

**I. The Great Depression, the New Deal, & the Fair Deal (1933-1952)****A. Election of 1932**

1. unemployment and poverty brought:
  - a. anger toward President Hoover
  - b. a demand for a change in policy
2. Herbert Hoover v. FDR
3. Roosevelt
  - a. attacked the Republican Old Deal
  - b. concentrated on preaching a New Deal for the "forgotten man."
  - c. promised to balance the nation's budget
  - d. promised to decrease the heavy Hooverian deficits.
4. Hoover
  - a. He & the Republican party had hopes that the worst of the Depression was over
  - b. reaffirmed his faith in American free enterprise and individualism
5. Americans' distrust in the Republican party was high because of the dire economic state of the country (Great Depression)
6. Franklin Roosevelt won the election of 1932 by a sweeping majorities
7. Realignment Election:
  - a. A generational or long-term political movement, in which change occurs over several elections
  - b. Beginning in the election of 1932, blacks became, notably in the urban centers of the North, a vital element of the Democratic Party

**B. Franklin & Eleanor Roosevelt: A Powerful Political Duo**

1. Eleanor Roosevelt, was to become the most active First Lady in history.
  - a. She powerfully influenced the policies of the national government
  - b. battling for the impoverished and oppressed.
2. Roosevelt's commanding presence and golden speaking voice made him the premier American orator of his generation.

**C. The Realignment Continues: The Election of 1936**

1. The New Dealers had achieved considerable progress
2. millions of "reliefers" were grateful to their government.
3. The Republicans chose Alfred M. Landon to run against President Roosevelt
4. The Republicans condemned the New Deal for its radicalism, experimentation, confusion, and "frightful waste."
5. President Roosevelt was reelected as president in a lopsided victory
6. FDR won primarily because he had appealed to the "forgotten man."
7. He had forged a powerful and enduring coalition of:
  - a. the South
  - b. blacks
  - c. urbanites
  - d. workers
  - e. intellectuals
  - f. the poor
  - g. farmers

**D. FDR v. Nine Old Men on the Supreme Bench**

1. 20<sup>th</sup> Amendment shortened the period from election to inauguration by 6 weeks.
2. FDR took the presidential oath on January 20, 1937, instead of the traditional March 4.
3. Roosevelt saw his reelection as a mandate to continue the New Deal reforms
4. Ultraconservative justices on the Supreme Court proved to be a threat to the New Deal
5. Roosevelt administration had been thwarted 7 times in cases against the New Deal.
6. With his reelection, Roosevelt felt that the American people had wanted the New Deal.

7. If the American way of life was to be preserved, he argued, and then the Supreme Court had to get in line with public opinion
8. President Roosevelt released his "Court Packing" plan
  - a. asked Congress to pass legislation allowing him to appoint one new justice to the Supreme Court for every member over the age of 70 who would not retire;
  - b. the maximum number of justices would now be 15.
  - c. Shocking both Congress and the public, the plan received much negative feedback.

#### **E. The Court Changes Course**

1. President Roosevelt was belittled for attempting to break down the checks and balances system among the 3 branches of government.
2. Justice Owen J. Roberts, formerly regarded as a conservative, began to vote liberal
3. In March 1937, the Supreme Court upheld the principle of state minimum wage for women, reversing its stand on a different case a year earlier.
4. The Court, now sympathetic towards the New Deal, upheld the National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) and the Social Security Act.
5. A succession of deaths and resignations of justices enabled Roosevelt to appoint 9 justices to the Court.
6. FDR aroused conservatives of both parties in Congress so that few New Deal reforms were passed after 1937
7. He lost much of the political goodwill that had helped him to win the election of 1936

#### **F. Democratic Divisions in 1948**

1. Republicans chose Thomas E. Dewey to run for president.
  - a. war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower chose not to run for the presidency
2. Democrats chose Truman
  - a. Truman's nomination split the Democratic Party
  - b. Southern Democrats met and nominated Governor J. Strom Thurmond
3. The new Progressive party nominated Henry A. Wallace.
4. Truman
  - a. Was expected to lose
  - b. but not ready to give up
  - c. Truman traveled the country, giving energetic speeches.
5. Truman defeats Dewey and was reelected as president
6. Truman's victory came from the votes of farmers, workers, and blacks
7. "Fair Deal" program in 1949.
  - a. It called for improved housing, full employment, a higher minimum wage, better farm price supports, new TVAs, and an extension of Social Security
  - b. The only major successes came in raising the minimum wage, providing for public housing in the Housing Act of 1949, and extending old-age insurance to many more beneficiaries in the Social Security Act of 1950

