

POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Constitution-

- Created in 1787, ratified in 1788
- Article 1- Legislative, Article 2- Executive, Article 3- Judiciary
- In order to amend you must have a 2/3rds majority in Congress, the amendment must then be approved by 3/4s of all states.
- It has only been amended 27 times.

Federalism-

- System of power sharing between the Federal and State Governments

Congress: Make-Up

- Made up of 535 members and the House/Senate
- 100 senators, 2 from every state
- 435 Reps, depends on population of each state (always changing)
- Elections every two years- but only a 1/3rd of the senate is elected each time.

Congress: Powers

- To make and amend legislation
- To confirm appointments
- To pass the national budget
- To declare war

Congress: Checks and Balances

- On the President:
 - Power of impeachment
 - Can reject Presidential appointments
 - Power of the Purse
 - Can overturn Presidential vetoes.
 - Can reject treaties agreed to by the President
- On the Supreme Court
 - Can reject appointments to the judiciary
 - Can initiate amendments to the constitution
 - Can impeach judges

President: Make-Up

- President and Vice President
- Cabinet appointed by the President to lead various Depts. (Health, Defense etc.)
- The Executive Office of the President and Federal Organizations

President: Powers

- Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces
- Chief Diplomat
- Appoints Federal employees/Cabinet members/Judges
- Can veto bills
- Executive orders

President: Checks and Balances

- On Congress:
 - Recess appointments
 - Can veto laws
 - Can command military without them
- On the Supreme Court
 - Can appoint judges
 - Can pardon criminals

Supreme Court: Make-Up

- Made up of 9 judges so there is always a majority.
- Judges serve until they die or retire.

Supreme Court: Powers

- Power of judicial review declaring laws constitutional or unconstitutional
- Rule on cases between states.
- Is highest court in land, so may deal with cases referred to them.

Supreme Court: Checks and Balances

- On Congress:
 - Power of judicial review.
 - Compensation cannot be diminished clause (salary can't be changed)
- On the President:
 - Preside over impeachment.
 - Power of judicial review.

FDR's effect on the Presidency

- Fireside Chats
 - FDR would directly address the nation via radio
 - First one on March 13, 1933
 - Used this medium to announce legislation- 80% of words used in 1000 most popular
- Legislator in Chief
 - Changed perception of President as being the person to change the law. Not just enforce it.
 - In his first 100 days he passed 15 pieces of legislation. In his 12 years he vetoed 635 laws!
- The New Deal
 - Expanded the power of the Federal Government in regulating domestic affairs- especially the economy.
 - Created new Federal Departments, appointing close advisors without confirmation.
 - EXAMPLE: WPA in 1938 employed over 3 million Americans using Federal money
- The Executive Office of the President
 - Established through Reorganization Act of 1939

- Made up of WHO and Bureau of the Budget- President has power to change make-up of it.
- **The Court Packing Scandal**
 - Judicial Procedure Reform Bill of 1937 created by FDR declared justices had to retire at 70.
 - Never enacted but scared Court enough to begin ruling in FDR's favour.

WWII's effect on the Presidency

- **Increasing Executive Power**
 - FDR claimed infinite powers during WWII- declaring unlimited national emergency on May 27 1941.
 - War Powers Acts of 1941 and 1942 led to FDR having the power to reorganize the entire executive branch, censor all media, and take over any public land for Govt. use.
- **Secrecy of War Diplomacy**
 - The increase in diplomacy created a greater disconnect between President and nation.
 - The Nuclear Weapons programme, Tehran Conference and Yalta Conference were all largely done in secret- even Truman didn't know

TRUMAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Summary: Unprecedented prosperity, growing fears and tensions, growing intervention to stop communism, domestic tensions over race and industry

The inherited situation

- Truman becomes President on April 12th 1945.
- Yalta Conference in Feb 1945 agrees to split Germany into 4 sections, have free elections in Eastern Europe and for USSR to join war against Japan.
- USA is winning both wars Germany surrenders on 8th May 1945; Japan is still fighting but weak.
- Truman learns of the Atomic Bomb and has the power to use it on Japan

Potsdam:

- Truman, Atlee and Stalin.
- July-Aug 1945
- Confirmed split of Germany into 4 and Berlin into 4. Truman didn't tell Stalin he had the atomic bomb. USSR had spread communism to Poland against America's wishes.

Kennan's long telegram:

- George Kennan is deputy ambassador to USSR, sends telegram on 22nd February 1946 explaining why USSR wouldn't join world bank

- Describes how USSR cannot coexist with the USA, and must be contained to stop Communism spreading. Recommends USA do this through economic and diplomatic means
- Kennan is appointed as Chief of the Policy Planning Unit by SofS George Marshall, and is integral in design of Marshall Plan

Truman Doctrine

- Announced on 12th March 1947.
- In response to Greek Civil War and Communist threat in Turkey, Truman asks Congress to approve \$400 million in aid to both countries, they accept.
- Sets precedent of US help to threatened states through economic means.

Marshall Plan

- Designed by Marshall and Kennan- fulfilled economic containment recommended by Kennan
- Began in April 1948 and continued for four years
- Provided 17 billion dollars to European countries helping them rebuild after WWII
- Led to huge growth, with average increase of 35% growth in European countries

Berlin Blockade

- Germany split into 4 in 1945. June 1948 GB, Fr and the USA united their countries as Trizonia, introduced new currency.
- Stalin felt left out so he decided to block trade and access to his section of East Berlin. The Blockade lasted 318 days.
- USA responded by sending 275,000 planes transporting 1.5 million tons of supplies over the 318 days. A plane landed every three minutes at Berlin's airport.
- Stalin eventually gives up in 12 May 1949

NATO

- Established in April 1949- influenced by Berlin Blockade
- National Atlantic Treaty organisation- ensured European countries knew they were protected due to establishment of system of Collective Security
- Member states: USA, UK, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Canada, Portugal, Italy, Norway, Denmark and Iceland
- Effectively meant that the USSR could not invade any of the above countries without US involvement

NSC 68

- Dean Acheson becomes SofS in Jan 1949, was much more militaristic than Marshall
- USSR get A-Bomb in August 1949, in reaction Kennan's theories had to be readdressed

- Acheson replaces Kennan with Paul Nitze in 1950, Nitze also believed in stronger force.
- Makes NSC/68 recommends than containment only works with a stronger military- ask for increase in budget from 13 to 50 billion
- Truman accepts.

China becoming Communist

- October 1st 1949- Mao proclaims the People's Republic of China, a new communist state
- Chiang Kai-Shek and defeated nationalists escape to Taiwan. Truman had spent \$2 Billion supporting them.
- Truman is tarnished for having 'lost China'. Many say he should have done more.

Involvement in Indochina

- After shock of China- Truman decides to support France over the Vietnamese Freedom Fighters of Ho Chi Minh. He was worried Chi Minh would be Stalin's puppet.
- Begins funding in May 1950. He eventually agrees to cover 78% of French fees for fighting and controlling the area.
- He sends MAAG (Military Advisory Assistance Group) to assist the French in their fight.
- This all increases in wake of Korean War.

Korean War

- In 1945 Korea had been split along the 38th parallel. N. Korea became communist. S. Korea was capitalist.
- On 25th June, 1950 N. Korea invaded S.Korea with great success.
- In response to this USA got the UN to support S.Korea. Led by Douglas MacArthur and pushed N.Korea back over the 38th parallel- nearly defeating her. This decision to go beyond was known as 'rollback'
- China then pushed the S.Korean's back with military force. They recaptured N.Korea and went into S.Korea.
- The Americans landed more troops and drove the Chinese back to the 38th parallel. The war ended in 1953, with a return to the status quo.
- 36,914 Americans die, Initial aim of saving S Korea successful, but Communism was not rolled back.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS:

Inflation:

- Inflation rose to 25% in 1945-46. Due to a combination of the end of wartime price controls and a shortage of consumer goods.
- Truman tried to stop it by using the Office of Price Administration (OPA) but Congress weakened it and allowed prices to increase.

Demobilisation:

- 12 million soldiers needed to be reintegrated into the economy and society.
- Army was reduced to 3 million in 1945 and then 1.5 million in 1946.
- GI Bill of Rights helped reintegrate them distributing \$20 Billion to 7.8 million veterans between 1945 and 1955. Unemployment never goes up beyond 5%.

Labour Unions:

- In 1945 36% of workers were unionised.
- 1946 was worst year- 4.6 million workers on strike- 116 million days lost.
- Truman found it hard to deal with as Labour is a democrat supporting group.
- Truman threatens to conscript railroad workers in May 1946, so they back down. Wins court case against United Mine Workers (UMW). But in general seen as weak- Polls suggested strikes were seen as nation's main problem.
- Republican Congress introduce Taft Hartley Act in 1947- Unions were liable for breach of contract, Unions couldn't force workers to join and President could order a 80 day cooling off period. Unions angry at this and blame Truman.
- In April 1952 Steel Workers threaten to strike- Truman seizes control to stop this. Press and country view him as a dictator. Supreme Court says it is unconstitutional. Truman is humiliated- Steel workers go on strike and military output in 1952 is cut by a 1/3rd.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS:

Problems with Congress:

- Congress wanted to regain power after FDR- Truman had no crisis to justify legislation like the Great Depression
- Republicans win 1946 mid-term elections meaning they have a majority and can fight Truman (Taft Hartley passed for example). They opposed the majority of Truman's laws- he nicknamed it the 'Do Nothing Congress'
- Democrats did regain Congress post 1948 due to improving economy and Truman being seen as tough on Communism.

1948 Election

- Defeats Republican favourite Thomas Dewey in huge upset. Also regains Congress. Seen as remarkable as Strom Thurmond had run as a Dixiecrat in the South.
- Truman embarked on 33 days 33,000-mile tour of USA, energising base of support, blaming all social ills on the 'do nothing congress'. "Give 'em hell Harry!" became a slogan shouted by supporters.
- Voters could see how Economy was improving and also how Truman was successfully containing Communism.
- Voters saw Republicans sought to pass many laws they had previously rejected while in Congress.

- Dewey was seen as boring with quotes such as 'Your future is still ahead of you'

Red Scare

- HUAC (House of Un-American Activities Committee) made permanent in 1945- dominated by Republicans- investigate Hollywood 10 in 1947
- March 1947 Truman set up Loyalty review boards to find communists in Government
- 1950- Truman tried to veto McCarran Act (Communist organizations had to register with Govt. and could be deported/denied a passport) It passed.
- Between 1947 and 1952 over 3 million investigations.
- In this time- Alger Hiss and Rosenbergs Case- Communist spies seemed a real threat

McCarthyism

- McCarthy makes his speech in Wheeling in Jan. 1950- announces he knows of 205 communists in State Dept.
- Creates the Tydings Committee to investigate claims- when Tydings says there are no spies- McCarthy claims he is a communist and he loses re-election.
- He headed up sub-committees investigating Communism- spread to local politics- state officials, teachers and professors lost jobs
- Helped ensure the defeat of Adlai Stevenson in the 1952 election and ensured Nixon won the Californian Senate race- with the Democratic candidates being accused of being 'Pinks' and soft on Communism.

The Fair Deal:

- Introduced in January 1949 after his election win, with 21 points.
- Seen as difficult as there was no crisis to force Congress to pass them like the New Deal. Also seen as too much- Republican Joseph Martin said 'Not even FDR had asked for so much'

Successes:

- Social Security extended to an extra million Americans
- Minimum wage rose from 40 cents to 75 cents.
- Farmers get assistance with measures for flood control, soil conservation and rural electrification.
- Increase of 11 million in employment
- Poverty reduced from 33% in 1949 to 28% in 1952.
- National School Lunch Act 1946 provided cheaper lunches for children.

Failures:

- Truman was perceived as being unsuccessful having a 22% approval rate in 1952.
- IRS scandal of 1951 with mass resignations due to corruption
- The Housing Act of 1949 was meant to build 810,000 homes but only built 156,000 by 1952. Slum clearances also meant urban housing increased in prices.

- Healthcare plans ruined by claims it was communist to create 'socialised medicine'
- Eventually had to give up on Fair Deal due to the Korean War, with GDP on military spending increasing to 14%.
- Failed to overturn the Taft-Hartley Act.
- Failed to achieve Anti-Lynching Bill.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND TRUMAN:

In 1945 there are 14 million African Americans in the USA, making up 10% of the population.

1945 South

- Jim Crow laws were still prevalent in the South- in all public services and private businesses.
- Jobs were mainly agricultural or menial- hard to get better jobs due to segregated education
- Best job was that of a minister (hence MLK's good education)
- Very hard to vote- only 12% in 1947. Literacy tests were used to ask impossible questions like how many bubbles in a bar of soap- barring AAs from voting
- Little protection from the law.

1945 North

- Jim Crow laws don't exist but segregation exists through economics and ghettoization. Poor northern areas, with bad public services with only AAs living there.
- AAs also faced discrimination through employment and housing. Such as 'restricted covenants' where buyers had to promise not to sell to AAs.
- AAs found it easier to vote and even win political office, with Reps Adam Powell and William Dawson being high profile AA politicians.
- Were equally discriminated against in the courts

Effect of WWII

- Due to increase in manufacturing jobs, there was a 'Great Migration' of AAs to the more liberal North, with 1.4 million moving.
- Migration leads to racial tension- race riots in Detroit 1943, leading to 43 deaths.
- Armed forces remained segregated for the war, and the Red Cross wouldn't accept blood donations from Black People.
- Renewed political activism: Double V Campaign, founding of CORE in 1942, NAACP increases from 50,000 to 450,000.
- A. Phillip Randolph led the Black Labour Union- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters threatened to strike- in reaction Truman create the FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission) in 1941.

