

Getting from here to there and back – The impact of a few transportation innovations on history

Class 4

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What We Will Cover Today

- Finish up on the impact of the railroad
 - Social Effects
 - Political Effects
- The Automobile
- The Airplane

Social Effects - 1

- The railroads, with their need to have trains be at specific places at specific times, altered people's consciousness of time and made us slaves to the clock
 - The railroad created both timetables and a major market for watches since both railroad employees and passengers needed to know the exact time so they could catch their trains
 - The railroad created standardized time and time zones.

Social Effects - 2

- The railroad with the help of the telegraph and newspaper built a national audience for certain actors, speakers, and entertainers
 - The railroads permitted performers and speakers to tour much of the country and become famous
- The railroad, with the aid of the postage stamp, fostered the growth of the postal service

Social Effects - 3

- By building railroad stations on the outskirts of cities through which their lines passed, the railroads created the first city suburbs.
 - By 1849, commuter railroad service linked Boston with such suburbs as Brookline, Dedham, Milton, Quincy, Dorchester, Brighton, Newton, Medford, Melrose, and West Cambridge.
- The railroad, with the help of the post office, made possible a national market for books and other publications

Social Effects - 4

- The train altered the psychological experience of travel
 - Travel by train was quite different from travel by stagecoach
- The train and the refrigerated rail car diversified the American diet by enabling the transportation of perishable foods like milk, meat, and seafood
 - Crisfield MD and the Eastern Shore became major exporters first of oysters and then of soft-shell Blue Crabs

Social Effects - 6

- Gave rise to a new type of criminal – the train robber
 - Made legends of such train robbers as Jesse James and Butch Cassidy
- Train robberies declined as express companies adopted strong security measures such as:
 - Express cars that could not be entered via the train
 - Armed guards

Social Effects - 5

- Led to traffic congestion in the horse-drawn city
 - Almost every passenger journey or freight shipment began or ended with a horse-drawn vehicle or horse
 - To haul passengers and freight, the large Percherons and Clydesdales by the 1880s became familiar sights on the streets
 - One result: a lot of horse-caused pollution. Each horse produced about 12,000 lbs of manure and 400 gallons of urine per year, much of which ended up in the street

Political Effects - 1

- Precipitated the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act - a major step on the road to war
 - Led to the fracturing of the Democratic Party,
 - Was a major factor in the collapse of the Whig Party,
 - Led to the formation of the Republican Party
 - Led to “Bloody Kansas”

Political Effects - 2

- Linked the Upper South slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri economically to the North
 - This played a role in keeping these states in the Union during the Secession Crisis of 1861
- The superior railroad infrastructure of the North helped the North to win the Civil War and enabled it to prosper during the conflict
- The inferior railroad infrastructure of the South condemned it to economic collapse and eventual defeat

Political Effects - 3

- By encouraging farmers to settle on the Great Plains, the railroad:
 - Made Great Plains farmers dependent on the railroad to get their crops to market in a context where the railroad could easily exploit them
 - This led to political discontent that gave rise to Populism
 - Led to the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1887

Political Effects - 4

- The railroads' desire to cut costs in a competitive environment led the railroads, especially during economic downturns, to exploit railroad workers
 - Thus wage cuts were common
 - RR workers responded by forming unions and striking in 1877 and again in 1894

Political Effects - 5

- Led Railroads to become major players on both the Federal and state level
 - Railroads and railroad officials became major campaign contributors
 - Many presidential cabinet members were former railroad lawyers

Automobile

Automobile

- Origins of the Automobile
 - 1876 – Nicholas Otto invented the Otto internal combustion engine – the direct ancestor of all current automotive engines
 - 1883 – Gottlieb Daimler and Wilhelm Maybach develop an engine powerful enough to operate a motor vehicle
 - 1883 – Karl Benz developed an electrical ignition system
 - Early 1890s - Daimler and Benz begin production of autos in Germany

Automobile

- Origins of the Automobile – 2
 - 1893 – First American ‘horseless carriage’ – produced by Charles E. & J. Frank Duryea of Springfield MA
 - 1899 – By then, roughly 30 companies were making automobiles and between them had made 2,500
 - 1908 – Henry Ford starts making the Model T

