#### Introduction

When the U.S. dropped the first atomic bomb in 1945, signaling the birth of the Atomic Age, it transformed global politics. Once again, it changed in 1953 when the USSR tested its first thermonuclear weapon, experts behind motivating the 'Doomsday Clock,' a symbolic measure of how close humanity was to global catastrophe, to move it a minute closer to midnight. The U.S. was no longer the only nation with nuclear weapons, meaning global leaders now had to navigate the politics of deterrence via "mutually assured destruction," and the security dilemma, or the downward spiral of nuclear armament. This emerged a new challenge for superpowers and non-superpowers alike—how do we shape global politics without contributing to the end of the world? How can we continue to wage a war of ideologies between capitalism and communism (and occasionally, the divisions within them) without resorting to nuclear war?



Source: Frank Miller (Des Moines Register), 19621

For non-superpowers, this generally meant one of two strategies: (1) bandwagoning onto a side or (2) joining India and Yugoslavia in a non-aligned movement. This also meant investing in new tactics to propel national agendas and foreign policy for superpowers and non-superpowers alike. For the U.S. in 1961, this looked like committing billions towards Latin America via the anti-communist Alliance for Progress, founding the Peace Corps program, and continuing multilateral trade negotiations in the Dillon Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), among other strategies.

Delegates of this body will be challenged to adapt to the volatility of political brinkmanship, among other global transformations, in order to advocate for the interests, values, and priorities

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>https://digital.lib.uiowa.edu/islandora/object/ui%3Atestingmiller2 93

of their country. They will be occupied by a set of general objectives to (1) promote peaceful coexistence or, at a minimum, help prevent the end of the world as we know it, (2) advocate for certain values and ideologies on the world stage (whether that be capitalist or communist, or something else), and (3) practicing new tactics of Cold War politics to accomplish these two items.

### State of the World: October 15th, 1962

Each passing year recently has brought with it a list of newly independent countries, the majority based in Africa and former colonies, such as Algeria which became independent from France back in March. There is a growing number of seats represented at the table of global discussions—echoing additional voices and accounting for more interests—but this movement has not come without new issues. Civil conflict may erupt from power vacuums created in transitions of decolonization, and newly independent nations may be volatile sites of conflict, as has been seen with the crisis in Congo. Divisions in developing countries have become an opportune breeding ground for intensifying factionalism, weaponized in the battle of influences between communism and capitalism, escalated by proxy warfare, external intervention, and foreign aid. For this reason, Southeast Asia in particular has become an international battleground for—as well as against—communism.

Indeed, conflicts between communist and anti-communist groups have broken out across Indochina. In South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem's anti-communist regime struggles to keep the ever-increasing numbers of Viet Cong at bay. Tensions remain high in the highly fragmented and impoverished state of Laos where the communist Pathet Lao competes for power with the US-backed Royal Lao Army, even following the state's commitment to neutrality earlier this year. Korea has remained divided and has actually seen a recent escalation of tensions following the seizure of power by military dictator Park Chung Hee in South Korea last year, soon responded to by increased militarization from North Korea. The battle for or against communism is also being waged in other regions of the world, for instance, in the German city of Berlin where a wall was constructed last year—quite literally dividing the city by political lines—or in Cuba where communist leader Fidel Castro has remained in power for several years, despite attempts to overthrow his regime.

The U.S. is increasingly uneasy about Soviet ties to Cuba and the possibility of its nuclear armament, especially since a Cuban nuclear base would be within reach of attacking American soil. On the other hand, in light of the Sino-Soviet split, the USSR is all the more pressured to create and maintain allies such as Cuba. Meanwhile, India continues to spearhead a movement of non-alignment, trying to avoid escalating tensions between superpowers as well as avoid alienating potential allies. Skirmishes at the border of China and India threaten to bloom into a

full-blown war, currently stalemated with the "armed coexistence" of outposts across the disputed territory. These issues, the solutions delegates develop, and the decisions they make in these defining moments—minutes to the brink of disaster according to the Doomsday Clock—will shape how the rest of 1962 will unfold and will pave the future of the Atomic Age.

#### What is the U.S. Senate?

Since its origin in 1787, the Senate has wielded a considerable amount of power in the United States government, both in internal topics and matters of U.S. foreign policy. Internally, the Senate is primarily in charge of passing legislation, drafting and amending bills, and managing the federal budget. It is in charge of appointing and overseeing various important titles of public office; they're tasked with appointing "Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States... (Article 2, Section 2)." They also have the power to impeach public officials, including the President. The Senate can conduct investigations into specific malfeasance of the different branches of government and other areas of wrongdoings or crimes in public life. In foreign policy, the Senate is the sole branch of government with the power to declare war and can approve various military actions outside US jurisdiction. As such, it is an integral cog in the machine of U.S. foreign policy. However, for all these powers and capabilities, it is still just a part of the whole Legislative branch, not to mention the Executive and Judicial branches. The House of Representatives is still crucial in a lot of the functions of the Legislative Branch, and the Supreme Court still serves as a way to keep the Senate's laws in check.

