

Foner 2/e
Chapter 26
Chapter Outline

- I. President Nixon
 - A. Sporadic conservatism of President Richard Nixon
 - B. Nixon's domestic policy
 - 1. Liberal side
 - a. New regulatory agencies
 - i. Environmental Protection Agency
 - ii. Occupational Safety and Health Administration
 - iii. National Transportation Safety Board
 - b. Lavish spending on social services
 - c. Environmental protection legislation
 - i. Endangered Species Act
 - ii. Clean Air Act
 - d. Family Assistance Plan
 - e. Promotion of affirmative action: Philadelphia Plan
 - 2. Conservative side
 - a. New Federalism: "block grants" to states
 - b. Nomination of jurists with segregationist pasts to Supreme Court
 - c. Abandonment of Philadelphia Plan; courting of working-class whites
 - C. Racial policy and the Burger Court
 - 1. The Burger Court
 - a. Appointment of Chief Justice Warren Burger by Nixon
 - b. Burger's surprisingly moderate tenure
 - 2. Rulings on school desegregation measures
 - a. Approval
 - i. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*
 - ii. Subsequent spread of court-ordered busing plans
 - iii. Local controversies; Boston crisis
 - b. Limits on extent: *Milliken v. Bradley*
 - 3. Rulings on affirmative action
 - a. The court and affirmative action
 - b. Approval
 - i. *Griggs v. Duke Power Company*
 - ii. *United Steelworkers of America v. Weber*
 - c. Mixed: *Bakke v. University of California*
 - i. Rejection of racial quotas, approval of consideration of race
 - ii. Ambiguous legacy
 - D. The continuing sexual revolution
 - 1. Premarital sex
 - 2. Rising divorce rate
 - 3. Declining birth rate
 - E. Expanding opportunities for women
 - 1. Title IX
 - 2. Equal Credit Opportunity Act
 - 3. Influx of women into workforce
 - a. Professional
 - b. Pink collar
 - F. Strides of gay and lesbian movement
 - 1. Growing political presence
 - 2. Gay rights measures
 - 3. Coming out
 - G. The Seventies as "me decade"

- H. Nixon and détente—foreign policy
 - 1. Hard-line side
 - a. Support for pro-U.S. dictatorships
 - b. Chilean coup
 - i. U.S. role
 - ii. Brutal outcome
 - 2. "Realist" side
 - a. New approach to communist powers
 - i. Break from monolithic conception
 - ii. Pursuit of "peaceful coexistence"; "détente"
 - b. China initiative
 - i. Nixon visit
 - ii. Broadening of diplomatic and trade relations
 - c. Soviet Union initiative
 - i. Nixon visit
 - ii. Trade agreements
 - iii. Arms control treaties: SALT, Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
- I. Vietnam and Watergate
 - 1. Nixon and Vietnam
 - a. "Secret plan"
 - b. "Vietnamization"
 - c. Invasion of Cambodia
 - 2. Swelling of antiwar sentiment
 - a. Indications
 - i. Magnitude of campus protest
 - ii. Social breadth of protest
 - iii. Spread of alienation among troops
 - iv. War Powers Act
 - b. Contributing factors
 - i. Killings at Kent State, Jackson State
 - ii. Revelations of My Lai massacre
 - iii. Publication of Pentagon Papers
 - 3. The end of the Vietnam War
 - a. Paris peace agreement
 - i. Provisions
 - ii. Unresolved issues
 - b. Collapse of South Vietnam
- J. Nixon's landslide reelection over George McGovern
- K. Watergate
 - 1. Background: Nixon's obsession with secrecy, thwarting opposition
 - a. "Enemies list"
 - b. Pattern of illegal actions
 - i. Wiretapping, break-ins, political sabotage
 - ii. "Plumbers": Ellsberg break-in
 - 2. Watergate break-in
 - 3. White House cover-up
 - 4. Unraveling of cover-up
 - a. Trial of burglars
 - b. Investigative journalism
 - c. Congressional hearings
 - d. Special prosecutor
 - e. Revelations of White House tapes
 - f. Supreme Court ruling on tapes
 - 5. House Judiciary Committee call for impeachment
 - 6. Nixon's Fall—resignation of Nixon