Promising no discrimination in the war industry (which 2 million AAs worked in)

- African Americans earned great deal of respect from war- Tuskegee Airmen (all black squadron) earned over 700 medals.
- KKK revived in the South- estimated to have killed
- Isaac Woodward case- Black Veteran blinded by Sheriff in 1946, white jury find him innocent.
- Jim Crow laws and discrimination remained.
- Army eventually desegregated in 1948 though segregated units continue to exist until 1954

Civil Rights Campaigns

- CORE organised the 1947 'Journey of Reconciliation', travelling on the apparently 'desegregated' interstate buses They were arrested several times gaining media attention that Morgan vs Virginia 1946 was being ignored
- NAACP focused on court cases, rather than direct action. Establishing a Legal Defence Fund in 1939. They wanted to overturn Plessy vs Ferguson 1896. Had many successes
 - 1946 Morgan vs Virginia- segregation on interstate buses was illegal
 - 1948 Shelley vs Kramer- banned 'restrictive covenants'
 - 1950 Henderson vs USA- banned segregation in railway dining carts
- Supreme Court had no means to enforce these decisions, but was symbolic and helped NAACP to gain more support and funding.

Truman and Government's influence on Civil Rights

- Truman found it hard to deal with congress, so passed several Executive Orders:
 - June 1941, 8802 Established FEPC
 - Dec. 1946, 9802 Creates PCCR to write report on Civil Rights progress
 - July 1948, 9981 Desegregates Army
 - Dec. 1951, 10308 Establishes CGCC, putting pressure on companies with Govt. Contracts to not discriminate.
- PCCR produce 'Secure these Rights' in 1947, recommending a huge programme of Civil Rights laws supported by Truman.
- Truman appeals to Congress with speech in Feb 1948. Congress ignores it, no laws passed. Biggest opposition from Dixiecrats like Strom Thurmond.
- Truman also became first President to make speech before NAACP in 1946.
- Truman was seen to be preoccupied with foreign affairs- fails to pass any laws and doesn't support FEPC enough
- Why was Truman supporting Civil Rights?

- He wanted to win the Black Vote for the 1948 election (see timing of orders)
- He needed USA to look much more liberal than USSR
- He believed in fairness- as seen through speeches and was disgusted by treatment of soldiers (he fought in WWI)

- Federalism was a huge problem with Southern States controlling public services.

EISENHOWER REVISION GUIDE

Summary: Prosperity, multiple international crises which threatened peace, AA's protested against inequality

Eisenhower

Eisenhower also known as 'Ike' was Republican president who had been a five-star general and supreme commander of the allies in Europe in WW2- committed to the USA and wanted to lead without infringing on state's rights

Domestic

1952 Election

- Eisenhower won with 55% of the vote.
- Led the D-Day landings in 1944 and was Supreme Commander in Europe
- McCarthyism tarnished Democrats and the 'Pink' Adlai Stevenson.
- Eisenhower was seen as a change from the foreign policy failures of Truman.

Dynamic Conservatism:

'Liberal when it comes to people- Conservative when it comes to money'

- Established the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which created a vaccine for Polio in 1955
- Expanded Social Security to include 10 million more people, increased minimum wage by 25%
- Federal Highway Act 1956, created many jobs and built 41,000 miles of road.
- Under Eisenhower domestic spending increased from 31% in 1953 to 49% in 1961.
- Failed to pass a law to construct schools in 1955- but passed the National Defence Education Act in 1958 (after Sputnik) creating federal funding for colleges.
- Achieved a balanced budget in 1956, 1957 and 1960.
- Poverty still a problem- ¼ of all Americans were in poverty in the 1950s- recessions of 1954 and 1958.
- Had difficulties with the Old Guard of the Republicans- they demanded tax cuts and wanted Eisenhower to be less liberal

Boom Statistics

- GNP rose significantly from \$355.3 billion in 1950 to \$487.76 billion in 1960
- Per Capita income rose from \$1720 in 1940 to \$2699 in 1960
- By 1960, the average family was 30% richer than in 1950

- Between 1953-57 the cost of living rose by 2.8%, but wages went up by 8.6%
- Overall the economy grew by 37% during the 1950s

End of McCarthyism

- Eisenhower was reluctant to confront McCarthy due to the power he had with the electorate (Aug 1954 showed 62% of Republicans still admired him)
- Eisenhower believed he would destroy himself.
- He did so- Army-McCarthy April-June 1954. Eisenhower didn't allow McCarthy to use any National Security files so McCarthy had no evidence and resorted to bullying- the trials were filmed.
- Led to decline- Censured in March 1954 and died in 1957.

Why did the economy boom?

Impact of War

- Destruction of world industry allowed US to take advantage- 7% of population- 50% of world's manufactured goods
- Military spending continued after the war, accounting for 14% of GNP in 1953, creating lots of jobs.
- GI Bill created new wave of wealthy/educated veterans

Baby Boom

- Between 1946 and 1964, 76.4 million babies were born (a huge increase).
- Each baby was reckoned to be with \$800 to the economy.
- Life magazine in August 1959 described this generation as having '\$10 billion power'. Due to their buying of non-essential goods.

Motor Industry

- This new found wealth was usually spent on cars, with their being 68 million on the road by 1958.
- This led to a boom in car manufacturing in the USA with the US firms of GM, Chrysler and Ford producing over 7.9 million cars in 1955 alone.
- These American firms produced 90% of cars bought in the USA, meaning all profit stayed within their borders.
- This boom had a knock-on effect, creating an Automobile culture- 228 Mids. by 1960

Housing

- The Levitt brothers created a new 'Levittown home' selling for only \$8000.
- By 1960- 30% of families lived in the suburbs
- Led to increase in demand for consumer goods

Advertising

- Increased the selling of non-essential goods: \$255 million dollars in 1952 on chewing gum alone

- Advert industry increased from a 6-billion-dollar industry in 1950 to a 13 billion dollar one in 1963.
- Robert Sarnoff (President of the National Broadcasting Company said 'Advertising is the foot on the accelerator, the foot on the throttle'.

Credit

- American Express created in 1958.
- FHA and VA gave loans for housing.
- Private debt more than doubled- being \$104.8 billion in 1950 to \$263.3 billion in 1960

Impacts of the consumer society:

- **Creation of the service/tertiary sector-** jobs no longer in production. By 1960 white collar workers outnumbered blue collar workers- many poorly paid
- **The homogenisation of culture-** 50% of Americans said watching TV was their favourite activity- they would watch the same shows. McDonalds and Burger King became more popular.
- **Creation of suburbia-** houses in suburbia were near identical- Levittown houses. TV shows such as *Father knows Best* entrenched family roles and values. Many suburban houses had restrictive covenants, meaning suburbs were mainly white- leaving cities as African American hubs.
- **Limitations of the boom-** ¼ still unemployed, due to middle class/white Americans leaving to the suburbs cities became ghettoized, with public services becoming poorer. 1958 recession led to 5 million unemployed and production falling by 14%

FOREIGN

- **New Look Policy:** Eisenhower's policy of getting more bang for your buck, by reducing military spending and focusing on Nuclear Weapons- seen by 1957 USA had 5543 Nuclear Weapons compared to USSR's 650.
- **Massive Retaliation:** SofS Dulles believed in promoting a policy of extreme reaction to any show of force. This would act as a deterrent.
- **Both Enshrined in NSC 162/2**

Europe:

- **Berlin Crisis**
 - 10th Nov 1958. Khrushchev demands West Berlin.
 - Eisenhower refuses and manages to diplomatically end the crisis in a meeting at Camp David in September 1959
- **Hungary Crisis**
 - 1956, hard-line Rakosi is replaced by moderate Nagy. He promises reforms and to leave Warsaw Pact
 - Khrushchev sends in 250,000 soldiers- 3,000 Hungarians killed, 20,000 flee.
 - Eisenhower does nothing, despite Hungarians expecting and pleading for support
- **U2 Crisis**

- U2 Spy Plane shot down 1 May 1960
- 5 May 1960, Gary Powers presented to media- Eisenhower admits it was a spy plane 'distasteful necessity'
- Severely soured relationship- Paris Conference descended into chaos.

Asia

• Taiwan

- 1954, Mao orders the shelling of Taiwanese islands Quemoy and Matsu.
- In reaction Eisenhower passes the Formosa Resolution in Jan 1955, providing for the defence of Taiwan
- JF Dulles also suggested that Nuclear Weapons may be used. In response on 1 May 1955, Mao stopped the attack.

• Vietnam

- By 1954 French were clearly losing the war. Eisenhower opted against airstrikes, further ensuring French Defeat
- Geneva Accords of 1954 agreed to split Vietnam into two states (one Communist and one Capitalist) with the promise of 1956 election to unite the two.
- Eisenhower worried that the Communists would win, refused to sign the agreement and supported Diem's regime in South Vietnam. By 1961 he had provided \$7 Billion in aid and 100 advisors.

• Korea

- Eisenhower went to Korea in December 1952 (before he was even inaugurated) for 7 months started a campaign of diplomacy.
- Dulles also sought to scare China/N.Korea by threatening to use an atomic bomb
- The armistice was signed on 27 July 1953

Middle East

• Suez Crisis

- Nasser tried to get help from both sides of the Cold War- getting aid from USA to build Aswan Dam, buying weapons from the Czechs and recognising China.
- USA withdrew aid in reaction, so to make money Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal in July 1956
- Britain/France/Israel invade expecting US Support. Eisenhower condemns it and stops invasion. But is viewed as imperialist now.

• Iran Coup and CENTO

- In 1951 Mossadegh was elected Iranian Prime Minister and he nationalised the Oil companies. USA organise Coup in 1953, installing US puppet and now getting 40% of oil
- 1955 Dulles establishes CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) made up of Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, UK and Turkey. BUT in 1958 Iraq leave after a coup and Nasser never joins

• Eisenhower Doctrine

- 5th Jan 1957. Eisenhower promises to assist any nation in the Middle East in defending against communism. Congress agree \$200 million fund
- Worried about the growing influence of Nasser in Lebanon- he uses the fund to ensure Lebanese support.
- 'Operation Blue Bat', sending 14,000 troops to assist the Government in July. They remained until a new election took place ensuring Lebanon's independence, and left in October.

CIVIL RIGHTS

• Brown vs Topeka 1954

- Linda Brown walked 21 blocks to black school, applies to white school 7 blocks away. Application refused. NAACP, Thurgood Marshall and Oliver start court case,
- 17th May 1954 the US Supreme court ruled that segregation in schools should end. Justice Warren's appointment was described 'as the biggest damned-fool mistake I ever made'
- Earl Warren was republican governor from California and is renowned for presiding over a number of liberal decisions- he also leads JFK investigation
- March 1956, 22 Southern State senators made the Southern Manifesto promising to oppose segregation.
- No deadline for desegregation set its guidelines were 'by all deliberate speed'
- KKK numbers increased, White Citizens Councils were established having over 250,000 members in 1956

• Little Rock

- In 1955 Supreme Court follow up Brown decision and declare schools have to desegregate 'at all deliberate speed' In 1957, *Arkansas State Press* start a campaign to desegregate their schools and In September Little Rock High School was set to accept its first nine black students.
- Eisenhower tried to persuade Governor Orval Faubus to stop the National Guard from preventing the students. He failed. In response he federalised the 10,000 strong National Guard (meaning they now had to listen to him) and sent in the 101st airborne division to protect them. He does this for the entire year, but only 3 graduated
- For his actions Faubus was voted as one of the ten most admired men in America in a Gallup Poll of 1958. He would go on to be re-elected four times. However, he had

previously been in support of desegregation but had used segregation to win votes in the South.

- The schools were reopened in 1959, but de-facto segregation continued and in 1960 only 3% of Little Rock was African American.
- **Montgomery Bus Boycott**
 - 1/12/1955 Rosa Parks arrested and fined for refusing to give up her seat... Rosa Parks with NAACP launch boycott. Started as one day, developed into a year. 17,000 Black Americans took part, 200 vehicles organized by church transporting black Americans. MLK arrested for speeding, his car carried people to work.
 - In December 1956, the US Supreme Court made bus segregation illegal- *Bowder vs Gayle*
 - 1966, Rosa Parks was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. But she was targeted by racists so moved to Detroit.
- **Emmett Till**
 - 1955, 14 year old Emmett Till is murdered for 'flirting' with an older white woman. Body is found and is hugely disfigured. No-one is arrested.
 - Becomes a huge news story, with his burial being an open casket- Eisenhower does nothing.
- **Autherine Lucy**
 - 1956 Autherine Lucy is expelled from Alabama University despite winning a 1995 Court Case *Lucy vs Adams* which said she could attend.
 - Again, Eisenhower does nothing.
- **Civil Rights Act 1957**
 - Driven by a desire to win the black vote in the 1956 election and shocked that only 7000 of Mississippi's 900,000 black population were able to vote.
 - Eisenhower didn't help the bill pass claiming he didn't really understand it- 'There were certain phrases I did not completely understand'. Nixon was more in charge.
 - Dixiecrats did much to weaken it, infamously Strom Thurmond filibustered the bill- for 24 hours and 18 minutes
 - Ultimately the bill was poor- as any public official found obstructing a AAs right to vote would be tried by a white jury
 - MLK stated 'the present bill is far better than no bill at all
- **Civil Rights Act 1960**
 - Worried about the violence facing AA children attending schools- he wanted to

pass a bill to protect integrated schools and also further help AAs get the vote.