Automobile

- Some Notes about the early auto industry
 - There were 2 ways of making cars with two very different potential markets
 - Craftsman approach – a team of skilled mechanics and carpenters who make one car at a time according to purchaser specifications
 - End product is a luxury auto aimed at people wealthy enough to have their own horse and carriage. E.g. Rolls Royce, Mercedes-Benz
 - Mass Production approach – use of mass production and standardized parts
 - End product is a uniform car for a mass market. E.g. Ford Model T

Automobile

- Some Notes about the early auto industry – 2
 - There was a competition between 3 different modes of power
 - The internal combustion engine
 - The steam engine – Stanley Steamer
 - Battery-powered car
 - The early auto industry was extremely competitive
 - By 1908, some 515 firms entered the auto market
 - Half, however, had already failed.
 - By 1928, the Big Three controlled 80% of the market

Automobile

- Henry Ford was the first manufacturer to mass produce a standardized auto using interchangeable parts
 - He did this by combining the following to produce the moving assembly line
 - Subdivision of labor
 - Interchangeable parts
 - Single-function machines
 - Sequential ordering of machines
 - Moving belt or line

Automobile

- The Model T, produced from 1908 to 1927, was both simple and sturdy
 - It had a 20-horsepower engine
 - It had a hand-cranked starter
 - Its high axles and road clearance enabled it to travel rough and rutted dirt roads

Automobile

- Henry Ford in many respects followed a very enlightened labor policy
 - In 1914, Ford raised the daily wage to \$5.00 at a time when a Model T cost \$360.00
 - Ford felt that his workers should be able to buy the cars they made
 - He also hired large numbers of immigrants, African-Americans, disabled persons, and ex-convicts
- But he could not abide labor unions and was very much an anti-Semite

General Motors - 1

- William C. Durant
 - Speculator and Salesman who was both a genius and a person who tended to overreach
 - Got his start as a manufacturer of horse-drawn vehicles
 - Founded General Motors in 1908
 - Co-founded Chevrolet
 - Brought Buick, Oldsmobile, Oakland (renamed Pontiac) & Cadillac into the GM fold
 - Brought a variety of auto parts manufacturers into the GM fold

General Motors – 2

- In 1919, GM and DuPont established the General Motors Acceptance Corp (GMAC) to finance time purchases of autos
- In November 1920, Durant lost control of GM to minority stockholders from DuPont
- To bring order out of Durant's chaos, DuPont turned to Alfred P. Sloan, who became President in 1923

General Motors - 3

- Sloan retained the separate divisions of GM but tightened overall control
 - Continued and perfected Durant's concept of a range of cars ranging from the economy Chevrolet to the luxury Cadillac

General Motors - 4

- Sloan realized that marketing was as important as production. Thus he:
 - Pioneered the idea of yearly model changes to render a car old-fashioned and out-of-style – i.e. “planned obsolescence”
 - Popularized the closed car with roll-up windows
 - In 1919, only 10% of cars on the road were closed; by 1927, 83% were
 - Launched massive advertising campaigns

Impact of Installment Buying

- Buying of autos via installment purchases vis-à-vis cash changed Americans' attitude toward car buying
 - Henry Ford believed in selling basic transportation and opposed model changes on principle
 - General Motors, beginning in 1923, focused on styling and style changes.
- GM was the first company to offer installment financing and trade-up brands

Impact of Model Changes

- Created a market for used cars
 - To make it easier to buy new cars, customers were allowed to trade in old ones
- Drove up the price of GM's cars
 - GM's cars more expensive than the Model T
- Allowed women to drive cars
- Eventually forced Ford to scrap the Model T, produce the Model A, and in the 1930s adopt yearly model changes

Chrysler

- Founded in 1924 by Walter E. Chrysler
 - Former chief mechanic of the American Locomotive Company
- Walter E. Chrysler
 - Protégé of Billy Durant
 - Went to work for Durant who put him in charge of Buick
 - Left GM in 1919 to become a troubleshooter for ailing auto companies
 - Took over Maxwell Motors in 1923 & Introduced the Chrysler which featured a high-compression engine

Chrysler - 2

- Followed the GM strategy of buying out other auto companies and adding their models to the company's product line
 - Bought out the Dodge brothers company
 - Acquired De Soto and Plymouth
- In 1929, Chrysler produced 25% of the cars manufactured in the U.S.

