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Chapter 33
From “The Age of Limits” to the Age of Reagan
Pages #886-#906

<p><u>Politics and Diplomacy After Watergate Pages #886-#889</u></p>	<p>1. The Ford Custodianship Pages #886-#887 <u>Nixon Pardoned</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Gerald Ford had to try to rebuild confidence in government in the face of the widespread cynicism the Watergate scandals had produced.<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ Tried to restore prosperity in the face of major domestic and international challenges to the American economy.<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Ford explained that he was attempting to spare the nation the ordeal of years of litigation and to spare Nixon himself any further suffering. <p><u>Fords Diplomatic Success</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● The Ford administration enjoyed less success in its effort to solve the problems of the American economy.<ul style="list-style-type: none">○ In the aftermath of the Arab oil embargo of 1973, the OPEC cartel began to raise the price of oil-by 400 percent in 1974 alone.<ul style="list-style-type: none">■ Ford retained Henry Kissinger as secretary of state and continued the general policies of Nixon■ Late in 1974, Ford met with Leonid Brezhnev at Vladivostok in Siberia and signed an arms control accord that was to serve as the basis for SALT II<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Achieving a goal the Nixon administration had long sought.● In the republican primary campaign Ford faced a powerful challenge from former California governor Ronald Reagan, leader of the party’s conservative wing, who spoke for many on the right who were unhappy with any conciliation of communists. <p>2. The Trials of Jimmy Carter Pages #887-#888 <u>Carter's Lack of Direction</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● Jimmy Carter assumed the presidency at a moment when the
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nation faced problems of staggering complexity and difficulty.

- He left office in 1981 one of the least popular presidents of the country.
 - He surrounded himself in the White House with group of close-knit associates from Georgia; and in the beginning, at least, he seemed deliberately to spurn assistance from more experienced political figures.

High Interstate Rates

- He moved first to reduce unemployment by raising public spending and cutting federal taxes. He appointed G. William Miller and then Paul Volcker, both conservative economists, to head the Federal Reserve Board, thus ensuring a policy of high interest rates and reduced currency supplies.

3. Human Rights and National Interests Page #888

Camp David Accords

- Among Jimmy Carter's most frequent campaign promises was a pledge to build a new basis for American foreign policy, one in which the defense of "human rights" would replace the pursuit of "selfish interest."
 - Domestic opposition to the treaties was intense, especially among conservatives who viewed the new arrangements as part of a general American retreat from international power.
 - In Tel Aviv, he announced that Egypt was now willing to accept the state of Israel as a legitimate political entity.
 - On September 17, Carter escorted the two leaders into the White House to announce agreement on a "framework" for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.
- On December 15, 1978, Washington and Beijing announced the resumption of formal diplomatic relations between the two nations.
 - The treaty set limits on the number of long-range missiles, bombers, and nuclear warheads on each side.

4. The Year of Hostages Pages #888-#889

Iranian Revolution

- Hopes of Soviet expansion
- In January 1979, the Shah fled the country.
 - By late 1979, revolutionary chaos in Iran was making any normal relations impossible.

**The Rise of the
New American
Right Pages
#889-895**

- In late October 1979, the deposed Shah arrived in New York to be treated for cancer. Days later, on November 4, an armed mob invaded the American embassy in Teheran, seized the diplomats and military personnel inside, and demanded the return of the Shah to Iran in exchange for their freedom.
 - 53 Americans remained hostages in the embassy for over a year.

Carter's Falling Popularity

- The combination of domestic economic troubles and international crises created widespread anxiety, frustration, and anger in the United States-damaging President Carter already low standing with the public, and giving added strength to an alternative political force that had already made great strides.

1. The Sunbelt and Its Politics Pages #889-#892

Rise of the Sunbelt

- The most widely discusses demographic phenomenon of the 1970s was the rise of what became known as the "Sunbelt"- a term coined by the political analyst Kevin Phillips to describe a collection of regions that emerged together in the postwar era to become the most dynamically growing parts of the country.
 - By 1980, the population of the Sunbelt had risen to exceed that of the older industrial regions of the North and the East.
- In the 1970s and early 1980s, the boom mentality of some of these rapidly growing areas conflicted sharply with the concerns of the older industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest.

Sagebrush Rebellion

- White southerners equated the federal government's effort to change racial norms in the region with what they believed was tyranny of Reconstruction.