- It was again watered down- but it made the obstruction of school desegregation a federal crime (\$5000 dollars or 5 year jail term) and established further penalties for denying AA's the vote... But the penalty was a \$1000 dollar fine.
- However, in total, Eisenhower was only able to add 3% of AAs to the electoral register

JFK REVISION GUIDE

Summary: 'New Frontier'- set of challenge including science, space, peace, war, ignorance, prejudice, poverty and surplus. If met these challenges would bring a version of the American Dream in the public's interest.

1960 ELECTION:

Eisenhower's Mistakes:

- Caused a recession in 1960, due to creating a deficit in 1959.
- Refused to correct Kennedy's misconception that there was a missile gap
- When asked about what ideas Nixon had in Government- he stuttered 'give me a week and I might think of one'

Nixon's errors:

- Nixon promised to campaign in all 50 states wasting time and money. Meant he looked tired and worn out during debate.
- Nixon failed to help MLK in October 1960 allowing Kennedy to win the black vote 70:30
- He failed to capitalise on the popularity of Eisenhower not allowing him to campaign until October

Kennedy's Strengths:

- Kennedy was a war hero and seen as a youthful option with his young wife Jackie.
- He spoke well and his idea of the 'New Frontier' captured the imagination
- He took on his Catholicism dead on in a speech to Houston Ministers (although it is still estimated to have lost him 1.5 million votes)
- LBJ was his running mate, as strong Southerner, helping him win votes in the South

TV

- The first TV debate was watched by 74 million people.
- Nixon was ill- 'My god they've embalmed him before he even died'
- Nixon was seen as weak 'I agree with Senator Kennedy' and didn't look at the camera.
- After that point JFK pulled away in the polls- having been neck and neck before.
- Kennedy had adverts with jungles to convince housewives- 'Kennedy for Me'

New Frontier: Announced in Democratic Convention speech of July 1960

Successes:

- Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 provided 351 training programmes in 40 states.
- Social Security Amendments Act 1961 expanded benefits for elderly and disabled.
- Raised minimum wage by 25%, and built over 100,000 new houses.
- Extended food stamp programme to 240,000 more people. Extended free school lunch programme to 700,000 more children and 85,000 schools
- Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 created 26,000 jobs and 15,000 training positions.
- Kennedy managed to pass 35 of the 58 bills he submitted to Congress.
- Established the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 and passed the Equal Pay Act in June 1963 allowing Women to reclaim lost wages (171,000 women reclaimed \$84 million)
- Provided \$9 billion for Nasa

Failures:

- Many initiatives rejected: Civil Rights Act, Medicaid to support elderly healthcare, tax cuts programme, financial aid to schools and reauthorisation of Area Development Act in 1963.
- Many initiatives only provided temporary work or just training positions.
- The Omnibus Housing Act of 1961 provided 5 billion to help build housing, but money went to developers and building companies rather than helping to create cheap housing
- Many of Kennedy's acts were simply extensions of existing programmes rather than innovative ones: Omnibus Housing Act, Interstate Highway System etc.
- Minimum wage increase to cover over half a million of the poorest workers including 150,000 Laundry workers (usually African American Women)

FOREIGN POLICY:

Vietnam:

- Kennedy did not want to be known as the President who lost Vietnam and had to prove himself
- Increased US personnel to 17,000 (compared to 800 before) and even had soldiers fight in first battle of Ap Bac.
- Established MACV in 1962 to assist South Vietnamese military (Military Assistance Command Vietnam)
- Followed the doomed policy of 'Strategic Hamlets' forcibly moving villagers to protect them- this only increased support for the Communists.
- Supported Diem who persecuted the Buddhist majority and was unpopular- leading to self-immolation of Buddhist Monk. Kennedy didn't even know Buddhism was the main religion.
- Due to Diem's failure he supported a coup and Diem was killed, General Westmoreland said this compelled USA to stay in Vietnam and clean up the mess.

Berlin:

- After Vienna Summit Khrushchev thought JFK was naïve and could be taken advantage of
- After 2 million had fled to West Berlin between 1949 and 1958 Khrushchev built the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961.
- JFK instructed Dean Rusk to use it as propaganda to prove Capitalism > Communism
- JFK sought to ensure Berlin felt supported in his famous June 1963 visit (Ich bin ein Berliner)

Cuba

- January 1959 Castro succeeds in his revolution in Cuba; he is invited to Washington by the Eisenhower administration. Despite the revolution not being Communist, Eisenhower began economic sanctions in 1960.
- JFK didn't lift these sanctions and endorsed the Bay of Pigs Invasion in April 1961, training 1600 Cubans to invade- it failed and pushed Castro towards the USSR, announcing they were communist
- February 7 1962, JFK announced an embargo of Cuba, Castro begins trading with Khrushchev and agrees to house missiles for him.

Cuban Missile Crisis

- 14th of October U2 spy plane takes photos of missile sites on Cuba
- 22nd October Kennedy announces situation to US public and forms embargo of 800km (later reduced to 500km)
- 24th October two Soviet ships and a submarine approach the embargo but turn back
- 26th October Kennedy threatens to invade Cuba and Khrushchev offers to take missiles out in return for promising to not invade. He then says only if missiles are removed from Turkey.
- 29th of October Kennedy publically accepts first agreement, but secretly removes missiles from Turkey- publically looks like winner.
- In aftermath a hotline is set up between White House and Kremlin and Partial Nuclear Test Ban treaty is signed in August 1963

CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS

Sit-ins:

- Began under Eisenhower- 1st Feb 1960, spread to over 50,000 protests in seven states.
- Led to founding of SNCC (Student, Non-violent, Coordinating Committee)
- MLK got involved and was arrested for participating in Oct. 1960- JFK secured his release

Freedom Rides:

- Spring of 1961 CORE recreate Journey of Reconciliation 1947 to test if desegregation of buses was accepted (Boydton vs Virginia 1960)
- Begins with 13 riders, led to 60 further rides. Bobby Kennedy pressured ICC (Interstate Commerce Commission) to enforce desegregation.

- ICC ended segregation 1st November 1961.

Albany Campaign:

- Albany, Georgia. Organised by SNCC and MLK. Aim to peacefully protest to end segregation.
- Chief Laurie Pritchett studied SNCCS tactics and knew to let protest stay peaceful- annoying SNCC who wanted attention to injustice. MLK left, believing he had failed.
- SNCC stayed and by 1962 had desegregated.

James Meredith and University Cases

- James Meredith got into Ole Miss and was allowed entry after NAACP cases.
- He entered on Oct. 1st 1962, led to riots- two dead and Bobby Kennedy called in 500 US Marshalls to protect him.
- With this protection he graduated in August 1963- Similar case in Alabama June 1963, Governor Wallace refused to allow black students on campus- Kennedy federalised the Alabama state guard to stop this.

Birmingham:

- Organised by SCLC in April 1963- Targeted due to knowledge of how violent Chief Bull Connor was.
- Arrests and violence directed at protestors led to national outrage.
- Bobby Kennedy again helped- getting King released from prison on 20 April 1963. Also sent an assistant to help desegregate Birmingham.

March on Washington

- Organised by SNCC, SCLC, NAACP and MLK- Aim to increase pressure on Kennedy.
- 27 Aug, 1963. Over 200,000 marchers ending at Lincoln Memorial, where King made Speech
- Kennedy didn't initially want march to happen, but in the end supported it with 19,000 troops.

OPPONENTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS

- General population:
 - Many normal white Americans were against Civil rights- One poll saw Civil Rights at bottom of a list of voters concerns, a 1961 poll saw 63% of people were against the Freedom Rides
 - Led to many Southern Democrats and Republicans being elected to fight against Civil Rights laws (1963 act rejected for example)
- White Citizens Councils
 - Formed in aftermath of Brown vs Topeka- reached membership of 60,000 by Kennedy Era
 - Brought together white professional and upper class families to oppose integration via local, state and national politics.
- Kul Klux Klan
 - The Third Klan was directly responsible for violence- Killing NAACP organiser Medgar Evers in 1963, bombing church in Birmingham killing 4 schoolgirls.
 - They would also threaten white businesses to stay segregated as happened in Florida 1964

- Politicians

- Dixiecrats- Southern Democrats who opposed Civil Rights- voting against laws, filibustering them, and weakening them. JFK relied on their support.
- Governors- Many Southern Governors such as Faubus and Wallace who opposed integration within their states. Wallace won in 1962 running as a racist who opposed Black voter registration and said in his winning speech 'segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever'.

JFK'S CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIONS

Successes:

- Proactive actions of Bobby Kennedy in supporting James Meredith, getting King released from jail and supporting Birmingham campaign
- Bobby Kennedy also led 57 cases against illegal violations of voter rights.
- JFK helped promote AAs in Government- appointing 40 to top posts and appointing 5 black US Circuit Judges.
- Created EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) in 1961 to promote integration

Failures:

- No significant legislation passed
- Never stood up to Dixiecrats- Retreated on Voting Rights in 1963 when Senators protested, still appointed 20% segregationist judges to satisfy Dixiecrats.
- While he invited Civil rights Leaders to meet, he never accepted their ideas- 'Everyone was charmed by the manner they had been turned down'
- EEOC did not achieve significant change boasting a rise from 1 to 2 employees as a 100% increase
- Ignored and resented activism- considered SNCC as 'sons of bitches', waited a long time to help Freedom Riders.

AMERICAN DREAM BY 1963:

Many disillusioned with the Dream after the death of JFK and problems of the two presidents who followed him.

World Position:

- ✓ Had many treaties- NATO (1949) SEATO (1954 and CENTO (1959. Pactomania
- ✓
- ✓
- ✓
- ✓
- ✓ Was ahead in Nuclear Arms race-

Strategic nuclear missiles, warheads and throw-weights of United States and Soviet Union, 1964-1982^{[7][8]}

Year	Launchers		Warheads		Megatonnage	
	United States	Soviet Union	United States	Soviet Union	United States	Soviet Union
1964	2,416	375	6,800	500	7,500	1,000

- ✓ Covert actions had been used to keep allies- Congo, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Brazil.

- ✓ The Peace Corps (1961) improved image being sent to 44 countries.
- ✗ Cuba had been pushed into Soviet arms and was now Communist 90 miles from USA
- ✗ Behind in Space Race- Sputnik in 1957 and Yuri Gagarin 1961- failed satellite- Flopnik
- ✗ America was being sucked into Vietnam- failing strategies of Strategic Hamlets and weakness of Diem.

Economy:

- ✓ During JFK-Unemployment down to 6%, GNP went up 20%, production up 22% and personal income up 15%. Net Income for Farmers increased by \$330. Corporate Profits reached 51 billion dollars in 1962
- ✓ Committed to cutting taxes to stimulate economy- can be seen as deficit shrunk between 1962 and 1966.
- ✗ Despite Boom- Americans still concerned- Inflation and Unemployment was rated as biggest problems by voters in 1963.
- ✗ Poverty had only reduced to 19% from 20% in 1960- Other America
- ✗ Poverty was a particular problem in ethnic minorities (35% of AAs) - Ghettoisation still a massive issue.

Women:

- ✓ JFK Set up Presidential Commission on Women in 1961, led by Eleanor Roosevelt
- ✓ JFK passed Equal Pay Act 1963 making it illegal to pay male and female employees different wages.
- ✗ Economically unequal in times of position- 80% of teachers but only 10% of principals, 7% of doctors and 3% of lawyers.
- ✗ 18 states didn't allow female jurors, 6 states said females needed male approval to enter financial agreements- and contraception was banned in many states.
- ✗ Even protest groups were sexist SDS (33% female, but leaders were only 6% female)

Youth:

- ✓ More students than ever before and they have free speech
- ✗ Port Huron Statement 1962 showed anger with how rich the USA was yet- minorities and poor Americans still treated poorly.

Why does Women's Movement emerge?

Feminine Mystique:

- Published in 1963- described how housewives deserve more and were conditioned to want to not be independent/have careers- argued women should rise up and fight misogyny
- First print sold 1.4 million and sold 3 million in first 3 years.
- Many argue that this is the trigger for the second wave of feminism.

Inequality:

- Economically unequal in times of position- 80% of teachers but only 10% of principals, 7% of doctors and 3% of lawyers.

- 18 states didn't allow female jurors, 6 states said females needed male approval to enter financial agreements- and contraception was banned in many states
- Majority in low paid jobs- so equal pay act didn't help

Other Protest movements:

- Inspired by success of Civil rights- Freedom Rides and Freedom marches.
- Angered by sexism of protest movements- SDS (33% female, but leaders were only 6% female), Stokely Carmichael of SNCC was a renowned sexist claimed best position for a women was horizontal
- Activist Tradition of women who fought for the vote in the 1910s

The Pill:

- Approved by FDA in 1960, by 1962 over 1.2 million are using it.
 - Allows women to decide when they want a family.

JOHNSON REVISION GUIDE

Summary: 'Great Society' - most idealistic version of American Dream yet, AA's continue to protest about poverty and discrimination, young people protest about Vietnam, damage to Johnson's presidency

Background

- 6'3" -second tallest president
- Texas born and educated- poor background meant he did not have enough money for college so he taught
- Worked in Texas for New Deal Agency was then promoted
- Background in the armed forces, entered politics in 1930- Southern Democrat
- Elected to the senate in 1948, majority senate leader in 1955
- Chosen to be JFK's running mate in 1960

Johnson as Vice-President

- Chaired Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EOCC) which LBJ did not want to do as it was poorly funded
- Did best, considered 'genuine' by NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, although LBJ could not force contractors on Equal Employment - federal jobs for AAs up 17% in 1962 and 22% in 1963. Activists dissatisfied

Racist or Idealist?