The Auto Industry and Corporate America

- Oligopoly characterized many sectors of the American economy in the 1920s
 - In 1929, there were 44 companies making autos but 80% of the cars were made by GM, Ford, and Chrysler
- GM was both a product of and a facilitator of this trend

Trucks

- Pickup Trucks
 - Grew out of auto manufacturing rather than the heavy truck business
 - Specialty suppliers and wagon makers took auto chassis and whatever cab and cargo hold they wanted
 - Noting how many Model T's were being turned into light trucks, Ford began to offer a fully-assembled pickup truck in 1925 – the Model T Roadster Pick-Up
 - Success of Ford led Chevrolet to enter the business and soon take the sales lead

Tractors

- 1917 – Ford begins production of the Fordson tractor
 - By 1920, he had built 100,000 of them
- Ford's success prompted International Harvester and John Deere among others to enter the field
 - By 1930, tractor ownership had reached nearly one million
- Int'l Harvester developed tractors that:
 - Could cultivate row crops such as corn and cotton
 - Could power other machinery from the tractor

Effects of Tractors - 1

- Reduced the number of hours needed to plant and harvest
- Eliminated the need for horses and mules
 - Eliminated the need to set aside acreage to grow feed for the draft animals – roughly a quarter of the farm's acreage
- Increased agricultural production per acre and per man-hour
 - Helped generate farm surpluses that greatly decreased farm income

Effects of Tractors - 2

- Led farm wives to shift more of their labor to housework and recordkeeping
- Led to the disappearance of the hired farm hand
- Led farmers close to farms and cities to shift to part-time farming and part-time wage work in town

Automobile – Replacing the Horse

- It replaced horse carriages, stagecoaches, and the horse-drawn plough as well as the horses that pulled them
 - In 1900, there were 20,400,000 horses in the U.S.
 - 17.0 million used for pulling ploughs
 - 3.4 million used for urban transport in U.S. cities
 - The carrying capacity of these horses was equal to 75% of that of all U.S. railroads

Automobile – Replacing the Horse

- As the auto and tractor replaced draft animals, more and more agricultural land went to producing food for humans
 - Result: Massive agricultural surpluses and a consequent decline in rural income
- As the auto increased the mobility of farm families, the rural stores and banks they had patronized now faced competition from larger enterprises in larger nearby towns

Autos and Highways

- In 1914, there were only 750 miles of concrete highway in the entire U.S.
 - As autos became popular, people became aware that the nation's roads were not equipped to handle motor vehicle traffic
 - Made manifest by Major Dwight Eisenhower's 1919 convoy trip across the U.S.
- Autos led to:
 - The Good Roads Movement
 - The American Automobile Association

Autos and Highways

- Federally-financed highways
 - Federal Road Aid Act of 1916 provided for matching Federal-state funds for highway construction.
 - This led to the construction of the U.S. routes in the 1920s and 1930s -- the famous US1, US40, and US66
 - Interstate Highway System
 - The Clay Commission in 1954 concluded that an interstate highway system would be “vital as a civil defense measure” and “essential to national defense.” The result was the recommendation that the 44,000 mile system be constructed
 - This led to the Federal Highway Act of 1956, with the Federal Government supplying 90% of the financing

Autos and Highways - 1

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- By the end of the 1920s, nearly 700,000 miles of U.S. roads (over 20% of all roads) were hard-surfaced
- Road construction accelerated in the 1930s as a means of stimulating economic recovery
 - 1930s saw toll 4- and 6-lane highways (Pennsylvania Turnpike, the Merritt-Wilber Cross Parkway, etc)
 - 1940 saw the opening of the first non-toll high-speed, limited-access highway – the Pasadena Freeway

Autos and Highways - 2

- 1919 – States begin to enact gasoline taxes to finance road construction
 - By 1929, all states had gasoline taxes
- By 1921, every state had adopted motor vehicle registration laws
- By the 1930s, most states required driver examinations prior to licensing

Autos and Highways - 3

- As roads improved and traffic moved faster, roadside businesses felt the need to catch the motorist's eye
 - Highway signs with simple symbols and images became commonplace
 - Large billboards also became common

