

APUSH PERIOD EIGHT (1945-1980) KEY CONCEPTS REVIEW

Use the space provided to write down specific details that could be used to discuss the key concepts.

Key Concept 8.1

The United States responded to an uncertain and unstable postwar world by asserting and working to maintain a position of global leadership, with far-reaching domestic and international consequences.

I. United States policymakers engaged in a Cold War with the authoritarian Soviet Union, seeking to limit the growth of Communist military power and ideological influence, create a free-market global economy, and build an international security system.

<p>A) As post war tensions dissolved the wartime alliance between Western democracies and the Soviet Union, the United States developed a foreign policy based on collective security, international aid, and economic institutions that bolstered non-Communist nations.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* Death of FDR, and the new, relatively uninformed Truman, meant that Stalin no longer seen as somebody the US could work with (Truman got tough at Potsdam); defeat of Germany and Japan, and the development and deployment of nuclear weapons, also ratcheted up the tensions (as did Soviet refusals to allow the elections in Eastern Europe that they had promised FDR at the Yalta Conference; Stalin's creation of puppet states as a buffer established the need in the American mindset to prevent him from doing so elsewhere)* US and USSR were the only two remaining global powers (relatively rapid loss of European colonies in the decade after WWII is an obvious sign of the decline of the British and French empires; Axis powers had their colonies stripped away from them)* 1944 establishment of the United Nations, which met for the first time in San Francisco in 1945 (and quickly became a battleground between the Soviets and Americans over global policies; Soviets tended to practice a total veto whenever possible on the Security Council)* Bretton Woods conference in 1944 began to create global institutions that would dominate the postwar economy: the World Bank, designed to help rebuild Europe and develop the former colonies (soon to be renamed the Third World); the International Money Fund, designed to stabilize currency and promote international trade* Churchill's 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech became a marker that a Cold War had begun* In 1947, GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) formed, setting up a governing body for global trade on the basis of open markets, as well as trying to promote capitalism around the world* Both GATT and Bretton Woods gave the U.S. considerable control over the world economy* the American military-industrial complex grew out of the ties between big-business and the federal government that had fought WWII – and were then sustained by the Cold War* USSR attempts to control Middle East (oil in Iran and warm-water port in Turkey) and overturn governments in Greece, Italy, and France led to policy of containment proposed by George F. Kennan (which led Stalin to see the U.S. as replacing Britain)
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<p>A), cont.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Truman Doctrine established in 1947 to “support free peoples” everywhere, with aid to Greece and Turkey the first targets for aid * European economic collapse (made worse by terrible winter of 1947 and imminent starvation) led to the most brilliant humanitarian program in American history: the Marshall Plan, which would loan European nations billions (with a benefit for American economy: that money would have to be spent buying American goods, which is one of the reasons we didn’t have a postwar recession for the one and only time in American history); US aid prevented any more countries (after Czechoslovakia) from going communist and placed Europe into a long-term economic relationship with U.S. Soviets offered the Marshall Plan as well, but Stalin turned it down for both USSR and Eastern Europe (nothing changes a communist mindset like American toilet paper...) * Berlin Airlift prevented West Berlin from falling to the Soviets * NATO (North American Treaty Organization) created to oppose Soviet aggression; West Germany consolidated as a buffer state against the Soviets, and as an ally; USSR created East Germany and the Warsaw Pact in response, splitting Europe in half and creating a semi-permanent state of crisis for the next forty years * National Security Council created in 1947 to organize resistance to the Soviets (Department of War became Department of Defense; Air Force split off); CIA created...because spies. * NSC-68 remade the American military and intelligence communities to oppose the Communists: ordered development of hydrogen bomb (Soviets had stolen plans for the atomic bomb, and would do the same with H-bomb); conventional military build-up
<p>B) Concerned by expansionist Communist ideology and Soviet repression, the United States sought to contain communism through a variety of measures, including major military engagements in Korea and Vietnam.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Truman Doctrine led to Eisenhower Doctrine – both are containment of all Soviet expansion; domino theory developed through the Fifties, fearing that if one country fell to Communists, others soon would * Civil war in China between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung (Zedung) saw US pumping \$2 billion to Nationalists (same cost as the Manhattan Project) – but we picked the loser; fall of China came after Truman cut off aid when he saw that only an American invasion could save China; Truman and the State Department took a massive hit, and Asian experts were fired en masse from State department [leaving the U.S. woefully uninformed on Asian culture and politics, which helps explain the messes in Korea, and particularly Vietnam] * Truman refused to recognize Red China [Nixon later did] * North Korea then invaded South Korea (the nation had been split at the end of WWII as Germany had), with Soviet tanks and Chinese approval; Truman went to United Nations and got approval for a “police action” (Soviets had unwisely left before Security Council adjourned, so the US was able to get their war)

<p>B), cont.</p>	<p>* MacArthur brought the war back from near-defeat with his amphibious landing at Inchon, then went so far antagonizing Communist China and President Truman that Truman had to fire him (thus re-asserting civilian control of the military, as well as preventing a nuclear holocaust at MacArthur's hands); Chinese invasion pushed back to the 38th parallel, which is where the border had been before the war – and then war was ended by Eisenhower with permanent division into North and South, with South Korea as an American ally</p> <p>* Truman started war without declaration by Congress, which expanded presidential power substantially; his rejection of nuclear weapons in Korea set limits to the Cold War; Asia became a permanent battleground for Cold War; American military expanded substantially as a result as well (traditionally, military was slashed after a war; Korea convinced Congress to keep military on a wartime footing, leading to decades of massive military spending unprecedented in peacetime)</p> <p>* Vietnam War developed out of policy of containment, which ignored issues of colonialism and self-determination in favor of the domino theory; French kicked out by Ho Chi Minh trying to end colonialism, but U.S. stepped in out of a (largely mistaken) belief that the Communists there were engaged in a full-scale expansion of communism [Vietnam since the end of the war as a western-friendly place, with American tourism high on their priority list]</p> <p>* Kennedy continued Eisenhower's involvement, dispatching military advisors and the new Green Berets; LBJ massively increased our involvement (Gulf of Tonkin resolution expanded presidential power enormously; Operation Rolling Thunder saw carpet-bombing by B-52s; Agent Orange and napalm used as chemical warfare; Tet Offensive destroyed American confidence in victory, government, and LBJ, and drove LBJ out of presidency); Nixon expanded with new wars in Cambodia and Laos (and also got American soldiers out with Vietnamization; Nixon rambled about "peace with honor" while bombing the crap out of the Vietnamese to try and force them to the negotiating table; "fall of Saigon" a low point in American military history); ultimately, despite winning every single battle, the U.S. lost the war [synthesis: compare this to the American Revolution, where the Americans lost most of the battles but won the war, due to nature of guerilla warfare]</p>
<p>C) The Cold War fluctuated between periods of direct and indirect military confrontation and periods of mutual coexistence (or détente).</p>	<p>* WWII cooperation slipped into ideological confrontation, and open conflict: Berlin Airlift, Fall of China, Korean War</p> <p>* Nuclear arms race escalated, first with Soviets exploding A-bomb in 1949, the American development of the H-bomb in 1952, followed rapidly by the Soviets in 1953 (espionage by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, whose treason was punished by the death penalty – and whose guilt has been confirmed by the opening of the KGB files after the fall of the USSR)</p> <p>* development of B-52, ICBMS, and nuclear submarines escalated</p>