## **II. Another Return to Normalcy: The Eisenhower Era (1952-1960)**

### **A. The Election of 1952**

1. Democrats nominated Adlai E. Stevenson
2. Republicans chose General Dwight D. Eisenhower.
  - a. Richard M. Nixon was chosen for vice-president to satisfy the anticommunist wing of the Republican Party.
  - b. During the presidential campaign, reports of Nixon secretly tapping government funds arose.
  - c. The Checkers Speech
    - i. Eisenhower considered dropping Nixon from the ballot
    - ii. Nixon went on television & stated his apologies
    - iii. this saved his place on the ballot.

3. The new technology of black-and-white television changed political campaigning. Television often over-simplified the complicated issues of the time.
4. Dwight Eisenhower won the election of 1952 by a large majority

**B. The Election of 1956: Round Two for Ike**

1. President Eisenhower was reelected in the **election of 1956**
2. beat his Democratic opponent, Adlai Stevenson, again

**C. An Old General Fades Away**

1. America was prosperous during the Eisenhower years
2. Alaska and Hawaii became states in 1959
3. As a Republican president, Eisenhower had further woven the reforms of the Democratic New Deal and Fair Deal into the fabric of national life

**III. The New Frontier and a New Generation: The Kennedy Years (1960-1963)**

**A. The Election of 1960**

1. The Republicans nominated Richard Nixon and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
2. The Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson

**B. The Presidential Issues of 1960**

1. John F. Kennedy's Catholicism aroused misgivings in the Protestant, Bible Belt South.
2. Kennedy charged that the Soviets, with their nuclear bombs and the *Sputniks*, had gained on America in prestige and power
3. Nixon was forced to defend the dying administration and claim that America's prestige had not slipped.
4. Television played a key role in the presidential election
  - a. Kennedy's personal appeal attracted many
  - b. The TV Debate changed politics
5. Kennedy won the election of 1961
6. JFK gained support in the large industrial centers where he had strong support from workers, Catholics, and African Americans
7. Camelot begins

**C. The Killing of Kennedy**

1. November 22, 1963
2. JFK was shot and killed as he was riding in an open limousine in Dallas, TX
3. The alleged gunman was Lee Harvey Oswald.
4. Oswald was shot and killed by self-appointed avenger, Jack Ruby.
5. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn into office, retaining most of Kennedy's cabinet
6. Kennedy was acclaimed more for the ideals he had spoken and the spirit he had kindled than for the goals he had achieved.

**IV. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency**

**A. The Great Society Begins**

1. Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - a. banned racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public
  - b. strengthened the federal government's power to end segregation in schools and other public places
2. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)
  - a. eliminated discrimination in hiring

- b. Part of the act's Title VII passed with sexual clause ensuring some special attention for women
- 3. Executive Order in 1965
  - a. requiring all federal contractors to take "affirmative action" against discrimination.
- 4. "War on Poverty"

#### **B. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964**

- 1. The Republicans nominate Senator Barry Goldwater
- 2. Goldwater ushers in Modern Conservatism
  - a. attacked the federal income tax, the Social Security System, the Tennessee Valley Authority, civil rights legislation, the nuclear test-ban treaty, and the Great Society
  - b. Not a Social Conservative
  - c. Daisy Ad

#### **C. Gulf of Tonkin Incident, August 1964**

- 1. Two U.S. ships were allegedly fired upon. By NV gun boats
- 2. Johnson called the attack "unprovoked" and moved to make political gains out of the incident.
- 3. He ordered a "limited" retaliatory air raid against the North Vietnamese bases
- 4. He also used the event to spur congressional passage of the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**;
- 5. lawmakers virtually gave up their war-declaring powers and handed the president a blank check to use further force in Southeast Asia
- 6. Lyndon Johnson overwhelmingly won the election of 1964

### **V. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968**

#### **A. Robert Kennedy**

- 1. June 5, 1968, the night of the California primary
- 2. RFK shot and killed by Sirhan Sirhan
  - a. Arab immigrant
  - b. Resentful of the candidate's pro-Israel views
  - c. Manchurian Candidate?

