Truman’s Domestic Policy

- President Harry S Truman (33rd President)
  - Became prez after FDR's death
  - Direct and forceful character - “The Buck Stops Here”
  - Inherited the war
    - Represented US at Potsdam
    - Made decision to drop A-bomb
  - Faced several key challenges at end of war

  - **Military**
    - Returning military personnel to civilian life
      - Some had to stay in
        - Occupation of Germany & Japan
        - Minimum defense of US
    - 10 million men & women released
      - Servicemen’s Readjustment Act (1944) – the G.I. Bill
        - Paid college tuition
        - Granted loans for homes, businesses, etc
    - Reorganizing the military
      - National Security Act (1947)
        - Army, navy, air force controlled by Dept. of Defense
        - National Security Council formed to advise president
          - Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

  - **Economy**
    - Fears of postwar depression did not materialize
      - People ready to buy after wartime shortages
        - Demand outpaced supply – prices jumped
        - Employment & production up
    - US had to convert from wartime to peacetime economy
      - Provide jobs for vets, meet consumer needs, control inflation
        - Employment Act (1946) – to prevent depression
          - Council of Economic Advisors formed to advise president

  - **Labor**
    - Wages did not rise with prices
      - Several major strikes (steel, coal, railroads)
      - Truman takes hardline & seizes mines – threatens to seize railroads & draft workers into army
        - Unions back down
    - Congress moved to curb unions
      - Passed Taft-Hartley Act over Truman’s veto
        - No closed shops
        - Union officials had to take loyalty oath
        - Prez could delay a strike that threatened natl. safety
Civil Rights
- **Truman a champion of civil rights** – looked to end racism
  - Asked black leaders for their top priorities
    - Federal anti-lynching law
    - Elimination of poll tax
    - Permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission
  - Repub. dominated Congress refused to pass bills
    - Truman (1946) appointed **biracial Committee on Civil Rights**
      - Report – “To Secure These Rights”
        - Recommendations sent to Congress – did nothing
  - Truman had limited civil rights success
- **Jackie Robinson** broke color barrier in MLB (1947) - Dodgers
  - Earned respect with his skill – 1949 NL MVP
  - 1st African American in Hall of Fame
  - Other teams soon sign black players
- **Truman won election of 1948 – a big upset**
  - Defeats Thomas E. Dewey – the overwhelming favorite to win
  - Chicago Tribune headline: **“Dewey Defeats Truman”**

The Cold War

- **Definition:** A state of political tension and military rivalry between nations (US & USSR) that stops short of full-scale war.
- United Nations established in 1945
  - **Security Council** (5 perm. members w/ veto power + 6 rotating)
    - U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, China
  - **General Assembly** of member nations
    - U.S. joins – near unanimous Senate ratification
- Soviets had a historic distrust of the West
  - Dated back to Russian Civil War
    - U.S., Britain, France tried to undermine communists
    - Supported White Russians (anti-communists)
- Soviets set up **satellite countries** in Eastern Europe
  - Stalin wanted to secure USSR’s borders and promote communism elsewhere
  - **Stalin promised democratic elections** in those countries
    - Barred free elections in Poland despite promise to contrary
  - **Red Army** occupied countries instead
    - Churchill – “An iron curtain has descended across the continent”
- Cold War developed between the 2 most powerful postwar countries (US & USSR)
  - Both tried to spread their influence
    - Formed alliances, carried on arms race, supported opposing sides in wars
  - **Truman Doctrine (1947)**
    - **U.S. would contain Soviet expansion and would use economic and military resources to help the “free peoples” of Europe resist communist aggression, whether by direct attack or subversion.***
      - Controversial – many feared U.S. spreading itself too thin
      - Based on **George Kennan’s** (State Dept. diplomat) **containment** strategy
    - U.S. provided aid to countries to win their support and loyalty and to prevent communism from taking root
      - $400 mil. economic and military aid to **Turkey & Greece**
        - Soviets demanded Turkey grant military bases
        - Communist insurgents trying to seize power in Greece
      - Economic aid to Western Europe
Marshall Plan (1947) [In place 1948-51]
- Countries ravaged by years of war
- People suffering
  - Sec. of State George Marshall (WWII C of S) offers aid to any European nations that want it – including Soviets
    - Soviets decline, calling it an anti-Soviet plot
  - 16 nations accept aid
  - Congress debated issue for months – very expensive for U.S. (billions of dollars)
    - Soviet take-over of Czechoslovakia in Feb. 1948 convinces Congress that the Marshall Plan is necessary
- Marshall Plan very successful economically & politically
  - Promoted strong economic recovery
  - Spurred cooperative economic enterprises among Western European countries
  - Promoted political stability
  - Better conditions = weaker communist parties in Western Europe
    - Strengthens U.S. influence in Europe
    - U.S. industry benefits

International Monetary Fund established 1944
- Reps from 44 nations met at Bretton Woods, NH
- IMF set up World Bank to promote economic development

Division of Germany
- Following WWII, Germany occupied by U.S., GB, FR, USSR
  - Soviets wanted Germany to be weak
  - Western powers wanted Germany to be stable
    - They combine their 3 zones (1948)
      - Aim to form an independent West Germany
  - Soviets respond – cut off all ground routes through Soviet zone to Berlin – the Berlin Blockade
    - 2 million pro-Western Berliners isolated in W. Berlin
    - West responds with Berlin Airlift – supply West Berliners with food, fuel, etc.
      - “Operation Vittles”
      - 327 straight days of RTC flights – 277K flights
        - Defenseless cargo planes protected by threat of retaliatory atomic attack
    - Soviets lift blockade – May 1949
- West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany) formed in 1949
- East Germany (German Democratic Republic) formed in response

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949)
- Defensive alliance of western powers – formed in response to Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere
- An attack on any is an attack on all
  - West Germany joins in 1955
  - Soviets respond by forming Warsaw Pact – alliance w/ Soviet satellites

1949 – The Fall of China
- Communism was spreading into Asia during WWII
- Nationalist Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek fought Japanese in Southern China
- Communists under Mao Zedong fought in the north
  - Chiang’s govt. recognized by U.S. as legitimate
• Corrupt and inefficient govt. - didn't do much for the people
  ▪ Mao's Communists treated the people better - earned popular support
• Civil war soon after Japan defeated
• U.S. supported Nationalists but not willing to fight for them
  ▪ Only sent military equipment & supplies
• Communists won in 1949
  ▪ Chiang's govt. & army fled to Taiwan
  ▪ Many in U.S. accused Truman of "losing" China
    ▪ Doing more would have meant another war
• Soviets test their first a-bomb in 1949 – Nuclear arms race is on
  ▪ Sparks greater fear of communism in U.S.
    ▪ Fear of subversion (undermining or overthrowing govt.)
    ▪ Loyalty checks of govt. employees
• Spy cases
  ▪ Alger Hiss – U.S. State Dept. official accused of passing secrets to Communist Party (case lasted from 1948-50)
    ▪ Accused by Whitaker Chambers – confessed Soviet agent and an editor at Time magazine
    ▪ sentenced to 5 years for perjury – lying to House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)
    ▪ Richard Nixon participated in House investigation
  ▪ Julius & Ethel Rosenberg – Communist Party activists
    ▪ Convicted of passing a-bomb secrets (1951)
    ▪ Public protests & appeals to Sup. Ct. failed
    ▪ Executed in electric chair - 1953
• McCarthyism – Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy (R)
  ▪ Reckless anti-Communist crusader – no one safe from accusations
  ▪ 1950 – speech in West VA.
    ▪ McCarthy claimed to have list of 205 communists who worked in State Dept. (never proven)
  ▪ Later alleged that govt. agencies and even presidential administrations were infiltrated by communists
  ▪ He called those who took issue w/ his attacks disloyal
  ▪ Even accused U.S. Army of spying
    ▪ Televised hearings on the issue revealed to 20 million viewers the bullying tactics of McCarthy
    ▪ Censured by Senate (Dec. 1954) – for conduct “unbecoming a member of the United States Senate."
      ▪ McCarthy's influence destroyed
  ▪ McCarthy symbolic of the new Red Scare – people afraid of communism and the “Evil Empire”
• Election of 1952
  ▪ Adlai Stevenson (D-Illinois) vs. Dwight Eisenhower (R-KS)
    ▪ Truman decided not to run for 2nd elected term
  ▪ War hero & anti-Communist Eisenhower won 442-89 w/ 55% of pop. vote
    ▪ In campaign, accused Dems. of being soft on communism and tolerating corruption in D.C.
      ▪ “I am going to clean up the mess in Washington”
      ▪ If elected, he promised to go to Korea to end the stalemate in that cold war conflict
• Sec. of State John Foster Dulles - hardline anti-Communist
  ▪ Proposed policy of massive retaliation
    ▪ Use all of force, including nukes, if attacked
Discouraging aggression with threat of massive response known as **brinksmanship** – being prepared to go to the brink of war to achieve objectives
- Makes US dependent on stockpiling nuclear weapons
- Reduces effectiveness of limited war
  - Example - Soviet attack on Hungary (1956)
    - Hungarians tried to shake off Soviet domination
    - Soviets attacked Hungary
  - US took no military action - wouldn't risk nuke war over it
  - Uprising crushed with brutal force