<p>C), cont.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Space Race grew out of Cold War, with the missiles being financed primarily to be able to deploy and launch nuclear weapons (Sputnik and Yuri Gagarin Soviet triumphs; moon landing the main American achievement; mid-70s Soyuz-Apollo meetup in space a moment of rapprochement; today, we work extensively with the Soviets on the International Space Station) * Eisenhower’s “New Look” emphasis on the nuclear option was an attempt to rein in military expenses, but the arms race continued to ruinous cost for decades, leading to the idea of “massive retaliation” and MAD (mutually assured destruction) * Stalin’s death seemed to promise a lessening of the Cold War, but Soviet invasion of Hungary, the shooting down of Gary Powers’ U-2, and the Cuban Missile Crisis all escalated matters * JFK faced the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 by traveling to West Berlin and giving his famous “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech [which, by the way, literally translates to “I am a donut” – he should have said “Ich bin Berliner”] * Kennedy’s creation of the Green Berets was an attempt to fashion a military response to communist insurrections without resorting to all-out war (“counterinsurgency”) * Vietnam War was a proxy war like Korea, but economically and politically disastrous for the United States * détente: Nixon’s paranoia and cunning led to the severing of ties between the Soviets and Chinese, as Nixon played one off against the other, culminating in the recognition of Red China, Nixon’s visits to China and the USSR, and the signing of the first treaty limiting nuclear arms, SALT I * Carter became more openly confrontational with the Soviets, protesting their invasion of Afghanistan with a wheat embargo and boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics (Carter also began arming resistance fighters in Afghanistan, who would eventually become the Taliban) * Almost all foreign policy decisions in this period made in the consideration of Cold War imperatives – the CIA overthrow of Guatemala’s legally elected president, the assassination of Iran’s premier, the Korean and Vietnam War, the Bay of Pigs fiasco, and so on
<p>D) Postwar decolonization and the emergence of powerful nationalist movements in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East led both sides in the Cold War to seek allies among new nations, many of which remained nonaligned.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Most colonies eventually became independent in the aftermath of WWII, only to become part of the power games of the Cold War; both the USSR and US competed to gain influence over the Third World nations of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America * SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) created in 1954 as a kind of analog of NATO, but never as highly organized (a failure in comparison, with little troop deployment or Asian engagement) * Until Carter – and even with him – US tended to support right-wing regimes which were anticommunist, even when human rights violations were known (Marcos in Philippines, Bautista in Cuba, Shah in Iran, etc.)

<p>D), cont.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Eisenhower and other presidents used CIA extensively to interfere with other governments which were perceived to be pro-communist (CIA deposed Iranian prime minister Mohammed Mossadegh and replaced him with Shah, which leads eventually to seizure of American embassy in Iran hostage crisis for Carter) * Vietnam split in two as a result of WWII (north surrendered to China, South to Britain); Communists under Ho Chi Minh led US and Britain to support French retaking Vietnam. Minh and Vietminh took up war again against French, defeating them in battle of Dien Bien Phu; when French left, US went about fighting the Cold War in South Vietnam, supporting anticommunist (and Catholic) Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam; us financial and military aid began to flow in to support Diem; Vietnam War grows out of this need to prevent the dominos from falling... * Truman supported the creation of Israel (partly for 1948 election to get Jewish-American vote, and partly to assert American influence in the Middle East) * When Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in Egypt, the British and French (and Israel) went to war to get it back; US intervened diplomatically to stop them, to try and keep Egypt on the American side of the equation; Nasser turned to the Soviets to help build the Aswan dam * Kennedy established the Peace Corps as a means of encouraging third world countries to think well of the US
<p>E) Cold War competition extended to Latin America, where the U.S. supported non-Communist regimes that had varying levels of commitment to democracy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * CIA used in Guatemala to overthrow president Guzman after he took land owned by United Fruit Company to redistribute to the poor * Eisenhower supported Fulgencio Bautista in Cuba; when Fidel Castro overthrew him, CIA began plans to take back the government; when JFK became president, he accepted the plan for the Bay of Pigs invasion, only to see it go horribly wrong and refuse to send in a US air strike [which is the basis for Cuban-Americans turning to the Republican Party out of anger at Kennedy]; JFK took full responsibility; economic blockade continued for the next half-century and more * Cuban Missile Crisis ensued, which almost led to all-out nuclear war; U-2 flyovers revealed missile sites being constructed in Cuba that could launch at Washington D.C. and eastern seaboard; JFK went on television and told Soviets if they tried to install missiles, it would be an act of war; naval blockade set up to stop Soviet ships, while tense negotiations occurred behind the scenes; ultimately, JFK and Khrushchev cut a deal: no nukes in Cuba, in exchange for US promising not to invade Cuba [secret deal made to pull US missiles out of Turkey, which could launch at Moscow] [synthesis: this marks the end of the Monroe Doctrine; also, we now know there were <i>already</i> nuclear missiles installed in Cuba, which the Soviets quietly removed]
<p><i>II. Cold War policies led to public debates over the power of the federal government and acceptable means for pursuing international and domestic goals while protecting civil liberties.</i></p>	
<p>A) Americans debated policies and</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * In the context of the burgeoning Cold War, and the takeover of

methods designed to expose suspected communists within the United States even as both parties supported the broader strategy of containing communism.

the Congress by the Republicans in 1946, Truman was doing everything he could to combat both the Soviets and the Grand Old Party; as the Truman Doctrine was established, Truman also chose to institute a massive security check on *any* government employees suspected of being “subversive,” trying to root out Communist infiltrators (and reinforce his credentials as an anti-Communist); thousands of Americans were investigated and dismissed; Truman’s program led to hundreds of copycat efforts at every level of public and private organization kicking out members, including the CIO and the NAACP, and it unleashed the HUAC Red Scare in Hollywood, which led to the persecution of the Hollywood Ten and the blacklist, which put hundreds of actors, writers, and directors out of work for over a decade

- * HUAC made Richard Nixon famous, particularly for the Alger Hiss case, in which former Communist Whitaker Chambers accused State Department official Hiss of being a Soviet spy (Chambers claimed he had the evidence on microfilm hidden in a pumpkin on his farm – hence the “Pumpkin Papers”). Hiss was found guilty of perjury [when the KGB records were opened after the Cold War, both Hiss and David Rosenberg were found to be (largely) guilty as charged; we now know there were Soviet spies feeding nuclear weapons information directly to the Soviets for years, beginning with the Manhattan Project and continuing in the H-Bomb program, but the Soviets never had the level of infiltration suspected during the Red Scare]
- * McCarthyism and the Red Scare were begun in 1950 when Senator Joseph McCarthy claimed to have a long list of Communists in the State Department (he never showed anybody the list, and the numbers kept changing); McCarthy spent the next four years fueling a rabid sense of paranoia in the country, and running rampant over civil liberties; Truman fought back, but the Republicans and Eisenhower did nothing (McCarthy almost always attacked Democrats); McCarthy succeeded due to the fear he fed – the fall of China to the Communists, the Soviet acquisition of the A-bomb [and later, the H-Bomb], the Korean War, the trial and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for giving the Soviets nuclear secrets. Also, the 1940 Smith Act made being a Communist illegal; McCarthy destroyed himself by going after the Army, and on national television, he humiliated himself. The Senate censured him at the end of 1954, and his career was over.
- * the FBI supported these anti-Communist efforts under J. Edgar Hoover [synthesis: Hoover and the FBI were created during the post-WWI Red Scare]; Hoover had Martin Luther King pegged as a communist stooge
- * “Kitchen Debate” between Khrushchev and Nixon showed how Nixon (and America) constantly promoted the idea of material abundance and consumer culture as essentially “American” while the Soviets lagged behind on all but military aggression [you could argue that what drove a considerable amount of fear of the Communists was not just nuclear holocaust, but that they were

A), cont.

