Bauhaus in Chicago in order to unite the humanities with commerce.

Paepke launched his crusade of international cultural reform by sponsoring a Goethe bicentennial celebration in 1947. As the historian James Sloan Allen explains in The Romance of Commerce and Culture, Paepke and Robert M. Hutchins from the University of Chicago became the nucleus of a midwestern movement intent on expanding the humanist values of Goethe into a "celebration of the universal man." Albert Schweitzer was invited to be the keynote speaker of the Goethe festival, and Paepke hoped the conference would

help "reunite a shattered Western culture." The Voice of America broadcast the proceedings of the festival around the world, in six languages, providing a contrast, or counter, to a similar festival in East Germany celebrating Goethe as an early exponent of "world communism." The Chicago speakers were aware of the fact that their festival played a role in the global struggle between democracy and communism. One of the guest speakers fired off the opening salvos in what the historian Christopher Lasch has called the "cultural cold war" by asserting that "free men in a free meeting will... refute the Red line..."

Nelson Rockefeller, whose efforts to help create "a world economic policy based on government-business cooperation'" had also been supported by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Truman, was one of the more influential businessmen willing to assist Eisenhower (especially up through 1955). Rockefeller helped create the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which consolidated programs like social security into a new cabinet post. After resigning from the department in 1954, Rockefeller moved into offices in the White House and became the special assistant to the president for foreign affairs. He immediately formed a planning group to advise Eisenhower on the integration of economic and psychological factors in foreign policy. Rockefeller was a model of the activist-businessman that Ike used to advantage, especially within the trade fair program and the technical-assistance programs, which needed strong involvement from the private sector in order to be successful...

Economic reforms were accompanied by psychological strategists who had learned their trade in the advertising profession, or during World War I under Nelson Rockefeller in the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, in the Office of Strategic Services, and in the Office of War Information. Industrial designers, economists, and advertising professionals offered their talent to the U.S. government through organizations like the Advertising Council, corporations like the Container Corpo-

*The Panorama of the City of New York was conceived of by World's Fair President Robert Moses for the 1964 Fair and built by a team of more than 100 people working under architectural model makers Raymond Lester & Associates over the course of three years*

*'The Formica World's Fair House' featured Formica laminated plastic interior and exterior walls, cabinets, and furniture, New York World's Fair 1964*

*New York's World Fair of 1964 production of 'The Wonderful World of Chemistry' featuring song and dance routines about the virtues of Dupont chemicals Valclene, Zerex, Zepel and Freon*

*1964 World's Fairgoers enjoy Belgian waffles, one of the most popular attractions at the Fair*

ration of American, or Time Inc.'s Time, Life, Fortune, and Architectural Forum. C. D. Jackson, for example, the publisher of Fortune, had worked closely with the Eisenhower campaign in North Africa and Italy in the Office of War Information. Later, he supported NATO policies as president of the National Committee for a Free European organization that included the diplomat Allen Dulles and Eisenhower as well as liberal businessmen such as Jackson's associate Henry Luce and the Hollywood figures Cecil B. DeMille and Darryl Zanuck. The committee was formed to counteract Soviet ideology through so-called information campaigns and the support of dissident exiles from Eastern Europe. Radio Free Europe was the committee's most important operation, broadcasting to Czechoslovakia and later to Hungary and Poland from Munich, beginning on May Day 1951. The broadcasts accompanied trade fair exhibits as "the psychological front line of counterrevolution through seduction," contrasting the virtues of American material culture with the prospect of

an enslaving, death-dealing communism."

Working through the private sector, C. D. Jackson and his colleagues were able to wage a propaganda war that disguised the support and collusion of the U.S. government. The facade of independence gave a degree of authenticity to the programs sponsored by the National Committee for a Free Europe, but more important, it allowed the State Department to disavow any and all U.S. responsibility for such events as the 1956 popular revolt in Hungary, which invited speedy, and bloody, Soviet repression. The Eisenhower administration avoided military confrontations whenever propaganda, cultural, and economic programs would suffice. President Eisenhower was willing to make the long haul and win the cold war with subversive tactics rather than risk nuclear conflagration. Bureaucratic reform within the agencies responsible for U.S. information and cultural programs was one of the first tasks of the new Eisenhower administration. The USIA, created in 1953, inherited the tasks pioneered by the Office of War Information during World War II: the dissemination and interpretation of information. So-called disinformation, or propaganda campaigns, which had been the job of the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, became the concern of the CIA. The State Department retained the cultural programs, which sent artists, scholars, and athletes abroad on goodwill missions. This bureaucratic division of tasks made it appear that the USIA, the Commerce Department, and the State Department were free of propaganda activities, but foreigners soon came to suspect, with good reason, that all U.S. cultural programs were fronts for the CIA and covert action. At least one contemporary American scholar, Robert Rydell, has expressed the same point of view in World of Fairs, in which he compares CIA shenanigans within the American Pavilion at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair (a State Department responsibility) to the spy-versus-spy cartoons of Mad magazine.

The Eisenhower administration employed corporations,

artists, intellectuals, architects, and industrial designers to accomplish its goal of spreading liberal capitalism because artistic and consumer products easily crossed ethnic and political borders and because they represented the uncoerced expressions of tree individuals. Artists and intellectuals, for their part, were usually eager to take government money. CIA money supported, in part, magazines such as DerMont in Germany and Encounter in England, cultural broadcasts over Radio Free Europe, and the humanist debates of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, an affiliation of writers, artists, and intellectuals who met in annual conferences to debate the relative merits of "free expression" and other topics. When it was discovered during the Vietnam era that these cultural and "information" programs were, to some extent, the creatures of the CIA, the brutal reputation of that organization made it appear that some intellectuals may have betrayed a sacred trust. Writing about the Congress for Cultural Freedom during the late 1960s, Christopher Lasch railed against the monstrosity of such a hoax. The idea that intellectuals such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and John Kenneth Galbraith could pretend to be champions of intellectual freedom, on the one hand, and serve as mouthpieces of the "war machine" on the other, seemed to Lasch an unforgivable crime.

Lasch may have erred on the side of melodrama, but his warning that the state requires not "paid propagandists or state-censored time-servers" but free, objective supporters to uphold its policies and promote its goals is an embarrassing truth and a keen indictment of the entire era. Still, intellectuals were not as effective in advertising the American way of life as the consumer products that IBEC and the Commerce Department sent to Asia, Latin America, and Europe. Nylon stockings were far more influential than the CIA-funded debates of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, the jazz programs sent out over the Voice of America, and the exhibitions of abstract art underwritten by MoMA, which were aimed at a narrow range of intellectuals. Consumer products—

*Asian-themed kitchen design from Formica's 'The World's Fair House: Book of Home Styling Ideas' 1964-1965*

from refrigerators on up to prefabricated homes—and the installment plans and other selling strategies that accompanied them, were the heart and soul of Eisenhower's "globalism." The gadgets that now threaten to bury the world knee-deep in banality have proven to have been the most effective weapon in the cold war.

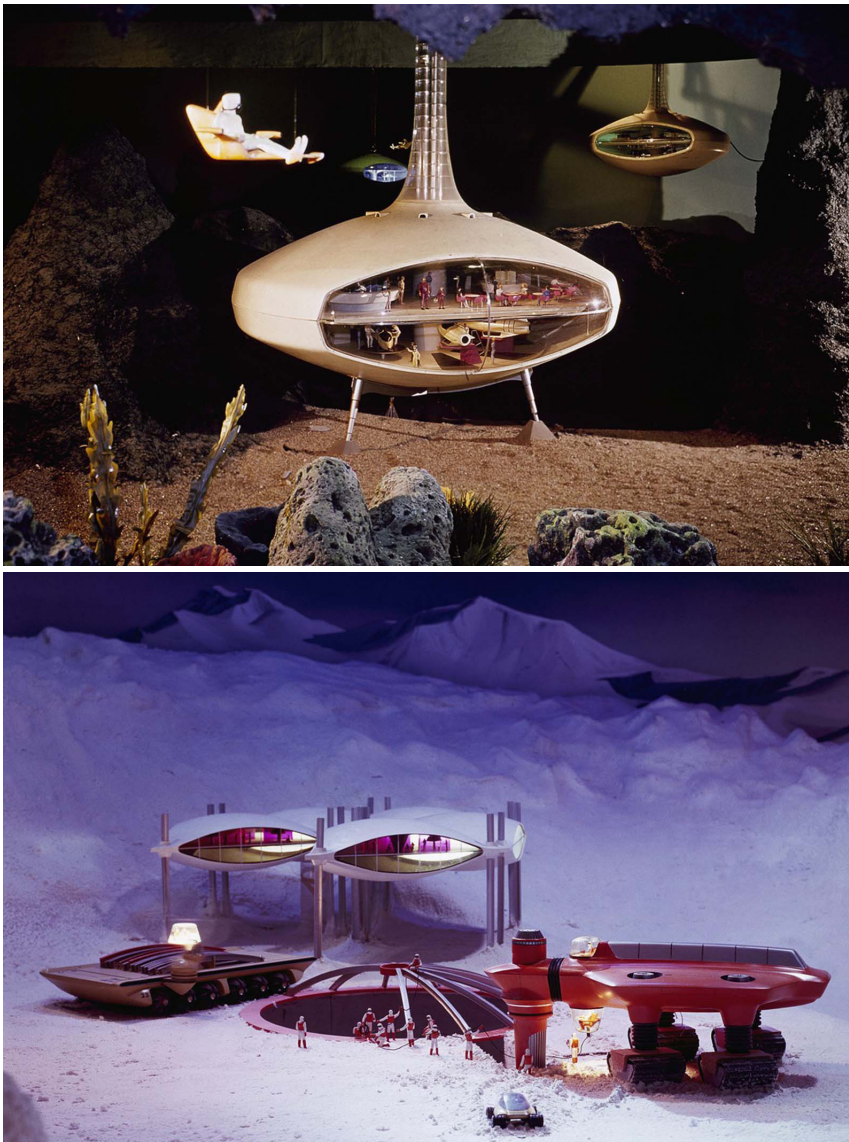
In 1954 President Eisenhower launched the government's consumer oriented offensive when he allocated a portion of his Special Emergency Fund, a fund earmarked by Congress expressly for cultural programs, for the new trade fair program that Sinclair Weeks was developing in the Department of Commerce. In the mid-1950s, U.S. exports vastly outnumbered imports. The Eisenhower administration argued that trade fairs were an important way of building a balance of trade between the United States, Europe, and strategic nations around the world. The Commerce Department used its allocation as seed money; the real substance of the trade fair program came from corporate donations in the form of manpower, equipment, and financial support. The Commerce Department promised corporations that it would ship their products to the foreign fairs, set up exhibition booths for them, provide translators for their business representatives, and prepare the ground with trade "missionaries"—businessmen sent abroad ahead of the fairs to explain what American products could do, how they could be purchased, and how foreign manufacturers could sell their own products to U.S. importers.

Supporting American companies abroad and presenting American commercial products at international exhibitions had distinct advantages over traditional cultural exchanges and expensive developmental aid, which drew the scorn of isolationist and populist critics. As Frank Ninkovitch has pointed out in his study of cultural exchanges The Diplomacy of Ideas, many people—both intellectuals and philistines—were repelled by the mating of government and culture. Any hint of a government subsidy for the arts, especially by an intelligence agency, usually offended in-

*A futuristic grocery shopping trip, envisioned at the General Motors Pavilion at the World's Fair, New York in 1964*

tellectuals, who cherished the belief that intellectual integrity was at odds with official commands of any stripe. For their part, philistines were offended by the thought that their tax dollars were supporting obscure, unintelligible artistic expression, or worse, a decadent, subversive, even communistic aesthetic. The definition of freedom in the arts was particularly embattled during the 1950s, when abstract expressionism seemed to be the quintessential expression of American freedom simply because it stood in dramatic contrast to Soviet socialist realism. It was nearly impossible for the State Department to support the arts without suffering intense criticism from populists on the one hand, or ridicule from the avant-garde on the other. Commercial products, by contrast, which were as much a part of American culture as the arts, if not more so, were difficult to criticize on aesthetic grounds. By the late 1950s the industrial-design profession had integrated aesthetic principles and mass-production technology so successfully that a careful selection of consumer products could be exhibited abroad in lieu of the traditional arts with comparable prestige but only a fraction of the controversy.

Criticism regarding the way American culture was presented overseas reached an early peak when Senator McCarthy's minions Roy Cohn and G. David Schine, in April



*Models of a futuristic underwater resort and arctic drilling station from GM's Futurama exhibit at the 1964 New York World's Fair*

1953, made a quick tour of U.S. information centers in Europe and discovered books that, they maintained, had been written by Communist agitators. Authors such as Erskine Caldwell and Dashiell Hammett were indeed easy targets for the isolationist wing of the Republican party. But while the isolationists were making spectacles out of themselves, raging about the nefarious influence of bad literature, Eisenhower and his advisers were devising foolproof methods of disseminating American culture through the promotion of free trade and consumer goods. Eisenhower had important allies within the Advertising Council, and when he decided to plunge into the trade fair game the council developed the conservative, McCarthy-proof "People's Capitalism" campaign to provide ideological unity for the trade fair exhibitions of the 1950s. The People's Capitalism campaign provided the Republican party with a positive ideology, as opposed to the negative, fanatical campaigns launched by McCarthyites. Eisenhower may have been wary of the New Deal-style foreign aid proposed by left-wing Republicans like Nelson Rockefeller, but he was just as leery, usually more so, of isolationism and fanatical conservatives.

The Advertising Council was a powerful consensus-building organization, like Time Inc., the American Assembly, and the Aspen retreats, only with a more practical working relationship with the White House. Some of the council's post-World War II campaigns were launched on behalf of the Marshall Plan, the armed forces, CARE (the relief organization), and Radio Free Europe. In 1953 the council developed the "Future of America" campaign, coordinated by Robert Gray of Esso Standard Oil and produced with some $10 million in corporate donations, which helped end an economic downturn threatening Eisenhower's popularity. The Advertising Council was like a voluntary wing of the government that supported and sustained Eisenhower administration policies. Not only did the council dream up promotional campaigns for the White House, it held round-table discussions on crucial issues of public inter-

est which drew a wide circle of influential business leaders, publishers, and intellectuals into the political process. It was this broadly based support within the corporate community that enabled the Eisenhower administration to pursue its internationalist policies whenever Congress tightened the purse strings, whenever a "chosen instrument" was needed, whenever covert action needed concealment from Congress.

The image of the United States in foreign countries changed dramatically when the USIA, the State Department, the Department of Commerce, and the technical-assistance agencies, such as the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), began hiring the artists and industrial designers whose work expressed the mythic freedoms that democracy was said to harbor. In the mid-1950s, the ICA sent the industrial designer Russel Wright to Vietnam, where he helped transform handicraft industries into mass-production factories aimed at the American market (a case of too little too late if there ever was one). Peter Müller-Munk went to Israel, and Walter Dorwin Teague to Greece. Jane Fiske Mitarachi described the patriotic work of designers in an aptly titled article: "Design as a Political Force."

In 1955 the Commerce Department sponsored pavilions at a mere fifteen trade fairs. By 1960 the Office of International Trade Fairs, a division of the Commerce Department, would boast that there had been "97 official exhibits in 29 countries, participated in by over 5,000 American contributors—and seen by more than 60,000,000 people." The office estimated that more than 13,800,000 people visited American pavilions in 1960 alone, with 600,000 attending the exhibit on "testing for quality in mass, produced good" in Milan, Italy, and more than 1 million stopping in at the exhibit Tradeways to Peace and Prosperity in Damascus, Syria. At these fairs consumer products were presented as choices or votes, which enabled the individual to elect the items in the marketplace that best served them. Trade fair exhibits presented an America in which the gov-

*Fairgoers ride through the Disney's 'Time Tunnel' on the Magic Skyway created for the Ford Motor Company Pavilion, 1964 New York World's Fair*

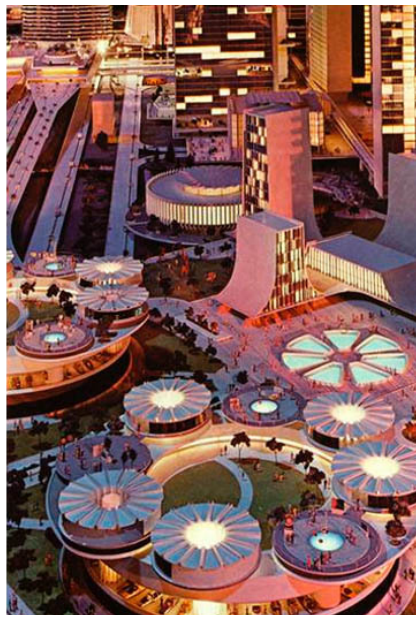
*Chrysler's Styling Island (above); T. Rex in Sinclair's Dinoland, U.S. Royal Tires Ferris Wheel, New York State Pavilion Towers in the distance (below), 1964 New York World's Fair*

ernment was almost nonexistent—where liberty was best expressed by choosing from among consumer products. Exhibits transformed political rhetoric and democratic principles into tangible, three-dimensional objects (a strategy with obvious appeal to corporate underwriters).

Robert Griffith has noted that as early as 1952 there had been so many pro-business campaigns in the United States that "the detritus... lay scattered about America's cultural landscape in books, articles and pamphlets, in motion pictures, on billboards and posters, on radio and television, or on car cards in buses, trains, and trolleys," varying in quality from "the sophisticated articles of the Committee for Economic Development to the hard sell comic books of the National Association of Manufacturers." The campaigns all had the same purpose: "to arrest the momentum of New Deal liberalism and create a political culture conducive to the autonomous expansion of corporate enterprise." Trade fairs and exhibitions helped to carry this pro-business message abroad.

In later years the conservative approach won out, creating a "global marketplace" instead of a universal "great society." It must be noted, however, that the goals of both the activists and conservatives during the 1950s were much the same: Most moderate politicians and liberal business leaders advocated something like a global version of the United States. There was little awareness, at least in the 1950s, of the cultural and ecological devastation implicit within the renewed American mission. "The Soviets can only be met and bested by American businessmen," wrote one of Eisenhower's advisers, Clarence B. Randall, in his primer for U.S. trade missionaries, the Communist Challenge to American Business. Randall asked his private-sector colleagues to set themselves "individually and collectively, to the task of winning a glorious victory on the new battleground. Randall urged his friends to participate in Eisenhower's new trade fair and trade mission programs; to spread the message of People's Capitalism; to head for the developing world with their rolled-up back issues of Life magazines as mis-

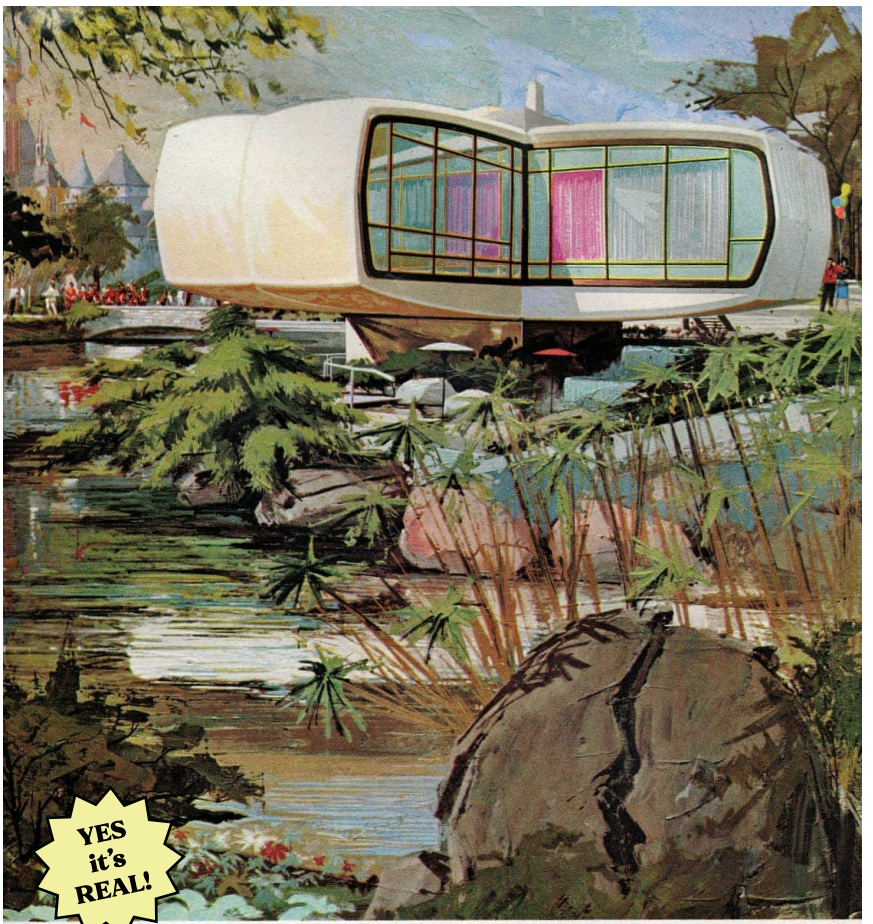
sionaries once did with their Bibles. And that is exactly what thousands of US artists, industrial designers, intellectuals, and businessmen did. They traveled from Leipzig to Bangkok like old fashioned door-to-door salesmen, harvesting sales contracts as if they were souls and shepherding converts to capitalism out of the darkness of socialism, communism, and inefficient, tradition-bound economies toward the absolutely guaranteed promised land of skyscrapers, supermarkets, and shopping malls.