Highway- and Auto-related Inventions

- Traffic lights
 - Invented by William Post, a Detroit policeman, in 1920
 - First installed in 1923 in New York City
 - Red, yellow, & green light system was adopted from railroad signals
- Parking meters
 - Invented by Carl C. Magee of Oklahoma City OK in 1935
 - First installed meter was on July 16, 1935 in Oklahoma City

Effects of the Interstate Highway System

- Cloverleaf interchanges became the sites of new malls and industrial parks
- Suburban and exurban development was spurred by the enabling of workers to commute from further distances
- Travelers' desire for familiarity in unfamiliar surroundings when one turned off an Interstate led to the growth of franchised restaurants (like McDonald's) and chain motels (like Holiday Inn)

Autos and Social Life

- Made Sunday pleasure drives an alternative to church attendance
- Replaced courtship in the family parlor or front porch with dating in an automobile
- Made driving vacations popular
- Led to vastly increased attendance at national parks and historic sites

Autos and History

- Greenfield Village
 - Became the prototype for “living history” site that is a combination museum, tourist destination, and memorial to a bygone era
 - Paved the way for such ‘living history’ sites as:
 - Colonial Williamsburg
 - Old Sturbridge Village
 - Many other such sites throughout the country

Autos and Housing

- Modified housing design to conform to the needs of the car
 - Lawns and shrubbery yielded to the driveway and the garage or car port

Autos and Prohibition

- By making possible the transport of liquor by truck and car, the auto undermined any possibility of effective enforcement of Prohibition
 - If shipments of illicit liquor had to be done by either railroad or horse-drawn wagon, the logistics involved in moving liquor from rumrunning speedboats, the Canadian border, or illicit stills and breweries would have been much more difficult

Notes on the Effects of the Automobile

- Autos not only displaced the horse and generated the modern highway, they also
 - Had major economic impacts
 - Created some major problems by their very existence
 - Resulted in new social inventions
 - Reoriented urban and rural space

Autos – Economic Effects

- Autos in 1968:
 - Consumed 85% of the rubber produced, 75% of the gasoline, 25% of the plate glass, 25% of the lead, and 18% of the steel
 - Provided the income for 211,000 gas stations, 114,000 auto repair shops, 51,200 public garages, 40,000 motels, and 60,000 car & truck dealers
 - Provided a considerable proportion of the income of the hotel, restaurant, machine tool, and tourism industries
 - 1 out of every 6 Americans made, sold, repaired, or drove motor vehicles for a living

Automobile – Traffic Jams and Parking

- Initially, many politicians and urban planners felt the car would solve the problem of urban congestion
 - Cars could use all of a city's streets instead of just a few and cars could pass each other
 - But even in the 1920s, it became obvious that these predictions were wrong. The result:
 - Limited access expressways
 - Gradual abandonment of the central city

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Autos created the modern auto-dependent suburbs
 - Prior to the auto, the city consisted of a commercial hub surrounded by residences within walking distance followed by development of businesses and residences radiating out from the central hub like spokes from a wheel, with the railroad and the horse-car and then the trolley lines providing the spokes

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Creating the modern suburb - 1
 - The auto's ability to move laterally or perpendicularly to fixed trolley track opened up land for settlement that was previously too remote
 - This meant that vacant land between the transportation corridors could be platted and sold for home and business sites
 - The auto released potential home buyers and renters from the necessity of living close to a bus or trolley line

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Creating the modern suburb – 2
 - As the central business district (CBD) was transformed from a shopping district to a skyscraper district of government and corporate headquarters
 - The skyrocketing rents, downtown traffic snarls, and inadequate parking forced small retail businesses out and they relocated elsewhere, usually to the suburbs
 - Eventually, the auto (and decline of public transportation) encouraged government and corporate offices to relocate from the CBD to industrial parks in the suburbs

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Creating the modern suburb – 3
 - What set the modern suburb off from what existed previously was
 - Dependency on the auto not only for commuting to work but also for shopping
 - Relatively low density and larger average lot size due to cheaper land prices
 - With the modern suburb and the auto eventually came the centerless city and commuting from suburb to suburb