#### **B. Democratic Party**

- 1. Democratic Convention
  - a. Chicago
  - b. August 1968
  - c. angry antiwar zealots protested outside the convention hall
  - d. violently clashed with police
- 2. Hubert H. Humphrey, vice president of Johnson, won the Democratic nomination

#### **C. Republican Party**

- 1. Richard Nixon for president and Spiro T. Agnew for vice president
- 2. The Republican platform called for a victory in Vietnam and a strong anticrime policy

#### **D. The American Independent Party**

- 1. George C. Wallace
- 2. called for the continuation of segregation of blacks.

### **VI. Victory for Nixon At Long Last**

#### **A. Richard Nixon won the election of 1968**

- 1. Humphrey was scorched by the LBJ brand
- 2. Nixon did not win a single major city

- a. attesting to the continuing urban strength of the Democrats
- b. Dems also won about 95% of the black vote

### **B. A Changing of the Guard on the Supreme Court**

1. Earl Warren was appointed as Chief Justice to the Supreme Court by Ike, making many controversial rulings:
  - a. *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) struck down a state law that banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples, creating a "right to privacy"
  - b. *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) ruled that all criminals were entitled to legal counsel, even if they were unable to afford it
  - c. *Escobedo* (1964) and *Miranda* (1966) ruled that those who were arrested had to the "right to remain silent."
  - d. *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) and *School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp* (1963) led to the Supreme Court ruling against required prayers and having the Bible in public schools, basing the judgment on the First Amendment, which separated church and state.
  - e. *Tinker v. DesMoines* (1968) the 1<sup>st</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> Amendments apply to teachers as well as students regarding symbolic speech.
  - f. *Reynolds vs. Sims* (1964) ruled that the state legislatures would be required to be reapportioned according to population.
2. President Nixon set Warren E. Burger to replace the retiring Earl Warren in 1969
  - a. In an attempt to end the liberal rulings
  - b. Burger court declared the death penalty, as used at the time, as unconstitutional in 1972
  - c. *Row v. Wade*, 1973 – Struck down state anti-abortion legislation
3. Supreme Court had four new Nixon-appointed members by the end of 1971

### **C. Nixon on the Home Front**

1. Nixon expanded the Great Society programs
  - a. Increased funding for Medicare, Medicaid, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
  - b. He also created the Supplemental Security Income (SSI)
    - i. give benefits to the poor aged, blind, and disabled
2. Philadelphia Plan of 1969
  - a. required construction-trade unions working on the federal pay roll to establish "goals and timetables" for black employees
  - b. This plan changed the definition of "affirmative action" to include preferable treatment on *groups*, not *individuals*
  - c. the Supreme Court's ruling on *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (1971) upheld this
  - d. Whites protested to this decision, calling it "reverse discrimination."
3. Nixon & Congressional Legislation (opposed by Nixon)
  - a. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) – Nixon Established
  - b. The Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OHSA)
  - c. The Clean Air Act of 1970
  - d. Endangered Species Act of 1973
  - e. Federal Elections Campaign Act: reduced campaign contributions
4. Nixon & the Economy
  - a. Worried about inflation
  - b. Nixon imposed a 90-day wage freeze
  - c. Took the nation off the gold standard
    - i. ended the "Bretton Woods" system of international currency stabilization
    - ii. had functioned for more than a quarter of a century after WWII

### **D. The Nixon Landslide of 1972**

1. Senator George McGovern won the 1972 Democratic nomination

- a. He based his campaign on pulling out of Vietnam in 90 days
- 2. George Wallace ran again as American Independent Candidate
  - a. Shot May 15 and left paralyzed below the waist
- 3. In the spring of 1972, the North Vietnamese burst through the demilitarized zone separating the two Vietnams.
- 4. Nixon ordered massive bombing attacks on strategic centers, halting the North Vietnamese offensive
- 5. President Nixon, though, won the election of 1972 in a landslide
- 6. Republicans suffered losses in both houses of Congress, however

#### **E. Bombing North Vietnam to the Peace Table**

- 1. Nixon launched the heaviest assault of the war
  - a. when he ordered a two-week bombing of North Vietnam
  - b. an attempt to force the North Vietnamese to the conference table
  - c. It worked
- 2. January 23, 1973
  - a. North Vietnamese negotiators agreed to a cease-fire agreement
  - b. The shaky "peace" was in reality little more than a thinly disguised American retreat