*'City of the Future,' GM's Futurama Exhibit, 1964*

 *'Tower of Light,' Electric Power & Light Pavilion, 1964 New York World's Fair*

**I just want to say one word to you. One word...Plastics. There is a great future in plastics.** —*The Graduate*, 1967

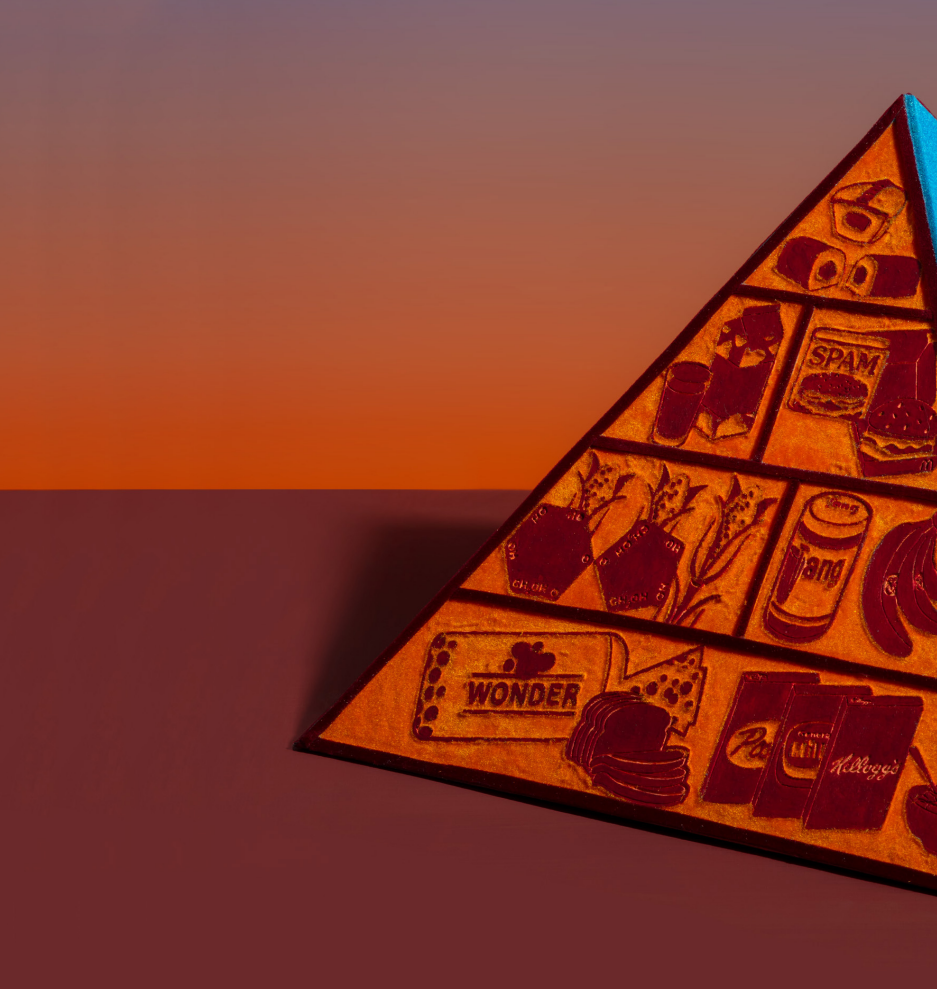


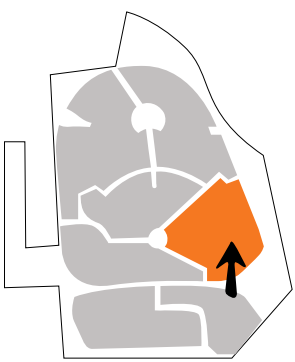

## 15,000,000 visitors later, this home still has a future

**The Monsanto "Home of the Future"** at Disneyland has withstood 15 million visitors, high winds and hot sun . . . all without signs of distress. The home is built almost entirely of plastics, either alone or in combination with traditional building materials. Even most furnishings are "chemically tailored" . . . including fabrics and carpets made with Acrilan® fiber. And that all-plastic home is still in superb shape after 15 million visitors . . . and seven years later. How's *that* for durability? Another example of how Monsanto moves ahead to serve you. Monsanto, St. Louis, Missouri 63166.

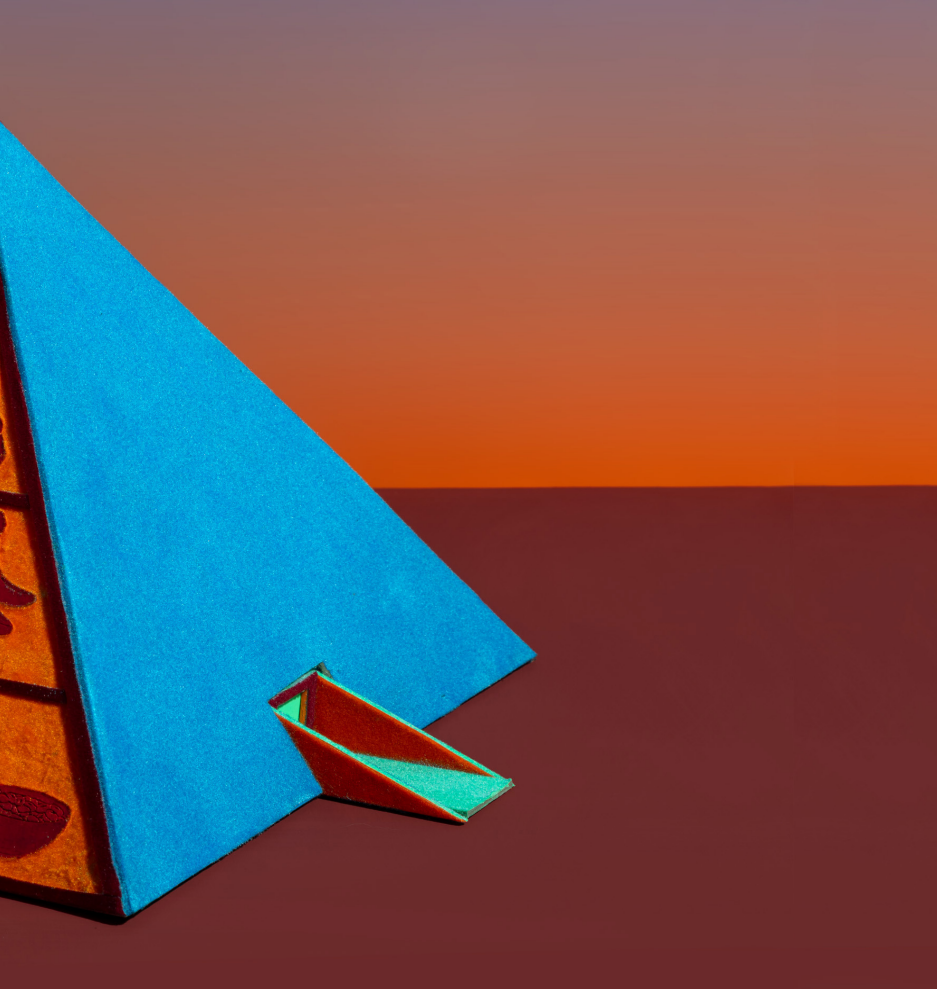
Monsanto®

Acrilan—TM of Monsanto's Chemstrand Company Division.

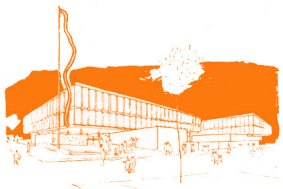


# FOOD



*Flip your idea of healthy eating right on its head at the Food Pyramid Scheme! Step inside this monument to US Big Agriculture that takes you from the dawn of man as terrified hunter-gatherer, to this wonder of the world he has wrought: food that doesn't nourish. Dip and swerve into the conundrums we face when we think about what constitutes healthy choices! Plunge through mirror mazes of body dysmorphia and fat-shaming. See the mighty power of the corn lobby as you laze along rivers of high-fructose corn syrup. It's Spaceship Earth—but for your stomach, and deep inside your subconscious. Exit through a thrilling burst of confetti from the astronomical healthcare bills that pile up from attendant medical issues. The Food Pyramid Scheme is an attraction that stays with you forever. As they say: a minute on the lips and a lifetime on the hips!*



## 24 SIMPLE(TON) SYRUP

Find the nutritional facts you need streamlined to the point of meaninglessness at this infographic extravaganza: "How did the original USDA pyramid go so wrong? In part, nutritionists fell victim to a desire to simplify their dietary recommendations. Researchers had known for decades that saturated fat—found in abundance in red meat and dairy products—raises cholesterol levels in the blood. High cholesterol levels, in turn, are associated with a high risk of coronary heart disease (heart attacks and other ailments caused by the blockage of the arteries to the heart). In the 1960s controlled feeding studies, in which the participants ate carefully prescribed diets for several weeks, substantiated that saturated fat increases cholesterol levels. But the studies also showed that polyunsaturated fat—found in vegetable oils and fish—reduces cholesterol. Thus, dietary advice during the 1960s and 1970s emphasized the replacement of saturated fat with polyunsaturated fat, not total fat reduction."
—Meir J. Stampfer & Walter C. Willett, "Rebuilding the Food Pyramid," *The Scientific American*, 2006

## 25 HIGH FRUCTOSE CORN MAZE

Get lost in the sugary sauce as you explore Big Agriculture. "The modern food system relies on industrial crop production practices which produce food grown specifically for high yield, ease of transport and fast growth. This farming structure has resulted in a proliferation of inexpensive, nutritionally poor foods—made predominantly from corn, wheat and soybeans—resulting in a lack of nutritional diversity in the American diet.

These three crops together have become a major com-

## The origins of the first food pyramid lie,

like many modern American innovations, in the labs of Harvard University.

Kellogg's CORN FLAKES

Though the template lacked any sense of nuance and failed to differentiate between the nutritional value of various members of a food group, there were nonetheless some positives to be taken from the design. Fruit and veg were placed at the bottom—illustrating that they should be consumed more regularly—with carbs second and meat and dairy making up the third tier. As a basic understanding of our dietary needs, the first food pyramid certainly served a purpose. Though this purpose may have worked for the average American consumer, there was one group who were wholly unsatisfied with the new guidelines. The dairy, meat and bread industries were left aghast at the suggestion that Americans were eating too much of their products. Faced with the prospect of smaller profits, they began to consider how to turn the tide of public opinion. Together with the powerful sugar industry, the nation's food giants banded together to apply lobbying pressure to the legislature. Unsurprisingly, spineless lawmakers soon gave in.



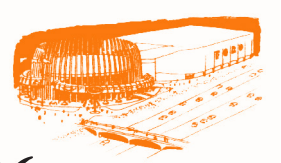
—Thomas Lethbridge, "Why Everything You Know About the Food Pyramid Is a Lie," 2021

ponent of the US food sup ply largely due to governmental support systems that keep their costs low. Many obesity-related diseases such as cardiovascular diseases, cancers and diabetes are understood to be, in part, a result of over consumption of cheap, processed foods. Corn, for example, is made into high-fructose corn syrup, which is added liberally to beverages and food products, which some studies have linked to our nation's obesity epidemic.

While our reliance on staple crops has grown, modern varieties of these crops have been bred aggressively to increase overall productivity through high yield and easy transport but have not been bred for nutritional value. The important macro- and micro-nutrient content of these crops has declined, as compared to their historical cousins.

Corn and soybeans also provide the carbohydrates and protein that are used to bring animals to market weight quickly and have largely replaced grass as feed for factory farmed livestock. Government assistance to commodity farmers has made these crops cheaper than other feed options, bringing the cost of low-quality and unsustainably-raised meat down and increasing its ubiquity in the grocery store. It has the added effect of ensuring that consumers will eat grains no matter what, even if ingested secondarily through meat." —Foodprint.org

> "They use everything about the hog except the squeal."
> —Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*



## 26 VELVEETA IN A VAT

In 1939, the Wisconsin Pavilion's 'World's Largest Cheese" held visitors from around the world in thrall. Revisit this heritage World's Fair attraction, now updated in a liquefied form. "Wisconsin chose to showcase the world's largest cheese at the New York World's Fair. The cheese—a cheddar—was produced by Steve's Cheese in Denmark, Wis., from 170,000 quarts of milk. It

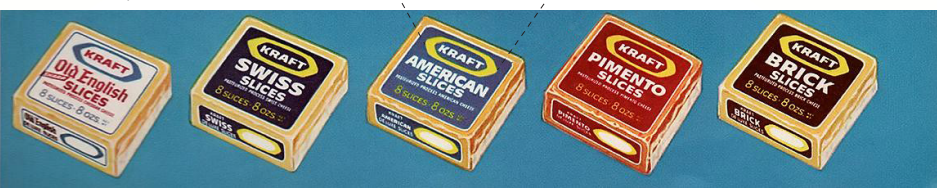
After World War II, food production was going industrial. Cheese was a part of that. If it came from a factory and was standardized, it was considered a high-quality food.

The genius of James L. Kraft, the Canadian-born founder of Kraft Foods, lay not in artisanal cheesemaking but in taking a milk-based product and making it long-lasting, consistent in quality and easy to slice.

# Tops with the lunch box crowd!

In 1916, after a series of experiments at his Chicago boardinghouse, the former grocery clerk received a patent for "process cheese": a sterilized product made by heating Cheddar at 175 degrees for 15 minutes while whisking it continuously.

Around 1935, Norman [Kraft] began to imagine a solution. He poured some liquefied cheese onto a cold stainless-steel table. He then flattened the cheese out with an iced rolling pin. Norman was able to slice it.




When "Kraft De Luxe Process Slices" made their debut in 1950, Modern Packaging magazine raved that "all of the handicaps of store-sliced cheese—variations in thickness of slices, slivered edges, imperfect packages, drying out, curled ends, etc.—are overcome." The Progressive Grocer noted that "many grocers report cheese sales increases as high as 150 percent."

The cheese single's finishing touch came from outside Kraft. In August 1956, an Indiana-born engineer named Arnold Nawrocki shocked the processed-cheese world with a patent for an "apparatus for producing individually wrapped cheese slices." Nawrocki noted that for products like Kraft De Luxe and its imitators, the "cheese slices often stick together, and a consumer has considerable difficulty in trying to separate the individual slices without tearing them." His machine showed an elegant method for wrapping "a slicelike slab of cheese in a transparent, pliant wrapper." Kraft later developed a similar technology, and individually wrapped Kraft Singles were introduced in 1965.

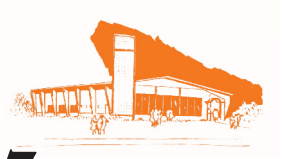
—Charles Wilson, *The New York Times,* 2012

took more than 43 hours to make, and when finished on Jan. 22, 1964, weighed in at 34,591 pounds.' —Wisconsin Public Radio, 2015

'Originally Velveeta was made from real cheese. Today, it's mainly whey protein concentrate, milk protein concentrate, milk, fat, and preservatives. By the Food and Drug Administration's standards, that's not real cheese—which is why the FDA forced Kraft to change its label from "cheese spread" to "cheese product.'"
—*Delish Magazine*, 2016

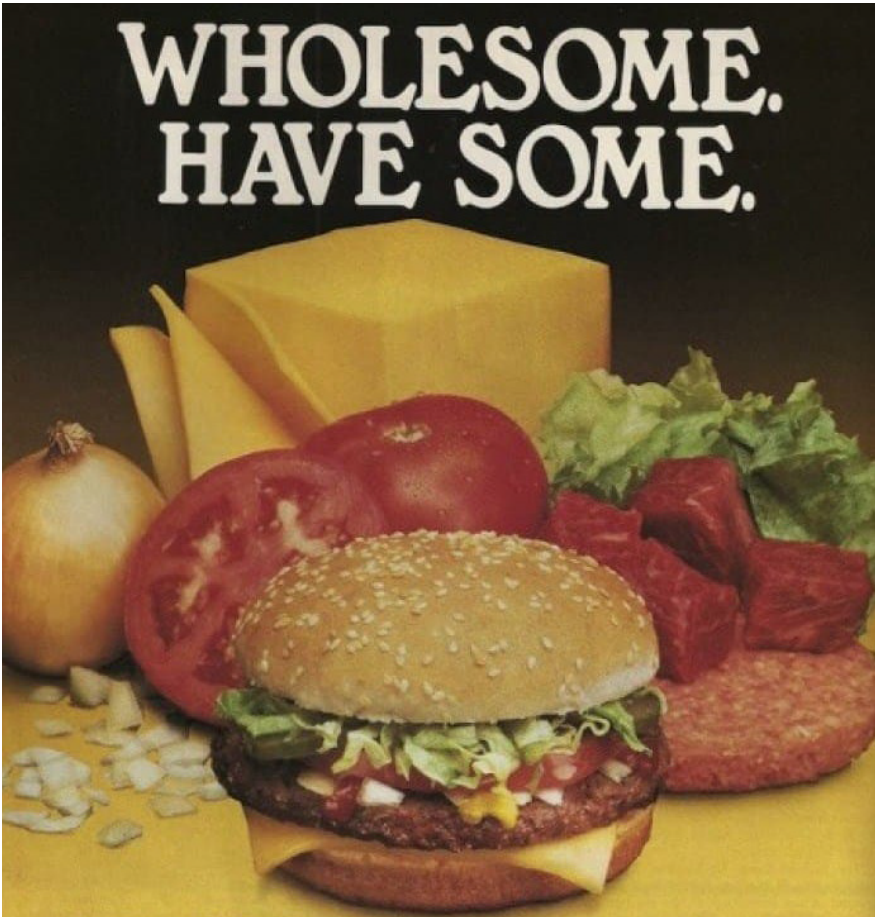
When you think of Kraft, you probably think more about Velveeta than Marlboros. But what many people may not realize is that embattled tobacco producer Philip Morris is the food maker's parent company.

Philip Morris purchased Kraft in 1988, combining the company a year later with its other food unit, General Foods Corp. to form Kraft General Foods. The company was later reorganized to form Kraft Foods Inc. in 1995. —ABC News, 2001



## 27 GLUCOSE ON THE GO

Sample the cornerstone of American cuisine. "Fast food restaurants were found to be positively associated with the prevalence of diabetes in all communities except high poverty/medium-minority. However, only low poverty/low-minority counties had a statistically significant relationship ($p < .001$). Each additional fast food restaurant per 1000 residents was associated with a 0.64 percentage point increase in diabetes prevalence. Across all models, access to full service restaurants were significantly associated with lower prevalence of diabetes. High poverty/high-minority population counties had a stronger association with access to full service restaurants and diabetes rates, with each additional full-service restaurant per 1000 residents being associated with a 2.25 percentage point decrease in the prevalence of diabetes ($p < .001$), compared to a 1.72 percentage point decrease

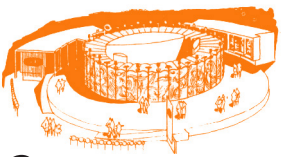



The doctors monitoring [Morgan Spurlock's] condition stop treating it as a joke and warn him that his liver is 'turning to pâté'; by the end of the month, Spurlock has gained a tenth of his original body weight and his cholesterol has increased by 65 points…The original inspiration [for *Supersize Me*] was the legal action filed on behalf of two New York teenagers whose parents claimed the chain was responsible for their obesity—'I thought they were crazy,' Spurlock recalls. 'Are we so litigious in America that we're going to sue a company for selling us the food we buy?' But the company's response irked him just as much. 'A spokesman for McDonald's comes on TV and says listen, you can't link our food to these girls being obese. Our food is healthy, it's nutritious. So I said, well, if it's that good for me, shouldn't I be able to eat it for 30 days straight with no side-effects? To live the all-American diet of over-eating and under-exercising, and be fine?'

—Oliver Burkeman, *The Guardian*, 2004

(p < .001) for low poverty/high-minority population counties and a 0.69 percentage point decrease for low poverty/medium-minority population counties (p < .001). Generally, access to convenience stores were associated with increased diabetes prevalence, except for high poverty/low-minority counties. For high poverty/high-minority counties each additional convenience store per 1000 residents was associated with 1.88 percentage point increase in diabetes (p < .001) prevalence compared to only a 0.31 percentage point increase in low poverty/low-minority counties (p < .10)."—BMC Health, 2017

> "In 1970, Americans spent about $6 billion on fast food; in 2000, they spent more than $110 billion. Americans now spend more money on fast food than on higher education, personal computers, computer software, or new cars. They spend more on fast food than on movies, books, magazines, newspapers, videos, and recorded music—combined."
> —Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal*



## 28 TERRIFIC TUBERS OF TOMORROW

See the potato as you never have before! Take the journey of America's favorite potato from field to fast food feast! 'Thomas Jefferson brought the Parisian recipe for pommes frites to the United States in 1802…During the 1960s, Idaho's potato output surpassed that of Maine, the previous leader, due to the rise of the french-fry industry and the productivity gains made by Idaho farmers. Since 1980, the tonnage of potatoes grown in Idaho has almost doubled, while the average yield per acre has risen by thirty percent. But the extraordinary profits being made through the sale of french fries have hardly trickled down to the farmers. Paul Patterson, an extension professor of agricultural economics at the University of Idaho, describes the current market for potatoes as an "oligopsony"—a market in which a small number of buyers exert power over a

**The fight is never about**

**GRAPES or LETTUCE**

*It is always about people.*

—Cesar Chavez

1. The NFWA [National Farm Workers Association] targeted the exclusion of farmworkers from the National Labor Relations Act, which had enabled growers to refuse to recognize farmworker unions for decades.

2. But the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had created a new framework for farmworker organizing. Economic justice was social justice, and the NFWA demanded federal intervention on the basis of farmworkers' rights as citizens.

3. Chavez argued this point before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor in 1966, stating: "The whole system of occupational discrimination must be killed just like the discrimination against people of color is being challenged in Washington. This, and nothing more, is what farmworkers want."

4. For Chavez and the NFWA, this meant granting farm workers the explicit right to form unions and collectively bargain with growers—the same rights enjoyed by workers in most other professions in the United States. —National Park Service

5. "The conditions were terrible. The farmworkers were only earning about 70 cents an hour at that time—90 cents was the highest wage that they were earning. They didn't have toilets in the fields; they didn't have cold drinking water. They didn't have rest periods. People worked from sunup to sundown. It was really atrocious." —Dolores Huerta

large number of sellers. The giant processing companies do their best to drive down the prices offered to potato farmers. The increased productivity of Idaho farmers has lowered prices even further, shifting more of the profits to the processors and the fast-food chains. Out of every $1.50 spent on a large order of fries at a fast-food restaurant, perhaps two cents goes to the farmer who grew the potatoes.'

—Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal*

## 29 INORGANICORAMA

Twinkies! Tang! Wonderbread! Sample our offering of food—miraculous as Miracle Whip—that isn't quite food: 'Colin Purrington, a self-described "science fan" from Pennsylvania, was one of those people. He bought some Twinkies for what he called "future giggles," and they stayed in his basement


**Serve Wonder Bread–Wonder helps build strong bodies 12 ways**

During the "Wonder Years"–one through twelve–your children develop in many ways–actually grow to 90% of their adult height. To help make the most of the "Wonder Years," serve them nutritious Wonder Bread. Every delicious slice supplies protein for muscle, minerals for strong bones, carbohydrates for energy, vitamins for nerves–all vital elements for growing minds and bodies. To a child these wondrous early years seem endless. But for a parent they slip by like a warm spring day. So make the most of their "Wonder Years." Serve Wonder Bread for enjoyment, for enrichment.