**The Korean War and "Ike" Eisenhower**

- Communism was spreading into Asia during WWII
  - **Nationalist Chinese** under Chiang Kai-shek fought Japanese in Southern China
  - **Communists** under Mao Zedong fought in the north
    - Chiang’s govt. recognized by U.S. as legitimate
      - Corrupt and inefficient govt. - didn't do much for the people
    - Mao's Communists treated the people better - earned popular support
      - Civil war soon after Japan defeated
      - **U.S. supported Nationalists** but not willing to fight for them
        - Only sent military equipment & supplies
    - **Communists won in 1949**
      - Chiang's govt. & army fled to Taiwan
      - Many in U.S. accused Truman of "losing" China
        - Doing more would have meant another war

- Trouble started next in **Korea**
  - Controlled by Japan from 1912 until the end of WWII
    - After war, northern part (above 38th Parallel) surrendered to Soviets - left in Dec. 1948
    - South surrendered to the Americans (troops left in ’49)
      - **Republic of Korea (South Korea) formed in 1948**
        - Run by Syngman Rhee – capital in Seoul
        - **Capitalist**
        - South contained most of the people and farmland
      - **Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) formed in 1948**
        - Run by Kim Il Sung – capital in Pyongyang
        - **Communist**
        - North contained most mineral resources and industry
    - Both claimed to be the legitimate govt. of all of Korea
  - June 25, 1950 - N K troops invaded S K
    - Truman acted quickly - ordering naval and air support for S K
    - June 27 - UN called on member nations to send troops to help
    - 4/5 of the 400K troops were American - fought with 400K S K’s
    - **Troops commanded by Gen. Douglas MacArthur**
  - N. K troops drove UN & S. K troops to Pusan in far south of the country
    - When U.S. troops and weapons arrived – MacArthur drove N.K.’s back across the 38th parallel
    - The UN General Assembly wanted MacArthur to take all of Korea to unite it
    - China warned Americans not to push toward border w/ Korea and China
    - MacArthur assured Truman that China would not intervene
      - By Nov. 1950, 300K Chinese “volunteers” came to help N.K.’s
      - Pushed UN forces back across 38th Parallel
    - **MacArthur wanted to fight the Chinese** – even wanted to use a-bombs
      - Wanted to wipe out communism in Asia
      - Truman wanted a **limited war**
    - **Truman rejected plan** – he and Joint Chiefs of Staff feared WWII w/ China
      - MacArthur tried to go over Truman’s head - appealed to Congress
        - “There is no substitute for victory”
      - 1951 - Truman relieved him of command – defied commander-in-chief
        - Public angry at first – MacArthur was a war hero
“Old soldiers never die – they just fade away”

Armistice (cease-fire) finally signed in 1953 – no real victory for anyone
- Communists were contained – pushed back from S K
- But Korea still two nations – border nearly the same as before the war

Election of 1952 – Eisenhower (R) vs. Stevenson (D)
- Eisenhower’s running mate for VP – Senator Richard Nixon (R-CA)
  - Checkers Speech
- People unhappy w/ how Korean War was dragging on
  - Ike promised to go to Korea and find a way to end the war
- Eisenhower won w/ 55.1% of vote – Reps. back in White House after 20 yrs.
  - Americans experienced prosperous years during Eisenhower’s 2 terms

Dwight D. Eisenhower: 1953 to 1961

The Eisenhower Administration
- Ike’s approach to governing - “Moderate Republicanism”
  - Cabinet “8 millionaires and a plumber”
  - Assured cabinet he would “stay out of their hair”
  - Sec of Defense Charles Wilson = president of GM
  - “What’s good for GM is good for America.”

Dynamic Conservatism
- Resisted right-wing pressure to dismantle New and Fair Deals
- Tried to restrain govt. growth but...
  - Signed Interstate Highway Act (1956)
  - Most expensive public works project
  - 41,000 miles of national highway
  - Accelerated suburban growth & urban decline

Eisenhower on the economy
- Hoped to reduce govt spending & taxes, contain inflation, & govern efficiently
- Favored balancing budget but...
  - Advocated using “any and all weapons in the federal arsenal” to stimulate the economy
  - Responded to recessions in 1953 & 1957 with increased spending

Life in the 1950’s
- Birth of the Suburbs
  - Levittown
  - Affordable homes in quiet neighborhoods
  - Conformity to the “normal” emphasized more in suburbs
    - General attitude of conformity = typical of 1950s personal conduct
  - Tended to attract “white flight” from cities
  - “Baby Boom” generation
- Teenage Crime
  - Media thrived on accounts of delinquency
- TV’s “Father Knows Best” presents ideal family
- Rock and Roll music born

Religion grows in the 50’s
- “The family that prays together, stays together”
- Norman Vincent Peale- The Power of Positive Thinking
- Bishop Fulton Sheen’s radio and TV shows (The Catholic Hour, Life is Worth Living)
- Billy Graham
  - Leading voice in Christian evangelism
- 1954 - “One Nation, Under God” & “In God We Trust”

TV in the 1950’s
- Still predominantly black and white TV sets
- Played a role in depicting “normal” behavior
• Programming concentrated on family viewing and game shows
• Negatively affected attendance at movies
• Developed into a political tool

Scientific Discoveries
• Rachel Carson
  • Warned against the misuse of chemical insecticides and pesticides such as DDT
  • Best seller: Silent Spring

A Crisis in Education
• Oct. 4, 1957 The Soviets launch “Sputnik” (Little Traveler)
  • Launched a 2nd on Nov. 3
  • A “technological Pearl Harbor”
• 12/6/57 - U.S. tries to match Soviets w/ Vanguard rocket
• Blows up on the launch pad (on TV!)
  • “Flopnik” or “Sputternik”

1/58 - U.S. launches Explorer I
• Ike intensified rocket program - Army launched Explorer I in Jan.’58.
• NASA formed in July 1958
• Critics charged that U.S. education was deficient & needed reform
• Congress passes “National Defense & Education Act 1958
  • Emphasis on science, math, foreign languages

Nuclear Power
• Mid-’50s – Commercial Nuclear Power Plants
  • Promised power “too cheap to meter”
• Most research $ for weapons
  • Missiles, nuke submarines, etc.
• Growing fears of radiation from atmospheric testing led to fears of arms race and discussions of testing limits

Eisenhower’s Foreign Policy
• As promised, Ike went to Korea (12/52)
• Ike won armistice in Korea with veiled threat to use nuclear weapons
• Key Advisor - Sec of State John Foster Dulles
  • Dulles a hawk - Ike more conciliatory
• Ike generally committed to containment

Massive Retaliation
• Dulles a fierce anti-Communist who wanted to liberate Iron Curtain countries
• Dulles the architect of new approach
  • Respond to communist threats through massive retaliation - including nukes
• Brinksmanship - going to brink of war to keep peace and win concessions
• Greater concentration on nuclear forces
  • “More Bang for the Buck”
  • “More Rubble for the Ruble”

Eisenhower Doctrine
• 1955 - increased Soviet aid to Egypt
  • Egypt nationalized Suez Canal
  • GB, FR, & Israel attack to regain control
  • Ike condemns invasion - UN settles crisis
• 1957 - Ike issues Eisenhower Doctrine
  • Response to Soviet threat in Middle East
  • U.S. economic & military aid to preserve independence in region

Covert Operations
• CIA headed by Allen Dulles, bro of JF Dulles (Sec. of State)
• Greater covert actions
  o Assassinations, coups, financial support of foreign political parties and leaders, subsidies for newspapers and unions
• 1953 – installed Shah of Iran
• 1953 – intervened in elections in Philippines
• Actions caused increased hatred toward U.S. in developing world nations, especially Middle East

“Pactomania!”
• U.S. committed to defense of 43 nations
• NATO formed in 1949
• SEATO formed in 1954 (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization)
• METO formed in 1955 (Middle East Treaty Organization)
• Oct 1954 U.S. recognizes Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

The Indochina War
• French re-occupy Indochina in 1945
• Ho Chi Minh leads Viet Minh troops in guerrilla war against French
• Eisenhower provides French with $60 million in aid. (80% of the cost.)
1954 - French forces defeated at Dien Bien Phu
• Geneva Conference temporarily divides Vietnam at 17th parallel
• North controlled by Communists
• South committed to democracy
  o Supported by the U.S.

