

UNIT TEN: 1960–1990S

Major Themes and Ideas

Foreign Policies

1. Containment policy in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations
2. What were the immediate and long-range consequences of the Vietnam War?
3. Continuing themes and new departures in foreign policy since 1960
4. Did the “military-industrial complex” lead us into the Vietnam War?
5. Vietnam killed the Great Society.
6. Consistency in American foreign policy in the 1960–1985 period
7. Compare and contrast the foreign policies of two presidents from 1960 to the present.
8. What developments from 1945 to 1975 called the global preeminence of the United States into question?

Social Change

1. New patterns of black leadership since 1960
2. Is American society becoming more egalitarian?
3. Trace the issues, leaders, goals, turning points, successes, and failures of the women’s movement.
4. Counterculture movement and changing American values

5. The 1960s as an era of alienation
6. Immigration legislation to the 1980s
7. Leftist criticism since 1960
8. Social issues: crime, elderly, poverty
9. Compare the civil rights movement for blacks in the North and South.
10. Compare the Great Society and the New Deal.
11. Compare the goals and strategies of the women’s suffrage movement and feminism since 1945.

Politics and Political Issues

1. Pivotal elections: 1968, 1972, 1976, 1980, 1984
2. Why did presidents from 1960 to 1980 serve less than two full terms?
3. Trace the increase and decrease of military programs and social programs as reflected in the federal budgets since 1960.
4. Federal budget since 1960: Keynesian economics, monetary policy, fiscal policy, deficits, priorities
5. What happened to the antitrust movement in the 20th century?
6. What in the past ten years will become part of future history books and why?
7. Compare the foreign and domestic policies of John F. Kennedy and his vice-presidential successor, Lyndon B. Johnson.

Major Terms and Concepts

Blacks

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas

Montgomery bus boycott

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Urban League

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

sit-ins, freedom rides

“I have a dream” speech

March on Washington, 1963

Medgar Evers

Adam Clayton Powell
 H. Rap Brown
 Malcolm X
 Stokely Carmichael
 Black Panthers
 Black Muslims
 Angela Davis
 black power
 Twenty-fourth Amendment
 Watts, Detroit race riots
 Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders
 de facto, de jure segregation
 white backlash
 Robert Weaver
 Thurgood Marshall
 Civil Rights Act of 1964, public accommodations section of the act
 Voting Rights Act, 1965
 Civil Rights Act, 1968

Vietnam

geography: Gulf of Tonkin, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia
 Ho Chi Minh
 Viet Cong
 Dien Bien Phu
 Geneva Conference, 1954
 National Liberation Front (NLF)
 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 1964
 demilitarized zone (DMZ)
 domino theory
 Tet offensive
 Kent State incident, Jackson State incident
 Daniel Ellsberg, Pentagon Papers
 My Lai, Lt. Calley
 Hanoi, Haiphong
 Senator Fulbright
 bombing of Laos and Cambodia
 Vietnamization
 Paris Accords, 1973

1960s

election of 1960: issues, candidates, “missile gap”
 “impeach Earl Warren”
 Miranda decision, Escobedo decision
Gideon v. Wainwright
Baker v. Carr
 Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*
 New Frontier
 Kennedy and the steel price rollback
 Peace Corps, VISTA
 Berlin Wall
 Common Market
 Trade Expansion Act, 1962
 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 1963
 Lee Harvey Oswald, Warren Commission
 Bay of Pigs
 UN in the Congo
 “flexible response”
 Cuban missile crisis
 Alliance for Progress
 Dominican Republic, 1965
 Salvador Allende
 Panama Canal treaties
 Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
 “flower children”
 Charles Reich, *The Greening of America*
 election of 1964: LBJ, Goldwater
 Great Society
 Office of Economic Opportunity
 War on Poverty
 Elementary and Secondary Act
 Medicare
 abolition of immigration quotas
 Department of Housing and Urban Development
 John Birch Society
 New Left
 Robert Kennedy
 election of 1968: candidates, issues