The Senators in the U.S. Senate have the task of balancing crucial internal matters and representation of the public, while also needing to be aware of external concerns. To add to this balance, the bipartisan system of the U.S. creates a rift between Republican and Democratic Senators, and thus breaching that gap or defending your party is yet another way the Senators interact. Individually, the task of a Senator is drafting the most compelling, and sometimes the most appearing, legislative drafts and actions.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>https://www.senate.gov/about/powers-procedures.htm

## A Note on Dog-Whistle Racism and Decorum

At CIMUN, we recognize that 1962 was a pivotal time for civil rights in the United States. Our principles encourage historical accuracy, however, it is worth noting that all participants in CIMUN shall conduct themselves with a professional, academic, non-colloquial tone. Sensitive issues call for appropriate language, and CIMUN notes that controversial opinions can be expressed respectfully.

It is important to mention, moreover, the historical use of dog whistle language, especially in formal political bodies. This means referring to certain sentiments such as bigotry often in a way that does not use inflammatory or explicit references. It is a form of political strategy to appeal to racist allies while simultaneously trying to minimize pushback and criticism. Dog whistle racism is often explained in political theory citing a well-known 1981 interview, and in particular, a quote from political strategist Lee Atwater (1981) on the 'Southern Strategy:'3

"By 1968 you can't say '[n-word]—that hurts you, backfires. So you say stuff like, uh, forced busing, states' rights, and all that stuff, and you're getting so abstract. Now, you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a byproduct of them is, Blacks get hurt worse than whites.... 'We want to cut this,' is much more abstract than even the busing thing, uh, and a hell of a lot more abstract than "[n-word], [n-word]."

This is all to say: important debates around civil rights in the '60s often centered around policy discussions and the role of the government. Discussions did not always center around validating or invalidating anti-Black racism, but leaving it up to the state or private institutions to enforce (or in actuality, not enforce) integration or arguing about government overreach or underreach when it came to civil rights issues. This approach is seen, for example, in segregationist George Wallace's famous 1963 inauguration as Alabama governor.<sup>4</sup>

"Today I have stood, where Jefferson Davis [Confederate President] stood, and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate then that from this Cradle of the Confederacy, this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forebears before us done, time and again down through history. Let us rise to the calls of freedom-loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny... and I say... segregation now.... segregation tomorrow... segregation forever."

Read more about Dog Whistle Politics During the Civil Rights Movement:

- https://www.law.berkelev.edu/php-programs/courses/fileDL.php?fID=7213
- https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/civil-rights-era.html
- https://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/tserve/freedom/1917beyond/essays/crm.htm

https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/exclusive-lee-atwaters-infamous-1981-interview-southern-strategy/

https://media.al.com/spotnews/other/George%20Wallace%201963%20Inauguration%20Speech.pdf

#### **Topic A - Investing in National Infrastructure and Innovation.**

The United States Senate is actively engaged in discussions and decision-making regarding space exploration. The Senate has played a pivotal role in the last few years with its legislative support of NASA's Mercury and Gemini programs—milestones meant to prepare for the eventual Apollo lunar missions. This is essential in the context of the ongoing Cold War rivalry with the USSR. In May 1961, President John F. Kennedy announced the goal of landing a man on the Moon before the end of the decade, and by 1962, John Glenn became the first American to orbit the Earth (completing three orbits aboard the "Friendship 7" spacecraft). The Senate now has the opportunity to fund approvals and oversights to ensure the success of future missions. The Senate's role can be pivotal in shaping the direction and funding of the U.S. space program during this crucial period of space exploration history.

The United States has fought against the effects of the recession that has lasted since April 1958. We've begun to recover, but we are still grappling the with economic challenge of high inflation and unemployment. The Senate can decide to push for expansionary fiscal policies and potentially stimulate the economy. The Kennedy administration wants to implement tax cuts and increase government spending to boost consumer demand and investment, but is this enough to counterbalance the recession? The Senate's investment in infrastructure and technology could lend itself to long-term stability.