Stalin dies in 1953 - Nikita Khrushchev comes to power
• Proposes “Peaceful Co-existence”
  o Less confrontation
• Geneva Summit Conference - 7/55
  o Among issues discussed - disarmament and atmospheric testing of nukes
• Ike proposes “Open Skies” policy
  o Soviet say NO
• U.S. secretly begins U-2 Flights
  o May 1960 - U-2 spy plane shot down
  o Results in cancellation of planned summit

Legacy of Eisenhower
• Ended Korean War
• Avoided direct intervention in Vietnam
• Began relaxing relations with USSR
• Suspended atmospheric nuclear testing
• Presided over accelerating nuclear arms race and widening Cold War
• Encouraged CIA intervention in local conflicts around the globe

John F. Kennedy: 1960 to Nov. 1963

The 1960 Election
• Eisenhower was limited by the 22nd Amendment (2/27/51)
• Republicans nominate Richard Nixon
• Democrats nominate Senator John F. Kennedy

Nixon’s background
• Born in California
• Served in the House of Representatives & the Senate
• Became V.P. in 1952
• An active member of the Eisenhower Administration
  o Famous “Kitchen Debate” 1959
• Debated Khruschev on merits of two political/economic systems while touring model U.S. kitchen
• Traveling Representative
• Heir Apparent to Presidency
• Challenged by Nelson Rockefeller (NY)
• Won the nomination
  • Chose U.S. ambassador to U.N. Henry Cabot Lodge, JR (MA) as running mate.

John Kennedy’s Background
• Born to wealth. One of four sons of Joseph Kennedy.
• Harvard Educated, a war hero
  • PT-109
• Pulitzer Prize winning author “Profiles in Courage.”
• Former Congressman and then Senator from Mass.

Kennedy defeats Lyndon Johnson for nomination
• Johnson is the Senate Majority leader from Texas
• Kennedy is the first catholic nominated since Al Smith in 1928
• Kennedy selects Johnson as VP to balance the ticket.

Nixon leads early because of experience and name recognition
• Nixon is 47
• Kennedy 43 & unknown outside Mass.
• Nixon must defend the Eisenhower record
• Kennedy complains about a “Missile Gap”

First TV Debates key to outcome of the Election
• Nixon had been a champion debater
• Nixon had been ill before the debate
• Kennedy won debate on image
• 60 million watch first debate
• Those listening on radio thought Nixon won

Kennedy wins election by narrow margin
• 118,574 popular vote margin
• 303 to 219 in electoral votes.
• Vote fraud is charged in Illinois and Texas.
• Kennedy promises to get the country moving again.

Eisenhower’s Farewell Address Jan. 17, 1961
• Beware of the Military Industrial Complex.
  • “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.”

Launching the “New Frontier” Jan. 20, 1961
• Youngest elected President in history (43)
• Classic inaugural address- Full of Cold War language
  • “Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.”

Democrats control Congress...
• But conservative Republicans & Southern democrats join forces
• Liberal elements of New Frontier met congressional opposition
  • education, environment, medical insurance
    • Kennedy can claim no mandate
  • Focus on Foreign Policy issues and the economy

Kennedy’s cabinet: The Ministry of Talent
• Robert Kennedy -Attorney General
• Dean Rusk Sec. of State
• Robert McNamara Sec of Defense
Kennedy promises to bring the “best and brightest” to Washington
Kennedy brings glamour & high expectations
  • Beautiful wife- Jackie
  • Kennedy forms the “Peace Corps” appeals to missionary spirit.
  • Style and culture are part of the Kennedy image.

Dealing with the Economy
  • 8% unemployment, slow economic growth demanded attention
  • Kennedy followed Keynesian economics
    • Increased govt. spending & urban renewal
    • Increased min. wage & Set up retraining programs
    • Sought lower taxes to stimulate economy
    • Initiated tariff negotiations to stimulate exports

From the Earth to the Moon
  • Kennedy promises to win the space race
    • Vows to put a man on the moon by the end of the 60s
      • “Not because it is easy, but because it is hard”
      • Achieved when Neil Armstrong becomes 1st person to walk on moon (July 1969)

Kennedy Foreign Policy
  • Flexible Response
    • Variety of weapons to respond to or deter threats
    • Tripled U.S. nuclear arsenal
    • Increased conventional forces
    • Formed Green Berets
  • Agency for International Development
    • Coordinated foreign aid
  • Food for Peace
    • Distributed surplus agricultural products
  • Alliance for Progress
    • $ to Latin Am. to promote reform
  • Peace Corps
    • Volunteers to Third World nations

Bay of Pigs - 4/17/61
  • Prep predated JFK
  • Planned U.S. backed invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro exiles
    • meant to oust Castro & Communism
  • Exiles trained in U.S. by CIA
  • Invasion supposed to spark popular support (didn’t) - Castro’s forces stopped invasion in 2 days
  • JFK declined to provide air support
  • Big embarrassment for JFK

The Berlin Wall - June 1961
  • Khrushchev wanted West out of Berlin
  • W. Berlin a haven for dissatisfied people fleeing E. Ger. & other comm. countries
  • Would sign treaty w/ E. Ger. making W. Berlin a demilitarized free city
  • Thought he could intimidate young JFK
  • JFK responded by increasing US forces in Europe
  • E. Ger. built a wall to keep E. Germans out of W. Berlin
    • No further moves made to force Western powers out of Berlin but city remained divided until 1989.

Cuban Missile Crisis - Oct. 1962
  • US air recon. revealed construction of offensive missile bases in Cuba
    • being constructed by Soviet experts
• JFK went on TV to demand removal
• Ordered quarantine of military equip. to Cuba
  o Said US would take out missiles if Soviets didn’t
• Soviets sent missile-carrying ships toward blockade
  o US forces on the brink of war
    ▪ Oct. 25 - Soviet ships turned around
• Khrushchev promised removal of missiles in exchange for promise by US that Cuba would not be invaded
  o Further demands from Moscow & downing of US spy plane killed the deal
    ▪ RFK suggests simply accepting first offer
      o Soviets agree - promise to allow on-site inspection
        o Cubans refuse
        o Spy planes confirm dismantling anyway
          ▪ Khrushchev viewed in USSR as losing to Kennedy
            • eventually costs him his job
  o Real danger greater than believed
  o Leads to “hot line” and Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

**Lyndon B. Johnson: 1963 to 1968**

**The Kennedy Assassination**
• November 22, 1963 – JFK assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald
  o Dallas, Texas
  o Many theories as to why he was killed
  o Hard to prove - Oswald killed before going to trial by Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby
• Warren Commission – led by Chief Justice Earl Warren
  o Investigated killing – conclusion - Oswald acted alone
    ▪ Later investigation shows possible conspiracy
  o Kennedy’s death stunned and saddened Americans
• Vice-president Lyndon B. Johnson sworn in as president aboard Air Force One

Lyndon Baines Johnson (D-TX)
• Addressed Congress 5 days after JFK assassination
• Confidently swore to continue JFK’s programs
  • His confidence & firmness helped reassure nation & ease shock of sudden change of leaders
    ▪ An early victory - passage of Civil Rights Act of 1964
    ▪ Enacts sweeping civil rights laws outlawing segregation

**Top Priority - The War on Poverty**
• Economic Opportunity Act (1964)
  • Created Office of Economic Opportunity to direct anti-poverty campaign
    ▪ Job Corps - trained young people in marketable skills
    ▪ VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America)
      • a domestic Peace Corps
    ▪ Project Head Start - educational aid to preschoolers from disadvantaged families

**The Great Society**
• Johnson’s collection of domestic programs
  • Targeted health, education, conservation, the environment, and racial equality
    ▪ Very successful in gaining passage of programs
• Huge Proliferation of Govt. Programs
  • All manner of programs to deal with numerous social ills
  • Conservatives called it encroachment on basic American freedoms
    ▪ American govt. too activist

**1964 Election**
• Johnson & V.P. Hubert Humphrey (D-MN)
• Repubs. nominate Barry Goldwater (AZ)
  • Goldwater campaign offered “a choice, not an echo.”
    • “In your heart, you know he’s right” - slogan
    • Called for aggressive anti-Comm. policy
    • Promised smaller govt. than LBJ’s vision
    • Called federal action on civil rights unconstitutional - should be left to states

1964 Election
• Johnson emphasized restrained & flexible foreign policy
  • to prevent nuclear war
• Said prosperity in U.S. founded on federal programs in effect
  • pledged to continue course set by JFK
• Johnson won by landslide
  • 486 - 52 (all but six states) & 61% of vote

Liberalism Victorious
• Liberal president in White House
• Democratic dominated Congress
• Johnson flooded Congress with Great Society programs (63 in 1965 alone) incl.:
  • Dept. of Housing & Urban Develop. (1965)
    • public housing, urban renewal
  • Medical Care Act (1965)
    • creates Medicare - insurance for elderly
  • Expensive programs would face competition with rising cost of war in Vietnam