Czechoslovakia invaded
 Chicago, Democratic Party Convention riot
 Richard Nixon's "Southern strategy"
 Governor Wallace
 moon race, Neil Armstrong
 Sunbelt versus Frostbelt (or Rustbelt)
 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*
 National Organization for Women (NOW)
 Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
 National Women's Political Caucus
 Ralph Nader, *Unsafe at Any Speed*
 1970s
 Nixon, "New Federalism"
 Spiro T. Agnew, his resignation
 "revenue sharing"
 wage and price controls
 Nixon versus Congress
 Watergate
 Committee for the Reelection of the President
 election of 1972: candidates, issues
 White House "plumbers"
 Sen. George McGovern
 Sen. Edmund Muskie
 Watergate tapes
 H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, John Dean, John Mitchell
 impeachment proceedings
 SALT I Agreement
 detente
 China visit, 1972
 recognition of China
 War Powers Act, 1973
 Six Day War, 1967
 Yom Kippur War
 Henry Kissinger, "shuttle diplomacy"
 Twenty-fifth Amendment
 Twenty-sixth Amendment
 Chicanos
 Cesar Chavez

Warren Burger appointed, 1969
 American Indian Movement (AIM), Wounded Knee
 multinational corporations
 Arab oil embargo
 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
 balance of trade, trade deficits
 Alaska pipeline
 The Imperial Presidency
 Gerald Ford
 Nixon pardon
 "stagflation"
 SALT II
 election of 1976: candidates, issues
 Jimmy Carter
 amnesty
 Panama Canal Treaty
 Camp David Accords
 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty: Menachem Begin, Anwar Sadat
 Palestinian Liberation Front, (PLO), Yasser Arafat
 Department of Energy
 Department of Education
 Iranian crisis, the Shah, Ayatollah Khomeini

1980s and 1990s

Afghanistan, 1979–1989
 Olympic boycott, 1980
 election of 1980: candidates, issues
 John Anderson
 Economic Recovery Tax Act, 1981 (tax cut)
 Reaganomics
 supply side economics
 Sandra Day O'Connor
 Lech Walesa, Solidarity
 Three Mile Island
 Secretary of Interior James Watt
 Love Canal, Niagara Falls, NY

- Times Beach, Missouri
 EPA, Environmental Protection Agency
 “New Federalism” proposals, 1982
 deregulation—AT&T, airlines, trucking
 NEH, National Endowment for the Humanities
 Title IX of Education Amendments, 1972
 Betty Friedan, *The Second Stage*, 1981
 defeat of the ERA
 Phyllis Schlafly
 Falkland Islands War
 civil war in Lebanon, Israel moves into Southern Lebanon
 Grenada, 1983
 El Salvador, Duarte, ARENA Party
 Nicaragua—Somoza family, Sandinistas, Contras, Ortega
 Arias Peace Plan in Central America
 Iran-Iraq War
 “Star Wars,” SDI, Strategic Defense Initiative
 Third World debt
 election of 1984: candidates, issues
 Geraldine Ferraro
 AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)
 “Moral Majority”
 Rev. Jerry Falwell
 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, 1982
 Agent Orange
 Challenger disaster, 1986
 Tax Reform Act, 1986
 The “Teflon Presidency”
 HUD scandals
 LBOs (leveraged buy-outs), “junk bonds,” corporate “raiders”
 insider trading: Michael Milken, Ivan Boesky
 savings and loan industry deregulated, Charles Keating, “Keating Five”
 nuclear freeze movement
 Iran-Contra affair, Irangate
 Col. Oliver North
 Tower Commission Report
 Panama, Gen. Noriega, drug-trafficking indictment, conviction
 South Africa, apartheid, Nelson Mandela, F. W. DeKlerk
 Marcos, Philippines, Corazon Aquino
 Duvalier, Haiti
 Middle East—Persian Gulf, West Bank
 Gorbachev, glasnost, perestroika
 Col. Qaddafi, Libya
 INF Treaty, 1987 (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty)
 Black Monday, 1987, Stock Market crashes
 Rev. Jesse Jackson, Rainbow Coalition
 election of 1988: candidates, issues
 George Bush
 holes in the “Iron Curtain”
 Berlin Wall falls
 S&L bailout, Resolution Trust Corporation
 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act
 national debt triples from 1980 to 1989, 908 billion to 2.9 trillion
 Clean Air Act, 1990 (also one in 1970)
 William J. Bennett, “drug czar”—Office of National Drug Control Policy
 Tiananmen Square, Beijing
 Germany reunited, 1990
 Nicaragua, Pres. Ortega defeated in a free election
 August, 1991, attempted coup in Moscow, Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin
 U.S., Soviet cutbacks in ICBMs
 from the Soviet Union to the Commonwealth of Independent States, CIS, 1991
 difficulties between Russia and the new republics
 Saddam Hussein, Iraq invades Kuwait
 UN Security Council Resolution 661 (trade embargo on Iraq)
 Desert Shield, Gen. Colin Powell