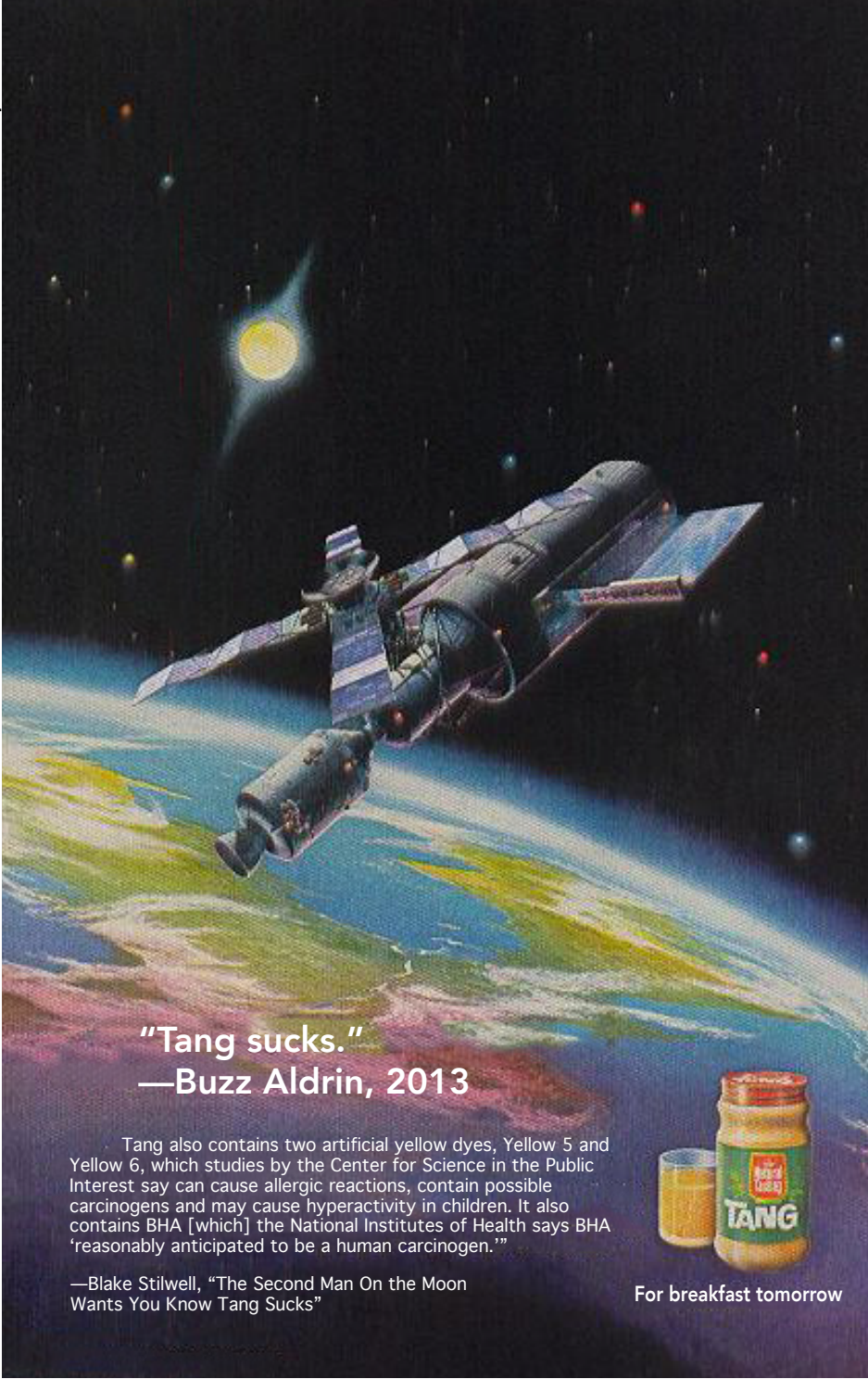
Good Housekeeping

YES it's REAL!

**And serve Hostess Fruit Pies–made with more fruit filling than crust**

Hostess turnover-shaped fruit pies are perfect, juicy pies made the little old bake-shop way–each one glazed to seal in that special, wonderful Hostess taste!

Look for them in your favorite store...in delicious fruit flavors. Enjoy all the other fine Hostess products, too–for snacks, lunch boxes, desserts.


"Tang sucks."
—Buzz Aldrin, 2013
Tang also contains two artificial yellow dyes, Yellow 5 and Yellow 6, which studies by the Center for Science in the Public Interest say can cause allergic reactions, contain possible carcinogens and may cause hyperactivity in children. It also contains BHA [which] the National Institutes of Health says BHA 'reasonably anticipated to be a human carcinogen.'"
—Blake Stilwell, "The Second Man On the Moon Wants You Know Tang Sucks"
TANG
For breakfast tomorrow

until a couple of weeks ago when he carried his Obama-era snacks upstairs and opened the box.

And, for whatever reason, he decided to eat one. "Although I grew up thinking Twinkies would last for years, if not forever, I was wrong," he tweeted afterward. "The one I bit into was chewy, unsweet, and smelled like rotting ginkgo fruit. I gagged. I have nobody to blame but myself—the box clearly warned, 'Best Used by Nov 26th' (2012)."

In a gloriously disgusting Twitter thread, Purrington described the state of the other Twinkies. The filling inside one specimen had dried and turned an unappetizing beige color. Another was "hosting an organism of some sort." And a third had shriveled inside its plastic packaging, constricting itself into a shriveled brown…wad? Is that the right word?'

—"Scientists Are Examining Some Long-Expired Twinkies to See What's Wrong With Them," *Food & Wine*, 2020

**Highlights**

**DDT MISTING STATION**

Stay cool and critter-free! 'In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, Americans flocked to their local shopping centers to purchase the latest and greatest consumer goods. Thanks to higher wages, the GI Bill, and a booming job market, consumers used their new spending power to purchase a wide array of products, including televisions, washing machines, refrigerators, toaster ovens, and vacuum cleaners. Among the most desired of these postwar products was the latest in bug-killing technology, a chemical known as dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT). The new "miracle pesticide," as some called it, had proven to be an effective tool for the elimination of malaria and typhus in the European and Pacific Theaters and consumers were eager to get their hands on the insect-killing war hero for use in their homes and gardens. In the fall of 1945, lifted wartime restrictions on domestic DDT sales, consumers around the country rushed

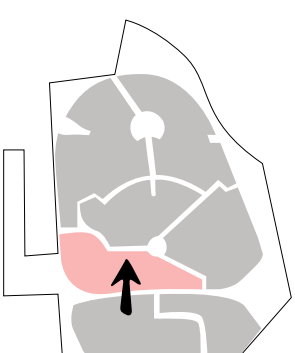
to their local hardware stores and supermarkets, where they shopped for a number of DDT-laden products, including bug bombs, aerosol sprays, paint, and wallpaper, which featured a myriad of designs ranging from Mickey Mouse for the children's room to floral patterns for the living room and dining room. As a 1946 article in the Nebraska Farmer noted, "After winning a glorious victory during World War II over the insidious insect foes of G. I. Joe, DDT has shucked its military clothes, wrapped up its world-wide service bars, and come back home to take over the No. 1 spot in America's bug battle.'"

—James Erwin Schmitt, "From the Frontlines to Silent Spring: DDT and America's War on Insects, 1941-1962" *CONCEPT*, 2016

> "Over increasingly large areas of the United States, spring now comes unheralded by the return of the birds, and the early mornings are strangely silent where once they were filled with the beauty of bird song."
> —Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*

Ad for TRIMZ DDT-infused wallpapers from *Women's Day*, 1947

Jones Beach, New York, 1948. Model Kay Heffernon poses with a hot dog and coke as a cloud of DDT from a Todd Insecticidal Fog Applicator (TIFA) wafts around her, demonstrating that the bug spray won't contaminate her food.



# SCIENCE & EDUCATION

*Were you aware that the journey to the moon started with the London Blitz? You don't need to be a number-crunching egghead in Houston to know the Space Race is a proxy war with Russia, but did you know just how many of those NASA eggheads are Nazi noggins?* Ja wohl! *Top NASA rocket scientist Wehner von Braun—Dr. Strangelove himself—was just one of 1,600 some odd Nazi scientists brought over to win the Cold War through science! Take the journey from burning books to seeing the stars! By the time it's over you'll wonder if the Second World War even ended—and just whose side we're on!*

## 30 SERMONS FROM SCIENCE!

*WANDERING JEWS IN THE DESERT & NAZIS IN ALABAMA, A NEW EPIC FROM CECIL B. DEMILLE!*

In this riveting new epic, the century's finest film director gives us a Biblical tale for the Nuclear Age. In the Old Testament, we find Jews in the desert at Los Alamos, toiling for freedom as they split the atom.

Richard Feynman: "I said I didn't want to do it. He said all right, there's a meeting at three o'clock…Then I began to pace the floor and think about this thing. The Germans had Hitler and the possibility of developing an atomic bomb was obvious, and the possibility that they would develop it before we did was very much of a fright. So I decided to go to the meeting at three o'clock. By four o'clock I already had a desk in a room and was trying to calculate whether this particular method was limited by the total amount of current that you can get in an ion beam."

Robert Oppenheimer: "If the radiance of a thousand suns were to burst at once into the sky, that would be like the splendor of the mighty one… Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds…We knew the world would not be the same. A few people laughed, a few people cried, most people were silent."

After intermission, we fast forward to the New Testament in Huntsville, Alabama: 'Among the trophies of the Second World War captured by Allied intelligence agents were Nazi scientists and their research on biological and chemical weapons. In a classified memorandum titled "Exploitation of German Scientists in Science and Technology in the United States," the Joint Chiefs of Staff described these men as "chosen, rare minds whose continuing intellectual productivity we wish to use." Such intellectual spoils were not to fall into Soviet hands. In 1945, Operation Overcast (renamed Operation Paperclip for the paper clips attached to the dossiers of the most "troublesome cases") began. More than 1,600 Germans were secretly recruited to develop

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be might, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. . . American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. . . This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. . .Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. . . In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

Lockheed

**—DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FAREWELL ADDRESS**

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armaments "at a feverish and paranoid pace that came to define the Cold War…*The New York Times, Newsweek* and other media outlets exposed Paperclip as early as December 1946. Albert Einstein, Eleanor Roosevelt and Rabbi Steven Wise publicly opposed the program, and according to a Gallup poll, most Americans at the time considered it a "bad" idea.'
—*The New York Times* reviewing Annie Jacobsen's *Operation Paperclip*, 2014

## 31 PAPERCLIP, MORE THAN AN OFFICE SUPPLY

Just follow orders! Stick to the script! Head to the supply closet and start to collate in the public relations pavilion of the New Frontier: 'There began a propaganda campaign by the U.S. government to whitewash the pasts of these scientists who we very much knew were ardent Nazis. And it happened on a number of levels, from the bureaucrats in Army intelligence who were asked to sort of re-write the dossiers, on up to the generals in the Pentagon who flatly said we need these scientists, and we're going to have to rewrite some history. And that's where it becomes very tricky and very nefarious.

You have to be a Nazi ideologue to move up that chain of command so high. It's almost like someone who is a hedge fund manager in the United States trying to take the line that they don't believe in capitalism, you know? That they're just trying to earn a living for their family. I mean, if you're going to rise to the top of your field, you maintain the party line and that is what I found was the case with Paperclip.' —Annie Jacobsen, author of *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program That Brought Nazi Scientists To America*

**Highlights**

**MEET DR. STRANGELOVE HIMSELF**

Don't miss this rare meet-and-greet with frequent Disney collaborator and inspiration behind Stanley Kubrik's sensational 1964 film, *Dr. Strangelove: Or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, Wehner

*Wernher von Braun and JFK at Cape Canaveral, 1963*

von Braun. Meet the man behind the mind that reasoned if a Nazi rocket of his design could level London, an American one of his design could go to the moon: 'In doing the research, one discovers that not only was von Braun a Nazi, but a member of the SS. And not only was he running the underground slave labor facility where his rockets were being built—he wasn't running the facility but he was in charge of the science there—but when they were running low of good technicians, Wernher von Braun himself traveled nearby to the Buchenwald concentration camp, where he hand-picked slaves to work for him as laborers.

When you see that kind of activity during the war, and you have to imagine what he saw and what he knew, it's impossible to excuse him from his Nazi past.' —Annie Jacobsen, author of *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program That Brought Nazi Scientists To America*

"MEIN FÜHRER, I CAN WALK!" —Peter Sellers as Dr. Strangelove in Dr. Strangelove, or How *I Learned To Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*



## 32 CAREERS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Find the job of your dreams in the Military-Industrial Complex! Join top talent from Germany and forge ahead to a profitable career in the private sector inextricably linked to the war machine of the New Frontier. Seek employment at any of the following top-tier corporations including Disney, yes, Disney! (For details on Operation Paperclip and Disney specifically, please flip ahead to our Communications Area):

**DOW**

Join former Nazi scientists on Dow projects, like Napalm: '[*The Ladies Home Journal* war correspondent Martha] Gellhorn used a metaphor of instant familiarity to drive home her point. She recounted the observation of a New Jersey housewife and mother of six who had adopted three Vietnamese children, and traveled to the country to see conditions firsthand. "Before I went to Saigon, I had heard and read that napalm melts the flesh, and I thought that's nonsense, because I can put a roast in the oven and the fat will melt but the meat stays there," the American mother said. "Well, I went and I saw these children burned by napalm and it is absolutely true. The chemical reaction of this napalm does melt the flesh, and the flesh runs right down their faces onto their chests and it sits there and it grows there. These children can't turn their heads, they were so thick with flesh. And when gangrene sets in, they cut off their hands or fingers or their feet; the only thing they cannot cut off is their head,'"

—Robert M. Neer, *Napalm*

**MONSANTO**

'Two giants of the farming and chemical industries agreed to merge Wednesday in a $66 billion deal: the U.S.'s Monsanto and Germany's Bayer, the original maker of aspirin. It's the year's biggest deal and will create the world's largest supplier of seeds and farm chemicals, with $26 billion in combined annual revenue from agriculture. If the merger goes through, it will combine two companies with a long and storied history that shaped what we eat, the drugs we take and how we grow our food.

Bayer then and now: Two friends making dyes from coal-tar started Bayer in 1863, and it developed into a chemical and drug company famous for introducing heroin as a cough remedy in 1896, then aspirin in 1899. The company was a Nazi contractor during World War II and used forced labor. Today, the firm based in Leverkusen, Germany, makes drugs and has a crop science unit, which makes weed and bug killers. Its goal is to dominate the chemical and drug markets for people, plants and ani-

You are [IBM Founder] Thomas Watson, it is 1937, and you must know that the census and other work your German branch [Dehomag] has performed for the Nazis has been used not just to count cars and cows but to identify Jews. Perhaps you have even read the comment of a Nazi statistician that "In using statistics the government now has the road map to switch from knowledge to deeds." You have visited Germany; you were in Berlin in July, 1935, when Black Shirts rampaged through the streets smashing the windows of Jewish stores…You have seen the broken windows, you have taken tea with a German official at a fine home that he told you was once the property of a Jew who had fled Germany, and now, in recognition of your services to the Third Reich, Hitler wants to give you a medal. Will you accept it? You are Thomas Watson, it is 1940, and Hitler has invaded France. Now comes another choice: executives of your German subsidiary want you to sell out to German principals. With Hitler moving to occupy all of Europe, this is a chance for a clean break. True, the United States is not yet in the war, but Hitler's bombs are falling on London. Disengagement would be politic. Will you sell out or fight to hold on to Dehomag?

Thomas Watson chose to tabulate the Nazi census, to accept Hitler's medal, and to fight for control of Dehomag. And he made other equally indefensible choices in his years of doing a profitable business counting Jews for Hitler.
—Jack Beatty, "Hitler's Willing Business Partners," *The Atlantic*, 2001

Monsanto then and now: Monsanto, founded in 1901, originally made food additives like saccharin before expanding into industrial chemicals, pharmaceuticals and agriculture products. It's famous for making some controversial and highly toxic chemicals like polychlorinated biphenyls, now banned and commonly known as PCBs, and the herbicide Agent Orange, which was used by the U.S. military in Vietnam. It commercialized Roundup herbicide in the 1970s and began developing genetically modified corn and soybean seeds in the 1980s. In 2000, a new Monsanto emerged from a series of corporate mergers.' —Lydia Mulvany, "Heroin, Nazis, and Agent Orange: Inside the $66 Billion Merger of the Year," *Bloomberg*, 2014

'Averting a long-scheduled trial, seven makers of Agent Orange agreed yesterday to create a $180 million fund for thousands of Vietnam veterans and their families who said the herbicide had harmed them…

"I don't think they should get off this easy," said Al Marcotte, a 35-year-old former Green Beret from Yonkers who wore his camouflage Special Forces uniform and walked on crutches.

He attributed his ailments—including nerve damage and chloracne, a severe skin ailment associated with dioxin exposure—to his exposure to Agent Orange. "We bathed in it, drank it and slept in it," he said.

"I have no feeling for this country anymore," he said. "They have total disregard for us when they can plea-bargain behind a closed door without notice to us.'" —*The New York Times*, 1984

**NASA**

Blast off on a booster rocket blitz! Learn the story of the Saturn V rocket, the power beneath the moonshot (and featured prominently in our main pavilion), and its creator Arthur Ruldoph. Discover how science and progress can serve as a cover for war crimes and fodder for a global conflict that never truly ended: 'The [Nazi V2] rockets [designed by Nazi rocket engineer and NASA scientist Wehner von Braun] were quite vulnerable to sabotage during production. All it took was a screw left loose,

# THE NEXT WAR **WILL NOT START WITH A NAVAL ACTION**

nor...by aircraft flown by human beaing. It might very well start with missiles being dropped on the capitol of a country, say Washington.

—Gen. Henry H. Arnold, 1945

After World War II, the rocket foreshadowed a new style of warfare in which nuclear bombs could be delivered quickly across the world. War might begin—and end—suddenly, decisively, without warning. As the Space Race began, the United States and the Soviet Union were building rockets to use as long-range weapons. The United States initially favored bombers, but the Soviets preferred missiles and thus took an early lead in rocket technology. A rocket able to carry a bomb across the globe also could be used to loft machines and men into orbit. The United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a long competition to develop rockets for both warfare and the exploration of space. —"Military Origins of the Space Race," Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum

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a bad weld, an incomplete circuit connection–prisoners even urinated on electrical components—and a rocket would fail. Rudolph, being in charge of the physical production of the rockets under Sawatzki, received all reports of potential sabotage…On 4 November, Rudolph received directions to stop all production work and have his department chiefs and SS gather the prisoners in the main assembly tunnel—Hall 2. Twelve men, their hands tied behind their backs and pieces of timber tied in their mouths, had ropes placed around their necks before being slowly hoisted into the air by the overhead cranes as they were strangled to death. Rudolph made his way to the hall, noticing that at least one of the men appeared to still be alive, and later informed Hans Friedrich, a civilian manager, that the men would hang for the next twelve hours, so two shifts of prisoners could see them and be warned. Rudolf was one of the 130 engineers brought to the US under Operation Paperclip, working at White Sands Proving Ground. He later moved to Redstone Arsenal, Alabama and worked for the army on the Pershing missile program before joining his colleagues at NASA and becoming the Project Director for the Saturn V rocket program. Retired and living in California in 1984, his past eventually caught up with him and he was forced to leave the US to avoid a war crimes trial.' —White Sands Missile Range Museum

> They all had different trajectories, but none of them seemed to have been held accountable for what happened and what they were involved in during the war. Dr. Benzinger, who was one of the Nazi doctors, came here, and when he died at the age of ninety-something he had a wonderful obituary in The New York Times lauding him for inventing the ear thermometer. Entirely left out of the story was the work that he performed on concentration camp prisoners.
> —Annie Jacobsen, *Operation Paperclip: The Secret Intelligence Program That Brought Nazi Scientists To America*

> "You're talking about mass murder, general, not war!"
> —Peter Sellers as President Merkin Muffley in Dr. Strangelove, or How *I Learned To Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*

## 33 ONE NATION UNDER THE BIG GUY IN THE SKY

Celebrate the First Amendment every morning—or go to detention: 'The year 1954 was one of political upheaval in the United States.Senator Joseph R. McCarthy crusaded against Communists in the government and was eventually censured by the Senate. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles enunciated a policy of "massive retaliation" against aggression by the Soviet Union. The Supreme Court found school segregation unconstitutional…As well, in June, by voice votes and with little discussion, the Senate and House passed a resolution adding two words, "under God," to the Pledge of Allegiance. Now, 48 years later, a federal appeals court in San Francisco has ruled that the words are an unconstitutional violation of the separation of church and state.The change was made to draw attention to the difference between the system of government in this country and "godless Communism." Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia, was a member of the House of Representatives in 1954 and is the only person now in Congress who was in Congress then. Introducing his resolution in the Senate, Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan, declared, "I believe this modification of the pledge is important because it highlights one of the real fundamental differences between the free world and the Communist world, namely belief in God." No one in the Senate or the House spoke in opposition.' —*The New York Times*, 2002



## 34 THE BUSSING BUS

Hop on at any stop to learn all about redistricting: 'It is easy to see the lasting effects of redlining in the visible segregation of New York's public schools. According to Matthew F. Delmont, author of *Why Busing Failed; Race, Media, and the National Re-*

*sistance to School Desegregation*, "school segregation worked hand in glove with mortgage redlining." Even in places where school segregation was not mandatory, it became common practice because school boards were able to draw strict boundaries to replicate the existing residential segregation. Today, the New York City public school system is one of the most segregated public-school systems in the country. "Of the 1.1 million NYC public school students, 15% are white. However, about 75% of Black and Hispanic students attend schools where fewer than 10% of students are white, and about 35% of white students attend schools where more than half of the student population is also white.'" —by Blake Michael, Fordham *Environmental Law Review Journal*, 2021

**Highlights**

**NUCLEAR FALLOUT MISTING STATION**

"Such clouds of dust had risen that there was a sort of twilight around…Their faces were wholly burned, their eyesockets were hollow, the fluid from their melted eyes had run down their cheeks. (They must have had their faces upturned when the bomb went off; perhaps they were anti-aircraft personnel)...The eyebrows of some were burned off and skin hung from their faces and hands. Others, because of pain, held their arms up as if carrying something in both hands. Some were vomiting as they walked. Many were naked or in shreds of clothing. On some undressed bodies, the burns had made patterns—of undershirt straps and suspenders and, on the skin of some women (since white repelled the heat from the bomb and dark clothes absorbed it and conducted it to the skin), the shapes of flowers they had had on their kimonos…Under many houses, people screamed for help, but no one helped; in general, survivors that day assisted only their relatives or immediate neighbors, for they could not comprehend or tolerate a wider circle of misery…"