The Vietnam War: 1955 - 1975

The Early Years
• The Vietnamese resisted foreign influence (France, Japan, & U.S.) during World War II.
  • Used guerilla warfare
• Ho Chi Minh - leader of the communist Vietminh
  • declared Vietnamese independence from France and Japan in 1945
• President Truman tried to re-establish French rule in 1950
  • Granted $10 million in aid to French in Indochina
• 1954: French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu
  • Geneva Accords divided Vietnam at the 17th Parallel (1954)
    • North: controlled by Ho Chi Minh
    • South: controlled by anti-Communists:
      • 1) Bao Dai
      • 2) Ngo Dinh Diem
        • U.S. supported Diem.
  • Called the Vietcong (VC) by its enemies.
  • NLF’s goal: unseat the oppressive Diem govt
    • NLF was gaining support in the south.
• President Eisenhower increased the number of American military advisors in South Vietnam
  • hoped to prop up the anti-Communist south

The Kennedy and Johnson Years: 1961-1968
• By 1961, a full-scale war was raging between the North and South in Vietnam
• President Kennedy escalated the U.S. involvement
• The U.S. sent war equipment
  • Increased number of advisors by 16,000
    ▪ Intended to lead counter-attacks against the Vietcong.
• The U.S. supported a coup against Diem in Nov. 1963
  • CIA felt that Diem had become a liability
    ▪ Diem led an oppressive government and suppressed Buddhism (major religion in Vietnam)
      • Severe diminishment of his popularity
        ▪ U.S. supported the new leadership.
• President Kennedy was assassinated shortly after
• Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964)
  • Granted full war-making powers to president, not congress
    ▪ Resulted from an alleged attack by N. Vietnamese gun boats on U.S. intelligence ship in Gulf of Tonkin
  • President Johnson used power to move U.S. into full-scale war in Vietnam
    ▪ Also sent additional troops
• Opposition to the war heated up following the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. The issues included:
  • Increased bloodshed
  • Cost of the war
  • Ill-defined reasons for U.S. involvement
• Tet Offensive (Jan. 1968)
  • Communist forces launched an offensive against virtually every city in the South
    ▪ High cost in casualties on both sides
      • Event outraged the American public
        ▪ Turning the tide of public opinion against the war
• Johnson declined to run for another term in 1968
  • Primarily because of the unpopularity of the war
  • War becomes a stalemate

The Nixon Years: 1969 – 1974
• Nixon started process of Vietnamization
  • A de-scaling of troops without withdrawing support of the anti-Communist south... U.S. troops replaced by South Vietnamese troops
    ▪ U.S. continued to send supplies and money
• My Lai Massacre (March 1968)
  • U.S. troops kill several hundred Vietnamese civilians (women, children, elderly) in small village of My Lai
• 1970 – Nixon orders invasion and bombing of neutral Cambodia
  • Trying to rid communists who were attacking South Vietnam from within Cambodia using Ho Chi Minh Trail (a supply line for the Vietcong which ran through neutral countries)
    ▪ Failed attempt in long run and caused further dissent at home
      • Students protesting bombing of Cambodia were fired upon by Ohio National Guard at Kent State University in Ohio.
        ▪ 4 anti-war demonstrators killed; several others wounded

The Closing Years: “Honorable Withdrawal”
• 1970-1973
  • Many failed peace talks
    ▪ Henry Kissinger (U.S. Foreign Policy Advisor) participated in many of talks
      • Nixon sent Kissinger to negotiate secretly with North Vietnam (Le Duc Tho)
        ▪ Wanted to force communists to compromise
  • Decline of U.S. troops in Vietnam
  • North Vietnamese troops continued to advance southward
  • Continued bombing of North Vietnam drew ire of all parties
• 1973 – Paris Peace Agreement
  o Negotiated by U.S., North and South Vietnam, and Viet Cong
  o Provisions:
    ▪ Withdrawal of troops and swap of prisoners
    ▪ Removal of foreign troops from Cambodia and Laos
    ▪ Peaceful unification with democratic elections deciding political future of South Vietnam
    ▪ U.S. to aid in postwar reconstruction
• March 29, 1973 – Last U.S. troops left Vietnam
• Broken cease-fire agreement between North and South Vietnam
  o North launches full-scale invasion of South
  o U.S. refused to respond with troops
    ▪ April 30, 1975 – Pull out of Saigon
      • U.S. embassy in Saigon
        o Desperate and frenzied exit from Vietnam
          ▪ Officially ended our involvement there
            • Soon after U.S. pulled out, all of Vietnam fell to the Communists
• Final Statistics:
  o Fighting cost an estimated $110-150 billion
  o 58,000 Americans died in Vietnam; 300,000 wounded
    ▪ 4th largest loss of life in U.S. military history
  o Soldiers came back to confusion in America
  o As a result of war, America re-evaluates role in foreign affairs
    ▪ Succeeding military engagements = carefully scrutinized so as to avoid a similar experience and how and when to achieve our goals

The Civil Rights Movement: “Eyes on the Prize”

Roots of the Movement
• Earliest C.R. activists were the abolitionists
• National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (1904)
  • W.E.B. Du Bois
• By 1930’s – NAACP focused on equal educational opportunities
  • Challenged legality of “separate but equal” doctrine established in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)
1954 – Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, KS
• Landmark civil rights case in Supreme Court
  o Linda Brown – 8-year-old black girl denied admission to all-white school
    ▪ NAACP lawyer in case – Thurgood Marshall
      • Will later become 1st black S.C. Justice
• Court overturns Plessy decision (9-0)
• Declares segregation unconstitutional
  o C.J. Earl Warren – “Separate educational facilities are inherently (basically) unequal
1957 – Little Rock (AR) Crisis at Central High School
• Supreme Court ordered integration “with all deliberate speed.”
• Whites hostile to Brown Decision
• Gov. Orval Faubus called out Natl. Guard to prevent integration.
• Ike sends 101st Airborne to enforce ruling
• Central High School is integrated.
1955 – Rosa Parks triggers Montgomery Bus Boycott
• Parks refuses to give up seat to white man
• Rev. Martin Luther King, JR. emerges as a Civil Rights leader
  • Heads the “Southern Christian Leadership Conference
• Montgomery blacks boycott bus system
  • Buses are desegregated after a S.C. ruling

1960 – Sit-in Demonstrations in Greensboro, NC
• Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) formed by Stokely Carmichael to create other sit-ins
  • Applied Gandhi’s & Thoreau’s non-violent civil disobedience

1961 – The Freedom Rides
• Sponsored by Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
• Testing 1960 Sup. Ct. ruling on segregation in interstate travel
• Freedom riders attacked in Alabama
• Attn. Gen. Robert Kennedy sent federal marshals to protect riders
• Called on I.C.C. to order integration of all transportation and related facilities

University Desegregation
• James Meredith enrolls in University of Mississippi
  • Due to Oct. 1962 federal court order
• Miss. Gov. Ross Barnett refused to enforce order
  • JFK sent troops to ensure compliance
    • Gov. George Wallace stood in doorway of U. of Alabama to bar black students
    • Federal marshals convince him otherwise!

1963 – March on Washington
• Over 250K blacks and whites
  • Met in support of JFK Civil Rights Bill
  • MLK speech before Lincoln Memorial

1963 – Birmingham, AL
• Scene of violent reaction to nonviolent protests led by SCLC
  • Police Chief Eugene “Bull” Conner reacted with dogs and fire hoses
    • International press covers events
  • Martin Luther King arrested
    • “Letter from Birmingham City Jail”
    • Call for more urgent action against violence and segregation against African Americans

Kennedy on Civil Rights
• Contributions were generally modest
  • Worried about political fallout in South
    • Actively enforced existing laws
• Asked Congress to pass a civil rights bill
  • Passes (post mortem at urging of President Johnson) in 1964 as Civil Rights Bill of 1964

1964 – Freedom Summer
• Major voter registration drive in South
  • Volunteers (white and black) subjected to threats & violence by southern whites
    • 3 dead, 80 wounded by end of summer
    • 80K black voters registered to vote

1965 – Selma, AL
• January 1965 – MLK launched voter reg. drive in Alabama
  • To focus natl. attention on violations of Civ. Rights Act of 1964
• 5-day march w/ 100s of protesters from Selma to capital of Montgomery
  • Marchers assaulted by white police
  • Violent response by whites captured on TV – adds sympathy to marchers

Voting Rights & Affirmative Action
• August 1965 – Voting Rights Act
  • Eliminated literacy test and other voter qualifications in states and counties
  • Gave federal govt. power to register black voters in the states
  • Gave federal govt. power to investigate voting discrimination
• Affirmative Action – 1965
  o Exec. Order calling for guarantee of minority representation in employment

The Movement Becomes Militant
• Malcolm X & the Black Muslim Movement
  • Black nationalist who favored separation
  • approach differed from MLK - violence okay
  • Malcolm X began moderating his views
  • Assassinated in 1965
• Huey Newton & the Black Panthers
  • stressed “Black Pride”
• Less whites in the militant movement

Urban Race Riots
• Race riots erupted in U.S.
• Bad conditions in cities = frustration & violence
  o August 1965 – Watts riot (Los Angeles) – 6 days of rioting, looting, violence
  o 35 dead - $200 million in damage
    ▪ Similar instances in other cities
• 1967–68: 75 race riots in U.S.
  o Assassination of MLK led to 40 riots