Suburban Conservatism

- The so-called Sagebrush Rebellion, which emerged in parts of the West in the late 1970s, mobilized conservative opposition to environmental laws and restrictions on development. Suburbanization also fueled the rise of the right.

2. Religious Revivalism Pages #892-#893

Evangelical Christianity

- Evangelical Christians were an important part, but only a part, of what became known as the new right- a diverse but powerful

movement that enjoyed rapid growth in the 1970s and early 1980s.

- More than 70 million Americans now described themselves as “born-again” Christiansmen and women who had established a “direct personal relationship with Jesus”.

Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition

- For Jimmy Carter and for some others, evangelical Christianity had formed the basis for a commitment to racial and economic justice and to world peace.
 - The Moral Majority, the Christian Coalition, and other organizations of similar inclination opposed federal interference in local affairs; denounced abortion, divorce, enterprise; and supported a strong American posture in the world
- Programs less well funded

3. The Emergence of the New Right Pages #893-#894

Ronald Reagan

- In the early 1950s Roosevelt became a corporate spokesman for General Electric and won a wide following on the right with his smooth, eloquent speeches in defense of individual freedom and private enterprise.
 - In 1966, with the support of a group of a group of wealthy conservatives, he won the first of two terms as governor of California-which gave him a much more visible platform for promoting himself and his ideas.

4. The Tax Revolt Page #894

Proposition 13

- At least equally important to the success of the new right was a new and potent conservative issue: the tax revolt.

Attacking Texas

- The biggest and most expensive programs-Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and others-had the broadest support. In Proposition 13 and similar initiatives, members of the right found a better way to discredit government than by attacking specific programs: attacking taxes

5. The Campaign of 1980 Pages #894-#895

- Jimmy Carter's standing in popularity polls were lower than that of any president.

**The “Reagan
Revolution” Pages
#895-#901**

- On election day 1980, Reagan(R) won 51% of the vote to 41% for Jimmy Carter(D) and 7% for John Anderson(I)
- 1. Electoral votes: Reagan 489, Carter 49.
 - The Republican Party won control of the Senate for the first time since 1952.

1. The Reagan Coalition Pages #895-#896

Corporate Elites

- Reagan owed his election to widespread disillusionment with Carter and to the crises and disappointments that many voters, perhaps unfairly, associated with him.
- The Reagan coalition included a relatively small but highly influential group of wealthy Americans associated with the corporate and financial world-the kind of people who had dominated American politics and government through much of the nations history until the New Deal began to challenge their **preeminence.**

“Neo-Conservatives”

- A second element of the Reagan coalition was even smaller, but also disproportionately influential: a group of intellectuals commonly known as “neo-conservatives,” who gave to the right something it had not had in many years-a firm base among “opinion leaders”, people with access to the most influential public forums for ideas.

Populist Conservatives

- Neo-conservatives were sympathetic to the complaints and demands of capitalists, but their principal concern was to reassert legitimate authority and reaffirm Western democratic, anticommunists values and commitments.

2. Reagan in the White House Page #896

Ronald and Nancy Reagan

- Reagan was the master of television, a gifted public speaker, and -in public at least- struggled, fearless, and seemingly impervious to danger or misfortune.
 - He spent his many vacations on a California ranch, where he chopped wood and rode horses.
 - At times, the president revealed a startling ignorance about the nature of his own policies or the actions of his subordinates.

3. “Supply-Side” Economics Pages #896-#898

“Reaganomics”

- Reagan's 1980 campaign for the presidency had promised, among other things, to restore the economy to health by a bold experiment that became known as "supply-side" economics or, to some, "Reaganomics".
 - In its first months in office, accordingly, the new administration hastily assembled a legislative program based on the supply-side idea.

"Deregulation"

- The recession convinced many people, including some conservatives, that the Reagan economic program failed.

Sources of Recovery

- The gross national product had grown 3.6 percent in a year, the largest increase since the -1970s.
 - The economy continued to grow, and both inflation and unemployment remained low through most of the decade.
 - A worldwide "energy glut" and the virtual collapse of the OPEC cartel had produced at least a temporary end to the inflationary pressures of spiraling fuel costs

4. The Fiscal Crisis Pages #898-#899

Soaring National Debt

- By the mid-1980s, this growing fiscal crisis had become one of the central issues in American politics.
 - Throughout the 1980s, the annual budget deficit consistently exceeded \$100 billion.
 - The 1981 tax cuts, the largest in American history, contributed to the deficit.