- Privately referred to AAs as 'niggers' and believed that deep rooted racial customs could not disappear overnight
- Voted against Civil Rights Measures
- Texas was 15% black so to court votes he explained why he voted against Truman's Civil Rights programme as it would not be passed, only go so far, damage state's rights, remove freedom of will -> riots, healthcare and schooling would help Blacks more
- HOWEVER
- Arranged burial for Mexican-American (MA) soldier after segregated cemetery refused him

- Worked to get black farmers and school children equal treatment
- 1938 federal funding for AAs and MA
- Johnson also realised that in order to become president he could not be an ardent segregationist, court the black vote, accept inevitable change and would need to improve situation of AAs to develop South's economy

Johnson as President

- Came into politics experienced
- Kennedy's death had traumatised nation
- Desire to memorialise Kennedy led to LBJ being able to pass Civil Rights Act 1964
- Nation sympathised for Johnson -> winning 1964 elections
- Known for 'the Johnson treatment' intimidating
- Passed over 60 pieces of legislation
- Ability to intimidate meant that he had to use Executive Orders a lot less than JFK or Carter despite controversial nature of many of his proposals
- Policies were largely domestic and seen as an extension of the 'New Frontier'
- Overseas remained committed to Truman Doctrine and containment.
- After landslide victory against Barry Goldwater (who seemed to campaign against JFK) in 1964 Johnson had mandate to pass Great Society

Johnson's 'Great Society'

- Radical vision for new American Dream (no longer about affluence)- wanted to achieve racial equality, end of poverty, educational reform, modern housing, end of urban decay & peace
- 75% approval rating- lots of Great Society was passed
- 1964 'War on Poverty'
- Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) which establish an Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to coordinate war on poverty
- Key achievements:
 - 44 states anti-poverty programmes
 - 8,000 volunteers in service to America (VISTA) were helping poor children, NA and migrant workers
 - 4 million receiving AFDC benefits (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)

Poverty and Health

Elderly large proportion of America's poor because health care was so expensive but congress did not want to support them as free healthcare = communism

- ✓ Medicare (federally funded health insurance for all over 65s and the disabled) and Medicaid (financial assistance to states to help the poor) established 1965 (Social Security Act)
- ✓ Focus on helping elderly
- ✓ 19m Americans helped in 1966
- ✗ Medicare and Medicaid too expensive - budgeted at \$12bn by 1990 but actually cost \$98bn (hospitals allowed to set own fees)

- ✗ Still to provide reasonable health insurance for all
- ✗ Gaps in coverage (e.g. spectacles)

Poverty and Education

54m Americans never finished high school, 8m <5 years school, 100,000 high ability students could not afford college, schools overcrowded, shortage of good teachers

- ✓ 53 Job Corps centres providing training receiving 1000s of applications daily
- ✓ 25,000 families on welfare receiving training
- ✓ 35,000 learning literacy
- ✓ 35,000 college students on work-study programmes
- ✓ Federal expenditure doubled to \$8bn
- ✓ 1965 - Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and Higher Education Acts (HEA) - money to poorer states
- ✓ 13m children benefitted
- ✓ No. with high school diploma doubled
- ✓ New buildings, no more shortage of teachers
- ✓ By 1970 25% of college students received support from HEA
- ✓ Robert Dallek (LBJ's biographer - ' They have at least made it for a better society')
- ✓ Head Start Programme and Upward Bound programme helped 1m disadvantaged pre-schoolers and 500k HE students

Poverty and Urban Problems

Inner cities - poor schools and housing

- ✓ Loans given to small businesses (\$17bn in 1968)
- ✓ 1968 Fair Housing Act
- ✓ Housing and Urban Development Dept. (HUD) to combat urban decay and housing shortages
- ✓ Demonstration Cities Act (1966) which put focus on improving poor cities but was underfunded and too many cities were included
- ✓ Omnibus Housing Act (1965) financed rent supplements and \$8bn of low and moderate income housing
- ✗ Ghettos continued - 4/5 of Detroit ghetto riots arrested in 1967 had jobs paying over \$120 weekly suggesting housing was the problem
- ✗ 1968 Fair housing Act was difficult to enforce due to white opposition

Great Society- overall assessment

- ✓ % of families in poverty 17% in 1965 to 11% in 1970
- ✓ 3.9% unemployment
- ✓ Minimum wage rose by 35c
- ✓ Federal expenditure on poor rose from \$13bn in 1963 to \$20bn in 1966
- ✗ LBJ received a lot of criticism
- ✗ Poverty had not been eradicated- 1/3 of non-white families below poverty line, infant mortality and unemployment 2x that of whites
- ✗ Torn between 'the woman I really loved- the Great Society' and the 'bitch of a war' against communism in Vietnam (1965-1973 - \$15.5bn on Great Society, \$120bn on Vietnam)

Economic Developments

1964

- 43 months of unbroken business expansion

- Limited inflation
- Low unemployment
- GNP growth

1965

- Economy beginning to overheat
- LBJ tried to prevent inflation by introducing wage and price guidelines

1966

- After tax wages increased by 35%
- Cooperate earning up by 65%
- Farm income up 40%
- Unemployment at 13 year low
- Inflation at highest for 10 years

1967

- Budget deficit of \$10bn
- Tax increase
- 4.5% consumer price rise
- Interest rates rising
- Slowdown in investment and construction
- Fall in unemployment and 4.5% increase in GNP
- 60% saw cost of living as main problem

1968

- Deficit increased to \$19.8bn
- Trade deficit 3x that of 1966
- Gold supplies sold to help trade deficit, trade reserves down 40%
- Dollar weakened

FOREIGN POLICY

Vietnam

William Westmoreland - appointed by LBJ to command military operations. Convinced by policy of attrition-reducing strength through sustained attack

- By Nov 1963: Vietnam was sponsored by US created SEATO and governed by General Minh, 17,000 American advisors
- Johnson supported views of containment, domino theory, aggressive communist dictators, Vietnam was an issue of national honour
- Kennedy legacy meant Johnson had to continue despite knowing war would be long and costly LBJ also kept McNamara and Rusk
- By 1964 Minh and successor incapable, S. Vietnamese did not want to fight as S.Vietnamese governments were unpopular and unwilling to reform (N.Vietnam had introduced popular land reforms)

Escalation of War

- Gulf of Tonkin incident Aug 1964- two US ships on espionage mission (Turner Joy and Maddox) attacked by N.Vietnam
- Tonkin Resolution (TR)- congress gave LBJ powers to 'take all necessary steps' (98:2 votes)
- LBJ criticised for TR as it was said he wanted escalation, deceived congress, wanted to appear tough on communism after Republican opponent in 1964 had called him 'tough on communism' after 1st bombing of N.Vietnam approval rating up from 42% to 72%
- 1964 Working Group created- CIA, State Department, Defence Department and JCS to

study Vietnam and make recommendations.

Recommendations: USA needed to support Vietnam and supported heavier bombing

- Operation Rolling Thunder 1965 in response to concerns over US bomber bases, 67% of Americans approved action. Aimed to secure American position, demoralise and decrease infiltration from N.Vietnam and encourage S.Vietnam.
- Spring 1965 3500 - American ground troops - 535,000 by 1968. 70% of nation supported Johnson
- Average age of US soldier in Vietnam was 19
- However, LBJ never declared war for fear of Sino-Soviet intervention and congress cutting funding for Great Society

Tet Offensive early 1968

- Great and unexpected communist offensive in South Vietnam in early 1968.
- Demonstrated communist strength as forces held US embassy in Saigon for 6 hours- symbolic. 11,000 US and S.Vietnamese troops to recover.
- Deaths: 3895 US troops, 4954 S.Vietnamese troops, 14,300 S.Vietnamese civilians, 58,373 Communist soldiers.
- Turning point for public and media opinion despite it being a huge defeat for N.Vietnam.
- Walter Cronkite (US's most trusted TV reporter) "What the hell is going on? I thought we were winning the war"

Khe Sanh Base

- US base since 1962 to patrol Ho Chi Minh Trail (supply route to Vietcong),
- General Giap (NVA- skilled and strategic) surrounds base with 200,000 men
- LBJ drops 80,000 tons of bombs
- Base closed after Westmoreland was replaced
- US tried to keep it secret but ¾ of Hanoi radio was devoted to their victory

Relations between the USA and its Western allies

- Soviets used Vietnam as an opportunity to build up weapons
- Of the 40 states allied to the USA only Australia, NZ, S.Korea and Thailand sent troops to Korea
- Johnson received criticism from the Canadian PM
- Harold Wilson PM of UK privately criticised LBJ damaging 'special relationship'
- Greatest critic French President Charles de Gaulle who called Vietnam an 'unjust...detestable war', said USA could not be relied on to contain communism, promoted French power in Europe, withdrew France from NATO in 1966 -> 26,000 US troops removed from France, France vetoed Britain's entry into the European Economic Community fearing it would lead to US interference, developed ties with Eastern bloc, gave speech to 10,000 Cambodians denouncing war

State of USA by end of Johnson's presidency

- McNamara resigns due to unwinnable and unjustified war in 1967
- End of presidency approval rating had dropped to below 40%- LBJ decides not to stand in 1968 elections
- Anti-war activists- 'Hey, hey LBJ! How many kids did you kill today?'
- Seeing LBJ's weaknesses Bobby Kennedy joins in presidential race but is assassinated in April 1968 months after MLK's assassination
- August 1968- bloody confrontation between police and protestors and Democratic Convention in Chicago
- Democrats lost heavily in mid-term elections 1966

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH

- LBJ considered genuine in fight against segregation by Wilkins and MLK's associate
- Wanted to desegregate to improve economic and political position of South

Civil Rights Act 1964

- ✓ Ended de jure segregation- it was made a federal crime meaning it would not be enforced in biased state courts
- ✓ Prohibited discrimination in public places
- ✓ Established Equal Employment Commission
- ✓ Furthered school desegregation
- X - Did not go far enough- poverty and discrimination - > riots in East Coast cities
- X - Did not facilitate black voting
- X - Longest filibuster in Senate History (54 days by Dixiecrats)
- X - Lost democrats Southern support
- X - Three murdered in Mississippi failed to get justice as murderers were only tried for discrimination as murder was a state crime

Reasons for passing

- JFK memory
- MLK awarded Nobel Peace Prize Oct 1964
- Black activist drew attention to injustices + wanted to pressure LBJ to pass act which JFK had introduced
 - SCLC+NAACP Florida 1964 sit-ins, swim-ins and wade-ins -> violence from locals
 - SNCC+CORE Mississippi 1964 arranged for Northern White volunteers to join black activists to register black voters, teach literacy and civics at 41 freedom schools and promote Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party-> led by Fannie Lou Hamer
 - After one week three civil rights workers (Chaney(AA) and Schwerner and Goodman (white) went missing and later found dead->criticisms of gov. for lack of protection
 - 17,000 voters tried to register but only 1600 were successful
 - 1062 arrests, 37 churches bombed, 80 workers beaten
- LBJ bullied and cajoled to win over important leaders
- 68% of Americans supported bill

- Support from religious institutions

Selma Campaign, Alabama 1965

- Result of failures of 1964 Civil Rights Act
- AAs made up 50% of Selma's 29,000 population but only 23 were registered to vote
- MLK had said Selma was a "symbol of bitter-ed resistance to the CRM"
- Robert Kennedy was unable to succeed with lawsuits
- MLK knew Selma's sheriff Jim Clark was a brutal as Bull Connor
- MLK began by taking AAs to register to vote court house- unsuccessful
- Violence from white community- throwing venomous snakes and beating, MLK wanted to be arrested "There are more Negroes in jail with me than there are on the voting rolls" - campaign was not as explosive as King had hoped
- SCLC and SNCC organised march from Selma to Montgomery for Voting Rights- 80 Alabama whites joined march -> 'Bloody Sunday'- state troopers attacked marchers + tear gas
- Interracial marches were repeated
- Communist propaganda emphasised inequality
- Congress forced to pass Voting Rights Act

Voting Rights Act 1965

- Disallowed literacy tests
- Replaced Southern white registrars with federal registrars

Impact of change on the South

- ✓ By 1966 only 4 Deep South states had less than 50% of their population registered to vote
- ✓ By 1980 % of AAs registered only 7% less than whites
- ✓ Numbers of AAs in office increased six fold '69-'80
- ✓ Larger and richer black middle class
- ✓ Decrease in black unemployment -34%
- ✓ Decrease in black poverty - 25%
- X Continued poor housing, poor schools, poor job opportunities, inability to get out of poverty- report of black children eating bark in Mississippi

Limitations on Johnson's role in passing Civil Rights

- After 1965 decreased white sympathy for Civil Rights
- 'Too far, too fast'- leading democrat
- Rejection of 1966 Civil Rights Bill for fair housing - 70% of white voters against black neighbours
- LBJ difficult to sustain war on poverty
- LBJ relied on local officials so sometimes had to financially support de facto segregated schools
- Rioting in black ghettos 1964-1968-> white backlash
- 88% of white advocated black self-improvement
- 1966 90% opposed new Civil Rights legislation
- Black Power and Black Panthers frightened and alienated whites
- Cost of Vietnam war-> tax rises-> whites unhappy paying for black poor

Fair Housing Act 1968

- Prohibited discrimination in sale or rental of housing

- LBJ received lots of hate mail
- Only pushed through in memory of MLK after his assassination
- Difficult to enforce

Executive Order 1965

- Required any institution receiving federal funding to employ more non-whites-> affirmative action (giving disadvantaged minorities more opportunities even if poorly educated)