1968: “The Year Everything Went Wrong”

Uprising at Columbia University
• April - NYC
  • Students protesting apparent racial bias & war-related research
  • Students seize campus buildings & officials
    ▪ After 6 days, police use force to end uprising - hundreds arrested
  • Investigation shows police brutality & University neglect of student concerns

Civil Servant Strikes
• New York City sanitation workers walk out for more $
  • Stench = Raise in wages
• NYPD “Blue Flu”
• NYFD stopped fire safety inspections
• NYC teachers walk out 3 times over $

Protest Movement
• Students for a Democratic Society (1962)
  • Port Huron Statement - a call for more activism among students
• Jack Weinberg- “Don’t trust anyone over 30!”
  • Arrested at Cal for refusing to take down a CORE information table ... leads us to...
• Mario Savio- “Berkley Free Speech Movement.”
  • “I’m tired of reading about history. I want to make it.”
  • Let’s “put our bodies against the gears, against the wheels... and make the machine stop until we’re free.”
• Anti-War “Teach Ins”

Democratic National Convention
• Held in Chicago - August 1968
• 10K come to protest U.S. policy on Vietnam
  • Chicago Mayor Richard Daley surrounds convention hall w/ fences
    ▪ Police, troops, FBI agents, etc. on full alert for trouble
  • Protestors forbidden to march
    ▪ Police beat them when they tried
      • 100’s injured
Trouble inside DNC as well
- Pro- and anti-war delegates argued over Vietnam policy
- Attempts made to silence anti-war delegates
- Anti-war delegates ultimately removed from the convention

Democratic Party is Split
- Eugene McCarthy (MN) the anti-war candidate - a serious contender
- Robert Kennedy enters the race.
- Assassinated before election (6/5/68)
- LBJ withdraws - had little chance
- Hubert Humphrey- “The Politics of Joy”
  - “The Happy Warrior”

Hubert Humphrey
- Humphrey won the Democratic nomination
- Party platform supported current administration policy on Vietnam
  - Significant dissention over platform

George Wallace
- The American Independent Party
  - Segregationist & a “Hawk”
    - “There’s not a dime’s worth of difference between Democrats and Republicans.”
    - “America love it or leave it.”

Republican rally behind the “New” Nixon
- Comes back from 1962 loss in California governor’s race.
  - Seen as a “center-right” candidate
  - Promises “peace with honor” in Vietnam, law & order at home
  - Portrays himself as the voice of the silent majority

Humphrey vs. Nixon
- Humphrey had trouble from the start
  - LBJ did not convincingly endorse him
  - Party divided over the war
- Republicans ran strong campaign
  - “Peace with honor”
  - Nixon running mate was Spiro Agnew - the “shrill partisan” of the ticket
  - Nixon confident of victory

Results of the Election
- One month before election, Humphrey changes stand on Vietnam (now supports LBJ)
- Nixon wins with 43.4% of votes
  - about 1% difference from Humphrey
- Electoral vote Nixon 301, Humphrey 191, Wallace 46
- Wallace & other minor parties drew votes from both major tickets

A year of assassinations
- Martin Luther King Jr.
  - Shot April 4, 1968 in Memphis, TN
    - Riots broke out in 40 cities
    - Funeral in Atlanta - Televised
    - Assassin - James Earl Ray
- Robert Kennedy
  - Killed June 4, 1968
  - Sirhan Sirhan - Jordanian Arab
    - Angry over Kennedy support of Israel
      - Same day as big Kennedy victory in California Democratic Primary
  - Had locked Demo Nomination
The Nixon Presidency: 1969 to 1974

Nixon promises to bring Americans together but...
- Vice President Spiro Agnew- attacks the media and the left
  - The Press:
  - “Nattering naybobs of negativism”
  - The Democrats:
  - “Sniveling hand-wringers”
- Nixon thought both were out to get him
- Media is off balance - afraid to be critical of Nixon

Democrats control Congress.
- Hard for Nixon to pass legislation
- Nixon’s long term goal - make Republicans the majority party.

Supreme Court Opposition
- Liberal Supreme Court
  - Led by Earl Warren
- Miranda v. Arizona
  - Police advise a suspect of his/her right to remain silent and have an attorney present during questioning

1960s Culture
- Reaction against “conformity” of the 1950s
- Betty Friedan
  - The Feminine Mystique
  - Addresses the myth that women find complete fulfillment staying at home and caring for the family
- Counter Culture
  - Rejection of middle class values and attitudes

Nixon’s “Southern Strategy”
- Turns back on black vote & courts Southern Whites
  - Against extending Voting Rights Act, sought to slow desegregation, filed suits to end busing to deseg. schools
- Attacks liberal Warren Supreme Court
  - Appoints conservative Federal judges.
    - Senate twice rejected nominees they considered too conservative

Nixon appoints...
- Warren Burger (conservative to replace retiring Earl Warren)
- Harry Blackmun (Roe v Wade)
- Lewis Powell
- William Rehnquist
  - Shifts court to center-right

Campus Deaths
- Protests at Kent State and Jackson State over Nixon’s decision to send troops into neutral Cambodia results in student deaths.

Leaking Files
- Leaked by Daniel Ellsberg - former Dept. of Defense analyst
  - Documentary history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam
  - Not damaging to Nixon but reveals string of U.S. govt. lies that could undermine public trust
- June 1971 “The Pentagon Papers” published in NY Times
Nixonomics
- Inherits cost of Vietnam War & Great Society
  - Causes “Stagflation” (inflation combined w/ high unemployment)
- Fed raises rate to reduce $ in circulation
  - Inflation hits 5.6% - Nixon imposes wage/price freeze
    - Devalues the dollar internationally to encourage purchase of U.S. goods
    - Problems persist throughout 70s

1971 – Nixon goes to China
- Ping Pong Diplomacy of March 1971
- Henry Kissinger arranges trip
  - Nixon = 1st sitting president to visit PRC
- Nixon plays China against Soviet Union
- Historic opening of relations with China

Nixon in the USSR
- Nixon visits Moscow in 1972
  - Concludes agreements on trade (agri.), technological cooperation, and nuclear weapons
- SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) (ratified 10/72)
  - Limits defense missiles and freezes new offensive missile production for 5 years
- Less defense = MAD

Détente
- the easing of strained relations, especially in a political situation
  - New relationship created among U.S., Soviet Union, China

1972 Election
- Nixon expected to win on Diplomatic Success, Law & Order policies & Southern strategy
- Ran against George McGovern (D-SD)
  - Nixon painted him as New Left radical
- CREEP formed to raise $ & spy on Dems.
  - Watergate break-in (June 17, 1972)
    - Foiled but temporarily covered up by POTUS
    - Nixon’s role in directing the cover up of the scandal ultimately led to his downfall
- Nixon wins with 61% of pop vote
- 520 to 17 electoral votes
- Low voter turnout (55%)
- Dems hold Congress

The Watergate Scandal Grows
- Conspirators began talking - word of WH coercion spreading
- Woodward & Bernstein - Washington Post
  - Nixon aide John Dean implicated Nixon in Cover-up
- Senate investigation lead by Sam Irvin (D-NC)
  - White House tapes subpoenaed - Nixon refuses

Watergate
- 7/30/74 - House voted for 3 Articles of Impeachment
  - Obstruction, abuse of power, subverting const.
- 8/5/74 - Nixon releases tapes by order of Supreme Court - reveals his participation
- 8/9/74 - Nixon resigns rather than face impeachment
  - Ford takes his place - pardons him a month later

Yom Kippur War 1973
- Arabs attack Israel
- Nixon sends aid
- OPEC imposes oil embargo 1974
  - Gas lines & high inflation
Gerald Ford: 1974 - 1976

- Gerald Ford became the 38th President of the U.S. after Nixon resigned – served 1974-1977
  - “Our long national nightmare is over” – Ford to nation after Nixon resignation

Off to a bad start...
- Sept. 9, 1974 – grants Nixon a “full, free, and absolute” pardon for Watergate
  - Many people angry – letting Nixon off too easy
  - Some thought it was good – it put an end to a bad time
- Ford testified before Congress in investigation of pardon – “There was no deal, period.”
- Press highly critical of Ford
  - Ridiculed him for his clumsiness
  - 2 failed assassination attempts even failed to win him popular support

Ford’s brief presidency filled with many bad events
- Fall of Saigon (April 1975)
- Mayaguez Incident (May 1975)
  - Cambodians seized U.S. merchant ship Mayaguez
  - Rescue mission frees 39 hostages but results in 41 dead soldiers
- Bad recession (prolonged decline in economy)
- High unemployment (up to 9% of work force)
- Arab oil embargo (1974)
  - Arab countries angry at U.S. support of Israel
  - Refused to ship oil to U.S. & other Western countries
    - Resulted in long lines at gas stations & shortage of heating fuel
    - Riots broke out in some places over gas
- OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) price hikes
  - Drove up price of oil – gas prices began to rise sharply