	<p>coming to take “our stuff” away from us]</p> <p>* By 1960, both parties had to campaign as staunchly anti-communist, as shown in the Kennedy-Nixon debates and Kennedy’s hard-line insistence that there was a missile gap that had to be filled; the Republicans continued well into the 1980s working the idea that the Democrats were “pink” [“Only Nixon can go to China” shows how the tactic had worked to discredit any Democratic efforts to reduced tensions with the Communists]</p>
<p>B) Although anticommunist foreign policy faced little domestic opposition in previous years, the Vietnam War inspired sizable and passionate antiwar protests that became more numerous as the war escalated, and sometimes led to violence.</p> <p>B), cont.</p>	<p>* June of 1963, a Buddhist monk set himself on fire to protest the Vietnamese government’s persecution of Buddhists; the film was shown around the world, and many began to wonder what was so wrong in Vietnam that a man would do that to himself so calmly</p> <p>* in a very real sense, JFK’s assassination in 1963 was the end of the innocence [novelist Dan Delillo has called it “the seven seconds that broke the back of the American century”]; although no evidence has been found to suggest JFK would have removed us from Vietnam, his death unsettled Americans’ sense of optimism and trust that we were invulnerable to the darker aspects of history; JFK’s death also created a wellspring of grief which LBJ drew upon to ram through his Great Society and his escalation in Vietnam [LBJ seems to have had none of the distrust of the military that JFK had as a result of the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis]</p> <p>* Television played a massive role in creating, building, and sustaining the resistance to Vietnam, because combat footage was shown on the nightly news; never before had Americans watched the conduct of the war, unfiltered by the government, on a daily basis. Seeing soldiers injured and killed night after night, and their bleeding bodies and corpses carried away, was a major stimulant in the war opposition</p> <p>* 1960 founding of the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) began an anti-war movement rooted in opposition to the Cold War, which escalated into active resistance to the Vietnam War, first in nonviolent protest (imitating Martin Luther King) and later more activist behavior (imitating SNCC)</p> <p>* First major confrontation came at UC Berkeley in the Free Speech Movement, using a sit-in at the administration building to demand an end to the ban on student political activity (students imitated this move across the nation, on this and other issues, for decades [later on in the 80s and 90s, it was typically for more selfish reasons, like protesting tuition increases])</p> <p>* resistance to the draft grew, especially after 1967, when college was no longer accepted automatically as a cause for deferment; some protestors burned their draft cards, others registered as conscientious objectors, picketed, or fled to Canada; public protests against the War steadily increased, with marches on the UN and the Pentagon</p> <p>* 1968 was a turning point, with the Tet Offensive proving the US</p>

government had been lying about the war almost being over (the “credibility gap”), LBJ pulling out of the race, Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy being assassinated, the Democratic national convention turning into a mass of protests and riots, George Wallace campaigning as an open racist, and Nixon winning election

- * News anchor Walter Cronkite (“the most trusted man in America”) went to Vietnam, and reported, on national television, that the war needed to be ended by negotiations [the implication was we couldn’t win]; when LBJ watched the February 27, 1968 broadcast, he said “If I’ve lost Cronkite, I’ve lost middle America.”; LBJ pulled out of the race a month later (daily, protestors had been marching outside the White House, chanting “Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?”)
- * Nixon’s election (on the promise of “peace with honor” and some murky promise of an exit strategy) did not lessen the protests; 1969 saw a massive 500,000 person protest in front of the Washington Memorial; Nixon’s secret invasion of Cambodia sparked more protests when news leaked, including the infamous shootings of peaceful student protestors at Kent State and Jackson State College in 1970, which led to hundreds of colleges shutting down in protest over the shootings
- * My Lai massacre followed by Vietnam Veterans Against the War publicly discussing other atrocities as well; 1971 protest saw these soldiers returning their medals in DC
- * Hippies often proclaimed “Make Love, not War”; stereotypical image of flower power and flowers being placed into the barrels of guns common; counterculture universal in its opposition to the war, but from 1968 on, the middle class increasingly joined them in opposition
- * Nixon ended the draft in January, 1973, as an attempt to unplug the resistance to the war [to be fair, a considerable amount of the resistance probably was out of selfish fears]
- * After the war’s end, President Ford pardoned some of the draft dodgers who had fled to Canada, so they could return home; President Carter issued a blanket pardon

C) Americans debated the merits of a large nuclear arsenal, the military-industrial complex, and the appropriate power of the executive branch in conducting foreign and military policy.

- * The Manhattan Project scientists were deeply divided over the use of atomic weapons, particularly after Hitler was defeated; many of them filed protests and signed petitions to attempt to prevent the use of nuclear weapons
- * post WWII attitudes towards nuclear weapons often deeply divided; Atomic Energy Commission established in 1946 to transfer control of nuclear weapons to civilians (AEC led the development of the H-Bomb and conducted multiple tests in the atmosphere in the south Pacific in the Fifties, as well as unethical experiments on the effects of radiation on human beings); Nuclear Power Commission enabled commercial nuclear power plants to be developed
- * Scientists and activists opposed to nuclear testing founded

SANE (National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) and ran full page ads; Martin Luther King sponsored the second round of ads

- * open air nuclear testing led to serious spike in Strontium-90 being found in milk, and children’s teeth; JFK banned open-air testing as a result
- * 70s and 80s saw a strong anti-nuclear protest movement develop, particularly after the accidents at Three Mile Island and Chernobyl; nuclear power plant construction frozen for decades in the US as a result
- * the historical tendency to severely reduce the size of the military after a war began after WWII, but the Cold War, the fall of China, the Truman Doctrine, and the Korean War reversed that, leading us to a massive, semi-permanent expansion of the American military
- * Eisenhower tried to cut back on the military budget, and ended his presidency with a warning: “we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex.” [good document to have students read and discuss – speech is on Youtube]
- * counterculture movement, from the Beats to the Hippies and onward, has vocally opposed the linking of the military and corporations; to be liberal meant for decades an opposition to the military in favor of diplomacy; to be conservative meant the opposite [“support our troops” has largely replaced most Democratic opposition to military action, as the conservatives consistently used opposition to military action as a campaign tactic in the 80s and 90s]
- * presidency vastly expanded its power due to WWII and the Cold War; Gulf of Tonkin resolution gave LBJ and Nixon nearly unlimited powers to pursue a war we never declared; War Powers Act was an attempt to rein back in this imperial presidency by imposing time limits and restrictions on troop deployment [largely a failure; think of all the wars we’ve had since WWII – and Congress hasn’t declared war on any nation since WWII!!]; the “imperial presidency” has disturbed many libertarians, yet despite Watergate [and the Iran-Contra Affair, and the wars in the Middle East] the power remains there

D) Ideological, military, and economic concerns shaped U.S. involvement in the Middle East, with several oil crises in the region eventually sparking attempts at creating a national energy policy.

- * Cold War efforts to bring in allies, as well as a need to establish a presence in the Middle East, led to an alliance with Turkey and Israel; other countries wooed to become partners and friends
- * Turkey provided a military staging platform for nuclear weapons (the unseen side of the Cuban missile crisis) and more conventional efforts to assert power
- * Oil, as always, drove much of the need to be dominant in the region (one big reason why the British and French had carved up the region after WWI and wanted to continue to dominate)
- * Truman supported the creation of Israel (partly for 1948 election to get Jewish-American vote, and partly to assert American influence in the Middle East)
- * When Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in Egypt, the British

and French (and Israel) went to war to get it back; US intervened diplomatically to stop them, to try and keep Egypt on the American side of the equation; Nasser turned to the Soviets to help build the Aswan dam

- * Eisenhower Doctrine (Truman Doctrine extended) led to supporting King Hussein in Jordan and a pro-American regime in Lebanon (in Iran, CIA used to assassinate Mohammed Mossadegh and install the Shah; every president up through Carter supported the Shah, despite the civil rights violation of his secret police)
- * Most Americans outside of the Jewish communities thought much about the middle east, until OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) imposed an oil embargo on the U.S., cutting off supplies in 1973 and creating a massive shortage, which crippled the US and helped drive the economic recession begun by Vietnam; oil shortages drove massive inflation and helped weaken the American economy; the OPEC embargo was in retaliation for US support of Israel, particularly for the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War; Americans faced extremely long lines at the gas stations, and rationing in some states [One teacher once slept overnight in the car in one of those lines so my mother could get gas the next morning; that teacher was ten; in California, cars with odd-numbered license plates could get gas three days a week, while even numbers for the other days alternating; most gas stations were closed on Sunday].
- * Attempts to conserve oil began: Congress imposed a 55-mph speed limit throughout the country; German and Japanese car sales went up as they were more fuel-efficient; American “gas-guzzlers” began to disappear as a choice over the next decade; early attempts to move to solar and wind and geothermal began; Earth Day instituted; recycling programs begun; environmental awareness began to be taught in school
- * Nixon had created the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) in 1970; a series of anti-pollution laws followed, over corporate objections
- * Energy Department founded by Jimmy Carter in 1977, to try and create coherent energy policy; Carter called for conservation

Key Concept 8.2:
New movements for civil rights and liberal efforts to expand the role of government generated a range of political and cultural responses.

I. Seeking to fulfill Reconstruction-era promises, civil rights activists and political leaders achieved some legal and political successes in ending segregation, although progress toward racial equality was slow.