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Social Effects of the Modern Suburb
 - In the city, life often took place on the sidewalk and the front porch or front steps; in the suburbs it took place in the family-oriented (and often fenced-in) backyard
 - Instead of congregating at a trolley or bus stop to commute to work, people now commuted individually in their cars
 - Instead of meeting neighbors at nearby stores that one walked to, suburbanites did their shopping at malls they drove to

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Social Effects of the Modern Suburb – 2
 - Because of differential land prices and zoning regulations, different suburbs became stratified by housing size and price, and thus by socio-economic status
 - As suburban residents became more car-dependent, the number of cars increased while road construction and public transportation lagged. The result: increased traffic congestion not only in the city but also in the suburbs

Creating the Auto Suburbs

- Social Effects of the Modern Suburbs – 3
 - Aspen Effect – In areas where wealthy residents bid up the price of real estate, home prices and rents often increase to levels that virtually exclude middle- and low-income families
 - Thus low-paid service workers must commute – often a considerable distance – causing traffic jams and decreasing the quality of life

The Auto and Rural America

- Auto reoriented rural space by:
 - Centralizing institutions and activity
 - Instead of shopping at the crossroads or village general store, farmers now drove to nearby towns
 - School buses permitted consolidation of rural schools, bringing about the demise of the one-room schoolhouse
 - Increased the amount of rural travel
 - Instead of traveling to town once or twice a year, farmers now traveled every week to a nearby town

Autos – International Effects

- Made U.S. dependent on foreign oil, and as U.S. oil production declines, increasingly dependent on oil from the Middle East and other politically-unstable regions
- Economists estimate that the hidden social costs of automobile driving amount to an estimated cost of \$2.25 a gallon above and beyond the present cost of the gasoline itself.

Autos and Railroads

- Autos and the Decline of the Railroad
 - The auto with an assist from the airlines almost completely replaced intercity passenger train travel
 - In 1928 – 20,000 passenger trains ran
 - In 1968 - 600 passenger trains ran
 - The truck cut deeply into intercity freight traffic
 - In America, in contrast to Europe, truck and rail freight traffic developed in a vacuum, with each seeing the other as a competitor

Trucks and Railroads

- Other Effects of Trucking
 - Trucks led freight-dependent businesses to change their locations from railroad sidings to highways and from crowded cities to industrial parks in the suburbs where more space was available and rents were cheaper
 - Between 1920-1930, the proportion of factory employment in central cities declined in every city of more than 100,000 population and continued thereafter

Trucks and Railroads

- Other Effects of Trucking
 - Trucking opened up a niche for owner-operated trucking businesses
 - Of the 3,500,000 trucks on the road in 1930:
 - 2/3rd were owner operated
 - Of those who owned the rest, most owned 5 trucks or fewer

Autos and Social Inventions

- By its very existence, the automobile led to the following innovations - 1
 - Installment purchases
 - Auto insurance
 - Used car markets
 - Camping & picnicking
 - Auto campgrounds
 - Private campgrounds

Autos and Social Inventions

- By its very existence, the automobile led to the following innovations – 2
 - Gasoline stations
 - Drive-in restaurants
 - Fast-food franchise restaurants
 - Motels and Motor Hotels
 - Gasoline credit cards
 - Traffic police & State highway patrols
 - Parking meters

Autos and Social Inventions

- By its very existence, the automobile led to the following innovations – 3
 - Drive-in movies
 - Shopping centers
 - Malls
 - Parking lots
 - Traffic courts
 - Automobile tags
 - Driver's Licenses

Economic Impact of the Auto

- The auto industry largely created the economic boom of the 1920s
 - The auto stimulated growth in the oil, highway construction, auto repair, glass, steel, rubber, machine too, tourism, motel, and restaurant industries
 - In 1920, the auto industry consumed 85% of the rubber (for tires), 75% of the gasoline, 25% of the plate glass (for windshields & windows), 25% of the lead (for batteries & gasoline additives), and 18% of the steel produced
- By the mid-1920s, 1 of 8 U.S. workers was involved in either the production, sales, service, or fueling of automobiles

Airplane

World War I and Aviation - 1

- World War I force-fed the development of aviation
 - It turned the airplane from an experimental toy into both a military weapon and a means of cargo transport
- World War I made the development of the aircraft industry both a defensive and offensive necessity