UN Security Council Resolution 678 (authorizes use of force, Iraq must withdraw from Kuwait by Jan. 15, 1991)

Gulf War, Operation Desert Storm, Gen. Schwarzkopf

SCUD missiles, Patriot missiles

revolts in Iraq: Shi'ites in South, Kurds in North

Family Support Act, 1988, "workfare"

education—multiculturalism versus politically correct

MTV

1991 Civil Rights Act

Clarence Thomas nominated to Supreme Court, Anita Hill, Congressional hearings

baby-boom generation hits middle age
gentrification

increased Asian, Hispanic immigration

"gridlock," Congress versus the president

election of 1992: candidates, issues, Ross Perot

bombing of World Trade Center

European Community & European Free Trade Association join to become the European Economic Area on Jan. 1, 1993

GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA

disintegration of Yugoslavia, "ethnic cleansing," Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia

peace-keeping operation in Bosnia begins, 1995

PLO: Israel Peace Treaty, 1993, Arafat, Rabin

Somalia

Whitewater

Clinton's health plan

corporate downsizing

"greenhouse effect"

Republican victory in 1994 Congressional election, control of House & Senate, Newt Gingrich, Bob Dole, "Contract with America"

intervention in Haiti

Oklahoma City bombing, 1995

Gen. Powell withdraws from the 1996 Republican nomination race

Million Man march on Washington, DC, 1995, Louis Farrakhan

Rabin assassinated, 1995

budget showdown between Congress and president

election of 1996: candidates, issues

Supreme Court Cases to Know

1. *Mapp v. Ohio*, 1961 (Bill of Rights and the states)

This case was the first of a series of decisions that extended the Fourteenth Amendment to protect citizens against state infringement. The Supreme Court used the "due process" clause to make the Bill of Rights apply to state officials. The *Mapp* case overturned a state court conviction based on evidence obtained by an unreasonable search and seizure. (Since 1914 the Supreme Court had barred federal use of illegally obtained evidence.)

2. *Gideon v. Wainwright*, 1963 (right to counsel)

Gideon was arrested in 1961 for breaking into a poolroom. He asked for a court-appointed lawyer because he could not afford one. Florida law provided lawyers for penniless defendants only in capital crimes, which carried a possible death penalty. The Supreme Court decided that legal counsel must be provided for all persons charged with a felony. In 1972 the Court extended the right to counsel to anyone charged with misdemeanors, a lesser category of crimes, in a decision in regard to Jon Argersinger, another Floridian, *Argersinger v.*

Hamlin. Argersinger was sentenced to 90 days in jail for carrying a concealed weapon.

3. *Escobedo v. Illinois*, 1964 (right to counsel)

In a 5–4 decision the Supreme Court ruled that the police must honor an arrested person’s request that a lawyer be present during a police interrogation. The constitutional guarantee to be represented by counsel extends to the period prior to actual indictment.