—John Hersey, *Hiroshima*

# ATOMIC CAKE

## The perfect recipe

*...for all nuclear testing celebrations!*

This photograph features United States Navy Admiral William Henry Purnell Blandy, Admiral Blandy's wife, and Rear Admiral George M. Lowry celebrating "Operation Crossroads", a series of tests for the atomic bomb that took place at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific Ocean during 1946. On the back of the photo is written..."Admiral Cuts 'Atomic' Cake. Vice. Adm. W. H. P. Blandy...commander of the Bikini Atom Bomb Tests, cuts an angel food cake in the mushroom shape of an atomic explosion at a reception at the Officer's Club of the Army War College, Washington, D.C...The Rev. A. Powell Davies, Washington pastor, called the pictured "utterly loathsome" in his sermon for Nov. 10...The Rev. A. Powell Davies and others, including reporters in the Soviet Union, used this image to support their argument that the United States had a callous and flippant attitude toward use of nuclear weapons after World War II. In the summer of 1946, after World War II had ended, a Joint Army Navy task force conducted the largest American nuclear weapon tests at Bikini Atoll in the Marshall Islands. Known as Operation Crossroads, the purpose of these tests was to determine how effective nuclear bombs would be against navy ships...Ninety-five decommissioned ships were present and live animals were placed on these ships to determine how the bombs would

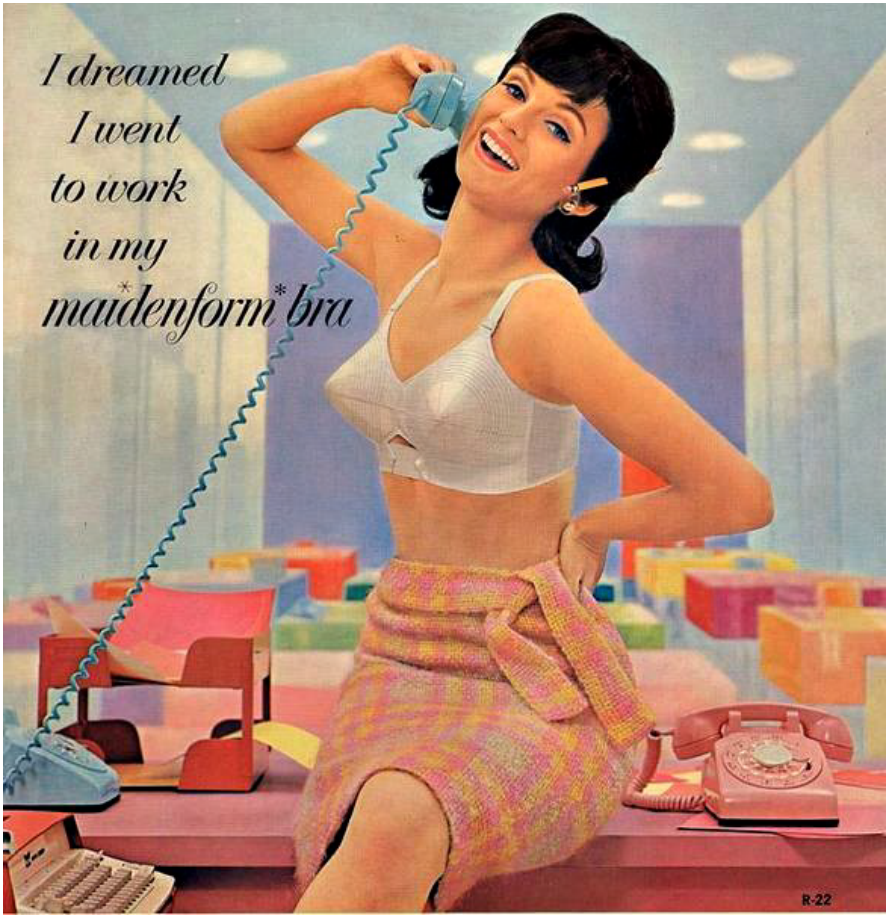
Operations Crossroads ended on August 10, 1946 due to concerns about radiation. However, the United States would go on to test nuclear weapons in the Marshall Islands until 1958.

—Tennessee Virtual Archive

## 35 LUNAR NUCLEAR SPECTACULAR

Bikini Atoll never looked this good! Visit the home of the Miss Atomic Pageant—and be sure to stay for an atomictini! 'Atomic warfare isn't something most people want to experience in their lifetimes. Yet just a decade after the American military rained down nuclear hell over Japan, Las Vegas entrepreneurs turned atomic tourism into a thing when a testing site opened so close to the Strip that you could take in a taste of nuclear warfare in between games of baccarat and showgirl revues. In fact, hot lady performers and nuclear bomb tests were even cynically combined with a host of chosen showgirls crowned "Miss Atomic Bomb" to help promote the tests.' —*MEL Magazine*, 2017

> "Shoot, a fella' could have a pretty good weekend in Vegas with all that stuff." —Slim Pickens as Captain Kong in Dr. Strangelove, or How *I Learned To Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*




## BULLET BRA the undergarment of impending atomic doom!

'It quickly became apparent that atomic age culture of the 1950s and Cold War anxieties are clearly visible in the feminine undergarments of the time. I soon realized that the bullet-bra style we now consider to be quirky and vintage actually speaks to much deeper American patriarchal attitudes about the explosive—and ultimately dangerous—nature of female sexuality in the postwar period…This duality of female sexuality as something that was both submissive and explosive paralleled the rhetoric of the nuclear arms race. [Elaine Tyler] May explains this connection as one between "taming fears of the atomic age" and "taming women." This ideological linkage made words like "bombshell" or "knockout" synonymous with sexual attractiveness…-Maidenform (a New York bra company ironically co-founded by a Russian woman) manufactured the first conically shaped bullet bra in 1949…Culturally, its shape led it to become known as the "bullet" or "torpedo" bra because it evoked weaponry in an age obsessed with impending atomic doom.' —Emily O'Donnell-Pazderka, "Containing Explosives: The Cold War Link between Bombs and Breasts"

"[Fashion] found inspiration in the exploration of unimaginable futures and the immeasurable vastness of our universe. The movement fed on fantasies of flying cars, unknown alien civilizations, and men stretching their legs on every moon and planet they could find. Designers took inspiration from things as real as the revolutionary 1961 Soviet-crewed spaceflight Vostok 1 and as fictional as Forbidden Planet, Lost in Space, and Flight to Mars. André Courrèges was so incredibly devoted to the future of space travel that he was personally invited by NASA to visit Cape Canaveral. Also infatuated with space travel, Pierre Cardin visited NASA and tried on the space suit worn on the moon by Neil Armstrong" —*Lithium Magazine*, 2020

# THE FOG OF OVERACHIEVING
## OR, How I Learned To Stop Worrying & Love the Meritocracy
## *In Eleven Lessons*

**Cara Marsh Sheffler**

Did the 20th century offer any poetry finer than a ScanTron? Surely all those bubbled-in letters spell out something, but the standardized test itself is a love language. Plaintively, with each whirl of a No. 2 pencil, we plead that those letters will trace a path to the perfect score, to the perfect job, and to one perfect nation under God, indivisible as helmed by the Best and the Brightest—by intrepid men who bubbled impeccably.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara thought himself one such man. In his harrowing 2003 documentary, *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara*, Errol Morris interviewed the great bubbler himself, well into his ninth decade. The movie came out as the Iraq and Afghanistan invasions descended into a Vietnam-like quagmire, so Morris' decision to interview the head of the DoD under JFK and LBJ was a natural one. Looking back, it seems doubly prophetic that in 2003—the

year FaceBook launched and the Internet began its stranglehold on our public, private, and political lives—the man who also helped integrate IBM into global warfare held forth about his lengthy career in public service.

Morris' dialogue with McNamara serves as commentary on what McNamara's generation left his own to sift through; I'm here to insert myself into the dialogue as a Millennial. The years since the documentary saw the rise and—some think temporary—fall of a Baby Boomer who is, in many ways, antithetical to McNamara: Donald Trump, the wily byproduct of outer-borough nepotism who defies all statistical analysis. So, what have we learned as the lofty aspirations of the Great Society have degenerated into the bitter pandemonium of Making America Great Again and a cruel revivification of Cold War tensions and firepower? I offer you 11 lessons:

1. *The fog of institutional faith rolls in before the fog of war.* A little background: during WWI, the US Army administered IQ tests, which begat the SAT, which begat the need for rudimentary computers to analyze the results, which begat IBM government contracts, which begat a bureaucracy primed for battle by December, 1941. This automated war machine had previously been marketed to America as a political platform to better manage America, the New Deal. The IBM punch card led the charge into the theater of war; attendant propaganda shorthanded a push for achievement. Science education would win the Cold War! The best and the brightest would protect us from falling dominoes in Southeast Asia! A moonshot could redeem humanity! Before he conveyed this militarized optimism, McNamara tested his way from UC Berkeley to Harvard Business School to celebrated Army Analyst in the Pacific Theater of WWII, a mascot for the meritocracy. Why listen to a damn thing he says? *Well, look at those test scores!*

2. *Nothing lends political credibility quite like the private sector.* Why did JFK hire McNamara to head up the DoD? He was CEO of the Ford Motor Company! Ever since the introduction of the Protestant work ethic to the North American continent, adulation for being smart has been one in the same with adulation for being rich. Morris dredges up barfy newsreel footage of journalists buttering up McNamara about his IQ; during the Trump Era, we were treated to an endless pornography of the Don's jet, residential properties, hotels, and golf clubs. In The Fog of War, as McNamara takes the cabinet position (naturally without informing his wife first), JFK cites the "great personal sacrifice" on McNamara's part. And we know what he means: the CEO is about to take a civil servant's salary.

3. *The Greatest Generation™ and the Baby Boomers have double-teamed us*. It wasn't until McNamara's quagmire, when a libertarian insurgency on the Right and counterculture on the Left began to question the enormous role Big Government (the Right would say) and the Military-Industrial Complex (the Left would say) played in our lives. This loss of faith, whose death-blow was Watergate, alienated both ends of the political spectrum and both sides of the generation gap. In 2016, both generational demographics voted for Trump. "Call it the coming gerontocracy," as Astra Taylor put it in the New York Times. The hippies told us never to trust anyone over 30: frankly, I wouldn't trust anyone already receiving Medicare or Social Security—they'll kick the ladder right out from under you.

4. *America remains a sucker for postcolonial civil conflict in countries we scarcely understand*. Near the end of The Fog of War McNamara talks of dining with his North Vietnamese counterpart in 1995, who told him, "Mr. McNamara, you must never have read a history book. If you had, you'd know that we weren't pawns...Don't you understand that we have been fighting the Chinese for 1,000 years? We were fighting for our independence

and were determined to do so to the last man." As McNamara recollects this tense conversation, it's almost like he's saying, *Right but you said that wouldn't be on the test.*

5. *Statistics are amoral.* The most visually eloquent moment of Morris' documentary comes as McNamara explains the impact of firebombing 67 Japanese cities; numbers are shown raining down from bombardiers. Stomach-churning statistics follow, unmistakable as atrocities. McNamara concedes as much in an astonishing assertion that he and General Curtis LeMay would have been prosecuted as war criminals had they lost. Upon his return to civilian life, McNamara went to work for Ford Motors where he crunched the numbers again and mandated that all the company's cars featured—drumroll—seatbelts! The same logic responsible for 2 million Japanese civilian deaths saves 15,000 American lives annually according to the NTSB.

6. *We've gone from Fireside Chats to a garbage fire—but at least there's no draft!* With good reason, there's plenty of talk about the 1930s right now: outsized political ideologies rife with -isms, hysteria, and a ground war in Eastern Europe. The dire geopolitical circumstances of that era bred large-scale political and economic solutions, such that it was possible for a (White) man to have gone from the Civilian Conservation Corps to the Armed Services to a free ride to college on the GI Bill to a job market dominated by large corporations that decades of union agitation had shamed into granting benefits. So, why not trust The Man? In 2022's privatized, post-Raegan, gig economy hell, apparently 70% of us want universal healthcare and 58% want debt-free education, but far fewer Americans—I'm hazarding a guess here—pine for a government capable of sending us to certain death in Guam. Or Khe Sahn. Or Kyiv.

7. *The Space Race is not over: it merely degenerated and reconstituted.* Surely the Space Race was a proxy war in the Cold War,

brinkmanship in the guise of scientific progress—or vice versa. Every kid was alleged to have asked Santa for a chemistry set. In 2022, science is a political football, subject to party affiliation. The space race splintered to bits and scattered like the debris of the Challenger explosion into status symbols of the private sector. Billionaires jet off beyond the stratosphere in dildo-shaped rockets for quickies in orbit. This strange and meaningless private-sector phase of the space race handily mirrors the triumph of corporations over government and anything like the will of the people. Mark Zuckerberg's desultory appearances before Congress carry the same gravitas of a Manhattanite challenging an Upstate speeding ticket. He's reluctant. He doesn't give a shit. Frankly, it's a hassle. A recent *Bloomberg* editorial explained why Google should have a seat at the UN—but who needs to see *Revenge Of the Nerds* take another, exasperating trip to the DMV?

8. *No one is at the wheel anymore.* Our economic reality is the same: our war machine has collapsed into a Ponzi scheme of a service economy. Plenty of highly valuated corporations (n.b., considered people here in America) do not make anything, post no profits, and offer employees few benefits. We have apps to manage apps. And the cruelest irony is this: the data sucks! Remember the 2016 electoral predictions? Yet, we remain in thrall to irrelevant figures—like the Stock Market—and use such indices as magical thinking to ward off evil premonitions of decline and fall. McNamara's tyranny of numbers is complete.

9. *The SAT never leaves you.* In *The Fog of War*, McNamara's rheumy eyes glimmered as he spoke of beating out his hardest-working grade-school classmates (immigrants, of course), as a plucky Irish-American kid. Morris' movie, more than anything, makes the following thesis statement on the origins of McNamara's power: he was the apotheosis and the very embodiment of the American meritocracy. If we define metaphor as using a thing utterly unlike something else to describe it (e.g.,

using a thing utterly unlike something else to describe it (e.g., "love is a battlefield"), and metonymy as a descriptive, related stand-in for the thing being described (e.g., "the pen is mightier than the sword"), The ScanTron is both. Meritocracy, this vaunted testee would have us believe, identified the talent that enabled America's successful prosecution of WWII; triumph in the Cold War; and stewardship of the Free World. The ScanTron was the first rung on a ladder that McNamara never quite concedes descended straight to hell.

10. *The meritocracy was a Western*. The American meritocracy has closed, like the American Frontier. Much like the Frontier, the illusion of accessibility was the most potent part of its myths. The barriers, too, were the same: race, class, gender. As with a Western, when you step back a bit, you may ask, why on earth is this our chosen narrative of progress? What is the enduring appeal of genocide and discrimination in this country? Yet, there is an almost sweet naïveté in the notion that something as simple as a test could identify all our future leaders from all walks of life! Similarly, there is a grand romance to thinking an empty continent simply awaited discovery and settlement! But the problem is the continent WAS NOT EMPTY, and not everyone could take that test, let alone access the tools to excel at it. And the results of the test themselves were impoverished scraps of data that correlated to achievement insofar as they granted that selfsame access. Nothing succeeds like success!

11. *R.I.P. Public Service.* Bubbles have been traded for Tweets! Meritocracy falls! And, As it does, it pulls down a critical, load-bearing Ionic column: the ideal of civil service. The Trump administration's scandals, the Biden administration's lack of conviction in an admittedly terrifying world, and the shameless profiteering of the private sector, have painfully gutted agencies ranging from the Foreign Service to the DoJ. The NSA cannot even afford the engineers: they're at Google. The integrity of

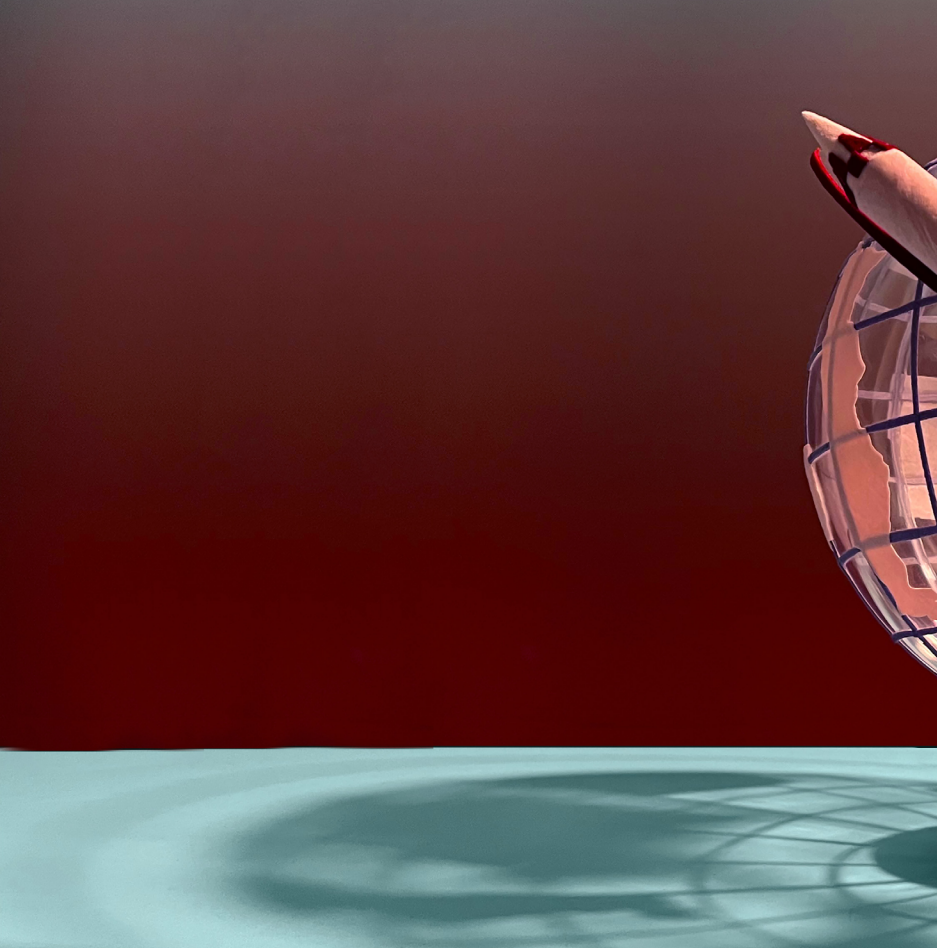
eroded at a terrifying clip; and that wealth of experience and culture of service cannot simply be rebooted in an election cycle or two. The sort of service to mourn is not McNamara's—an executive who traded outstanding profits for unthinkable power—but that of the 2.1 million civil servants who get out of bed, make the federal government run, and will never have an Oscar-winning documentary note a salary they "sacrificed."

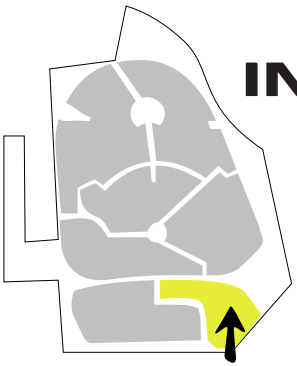
Once more, for old time's sake:

AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM : MYTH ::
A) public service : euphemism
B) public service : anachronism
C) public service : farce
D) public service : tragedy
E) ALL OF THE ABOVE

Adapted from an essay that originally appeared in *The Conversationalist* in 2019.

atoms for peace
GENERAL DYNAMICS
Geneva, August 8-20
ERIK NITSCHE
PRINTED IN SWITZERLAND
LITHOS R. MARSENS, LAUSANNE





# INTERNATIONAL

*Though looking outward, the International Area is in a sense the home site of the Fair—and home to the Fair's symbol, the Unilateral Unisphere—now in Univision! See the entire world from a single point of view! The Unilateral Unisphere celebrates the American Century, showing US democracy quite literally spread across the globe! Traverse every longitude and latitude that crisscross the planet using that same brand of rectilinear logical the world over. America surrounds the globe with its mighty Jupiter missile—using rocket technology handy for either lunar exploration or nuclear annihilation! See the Space Age empire in action, winning hearts and minds through market share! Capitalistic diplomacy, trade agreements, expos, and appliances win the day, and will surely win you over to the best way of life on the planet. Remember: it's a small world, after all—when you don't really consider anything outside of America!*

## 36 THE CONTAINMENT STORE

Shop the euphemisms of empire until you drop! Just try to contain your excitement, as you step into the power vacuum! 'The diplomat George F. Kennan introduced the United States to the idea of containment in 1946 with his "Long Telegram" to the State Department, in which he, as chargé d'affaires in Moscow, laid out his perspective on how to counter the rise of the Soviet Union. In 1947, he published those views anonymously in a Foreign Affairs article. In the latter, Kennan recommended a "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." If the United States frustrated Soviet expansionist tendencies long enough, he believed, Moscow might "mellow," allowing for a negotiated settlement with Washington. Kennan's idea appealed to U.S. President Harry Truman, who formally made containment U.S. policy in March 1947, during a speech to Congress in which he outlined what is now known as the Truman Doctrine.