A) During and after World War II, civil rights activists and leaders, most notably Martin Luther King Jr., combatted racial discrimination utilizing a variety of strategies, including legal challenges, direct action, and nonviolent protest tactics.

- * Mexican-Americans returned from WWII determined to fight against Jim Crow laws in the Southwest aimed at them, as well as fighting the poverty most of their communities suffered from; in 1948, American GI Forum founded in Texas and the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles; Cesar Chavez worked for the CSO; *Mendez v. Westminster School District* ended segregation for Mexican-Americans in California in 1947 (Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP filed an amicus curiae brief in support); in the Sixties,

A), cont.

Chavez would lead the United Farm Workers in boycotts to call for better pay and working conditions for migrant workers; Brown Berets and Chicano movement would lead to more confrontational protests and Chicano Studies in college

- * Japanese-Americans sued to recover their land taken from them in the war, and fought for the right to own land
- * As with Mexican-Americans, many African-Americans returned home from WWII determined to change their situation: they wanted an end to Jim Crow and segregation, to the lack of voting and civil rights, to sharecropping, and to institutionalized racism in the South *and* the North (as in red-line districting, where white neighborhoods refused to sell homes to blacks)
- * Before and during WWII, African-American leaders had begun organizing to fight for civil rights: A. Philip Randolph and the threat of a March on Washington had led to Executive Order 8802, which created the Fair Employment Practices Commission to ensure defense jobs didn't lock out black workers (Truman called for its return); newspapers called for the "Double V" victory, against Hitler abroad and racism at home; Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) founded in 1942, and adopted nonviolent protest practices of Mahatma Gandhi [and Henry David Thoreau!]; in 1944, Thurgood Marshall won *Smith v. Allwright*, which banned all-white primaries
- * Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in major league baseball in 1947 with the Brooklyn Dodgers
- * In 1950, Thurgood Marshall won *McLaurin v. Oklahoma*, which banished segregation of college students on campus
- * In 1954, Marshall won the most important case in his career, with *Brown v. Board of Education*, which on a 9-0 decision, banned all legal segregation in schools, as a violation of the 14th Amendment's "equal protection" clause, and overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and the "separate but equal" doctrine (Chief Justice Earl Warren convinced all of his fellow justices – including a former KKK member! – to make a unanimous decision so there could be no legal wiggle room for segregationists – but over 100 southern Congressmen refused to accept the decision, claiming the Supreme Court had overstepped itself)
- * In 1955, Emmett Till was murdered in Mississippi; despite positive evidence, the all-white jury found the two killers innocent, leading to national outrage in black communities
- * In December 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat, and Martin Luther King successfully led the Montgomery Bus Boycott over the next year, showing the power of nonviolent but direct confrontation (the Supreme Court ruled late in 1956 that bus segregation was illegal, thus helping to seal the victory)
- * King and many other black ministers then founded the SCLS (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and continued to lead many nonviolent efforts against segregation and racism
- * In 1960, four black college students sat down at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, NC – and refused to

get up (hundreds of black students took their turns to maintain the sit-in); the sit-in, adapted from labor union strategies, became a new tool in the fight against segregation; Woolworth's caved and changed their policy

- * In 1960, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) was founded by Ella Baker to help with other sit-ins across the South, and trained a generation of civil rights leaders, including Stokely Carmichael
- * In 1961, CORE began the Freedom Rides to de-segregate the interstate buses in the South; both black and white Freedom Riders faced beatings and arrests at the hands of the resurgent KKK; JFK was hesitant to send in federal marshals, but TV coverage forced his hand
- * May 1963 March on Birmingham broken up with attack dogs, firehoses, and cattle prods by "Bull" Connor and his police - and he allowed the television cameras to roll, which backfired on him, as the rest of the country, confronted with the brutality, recoiled in horror and began supporting King and the marchers
- * King wrote his classic piece "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" to explain his philosophy and practices, and convinced many Americans he was right in doing so
- * In the aftermath of the television coverage, JFK called for a new civil rights bill [he would be killed in November, but LBJ would use the grief to pass the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964]
- * The night of JFK's televised call for a civil rights bill, activist Medgar Evers was assassinated, which again led to more support
- * In August 1963, King led the successful March on Washington, giving the most important speech of his life: "I Have a Dream"
- * White southern opposition increased, including the bombing of a church in Birmingham, which killed four young black girls
- * In 1964, Freedom Summer led to thousands of white and black volunteers trying to register black voters in the south and creating schools for black children; four civil rights activists were murdered, and 37 more black church bombings occurred
- * March on Selma in 1965 led to Bloody Sunday, and LBJ gave his famous "We Shall Overcome" speech the next week - and got the Civil Rights Act of 1965 passed that summer

B) The three branches of the federal government used measures including desegregation of the armed services, Brown v. Board of Education, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to promote greater racial equality.

- * Truman stood up for civil rights, both because he believed in fair treatment, but also because black voters now played a considerable role in elections in the North, and because the Soviets kept arguing American racism was why the US couldn't be trusted in the Third World; in 1946, he created the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights; in 1948, he desegregated the federal bureaucracy [synthesis: thus reversing Woodrow Wilson's heinous creation of segregation where none had been before] and the military; he then sent a civil rights message to Congress asking that the poll tax be abolished and the wartime Fair Employment Practices Commission be restored (all of these actions brought out the black vote for Truman in 1948, which led to his victory, and the equally important defeat of Strom

Thurmond and the racist, segregationist Dixiecrats)
* HUAC and/or the FBI persecuted black civil rights leaders as communists, including the NAACP, Paul Robeson (who was a communist sympathizer), and Martin Luther King
* *Brown v. Board of Education* ended the legality of school segregation [see previous box for other Supreme Court rulings]
* In 1957, the Little Rock Nine students tried to enroll in a white school, and were forcibly refused by the governor and the National Guard; Eisenhower sent in federal troops and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard, to protect the black students
* In 1962, Congress proposed the 24th Amendment, to abolish the poll tax (which prevented poor people from voting, particularly if they were minorities, by charging them money to vote); the states ratified it in 1964
* JFK called for a Civil Rights Act in his 1960 campaign, but failed to get one (he had to have “Solid South” for 1964); southern violence being televised forced his call for one shortly before his death – as Kennedy said, “The civil rights movement should thank God for Bull Connor. He helped it as much as Abraham Lincoln.”
* LBJ used the grief over JFK’s assassination, the anger over the increasing violence in the South, and his own far more effective relationship with Congress, to pass the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964, over southern filibusters: the Civil Rights Act banned discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and sex (that women benefitted was ironic, since the word had been added by a Southern Democrat in the mistaken belief it would kill the bill!); also, segregation was banned in public accommodations and schools; federal government now in charge, with Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created to enforce it
* Voting Rights Act of 1965 outlawed literacy tests, and gave the federal government the right to investigate any county with less than 50% voter registration; black voter registration skyrocketed as a result [LBJ said “We’ve lost the South for a generation” – he was wrong, the Democrats lost the South permanently, as Nixon’s “southern strategy” showed, followed by Reagan and the two Bushes winning due to the eventual migration of most Southern whites to the Republican Party
* 1965 urban riots in Watts and 1967 Detroit and over twenty other city riots led to LBJ ordering the Kerner Commission Report, which said poverty and segregation had created two Americas, black and white
* failure of South to end segregation by 1970 led to attempts by courts to use busing to forcibly end segregation; black children were brought to white schools, while white children were brought to black schools; the tactic worked in the South, but in the North, was met with successful legal blocks, because of different school districts being involved; “white flight” to suburbs created racially segregated schools, since the distances were too far for busing