An example of efforts to invest in projects that could counteract unemployment is the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962. This pivotal legislative effort is aimed at reducing unemployment by investing in the skills and training of the American workforce. Through federal funding, it has supported vocational training and retraining programs, focusing on aligning skill development with the needs of various industries. Emphasizing public-private partnerships, the MDTA encourages collaboration between government, educational institutions, and private sectors to design and implement training programs to enhance employability. This act targets job creation by providing individuals with the necessary skills for the evolving job market, particularly focusing on assisting youth in entering the workforce. Kennedy also intends to push for immigration policies that focus on removing racial and national origin quotas, aiming to promote a more inclusive approach by emphasizing family reunification and skilled labor entry into the United States. This could boost technological innovation and jumpstart the economy.

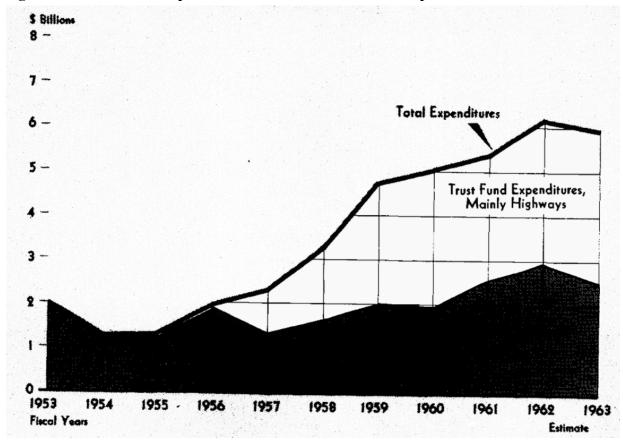


Figure 2. Government Expenditures in Commerce and Transportation.<sup>5</sup>

Source: The Budget of the United States Government, 1963

The Senate is also at a crossroads regarding legislation aimed at addressing the issues related to the highway infrastructure system. The debates in the Senate have revolved around the allocation of funds, the balance between safety, conservation, and transportation efficiency, and the federal government's role in regulating highways. Discussions will surround how to construct, improve, and maintain the nation's highway system for economic development and national defense and how to set standards for road design and signage. The decisions made will have a critical impact on issues that relate to most citizens on a daily basis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>https://budgetcounsel.files.wordpress.com/2017/11/the-budget-of-the-united-states-government-fiscal-year-1963.pd f

Figure 3. Historical Map: A Progress Report on the Interstate Highway System, 1961<sup>6</sup>



Source: Caterpillar Tractor Company, 1961

## **Topic B - Civil Rights and Gender Inequality in the Workplace**

By the 1960s, the context of the civil rights and women's rights movements were both heavily shaped by World War II and its aftermath. During and after the war, the civil rights movement often brought up the dissonance between American wartime rhetoric about democracy and freedom and the reality of how commonplace segregation and discrimination were. This criticism fueled much of the direction of civil rights policies in the next few decades. In addition, the prevalence of women in the workplace during the war brought discussions about women in the workplace and their legal protections into sharp focus in the postwar decades.

### Civil Rights

Criticism of American segregation and discrimination not only came from at home but also from abroad. The USSR prominently uses American racism in propaganda to criticize and discredit the U.S., which has led the federal government to better prioritize civil rights policy as a way to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>https://transitmap.net/interstate-progress-1961/

defend America's reputation on the international stage. For instance, the Truman administration filed amicus curiae briefs for Supreme Court cases regarding segregation such as *Brown v. Board of Education*, emphasizing the potential negative consequences for the United States internationally if a pro-segregation decision was reached. During the Eisenhower administration, the President supported both the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and the Little Rock Nine not because of his own beliefs but because he understood their importance in a greater geopolitical context.

When looking at advances in civil rights in the past decade, several examples come from major court decisions that began to erode the du jure institutions of segregation. The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision on May 17th, 1954 was actually constituted of five separate lawsuits concerning school segregation that were consolidated to state that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." This was followed up by a separate decision, *Brown II*, in 1955 which ruled that desegregation of schools had to be conducted with "all deliberate speed." Beyond just the momentous implications of the decisions from a legal perspective, the way they were enforced by the Presidential administrations was also groundbreaking.

One example of Presidential enforcement can be seen in the Little Rock Nine. The Little Rock Nine were nine Black students who enrolled in Little Rock Central High on September 4th, 1957, as part of compliance with the *Brown v. Board* decision. Facing resistance to integration from Arkansas' governor, and from the white community of Little Rock, President Eisenhower issued Executive Order 107030 which took control of the Arkansas National Guard to protect the students and force integration of the school. Earlier this month, on October 1st, 1962, James Meredith registered as the first black student at the University of Mississippi. After intervention by the Kennedy administration, he was escorted by Federal Marshals to ensure that the university was successfully integrated. This event ignited the Ole Miss Riot of 1962, requiring the deployment of 31,000 servicemen to end the violence. These events illustrate how the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations valued the enforcement of these civil rights decisions, despite resistance from both state officials and some white Americans.