Developments in CRM

- After 1964-1965 organisations such as NAACP, SCLC and CORE lost direction as missions had been achieved
- Now focus on the North, new strands developing focused on ghettoization

NOI

- Nation of Islam (separate nation)
- Founded by Wallace Fard in Detroit in 1930
- Led by Elijah Muhammad from 1934
- Different to teaching of Islam
- Believed white people were created by an evil scientist called Yakub who would rule the world for several thousand years before Allah would end their supremacy
- Aimed to be an alternative to white Christianity, improve black self-esteem and economic situation and separate whites and blacks.
- Established temples in Northern black ghettos in Detroit, NY and Chicago
- Malcolm X (born Malcolm Little), originally a criminal, joined NOI in prison in 1946, got rid of slave name in 1952, recruited thousands of new members to NOI, became a minister in Harlem
- 1959 Documentary *The Hate that Hate Produced* Malcolm X encouraged AAs to defend themselves by 'any means necessary'-> national prominence and white hostility
- 10,000 attended NOI event in Washington where Elijah attacked MLK's 'turn the other cheek' tactics

Key achievements

- ✓ Membership estimates 25,000 to 250,000 by 1969
- ✓ NOI newspaper 600,000 a week
- ✓ Established schools in Detroit and Chicago which taught black history
- ✓ Inspired ghetto inhabitants - self pride and economic self-help
- ✓ Started businesses- restaurants, bakeries, grocery stores-> black employment opportunities rare in ghettos
- ✓ Elijah described as bringing 'pride in thousands of black derelicts, bums, and drug addicts, turning outlaws into useful, productive men and women' Washington Post obituary

X NOI lost support after Malcolm X left because of materialism, hypocrisy and love affairs

X Exacerbated racial tensions

X Alienated black activists from all CRM- called MLK a 'fool'

X Unrealistic aims- return to Africa, separate black state in South

Malcolm X after NOI

- Established Organisation of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)- unite those of African descent and promote black independence
- Rejected NOI's racist theory
- Pilgrimage to Mecca
- Established good relationships with white Muslims
- Drew attention to ghettos
- Inspired new generation of black leaders like Stokley Carmichael and Core's Floyd McKissick
- Some argument over whether change was genuine or to recreate public image
- Controversial memory- Thurgood Marshall described NOI as 'run by a bunch of thugs' NOI accused of not putting their lives on the line like MLK had, did not establish organisations like the NAACP or SCLC
- Assassinated 1965 on stage by NOI

Radicalisation of African-Americans

- MLK switches focuses to North after 1965- but there was a lack of focus
- Chicago campaign - failure only gets 30,000 supporters (not the 100,000 hoped for), white backlash, charged \$2m for fire hydrant opened to cool locals, MLKs ghetto accommodation quickly refurbished to prevent media attention
- Ghettos- only 32% of ghetto pupils finish high school compared to 56% of white children
- Chicago ghetto- 50-70% black youth unemployment
- 46% of unemployed Americans were black
- SNCC and CORE became disillusioned with slow progress, excluded whites in the late 1960s, and declared non-violence inappropriate if black people needed to defend themselves.
- 1966 James Meredith first black student at Uni. of Mississippi 200 mile walk from Memphis to Jackson- shot on second day- SCLC and SNCC go on the 'March against Fear' - 15,000 marchers in total
- Stokley Carmichael - new leader of SNCC demanded 'black power'- failings of national gov. which outshone SCLC 'freedom now'
- Divisions in CRM
- Poor People's Campaign in Washington poorly planned
- **MLK assassinated Apr 1968 after giving speech to striking sanitation workers in Memphis**

Urban riots

- 'Long hot summers' 1964-1968- every city outside of the south
- 1st major riot in Watts, LA, 1965-> 34 deaths, 1000 injuries, 3500 rioters and looters arrested, \$40m damage to majority white owned businesses

- Poverty (8% white, 30% black), substandard housing (18% white, 50% non-white)
- Poor Americans down from 39m to 33m but % of poor AAs increased from 28-31%
- Black unemployment 2x white- but 80% of those arrested had well-paid jobs - > housing root cause
- Angered Johnson who felt he had done enough
- Whites did not want to pay more in taxes for 'handouts' to blacks in ghettos and believed black neighbours would drive down house prices and the quality of education

Kerner Commission 1967-8

- 12 reasons for rioting from interviews
- Blamed white racism in starting riots (40% of riots involved alleged police discrimination/abuse)
- Other interpretations: Great Society promised too much, assassination of MLK, huge changes in South but nothing in North, FBI blamed ghettos, hot weather, communists, Johnson blamed poverty and despair.

Black Power

- Differing interpretations (NOI/SNCC/MLK/Conservative Blacks) - but emphasis on black pride and black culture-> Black=Beautiful, James Brown' Say it loud, I'm black and proud' 1968

Black Panthers

- Black Panther Party for Self Defence established in California in 1966 by Huey Newton (24) and Bobby Seale (30)
- Black paramilitary uniform
- Radical manifesto including compensation to AAs for slavery, freedom for AAs, black juries for black people, black exemption from military service, end to police brutality and ghettoization
- 5000 members on West Coast- won respect in ghettos
- 1968 Mexico Olympics Tommy Smith and John Carlos after winning 1st and 3rd in 200m race adopted black power gesture- were banned from Olympics
- self-help, set up clinics for health, welfare and legal rights, ran lessons, provided childcare for working mothers, Free Breakfast programme 1700 meals weekly, free food
- Followed police cars in ghettos armed to prevent police brutality,
- Petty theft, sought confrontation, advocated killing of police
- Targeted and destroyed by police and FBI 1967-9
- 1970 poll 64% Black Americans took pride in Black Panthers
- Movement was ill defined, Newton's biographer defined them as a 'temporary media phenomenon', loss of liberal white funding, female supporters turned to feminism

Social Divisions and Protest

- 1960s decade of change

Education and Youth

- Driven by: increasing student population(1941-average leaving age 13-14, 1970 average leaving age 18)-> ability to express themselves in the

language of the ruling class, JFK's 'New Frontier', CRM, resentment of patronising college authorities

- Access to new music from British invasion-> Rolling Stones, The Beatles and The Who- drug taking and sexuality
- Port Huron Statement from Tom Hayden and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) 1962- discontent with national gov.
- 1968 221 major demonstrations at universities- but only 12% of students identified themselves as part of the New Left
- Berkley Protest - Mario Savio wanted to raise \$ for SNCC, not allowed, thousands of Berkley students occupied administration building- 800 arrests. Students supported by teaching staff. 'You can't trust anyone over 30' - sparked nationwide student protest
- Anti-War Movement - Student Peace Union had 3000 members by 1962, tens of thousands joined in response to Vietnam war due to: fear of draft, belief in self-determination for Vietnam, opposition to bombing of civilians. 1st notable protest - 1000 Yale students in 1964 protest in NY
20,000 Berkeley teach-ins
Largest protest - stages by SDS in Washington 25,000 joined in (1965), 100,000 in Washington in 1967
- Growing anti-war violence- 'Stop the Draft' week-draft cards burnt-> congress making it a criminal offence, 1966 Muhammed Ali refused draft Norman Morrison 32 yr. old Quaker and father of 3 burned himself to death outside McNamara's office in 1965
Violent protests (on both sides) against Reserve Officer Training Corps and Draft headquarters
- Columbia University Protests 1968
Students opposed university's weapons research and eviction of Harlem population (mainly black and Hispanic) for expansion- building of a gym with separate door for Harlem population led to 'Gym Crow'
1000s protested- seized and vandalised university buildings, defence contracts and gym abandoned, 692 arrests

Arguably little achieved except from persuading LBJ to halt escalation and Nixon to end the war. Led to LBJ refusing to run in 1968. Protesters promoted violence, offered little that was constructive, lacked focus (environment 'silent spring', CRM...) - led to conservative reaction-> Nixon's victory in 1968

Counterculture

- Disagreement over definition: Protest against dominant culture, feminism, hippies, anti-war activists, black panthers- though mainly defined as hippies
- Hippies rejected US culture of materialism, individualism, competitiveness
- Promoted communal living and harmony

- San Francisco Haight-Ashbury area became popular destination (100,000 hippies)- use of cannabis, concerts, new names and long hair
- Human Be-In Golden Gate park 1967- march to celebrate freedom, communal living and the environment
- 'Summer of Love' - Time Magazine estimated 300,000 hippies
- Woodstock 1969- 400,000 attendees, 'make love not war'
- Faded by 1970s - triggered conservative reaction drew attention to health foods, religion, environmentalism and liberal attitudes towards sex and drugs

Feminism

- **1966 Friedan formed National Organisation for Women (NOW) in response to EEOC refusing to enforce ban on discrimination in employment on the basis of sex**
- **NOW wanted an Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution**
- **Tactics: litigation, political pressure, public information campaigns, protests**
- Early-mid 1960s Women's rights movements sought equal rights and opportunities in work
- Late 1960s Publicising and opposition sexist oppression and cultural practices that objectified women
- New feminists: Firestone, Atkinson and Freeman (who produced a newsletter Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement-> women's liberation groups nationwide)
- Conscious-raising - 1960 ¼ of women felt discriminated against, by 1970 this reached 2/3
- Firestone and Atkinson set up New York Radical Feminists and The Feminists in New York who were more radical focusing on the subordination of men by women and the inequality of the sexual revolution which had given men more freedom than women
- Valerie Solanos founded the Society for Cutting Up Men (SCUM)- attempted to assassinate Andy Warhol
- WITCH - Women's International Conspiracy from Hell - hex of Manhattan banks, hosting bridal fair chanting 'here come the slaves/ off to their graves'
- Germaine Greer and Erica Jong- academic side to movement also discussed misogyny

Reasons for division in movement:

- Over 100 feminists disrupted the swim suit parade at the Miss America beauty pageant in Atlantic City 1968 with stink bombs, crowning a live sheep Miss America and throwing objects of oppression such as bras, girdles, curlers, false eyelashes etc. into a freedom trash can
- Abortion
- Radicalesbians and other breakaway groups who felt there was a lack of support from NOW
- Domination of feminist movement by white middle class

Key achievements

- Outlasted most 1960s protest movements
- 1967 Executive order from LBJ banning federal contractors from gender discrimination
- NOW monitored enforcement winning \$13m compensation for women by 1971.

Sexual Liberation

- Change in attitudes-> sexual revolution
- Increase in premarital sex, abortions and extramarital relations
- 74% of women in 1969 believed premarital sex was wrong, 53% in 1973
- Playboy first published 1953- increasingly on open shelves
- Pace of change sped up with the pill
- Long standing conservatism - 1965 Supreme Court ruled married couples could not be refused contraception, 1974 doctors could no longer refuse birth control to unmarried adults for 'moral reasons', abortion illegal until 1973 - backstreet abortions (early 1960s one Chicago hospital treated over 5000 women for abortion related complications), some worried by 'permissive' society

Role of the Media

By 1968 24% of households had a colour TV- made events more sensational

- Coverage of CRM helped progress - e.g. 'Bloody Sunday'-> Voting Rights Act
- BUT media coverage of riots reduced support
- **Disproportionate coverage** of Black Panthers and Hippies-> backlash amongst socially conservative (e.g. 1967 diggers of San Francisco proclaimed 'Death of the Hippie')

NIXON REVISION GUIDE

Summary: Most hated president in history -> prolongation of Vietnam and Watergate. Though had some successes in foreign policy and helped the disadvantaged despite rhetoric

1968 Election

Reasons for Nixon's Victory

1. Divisions within Democrat Party
 - Plot against Johnson
 - In 1967 Democrats sought to challenge Johnson's nominations for president
 - Robert 'Bobby' Kennedy encouraged to run
 - Eugene McCarthy (**not** in any way to do with McCarthyism) decides to run against Johnson.
 - In primary vote in New Hampshire: Johnson 49%, McCarthy 42%-> unprecedentedly low percentage for incumbent president-> R. Kennedy running
 - Johnson's pulls out of next election
 - Robert Kennedy