	<p>* affirmative action programs instituted on various government levels to address minority disadvantages (proposed by JFk, LBJ then made them part of his Great Society); programs were met by charges of “reverse discrimination” and then began to be overturned by <i>Bakke v. University of California</i> (1978), when a white man sued because he had been denied entry in favor of less qualified minority candidates [synthesis: this trend to cut affirmative action accelerated until it’s largely gone now]</p>
<p>C) Continuing resistance slowed efforts at desegregation, sparking social and political unrest across the nation. Debates among civil rights activists over the efficacy of nonviolence increased after 1965.</p> <p>C), cont.</p>	<p>* White southern senators used the filibuster, the KKK used violence and intimidation, school districts filed for injunctions in court, white officials throughout the South dragged their heels – in short, the South (and parts of the North) did everything they could to deny civil rights to African-Americans and maintain the status quo</p> <p>* Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 were great achievements, leading to the 14th and 15th amendments finally being enforced, but having achieved those, change did not immediately result; in particular, the grinding poverty African-Americans largely lived in was frustrating and demeaning, and produced great anger, which exploded in Watts in 1965 and in Detroit and many other cities in 1967</p> <p>* King began turning to the issues of poverty, as well as an opposition to Vietnam, in response to the Watts riots; King began criticizing LBJ for his failure to address black poverty, and for the involvement in Vietnam (which disproportionately drafted black and Latino men); he was in Memphis to support a black sanitation worker strike when he was assassinated</p> <p>* Malcolm X was the main spokesman for the black nationalism of the Nation of Islam, pushing for a complete rejection of any kind of accommodations with whites, as an impossible goal (whites were seen as <i>all</i> racists) and advocating the use of violence for defense, as well as speaking out for black pride (“black is beautiful” and a celebration of African heritage, for example); when he broke from the Nation of Islam, after his pilgrimage to Mecca (in which he found not all whites were racist), he was assassinated for his apostasy</p> <p>* Stokely Carmichael organized Black Power, to rely entirely on African-American efforts, and creating independent communities which would not seek to integrate with white America (King wanted to end segregation; Carmichael wanted to remain separate); Black Power activists did, however, work with LBJ’s War on Poverty to create jobs, as well as better housing and health care; Black Power activists opposed police brutality</p> <p>* Black Panther Party founded by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale to stop police violence against African-Americans through being armed and willing to use violence back; they strongly opposed the Vietnam War, and called for a revolution; they created a variety of social welfare programs, including free breakfast for school children, health care, and self-defense; the 1968 Olympics is remembered for two black athletes using the raised fist in a</p>

black leather glove, a Black Panther salute, during the national anthem
 * black politicians began organizing on the grassroots level to start winning political office, particularly at the city level; by 1980, black mayors, even in southern cities, were not uncommon; the trend would continue upward from that point on

II. Responding to social conditions and the African American civil rights movement, a variety of movements emerged that focused on issues of identity, social justice, and the environment.

A) Feminist and gay and lesbian activists mobilized behind claims for legal, economic, and social equality.

* 1960 invention of the birth control pill had an unexpected social consequence: women began to demand equal rights
 * divorces became more common as states made them easier to obtain
 * women began attending college in larger numbers [synthesis: in the 21st century, they are the majority on most college campuses]
 * 1963 Presidential Commission on the Status of Women documented the discrimination in the workplace and schools
 * Women’s movement spurred by the publication of Betty Friedan’s 1963 groundbreaking book, *The Feminine Mystique*, which argued against the dissatisfaction of college-educated women stuck at home being wives and mothers rather than pursuing careers
 * 1963 Equal Pay Act established principle of equal pay for equal work with men [in 2016, the battle is not over – women still make less than men do for the same jobs]
 * In 1966, NOW (National Organization of Women) was formed to push for equal rights for women
 * “Women’s liberation” became the new term for feminism in the late 60s; coming out of the counterculture and civil rights movements, they used protest tactics to push for equal rights; in 1968, the Miss America pageant saw women protesting the sexism of the event, and condemning their bras and high-heel shoes as repressive symbols; “sexism” and “male chauvinism” became popular terms; they pushed for child care, equal pay, control over reproduction (including the right to choose an abortion, which they gained in the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision); they argued they were more than bodies and sexual objects, and they deserved to be treated as equal human beings; they fought against rape and sexual harassment
 * 1972 Title IX addition to the Civil Rights Act opened up colleges for women, tying federal funds to an agreement not to discriminate on the basis of sex
 * Congress added provisions to the tax code for child care and also made it legal for married women to get credit in their own names
 * ERA (the Equal Rights Amendment) was proposed in 1923, then sent out by Congress as a constitutional amendment in 1972: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on the basis of sex.”; the amendment *almost* got ratified, when Phyllis Schlafly led a conservative assault to destroy it – and succeeded (Schlafly

A), cont.

	<p>wanted women to remain in the home as wives and mothers)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * <i>Roe v. Wade</i> insured women the control of their own bodies, a major goal of feminism * WWII enabled the development of gay neighborhoods, which then led to gay and lesbian civil rights movements in the Sixties and Seventies * Kinsey reports argued that homosexuality was far more common than anyone realized (began movement away from homosexuality being classified as a mental illness) * Homophile movements began in Fifties to promote awareness and gain equal rights; they worked hard to appear middle class and “normal” in order to gain acceptance * blacklist, FBI, and anti-Communist investigations often targeted homosexuals, so the persecution was real on the institutional level * Vast majority of homosexuals remained hidden (“in the closet”) in the 60s; most states banned same-sex practices * The break with the past came with the Stonewall riots in 1969, when gay patrons at the gay Stonewall Inn fought back against police oppression in Greenwich Village * gay rights movement worked to get rid of laws criminalizing homosexuality; little progress was made before 1980, except on the local level, as with Harvey Milk in San Francisco (prior to his murder); Anita Bryant, a former beauty pageant winner, launched “Save Our Children” to protest local gay rights ordinances in Florida, and she succeeded in repealing them
<p>B) Latino, American Indian, and Asian American movements continued to demand social and economic equality and a redress of past injustices.</p> <p>B), cont.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Mexican-Americans returned from WWII determined to fight against Jim Crow laws in the Southwest aimed at them, as well as fighting the poverty most of their communities suffered from; in 1948, American GI Forum founded in Texas and the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles; Cesar Chavez worked for the CSO; <i>Mendez v. Westminster School District</i> ended segregation for Mexican-Americans in California in 1947 (Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP filed an amicus curiae brief in support); in the Fifties, federal government began actively deporting Mexican-American illegal immigrants in “Operation Wetback”; in the Sixties, Chavez would lead the United Farm Workers in boycotts to call for better pay and working conditions for migrant workers; Brown Berets and Chicano movement would lead to more confrontational protests and Chicano Studies in college * Japanese-Americans sued to recover their land taken from them in the war, and fought for the right to own land * Restrictive covenants, legally prohibiting anything but white occupants of housing, banned by Supreme Court in <i>shelley v. Kramer</i> (1948) – they had targeted Asians as well * Native Americans served in WWII with great distinction (the Navajo code talkers, for example); they returned to the worst poverty levels of any minority in America * Until the 1930s, the process of severalty continued, breaking up the reservations and pushing for assimilation. But in 1934, John

Collier created the “Indian New Deal” under FDR’s approval. The Indian Reorganization Act reversed the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act and restored control of the reservations to tribal councils who set up constitutions. The attempts to enforce assimilation ended, and a commitment to cultural respect and diversity ensued. The government pledged help to preserve Indian cultural traditions, but the problems of poverty, unemployment, alcoholism, crime, and a lack of education would continue to plague the Indians until the present day.

- * In the fifties, Eisenhower returned to an attempt to enforce assimilation by terminating the legal standing of native tribes and pushing members to move off of reservations. The Cold War drive to conform and assimilate also coincided with the greed of mining, timber, and agricultural sectors who wanted Indian lands. The Bureau of Indian Affairs subsidized moves to the cities and set up relocation centers. This was a disaster, since the Indians had great difficulties in dealing with an urban environment. By the time the policy was halted in 1958, 60,000 Indians had moved to the cities, largely to poor urban neighborhoods with other minorities.
- * The sixties and seventies saw both triumphs and tragedies for Indians, who now wished to term themselves native Americans. Nixon signed the 1971 Alaska Native Land Claims Act, which restored 40 million acres and paid nearly a billion dollars to Eskimos, Aleuts and other natives. Other tribes gained smaller settlements in other states. The tribal termination program was completely abandoned by the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1974, which restored the legal status of tribes as governing entities.
- * Using the model of the black civil rights movement, many native Americans banded together to lobby for participation in LBJ’s war on poverty. But a more radical movement of young native Americans formed the American Indian Movement (AIM), and took up the confrontational tactics of the black power movement. In 1969, they seized Alcatraz Island and offered \$24 worth of trinkets (to satirize the purchase of Manhattan). They held the island until 1971. In 1972, they occupied the headquarters of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the most hated organization in the native American world.
- * The most violent action took place in 1973, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, site of the massacre of the Sioux in 1890. The protestors took hostages, and the siege was violently broken up by an FBI assault.