1976 Election
- Ford loses to Jimmy Carter (D-GA)
  - 297 – 240 Carter victory in Electoral College
- Record low voter turnout


1976 Election
- By the middle of the seventies – Americans looking for a change
  - Still stinging from failure in Vietnam
  - Distrusted the government after Watergate
- Ford ran for reelection in 1976
- Democrats ran a little-known former governor from Georgia
  - James “Jimmy” Carter
    - Seen as an “outsider” – not corrupted by D.C. politics
    - Fundamentalist Christian – seen as very moral
    - Good record on Civil Rights as Georgia’s Governor
    - A warm, friendly personality
  - Carter’s running mate – Walter Mondale of Minnesota
- 1976 Election issues = economy, energy, and unemployment
  - Carter won
    - Little practical experience w/ D.C. politics
      - Tough to get support for programs
  - Appointed many women and minorities to govt. positions

Energy Crisis
- An energy crisis developed during the 70’s
  - Shortages due to OPEC control of world oil supply
    - Carter sought to regulate “gas guzzler” cars w/ taxes
- Proposed gas rationing program
  - Congress refuses to act – Carter does instead
    - Creates cabinet-level Department of Energy (1977)
      - Responsible for energy policy in U.S.

Economic Problems
- Carter also faced economic problems - Stagflation
  - Inflation = increase in prices & wages coupled with decline in purchasing power of money
  - High unemployment
  - Low productivity & a trade deficit (more imports than exports)

Foreign Policy
- Carter better known for foreign policy matters
  - Stressed importance of human rights in U.S. foreign relations
    - Signed treaty returning Panama Canal to Panamanian control
  - Ratified in 1978 - Effective 12/31/1999

Continued SALT negotiations w/ USSR
- US & USSR began making medium range nukes
  - Placed them in W & E Europe, endangering SALT I treaty
- **Agreed to new limitations on missiles & launchers (SALT II)**
  - Many in Congress against SALT II – thought US was already behind - limiting new nukes would keep US from catching up
- **Soviet invasion of Afghanistan killed the deal (12/1979)**
  - USSR tried to stop the takeover of pro-Soviet govt.
  - Turned into their “Vietnam”
    - US placed embargo on grain sales to USSR
    - Boycotted 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow

Camp David Accords
- **1979 - Brokered peace between Egypt & Israel (Camp David Accords)**
  - Ended war between Egypt & Israel and returned Sinai Peninsula to Egypt
  - Start of other efforts to settle Arab/Israeli fighting
    - Terrorism continued – sponsored by Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO)

Issues with Iran
- Supported westernized Shah of Iran (Mohammed Reza Pahlavi) with $ and military hardware
  - A dictator & abuser of human rights (counter to Carter policy)
  - A revolution led by the Islamic fundamentalist Ayatollah Ruhollah Kohomeini overthrew the Shah
    - Iran became an Islamic theocracy (run by clergy)
- When Carter allowed the Shah to come to U.S. – revolutionaries in Iran seized the U.S. embassy in Teheran (Fall 1979)
  - **52 American hostages held** – to be exchanged for the Shah
  - Carter refused to turn him over – would mean death
  - Froze Iranian assets, banned trade w/ Iran, cut off dip. relations
- Mounted a failed rescue mission – 8 U.S. soldiers died
- Shah died in 1980
- U.N. condemned Iran
  - None of these solved the problem
  - Crisis dragged on – daily press coverage
    - Became a campaign issue in 1980 - cost Carter the election
  - Negotiations continued, even after Carter lost the election
    - Delays and stalling by Iranians prevented hostages’ release until inauguration day – Jan 20, 1981
      - 1st day of Reagan’s presidency
        - Hostages were held for 444 days


Early Life
- Made more than 50 Hollywood films and 400 Army training films
- Was never “blacklisted” - hated communism & actively sought to remove “reds” from movie industry
  - Spoke before HUAC in 1947
Transition to Politician
- Early radio & screen exposure helped him enter politics
- Job as corporate spokesman (G.E.) brought him natl. attention.
  - Gave TV speech for Goldwater in ‘64
- Businessmen encouraged him to run for governor of CA - he did and won 2 terms (1966-1975)

1980 Election
- George H.W. Bush the V.P.
- Ran against Carter/Mondale
- People unhappy w/ Carter domestic & foreign policy woes
  - Stagflation, Energy Crisis, Hostages
- Reagan promised smaller govt., less taxes, less social spending

Reagan’s Appeal
- Carter approval rating 26%
  - Blamed econ. woes on “crisis of confidence”
    - 20% int. rate, 8% unemployment
- Reagan promised tax cut & return to traditional values
  - Praised self-made Americans & private enterprise
    - Patriotic, likeable, & a good communicator

Reagan Victory in 1980
- Won 44 of 50 states: 489-49 electoral votes
- 51% of popular vote
- U.S. hostages in Iran released on Reagan’s Inauguration Day

The Assassination Attempt
- March 1981 - shortly after inauguration
- Reagan wounded in chest
  - Faced the incident w/ courage and humor
    - “I hope they are all Republicans” when commenting on his doctors
- Reagan quickly returned to work
  - Very healthy for 70-year-old
  - Public sympathy helps Reagan’s legislative agenda

Reaganomics & Supply-Side Theory
- Theory - the key to economic growth and prosperity is not over-taxing biz and encouraging entrepreneurship
- Government need not be concerned with stimulating the demand for goods and services
  - Businesses would do so

Reaganomics
- Tax cuts meant to stimulate economy
  - Proposed 30% over 3 yrs. Congress gave him 25%
- Spending cuts ($40 billion) meant to trim govt. “fat”
  - Military spending excluded
- Social spending cuts made Reagan unpopular w/ liberals
- Economic plan included cuts in federal regulation of biz & increase in interest rate by the Fed.
- A recession in 1981 was worse due to cuts in social programs
  - Lower exports, foreign competition, & tech. obsolescence led to massive layoffs
  - Trade deficit at $111 billion by 1984
  - Farm exports down = foreclosures
- Federal tax cuts forced states to raise taxes to make up for lost federal $
  - At first, tax cuts did not result in greater consumer spending as predicted
  - Federal budget deficit increased - not enough $ coming in to pay debts
    - Helps Dems. in midterm elections
- Rebound began in 1982

“Peace through Strength”
Military spending increased
Reagan a hardline anti-communist
Strategy was to out-spend USSR in nuclear weapons
  - If US has more nukes - USSR less likely to attack us first

1984 Election
Reagan/Bush vs. Mondale/Ferraro
  - Geraldine Ferraro the 1st woman VP candidate in U.S. history
Reagan too popular
Mondale portrayed as a “tax and spend liberal”

Many feared Mondale would damage the improving economy
  - He proposed tax increases to reduce budget deficit
Mondale attacked Reagan social policy & lack of progress in foreign policy
Reagan simply asked: “Are you better off today than you were four years ago?”
  - Reagan/Bush won greatest electoral victory in U.S. history - 49 states
    - 525-13 & 58.8%
  - Mondale’s home state of Minnesota and D.C. his only wins

Reagan’s Social Policy – Rise of Conservatism
  - Greater emphasis on self-sufficiency
  - Stronger ties with Christian Right
    - Jerry Falwell’s Moral Majority
  - War on drugs - “Just Say No!”
  - Filled lower court judgeships w/ conservatives
    - Appointed O’Connor & Scalia to Supreme Court
      - also moderate Anthony Kennedy

Soviet - U.S. Relations
  - A lot of tension between them
    - Reagan moved away from détente - called the USSR the “Evil Empire”
  - U.S. dedicated to halting spread of communism
  - Soviets against U.S. involvement in Central America & elsewhere
  - Reagan didn’t meet w/ a Soviet leader during his 1st term

Reagan & Gorbachev
Met in Nov. 1985 - Geneva
  - To discuss nuclear proliferation
  - U.S. developing or deploying MX missiles, intermediate Pershing missiles, and Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars)
  - USSR making new systems too

Reagan on Geneva Talks
  - “Since the dawn of the nuclear age, every American President has sought to limit and end the dangerous competition in nuclear arms. I have no higher priority than to finally realize that dream. I’ve said before, I will say again, a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.”