Welfare Benefits Cut

- There were reductions in funding for food stamps; a major cut in federal subsidies for low-income housing; strict new limitations on Medicare and Medicaid payments; reductions in student loans, school lunches, and other educational programs; and an end to many forms of federal assistance to the states and cities-which helped precipitate years of local fiscal crises as well.
 - By the late 1980s, many fiscal conservatives were calling for a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget-a provision the president himself claimed to support.

**America and the
Waning of the
Cold War Pages
#901-#906**

5. Reagan and the World Pages #899-#901

SDI

- Determined to restore American pride and prestige in the world, he argued that the United States should once again become active and assertive in opposing communism and in supporting friendly governments whatever their internal policies.
 - The president spoke harshly of Soviet regime accusing it of sponsoring world terrorism and declaring that any armaments negotiations must be linked to negotiations on Soviet behavior in other areas.
 - Although the president had long denounced the SALT II arms control treaty as unfavorable to the United States, he continued to honor its provisions.
 - The Soviet Union claimed that the new program would elevate the arms race to new and more dangerous levels and insisted that any arms control agreement begin with an American abandonment of SDI.

Reagan Doctrine

- The New Policy became known as the Reagan Doctrine, and it meant, above all, a new American activism came in Latin America.
 - The Reagan administration spoke bravely about its resolve to punish terrorism; and at one point in 1986, the president ordered American planes to bomb site in Tripoli, the capital of Libya, whose controversial leader was widely believed to be a leading sponsor of terrorism

6. The Election of 1984 Page #901

- Reagan was victorious in the election winning 59% of the vote, carrying every state but Mondale's native Minnesota and the District of Columbia.
 - The election of 1984 was the first campaign of the Cold War. America and the Waning of the Cold War

1. The Fall of the Soviet Union Pages #901-#902

Mikhail Gorbachev

- The first he called glasnost (openness): the dismantling many of the repressive mechanisms that had been conspicuous features of Soviet life for over half a century.

Dissolution of the USSR

- The Communists Parties of Eastern Europe collapsed or redefined themselves into more conventional left-leaning social democratic parties.
 - Among other things, it legalized the chief black party in the nation, the African National Congress, which had been banned for decades; and on February 11, 1990, it released from prison the leader of the ANC, and a revered hero too black south Africans, Nelson Mandela, who had been in jail for 27 years.

2. Reagan and Gorbachev Pages #902-#903

- At a summit meeting with Reagan in Reykjavik, Iceland, in 1986, Gorbachev proposed reducing the nuclear arsenals of both sides by 50 percent or more, although continuing disputes over Reagan's commitment to the SDI program prevented agreements

3. The Fading of the Reagan Revolution Page #903

Savings and Loan Crisis

- There were revelations of illegality, corruption, and ethical lapses in the
 - Environmental Protection Agency,
 - the CIA,
 - the Department of Defense,
 - the Department of Labor,
 - the Department of Justice, and
 - the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Iran-Contra Scandal

- The most politically damaging scandal of the Reagan years came to light in November 1986, when the White House conceded that it had sold weapons to the revolutionary government of Iran as part of a largely unsuccessful effort to secure the release of several Americans being held hostage by radical Islamic groups in the Middle East.

4. The Election of 1988 Pages #903-#904

Bill Clinton

- The Bush campaign was almost the most negative of the 20th century, with Bush attacking Dukakis by tying him to all the

unpopular social and cultural stances Americans had come to identify with "liberals." It was also one of the most effective, although the listless, indecisive character of the Dukakis effort contributed to the Republican cause as well.

- Bush won the election with 54% of the popular vote to Dukakis' 46%, and 426 electoral votes to Dukakis' 112.

The Bush Presidency

- The Bush presidency was notable for the dramatic developments in international affairs with which it coincided and at times helped to advance, and for the absence of important initiatives or ideas on domestic issues.

Ross Perot

- The events of 1989-1991 left the United States in the unanticipated position of being the only real superpower in the world.
 - The United States would reduce its military strength dramatically and concentrate its energies and resources on pressing domestic problems.
 - America would continue to use its power actively, not to fight communism but to defend its regional and economic interests.
 - In 1989, that led the administration to order an invasion of Panama.
 - On August 2, 1990, the armed forces of Iraq invaded and quickly overwhelmed their small, oil-rich neighbor, the emirate of Kuwait. On February 28 Iraq announced its acceptance of allied terms for a cease-fire, and the brief Persian Gulf War came to an end.