World War I and Aviation - 2

- World War I forged a strong link between the American government and the American aircraft industry
 - Air mail service via government contracts
 - National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA)
 - Funded a research facility at Langley Airfield VA
 - Air Commerce Act of 1926

World War I and Aviation - 3

- World War I
 - The airplane fostered stalemate on the Western front
 - Made possible the “miracle of the Marne”
 - Permitted observation of what was going on behind enemy lines
 - Romanticized flight and aerial combat
 - World War I aces became heroes
 - Baron von Richofen
 - Eddie Rickenbacker

Air Mail Service

- Airline passenger service grew out of the Post Office mail service
 - Air mail service began in 1918 with daily flights between New York and Washington
 - In 1924, regular day and night air mail service was established between New York and San Francisco via Chicago and Cheyenne WY
 - A 1-ounce letter cost 24 cents, which was reduced to 5 cents in 1928

1926 Air Commerce Act

- The 1926 Air Commerce Act
 - Vested regulatory powers over commercial aviation in the Commerce Department
 - Subsidized the building of airports and the establishing of a network of radio beacons, lights, emergency landing fields, and weather reporting stations

Lindbergh

- Lindbergh's flight to Paris had several consequences
 - First of the famous New York City tickertape parades, watched by 4 million people
 - Revived a flagging public interest in commercial aviation
 - Helped Lindbergh organize the Transcontinental Air Transport Company (later TWA)
 - Led to the establishment of other new airlines

The DC-3

- The DC-3, which first flew on July 4, 1936, was the first modern airliner
 - It could carry 24 passengers and had a top speed of 230 mph
 - By 1939, it was carrying 90% of all airline passengers in the U.S.
 - Had all-metal construction, retractable landing gear, and stressed skin fuselages
 - Had such passenger amenities as stewardesses, reading lamps, call buttons, and upholstered seats

Impact of the DC-3 and other aircraft

- Made transcontinental air travel possible
- Began the process of replacing the train and bus as the favored means of long-distance travel across the United States
- Began trans-atlantic and trans-pacific passenger flight service
- Gave rise to sun glasses

Before 1958

- Prior to the commercial jet airplane
 - More people crossed the Atlantic by ship than by airplane
 - The 10 largest transportation companies were all railroads
 - Fewer than 1 in 10 Americans had ever flown in an airplane

Jet Aircraft

- Jet airlines like the Boeing 707 and Douglas DC-8 were a spin-off jet bombers like the B-47 and B-52
- The jet airline made flying by the public popular
 - Military service in World War II and the Cold War accustomed many people to flying
 - The jet airplane had the reputation of being faster, more comfortable, and safer than earlier piston aircraft

High Taxes and Jet Airlines

- During the Korean War, Congress enacted an “excess profits” tax on any profits above what companies made during 1946-1949
 - The “excess profits” tax rate was 82%
- Headed by a tax lawyer, Boeing decided to plow its profits into the development of a jet airliner
 - The result: the Boeing 707 which captured from Douglas the lead in the commercial airline market

Impact of Jet Aircraft - 1

- Resulted in short-term tourism and work-related migration replacing long-term and permanent expatriation
- Facilitated the globalization of manufacturing
- Helped make tourism one of the most important industries in the world
 - Facilitated travel to remote spots like Hawaii and the Caribbean islands
 - Greatly reduced the time and cost of getting to a tourist destination

Impact of Jet Aircraft - 2

- Reduced the cost of foreign imports by reducing the travel time involved in getting the goods from point of origin to their destination
 - Percentage of U.S. imports coming via air freight went from zero in 1950 to 30% in 1998
- Made global pandemics a potentially very serious public health problem

Impact of Jet Aircraft - 3

- Changed our perceptions of distance in relation to time
 - Cities that were formerly days apart (by railroad, bus, or auto) now were only hours apart
- Made possible the expansion of professional baseball to the West Coast and the Deep South
- Led to shakeouts and mergers in the aircraft manufacturing industry

Impact of Jet Aircraft - 4

- Turned the jet airplane into a potential terrorist weapon
- Required the creation of a large airport infrastructure with long runways and a terminal capable of serving the aircraft crew and passengers
 - These had to be created on the outskirts of metropolitan areas
 - Once created, they became the hub of new satellite cities which drained manufacturing and warehousing from the nearby central city