Figures 4 & 5. Nine students leave Central High, Little Rock, Arkansas, under U.S. Army escort; Combination photograph of portraits of the Little Rock Nine<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/segregation-and-integration





Source: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 1957-58

Another important component of the civil rights movement that has put pressure on the federal government has been protests led by activists. The Montgomery Bus Boycott started after Rosa Parks' arrest on December 1st, 1955, and lasted for 13 months, ending with segregation on public buses being deemed unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. The Freedom Riders were another group of civil rights activists who rode on public buses into the South to challenge the continued segregation of those buses after segregation of public buses had been ruled unconstitutional. The group, composed of both black and white activists, faced violence and arrest while advocating for desegregation. The University of Chicago sit-ins were a series of protests between January 23 and February 5, 1962, against segregation of off-campus residential properties that were owned by the university. Eventually, these protests forced the university to form a committee to investigate the charges. These protests represent the ways that activists can bring about change by putting pressure on groups to desegregate, not just by advocating for laws to be changed.

In addition to protests around desegregation, there have also been demands for greater legal protections against discrimination. One example of this can be seen in Executive Order 10925, which was enacted on March 6th, 1961. The order required that in most circumstances, government contractors "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." This order represents a drive towards legislation that reflects the demand for equality

<sup>8</sup>https://www.dol.gov/agencies/ofccp/about/executive-order-11246-history

and protections under the law regardless of race, but begs the question: what about regardless of gender?

# Women's Rights

The Equal Rights Amendment, or the ERA, was a proposed amendment to the Constitution that was first drafted in 1923 and set out to ensure complete equality under the law regardless of sex. After the passage of the nineteenth amendment, the ERA became a focus of contention for women's rights groups as they disagreed over how to ensure the protection of women's rights. The National Women's Party (NWP), which was formed by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, was originally formed to advocate for women's suffrage in 1910. After the nineteenth amendment, their attention turned to legal protections, with Alice Paul helping to draft the first version of the ERA. The National Women's Party sees the ERA as crucial for gender equality, and they advocate for it heavily in Congress.

The Women's Bureau Coalition is another women's rights group emerging out of the suffrage movement. The coalition is dedicated to promoting the women's labor movement. Esther Peterson, who heads the Women's Bureau, is a noted opponent of the ERA. The Women's Bureau Coalition and its allies oppose the ERA because they believe the passage of the ERA would nullify other important women's labor achievements such as shorter work hours for women, bans on heavy lifting, and bans on women working night shifts. The difference in opinion between various groups within the women's rights movement has led to debates about how the government of the United States can best support women, a debate that has been elevated to the national political stage.

With these challenges in mind, President Kennedy created the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women (PCSW) on December 14th, 1961 to advise him on issues concerning the rights of women. This commission is led by Eleanor Roosevelt, a well-known advocate for human and women's rights and the wife of the late former President Roosevelt. The PCSW brings together representatives of the women's rights movement from various backgrounds and with their own particular concerns. The goal of the commission is to provide guidance on how the government of the United States can best support women in their various roles in American society, including in the workplace, as homemakers, and as citizens of the United States. Though it is not vested with any kind of legislative power, the PCSW serves an important advisory role to both the President and Congress.

Figure 6. President John F. Kennedy Meets with President's Commission on the Status of Women<sup>9</sup>



Source: John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, 1962

## **Topic C - Expanding Trade and Multilateral Cooperation.**

Considering the stalling of domestic economic growth, and the three economic recessions in the past decade (most recently in 1960-61), the United States government and its Senate must advance policies to create jobs and bolster economic stability. One important strategy in this regard has also had broad international implications—opening trade and cutting tariffs. Historically, however, there has been some backlash to this concept in concerns that this kind of economic policy would hurt domestic producers and worries about giving the Executive too much power relative to Congress in establishing economic foreign policy through trade negotiations and agreements. Indeed, the U.S. Constitution rests the authority to regulate commerce and manage imports in the Legislative Branch.

In 1930, Congress passed one of the most restrictive protectionist codes of tariffs in the history of the country with the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Law which, subsequently, saw a dramatic decrease in both imports and exports to the detriment of the already struggling American economy during the Great Depression. A shift in policy took place during President Roosevelt's presidency when the Trade Agreements Act of 1934 was passed and dramatic cuts in tariffs were made. More authority was extended to the President who could negotiate and make decisions more effectively. Both imports and exports rose considerably during this period, almost doubling from 1933 to 1939.