Truman's speech was occasioned by a formal request from Britain that the United States take over responsibility for financial and military assistance to Greece and Turkey. London's finances were under severe strain after World War II, and the government was retrenching from part of its overseas empire—including, as noted in its February 1947 request, Greece. U.S. Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson viewed the British communiqué as another indicator of the empire's imminent demise. If the United States did not step in as the new world leader, he thought, the Soviet Union would fill the vacuum.' —*Foreign Policy Magazine*, 2021

> "I predict you will sink step by step into a bottomless quagmire, no matter much you spend in men and money." —Charles De Gaulle appraising America's involvement in Vietnam

## 37 RUBE GOLDBERG'S MUSEUM OF COLD WAR THEORIES

Who needs an Erector Set when you can knock down dominoes until your drop? 'In effect, Southeast Asia's capitulation to Japan pre-plotted the southward path of Eisenhower's falling dominoes. Between 1940 and 1942, Japan co-opted the regimes of Thailand and Vichy-ruled Indochina, and then drove the remaining western powers from their colonies, one by one…Thereafter, the western allies invariably perceived the Cold War for Southeast Asia through the prism of Japan's World War II victories. Well into the early 1950s, Britain's defense policy envisioned an external aggressor (this time, communist-led China) toppling Vietnam and Thailand, then Malaya and Singapore in succession. British officials seeking US aid wanted their American ally to see "the Southeast Asian picture correctly," and learned to their delight that the Americans held similar views. All through 1950, US fact-finding missions that President Harry Truman dispatched to Southeast Asia also concluded that China's "enemy land forces" must reprise Japan's "overland invasion of Malaya" like in the "last war"... Crucially, locating the origins of the domino logic within Southeast Asian history also illuminates the racial character of the theory that scholars have overlooked. Indeed, London and Washington feared that the ten million ethnic Chinese who lived in Southeast Asia would readily serve Beijing's hegemonic ambitions and emulate the Japanese campaign. Western leaders had long suspected that Southeast Asia's Chinese remained "racially, culturally and politically…bound to the mother country.'"
—Wen-Qing Ngoei, "World War II, Race, and the Southeast Asian Origins of the Domino Theory," The Wilson Center, 2017

> "Each American embassy comes with two permanent features—a giant anti-American demonstration and a giant line for American visas."
>
> —P.J. O'Rourke

## 38 GULF OF TONKIN RADAR BLIP LIGHT SHOW

Fun for the entire family: see the night sky (vaguely? maybe? possibly?) ablaze with provocation: 'On 2 August 1964, North Vietnamese patrol torpedo boats attacked the USS Maddox (DD-731) while the destroyer was in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin. There is no doubting that fact. But what happened in the Gulf during the late hours of 4 August—and the consequential actions taken by U.S. officials in Washington—has been seemingly cloaked in confusion and mystery ever since that night…McNamara phoned Sharp at 1608 Washington time to talk it over and asked, "Was there a possibility that there had been no attack?" Sharp admitted that there was a "slight possibility" because of freak radar echoes, inexperienced sonarmen, and no visual sightings of torpedo wakes…Other intelligence supported the belief that an attack had occurred…Amid all the other confusion and growing doubt about the attack, this battle report was a compelling piece of evidence…McNamara considered the report, coupled with Admiral Sharp's belief the attack was authentic, as conclusive proof. Back on board the Ticonderoga, Commander Stockdale had been ordered to prepare to launch an air strike against the North Vietnamese targets for their "attacks" of the previous evening. Unlike Captain Herrick, Stockdale had no doubt about what had happened: "We were about to launch a war under false pretenses, in the face of the on-scene military commander's advice to the contrary"... On 7 August, Congress, with near unanimity, approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which President Johnson signed into law three days later…On hearing of the authorization's passage by both houses of Congress, the delighted President remarked that the resolution "was like Grandma's nightshirt. It covers everything.'"

—US Naval Institute, 2008

# VIỆT-NAM

## NHA-TRANG

## CAM-RANH

**2 MILLION VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS**
**1.1 MILLION VIETCONG SOLDIERS**
**250,000 SOUTH VIETNAMESE**
**58,000 U.S. SOLDIERS**

Nguyễn-minh-hoàng

**Highlights**

**FOG OF WAR**
**MISTING STATION**

Cool off in Southeast Asian style with the best and the brightest: 'Historians don't really like to deal with counterfactuals, with what might have been. They want to talk about history. "And how the hell do you know, McNamara, what might have been? Who knows?" Well, I know certain things"…What I'm doing is thinking through with hindsight, but you don't have hindsight available at the time. I'm very proud of my accomplishments, and I'm very sorry that in the process of accomplishing things, I've made errors…We all make mistakes. We know we make mistakes. I don't know any military commander, who is honest, who would say he has not made a mistake. There's a wonderful phrase: "the fog of war." What "the fog of war" means is: war is so complex it's beyond the ability of the human mind to comprehend all the variables. Our judgment, our understanding, are not adequate. And we kill people unnecessarily… [Woodrow] Wilson said: "We won the war to end all wars." I'm not so naïve or simplistic to believe we can eliminate war. We're not going to change human nature anytime soon. It isn't that we aren't rational. We are rational. But reason has limits.'
—Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara as quoted in Errol Morris' *The Fog of War: Eleven Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara*



# 39

**BLOOD ALLEY**
**BOWLING**

Knock down the whole neighborhood in the name of peace and diplomacy! 'There could not have been a better place to build the United Nations than in New York — and there was no better place to build an institution dedicated to peace than on the city's bloodiest patch of land. In the 1940s—before the land was cleared to make way for the fledgling international organization—the East Side was known as "Blood Alley," a notorious neighborhood of slaughterhouses and cattle

## chemical "safety screen" FOR TENDER SKIN

Napalm had been used before, most notably in the incendiary bombs that devastated large swaths of Japanese cities during World War II, including some 60 percent of Tokyo. What distinguished Napalm B, the variant employed in Vietnam, was how easily it could be made. Simple "bathtub chemistry" was used to mix together a concoction of gasoline, benzene, and polystyrene. In 1965 the Pentagon requested bids from the 17 U.S. companies that made polystyrene; one of the winning bids was from a small company based in Midland, Michigan, called Dow Chemical. Dow was only ranked 75th on a 1967 list of military contractors; before getting into the napalm business, it was best known as the maker of Saran Wrap. But Dow soon became the military's sole supplier of napalm, which meant that when its use in the Vietnam War became controversial, Dow was the only corporate target.

For such a simple thing to make, napalm had horrific human consequences. A bit of liquid fire, a sort of jellied gasoline, napalm clung to human skin on contact and melted off the flesh. Witnesses to napalm's impact described eyelids so burned they could not be shut and flesh that looked like "swollen, raw meat." In Vietnam, the first televised war, viewers began to see images of the civilian casualties caused by napalm bombs, and a January 1967 article in Ramparts magazine presented color photographs of mutilated Vietnamese children. The pictures helped Martin Luther King Jr. decide to go public with his opposition to the war. And at colleges across America, students brandished the photographs as they began protesting…

What no one suspected at the time was that the product that would prove most costly to Dow had not generated any protests; the company also manufactured the defoliant Agent Orange. Its use would be linked to cancer and other illnesses among Vietnam veterans for years to come.
—PBS American Experience

THE DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY
MIDLAND, MICHIGAN

### *What's new at Dow!*

Convicted Nazi war criminal Otto Ambros, known as "Hitler's favorite chemist" became an advisor to Dow, as well as the U.S. Army Chemical Corp shortly after his release from prison.

DOW
CHEMICALS
INDISPENSABLE TO INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE

UNITED AIR LINES
NEW YORK

pens. The fact that the United Nations found a home there is a testimony to all the things that make New York the "capital of the world": ego, vanity and ambition. The year was 1944. The United Nations had just been created by international treaty, but the choice of a host city was mired in international diplomacy. Boston, San Francisco and Philadelphia also wanted the honor, but U.N. Secretary-General Trygve Lie wanted it in New York—partly because he saw it as the media capital of the planet, and partly because the Soviets threatened to boycott the body if it were on the West Coast. But New York didn't own a suitable site in Manhattan that it could just hand over to the United Nations. By late 1946, the United Nations announced it would relocate to Philadelphia if New York could not find some land within five days. But the only land was "Blood Alley." Developer William Zeckendorf had long dreamed of building a futuristic housing complex there, dubbed "X-City"—but he couldn't get capital. So, with just 12 hours to go before the deadline, Nelson Rockefeller had an aide track down a mildly inebriated Zeckendorf at his anniversary party. Presented with an offer of $8.5 million, Zeckendorf happily signed.'—Gersh Kuntzman, "There Goes The 'Bloody' Neighborhood," T*he New York Post*, 1999



## 40 MUTUALLY ASSURED DELICIOUSNESS

Or, should we say *muy delicioso!* The Cuban Missile Crisis might have made you hungry for a Cuban sandwich. Find one at the International Area's Concession Pavilion: 'Remarkably, given the alarmed and confrontational posture that Washington adopted during the missile crisis, the tapes of the ExComm deliberations, which [Sheldon M.] Stern has minutely assessed, reveal that Kennedy and his advisers understood the nuclear situation in much the same way Khrushchev did. On the first day of the crisis, October 16, when ponder-

ing Khrushchev's motives for sending the missiles to Cuba, Kennedy made what must be one of the most staggeringly absentminded (or sarcastic) observations in the annals of American national-security policy: "Why does he put these in there, though?…It's just as if we suddenly began to put a major number of MRBMs [medium-range ballistic missiles] in Turkey. Now that'd be goddamned dangerous, I would think." McGeorge Bundy, the national security adviser, immediately pointed out: "Well we did it, Mr. President.'"
—*The Atlantic*, 2013



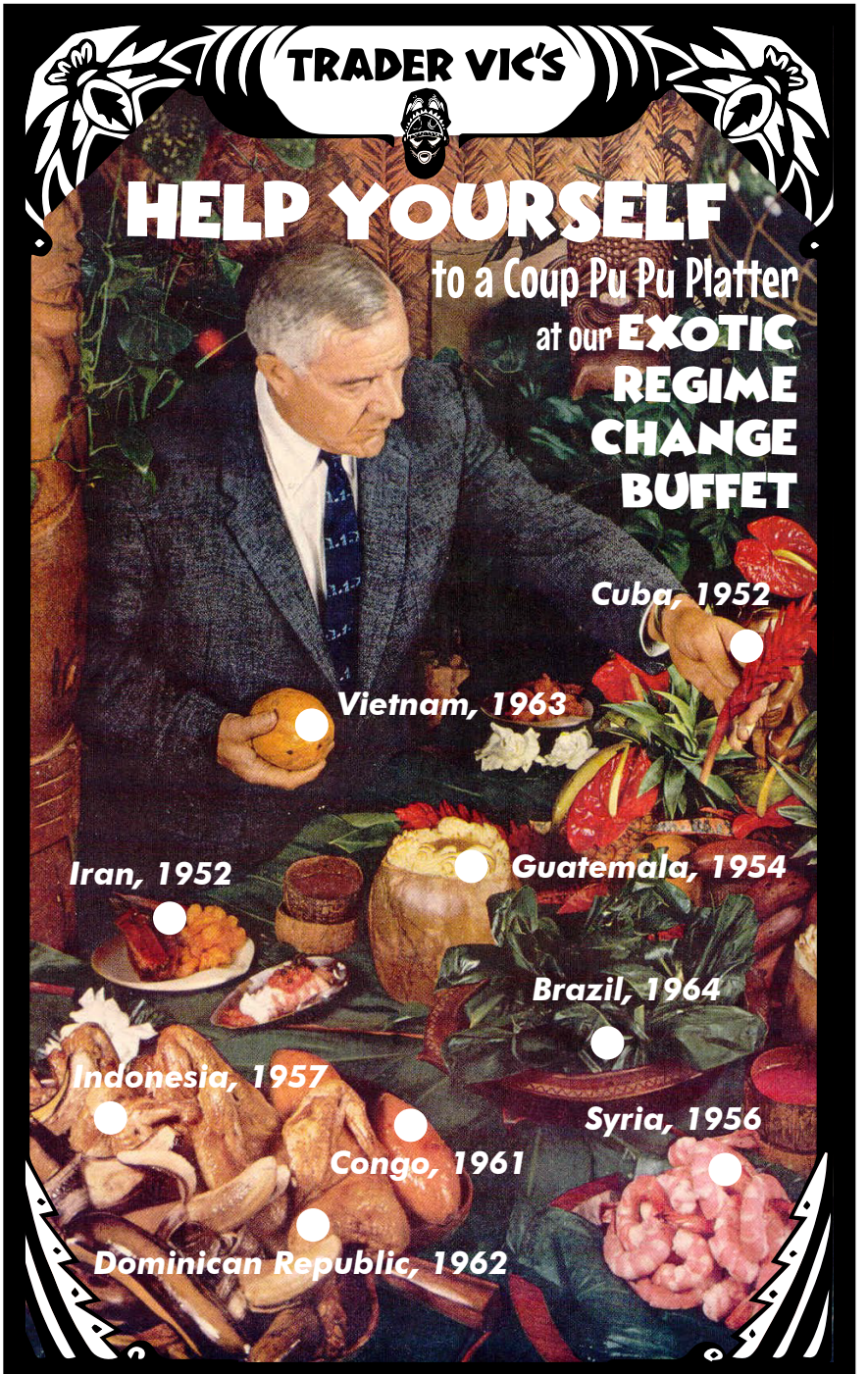
## 41 COUP DE GRÂCE

Our regime-change extravaganza prides itself on welcoming all colors and creeds. Let the American Way whisk you around the world: "There was only the global crisis of white supremacy. Confronting that crisis meant exposing the machinations of empire. Far from a beacon of democracy, the U.S. was the hub of Western imperialism. When one examined Cuba, Vietnam, or a host of other sites, one encountered the criminality of American foreign policy. For Malcolm [X] the Congo offered the most damning contemporary example of U.S. imperial misdeeds. Patrice Lumumba, the rightful leader of that Central African nation, had been deposed and assassinated with American aid. Then, in an attempt to fracture the newly independent state and recapture its immense natural wealth, the U.S. and other Western forces had supported the slaughter of Congolese liberation fighters and civilians."—Russell Rickford, "Malcolm X and Anti-Imperialist Thought," *Black Perspectives*, 2017



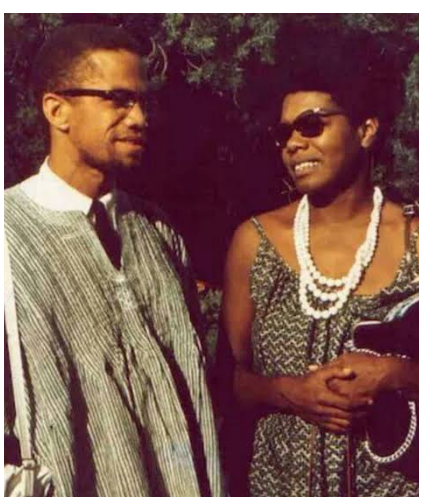
## 42 DOLLAR DIPLOMACY DIORAMA

When money talks, lies about Uncle Sam walk! 'When Malcolm X came to Ghana the African Americans who were there, we gathered around him like his children,

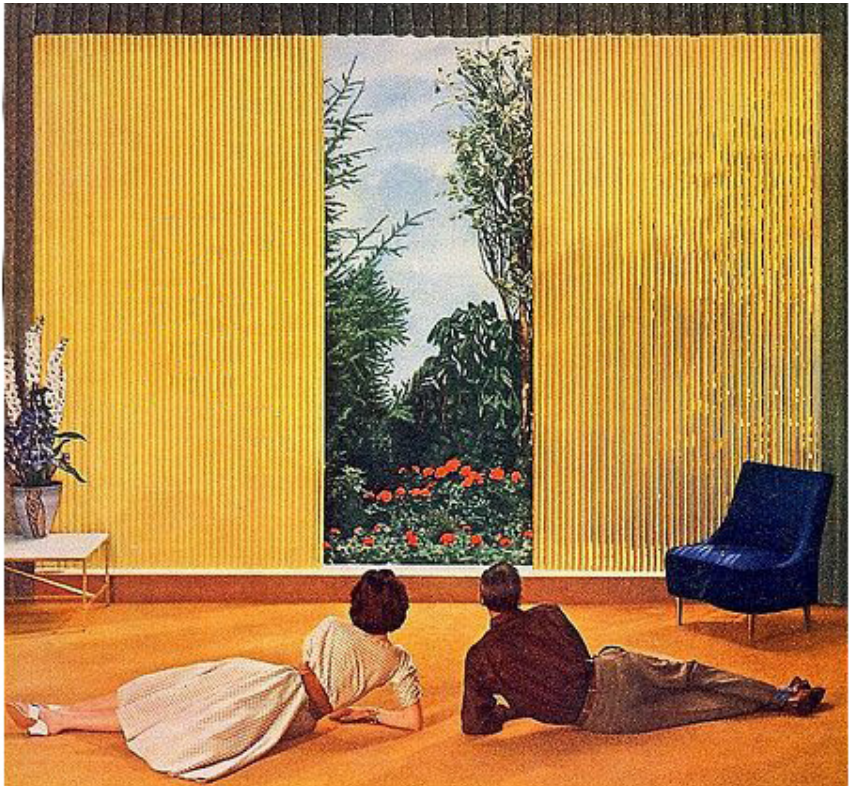

TRADER VIC'S
HELP YOURSELF
to a Coup Pu Pu Platter
at our EXOTIC
REGIME
CHANGE
BUFFET
Cuba, 1952
Vietnam, 1963
Iran, 1952
Guatemala, 1954
Brazil, 1964
Indonesia, 1957
Syria, 1956
Congo, 1961
Dominican Republic, 1962

and he liked me, and we liked each other. I met Malcolm X at my mother's [Maya Angelou's] house in Ghana. My mother went out and bought about six chickens, and she rarely fried chicken and I was almost sorry to meet Malcolm X because the chicken was so good, and I had to share it with him. But the thing about Malcolm is, for a person of his stature, for me to ask a question and for him to think about it and then come back with an answer: captured my heart. And his answers were so phenomenal. We wanted to meet so he could tell us what was going on in the States, and what his plans were. And we found out that his quest was to find an African government that would take the United Nations Genocide Convention and make a charge against the United States. African nations and Asian nations and Latin American nations look very hypocritical when they stand up in the United Nations condemning the racist practices of South Africa and saying nothing in the UN about the racist practices manifest every day of these negroes in this society. This is Maya with me, and our delegation went into the American Embassy in Ghana to deliver our petition condemning the United States. Have you had any commitment from any nations in Africa to support you? I would rather not say at this time.

In fact we couldn't get any African government to bring any charge against the U.S. because of the American money. The cash.'
—Guy Johnson for *PBS American Masters*



Malcom X and Maya Angelou in Ghana, 1964



# *From* STETTIN IN THE BALTIC TO TRIESTE IN THE ADRIATIC

## an iron curtain has descended across the continent

Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow…The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.
—Winston Churchill, March 5, 1946

*All curtian styles have been endorsed by NATO!*

YIPEEE!

# SPAM* EASTERN SALAD

## SPAM EASTERN SALAD

Due to their long entangled history with the US military, these two places [South Korea and Hawaii] along with Guam lead the world in per capita consumption of the pink gelatinous pork. Immediately following World War II, the American GIs stationed in Asia and the Pacific curried favor with the impoverished natives by handing out such luxuries as chocolate, cigarettes and Spam which as part of the US Army's monotonous C-Ration was an object of scorn and mockery by most of the rank and file. Here in the US, Spam is widely regarded as vulgar, farcical and an affront to the very idea of real or whole food. To millions of devotees in and across the Pacific Ocean however, Spam is not only an essential part of the local indigenous cuisine, but a luxury commodity as well."
—Robert Ji-song Ku, "Dubious Gastronomy"

**COLD OR HOT SPAM HITS THE SPOT!**

HORMEL
GOOD FOODS

SPAM
FOLLOWS
THE FLAG!

# THUCYDIDES AND EISENHOWER

## *By Gordon Wright, 1955*

Skeptics may question whether an ancient Greek from the age of Phidias has anything in common with an American President in our age of phenobarbital. Nothing is easier than to resolve such doubts. All the skeptic needs to do is to read two items: his daily newspaper, and Thucydides' "History of the Peloponnesian War."

Fifty or a hundred years ago, reading Thucydides used to be a fairly common exercise in educated circles. The irony is that when men did read him, they rarely knew what he was talking about. Richard Cobden reflected their impatience when he declared that for an understanding of how men and nations behave, he would trade all of Thucydides for a file of the London Times. The Greek historian seemed obsolete in those Victorian days of peace, stability, and optimism; of low taxes, atoms solid as billiard balls, and faith in the inevitability of progress. For Thucydides was living in, and writing about, a different kind of age: an age when the world was disintegrating around him. The Greeks of his day had reached the highest level of education, civilization, and material wealth which men had yet attained. Yet they were heading straight for disaster. In part, they were wrestling with forces almost too great for human control. But in even greater degree, they were the victims of their own incapacity to meet the problems of a century of alternating hot and cold wars. Today, Thucydides no longer seems obsolete, but almost frighteningly contemporary. Perhaps he will have even more to say to our children and grandchildren than he does to us. This is not a comforting thought; for Thucydides' story had a tragic ending.