### **VII. The Watergate Scandal**

#### **A. Nixon sought to secretly attack political opponents.**

- 1. Nixon surrounded himself with people who almost always agreed with him
- 2. thus protecting himself from criticism and making him more isolated.
  - a. "H.R." Haldeman, Chief of Staff: Nixon's closest aide.
  - b. John Erlichman, chief domestic policy advisor
- 3. 1971, Nixon's men gathered list of 200 individuals and 18 organizations that the administration regarded as enemies.
  - a. Included Edward Kennedy, McGovern, entire black leadership in the House of Reps, college presidents, actors such as Steve McQueen, Paul Newman, Jane Fonda, and 57 members of the media.
  - b. Nixon asked FBI to spy on these individuals and try to discredit them.
  - c. Ordered the IRS to harass them with tax audits.
  - d. FBI blocked an illegal Nixon plan for secret police operation to combat antiwar movement
    - i. Would have included FBI, CIA, NSC, & military intelligence
    - ii. Nixon feared antiwar movement might undo him like it did Johnson.

#### **B. CREEP – Committee to Re-Elect the President**

- 1. Nixon worried about the outcome of the 1972 elections.
  - a. Republican party failed to regain control of either House in congressional elections of 1970.
  - b. Past losses to JFK in 1960 and California Gov. Pat Brown in 1962 haunted Nixon.
  - c. Nixon's attorney general set up CREEP and began a massive illegal fund-raising campaign
  - d. Money was set aside in a special fund to pay for "dirty tricks" operations against Nixon's Democratic opponents.
- 2. White House "plumbers" instructed to stop anti-Nixon leaks to the press.
  - a. New York Times published "Pentagon Papers" stating Gulf of Tonkin Resolution had been based on a lie and discredited Johnson's motives for continuing the war
  - b. Nixon feared leaks of classified documents damaging to his administration.
  - c. CREEP's special investigations unit, "the plumbers," targeted Daniel Ellsberg, Defense Dept. analyst who leaked "Pentagon Papers."
  - d. Broke into office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist but found nothing embarrassing.
- 3. Watergate Break-In, summer 1972

- a. Burglars hired by CREEP caught breaking into Democratic Nat'l Headquarters at the Watergate Hotel in Washington D.C.
  - b. Nixon and his aids denied any involvement in the break-in and embarked on a massive coverup while the public initially believed them.
- C. Bob Woodward & Carl Bernstein, young Washington Post journalists, broke the story.**
1. Investigations revealed that two of the Watergate burglars and a White House aide involved in the burglary were employees of CREEP.
  2. Also discovered other illegal activities conducted by the president's advisors.
  3. "Silence money": Nixon secretly authorized payment of more than \$460,000 in CREEP funds to keep the Watergate burglars quiet about White House involvement.
- D. 1973, Watergate trial and Senate hearings**
1. revealed Nixon and other White House officials had covered up their involvement & pressured defendants "to plead guilty and remain silent."
  2. Nixon announced resignations of his three closest aides who were involved in Watergate
- E. Watergate Tapes**
1. Senate committee and prosecutor Archibald Cox called on Nixon to surrender tapes of conversations that might pertain to the Watergate break-in.
  2. Nixon refused and claimed executive privilege and stating release of the tapes would endanger national security.
  3. Saturday Night Massacre:
    - a. Nixon fired two of his men for refusing to fire special prosecutor Archibald Cox before a third Nixon aide finally fired Cox
    - b. Public outraged
- F. Spiro Agnew resigns (October, 1973)**
1. Agnew pleaded no contest to charges of income tax evasion and accepting bribes while governor of Maryland
  2. resigned the vice presidency.
  3. Nixon nominated Gerald R. Ford, the popular conservative House Minority Leader
  4. In a non-related matter, Nixon was forced to pay back taxes for tax evasion (\$500,000)
  5. Also accused of using public funds for improvements to his private residencies in CA & FL
- G. Nixon releases edited transcripts of some tapes but most incriminating portions are erased, especially critical 18 minute gap.**
1. When Nixon refused to release unedited tapes, special prosecutor took case to Supreme Court.
  2. U.S. v. Nixon: Court ruled unanimously that President Nixon had to release the tapes.
- H. Impeachment proceedings**
1. July 30, House committee voted to recommend impeachment of President Nixon on three counts:
    - a. Obstructing justice by trying to cover up the role of the White House in the Watergate burglary.
    - b. Violating the rights of U.S. citizens by using the FBI, CIA, and IRS to harass critics.
    - c. Defying congressional authority by refusing to turn over the tapes.
  2. August 5, Nixon handed over the tape
  3. tape revealed a White House cover up
  4. Impeachment charges seemed certain
- I. Nixon resigns as President (August 7, 1974)**
1. Following day, Gerald Ford sworn in as president.
  2. 25th Amendment (1967)

