

Unit 9 Notes Chapters 23,24,25,26

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 **brinkmanship – 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

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- 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
- **Brinkmanship** - 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
 - 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
 - Supported by the U.S.

Stalin dies in 1953 - Nikita Khrushchev comes to power

- Proposes “Peaceful Co-existence”
 - Less confrontation
- Geneva Summit Conference - 7/55
 - Among issues discussed - disarmament and atmospheric testing of nukes
- Ike proposes “Open Skies” policy
 - Soviet say NO
- U.S. secretly begins U-2 Flights
 - May 1960 - U-2 spy plane shot down
 - 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
 - Famous “Kitchen Debate” 1959

- Debated Khrushchev 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
 - Said US would take out missiles if Soviets didn't
- Soviets sent missile-carrying ships toward blockade
 - 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
 - Further demands from Moscow & downing of US spy plane killed the deal
 - RFK suggests simply accepting first offer
 - Soviets agree - promise to allow on-site inspection
 - Cubans refuse
 - Spy planes confirm dismantling anyway
 - Khrushchev viewed in USSR as losing to Kennedy
 - eventually costs him his job
 - Real danger greater than believed
 - 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
 - Dallas, Texas
 - Many theories as to why he was killed
 - Hard to prove - Oswald killed before going to trial by Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby
- Warren Commission – led by Chief Justice Earl Warren
 - Investigated killing – conclusion - Oswald acted alone
 - Later investigation shows possible conspiracy
 - 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.
- National Liberation Front (NLF): formed in South Vietnam in 1960.
 - 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

- 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)
 - Severely diminished 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
 - Negotiated by U.S., North and South Vietnam, and Viet Cong
 - 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
 - North launches full-scale invasion of South
 - U.S. refused to respond with troops
 - April 30, 1975 – Pull out of Saigon
 - U.S. embassy in Saigon
 - 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:
 - Fighting cost an estimated \$110-150 billion
 - 58,000 Americans died in Vietnam; 300,000 wounded
 - 4th largest loss of life in U.S. military history
 - Soldiers came back to confusion in America
 - 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
 - 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
 - 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" Connor 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
 - 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
 - August 1965 – Watts riot (Los Angeles) – 6 days of rioting, looting, violence
 - 35 dead - \$200 million in damage
 - Similar instances in other cities
- 1967–68: 75 race riots in U.S.
 - 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."

Republicans 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

Jimmy Carter: 1977 - 1981

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 Khomeini 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**

Ronald Reagan: 1981 - 1989

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%
 - Economic Recovery Tax Act (1981)
- 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”

1984 Election

- 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!”
- Attn. Gen. Edwin Meese calls for regulation of obscene films & publications
- 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
 - 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

George H.W. Bush: 1989 - 1993

1988 Election

- 1988 - Bush won the Republican nomination for President
 - Senator Dan Quayle of Indiana was his running mate
 - Defeated Mass. Governor Michael Dukakis in election
- Bush ran negative campaign & also promised “no new taxes”
- Won 54% of vote (426-112)
 - 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
 - Fall of Berlin Wall (1989) & reunification of Germany
 - 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
 - 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)
 - U.S., Mexico, Canada lower tariffs and restrictions
- Persian Gulf War
 - 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
 - Bush vowed to free Kuwait and protect Saudi Arabia
 - 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
 - Weeks of air and missile bombardment known as Operation Desert Storm began 1/17/91
 - Followed by 100-hour land battle (2/24/91)
 - Routed Iraq's million-man army

Bush very popular because of the war but...

- Approval didn't last long enough for him to win reelection
 - 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.
 - Hillary’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 Loses 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

George W. Bush Administration: 2001 – 2009

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
 - Highest-ranking African American to serve in a presidential administration
- Condoleezza Rice – national security advisor
 - Later Secretary of State during Bush's 2nd term

Attack on America

- September 11, 2001: terrorists hijacked four commercial airplanes. Two hit Twin Towers of World Trade Center NYC, 3rd plane hit Pentagon, 4th crashed in field near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
 - 1st time since 1812 = attack on U.S. mainland
 - Thousands died in the collapse of the 2 towers
 - President Bush vowed to bring justice to those responsible for the attack (al Qaeda – headed by Osama bin Laden).
 - October 7: "Operation Enduring Freedom" against Afghanistan
 - Taliban was believed to be harboring Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden (suspected of masterminding the attack)
 - 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"
 - 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
 - Critics asked administration to 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
 - 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
 - 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:
 - Stock market falls by more than 6%
 - Silicon Valley information-technology companies = hard hit (250 businesses collapsed within a few months)
 - Industrial production dropped and service-sector employment fell fast > every state lost jobs
- Longest economic boom in American history ended
 - 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
 - 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

- George W. Bush/Dick Cheney vs. John Kerry/John Edwards
 - 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.