- Robert Kennedy (JFK's younger brother)-? Glamour of JFK legacy
 - Became popular with the less privileged - Native Americans, Mexicans, NAACP, AAs living in ghettos for his visits and emotive speeches - e.g. Visited Indianapolis ghetto in April 1968 against advise to speak about MLK's assassination.
 - Kennedy Vs McCarthy
 - McCarthy cold compared to Kennedy
 - McCarthy did not appeal to minorities or poor, only to middle class.
 - Press+ public pro-Kennedy- often drew large crowds.
 - Democrat party infuriated with Kennedy for not challenging Johnson fears he would split vote.
 - Humphrey's pro-Vietnam stance
 - Kennedy assassinated in 1968 after winning primaries by a Palestinian who claimed Kennedy was too pro-Israel.
2. Impact of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago 1968
- Youth International Party (members called Yippies) called for young people to show discontent for American politics by disrupting convention
 - 10,000 protestors (anti-war+ yippie)
 - Chicago Democratic Mayor- Richard Daley sent 12,000 police
 - Violence on both sides- Daley accused of 'Gestapo tactics' by a Democrat senator
 - Lost democrats support because: shows how violence had increased under Johnson, Daley's violence had hit the headlines, lost Democrat support for Humphrey's pro-Vietnam campaign
3. Nixon's campaign and promises
- Winning the Republican nomination
 - Lost to Kennedy in 1960.
 - Lost gubernational election in California -> retired from politics
 - In retirement Nixon on over party loyalists through fundraising and loyalty
 - 1964 election Republican Barry Goldwater crushed by Johnson-> needed new leadership.
 - Anti-communist and moderate views
 - Experience as VP
 - Attacks on Johnson's leadership
 - Winning Middle America
 - Middle America = \$5,000-\$15,000 a year (not poor but certainly not wealthy), 55% of population, lost patience with rioters, 'handouts', and federal gov. for heavy taxation, children sent to Vietnam, increased borrowing and cost of living= difficult to maintain standard of living.
 - Named 'the Silent Majority' by Nixon.
- Promises and Policies
 - Bring peace with honour in Vietnam
 - Restore law and order
 - Less and cheaper gov.
 - Southern Strategy and the Sun Belt
 - Nixon had a Californian background
 - Sunbelt (North West Coast)-growing industry
 - Nixon appealed to Sun Belt by: rejecting policy of cutting federal funds to schools who refused to desegregate, New Federalism (giving more power and money directly to states), Nixon was socially conservative.
 - Nixon's Campaign
 - Stayed tanned.
 - Only spoke in large audiences or through television-> dignified appearance, didn't need to go everywhere to be known.
 - Mastered media presentation.
 - Eisenhower's Support
 - Married daughter (Julie) to Eisenhower's grandson (David) - announced in 1967-> big boost for campaign.
 - David got Eisenhower to endorse Nixon.
 - Julie big asset to Nixon's campaign.
- Election Results**
- Close and nasty
 - Nixon won on electoral college comfortable (tactical win)
 - Popular votes Nixon 43.4%, Humphrey 42.7%
 - Lowest winning margin since 1912
 - George Wallace as an independent candidate (splintered from democrat party) had on 13.5%
 - Low turnout under 60% meant Nixon only had support from 27% of population
 - Demonstrates conservative backlash
- The personalities of the Nixon administration**
- Kissinger- National Security Advisor Specialist in international relations (Harvard Uni. prof.)
Once said 'power is the ultimate aphrodisiac'
 - Rogers - SoS, inexperienced
 - Haldeman - ran campaign and was chief of staff

- Ehrlichman - domestic affairs advisor (Haldeman and Ehrlichman controlled access to Nixon + were blamed for Watergate by Nixon)
- John Mitchell
Lawyer- managed presidential campaign
Authorised wiretaps without court authorisation
Tried to block publication of Pentagon Papers (which revealed escalation of war in Vietnam)
Headed CREEP (Committee to Re-Elect the President)

Domestic Policies

Main issues: social problems, protest movement, economy
Campaign attacked expense of Great Society
BUT- democrat control of congress + moderate views ->
Great Society remained intact

- **Welfare and anti-poverty**
 - 84% believed too many were receiving welfare money
 - Great Society' AFDC-> benefitting 3m families in 1960-> 8.4m by 1970
 - 1 in 9 (1 in 3 black) children on welfare
 - Nixon shrank OEO, cut funding for housing and youth programmes, closed 59 job corps centres
 - Nixon attempted to reform welfare system through Family Assistance Plan (FAP) but congress rejected it
 - Nixon vetoed 1971 Child Development Act (free childcare to poor mothers)
 - Nixon actually increased spending on healthcare, Social Security, Medicare and Medicaid (spent more than Johnson!)
- **Racial Equality**
 - Middle America wanted Nixon to be conservative
 - 1971 and 1973 Supreme Court rulings -> busing (particularly in North)
 - American disapproved of policy 8:1
 - Congress rejects Nixon's appeal for a constitutional amendment to end busing
 - Nixon appoints conservative justices (incl. Warren Burger)->Milliken vs Bradley-> halted busing in Detroit in 1974
- **Law and Order**
 - Nixon + Middle American believed violence and crime had escalated due to 'soft' liberals.
 - Miranda ruling 1966 - meant improperly obtained confessions were excluded from trials-> seen as criminal given more rights than victim
 - Increase in crime and violence: 1969- 62 bombings or attempted bombings, 1970 1577 bombings of attempted bombing
 - Nixon administration dealt harshly with radicals: Chicago 8 (New Left leaders charged with conspiracy at Democrat National Convention- incl. Hayden of SDS), 5 convicted but were successfully appealed, 28 Black Panthers killed, 100s imprisoned 1969
- **Affirmative Action**

- Disliked by Nixon- but in practice put pressure on federal contractors to employ minorities (gap between promises +reality)

Reaction to protest movements

- 1st inauguration marred by protest
- 84% of Americans believed student demonstrators treated too leniently
- Oct-Nov 1969- Moratorium (suspension of normal activities for protest)- tens of thousands marched in every major city-> violence and destruction
- Protests erupted after Nixon extended war into Cambodia
- Celebrities involved including John Lennon and Yoko Ono 'bed-in' + Lennon's Give Peace a Chance record. Others included Phil Ochs, Joni Mitchell, Bob Dylan, Noam Chomsky, Muhammed Ali and Jimi Hendrix
- Kent State and Jackson State
 - Most famous police/protestor clash
 - Kent State students rioted, firebombed ROTC building then had peaceful rally
 - National Guard shot 4, 2 of whom were only walking to class
 - Following week 2 killed and 12 wounded at predominantly black Jackson State
 - Reactions mixed: some viewed as deliberate murder, some blamed students (over half the population), Nixon refused to express sorrow for "bums"
- How Nixon dealt with protestors
 - Did not handle Kent/ Jackson State well
 - Attempts to communicate with protest movement unsuccessful- even invited some to the White House
 - Defied protestors whilst campaigning
 - Discredited protestors by no differentiating between peaceful and violent groups
- Nixon's success against protestors
 - Well-timed troop withdrawals
 - Adjusted draft in 1972- removed students over 20yrs and removed draft in 1973
 - Threatened to end scholarships and loans for convict
 - Surveillance
 - Too protestors to court(litigation)- Spring 1970 10,000 arrests-> used up protestors time and money
- Divisions among radicals
 - Nixon's successes against protestors
 - Lack of success for New Left
 - Divide over peaceful/violent tactics

Economic Change and the End of the Post-War Boom

- Nixon inherited: Large deficit, inflation 4.7% (high), declining productivity and competition from Japan and Germany. BUT a booming economy from Kennedy and Johnson- unemployment 3.3%
- For inflation: Nixon cut federal spending but hit record deficits

- By 1971 - high inflation and rising trade deficit weakened dollar
- New Economic Policy (NEP) Aug 1971 froze wages, prices and devalued the dollar to make US exports more competitive (75% approval rating)- did not solve underlying problems
- The Great Inflation 1973
- Lost focus because of Watergate
- Energy Crisis - from WW2 USA had gone from self-sufficiency to dependency
6% of world's population but 1/3 of world's oil production
30% of oil imported from Middle East
Nixon supports Israel in Arab-Israeli (Yom Kippur) War led OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to introduce oil embargo-> 387% increase in oil prices damaged business and standard of living-> reduced confidence in nation's economy

Business

- Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)
- Environment Protection Agency (EPA)
- National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration NOAA
- 1972 Noise Control Act
- 1972 Marine Mammal Protection Act
- 1973 Endangered Species Act
- 1974 Safe Water Drinking Act
- Imposed bureaucracy on business to curry favour with environmentalists. Acts did not go far enough.

Re-election in 1972

Re-elected for Foreign policy, Middle America and Democrat problems

- Foreign Policy Triumphs
 - SALT I
 - Improved relations with China
 - Withdrawal of troops from Vietnam
- Democrat Problems
 - Democratic National Convention 1968 had divided Democrats
 - McGovern (very left-wing)- 'counterculture candidate' wanted to legalise marijuana and abortion, pardon Vietnam war deserters and draft dodgers, cut defence spending, redistribute income and reduce poverty-> Republicans play on conservative fears
- Election Results
 - Unpleasant campaign- McGovern likens Nixon to Hitler, Nixon organises break in at Democratic campaign headquarters
 - Nixon wins with landslide 60.7% of popular vote- with every state except Massachusetts, 1st Republican to gain Catholic vote, working class vote, increase in Southern support from 38% in 1968 to 72% in 1972
 - McGovern rejected because opposition to Vietnam war and defence spending

- BUT- democrats still in control of congress-> big problems in 2nd term

Foreign Policy

- Kissinger and Nixon had experience but no regard for moral considerations (realpolitik)- not worried by bombing of Vietnam or actions in S. America
- Did not get support from congress due to secrecy
- Kissinger wins Nobel Peace Prize for peace negotiations in Paris-> Nixon furious
- Wanted détente to: help ensure re-election, ensure ideology did not dominate foreign policy, bipolar to multipolar world, US needed new friends, to get peace with Vietnam

Vietnam and Cambodia

- Nixon cold warrior but wants to end war because of decreased communist threat, wants rep. as a peacemaker, Vietnam had ruined Johnson
- Wanted 'peace with honour'
- William Fullbright (senator) sustained opposition
- Nixon Doctrine/ Vietnamization -> hand over war to S.Vietnam under leadership of Nguyen Van Thieu (President 1965-1975).
Achieved through- pressure via China and Soviets, Vietnamization put military pressure on N.Vietnam
- 1969
 - Bombing of Ho Chi Minh trail
 - Failed peace talks with N.Vietnam due to presence of troops in S.Vietnam
 - Troop withdrawals
 - Millions protest 1969 'Moratorium'
 - Exposure of My Lai- massacre of inhabitants by US soldiers in 1968 divided Americans
- 1970
 - Bombing of N.Vietnam anti-aircraft bases and Ho Chi Minh trail in Vietnam and Cambodia
 - Sent 30,000 S.Vietnamese and American soldiers into Cambodia-> protests
 - Congress threaten to cut funding due to Nixon taking too much power
- 1971
 - Lam Son Offensive in Laos - 5,000 S.Vietnamese troops (test of Vietnamization). Humiliating defeat- fleeing soldiers clinging onto helicopter skids-> more protests
 - Failed negotiations with N.Vietnam despite concessions made regarding troops
 - Pressure from China and Soviets on N.Vietnam
- 1972
 - Large communist offensive->bombing of Hanoi and port of Haiphong' madman theory'- seeking negotiations and bombing at same time
 - Congress threatens to cut off money
 - 55% of population support bombing
 - N.Vietnam pressured into peace talks in Paris

- Concessions made on both sides, National Committee of Reconciliation (CNR) set up (1/3 N.Vietnam, 1/3 S.Vietnam, 1/3 neutral) recognition of communists as legitimate force, Nixon backed out and Thieu opposed agreement
- After re-election Nixon bombs Haiphong over Christmas to reassure Thieu- 'madman theory'
- Paris Peace Accords
 - Basically the same that had been agreed in 1972
 - Ceasefire, POW exchange, N.Vietnam forces could stay but not increase in S.Vietnam, CNR, S.Vietnam continues to exist under Thieu
 - Secretly promised billions of aid to N.Vietnam

USSR

- Nixon and Kissinger concerned about Soviet nuclear parity, stability of Europe and increasing Soviet power
- Hoped détente would be the new containment-> slowing down arms race-> less spending on weapons-> help US economy
- Soviet leader Brezhnev wants to stabilise Europe and get US tech and agricultural expertise
- Nixon inauguration 'era of negotiations' with Soviets
- Four Power Agreement (USA, USSR, GB +FR) 1971 recognises Western access rights to W.Berlin
- Basic Treaty 1972 (W.Germany +E.Germany) recognition of each other's frontiers and validity
- Both treaties demonstrate acceptance of status quo
- SALT 1 May 1972
 - Ended race over defensive anti-ballistic missile systems
 - Froze no. of nuclear missiles and strategic missiles
 - Soon criticised after Soviets carried out nuclear missile tests less than a year later
- Significance of Soviet-American détente
 - Put pressure on N.Vietnam
 - Increased stability-> Nixon re-elected
 - However
 - Arab-Israeli war put pressure on détente (both countries supported opposite sides)
 - Egypt and Syria attack Israel in 1973->Israeli counterattack->Egypt call for Soviet help-> Soviets mobilise-> US put nuclear strike forces on alert->US resolve issue excluding Soviets

Latin America

- Supported authoritarian national governments to protect US interests
- Chile
 - 1970 socialist Salvador Allende may win elections
 - Nixon and Kissinger fear this may lead to nationalisation of US industry

- CIA granted \$10m to prevent or unseat Allende
- Allende elected-> Nixon wants to destabilise-> America stops all aid and loans from World Bank and International American Development Bank
- CIA funds media criticisms of Allende, opposition and strikes
- 1973 Augusto Pinochet leads bloody coup, Allende 'commits suicide'
- Church Committee 1975 concludes Nixon had played role in stimulating coup
- Operation Condor
 - Pinochet uses Condor (communal intelligence system used by dictators in Southern Latin America) to get rid of opposition
 - Condor ends in 1983- responsible for 50,000 deaths, large scale torture and disappearance of thousands
 - Still to be confirmed- but Nixon definitely knew of Condor and encouraged and funded it.