Geneva Results
  - Improved US/USSR relations
  - Disagreement over verification prevented major changes
  - Gorbachev insisted that Reagan drop SDI (he refused)
  - Agreed to meet in future

Tax Reform Act of 1986
  - Dramatic change in income tax codes that adds to Reagan popularity
  - Exempted lowest incomes from taxation & dropped top rate by 13%
  - Eliminated many types of deductions by individuals & businesses
  - A fairer tax system but has loopholes for the rich
Reagan Foreign Policy

- Cordial relations w/ China - détente
- Middle East
  - U.S. part of multi-national peace-keeping force in Lebanon (Lebanon in chaos & civil war)
    - U.S. embassy in Beirut bombed (63 dead) & Marine barracks bombed (241 dead).
  - Supported Israel & refused contact w/ PLO

Reagan’s Terrorism Policy

- Widespread anti-U.S. terrorism during mid-1980s (bombings, hijackings, kidnapping, etc.)
  - Many hostages in captivity for a long time
- U.S. policy generally excluded dealing w/ terrorists - didn’t want to encourage them
- Central America & Caribbean:
  - Reagan committed to stopping spread of communism in the region
    - Congress non-supportive of his efforts
  - Nicaragua - friendly to USSR & supporting leftist movt. in El Salvador
    - Despite congressional ban on efforts to overthrow Nicaraguan govt., Reagan admin. supported Contras through CIA
  - El Salvador
    - Reagan sent military advisors & financial aid to help the govt. against leftist revolutionaries

Iran - Contra Scandal - 1986

- U.S. hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian terrorists
- To win their release - U.S. secretly sold arms to Iran in exchange for Iran’s help
- Profits from sale sent to Nicaragua to support anti-communist rebels there
- Against Reagan’s stated policy & law banning aid to Contras

Iran-Contra

- Secret deal discovered by press
- Reagan claimed to be unaware of the deal - a hands-off president
- Tower Commission - appointed by Reagan to investigate NSC (12/86)
  - Found examples of deception & disregard for law by Reagan staff
  - Reagan failed to properly supervise staff
    - consequently ill-served by them
- May to Aug 1987, televised Cong. hearings
- Key figures testified that Reagan knew about aspects of the arms-for-hostages plan
  - He had urged NSC staff members to find a way around ban on helping Contras
  - Oliver North & others did not inform Reagan of specifics, but thought actions met approval
- Final report - Reagan responsible but not tied to most serious violations
- North, Poindexter, & McFarlane indicted for violating federal law
- Reagan’s reputation bruised but not destroyed
- Many start to refer to him as the “Teflon President”

Arms Control

- New talks held with Gorbachev in Washington D.C. in Dec. 1987
- Major Reagan foreign policy triumph
- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty
  - U.S. to destroy 358 missiles
  - Soviets - 573 (some being multi-warhead missiles)
    - Total # Soviet warheads to be destroyed is 4X that of U.S.

INF Treaty 12/87

- First comprehensive nuclear arms control treaty
- Agree to a system of short- notice verification inspections

Reagan Foreign Policy Impact

- Middle East policy helped foster peace in the region
  - Anti-U.S. feeling still ran high
  - Helped provide allies for Gulf War
• Central American policy created resentment in Latin America
• Highly visible military presence in Europe held off Communist Bloc but created tension among allies
• Spending duel on nuclear programs weakened USSR & forced them to the negotiating table
  o Hard-line policy toward USSR key to ending Cold War
    ▪ Came w/ a high cost
  ▪ U.S. budget deficit rose to record high figures
  ▪ Diverted $ away from social programs


1988 Election
• 1988 - Bush won the Republican nomination for President
  o Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana was his running mate
  o Defeated Mass. Governor Michael Dukakis in election
• Bush ran negative campaign & also promised “no new taxes”
• Won 54% of vote (426-112)
  o Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress
• A very pragmatic, moderate president

Domestic Issues
• Creation of Americans with Disabilities Act [ADA] (1990)
• Costly bail-out of Savings and Loan associations (1990)
• Raising taxes to reduce budget deficit – despite pledge (11/90)

Milestones of Bush presidency
• Communism failed in Europe
  o Fall of Berlin Wall (1989) & reunification of Germany
  o Cold War ended after 40 years
    ▪ USSR and U.S. agree to Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I and START II) 1991 – ratified in 1992
      ▪ U.S. & U.S.S.R plan to dismantle strategic nukes
  o Soviet Union collapsed
    ▪ Gorbachev quit – Boris Yeltsin the new Russian President
• New challenge – dealing with newly independent European countries – encouraging democracy there

Other foreign policy matters
• North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
  o U.S., Mexico, Canada lower tariffs and restrictions
• Persian Gulf War
  o Bush's greatest test came when Iraqi President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait (1990)
    ▪ Threatened to move into Saudi Arabia
      ▪ With Kuwaiti and Saudi oil fields – Iraq would have 50% of world’s oil
  o Bush vowed to free Kuwait and protect Saudi Arabia
  o Rallied U.S. public and U.N. support for action against Iraq – Operation Desert Shield
    ▪ Sent 425,000 American troops to Persian Gulf
    ▪ Joined by 118,000 troops from 30 allied nations
  o Weeks of air and missile bombardment known as Operation Desert Storm began 1/17/91
  o Followed by 100-hour land battle (2/24/91)
    ▪ Rout ed Iraq’s million-man army

Bush very popular because of the war but...
• Approval didn’t last long enough for him to win reelection
  o Discontent at home from ...
    ▪ Faltering economy impacting the middle class
    ▪ Inner-city violence (Drugs, gangs, etc.)
    ▪ Continued high deficit spending
• Bush viewed positively on foreign affairs but negatively on domestic issues – the latter tend to decide elections
Bill Clinton: 1993 – 2001

Election of 1992
- Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton won nomination in primaries, despite rumors of infidelity
  - Chose Senator Al Gore (Tennessee) as his running mate
  - Pledged activist government, addressing environment, health care, and economy. Strongly pro-choice.
  - Focused on middle class, muting democratic concern for the poor.
- President Bush won an easy reelection in primary
  - Republican right dominated party convention, crusading for “family values”
    - Pat Robertson’s Christian Coalition supported this.
- Third Party Candidate: Texas million/billionaire H. Ross Perot
  - At one point, nearly 40% of voters supported him.
  - Said party politics stood in way of solving America’s economic problems.
  - Proposed electronic town meetings for voters to judge his proposals as president.
  - Eccentric, poor response to critics turned off many potential supporters

The Campaign:
- Bush attacked Clinton’s character
- Clinton focused on stagnant economy, problems of the middle class.

The Results:
- Popular Vote: Clinton-43%, Bush-38%, Perot-19%
  - Perot gained largest third-party candidate share since Teddy Roosevelt in 1912.

Political Agenda
- Clinton preferred domestic issues to foreign policy.
  - Dealt with ethnic conflict in Bosnia and Somalia, trade negotiations with China, world trade, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- Clinton and Gore were leaders of the New Democratic Coalition
  - Moderates who sought to shed Democratic reputation for high taxes, heavy spending
- Females
  - Named women heads of numerous departments, including the UN delegation.
  - Appointed wife Hillary to head the Task Force on National Health-Care Reform
- Homosexuals
  - Tried to fulfill campaign pledge to end the exclusion of homosexuals from military service provoked controversy
    - Agreement: “Don’t ask, don’t tell”

The Economy
- Feb. 1993- economic program offered: proposed spending cuts, tax increases to ease budget deficit.
  - Also proposed increase in spending to stimulate economic growth
- August 1993- Congress enacted economic plan that incorporate Clinton’s plan except economic stimulus plan
- Economy improved
  - By 1994, unemployment fell to lowest point in 4 years
  - Oil prices back to what they were before OPEC increases
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
  - Endorsed by Clinton, negotiated by Bush administration
  - Admitted Mexico to free trade zone created by US and Canada
    - House passed in 1993

Failure in Congress
- Health Care
  - Healthcare prices were increasing drastically.
  - Hilary’s task force proposed sweeping reform plan at expense of increased tobacco taxes.
    - Defeated by lobbyists for doctors, tobacco companies, the insurance industry, retired persons.
    - Fall of plan cost the Clinton presidency
      - While the plan failed, health care was still a major issue.

Clinton’s public support
- Mid-1994-approval ratings dropped to 42%.
  - Considered too ready to compromise, too inclined to flit from issue to issue.
- More sexual harassment charges (Arkansas employee Paula Jones said Clinton had solicited sexual favors when he was governor)
Political climate turned nasty. Clinton experienced numerous attacks.
  - Christian Coalition, religious right

1994: A Sharp Right Turn: Clinton Looses popularity
  - Voters saw Clinton as an old Democrat of the big-government, “tax-and-spend” variety.
  - Call for homosexuals being accepted in the army made him look bad (to conservatives)
  - Had a reputation as hopelessly indecisive.
  - New middle class movement to downsize government, reform welfare, slash taxes, shift power to states
    - Network of conservative organizations orchestrated the rightward swing:
      - Christian Coalition, National Rifle Association
  - While prosperity was increasing, it did little to affect the average American family
    - The actual buying power of the average worker’s paycheck fell from 1986 to 1990, remained flat through the 90s.