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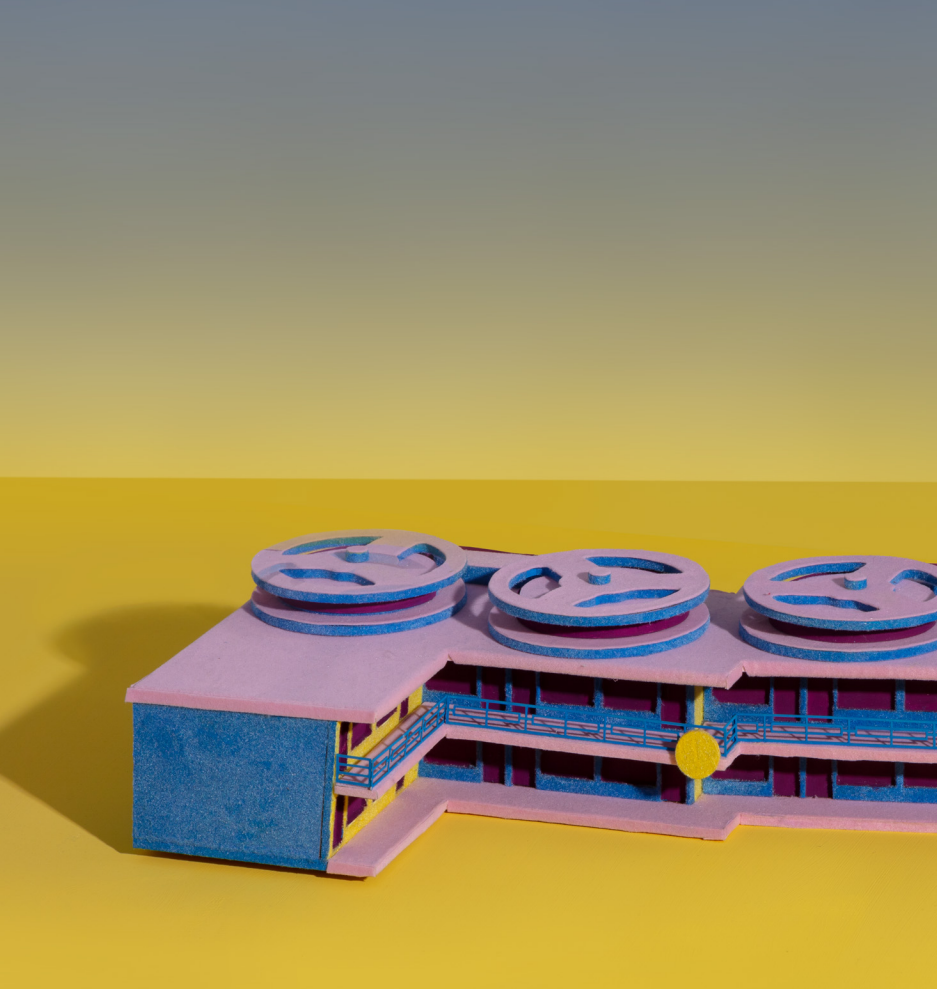
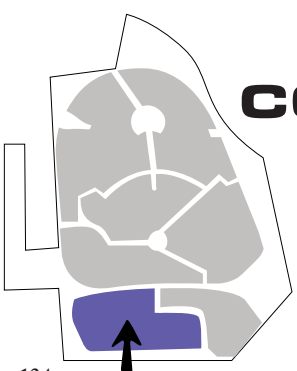
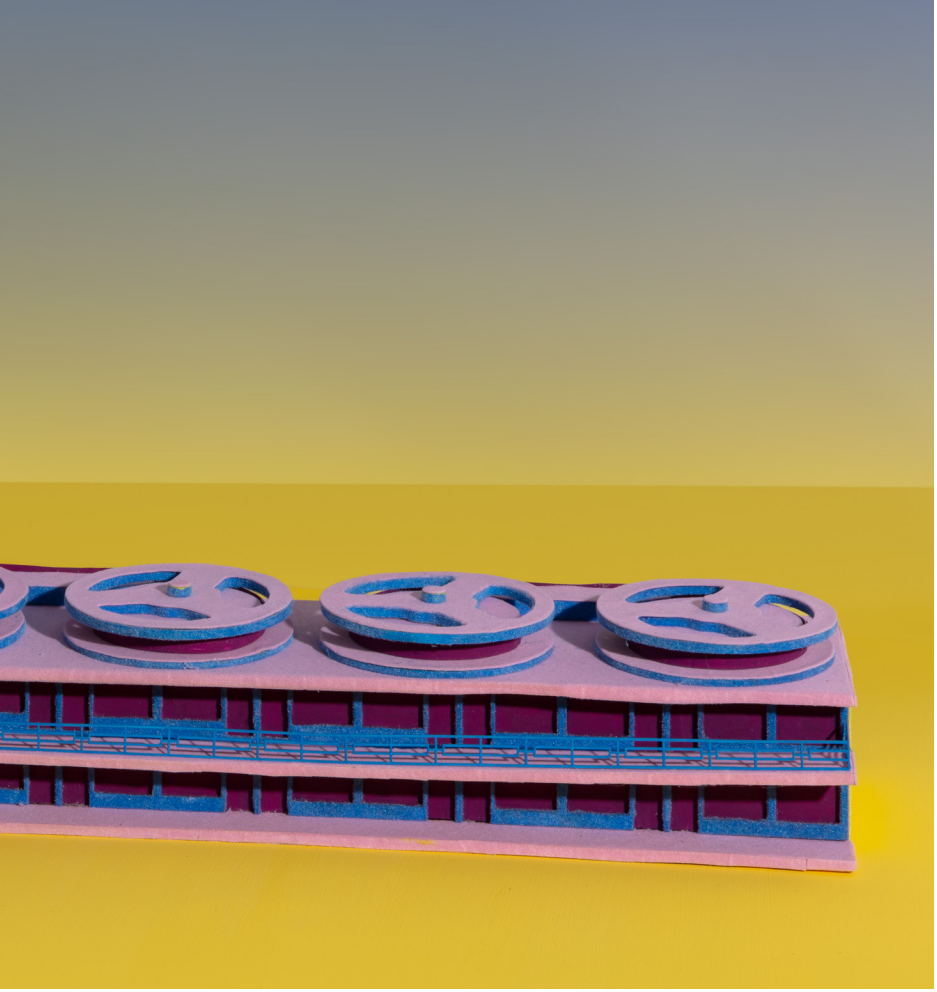
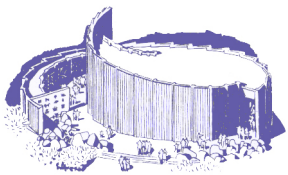




# COMMUNICATION



*You can't say we weren't listening! Spycraft! Espionage! Intrigue! When you go to the movies and see James Bond, surely you assume the enemy is ensconced in an exotic lair—or, obviously, in Moscow. However, did you ever think about the enemy at home? Our main pavilion takes you down south to Memphis, and to the Lorraine Motel. But, wander around to the back of the pavilion and catch a glimpse of American's breathtaking surveillance apparatus and the sordid turn it took into domestic terrorism of the Civil Rights and antiwar movements. Watch the country betray a bedrock allegiance to social order as it turns itself inside out to hound and hunt down its finest leaders!*



## 43 COINTELPRO LISTENING STATION

Man's speediest communication was once by drumbeat and smoke signal. Now he sends messages around the world by bouncing them off satellites in space. The story of this breathtaking advance in communications, and how such cutting-edge technology was employed to demoralize, stalk, and—in some cases—kill civil rights leaders on our own US soil is told in this airy pavilion! 'Hoover continued to approve investigations of King and covert operations to discredit King's standing among financial supporters, church leaders, government officials, and the media. When King condemned the Vietnam War in a speech at Riverside Church on 4 April 1967, the FBI "interpreted this position as proof he 'has been influenced by Communist advisers" and stepped up their covert operations against him (Senate Select Committee, 180). The FBI considered initiating another formal COINTELPRO [the FBI's domestic counterintelligence program] against King and fellow anti-war activist Dr. Benjamin Spock in 1967, when the two were rumored to be contemplating a run for the presidency, but ruled it out on the grounds that such a program would be more effective after the pair had officially announced their candidacy. In August 1967, the FBI created a COINTELPRO against "Black Nationalist–Hate Groups," which targeted SCLC, King, and other civil rights leaders. King was identified as a target because the FBI believed that he could become a "messiah" who could unify black nationalists "should he abandon his supposed 'obedience' to 'white liberal doctrines' (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism" (Senate Select Committee, 180). In the last few months of King's life, the FBI intensified its efforts to discredit him and to "neutralize" SCLC (Senate Select Committee, 180).' — The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University

# The most dangerous Negro in America

—J. Edgar Hoover on MLK

**The F.B.I.'s entanglement with King** began not as an inquiry into his sex life but as a "national security" matter, one step removed from King himself…In the fall of 1963, just after the March on Washington, the F.B.I. extended its surveillance from Levison and other associates to King himself, planting wiretaps in King's home and offices and bugs in his hotel rooms. Hoover found out very little about any Communist subterfuge, but he did begin to learn about King's extramarital sex life, already an open secret within the civil rights movement's leadership.

The current F.B.I. director, James Comey, keeps a copy of the King wiretap request on his desk as a reminder of the bureau's capacity to do wrong. But elsewhere in Washington, the debate over how much the government should know about our private lives has never been more heated: Should intelligence agencies be able to sweep our email, read our texts, track our phone calls, locate us by GPS? Much of the conversation swirls around the possibility that agencies like the N.S.A. or the F.B.I. will use such information not to serve national security but to carry out personal and political vendettas. King's experience reminds us that these are far from idle fears, conjured in the fevered minds of civil libertarians. They are based in the hard facts of history.

—Beverly Gage, 2014

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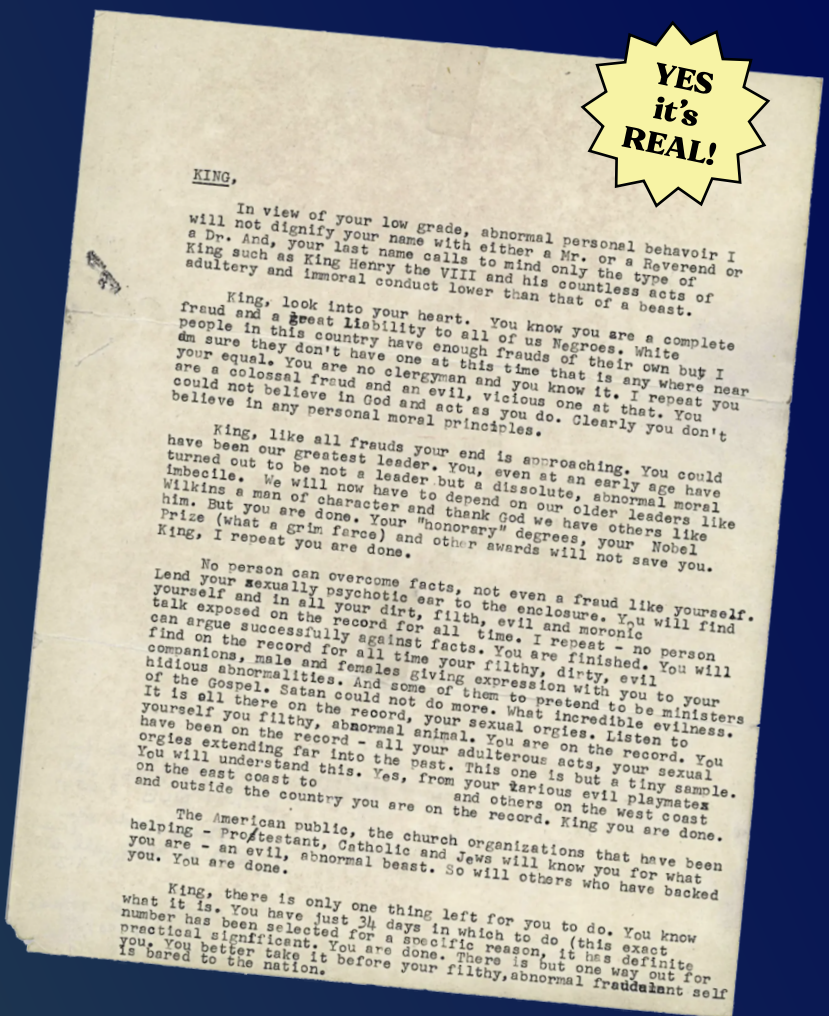
# *Don't miss* the authentic FBI letter to MLK on view at the COINTELPRO Pavillion!




The [FBI] surveillance failed to show that King was a communist, but it did result in many tapes of extramarital sexual liaisons by King. So the next year, Sullivan sent the following unsigned letter to King's home. An unredacted version of it was only recently unearthed by Yale historian Beverly Gage, and published in *The New York Times* in November 2014 —Andrew Prokop, *Vox*

## 44 RED-FREE RED CARPET

Come early and make sure you get on the (black)list that you won't want to miss! 'On March 5, 1946, at Westminster College, in Fulton, Missouri, former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared the onset of the Cold War with an image that crystallized American fears of Soviet expansionism abroad and Communist subversion at home. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent," intoned Churchill.

In October 1947, the nation's fear of Communism spread to the film industry, as the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) held a series of hearings intended to probe subversive communism in Hollywood. The hearings resulted in contempt of Congress charges against the "Hollywood 10," a group of filmmakers, mostly screenwriters, who refused to cooperate with the committee and were ultimately jailed and banned from working for all of the major studios.

The Hollywood 10 were just the beginning. The hearings ushered in the film industry's blacklist era and scores more were banned from work due to their political ideologies in coming years.'
—*BrandeisNOW,* 2018

## 45 FRESHLY POPPED POP-AGANDA!

Salted and buttery and warm! Yum! The only snackfood you'll see! The only snackfood you need! The correct snackfood. Chow down on some pop-aganda as you take in red-free red carpet Hollywood fare, as well as Space Age educational content for the entire family. Gather round to see Disney's collaboration with Nazi-turned-NASA rocket scientist (and inspiration for Dr. Strangelove himself) Wehner von Braun: 'Disney artists used the tools of their trade to create a dramatic an-

imation sequence illustrating von Braun's futuristic ideas for a four-stage rocket. The scene takes place at a launch site on a "small atoll of coral islands in the Pacific where man is dedicated to just one cause—the conquest of space." Against a dark blue pre-dawn sky, search lights bathe the waiting launch vehicle while sirens sound a warning, and square-jawed technicians study their consoles. "Now man will bet his life against the unknown dangers of space travel," a narrator reports…According to [Ernst] Stuhlinger, von Braun made sure the Disney artists built accurate models of the space vehicles for the three shows. "Here von Braun was really on home grounds... He provided a wealth of information on technical details, from in-orbit fueling operations down to problems of cooking and eating under weightlessness," Stuhlinger said. He also recalled the many hours that von Braun devoted to the Disney projects. Von Braun's official duties for the Army often took him to the West Coast to meet with Jupiter and Redstone contractors. After the meetings, he and Stuhlinger would go to the Disney studios where they would work into the morning hours with the artists and producers...An estimated 42 million people saw the first show in the Disney "science factual" series.' —NASA website

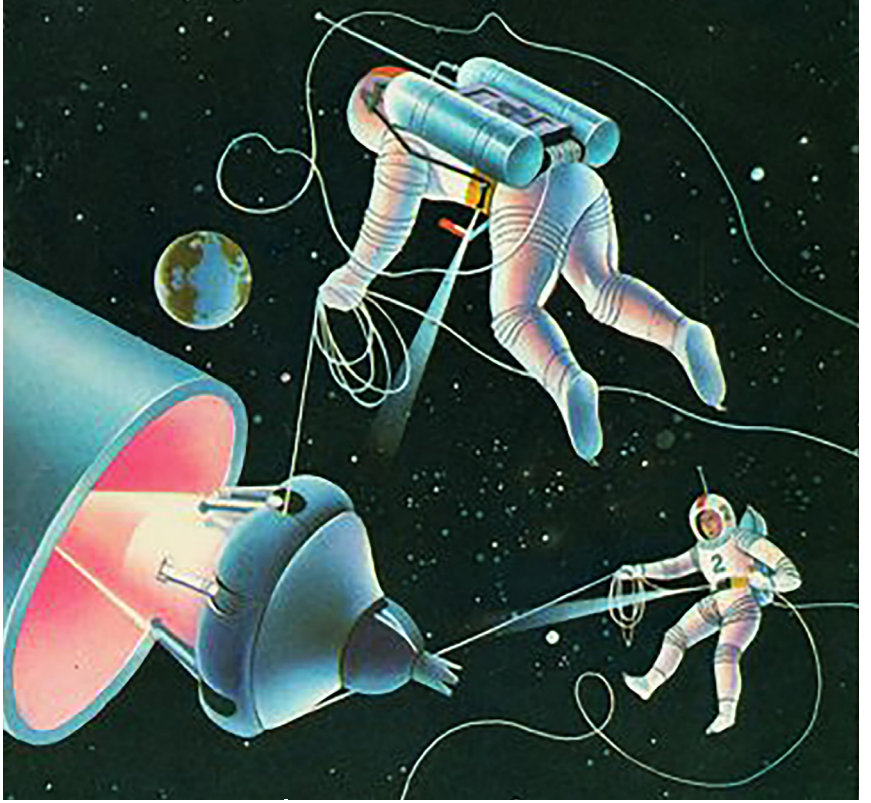
Walt Disney and Wernher von Braun pose with model of the V2 rocket, 1954

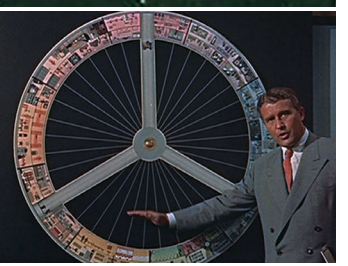
Space Girl and Space Man at Disneyland's Tomorrowland, 1965

Walt Disney

# MAN IN SPACE

A Tomorrowland Adventure





## 46 RED SCARE HALL OF NAMING NAMES

Paranoia! Alger Hiss! Julius and Ethel Rosenberg! Come see all the biggest named names in this witch hunt extravaganza. See where Robert F. Kennedy and Roy Cohn both got their start: "Looking back, he sees himself as a youthful hero of the fight against communism. By the time he was 23, Roy Marcus Cohn was already a seasoned assistant U.S. attorney—an expert in "subversive activities"—and he had wrapped up what would become the first highlight of his career: the prosecution of the Rosenberg spy case. "I believe the things of which I'm proudest are my prosecution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as atom spies, all the way down to the work I do in anticommunism organizations today…I think McCarthy performed a substantial service to the country by alerting the country to the menace of communism when most people in this country were not tuned in to how deadly it was…having beaten Hitler, we were up against another bunch of killers, and McCarthy was the one who opened more people's eyes to that…So I regard it as a decent hour in history, and I think there's been a total exaggeration of people losing their jobs, jumping out of windows, all that. That's all a lot of baloney…and when I die, when I'm referred to, it's going to be as Joe McCarthy's counsel" His McCarthy association gave him fame—and infamy—at a very early age. And, as he is the first to admit, it was an asset to his law practice, rather than a deterrent. But there was a price. It was during the McCarthy years, for one thing, that his lifelong feud with Robert Kennedy began. Their paths first crossed in 1953, when McCarthy hired Kennedy as an assistant counsel to the subcommittee. Kennedy soon resigned, then resurfaced on the committee as minority counsel to the Democrats. Cohn once lunged at Kennedy outside a hearing room, only to be restrained. Years later, as U.S. attorney general, Kennedy would give his blessing to three separate criminal indictments

of Cohn. (He was acquitted three times.)' —Lois Romano, "The Closing Arguments of Roy Cohn," *The Washington Post*, 1985

"If Jesus had been killed twenty years ago, Catholic school children would be wearing little electric chairs around their necks instead of crosses."
—Lenny Bruce

Ethel Rosenberg : [*to a dying Roy Cohn*] I came here to forgive, but all I can do is take pleasure in your misery. Knowing that I would get to see you die, more terribly than I did. And you are. Cause you're dying in shit, Roy. Defeated. [*leans in*] And you could kill me... but you couldn't ever defeat me... you never won. And when you die, all anyone will say is, "Better that he had never lived at all."
—Tony Kushner, *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes*

**IS THIS AMERICA, THE LAND OF THE FREE**

and the home of the brave, where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hooks because our lives be threatened daily, because we want to live as decent human beings in America?" —Fannie Lou Hamer

Western Electric

Western Electric manufacturing and supply unit of the Bell System

## 47 WHAC-A-MOLE

Located on Assassiation Alley, hear the tale of how the quest to steal spy technology that fueled WWII, then the Space Race, and finally a surveillance state completely caved in on itself: 'Deep in debt and struggling to provide for his family, Hans Rehder got an offer he couldn't refuse: to steal key files from his employer, West German electronics firm Telefunken, for a monthly payoff from East German agents. Soon the former Nazi party member and physicist was on board, and he delivered a staggering volume of material: hundreds of invaluable documents each year, including the complete plans for the radiation-resistant Leopard 1 tank. His side hustle lasted 28 years—from 1957 to 1985—and he was never caught.

But although spying clearly paid off for Rehder, economists and historians have long wondered whether industrial espionage is worth it for the country subsidizing all the spying. Now, in the first study of its kind, researchers have analyzed more than 150,000 previously classified documents from the former East German Ministry for State Security (also known as the Stasi) to reach a surprising conclusion: Stealing can boost economic productivity in the short-term, but it cannibalizes long-term investment in research and development. "It's R&D on cocaine," says author Erik Meyersson, a political economist at the Stockholm School of Economics. "Maybe you can have a little bit of fun with it, but it's not good for you in the long run.'"
—Catherine Matacic, "Cold War Espionage Paid Off—Until It Backfired, East German Spy Records Reveal," *Science*, 2017

## 48 SOFT DIPLOMACY EASY LISTENING PAVILION

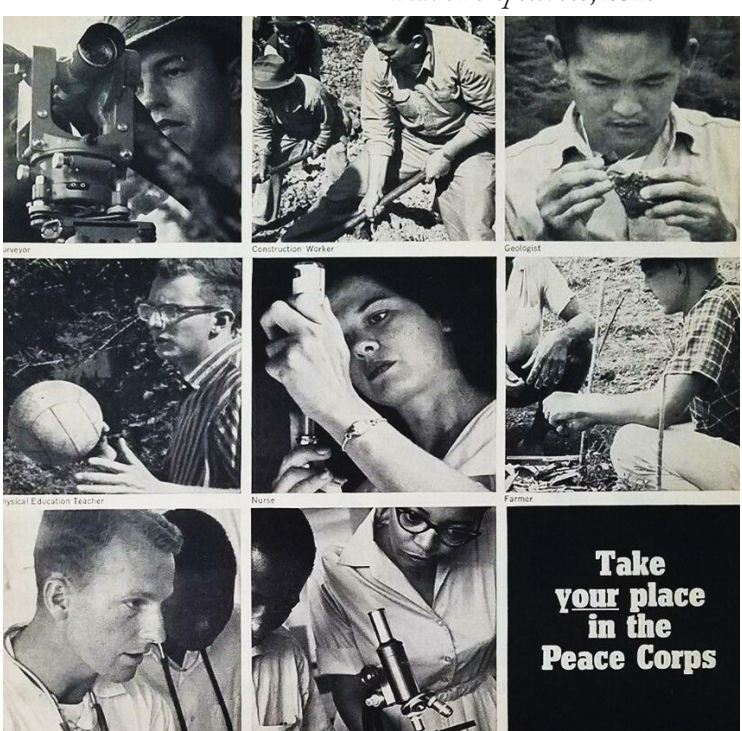
Tune in to the Voice of America and treat yourself to some smooth, soft diploma-

**THE THING**, also known as **THE GREAT SEAL BUG,** was a **PASSIVE COVERT LISTENING DEVICE**, developed in the **SOVIET UNION** and planted in the residence of the **US AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW**, hidden inside a wooden carving of the **GREAT SEAL** of the United States…On 4 August **1945**, the Vladimir Lenin All-Union Pioneer organization presented a **HAND-CARVED REPLICA** of the Great Seal of the United States to US Ambassador **AVERELL HARRIMAN**, as a **GESTURE OF FRIENDSHIP** to the USSR's World War II ally…Unknown to the Americans however, the carving **CONTAINED** an **HF RADION BUG** of a novel design, in that it didn't have its own power source and was not connected via wires. Instead, the device was **ILLUMINATED BY STRONG RADIO SIGNAL** from the outside, which powered and **ACTIVATED IT**. It gave the bug a virtually unlimited life and provided the **SOVIETS** with the best possible intelligence…The **BUG WAS FINALLY DISCOVERED** by the US State Department in **1952**, three ambassadors later, during the tenure of **AMB. GEORGE F KENNAN**…The actual **RUSSIAN BUG** was developed by **LEON THEREMIN**…inventor of the Theremin, a **MUSICAL INSTRUMENT** with a proximity sensor."