C) Despite an overall affluence in postwar America, advocates raised concerns about the prevalence and persistence of poverty as a national problem.

- * “white flight” to the suburbs left behind an impoverished urban environment, particularly for minorities; cities were falling apart as a result, as were employment and educational opportunities; slums and segregation predominant; suburban, white America largely ignored the problem; manufacturing jobs became less available due to automation [synthesis: the problem continues

today, exacerbated by manufacturing moving overseas to take advantage of cheap, unregulated labor]

- * old, urban neighborhoods were often torn down for highways, new housing, and new business areas, but those who had lived there before the redevelopment were often displaced and not welcome (particularly the poor and minorities)
- * John Kenneth Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* criticized the middle class for ignoring the poor; Michael Harrington's *The Other America* pointed out that 1/3 of America was poor
- * LBJ began the "war on poverty" with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which included Head Start (free pre-schools), Job Corps and Upward Bound (jobs and job training for young people), VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), a kind of domestic Peace Corp; Great Society programs that addressed poverty included federal aid for schools and college grants and loans, the Urban Mass Transportation Act (for mass transit projects), Medicaid (health insurance for the poor), a higher minimum wage, food stamps, and HUD (Housing and Urban Development)
- * LBJ and the war on poverty advocated for urban housing projects, but the overcrowding that resulted from the high-rise "projects" often led to more crime, disease, and drug use, as well as removing a strong sense of community
- * urban riots (Watts, Detroit, etc., called attention to the problems, as did the Kerner Commission's investigations into the causes of those riots – see above)
- * Martin Luther King shifted his nonviolent civil rights movement to begin to address poverty
- * massive economic recession of the Seventies made all these problems worse; New York City had to declare bankruptcy

D) Environmental problems and accidents led to a growing environmental movement that aimed to use legislative and public efforts to combat pollution and protect natural resources. The federal government established new environmental programs and regulations.

- * Modern environmental movement kick-started by publication in 1962 of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*, which documented thoroughly the environmental damage of the pesticide DDT (one of the most compelling arguments was the imminent demise of the national bird, the bald eagle, due to the weakening of the egg shells)
- * LBJ pushed through the Wilderness Preservation Act in 1964, blocking ALL development in over 9 million acres of federal land, and in 1965, the Air and Water Quality Acts, to start fighting back against interstate pollution
- * in 1966, the Sierra Club blocked dams that would have flooded the Grand Canyon
- * the 1969 Santa Barbara, CA oil spill was a nationally broadcast

	<p>disaster, as was the Cuyahoga river <i>burning</i> near near Lake Erie due to all the chemicals (the <i>water</i> CAUGHT FIRE, people!)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Earth Day instituted in 1970 to raise awareness * Nixon then created the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) to begin federal investigation and supervision of environmental issues, followed by the Clean Air Act in 1970, the Water Pollution Act in 1972, and the Endangered Species Act in 1973 * Conservatives and corporations often opposed these efforts, as a unwarranted expansion of government regulations and a threat to employment * 1979 Three Mile Island accident accelerated the anti-nuclear movement, ending the authorization of any new nuclear power plants [still in effect in 2016] * Love Canal was an environmental wake-up call in the late 70s, when the chemical dumping of decades into the local watershed led to a variety of health issues, and the inhabitants' staging a massive protest which included the kidnapping of a federal official; Carter finally declared the area eligible for federal emergency aid, and helped the inhabitants evacuate
<p><i>III. Liberalism influenced postwar politics and court decisions, but it came under increasing attack from the left as well as from a resurgent conservative movement.</i></p>	
<p>A) Liberalism, based on anticommunism abroad and a firm belief in the efficacy of government power to achieve social goals at home, reached a high point of political influence by the mid-1960s.</p> <p>A), cont.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * The success of the New Deal and the Fair Deal in coping with the Depression [which was only ended by the massive deficit spending of WWII] and the Cold War led the majority of Americans to accepting the new role of government in solving social problems; Eisenhower and Nixon never questioned the basic tenets of government programs, and even expanded a number of them (Eisenhower expanded social security; Nixon even proposed a guaranteed income of \$1600 a year for a family of four, which never got through Congress) * Truman's Fair Deal built on, and extended, FDR's New Deal: he called for national health care insurance [synthesis: a program not fully implemented until Obamacare, although some would argue not even then], aid to education [not implemented until LBJ], housing aid (Truman passed the National Housing Act of 1949, which built almost a million low-income homes), higher minimum wages (which he got - and Eisenhower raised to a dollar in 1956), a repeal of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act (which he didn't get), and aid to farmers (which he didn't get). * LBJ was far more successful than Truman, given his mastery of Congress, a Democratic majority, and grief over JFK's death: the Great Society and the War on Poverty were the high tides of liberal attempts to solve social problems [see next entry] * Nixon and Ford accepted these programs * Carter tried to extend government activism in his energy programs, but also began moving to deregulation [which Reagan got credit for]
<p>B) Liberal ideas found expression in Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, which attempted to</p>	<p>* LBJ's Great Society and War on Poverty: a vast array of programs trying to out-FDR FDR: Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting</p>

<p>use federal legislation and programs to end racial discrimination, eliminate poverty, and address other social issues. A series of Supreme Court decisions expanded civil rights and individual liberties.</p> <p>B), cont.</p>	<p>Rights Act of 1965, and 24th Amendment (banning poll taxes) all dealt a blow to institutionalized prejudice; Economic Opportunity Act (Head Start, Job Corps, VISTA), Medicare (old people) and Medicaid (poor people), and an increase in minimum wage all tried to lessen poverty's damage; Elementary and Secondary Education Act began pouring federal funds into education for poor people; National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities brought back WPA's aid to creative efforts (and added aid to scholarship); Higher Education Act began offering college grants, and expanded existing student loan programs; Urban Mass Transit Transportation Act, Omnibus Housing Act, creation of HUD, and other programs tried to reinvigorate cities and extend infrastructure for impoverished urban areas; Immigration Act of 1965 began abandoning nativist immigration restrictions of 20s; Appalachian Regional and Development Act began channeling money to poor rural areas for public works</p> <p>* Warren Court was the most activist, liberal Supreme Court ever; they literally remade the legal landscape on a wide range of civil rights and civil liberties rulings: <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> (1954) made segregation illegal; abolished laws against interracial marriages [miscegenation] with <i>Loving v. Virginia</i> (1967); ruled the 4th amendment guaranteed a right to privacy with <i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i> (1965) [which is the basis for the Burger court ruling legalizing abortion in 1973, <i>Roe v. Wade</i>]; reinforced the separation of church and state by banning school prayer in <i>Engel v. Vitale</i> (1962); widened the rights of the accused with <i>Miranda v Arizona</i> (1966), which instituted the reading of the Miranda rights to all those arrested, as well as guaranteeing the right to an attorney to the poor with <i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i> (1963); incorporated the 4th amendment to the states with <i>Mapp v. Ohio</i>, (1961) which barred the use of evidence in court that was illegally obtained; expanded and clarified the rights of free speech and free press with a slew of rulings, including <i>New York Times Co. v. Sullivan</i> (1964), which restricted libel in the press solely to that which the publisher <i>knew</i> to be false when published, widened protections for what constituted obscenity in <i>Roth v. US</i> (1957) [later broadly widened to protect almost any kind of speech by the Burger Court in <i>Miller v. California</i> (1973), which ended almost all censorship in the US over time]</p> <p>* Burger extended much Warren Court liberalism, despite four Nixon appointees; in addition to <i>Roe v. Wade</i> and <i>Miller v. California</i>, they also struck down all capital punishment with <i>Furman v. Georgia</i> (1972) (later reversed to allow death penalty again in <i>Gregg v. Georgia</i> (1976))</p>
<p>C) In the 1960s, conservatives challenged liberal laws and court decisions and perceived moral and cultural decline, seeking to limit the role of the federal</p>	<p>* Conservative movement began in opposition to FDR and the New Deal, with the National Association of Manufacturers, promoting laissez-faire capitalism, which laid the groundwork for conservatism's rise in the Sixties</p>

government and enact more assertive foreign policies.