- a. made Presidential Succession Act of 1947 an amendment
- b. In case of removal of the president from office or death or resignation, the vice president shall become President.
- c. Successor to vice-president provided by presidential nomination and confirmation by a majority of both houses

**J. Ford Pardons Nixon in September for any crimes he may have committed while president.**

1. Many Americans outraged that Nixon escaped justice.
  - a. Questioned if a deal had been made between Nixon and Ford.
  - b. In light of Vietnam, Americans grew even more skeptical of their gov't.
2. 31 Nixon administration officials were convicted and went to prison for Watergate-related offenses.
3. The pardon probably cost Gerald Ford the presidential election of 1976.

**VIII. The "Imperial Presidency"**

**A. World War II on, presidents gradually gained more power that belonged to Congress.**

1. FDR
  - a. "Court packing" scheme sought to strengthen FDR at expense of Supreme Court.
  - b. WWII: FDR made treaties with foreign nations without the advice or consent of the Senate (Destroyer-Bases deal, Atlantic Charter, Yalta Conference, etc.)
2. Truman fought war in Korea without formal declaration of war by Congress
3. Johnson sent troops into Vietnam without a formal congressional declaration of war

**B. Nixon took the trend to the next step.**

1. Impounded funds for federal programs he opposed, defying the constitutional mandate that Congress control spending.
2. Ordered U.S. troops to invade Cambodia without seeking congressional approval.
3. Used FBI and IRS against political opponents
4. Watergate scandal: tried to sabotage Democratic Party in 1972
5. By 1970s, some critics called the constitutional presidency "the imperial presidency."

**C. Congress takes back power from the presidency in light of Vietnam and Watergate**

1. War Powers Act (1973): Required the president to consult with Congress before sending troops into action for 90 days or more.
2. 1974, Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act prohibited impounding of federal money by the president. (response to Nixon's impounding of funds)
3. Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972 set limits on campaign contributions (response to CREEP)
4. Privacy Act (Extended the Freedom of Information Act (1966) – (response to Nixon's abuse of the FBI powers)
  - a. Allowed citizens to have prompt access to the files that the government may have gathered on them.
  - b. Required gov't to prove its case for classification when attempting to withhold information on grounds of national security.
5. Ronald Reagan: Iran-Contra Scandal (1987)
  - a. continuation of "imperial presidency"?
  - b. Diverted money from secret sale of weapons to Iran to Nicaraguan "Contras"
  - c. Congress had expressly forbidden U.S. money be sent to "Contras"
  - d. Became biggest scandal of Reagan administration and weakened Reagan's influence.

**IX. Gerald Ford: The Only Unelected President**

- A. Gerald Ford became the first unelected president



- B. All other previous vice presidents that had ascended to presidency had at least been supported as running mates of the president that had been elected
- C. President Ford's popularity and respect sank when he issued a full pardon of Nixon, thus setting off accusations of a "buddy deal."
- D. In July 1975, Ford signed the Helsinki accords, which recognized Soviet boundaries and helped to ease tensions between the two nations.

## **X. The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory**

### **A. Nominees**

- 1. Ford narrowly defeated Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination.
- 2. Ford plagued by
  - a. his pardon of Nixon
  - b. seeming denial of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.
- 3. Democrats nominated Jimmy Carter
  - a. former governor of Georgia, and peanut farmer.
  - b. Ran as an outsider from Washington (like Reagan did in 1980)
  - c. Emphasized integrity & lack of Washington connections
  - d. born-again Baptist; "I'll never lie to you"
  - e. Carter a conservative Democrat
    - i. questioned affirmative government
    - ii. welcomed increased role of religion in public life