**—The Crypto Museum**

G GENERAL AUDIENCES
ALL AGES ADMITTED

cy; frolick gently with Fulbright Fellows; picnic with the Peace Corps as you take in some Jazz in Africa and read the latest *Paris Review*, 'The U.S. was also a master of deception. The crumbling of European empires had enabled America to broaden its hegemony using "soft" methods, from the Peace Corps to what Malcolm [X] called "dollarism"—the purchase of influence. Meanwhile an elaborate U.S. propaganda campaign had attempted to lure developing nations into the orbit of Western capitalism, in part by saturating them with tales of American progress in the area of race relations. Malcolm saw this maneuver as a case of skullduggery and he described it as such before audiences domestic and foreign.'—Russell Rickford, "Malcolm X and Anti-Imperialist Thought," *Black Perspectives*, 2017

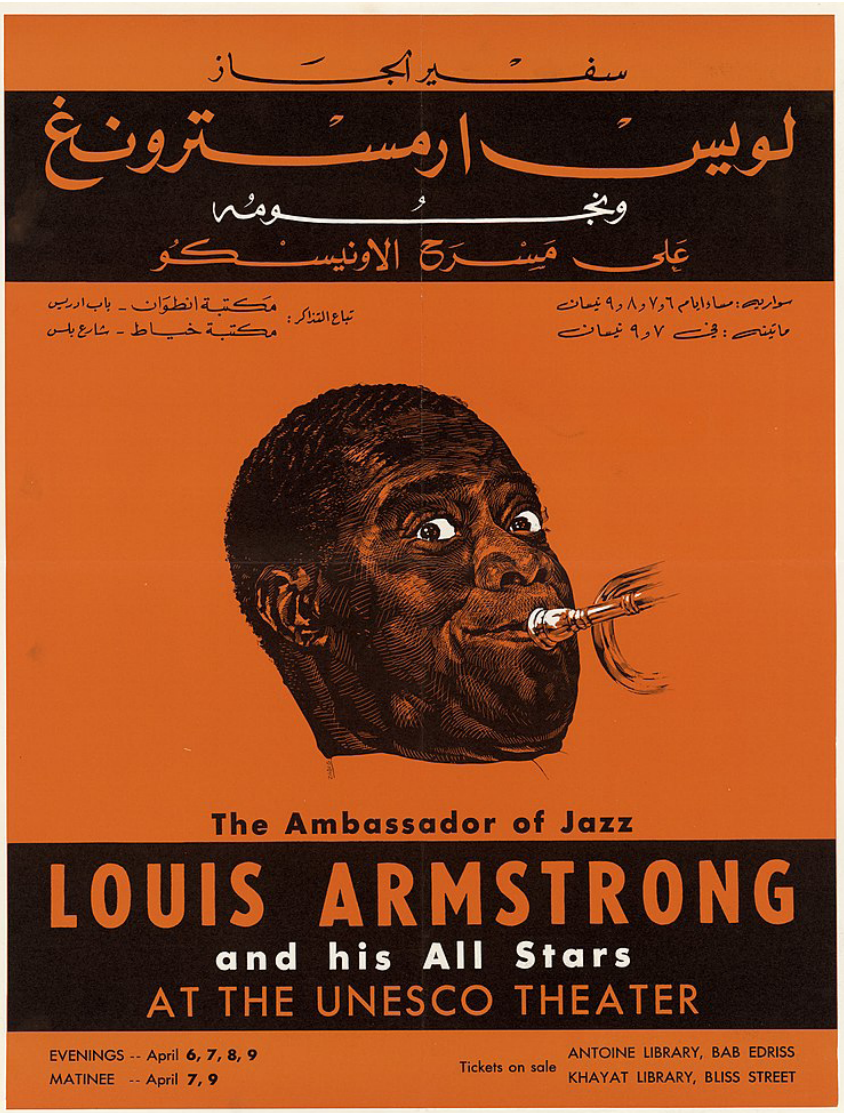



Peace Corps Ad, 1963

## 49 BELGIAN NATO WAFFLES WITH BERNAYS PSY-OPS SAUCE

You won't need to think about what to think about these multilateral waffles that took the 1964 Fair by storm—now with a compelling new topping that is bound to win you over! 'Powerful nations and military alliances like NATO have the most effective propaganda. Edward Bernays, the father of public relations, who has been called "the father of spin," defined propaganda as consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations of the public to an enterprise, idea or group." Dejan Vercic, James Grunig, and Larissa Grunig suggest that Bernays was describing power relations between the propagandist and the consumer of the propaganda. They hold that propaganda cannot take place in a public relations context because public relations is aimed at managing conflict and building relationships with strategic groups or public (critics, activists, governmental regulators, etc.). Indeed they state that because of the power involved in propaganda, only governments can be true propagandists. NATO and Pentagon press briefings and conferences showed the close relationship between the military and the mass media. Indeed, most of the Western mass-media outlets were active partners in NATO and Pentagon news management, psychological warfare and propaganda. That is to say, press briefings were staged events aimed at manipulating the meanings that the journalists—and by extension their audiences constructed for the messages from the communicators (NATO and the Pentagon) about their adversary (Yugoslavia) and themselves. For example, during a press conference, many Western reporters asked questions about the NATO action in the first person plural "we.'"

—Lyombe S. Eko, *New Media, Old Regimes: Case Studies in Comparative Communication Law and Policy*




"Armstrong was basically a Trojan horse for the CIA. It's genuinely heartbreaking. He was brought in to serve an interest that was completely contrary to his own sense of what was right or wrong. He would have been horrified," said Susan Williams, a research fellow at London University's School of Advanced Study and author of *White Malice*, a new book which exposes the astonishing extent of the CIA's activities across central and west Africa in the 1950s and early 60s. —*The Guardian*, 2021

**"Skaken, not stirred"**
**Is for martinis.**
**Cultural diplomacy?**
**On the rocks.**

The early 1960s saw the birth of the screen spy superhero, epitomised by the British secret agent James Bond. Refined, witty, sharply dressed and armed with high-tech gadgets, Bond. and his many American imitators showcased the virtues of consumer capitalism over communism. —*Hollywood's Cold War*, Tony Shaw, 2007

# 50 LOST & FOUND

Did you forget something? Maybe not? Explore this international censorship sensation! Jog your memory and return to a pivotal moment in history mostly gone from the headlines! Find out how much you actually remember. Learn how to forget an entire war! 'The Korean War has been called "the Forgotten War" in the United States, where coverage of the 1950s conflict was censored and its memory decades later is often overshadowed by World War II and the Vietnam War. But the three-year conflict in Korea, which pitted communist and capitalist forces against each other, set the stage tensions between North Korea and the United States continue to mount amid missile tests and taunt…Since 1953 there has been an uneasy coexistence between North and South Korea, which hosts over 20,000 American troops. At one time hundreds of American nuclear weapons were based there. "It was from the Korean War onward that we had a permanent, global American military presence that we had never had before," Professor [Charles K.] Armstrong said. Other countries that host American troops include Qatar, Japan, Italy and Germany. "It was a real turning point for America's global role." In the decades after the war, South Korea transformed into an economic powerhouse. Professor [Bruce] Cumings said many of its citizens now know little about the conflict and have "a fatalistic orientation" toward the economically isolated North. Meanwhile, North Korea became "the world's most amazing garrison state with the fourth largest army in the world…Its generals are still fighting the war," Professor Cumings said. "For them it has never ended.'"

—Liam Stack, "Korean War, a 'Forgotten' Conflict That Shaped the Modern World," *The New York Times*, 2018

**Highlights**

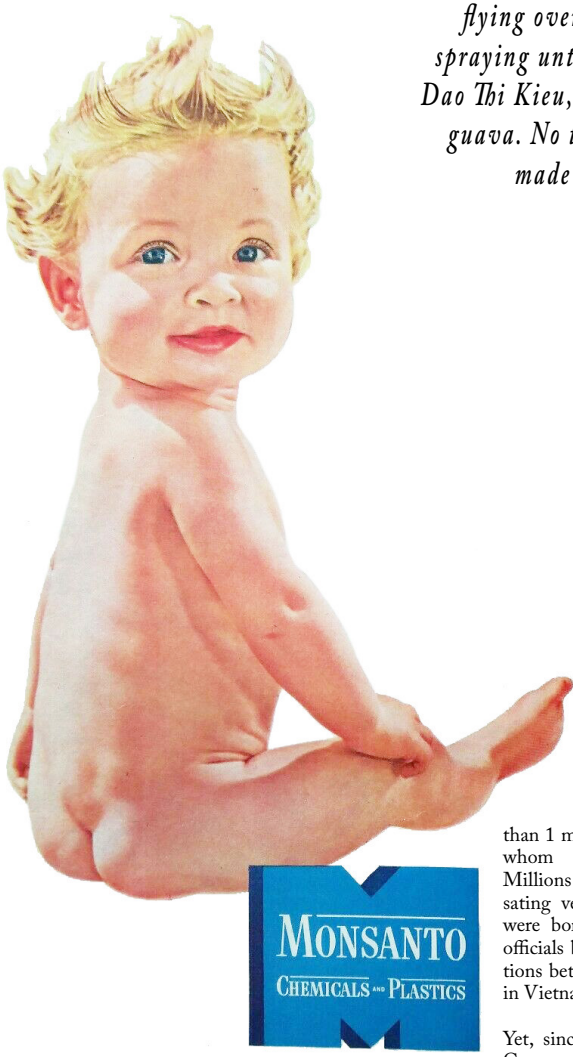
**AGENT ORANGE MISTING STATION**

Come on over and cool off—the water's fine! Everyone will tell you: *the water is fine!* 'During the war, U.S. officials assured the Republic of Vietnam that the defoliants were harmless. The South Vietnamese government, in turn, sought to convince its citizens that the chemicals were safe. Vietnamese soldiers went so far as to douse themselves in the chemicals and even drink them with water, according to documents from the National Archives…Civil servants and cadres explain to the people there the harmlessness of the defoliation by spraying defoliant on the body and water and drinking it before the people," said an October 1963 report from the South Vietnamese government. Like U.S. soldiers, Vietnamese citizens used empty herbicide barrels for showers and barbecues. Believing the chemicals were harmless, South Vietnamese soldiers often sold empty barrels containing as much as five gallons of herbicide residue to civilians in such places as Da Nang and Bien Hoa, government records state. But many of the compounds weren't safe. They were contaminated with the most toxic man-made chemical known, the dioxin TCDD. The contaminant was an unintended by-product of the manufacturing process used by U.S. chemical companies to produce an ingredient found in Agents Orange, Purple, Green and Pink —compounds that made up more than 65 percent of the nearly 20 million gallons of herbicides released in Vietnam.

Scientists have tied dioxin to more than a dozen illnesses, including cancer, Parkinson's disease and crippling congenital disorders.'

—Jason Grotto, Agent Orange: Birth Defects Plague Vietnam; U.S. Slow to Help, *The Chicago Tribune,* 2009

"I never met a hormone system that dioxin didn't like to disrupt," said Dr. Linda Birnbaum, director of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences and a leading dioxin expert. "It has widespread effects in nearly every vertebrate species at nearly every stage of development."




*"I was about 16 when I saw the planes flying overhead, and I saw the spraying until I was married," said Dao Thi Kieu, 58. "It smelled like ripe guava. No trees could survive. It made my clothes wet."*

Since then, the story of Kieu's life can be told with simple, heartbreaking math. She had eight children. Seven of them were born with severe deformities. Of those, five died before age 8. She also lost her husband, who served in the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese army, to cancers associated with herbicide exposure…

At the heart of the controversy is the suspected link between the herbicides and birth defects in Vietnam, where more than 5 out of every 100 children are born with some form of physical or mental abnormality, a fourfold increase since the start of the war, according to Vietnamese scientists.

The U.S. government spent $13.7 billion last year on disability payments for more than 1 million Vietnam veterans, many of whom were exposed to herbicides. Millions more have been spent compensating veterans' families whose children were born with birth defects. But U.S. officials bristle at acknowledging connections between the defoliants and illnesses in Vietnam…

Yet, since the war ended 35 years ago, Congress has set aside just $6 million to assist Vietnam with herbicide-related issues, despite evidence that large numbers of civilians in the south—people in whose name the war was fought—were exposed to defoliants that have since been outlawed in the U.S.

—Jason Grotto, "Agent Orange: Birth Defects Plague Vietnam; U.S. Slow to Help," *The Chicago Tribune*, 2009

ENJOY UNSURPASSED NATURAL COLOR

**I was to see that sight again, but once was enough.**

Flames were coming from a human being; his body was slowly withering and shriveling up, his head blackening and charring. In the air was the smell of burning human flesh; human beings burn surprisingly quickly. Behind me I could hear the sobbing of the Vietnamese who were now gathering. I was too shocked to cry, too confused to take notes or ask questions, too bewildered to even think...As he burned he never moved a muscle, never uttered a sound, his outward composure in sharp contrast to the wailing people around him.

—David Halberstam on watching Vietnamese Mahayana Buddhist monk Thích Quảng Đức self-immolate

MORE PEOPLE OWN RCA VICTOR TV THAN ANY OTHER KIND -- BLACK AND WHITE OR COLOR

# FUTURAMARAMA

## FAST-FORWARD TO THE 21ST CENTURY

*History repeates itself first as tragedy, then as farce.*
*—Karl Marx*

*"City of the Future" model, from Ford's Futurama exhibit at the 1964 New York World's Fair*

## WELCOME BACK TO 1939!

*Enjoy our pavilion of the future and sample the following rides and attractions in the heart of Corona, Queens, epicenter of New York City's CoronaVirus Outbreak! Futuramarma is brought to you by the same companies that brought you Futurama and, in fact, both earlier World's Fairs in New York City. Remember: the future was always sponsored by Exxon Mobil, General Motors, Dow, and Monsanto.*

## FUTURAMARAMA

**MISINFORMATION MIRROR MAZE**
Explore the hyper fragmented dead-end of the Information Super Highway! Behold the politicization of science and ask if it wasn't always so. Witness the death of the local newspaper. Play fast and loose with facts in 280-character chunks.

**EURO GROUND WAR ROLLING TANK REVUE**
Everything old is new again! Economic crashes! Global pandemics! Exceptionally polarized political points of view! The mid-20th century is back! So, why not throw in an unprovoked land grab in clear violation of national sovereignty? Deliberate civilian casualties? We've got those, too! Cue up a fireside chat and scroll your Twitter feed at the very same time—we dare you to spot the difference!

**GOLDWATERGATE**
That Silent Majority sure can't shut up in the 21st century! Watch as Tricky Dick goes from sore loser sidelined by Barry Goldwater to silent Cold War Kingpin in Cambodia. See the Far Right transmogrify from isolationist Birchers to Reganites with Star Wars in their eyes. Glimpse the magic as States Rights becomes a wish for small government—writ large in astronomical defense budgets and writ loud in a neverending news cycle.

**LINCOLN LOGIN, REBOOTING THE 14TH AMENDMENT**
Corporations are people! Corporations are your friends! Join our animatronic Abe Lincoln as he speaks Chief Justice John Roberts' landmark Citizens United ruling! Afterwards, make a splash with our Lincoln Log Flume.

**WIN A NIGHT AT THE LUCERNE**
Join our American Home Area's Mascot, NIMBY, as we raffle off a night at the Upper West Side's premier hotel-turned-COVID-homeless shelter, now reopened and recaptured by the tourist economy from the clutches of being a local job center! New York is back—and there's hardly any room at the inn!

**AMAZONIAN TAX AVOIDANCE**

An homage to the Equitable Life Assurance pavilion of 1964, rather than tell the story of the nation's and the world's phenomenal population growth, this pavilion's giant tabulator keeps track of lost tax dollars from Amazon and other companies that operate across state and national borders. See suffering up and down the supply chain around the world—because you need it *now*.

**HAUNTED FORECLOSED HOUSE**

Located conveniently beside the Economic Rollercoaster, your head will spin as you creep through the spooky tale of bundled subprime mortgages. Sidestep scary predatory loan practices and—lose your way in a murky, murdering maze of fine print! See the ghosts of futures that will never be, as you wonder how the average American makes $51,000 per year and the average home costs $375,000. This pavilion was made possible through the generous donations of Wells Fargo and Sallie Mae.

**FUNNEL CAKE OF FUNNELED FUNDS**

Return to the impressive model set forth by Robert Moses' Triborough Bridge Authority, which pioneered a nefarious—and nifty!—private sector/public sector extralegal entity. Where Moses walked, Metaverse and Google run! See the government and large corporations arguably more powerful than the government work hand-in-glove. (Also, who are we kidding? Robert Moses never walked anywhere: he was always chauffeured!)

**MEET MITCHELL THE LLAMA**

See this almost extinct creature in his natural habitat, New York City: "According to the Community Service Society, a city public policy anti-poverty organization, New York City has an estimated 39,392 units left after losing about 26,254 units from the [expiring postwar] Mitchell-Lama [affordable housing] program over the past 16 years...The Harlem Tenants Council gives an unofficial report of hundreds of black tenants living in for-

mer Mitchell Lama buildings such as Schomburg Plaza and Lake View, who are being forced out, unable to pay escalating rents."—Marie Gørrild, Sharon Obialo, Nienke Venema, "Gentrification and Displacement in Harlem: How the Harlem Community Lost Its Voice en Route to Progress"

**DECLINE AND FALL FOR THE MYTH OF THE MIDDLE CLASS**

"It is long since past the time when we should have put the question of inequality back at the center of economic analysis…If the question of inequality is again to become central, we must begin by gathering as extensive as possible a set of historical data for the purpose of understanding past and present trends." —Thomas Picketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*

**FESTIVAL OF GAS**

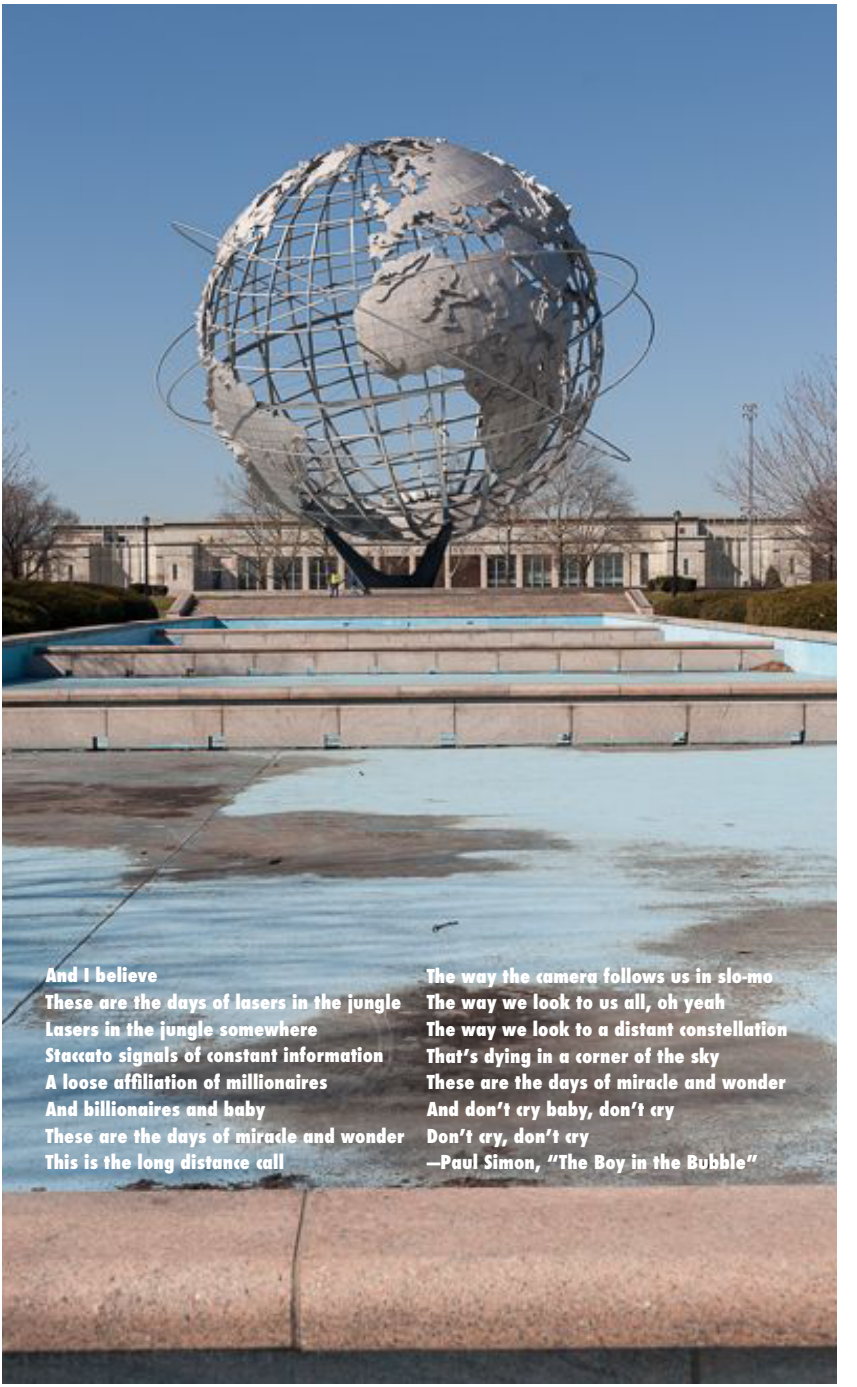
A puppet movie, a magic show, cooking demonstrations, and product displays have been assembled by the gas industry in a pavilion of light, airy architecture in a pleasant garden bisected by a large, disruptive gas pipeline. Take in murals and maps of similarly intrusive pipelines across the land—from Wounded Knee to national parks across the continent.

**CON EDISON CITY OF LIGHT**

Get on it like ConEd! Explore post Hurricane Sandy infrastructure and its glacial pace of repairs. Tour the crippled subway of the World's Capital that has not received an adequate cash infusion in decades. Cool yourself in rising waters and relax during mysterious, interminable waits overseen by countdown clocks that dare to dream with no discernible accuracy.