* Conservatism stood in opposition to expansion of power of federal government [synthesis: states' rights position of Jefferson, Calhoun, and the Dixiecrats, among others], civil rights (on the basis of the federal government overreaching itself, although many would argue that was a cover for racism), the kind of permissivism that encouraged the counterculture, and welfare, on both fiscal and ethical grounds (too expensive, but also, they saw welfare as undercutting individualism and work ethic); conservatives often ran against the government, and in favor of law and order (which, on some level, is contradictory, as law and order demands the police powers of government be expanded)

* Conservatives often claimed they were the true anti-Communists, and liberals were often tarred as "pink"; they were hawks to the liberals' supposed doves (JFK and LBJ were both willing to use military force, but many liberals were opposed to any war, and the military as whole, until late in the 20th century)

* the 1964 presidential campaign is often cited as the year the conservatives began assuming control of the Republican Party, successfully nominating the libertarian Barry Goldwater to run against LBJ; Goldwater was furiously anti-Communist: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."; Goldwater also opposed the Civil Rights Act, although apparently not on racist terms (he seems to have genuinely believed it was wrong on grounds of expanding federal power; Goldwater was more a staunch libertarian than a conservative, as he had spoken out for equal rights, and later, for the right to an abortion; he also opposed the rise of the religious right); his campaign slogan was "In your heart, you know he's right" (to which the Democrats promoted, "In your guts, you know he's nuts"); LBJ won in a landslide, not least because Goldwater was portrayed as a lunatic who would bring on nuclear war (see the once-aired "Daisy" commercial)

* true meaning of 1964 election was the rise of Reagan as a spokesman for conservatism, and the dedication of his followers to take over the Republican Party

* conservatives began decrying the rise of the counterculture, the Sexual Revolution, and the drug culture; Spiro Agnew infamously assaulted *Easy Rider* for its celebration of drugs

* Young Americans for Freedom organized conservative college students against the expansion of the power of the federal government, and for free enterprise and the vigorous prosecution of the Vietnam War

* Nixon moved to the right and called for the Silent Majority to support him; his "southern strategy" peeled away many white Democrats who opposed the turn to civil rights in their party [by the 80s and 90s, the south would turn largely Republican as a result]

* George Wallace running as an independent on segregationist grounds showed conservatives where they could gain votes: law and order, hostility to welfare, and portraying liberals as snobs

C), cont.

	<p>who didn't care for the average person</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * conservatives decried the Warren Court's liberal decisions by calling it "legislating from the bench" and pushed for more conservative appointees to the Courts * Reagan nearly took the Republican nomination from the more moderate Ford in 1976; he easily took it in 1980 * Prop 13, which severely curtailed property taxes in California in 1979 (and ended free college tuition throughout the state), showed the local and state conservative movements gaining ground * many state legislatures were captured by the conservatives in the 70s [and eighties], laying the groundwork for Reagan in 1980, and the Republican Revolution in 1994, when they took the house for the first time in 50 years * Conservatives continued to call for staunch resistance to Communism and the USSR [Reagan pursued a military expansion vigorously in the 80s] * Carter's disastrous presidency led many voters to support conservatives across the country * rise of social conservatives (as opposed to Goldwater and Reagan's fiscal, libertarian conservatives) emerged in the Seventies, with the Fourth Great Awakening [leading to Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority in the 80s and 90s]
<p>D) Some groups on the left also rejected liberal policies, arguing that political leaders did too little to transform the racial and economic status quo at home and pursued immoral policies abroad.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) opposed Cold War policies generally, and Vietnam War specifically – the "New Left" * Martin Luther King came to believe LBJ wasn't going far enough in his war on poverty, as well as condemning his Vietnam War policies * counterculture called for an end to the Vietnam War, as well as the end to criminalizing drug use * 1968 saw the Democratic Convention erupt into riots as Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffmann organized the Yippies and nominated a pig for president; larger opposition actively demonstrated against the war, and Mayor Daley sent in the police to launch tear gas and crack heads – on national television (the chaos contributed directly to Nixon winning in 68) * The Weathermen were a secret liberal terrorist organization attempting to stop the war in Vietnam and overthrow the US government; they bombed government buildings and banks from the late 60s through the mid-70s * Symbionese Liberation Army was a liberal terrorist group trying to overthrow the US government; they infamously kidnapped heiress Patty Hearst and robbed banks – with her along for the ride...(she claimed she was brainwashed and threatened)
<p>E) Public confidence and trust in government's ability to solve social and economic problems declined in the 1970s in the wake of economic challenges, political</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * "credibility gap" of the Sixties widened after the Tet Offensive and LBJ's withdrawal from the 1968 election; Nixon's victory on the promise of "peace with honor" seen as hollow when he expanded the Vietnam War in Laos and Cambodia; the "Pentagon

<p>scandals, and foreign policy crises.</p>	<p>Papers” leaked by Daniel Ellsberg revealed the extent to which the US government had been lying to the American people * Nixon and the Watergate scandal did nearly permanent damage to American belief in the presidency; his ordering of the wiretapping of Democratic National headquarters in the Watergate Hotel, and his furious attempts to cover up afterwards, ultimately led to his resignation to avoid his certain impeachment and removal from the presidency * Ford’s pardoning of Nixon only further damaged our trust in the presidency, as it seemed evidence of a bargain to make Ford president – a man we never elected president, since he was appointed to replace Spiro Agnew, who had to resign the vice presidency due to being charged with tax evasion * Jimmy Carter’s rise to the presidency after a single term as Georgia governor could only happen in the aftermath of Republican scandal (as it was, he barely won); Carter was a born-again Christian, a moral man who believed in the truth – and a seemingly incompetent micro-manager with almost no political skills whatsoever; that apparent incompetency, and failure to solve a raft of problems, led to even further erosion of belief in the government and the presidency to solve our problems: massive inflation, a collapsing economy, a miserable energy crisis, a popular culture increasingly steeped in drugs and sex and selfishness (the “Me Decade”), and the Iranian Hostage crisis (which Carter couldn’t solve, and was shamed by a disastrous failure to rescue the hostages) [Carter would go on to become the finest ex-president of the twentieth century, selflessly committing himself to social justice causes, most notably Habitats for Humanity]</p>
<p>F) The 1970s saw growing clashes between conservatives and liberals over social and cultural issues, the power of the federal government, race, and movements for greater individual rights.</p> <p>F), cont.</p>	<p>* Liberals and conservatives took radically opposing points of view on a wide variety of issues: drugs (conservatives moved to criminalize them), sex (liberals tended to be tolerant of all kinds of sexual behaviors, including homosexuality and premarital sex), pornography (for a time in the mid-70s, it was very chic to attend public showings of pornography among liberals), abortion (conservatives, then as now, strongly opposed the right to choose), women’s rights (Phyllis Schlafly and other conservatives killed the ERA and opposed women in the workplace), affirmative action (conservatives called for an end to these programs, and eventually succeeded), education (conservatives wanted the three R’s – readin’, writin’, and ‘rithmetic – while liberals wanted a more expanded curriculum), obscenity in entertainment (conservatives constantly assaulted Hollywood for corrupting their children), military expansion (liberals wanted to seriously downgrade the military to prevent another Vietnam), the space program (liberals often opposed, due to wanting to spend that money on social problems; Walter Mondale almost singlehandedly destroyed the Apollo program when he was in the Senate); environmentalism (conservatives called people “tree-huggers” and wanted nothing that would cost jobs), nuclear</p>

power (liberals saw it as too dangerous); gay rights (social conservatives strongly opposed as unethical and immoral); divorce (liberals tended to support the right to a divorce, as a humane act to end unhappy marriages; conservatives opposed); creationism (conservatives opposed any teaching of evolution; liberals opposed creationism, because it isn't science)

Key Concept 8.3:

Postwar economic and demographic changes had far-reaching consequences for American society, politics, and culture.