### **B. Result**

- 1. Carter d. Ford narrowly 297 to 240; 51% of the popular vote.
  - a. Swept every southern state except Virginia.
  - b. 97% of African-Americans voted for Carter.
- 2. Large Democratic majorities in both houses

### **C. Carter' Domestic achievements**

- 1. Amnesty -- Pardoned 10,000 draft evaders during Vietnam era (campaign pledge)
- 2. Created the Department of Education
- 3. Created the Department of Energy (see below)
- 4. Placed the civil service on a merit basis and reduced Civil Service System
- 5. Environment: created Superfund

### **D. Environment**

- 1. Created "superfund" for the cleanup of chemical waste dumps.
- 2. Established controls over strip mining
- 3. Protected 100 million acres of Alaskan wilderness from development
- 4. Three-mile Island nuclear accident occurred in 1979

### **E. Energy**

- 1. 1977, created Dept. of Energy at the cabinet level (in light of recent energy crisis)
- 2. Proposed raising the tax on gasoline and taxing autos that used fuel inefficiently in order to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil
- 3. Got only a small portion of this bill through Congress.
- 4. 2nd fuel shortage in 1979 exacerbated the nation's energy woes
- 5. Spurred by the Iranian Revolution and demise of the Shah.

### **F. Economy (stagflation continued)**

- 1. Convinced Congress to pass an \$18 billion tax cut in 1978.
- 2. 1978, proposed voluntary wage and price guidelines to combat inflation
  - a. Somewhat successful but did not apply to oil, housing, and food.

- b. By 1980 inflation was 12%
- 3. Federal Reserve Board tightened money supply in order to reduce inflation but interest rates soared to 20%!
- 4. Sales of automobiles and houses suffered which increased unemployment.
- 5. By 1980, unemployment reached 7.5%

### **G. Deregulation**

- 1. Air Transportation Deregulation Act (1978): Ended government regulation of airline fares and routes
- 2. Action symbolizes Carter as a conservative Democrat. (Perhaps the most conservative since Grover Cleveland)

## **XI. The Reagan Revolution: Resurgence of Conservatism (1980-Present)**

### **A. Nominations for Election of 1980**

- 1. Democrats nominated Jimmy Carter
  - a. challenged by Senator Edward Kennedy
  - b. Kennedy's Chappaquiddick affair killed his candidacy
- 2. Republicans nominated Ronald Reagan of California
  - a. The leading spokesman for American conservatism
  - b. Became a B-grade movie star in the 1940s
  - c. was a New Deal Democrat until he became a spokesman for General Electric in 1954 (during "red scare")
  - d. President of the Screen Actor's Guild in the 1950s
  - e. helped purge Communists from the film industry.
  - f. California governor from 1966 to 1974
- 3. John Anderson, an Independent Congressman, ran on a third party ticket

### **B. Campaign**

- 1. Reagan called for
  - a. reductions in government spending and taxes
  - b. shift in power from the federal gov't to the states
  - c. advocated "traditional American values"
    - i. family
    - ii. religion
    - iii. hard work
    - iv. patriotism
  - d. Blasted the Soviets for their aggression and vowed to rebuild the U.S. military.
  - e. Received vigorous support from the "New Right" incl. evangelical Christian groups like Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority.
    - i. Denounced abortion, pornography, homosexuality, the ERA, and esp. affirmative action.
    - ii. Championed prayer in schools and tougher penalties for criminals.
  - f. Reagan denounced the activist gov't and failed "social engineering" of the "Great Society" in the 1960s.
  - g. Promised to get the government off people's backs.
- 2. Carter defended his record, but was uninspiring in style.
  - a. Inability to control "double digit" inflation especially damaging.
  - b. Iran crisis also damaging.
  - c. Charged that Reagan was a war-monger who might push the country into nuclear war

### **C. Results: Reagan d. Carter 489 to 49**

- 1. Reagan got over 51% of vote; Carter 41%; Anderson 7%.
- 2. Carter first elected president to be unseated by voters since Herbert Hoover.
- 3. Republicans gained control of the Senate for first time in 25 years.