**FACTORY FARM PETTING ZOO**

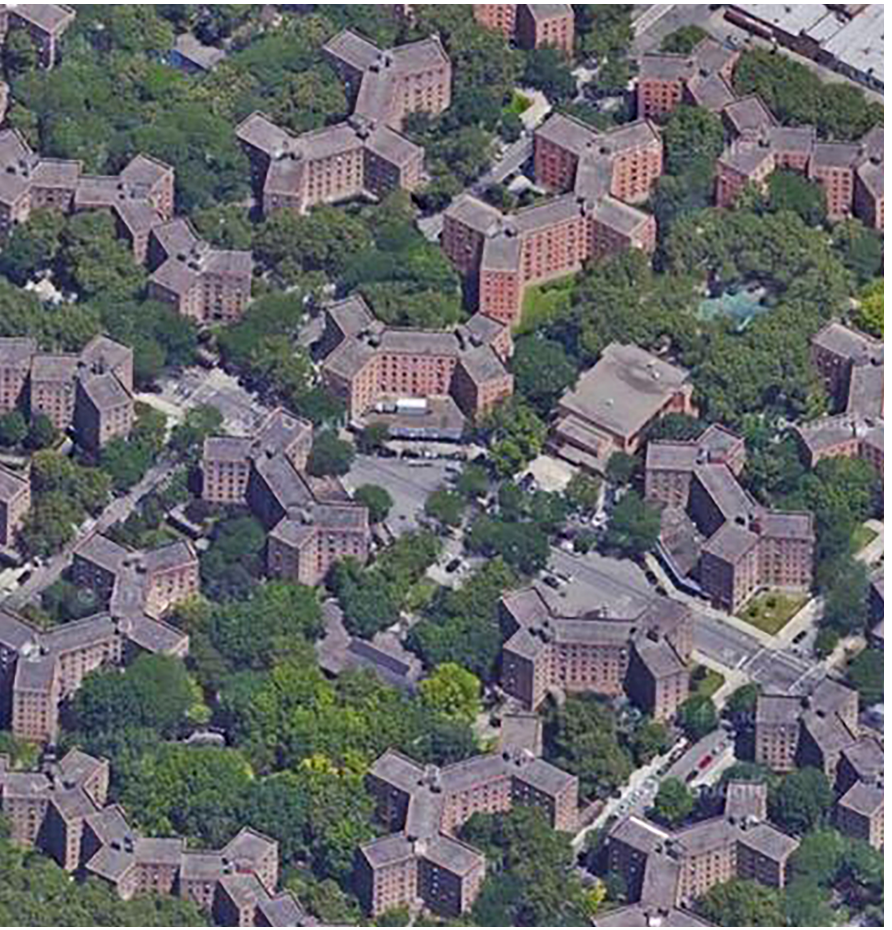
"[Since 1960], the numbers of pig and dairy farmers have declined by 91 and 88 percent, respectively. Meanwhile the farms—or as the industry now calls them, "concentrated animal feeding operations"—have grown so much that the number of animals produced has soared from about 1.5 billion animals in 1960 to 9 billion today." —Peter Singer, "Open the Cages!", *New York Review of Books*, 2016



**And I believe**
**These are the days of lasers in the jungle**
**Lasers in the jungle somewhere**
**Staccato signals of constant information**
**A loose affiliation of millionaires**
**And billionaires and baby**
**These are the days of miracle and wonder**
**This is the long distance call**
**The way the camera follows us in slo-mo**
**The way we look to us all, oh yeah**
**The way we look to a distant constellation**
**That's dying in a corner of the sky**
**These are the days of miracle and wonder**
**And don't cry baby, don't cry**
**Don't cry, don't cry**
**—Paul Simon, "The Boy in the Bubble"**

NYC Queensbridge houses, ca. 1939, New York City Social Housing Authority, from the Museum of the City of New York's Print collection

*I got you stuck off the realness, we be the infamous*
*You heard of us, official Queensbridge murderers…*
*You all alone in these streets, cousin*
*Every man for they self in this land we be gunning*
*And keep them shook crews running, like they supposed to*
*They come around but they never come close to*
*I can see it inside your face, you're in the wrong place…*
*I'm only nineteen but my mind is old*
*And when the things get for real my warm heart turns cold…*
*Meanwhile back in Queens the realness and foundation*



NYC Queensbridge houses, ca. 2022, Google Maps

*When the slugs penetrate you feel a burning sensation*
*Getting closer to God in a tight situation…*
*Now, take these words home and think it through*
*Or the next rhyme I write might be about you...*
*To all the villains and a hundred dollar billers*
*To real brothers who ain't got no feelings, yeah*
*The whole Bridge, Queens get the money*
*41st side, keepin' it real, you know*
*Queens get the money*
—Mobb Deep, "The Shook Ones, Part II"

# CAROUSEL OF PROGRESS: GOING IN CIRCLES

*For Lou*

This is a book about inheritance.

What is a World's Fair if not someone's idea of what the next generation ought to inherit? In a sense, it's utopia by committee. Utopia is a top-down hope foisted on society at large. Utopia is a violence. Utopia is also a parkway, a playground, and a neighborhood in Queens, foisted on New York City by Robert Moses. All of these utopias—as well as Utopia Bagels—are located roughly five miles from the World's Fair Grounds, another Moses concoction. (N.b., foisted is, in fact, a word of Dutch origin, employed here because it was the Dutch who first foisted Western civilization upon this part of the world and upon the Lenape, but I digress.)

Asking "*Who is Robert Moses?*" feels an awful lot like asking, *"Who is John Galt?"* The notion of a Galt gone awry perhaps tracks, not that Galt had a hope of going a-right in the first place—unless you mean ideologically. Imagine: a Republican (or anyone) invested in public works! Except, he wasn't

he wasn't of course. Rather, he enriched himself through a larcenous public-private partnership at once at the geographical heart of New York City, yet nearly invisible to all: directly beneath the Triborough Bridge. (That bridge is now renamed for Bobby Kennedy who—as perhaps you read earlier in this book—both wiretapped Martin Luther King, Jr. and served as an aide to Sen. Joseph McCarthy.)

Moses' empire, the Triborough Bridge Authority, was an empire hidden in plain sight. The nefarious scope and vastness of Moses' power was outed by the brilliant Robert Caro in what has to be the most thoroughly researched character assassination in the English language: *The Power Broker.* Published in 1973, while Moses was still very much alive, the book is lauded and oft quoted, but many tend to elide the tome's full title, which reads: *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*. It charts the course of a man left to define utopia with a free hand, a love of cars (more than people as it was often charged), and an eye for radical European architecture to sweep away any parts of the city he found inconvenient—and then bury under 627 miles of new road.

The two World's Fairs that Moses brought to Queens bookended the 25 years of his ascendancy. Each also brought to the fore a world wracked by conflict: the beginnings of the Second World War in 1939 and the height of Cold War tensions in 1964. The 1939 World's Fair was actually a World's Fair, sanctioned by a governing body in—*pourqoui pas?*—Paris. The 1939 fair saw the exclusion of Germany. The fair's organizers buckled under political pressure from NYC Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia in the wake of a 50,000-person Nazi rally at Madison Square Garden in the winter of the same year.

In the middle of the 1939 fair, as war raged, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR were all forced to pack up and leave the slogan of "Peace and Understanding" behind. In 1942, the Trylon and Perisphere, the fair's iconic structures, were melted down for US armaments. Between the fairs, a stretch of the east side of Midtown—previously known as Blood Alley for all the slaughterhouses therein—was razed to host the United Nations. During construction, the UN Headquarters were housed in what had been the 1939 New York City pavilion and what is now the Queens Museum. Unbelievably, both before and after it served as the UN Headquarters, that building hosted a roller rink—going in circles, indeed.

The 1964 fair was rogue: Moses could not get Paris to approve its mounting in the Big Apple, so they went ahead and threw a renegade one anyway, using mostly corporate funds, hence its far more commercial flavor—the same kind of public-private sector collusion so familiar to Americans today. Tellingly, our foe at the time was excluded: the Soviet Union. The loony, breathless consumerism of the fair was, in fact, wholly intended as a blow against this absent foe, a Kitchen Debate made flesh. That propaganda wasn't just for the adults with wallets: both fairs notably featured an ongoing entanglement with Walt Disney and his bowdlerized, rather racist cartoon vision for the American Way. The cartoon villain was implicit.

This book is about the world we inherited. Admittedly, it's an awful lot like 1939, but with the nuclear firepower of 1964. And the villain remains the same. The bitter legacy of brinkmanship is paralysis. We are hamstrung. Russia has 6,300 warheads; the US has 3,750. The deployment of only one would mean an unthinkable, barbaric escalation of the war in Ukraine. We are returning to an agonizing question John Hersey posed in his 1946 masterpiece about the wake

of the first atomic bomb, *Hiroshima*: "The crux of the matter is whether total war in its present form is justifiable, even when it serves a just purpose. Does it not have material and spiritual evil as its consequences which far exceed whatever good might result? When will our moralists give us an answer to this question?"

We are returning to this territory. To be clear, total nuclear annihilation follows an American strategy. The United States excels at total war, even if we are taught in public schools that it was a German invention. The US killed 112,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; however, we murdered an additional 900,000 in a systemic fireboming campaign of civilian targets. Vladimir Putin is in our Pacific Theater playbook. It is total war. It is meant to pound a country into submission. Civilian casualties are the entire point. He is deliberately targeting civilians to break the will of a people and terrorize the rest of the world into fealty. It's the American Way.

In public schools, we are taught that the atomic bombs were dropped to "save our boys." But what about all those firebombs that killed nearly a million civilians? We are also taught that those two atomic weapons were the opening salvo of the Cold War—a way to show the Soviets our dominance in the postwar world—but would we have ever dropped those nuclear weapons on Germany? Or do they look too much "like us"? And, does this sound at all like our hand-wringing about who looks suitably "European" to receive a warm welcome as a refugee? We are in 1939, but with Twitter. The only difference—and it's a big one—is that we have already seen what nuclear weapons can do. It ratchets up the terror. It's the same set of total war tactics and, I'll argue, a piece of the same, ongoing war. (Another neat tie-in: the US government poached over 1,600 Nazi scientists, many of whom directly oversaw death camp labor,

torture, and medical experments, to prosecute the Cold War at NASA, Dow, Monsanto, Lockheed, Boeing, and—wait for it—Disney, among others.)

In researching this book, I was exceptionally moved to learn of Maya Angelou and Malcolm X's African campaign to bring the United States before the United Nations Human Rights Council to answer for charges of genocide. But no African country would back their efforts because they were receiving Cold War aid money from the US. We have never answered for what we have done to anyone, really: Japan, Vietnam, Central America, Afghanistan, Iraq, indigenous people, enslaved people…The list is terribly long, but the reason is simple: we have never suffered a large-scale invasion or lost a war on our own soil. Rather, we lose post-colonial misadventures where it would have been imprudent to deploy a nuclear weapon.

The US has never suffered like Japan, like Russia, like China, like Africa, like the Middle East, like anywhere in Europe and our inept, arrogant foreign policy telegraphs that fact as loudly as the mortifying statistic that only 20% of Americans are bilingual. And I'd bet a lot of money a good deal of them come from immigrant households. We have no curiosity about the world, yet we control it. We have no experience of the devastation of war, yet we perpetuate it everywhere but at home. Now our world leader status is being held hostage by our own intolerably cruel tactics. We cannot do a damn thing to help those people in Ukraine. But we have the connectivity to watch them die via (privately held) social media.

When I refer to the world we inherited, I use the first person literally. I grew up in the one pause in this arguably eight-decade-long conflict: the delusional 90s. That decade could handily be defined as lasting from the fall of the Berlin Wall

in 1989 to the attacks of September 11, 2001. It was a decade drunk on optimism (cue dancing Bill Gates) if—like everyone in power at the time—you ignored the so-called "Culture Wars" along with the very obvious notion of fallout from the Cold War and took a sweet cruise on the Information Superhighway to a surplus budget. You could triangulate your worries away with Bill Clinton. Don't ask if the world might still be mired in a state of intractable global conflict, and no one will tell!

Regrettably, the Cold War, which began with the last two bombs of WWII, was not over. Afghanistan was destabilized by a Soviet invasion and a brutal ensuing war. The legacy of that war, combined with a legacy of post-colonial discontent, Cold War regime change, and oil dependency thanks to Eisenhower's Military-Industrial Complex and the highways it built, sent two planes into the Twin Towers. 9/11 was a wake-up call that worldwide war had never ended, and it featured—for once—US civilian casualties, Americans who woke up one morning and went to work, utterly unaware that they would never come home. The Twin Towers still stand in the Panorama at the Queens Museum—that same pavilion that was a roller skating rink, then the United Nations, then a roller skating rink, once more. Again, we go in circles.

So we look at the world we inherited, again we look at it from New York. We glimpse the panorama. We see the moment that the war came home erased from history where twice we modeled utopia in Queens. Once more, we watch a land war in Europe with economic crashes and a global pandemic in recent memory. New York may well be the world's capital and it welcomes the world, but it also is the largest city in a country that stubbornly refuses to understand a contemporary world that it has done more than any other existing nation to shape. Once more, we have a Space

Race, but, continuing the trajectory of the World's Fairs, it has cooled from a proxy war in the name of progress to a tepid 15-minute joy ride for oligarchs in a phallic cocoon. The Cold War is often described as a backdrop but it sure has a talent for coming to the fore over and over, a sort of multigenerational landscape.

Russia is still America's shadow self, a roadmap to US values in that we purport its government to harbor all we deplore. It used to be communism as opposed to the free market and the aforementioned American Way. Today we decry its authoritarianism and its oligarchs—like we don't have any of our own. We place the evils of the world upon Putin, we pity their people. Putin, like Hitler, actually is conveniently evil. He suits the narrative well. We need our devils, of course, and we need them to be as they are to show why we are good. We must invent the devil to suit our needs. Frankly it's amazing we haven't found a new one for 75 years. In fact, he's up to our own bag of tricks. Dostoyevsky put it best: "I think the devil doesn't exist, but man has created him, he has created him in his own image and likeness."

This book largely maps the circumstances of my own biography. My family came here and gave me this corner of the world to call mine. Half of them came from Russia, that shadow self. All of them grew up, fell in love, worked, and died on a landscape largely defined by Robert Moses. Character may be fate, but context is everything. I cannot write this essay without mentioning my father, Lou, was born in 1950 in Bushwick, Brooklyn and raised in Levittown, Long Island. ("I'm midcentury!" he once exclaimed in a furniture store.) In Levittown, Lou spent summers biking to Jones Beach; his parents didn't have much money, but they saved up to see Lenny Bernstein conduct at Lincoln Center, which all of his life he referred to as "going to temple." Lou attended the World's Fair over a dozen times.

When my father met my mother (another World's Fair attendee) through a Jones Beach friend, their Jewish-Catholic marriage was perceived as "mixed"—fittingly with two-thirds of the demographics that Levittown accommodated. Lou taught me about Robert Moses; he spoke of him as a megalomaniac and a racist, to be sure, but he retained an Ahab-like aura that drew my father in. However, just as surely as Lou was a beneficiary of Moses' infrastructure and had access to the arts and leisure it hosted, as a teenager, he lost his mother to an exceedingly rare tumor. Strange cancers killed nearly everyone in her office, where she did the books for a company that extracted gold from WWII radio equipment through a noxious chemical process. I, in turn, lost Lou to an even rarer tumor. This book is about my inheritance.

This book is a biography of circumstance for my collaborator, too. Half of Johannah's family is Slovakian and she grew up with relatives on the other side of the Iron Curtain. In her 20s, Johannah became a Fulbright Scholar studying Kazakh textiles in post-Soviet Mongolia. Living in Bayan-Ulgii for a year, she learned firsthand what it was like to be an unintentional foot soldier in soft diplomacy. After a rigorous application process, she fretted about what she would have to do to keep up her end of the bargain. When she arrived, her affiliate university rubber stamped her papers—and she never heard from them again. There was no oversight of her research and, to this day, she wonders if anyone ever read her midway and final reports. At a certain point, it dawned on her: it was her presence that mattered more.

During her time with Mongolia, she saw the same thing with the Peace Corps. Her peers had the correct intentions, but no resources to carry them out. Logistically they were supported, and given a schedule of vaccines so vast that it included an anti-bubonic plague shot—in case of a freak mar-

mot bite. However, any programs the volunteers wished to start received no funding. One woman in Johannah's cohort wanted to supply a local area with sports equipment for a school: she had to fundraise for it herself in the US. Another man arrived and was assigned to a children's enrichment program at a local community center—that didn't exist. No one had an alternate plan for him, so he helped out in odd ways that he could. Ultimately, it was their presence that was the point. While Johannah will eagerly tell anyone that the Fulbright changed her life and her career—she doubts she had any impact whatsoever on Mongolia. The veil was pulled back and she knows why she was there. This book is about her inheritance, too.

I write as I turn 40, halfway through it all if those Equitable Life tabulators are to be believed—far more than halfway through it if those wacky Long Island Expressway tumors are part of my inheritance, too. I write it in Manhattan, a few blocks from Moses' West Side Highway, as a child who was a religious attendee at Lincoln Center's Young People Concerts, and with a father who instilled in me an abiding love of City and State beaches. Six weeks after I was born, EPCOT opened; I went when I was only a few months old, and on many family vacations after that. At some point in researching this book I realized I have, in fact, been to the World's Fair. I inherited those hopes for "A Great Big Beautiful Tomorrow." I took all the rides.

As I fear that perhaps I have been taken for a ride and spent an entire childhood high on corporate futurism, I come back to another cultural artifact of my youth: Paul Simon. The Flushing native released Graceland on my fifth birthday, and I went with Lou to Tower Records to buy it on vinyl, cassette tape, eight-track, and CD. The album's first track contains the lyric, "These are the days of lasers in the jungle/ Lasers in the jungle somewhere." When I called my father's

best friend from high school to ask him what it was like to go to the World's Fair over a dozen times with my father, Bill told me that Lou laughed hysterically at the depiction of lasers cutting down trees in General Motors' Futurama. He laughed every time that they went. Lou couldn't believe that this was supposed to be a positive vision of the future. It cracked him up.

Bill, a horticulturalist, also told me about a recent hike he took around the World's Fair grounds with his partner, who incidentally collects World's Fair memorabilia. Each year, they go to pick cherries, which he tells me are exquisite. As they did so last year, Bill realized that, aside from the trees that had been planted by the World's Fair landscape architects, he was also in the midst of Katsura trees, native to East Asia. When he looked up the map of the World's Fair pavilions, he noted that he was standing where South Korea's had been. The seeds remained and rose up through the soil. The lasers in the jungle had not prevailed, after all.

**—Cara Marsh Sheffler**

**Over everything—up through the wreckage of the city, in gutters, along the riverbanks, tangled among tiles and tin roofing, climbing on charred tree trunks—was a blanket of fresh, vivid, lush, optimistic green; the verdancy rose even from the foundations of ruined houses. Weeds already hid the ashes, and wild flowers were in bloom among the city's bones. The bomb had not only left the underground organs of the plants intact; it had stimulated them.**

**—John Hersey,** *Hiroshima*

**For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease.**

**—Job 14:7**

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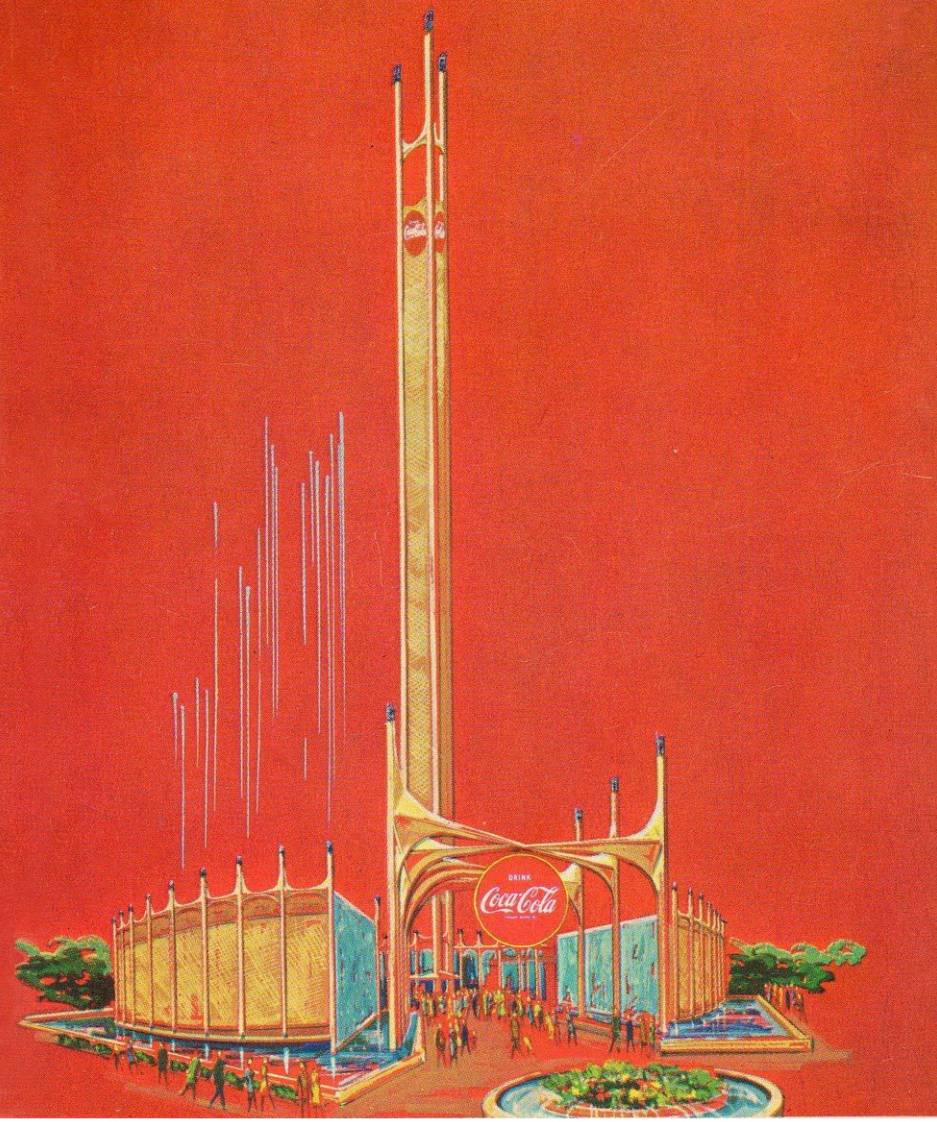


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