1994 Mid-term Elections:
  - Republican landslide; GOP controlled both houses for first time since 1954.
    - However, only 38% of eligible voters went to polls
    - Evangelical Christians flocked to the polls
  - Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson insisted that the states were now the best source of policy ideas.
    - “Contract with America:” pledged tax cuts, congressional term limits, tougher crime laws, balanced-budget amendment
      - Signed by 300 Republican candidates for office

Welfare Reform
  - Conservatives challenged the premises of welfare:
    - Cost too much
    - They believed it undermined the work ethic and trapped the poor in a cycle of dependence
  - Politicians of both parties wanted welfare reform
    - Common consensus: the present system failed; welfare should be a short-term tool to gaining employment, not a life-long entitlement
  - Debate was over what changes should be implemented, not whether or not the change was needed
    - Clinton vetoed 2 welfare bills that lacked the safeguards he thought to be essential
      - August 1996 – Clinton signed landmark welfare reform bill
        - Ended AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)
        - States to develop own welfare programs with federal grants, withdraw Medicaid coverage once welfare benefits terminated
        - Effects: by December 1998, welfare rolls dropped by 38% to 7.6 million
          - Critics warned of effects of bill on poor children, welfare mothers in inner cities
          - Clinton’s signing of bill was proof of him starting to lean right in response to 1994 election

1990s Social Trends
  - Culture of 1990s reflected general prosperity, with heavy emphasis on consumerism, leisure pursuits, mass-media diversions
  - Population increased by 33 million in 1990s, movement south and west continued
  - Baby boomers caused average age to increase
  - Traditional families became less common – from 74% in 1960 to 52% in 2000
  - Overall crime rate fell nearly 20% from 1992 to 2000
  - America experience growing racial and ethnic diversity: 13% Hispanic, 12% African American, 4% Asian, 1% American Indian
    - Illegal immigration from Mexico was a growing problem; some immigrants died while trying to reach the US.
      - New immigrants mostly settled in cities.

Challenges and Opportunities in a Multiethnic Society
  - African Americans
    - Made significant advances: lower unemployment rate, made more money, fewer below poverty line
    - African American comprised 41% of prison inmates in 2000
    - Inner-city black women faced risks; 70% of black births were by unmarried women, 30% if these were teenage mothers
  - Native Americans
    - Through groups like the Indian Law Resource Center, tribes pursued the enforcement of 331 Indian treaties ratified between 1778 and 1871.
    - Indian business like casinos brought in big money
  - Hispanics
    - Birthrate higher than average, small-business ownership increased,
Demographers predicted Hispanics would comprise 25% of population by 2050.
- Often filled in jobs others wouldn’t do: gardeners, maids, day laborers, etc.
- “Amexica”-Southwestern border region of 24 million growing double national rate, represented melding of Mexican and American cultures.

- Asians
  - Prized education and often possessed needed skills and entrepreneurial talent. This allowed them to move rapidly up the economic ladder.
  - Asian-Americans sometimes organized to promote their interests, sometimes acting collectively and sometimes in specific national groups.

Rethinking Citizenship in an Era of Diversity
- Demographers calculate that no single racial or ethnic group will be a majority in America by 2050.
  - An increasing number of Americans claim more than one cultural identity.
- “White Flight” caused many whites to move out of immigrant cities like Los Angeles and New York, going instead to cities like Las Vegas, Denver, and Austin.
- Racial and ethnic loyalties remained strong.

The “New Economy”
- America in the late twentieth century experienced a decline in the industrial sector and rise in service-based economy
  - 58% of male workers = in service industry in 1998
- Service economy was highly segmented – included everyone from fast-food workers to physicians
  - Young people with higher education and skills entered high-tech industries
  - Older workers displaced from industrial jobs; devastating them both economically and emotionally

Social Trends
- Economic boom produced instant fortunes for some, causing rampant consumption
  - Stock market surged
    - Sales of SUVs skyrocketed
- The media
  - Movies like Braveheart and Gladiator offered an escape.
  - Showed desire for riches—Who Wants to be a Millionaire and Survivor.
- Gays and Lesbians
  - Grew more vocal politically, increasingly visible in pop culture, on TV
    - Rash of state-level efforts sought to counter their demands for equality.
  - 1998-gay student at University of Wyoming was tortured and murdered because of his sexual orientation
- Abortion
  - Some “pro-life” advocates turned to violence, one killing a physician and his bodyguard outside an abortion clinic.
  - Abortion rate dropped by some 12% between 1992 and 1996
- April 19, 1995-bombing outside an Oklahoma City federal building, killing 168
  - A series of bombs were mailed between 1978 and 1995 to “anti-environmental” individuals. Killed 3, injured 28.
    - Theodor Kaczynski convicted for the crimes.
- Other battles in culture war took place on TV show boycotts, televangelists’ programs, radio talk shows, etc.
  - Religious conservatives called for a return to traditional moral values
  - Many people feared the year 2000 as a possible apocalypse > Y2K added to these fears


The 2000 Election
- Mixture of a strong economy and a scandal-ridden presidency = close presidential election
  - Democratic Candidate: Vice President Al Gore
  - Republican Candidate: Texas Governor George W. Bush.
- Pre-election polls showed Gore and Bush virtually tied.
  - Votes in several states were too close to call on election night
    - Florida = enough electoral votes to win the presidency > Lawyers, politicians, and the media swarmed to Florida to monitor a recount of votes
      - Supreme Court decision: 5–4 to stop the Florida recounts
        - Awarded the state’s electoral votes to Bush.
          - Gore won the popular vote, but Bush won the election by 271 to 266.
Bush Administration:

- Dick Cheney – Vice President
- Colin Powell – Secretary of State
  o Highest-ranking African American to serve in a presidential administration
- Condoleezza Rice – national security advisor
  o Later Secretary of State during Bush’s 2nd term

Attack on America

  o 1st time since 1812 = attack on U.S. mainland
  o Thousands died in the collapse of the 2 towers
  o President Bush vowed to bring justice to those responsible for the attack (al Qaeda — headed by Osama bin Laden).
  o October 7: “Operation Enduring Freedom” against Afghanistan
    • Taliban was believed to be harboring Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden (suspected of masterminding the attack)
  o U.S. claimed victory in Dec. Captured al Qaeda fighters sent to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba

Tightening Security at Home

- Transportation Security Administration (TSA): increased airport security
- USA – Patriot Act: govt can monitor telephone and email communications and library internet searches
- Dept of Homeland Security: included Coast Guard, Customs Service, Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), Immigration and Naturalization service

Campaign in Iraq, 2003-2004

- Bush calls Iran, Iraq, and North Korea the “axis of evil”
  o Iraq’s Saddam Hussein accused of stockpiling/developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons
    • Neoconservatives: wanted aggressive foreign policy dedicated to spreading democracy to Arab world
    • Democratizing Iraq = 1st big step
- War = controversial
  o Critics asked administration of prove claims of weapons > thought preemptive war could last years and make more Arab countries angry at U.S.
    • October 2002: Congress passed resolution authorizing Bush to defend national security of U.S. against the continuing threat posed by Iraq
      • Used by Bush as legal basis for invading Iraq
        o March 19, 2003 = U.S. cruise missiles rained down on Baghdad; land invasion March on 21
          • Conditions worsen (bombings, kidnappings, deadly highway blasts by IEDs) = War quickly becomes a quagmire
- No weapons of mass destruction found in Iraq
  o Senate Intelligence Committee concluded that CIA had supplied faulty or incomplete information and administration officials had placed “significant pressure” on CIA to link Saddam to al Qaeda
    • Evidence suggests Cheney and officials “cherry-picked” intelligence data that strengthened case against Iraq and downplayed contradictory data

Economy

- Trouble areas:
  o Stock market falls by more than 6%
    • Silicon Valley information-technology companies = hard hit (250 businesses collapsed within a few months)
  o Industrial production dropped and service-sector employment fell fast > every state lost jobs
- Longest economic boom in American history ended
  o Bush administration = inherited a budget surplus > now projected years of deficits
- Business corruption/bankruptcies (Enron, WorldCom, Tyco) eroded investor confidence in market

Domestic Agenda

- $1.35 trillion cut in income taxes
  o Bush argued it would stimulate investment and speed recovery > led to budget deficits
- Energy bill
- Gave $14.5 billion in tax breaks to oil, natural gas, coal, and nuclear power companies; exempted them from some environmental laws; offered 1 year tax credit for purchasing hybrid vehicles
  - “No Child Left Behind”
    - Standardized national tests in grades 4 & 8 to measure reading and math skills, with penalties for schools that fell short

2004 Election
  - Major divisions over death penalty, abortion, gun control, same-sex marriage
    - Bush/Cheney win 51% of popular vote to Kerry’s 48%; Bush narrowly won Electoral College vote

Hurricane Katrina
- August 2005: Hurricane Katrina slammed into the Gulf Coast
  - 1400 people died; AL, MS, LA = massive damage
    - New Orleans = most damage due to levees breaking
      - Government response (FEMA) = ineffective and slow response

Supreme Court
- Sandra Day O’Connor retired and Chief William Rehnquist died > Bush appointed John G. Roberts as Chief Justice and Samuel Alito, Jr.