4. Ushered in the conservative "Reagan Revolution" that would continue into the mid-1990s.
5. Another Realigning Election:
  - a. the average American was older
    - i. more mature than during the stormy sixties
    - ii. was therefore more likely to favor the right
    - iii. chose conservative and former actor Ronald Reagan
    - iv. signaling the return of conservatism
  - b. New groups that later spearheaded the "new right" movement included:
    - i. Moral Majority
    - ii. "neoconservatives"
      - ◆ supporting free-market capitalism
      - ◆ questioning liberal welfare programs and affirmative-action policies
      - ◆ calling for reassertion of traditional values of individualism and the centrality of family
    - iii. Poor whites
      - ◆ Affirmative action was another burning issue
      - ◆ some whites used this to argue "reverse discrimination"
  - c. *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974)
    - i. desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines.
    - ii. This reinforced the "white flight" that pitted the poorest whites and blacks against each other, often with explosively violent results.
  - d. *University of California v. Bakke* (1978)
    - i. Allan Bakke had not been admitted into U.C. because the university preferred minority races only
    - ii. the Court ordered the college to admit Bakke
    - iii. The Supreme Court's only black justice, Thurgood Marshall, warned that the denial of racial preferences might sweep away the progress gained by the civil rights movement

#### **D. Assassination attempt**

1. March 1981
2. nearly killed Reagan
3. White House Press Sec. James Brady shot in the head and debilitated for years after

#### **E. Election of 1984**

1. Democrats nominated Walter Mondale
  - a. former VP under Carter and former senator
  - b. Geraldine Ferraro nominated first female VP nominee in U.S. history.
  - c. Mondale criticized Reagan for his budget deficits, high unemployment and interest rates, and reduction of spending on social services.
2. Ronald Reagan and George Bush renominated by the Republican Party
3. Reagan d. Mondale 525 to 13 and gained 60% of popular vote.
  - a. Democratic coalition from the days of FDR consisting of industrial workers, farmers, and the poor broken apart
  - b. Only blacks remained as a Democratic voting block.

#### **F. The Supreme Court Culture War**

- a. Reagan sought to demolish two liberal cultural strongholds:
  - i. affirmative action
  - ii. abortion.
- b. Effectively ended affirmative action in gov't
- c. Overturned desegregation laws
- d. Ended voting districts based on race (NC gerrymandering case)

- e. Appointed a number of Justices to the Court
  - i. Sandra Day O'Connor (first female Justice)
  - ii. William Rehnquist (elevated to Chief Justice)
  - iii. Antonin Scalia
  - iv. Robert Bork (Rejected by the Senate)
  - v. Anthony Kennedy

#### **G. Reagan's Economic Legacy**

- a. Tax cuts & increased military spending created lost revenue of \$200 billion per year.
- b. National debt tripled from about 1 trillion in 1980 to about 3 trillion in 1988.
- c. Deficits did not begin to diminish until Clinton's presidency in mid-1990s
- d. Debt convenient for conservatives
  - i. Reduced growth of gov't
  - ii. led to cuts in social spending
  - iii. since less money available for gov't to spend

### **XII. The Post Reagan Era: 1989 – 2000**

#### **A. Referendum on Reaganism in 1988**

- 1. Democrats got back the Senate in 1986 and sought to harm Reagan with the Iran-Contra scandal and unethical behavior that tainted an oddly large number of Reagan's cabinet.
  - i. They even rejected Robert Bork, Reagan's ultraconservative choice to fill an empty space on the Supreme Court.
- 2. The federal budget and the international trade deficit continued to soar while falling oil prices hurt housing values in the Southwest and damaged savings-and-loans institutions, forcing Reagan to order a \$500 million rescue operation for the S&L institutions.
  - i. On October 19, 1987, the stock market fell 508 points, sparking fears of the end of the money culture, but this was premature.
- 3. In 1988, Gary Hart tried to get the Democratic nomination but had to drop out due to a sexual misconduct charge while Jesse Jackson assembled a "rainbow coalition" in hopes of becoming president, but the Democrats finally chose Michael Dukakis, who lost badly to Republican candidate and Reagan's vice president George Bush, 112 to 426.