I. Rapid economic and social changes in American society fostered a sense of optimism in the postwar years.

A) A burgeoning private sector, federal spending, the baby boom, and technological developments helped spur economic growth.

* WWII is unprecedented for many reasons, not the least of which is a lack of the typical economic collapse after the war; massive savings in the form of liberty bonds, a lack of commercial goods during the war, the dominance of world markets, and the sole undamaged industrial plant remaining allowed Americans to rapidly have an economic boom that would last for the next two decades (collapsing in the Seventies in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, as well as the rise to dominance of our former enemies, the Germans and Japanese, and the energy crisis); while there were a few bumps – conflicts between labor and management, increasing strikes, the end of price controls causing widespread inflation (abetted by the lack of consumer goods for a brief time) – the resulting boom was unprecedented in world history

* although Truman made attempts to demobilize, the Cold War restored federal spending to WWII levels and maintained them for decades, thus goosing the economy; the military-industrial complex and the expansion of corporations kept the economy jumping

* returning veterans got busy making babies; from 1946 to the early Sixties, the US had an unprecedented and unmatched increase in the number of children being born, called the baby boom; being married was nearly universal by the Fifties (and divorce less than 1%!)

* consumer culture now drove the American economy, with the automobile in the lead, followed by appliances, televisions, and anything else people could think of

B) As higher education opportunities and new technologies rapidly expanded, increasing social mobility encouraged the migration of the middle class to the suburbs and of many Americans to the South and West. The Sun Belt region emerged as a significant political and economic force.

* GI Bill allowed an entire generation to go to college; attending college became the standard for the middle class (and would eventually expand, especially with affirmative action programs, to include more minorities)

* colleges were expanded, new colleges were built, community colleges for job skills were added

* WWII had encouraged Americans to migrate, to join husbands near military bases and to get defense industry jobs

* Many went to California, where the aerospace / defense industry had plenty of room to expand; Pacific theater soldiers were channeled through San Francisco and Los Angeles, and they fell in love with the climate

* spread of air conditioning technology encouraged the move the

	<p>the Sun Belt of the American South and West, since the humidity and high temperatures could be endured with AC</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * “white flight” sent middle class America out to suburbs, to seek better housing and more affluent lifestyles * decline of Northeast into the “rust belt” also drove migration in the Seventies * South’s increase in population, matched with its transformation into a Republican stronghold, increased its political power, while the old liberal Northeast saw its power steadily decline with the loss of population and congressional / electoral college seats
<p>C) Immigrants from around the world sought access to the political, social, and economic opportunities in the United States, especially after the passage of new immigration laws in 1965.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Chinese ban ended in 1943, as they were our allies * Japanese occupation and Korean war brought war brides home from those cultures * Cubans immigrated in the wake of the Fidel Castro takeover * LBJ ended the nativist immigrant bans in 1965 * Proximity to Mexico led to large numbers of immigrants in the 60s and 70s [by 2010, Latinos from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central America would lead them to become the dominant minority in the US in terms of sheer numbers—but in 2010, Asian-Americans proved to be the fastest growing minority, including Japanese, Korean, Chinese, Filipino, India, and Pakistan] * After the Vietnam War, US accepted well over half-a-million Vietnamese and other Asian refugees
<p><i>II. New demographic and social developments, along with anxieties over the Cold War, changed U.S. culture and led to significant political and moral debates that sharply divided the nation.</i></p>	
<p>A) Mass culture became increasingly homogeneous in the postwar years, inspiring challenges to conformity by artists, intellectuals, and rebellious youth.</p> <p>A), cont.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Television and conspicuous consumption helped to produce a mass culture which promoted “keeping up with the Joneses” – everybody had to drive bigger and bigger cars (preferably with fins); everybody had to own the same appliances; everybody wanted to watch the same shows; tv dinners and fast food restaurants like MacDonaldis just another sign * cultural critics pointed to the conformity of corporations (“The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit” and organization men) and the fears of McCarthyism, which created a conformist culture that was hard to buck (divorce was unheard of) * youth culture now on the rise – the teenager, rock’n’roll, records, same haircuts, same clothes, etc. * Serious resistance began: the Beats, like Jack Kerouac and Allan Ginsberg, assaulted middle class morality (try reading a few lines from “Howl” sometime), promoted a counterculture that included premarital sex, marijuana, and even heroin; jazz moved into an angrier form with bebop (which saw heroin become a mark of inclusion in the culture); Hugh Hefner began <i>Playboy</i> magazine, which promoted an open sexuality for the “girl next door”); science fiction writers often used the genre to create social satires and criticism of mainstream culture (see Pohl and Kornbluth’s <i>The Space Merchants</i> for an assault on advertising, or Robert Heinlein’s <i>Stranger in a Strange Land</i> for an assault on

	<p>practically every practice of mainstream American culture, especially television, religion, and monogamy); rock'n'roll was dangerous at first, with black artists like Little Richard and Chuck Berry promoting a much freer sexuality, and Elvis Presley cashing in on their invention while rattling all kinds of middle-class cages with his look and moves; Hollywood promoted its own rebelliousness, with James Dean and Marlon Brando, but also by challenging the censorship of previous decades with Marilyn Monroe and movies which pushed the boundaries of acceptable topics (sex, drugs, and adultery being just a few)</p>
<p>B) Feminists and young people who participated in the counterculture of the 1960s rejected many of the social, economic, and political values of their parents' generation, introduced greater informality into U.S. culture, and advocated changes in sexual norms.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Counterculture rejected materialism [synthesis: until the baby boomers got over it, and wanted to own stuff, and became the Yuppies of the Eighties] * use of drugs, recreational sex (birth control pill), informal living arrangements ("shacking up" rather than getting married), rock'n'roll all became more common * the "generation gap" symbolized more by long hair on sons and short buzzcuts on fathers than any other image; baby boomers often rejected their parents' choices and went their own way * In 1960, a man rarely left the house unless he was wearing a suit, tie, and hat; by 1970, hat sales had plummeted; jeans and t-shirts became far more common * even as late as 1970, no child would ever call an adult by their first name, but saying "sir" or "ma'am" to an older person went into decline; signs saying "no shoes no shirts no service" became nearly universal in restaurants * Sexual Revolution of the Sixties, spurred by the birth control pill and a growing awareness of sexual behavior, led women and men to experiment, and have multiple partners; marriage went into decline, as divorce became much more common (divorce rates went from less than 1% in 1960 to more than 50% by 1980) * feminists rejected roles as wives and mothers and demanded equality and careers; "Miss" and "Mrs." replaced by "Ms."; people debated whether it was sexist to hold a door open for a woman; feminists rejected objectification, and sexist language such as being called "chicks"
<p>C) The rapid and substantial growth of evangelical Christian churches and organizations was accompanied by greater political and social activism on the part of religious conservatives.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * In the Fifties, religion began to rise again, largely out of fear over nuclear war and communism; we added "under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance, and our coins and money * televangelism helped spread a more evangelical faith, beginning with Billy Graham and Robert Schuller; if you were good with God, God would shower you with material wealth; Norman Vincent Peale pushed the "power of positive thinking" to get success * Social Gospel alive and well in churches in the 50s and 60s, as people became actively involved in charity and civil rights advocacy through their churches * The Fourth Great Awakening is in full swing by the Seventies, largely out of fear over the social changes of the Sixties: the

Sexual Revolution, the meteoric rise in the divorce rate, the unrest and anger in the streets, the changing roles of women (and feminism's call for more changes), the more open nature of a society which included the visible presence of homosexuality, pornography, and abortion

* evangelical church membership skyrocketed in the 70s, spread by televangelism (Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Jim Bakker, Oral Roberts, Jimmy Swaggart)

* they wanted to protect the family, and traditional family values (which were based on a paternal provider, a stay-at-home mom, and well-behaved children); they wanted to end abortion, homosexuality, divorce, and pornography as equally sinful; they used churches, books, education, and television to spread their message; home-schooling and religious schools were used to remove their children from public forums

* [in the Eighties and Nineties, they would enter politics en masse to try and control the cultural forces they disdained, as the Religious Right]