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https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKWHP/1962/Month%2002/Day%2012/JFKWHP-1962-02-12-A image identifier=JFKWHP-AR7035-A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>https://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/document.php

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Ibid.

Although trade was greatly impacted by World War II, the U.S. maintained a commitment to economic liberalization, especially in encouraging the spread of those policies in other countries. This entailed attending the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944 and spearheading efforts to create an International Trade Organization (ITO),<sup>12</sup> which once again put the U.S. Executive at odds with Congress which refused to ratify the ITO charter. As a kind of alternative, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was signed in 1947 similarly setting out to limit quotas and tariffs in efforts to advance economic liberalization globally.

Over the years, the U.S. would continue to cut tariffs, this time with the Legislative and Executive branches in cooperation with one another. In 1948 and 1950, however, Congress would pass amending bills to make certain safeguards or restrictions. This included an "escape clause" allowing the U.S. to abandon an agreement given certain criteria were met (although quite broad nonetheless). Additionally, a "peril point provision" was added that mandated a certain level of congressional oversight and input regarding how a President could negotiate trade agreements. In 1955, in a move in support of Executive power, a "national security" amendment was passed allowing the President more leeway in cases of emergency to impact tariffs. In 1958, Congress passed an amendment that gave them veto power over presidential commitments to trade agreements as long as it was within a sixty-day time frame.

By the 1960s, the inadequacies and inflexibility of previous legislation had motivated a serious debate about the effectiveness of trade policy and multilateral cooperation. There were significant concerns, for instance, that the escape clause would impede the U.S. ability to bargain and negotiate since other parties had no way to be confident the country would not back down later on. Already the bureaucratization required by the peril point provision had become quite the hassle and was considered problematic and unnecessary red tape by opponents. These growing concerns are especially timely during the ongoing Dillon Round of GATT negotiations.

Figure 7. GATT convening in Rome, 1962<sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwii/98681.htm

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>https://aura.american.edu/articles/thesis/Escape\_Clause\_and\_Peril\_Point\_Aspects\_of\_Tariff\_Administration\_1953 -1958/23837892/1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>https://ecipe.org/blog/gatt-respond-to-the-european-community/



Source: European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE), 2019

President Kennedy has publicly stated that he will strive for significant tariff reductions and global collaboration. He also aims to bolster the economies of the global south and struggling nations through such policies. On October 11th, 1962, President Kennedy signed the Trade Expansion Act which dramatically enhanced executive authority and flexibility in conducting mutual tariff negotiations. It also created an Office of the US High Trade Representative to help negotiate trade policy and agreements for the President.<sup>16</sup>

The President also intends to advance the U.S.'s global positioning with strategic appropriation of military aid and economic assistance. President Kennedy has been vocal about his strong agenda for the promotion of liberal policies, evidenced for example by his creation of the Peace Corps in 1961. Although this is not a shift in the last 15 years of foreign policy, of which we have seen the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund come out of, it does signal a determined effort to engrain the United States as a vessel of international aid.

Across Congress, different officials have varying commitments to maintaining and even building on multilateral agreements, attitudes towards economic liberalization, and trust in the Executive to play such an important function. While there is a strong argument to be made for sharing U.S. values and economic policies abroad, it also obliges the government to pay for large development packages and programs that may not directly benefit U.S. citizens. However, international aid and reduced-tariff trade are important to retain strong relations with non-communist countries and may prevent the ensnarement of "Captive Nations" for many newly independent nations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-76/pdf/STATUTE-76-Pg872.pdf

### **Additional Resources:**

- Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union: January 11th, 1962
  <a href="https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/annual-message-the-congress-the-state-the-union-4">https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/annual-message-the-congress-the-state-the-union-4</a>
- The Battle of Its Life: Public Roads https://highways.dot.gov/public-roads/mayjun-2006/battle-its-life
- Background of the 1962 Foreign Trade Issue https://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/document.php?id=cqal62-1326229
- Turning Point: August 14, 1962
  <a href="https://www.senate.gov/about/powers-procedures/filibusters-cloture/comsat-filibuster-defeated.htm">https://www.senate.gov/about/powers-procedures/filibusters-cloture/comsat-filibuster-defeated.htm</a>
- Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs: May 25th, 1961
  <a href="https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-urgent-nation-al-needs">https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/special-message-the-congress-urgent-nation-al-needs</a>
- Background of the 1962 Foreign Trade Issue https://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/document.php