7. Significance and aftermath
 - a. Convictions, imprisonment of top administration figures
 - b. Measures to address government abuse of power
 - i. Church Committee hearings
 - ii. Congressional restrictions on FBI, CIA
 - iii. Freedom of Information Act
 - c. Corrosion of public faith in government, liberal outlook
- II. End of Golden Age
- A. Economic slowdown
 1. Indications
 - a. Decline of manufacturing
 - b. Slow growth rate
 - c. Inflation
 - d. Trade deficit
 - e. Federal deficit
 - f. Unemployment
 - g. Interest rates
 - h. "Stagflation"; "misery index"
 2. Causes
 - a. Competition from foreign manufacture
 - b. Cost of Vietnam War
 - c. Surge in oil prices
 - i. 1973 Middle East war
 - ii. Oil embargo
 - iii. "Oil shocks" in America
 - iv. Growth of western energy production
 3. Nixon economic responses
 - a. United States off gold standard
 - b. Wage and price controls
 - B. The beleaguered social compact
 1. New hardships
 - a. Accelerated decline of manufacturing jobs; shift to lowerpaying service jobs
 - b. Decline of public services
 - c. Rise in poverty rate
 - d. Weakening and shrinking of labor movement
 2. New opportunities
 - a. Growth of Sunbelt
 - b. Remaking of city centers
 - C. Ford as president
 1. Gerald Ford's ascension to presidency
 2. Domestic record
 - a. Nixon pardon
 - b. Anti-inflation campaign
 - c. Economic recession; rise in unemployment
 3. Foreign policy record: Helsinki Accord
 - D. The Carter administration
 1. Jimmy Carter
 - a. Background
 - b. Reputation for honesty, piety; "outsider" status
 - c. Political orientation
 - i. Shades of old "Progressive" approach
 - ii. Embrace of black aspirations
 - d. Electoral victory over Ford
 2. Domestic record

- a. Carter and the economic crisis
 - i. Elements: spending cuts, deregulation, higher interest rates
 - ii. Conflict with Congress over
 - iii. Persistence of inflation
 - b. Call for expanded use of nuclear energy
 - i. Argument for
 - ii. Impact of Three Mile Island
 - c. "Crisis of confidence" speech
 - 3. Foreign policy record
 - a. Humanitarian philosophy
 - i. De-emphasis of Cold War thinking
 - ii. Emphasis on Third World poverty
 - iii. Countering nuclear proliferation
 - iv. Emergence of human rights politics
 - b. Manifestations of humanitarian philosophy
 - i. Camp David accord
 - ii. Panama Canal treaty
 - iii. Limits on support for Central American dictators (Nicaragua, El Salvador)
 - iv. SALT II agreement
 - c. Limits of humanitarian philosophy
 - i. Continuation of international arms sales
 - ii. Continued support for repressive allies
 - 4. Iran crisis
 - a. Background
 - i. Iran's strategic importance to United States
 - ii. American support for repressive Shah
 - b. Iranian revolution
 - i. Islamic fundamentalism; Ayatollah Khomeini
 - ii. Anti-American spirit
 - c. Seizing of American hostages
 - d. Plunging popularity of Carter
 - 5. Afghanistan crisis
 - a. Soviet invasion
 - b. Carter response
 - i. Announcement of Carter Doctrine
 - ii. Grain embargo
 - iii. Olympic boycott
 - iv. Withdrawal of SALT II treaty
 - v. Boost in military spending
 - vi. Aid to Afghan resistance
 - 6. Carter's conservative legacy
 - a. Domestic policy
 - b. Foreign policy
- III. The Rising tide of conservatism
 - A. Context
 - 1. Economic problems
 - 2. International crises
 - 3. Civil rights and sexual revolutions
 - 4. Rising crime rates
 - B. Currents
 - 1. "Neo-conservatives"
 - a. Aims
 - i. Curtailment of domestic programs
 - ii. Renewal of Cold War foreign policy