China

- Relations were hostile
- Nixon and Kissinger pursue détente
- Mao Zedong (leader of China) sees Soviets as enemies wants to counter them through détente with US
- Nixon relaxes trade restrictions with China
- 'Ping-pong' diplomacy - Chinese invited USA table tennis tables to China
- Nixon visits China 1972
- China puts pressure on N.Vietnam to agree to peace
- HOWEVER- tensions continue over US relations with Taiwan

Watergate

Summary

1. Nixon anxious about election
2. CREEP established
3. Break in discovered at Watergate
4. Nixon administration attempted cover-up
5. Burglars convicted
6. Senate investigated Nixon+team
7. Tapes reveal Nixon ordered cover-up
8. House moved on impeachment
9. Nixon resigns to avoid impeachment
10. Nixon is pardoned by Ford

Conspirators

- Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Mitchell were cynics
- Members of CREEP including: Jeb Magrauder, James McCord, Charles Colson, Gordon Liddy - all had close links to Nixon and the White House
- Gordon Liddy and Howard Hunt worked in White House - both were 'plumbers' (stopped leaks of information)
- John Dean gave Nixon legal advice over Watergate

CREEP

- Main purpose to re-elect president
- Main problem: Vietnam war

- Actions-> illegal fundraising (\$60m), discredited Democrats, surveillance

CREEP, Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers

- Nixon wanted to keep secrets about Vietnam
- Ordered FBI to wiretap 11 offices incl. SoS
- Nixon believed that his actions were not illegal
- White House Special Investigation Unit 1971 'plumbers' appointed after Ellsberg leaks Pentagon Papers
- Pentagon Papers made Democrat Presidents look bad over Vietnam- but Kissinger convinces Nixon it is important to keep secret
- Nixon seeks to discredit Ellsberg but FBI refuse to tap phone, 'plumbers' sent to do task
- 3 Sept. 1971 'Plumbers' break into Ellsberg's Psychiatrist's office to find evidence to discredit him- found nothing. Hunt takes pic of Liddy on 'borrowed' camera and camera is returned to CIA with photo still on it
- Unknown if Nixon knew about this

CREEP and Watergate break-ins

- CREEP organises break-in at DNC in Watergate 17th June 1972
- Break in discovered by security
- McCord+5 Cuban-Americans arrested at scene, Liddy and Hunt arrested in building opposite with walkie-talkies coordinating burglary
- Nixon unworried initially

Reasons for break-in

- Nixon deeply cynical about politics - robbed of presidency in 1960 because of dubious electoral practices in Chicago, suffered under Kennedy (had been subject to an IRS investigation), phone bugged
- Expose Democrat links to radical groups
- Obtain list of DNC prostitutes and expose DNC use of prostitution ring
- Information on Nixon's involvement with Castro's assassination and dealings with billionaire Howard Hughes
- Get Nixon an advantage over Democrat front-runner Edmund Muskie in 1972 polls

Did Nixon know?

- Still controversial issue- but definitely was involved in cover-up

Getting caught

- FBI traced laundered money found on 'plumbers' to CREEP
- Nixon and Haldeman discuss using CIA to stop FBI (obstruction of justice)
- Nixon pays \$430,000 to burglars to keep quiet (obstruction of justice)
- Burglars convicted in Jan 1973 ranged from 20-40 years
- Press worked hard to uncover plot
- 300 hours of TV devoted to hearings
- 'Deep Throat' (identity revealed in 2005 to be Mark Felt) administration leaker who famously passed on stories to Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein (Washington Post Reporters)

Role of Congress

- Watergate Committee (Select Committee of Presidential Campaign Activities) chaired by Democrat senator Sam Ervin Feb 1973
- Some burglars now willing to talk-> 37 days of hearings
- John Mitchell admits to meeting with burglars 3 days before
- John Dean fired, Haldeman and Ehrlichman resigned -> Nixon blamed them for cover up.
- Dean testifies Nixon was involved by Haldeman Ehrlichman and Mitchell deny this.
- Details of Ellsberg case revealed
- White House aide reveals highly secret White House taping system- Nixon's own family did not know
- May 1973 Congress forces Nixon to appoint special prosecutor- Harvard law professor Archibald Cox- Democrat and Kennedy family friend
- Cox concentrated on getting tapes
- Nixon sacks Cox in Oct.
- Nixon's approval ratings down to 17%
- Nixon forced to name Leon Jaworski as special prosecutor in Oct for impeachment investigation
- Nixon releases 7 White House tapes
- In same month, Agnew resigns for bribery and tax evasion
- Nixon's finances come under scrutiny - \$1.1m income but only \$80k in taxes, home improvements funded by public purse
- Nixon under strain-> many commented on his stability

Issues with tapes

- One tape surrendered contained 18.5 min gap in a Nixon-Haldeman conversation. Secretary said it as her error.
- Experts said tape had been tampered with
- Nixon refuses to admit existence of other tapes

Indictments and more tapes

- March 1974- 7 of Nixon's aides indicted for cover-up
- President named as co-conspirator
- Nixon surrenders edited transcripts of other tapes- other than swearing nothing found
- Jaworski wants actual tapes-> *United States Vs Richard M. Nixon* July 1974 tapes must be released, one tape called the 'smoking gun' proved Nixon had ordered cover-up
- House Judiciary Meeting approve 3 articles of impeachment: abuse of congress (ignoring demands [subpoenas] for tapes), misuse of gov. agencies and obstruction of justice
- 75% of Americans believed Nixon was guilty, 66% favoured impeachment

Abuse of Congress

- Nixon was uncooperative (tapes) but also:
- Delayed, ignored (27 times) and evaded requests for info on executive actions
- Circumvented congressional power through appointment of directors of gov. agencies
- Impounded money congress had allocated to spend (only wanted to spend about 25% of what congress had allocated)- mixed views on whether this was ok

- Accused congress of discrediting fed. Gov. by opposing his programmes.
- Aid of Gerald Ford 'Nixon couldn't hide his disdain for the Congress and he treated some individuals in Congress very badly'
- Explanations for behaviour: Exception strain of his presidency (threats even made against Nixon's daughter), only President to get caught (Kennedy and Johnson had wiretapped), Democrat majority in congress -> 'us versus them' mentality, Nixon's methods were commonplace, hostility of the press

Resignation of President

- If Nixon resigned he would get \$60k pension, \$100k staff expenses
- If Nixon was impeached he'd lose this and have to pay legal fees and \$500k for unpaid taxes + would face criminal hearings
- House Judiciary Committee promises Nixon on 6 Aug 1973 he would face no further charges if he resigned
- Nixon also lost Republican support- could not guarantee that 2/3 of congress would not vote for him to face impeachment

Nixon's Political Legacy

- 1st President to resign in office
- Legacy: Damage to gov., Republican party and the presidency
 1. Damage to gov.
 - Popular distrust of gov.
 - Press believed role in exposing cover-up made them guardians of democracy
 - Inspired investigative reporting
 - Decreased electoral turnout in 1970s
 2. Damage to Republican Party
 - Suffered in 1974 congressional elections
 - 4 republicans on House Judiciary Committee who voted against impeachment lost seats
 - Many Republicans blamed moderate policies-> shift to right
 - Ford's decision to pardon Nixon lost him 1976 elections
 3. Damaged presidency
 - Congress enacted several laws to limit presidential power
 - Nixon chose Gerald Ford as VP after Agnew's resignation.
 - Ford becomes president after Nixon's resignation declaring 'our long national nightmare is over'
 - Decision to pardon Nixon led approval rating to drop from 71% to 49% as it allowed Nixon to escape criminal prosecution

Why did Ford pardon Nixon?

- End American tragedy
- Trial of former president would degrade presidency
- Difficult to find unbiased jury for Nixon's court case

- Trial would take a long time
- Did not want to set precedent for prosecuting a president
- Christian to show mercy
- Worries over Nixon's mental health
- Resignation from office was admission of guilt
- Ford wanted to protect Republican party in 1976 elections
- Alleged deal of pardon for presidency

THE USA AFTER NIXON REVISION GUIDE

Summary: Vietnam War in decline, deteriorating economy, disappointing presidents

Ford and Carter as Presidents

Both wanted to differentiate and distance themselves from Nixon and his 'imperial presidency' but were unlucky in that:

- Economic problems
- International Crises
- Congressional determination to limit president's power
- Decreased respect for presidency
- Increased social divisions

Gerald Ford President 1974-1976

- President incumbent after Nixon resigns
- Respected and popular congressman 1948-73
- 'Ford not a Lincoln'-relatable character unlike Nixon
- Loses support after pardoning Nixon
- Victim of disrespectful media coverage- playing football too often, falling own stairs (once shown 11 times in one newscast)

Jimmy Carter President 1976-1980

- Rejected formality
- From Georgia

Response to social divisions

- Ford: clemency for draft dodgers-> criticism on both sides
- By 1970s 2/3 of college students agreed that 'the idea that a woman's place is in the home is nonsense'
- More women entering high status professions but: women only earned 73% of male salaries, and were 66% of those classified as poor
- Women wanted to achieve an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution which would guarantee equal rights but failed to get support from 75% of states
 - Reasons for failure:
 - Opponents said it would lead to break down of nuclear family, women in combat, unisex toilets and gay marriage.
 - Catholic lawyer Phyllis Schlafly 'Sweetheart of Silent Majority' - opponent of women's rights and abortions and established stop ERA organisation in 1972- conservative states agreed with her
 - Although Betty Ford championed ERA, husband did not help

- Carter more open to women's rights- appointed 2 female cabinet members, supported ERA but let his wife speak for him and opposed funding for abortion except in the case of rape, incest or endangerment of the mother's life

Abortion

- Before 1973 - a crime in 30 states, legal in 20 states in the case of rape, incest or endangerment of the mother's life
- In states where it was a crime-> backstreet abortions
- By 1960s some safe abortions by sympathetic doctors
- Feminists believed right to abortion meant that they could own their own flesh
- 1971 National Abortion Rights Action League lobbied state legislators for abortion rights
- **Roe vs Wade 1973 - Abortion legalised in first 13 weeks** - Case of Texas woman who did not want to bring a child into poverty- both presidents stayed quiet

Conservative backlash

- National Right to Life Committee 1967 - Catholic organisation opposed Roe vs Wade
- Fundraising, protests campaigned in courts and elections
- 1979 Concerned for Women America (CWA) founded by housewife and author Beverly LaHaye- fought against ERA and abortion and for tradition - 500,000 members by mid 1980s
- Conservatism associated with Republicans- 1976 Republican successfully banned use of federal funds for abortion
- Social conservatism revitalised Republican party support

Poverty

- 1978 Senator Edward Kennedy (younger brother of JFK and Bobby Kennedy) "permanent underclass in our society"
- Ford believer in self-help -> no impact on welfare or poverty
- Carter expected to do more but:
 - Could not balance budget with growing elderly population who needed Social Security to pay out
 - 'White flight'-> ghettoization
 - Public did not want to subsidise poor
 - Economic recession 1973-5-> growing poverty rose from 11.2% in 1974 to 12.5% in 1976 (50% of all black female head of household were in poverty). USA suffered another recession.
- Carter allocated \$4b for public works in 1977 increased federal aid to poor
- No. of homeless Americans up - total number from 200k to 1m due to:
 - Number of institutions of mentally ill decreased
 - 'Skid row' hotels demolished
 - Rising unemployment
 - Increase in no. of single mothers

- Increased use of crack cocaine -> users could not afford accommodation
- AAs disproportionate no. of poor

African-Americans

- By 1970s 35-45% of AAs classified as middle class
- AAs in congress: 1959 (4) - 1980 (18)
- AA mayors 1960 (0)- 1970- many
- % of black families earning over \$10k- 1947 (3%) 1960 (13%) 1971 (31%)
- However
- Black youth unemployment 50%
- 'White flight'
- 50% of black teenagers in NYC dropped out of high school
- Black child 2x as likely to die before the age of 1, drop out of school and 4x as likely to be murdered
- Liberals- integrated education is how to improve
- 1969 Supreme Court - segregated schools no longer permissible, segregated schools in south down from 68% to 8% but de facto segregation continued in North
 - Boston Public schools separate and unequal
 - 1965 25% of students AAs, 0.5% teachers
 - Educational material inferior and racist
 - June 1974 Federal Court found Boston guilty of segregation (NAACP)
 - Busing ordered, but authorities refused to comply
 - Anti-busing organisation Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR) encouraged by Ford disagreeing with order
 - 1st desegregated day - black parents greeted white children, but AAs were jeered at by parents and staff objects also thrown at pupils- 9 injured + 18 buses damaged.
 - Riots erupt Dec 1974- white student stabbed, white parents surrounded school black students had to escape through back
 - Sporadic violence continue- white students enrol at schools outside of Boston public schools
- Carter and Affirmative Action
 - One minority candidate considered for each cabinet post
 - AA Patricia Harris as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
 - Appointed more black federal judges than any other president
 - Made MLK's associate Andrew Young US ambassador to UN
 - Channelled gov. contracts to minority firms
 - Strengthened enforcement of voting rights
 - Made EEOC more effective
 - Supported 1977 Public Works Act- minority contractors get 10% of federal grants for public works
 - Socially divisive
 - Bakke Case - Allan Bakke 33 yr. old white male wanted to be medical student, claimed Uni. of California had rejected him due to affirmative action and had accepted minority

students with lower grades- changed nothing.

- AAs believed Carter was not committed to busing, the 1977 Community Reinvestment Act (assisted minorities), Humphrey Hawkins Bill (give minorities more opportunities), expansion of social welfare
- AAs suffered disproportionately during recession
- 1979 Washington DC +Baltimore- hundreds of black teenage AAs showed up for snow-shovelling jobs to be turned away as posts were filled-> looting, 1980 summer of violence since 1960s, in Florida an all-white jury acquitted 4 white policemen charged with beating a black salesman to death- three days of looting, shooting, arson and destruction occurred - \$100m damage

Political Corruption and the Loss of Self-Confidence

Ford's pardon of Nixon

- Damaged relations with congress
- Republicans blamed pardon for loss of 43 HoR seats in 1974
- Gerald Ford' Jerry the jerk'
- Republican Governor Ronald Reagan called Ford a 'caretaker' + challenged him for presidential nomination. Ford won but had been weakened.