#### **B. Bush on the Home Front**

- 1. President Bush's 1990 American with Disabilities Act was a landmark law that banned discrimination against citizens with disabilities.
- 2. Bush also signed major water projects bill in 1992 and agreed to sign a watered-down civil rights bill in 1991.
- 3. In 1991, Bush proposed Clarence Thomas to fill in the vacant seat left by retiring Thurgood Marshall, but this choice was opposed by the NAACP and the National Organization for Women (NOW), since Thomas was supposedly pro-abortion.
  - i. In early October 1991, Anita Hill charged Thomas with sexual harassment, and even though Thomas was still selected to be on the Court, Hill's case publicized sexual harassment and tightened tolerance of it (Oregon's Senator Robert Packwood had to step down in 1995 after a case of sexual harassment).
  - ii. A gender gap arose between women in both parties.
- 4. In 1992, the economy stalled, and Bush was forced to break an explicit campaign promise and add \$133 billion worth of new taxes to try to curb the \$250 billion annual budget.
  - i. When it was revealed that many House members had written bad checks from a private House "bank," public confidence lessened even more.
- 5. The 27<sup>th</sup> Amendment banned congressional pay raises from taking effect until an election had seated a new session of Congress, an idea first proposed by James Madison in 1789.

#### **C. Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President**

1. In 1992, the Democrats chose Bill Clinton as their candidate (despite accusations of womanizing and draft evasion) and Albert Gore, Jr. as his running mate.
2. The Democrats tried a new approach, promoting growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies while campaigning to stimulate the economy.
3. The Republicans dwelt on “family values” and selected Bush for another round and J Danforth Quayle as his running mate.
4. Third party candidate Ross Perot added color to the election by getting 19,237,247 votes in the election (no Electoral votes, though), but Clinton won, 370 to 168 in the Electoral College.
  - i. Democrats also got control of both the House and the Senate.
5. Congress and the presidential cabinet were filled with minorities and more women, including the first female attorney general ever, Janet Reno, Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg in the Supreme Court

#### **D. A False Start for Reform**

1. Upon entering office, Clinton called for accepting homosexuals in the armed forces but finally had to settle for a “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy that unofficially accepted gays and lesbians.
2. Clinton also appointed his wife, Hillary, to revamp the nation’s health and medical care system, and when it was revealed in October 1993, critics blasted it as cumbersome, confusing, and stupid, thus suddenly making Hillary Rodham Clinton a liability when before, she had been a full, equal political partner of her husband.
3. By 1996, Clinton had shrunk the federal deficit to its lowest level in a decade, and in 1993, he passed a gun-control law called the Brady Bill, named after presidential aide James Brady, who had been wounded in President Reagan’s attempted assassination.
  - i. In July, 1994, Clinton persuaded Congress to pass a \$30 billion anticrime bill.
4. During the decade, a radical Muslim group bombed the World Trade Center in New York, killing six, a terrorist, Timothy McVeigh, had bombed the federal building in Oklahoma in 1995, taking 169 lives, and a fiery standoff at Waco, Texas, between the government and the Branch Davidians ended in a huge fire that killed men, women, and children.
5. By this time, few Americans trusted the government, the reverse of the WWII generation.

#### **E. The Politics of Distrust**

1. In 1994, Newt Gingrich led Republicans on a sweeping attack of Clinton’s liberal failures with a conservative “Contract with America,” and that year, Republicans won all incumbent seats as well as eight more seats in the Senate and 53 more seats in the House, where Gingrich became the new Speaker of the House.
2. However, the Republicans went too far, imposing federal laws that put new obligations on state and local governments without providing new revenues and forcing Clinton to sign a welfare-reform bill that made deep cuts in welfare grants.
  - i. Clinton tried to fight back, but gradually, the American public grew tired of Republican conservatism, such as Gingrich’s suggestion of sending children of welfare families to orphanages, and of its incompetence, such as the 1995 shut down of Congress due to a lack of a sufficient budget package.
3. In 1996, Clinton ran against Republican Bob Dole and won, 379 to 159, and Ross Perot again finished a sorry third.

#### **F. A Sea of Troubles**

1. The end of the Cold War left the U.S. groping for a diplomatic formula to replace anti-Communism and revealed misconduct by the CIA and the FBI.
2. Political reporter Joe Klein wrote *Primary Colors*, mirroring some of Clinton’s personal life/womanizing, while Clinton ran into trouble with his failed real estate investment in the Whitewater Land Corporation.
  - i. In 1993, Vincent Foster, Jr. apparently committed suicide, perhaps overstressed at having to (perhaps immorally) manage Clinton’s legal and financial affairs.

3. As Clinton began his second term, the first by a Democratic president since FDR, he had Republican majorities in both houses of Congress going against him.
4. Impeachment

**XII. The Fiasco of 2000 and Beyond**