- b. Think tanks
 - 2. The Religious Right
 - a. Popular base
 - b. Aims
 - i. Promotion of "Christian values"
 - ii. Opposition to "sexual revolution"
 - c. Mobilization
 - i. Modern means of spreading message
 - ii. Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority
 - C. Conservative backlash
 - 1. Against gay rights
 - a. Anita Bryant
 - b. Save Our Children
 - 2. Against Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
 - a. Origins of ERA
 - b. Approval by Congress
 - c. Ratification battles
 - i. Themes of opposition
 - ii. Phyllis Schlafly
 - d. Outcome: final defeat of ERA
 - 3. Against abortion rights
 - a. Targeting of *Roe v. Wade*
 - b. "Right to life" vs. "right to choose"
 - c. Points of conflict
 - i. *Roe v. Wade*
 - ii. Judicial nominations
 - iii. Public funding of abortions
 - iv. Demonstrations, violence against abortion providers
 - d. Outcomes
 - i. Continuing legality of abortion
 - ii. Impact of intimidation
 - 4. Against taxes
 - a. Background: mounting resentment of government intervention, tax burden
 - b. Proposition 13 (California)
 - i. Passage
 - ii. Material effects in California
 - iii. Political repercussions around nation
 - 5. Against federal regulation of western lands; Sagebrush Rebellion
 - D. Election of 1980
 - 1. Backdrop: conservative tide across Western world
 - 2. Campaign of Ronald Reagan
 - a. Breadth of conservative themes
 - b. Ability to galvanize and broaden conservative base
 - 3. Reagan landslide victory
 - 4. Carter's historical reputation
 - a. As president
 - b. As former president
- IV. The Reagan revolution
- A. Background on Reagan
 - 1. Political evolution
 - 2. Political skills
 - B. Reagan and American freedom—Impact on national agenda
 - C. "Reaganomics"—economic program
 - 1. Philosophy

- a. Theory of "supply side" ("trickle-down") economics
 - b. Retreat from principle of progressive taxation
 - c. Hostility to government regulation, union power
- 2. Key initiatives
 - a. Drastic reductions in federal taxes and top tax rates
 - b. Dismantling of regulation
 - i. Cutbacks on regulatory agencies
 - ii. Appointment of pro-business regulators
 - c. Dismissal of striking air traffic controllers (PATCO)
- D. Economic trends under Reagan
 - 1. Harsh recession, then prolonged expansion
 - 2. Strengths
 - a. Robust stock market
 - b. Low inflation
 - c. High profits
 - d. Technological advances
 - 3. Down-sides
 - a. Weakening of labor movement
 - b. Ongoing decline in manufacturing
 - c. "Downsizing"
 - d. Rising economic inequality
 - e. Middle-class stagnation, hardships for working-class minorities and poor
 - f. Emphasis on corporate deal making over production
 - g. Reckless financial speculation; Savings and Loan scandal
 - h. Ballooning of budget deficits, national debt
- E. The second "Gilded Age" and inequality
 - 1. Affirmation of "greed"
 - 2. "Yuppies"
- F. Reagan reelection victory over Walter Mondale
- G. Conservatives' and Reagan
 - 1. Areas of approval
 - a. Cuts in federal antipoverty efforts
 - b. Curtailment of civil rights enforcement, affirmative action
 - c. Verbal support for conservative social agenda
 - i. Curtailment of abortion, gender equality
 - ii. Prayer in schools
 - iii. War on drugs
 - 2. Areas of disappointment
 - a. Unwillingness to undo core elements of welfare state
 - b. Limited inclination or ability to advance conservative social agenda
- H. Reagan and the Cold War
 - 1. Philosophy
 - a. "Free World" vs. "evil empire"
 - b. Commitment to military strength
 - c. Impatience with "Vietnam syndrome"
 - d. Distinction between "totalitarian" and "authoritarian" regimes
 - 2. Key initiatives
 - a. Arms build-up
 - b. Strategic Defense Initiative
 - c. Nuclear deployment in Europe
 - d. Interventions abroad
 - i. Grenada
 - ii. Libya
 - iii. Lebanon

- e. Military aid
 - i. To pro-U.S. dictators
 - ii. To pro-U.S. insurgencies
- I. The Iran-Contra affair
 - 1. Features of scandal
 - a. Secret sale of arms to Iran
 - b. Illegal diversion of proceeds to Nicaraguan Contras
 - 2. Unraveling of scandal
 - a. Press leaks
 - b. Congressional hearings
 - 3. Political fallout
- J. Reagan and Gorbachev—easing the Cold War
 - 1. Mikhail Gorbachev
 - a. Emergence as Soviet leader
 - b. *Glasnost, perestroika*
 - 2. United States-Soviet negotiations
 - a. Arms control talks, agreements
 - b. Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan
- K. Reagan's legacy
 - 1. Rhetoric of conservative values
 - 2. Undermining of conservative values
 - 3. Triumph of conservative assumptions; discrediting of liberalism
- L. The Election of 1988
 - 1. Mudslinging
 - 2. George H. W. Bush victory over Michael Dukakis