1976 Presidential Election

- Low turnout - 54% (lowest since 1948)
- Carter 49.9%, Ford 47.9%
- ¾ of Americans did not believe in either candidate
- Half of the electorate continued to not vote during Carter's presidency -> disillusion

Reasons for Carter's victory

- Ford was seen as weak and had lost to Soviets
- Economic problems
- Reagan's divisive and exhausting challenge to Ford
- Ford's administration was corrupt (rumours of deal over Nixon's pardon, that Ford's golf friends received favours)
- Carter not seen as part of corrupt Washington scene

President Carter and corruption

- Promised to 'never tell a lie'
- Billygate - Carter's brother Billy who tried to develop business with Libya who gave him a 'loan' of \$220k (part of an FBI sting operation which fake wealthy Arabs would offer money for political favour). Media speculated on Carter's involvement but Carter was acquitted

ECONOMIC POLICY

- Expense of Vietnam war + Great Society increased deficit from \$1.6bn in 1965 to \$25.3bn in 1968-> inflation and weakened dollar
- Japan and Germany competing
- Balance of trade deficit (when the value of goods imported exceed the value of good exported)
- Americans could no longer afford to maintain consumer lifestyle
- Inflation and unemployment

- 1973-1980 - unprecedented inflation (double figures)
- Made mortgages, loans, food and energy more expensive - July 1974 prices +3.7%, 63% of Americans inflation is biggest concern
- Cost of living rose by 8.2% ('73-'83)
- Hardest hit: rust belt - traditional manufacturing areas of East coast + Midwest where old industries had declined
- Minimum wage failed to keep up with cost of living
- Unemployment 6.5% (Dec 1974) - 8.9% (May 1975)
 - Reasons for- mechanisation replaced jobs, Japan and Germany produced goods for less, difficult to find alternative jobs due to skills
 - Growth of service industry (60% of employment opportunities in 1970, 70% by 1980). Jobs low paid.

- Oil Crisis and the end of cheap energy
 - Cheap oil vital to post-war prosperity
 - Moved from self-sufficiency to energy deficit
 - 6% of world's population- 1/3 of world's oil production
 - 30% oil imported from Middle East- US vulnerable
 - Arab-Israeli War-> OPEC-> oil embargo on USA-> price hike 387%-> damage to US industry->1/3 of price rises due to oil
 - Seriousness of energy crisis:
 - 1974 100k truckers strike for lower fuel prices-> blocked roads and empty shelves
 - 1976-7 cold winter-> gas shortage forced closure of schools and factories, long queues at pumps and fuel stations cut hours to conserve supplies
 - Energy riots in Levittown when truckers barricaded expressways-> 100 injured, 170 arrested in 2 nights of violence
 - 1977 165,000 United Mine Workers 3 month strike-> coal shortage -> school closure and shorter working week
 - 1979 ½ USA's petrol stations without fuel

- Politicians and energy crisis
 - Congress did not increase taxes on fuel to cut consumption
 - Feeling USA was in decline

Foreign Policy

Final withdrawal from Vietnam

- Paris Peace Accords had no provision for communist resumption of war in Vietnam
- America had protected S.Vietnam through financial aid but congress cut aid by 50% in 1973 then again in 1974 (taxpayers thought \$150bn spent on Vietnam was a waste)
- Winter 1974-5 Communists started offensive against South
- Although US had said they would support Thieu congress and public did not support, Thieu fled on 21st April accusing USA of selling out- Ford put on a brave face
- Evacuate 6,000 US personnel in S.Vietnam with Vietnamese wives and children and in laws (40,000 in total). Ford arranged exodus- some via helicopters on the US embassy roof (embarrassing scenes). US navy rescued 32,000 boat people. Ford welcomed people to US but public did not.

Relations with USSR and China

China

- Carter recognises China as communist state
- This requires severing ties with Taiwan but Carter did attempt to resolve relations between China and Taiwan through the Taiwan Relations Act and creating an American Institute in Taiwan

USSR

Why Americans turned against détente

- Détente reminded Americans of Nixon (Kissinger said in 1976 détente was 'a word I would like to forget')
- Conservatives saw Helsinki Agreement as appeasement (1975- recognises boundaries of Europe, human rights record to public scrutiny, more trade and cooperation NATO and Warsaw Pact to have observers at each other's military exercises)
- USA thought Soviets had taken advantage of détente to build up arms and increase influence in African and Vietnam
- Americans dissatisfied with SALT I as Soviets had attained parity on multiple warheads

Why Soviets turned against détente

- Resented Carter's criticisms of USSR's human rights record
- Soviets resented not being included in Carter's Middle East Process(see next headings)
- USA too friendly with China (full diplomatic relations Jan 1979)
- Détente had not improved Soviet economy via decreased defence spending
- Helsinki Agreement-> unrest + criticisms of USSR
- Congress refused to ratify SALT II (to slow down arms race) which Carter and Brezhnev had agreed to in 1979

Responses to crisis in Middle East

- Pre-existing issues: oil weaknesses + creation of Arab enemies through support of Israel
- US supplies Israel with weapons through NATO bases in Western Europe-> oil embargo
- Japan and Western Europe increasingly pro-Arab
- Carter brilliant negotiator at Israeli-Egyptian détente at Camp David in 1978 - following Yom Kippur war Israel was occupying Egyptian territory -> historic agreement between leaders at Camp David both won Nobel Peace Prize (but not Carter)
- Iran and Afghanistan- 'Can Carter cope?'

Iran- biggest crisis

- 1978 Islamic fundamentalists led a revolution against pro-American + repressive Shah (leader)-> Shah flees
- Anti-US Iranians storm US embassy in Tehran for several hours-> U.S weak
- 4 Nov 1979 Iranian militants seize embassy again and take 60 US hostages in protest to Carter allowing Shah into USA for cancer treatment.
- Carter attempts to negotiate by stopping Americans buying Iranian oil and froze Iranian assets (approval ratings up to 61%)
- Carter attempts military rescue in 1981 - due to risky and complicated plan rescue is disaster
- Hostages finally released after Carter has left White House

Afghanistan

- Muslim state south of USSR
- 1979 pro-Soviet government weak and divided
- 27th Dec 1979 Soviets invade Afghanistan with 100,000 troops in support of moderate groups in government against Muslim guerrillas who oppose pro-Soviet gov.
- USSR intervened because they did not want anti-Soviet state on their northern border and did not want unrest spreading to Muslims in USSR
- USA sees move as expansionist- congress refuses to ratify SALT II, stopped exports to USSR, boycotted Moscow 1980 Olympics, increase US defence expenditure, pledged US intervention if Soviets threatened US oil interests in Persian Gulf

1979- 41% of Americans believed their country was in 'deep and serious trouble' by 1980 it was 64%. U.S. power appeared to be in decline.

African-Americans in the North and South

- Civil rights legislation had improved the social, political and economic status of AAs by 1980.
- Dream of equality still not yet achieved:
 - 1970, 31% of AAs (55% of whites) aged over 25 yrs. completed 4 or more years of high school (by 1980: 51% of AAs and 69% of whites)

- % of AAs in segregated schools from 68% to 8% during Nixon's presidency
- Political Status
 - Although more were appointed to government positions (see previous data)- only 1% of those elected in 1980 were black
 - Beer vs United States along with certain states had tried to encourage more black officials
 - However, City of Mobile vs Bolden said discriminatory effect had to be accompanied by discriminatory intent- made it harder to challenge status-quo
- Economic status
 - Gov. had focused on affirmative action + anti-discrimination measures in HE and employment
 - EEOC pressured to decrease discrimination in employment
 - By 1980 1/3 of AAs were middle class
 - However affirmative action led to a white back lash - e.g. federal judge's 1975 ruling against Detroit Police Department's 'last hired, first fired' rule which protected recently employed AA policemen led to police riots in which several white police officers attacked one AA officer.
 - 1980 median black household income was 60% of whites. White median household earnings increased AAs did not
 - AAs in poverty 33%
1/3 of black Americans had low-status jobs
 - Black life expectancy in 68.1, white 74.4 in 1980
 - AAs 12% of population but 43% of rapists, 55% of murderers, 69% of burglars
- De facto segregation harder to combat:
 - Swann vs. Mecklenburg 1971 -> full desegregation of schools + busing
 - Milliken v. Bradley 1974 -> white suburbs had no obligation to merge with black cities to facilitate integration
 - 1974 and 1975- anti-busing legislation
 - 1971 KKK bombed 10 buses in Michigan
 - Private school numbers rose (6% of population moved to suburbs in 1970s, Boston's public schools contained 45,000 whites in 1974 but only 16,000 by 1987)

- Greater presence of AAs in Hollywood- Sidney Poitier in Watermelon Man (story of a white man who wakes up black), and Richard Ward in Starsky and Hutch (black supervisor of white detectives)-
- Growth of Blaxploitation films - black actors for black audience
- Black History Month founded 1976
- Alex Haley publishes Roots (origins of a family from Africa through to slavery) -> TV series in 1977 which won nine Emmy awards.
- Breakthrough music artists: Barry White, Sly and the Family Stone, Stevie Wonder, Jackson 5
- 1979 Rappers Delight by Sugarhill Gang 1st successful hip hop selling 500,000 copies

Change and continuity in the New South

- Civil Rights changes had led to substantial changes
- By 1970s South led school desegregation
- Southern governors like Jimmy Carter no longer used racist rhetoric
- 1974 George Wallace claimed himself 'born again' apologised to Selma marchers
- Economic growth in South due to lower wages and less powerful unions
- Change in Atlanta
 - 1973-81 Maynard Jackson became Atlanta's and Georgia's first black mayor. Hired first affirmative action officer
 - Jesse Hill first black officer in Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, became its president in 1977
 - % of black employees in professional positions rose from 19.2% to 42.2% between 1973-83 (helped by EEOC)
 - Jackson increased % of contracts awarded to black firms by 25%
 - Jackson's grandfather 'eventually, and ultimately, most of our problems will be solved and settled at the ballot box'
 - **Continuity:** % of black officials not high enough- AAs 27% of voters in Georgia in 1980 only 3.7% of state officials
 - Only 5% of elected officials were black in South
 - 1/3 of Atlantans below poverty line in 1980
 - 1980 black unemployment 3x whites

The USA by 1980

- In 1945 USA was victorious, prosperous and moral
- By 1980 pride, confidence and strength had been somewhat tarnished

Position as a superpower

- ✗ USA humiliated by Vietnam
- ✗ Iranian hostage taking 1979
- ✗ Increasingly unfavourable perceptions of the USA abroad
- ✗ Seen as aggressive in the non-communist world due to Vietnam, and role in Latin America
- ✗ Soviets had gained nuclear and naval parity
- ✗ 1980 54% of Americans believed US position was only 'fair' or 'poor'

Cultural gains by Black Americans

- ✓ Still wealthiest and most powerful-> just less in the lead than in 1945

Economy

- ✗ Economic boom over due to: cost of Vietnam, energy crisis, foreign competition
- ✓ USA still world's most affluent society with a far higher GNP than rivals
 - Example - Car industry - Foreign competition from Japanese (cars were cheaper, used less fuel and well-made) by 1981 Japan had 23% of American car market. America slow to react- Chrysler lost billions gov. paid out \$1.5bn in a bailout. American companies moved abroad for cheaper labour.
 - Decline of manufacturing work, increased dependence on low-paid service industry AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organisation) called the USA 'a country of hamburger stands'

Social Change

Prior to 1960s

- 2/3 of society affluent
- Segregation - AAs under control
- Protests rare
- Gender inequality considered the norm

By 1980s

- ✓ Great Society had made poverty more visible
- ✓ More welfare (Social Security/ Free medical care programmes expanded)
- ✓ Civil Rights Act ended de jure segregation and disenfranchisement
- ✓ Growth of black middle class
- ✓ New attitudes to work, sex, family and freedom for women
- Divorce rate +40%
- Growth of religious right (against reproductive rights) which helped Reagan come to power
- ✗ Failed to solve inner-city ghettos
- ✗ Women remained inferior to men (62% of men's wages in 1980, few in high-status jobs, underrepresented in politics- 16 women in HoR, 0 in Senate)
- ✗ Efforts to solve de facto segregation had diminished by 1980
- ✗ Conservative + white backlash
- ✗ Right wing Republicans like Barry Goldwater aligned themselves with New Right who blamed

liberal agenda for 'moral decline' of the USA evidenced in the Jonestown Massacre 1978 (918 inhabitants in a commune set up by cult leader Jim Jones died of cyanide poisoning (mixed with Kool Aid by Jones) - single greatest loss of American civilian lives till 9/11). They also believed moral decline led to the murder of Harvey Milk- 1st openly gay person in public office -> martyr of homosexual community (although murder was not motivated by homophobic sentiments)

Reagan's Victory in 1980

Reasons for victory

- 'Can Carter cope?'
- Weakened by challenge from Edward Kennedy
- 18% rated Carter as a strong leader 1980
- Economic problems
- Poor turnout at voting (47% of voters didn't vote) due to disillusion with politics
- Ronald Reagan as broadcaster and film star was a good orator
- 'Won' TV debates with Carter- seemed warm and optimistic
- Support of social conservatives (New Right/ Religious Right) who rejected liberal social attitudes of the 1980s, Reagan wanted a return to 'traditional family values' (despite being his divorce in 1952, supported the school prayer (ruled against by S C in 1952- but Reagan did not go to church), claimed he was an evangelical Christian- there were 5m at the time

Results and Significance of 1980 elections

- Reagan took control of Congress and White House (Reagan had long coat tails- own popularity led to popularity of others in the party)
- Only 28% of electoral vote for Reagan (25% for Carter)
- Traditional Democrat voters (poor/ unemployed) did not vote -> disillusion particularly with Democrats + resurgent social conservatism
- By 1980 fewer Americans believed in the American Dream