4. *Miranda v. Arizona*, 1966 (rights of the accused)

The Miranda decision culminated the 1960s trend toward protecting the rights of the accused. In a 5–4 decision the Supreme Court stated that an arrested person must be told that he has the right to remain silent; that whatever he says may be used against him; that he has the right to be represented by a lawyer; that if he cannot afford a lawyer one will be provided; and finally, that he is permitted one telephone call to obtain a lawyer or to contact someone to make arrangements for him to arrange for a lawyer and bail proceedings. The Supreme Court justices were heavily criticized for coddling criminals. In a rare comment before a convention of chiefs of police, one justice stated that in America it is supposed to be difficult to arrest and convict someone.

5. *Engel v. Vitale*, 1962; *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp*, 1963 (religion and public schools)

The first case struck down a prayer composed by the New York State Board of Regents, the state public education authority. The second ended the reciting of the Lord’s Prayer and the daily reading of ten Bible verses. The Court held that under the Constitution religion is “too personal, too sacred, too holy” for governmental sanction. Religion is a personal matter; government is a public matter.

6. *Baker v. Carr*, 1962; *Wesberry v. Sanders*, 1964; *Reynolds v. Sims*, 1964 (legislative reapportionment)

Beginning with the *Baker v. Carr* case, the Supreme Court ended the old practice of apportioning legislative districts to overrepresent rural areas. The boundary lines for both houses of the state legislatures and for congressional districts must reflect the principle of “one man, one vote” as much as possible. Before the *Baker v. Carr* case, federal courts avoided reapportionment arguments as “political questions” to be resolved by the legislatures and the voters.

7. *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. U.S.*, 1964 (discrimination in public accommodations)

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination in schools, employment, and voting. It also outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, or areas frequented by the public. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and ended the argument that a proprietor had the right to refuse service on the basis of race in his own establishment.

8. *Swan v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 1971 (public schools and integration)

Southern school districts tried every conceivable method, even closing schools for a year, to avoid desegregating their public schools. In this opinion the Supreme Court sanctioned virtually any method to achieve desegregation, including busing, re-drawing district boundary lines, racial balancing, and so on. This decision ended seventeen years of Southern legal subterfuge to avoid the Brown decision.

9. *Bakke v. Board of Regents*, 1978 (reverse discrimination)

This reverse discrimination case involved a claim by a white, Allan Bakke, that he was the victim of discrimination. The Civil Rights Act of 1965 prohibited discrimination based upon race, but in order to compensate for the collective results of previous discrimination practices, the University of California at Davis reserved sixteen of its hundred openings for medical school specifically for non-whites. Objective scores and measurements of Bakke’s

potential put him outside the 84 slots for whites, but higher than the successful applicants for the sixteen non-white positions. In a 5–4 decision the Court upheld both Bakke’s admission and the university’s use of race to ensure a diverse student body.

10. *Reed v. Reed*, 1971 (discrimination based on sex)

This case was the first of a series of sex discrimination decisions. Idaho state law prescribed that the father be given preference over the mother in a dispute over administering the estate of a deceased child. The Reeds were separated when their child died, leaving an estate less than a thousand dollars. The Supreme Court ruled that if both parents were equally qualified the state could not give men preferential treatment; state law had to serve “a compelling government interest” in differentiating between men and women.

11. *Doe v. Bolton*, 1973; *Roe v. Wade*, 1973 (the abortion cases)

These two cases struck down Texas and Georgia state statutes prohibiting abortions. The Court found such laws to be an infringement on rights to privacy protected by the Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments. The Court limited state legislation by defining three stages of pregnancy and specifying when and which state restrictions were legal.

These two cases illustrate a weakness within our political system. Our political system works because it facilitates compromises at many different levels before a policy decision is actually rendered. When the issue involved is a moral issue, however, or is seen by many as a moral issue—abortion or slavery—compromise becomes difficult, if not impossible. Moral right and wrong leaves no middle ground for compromise. Half-right is the same as half-sinful; something is either sinful or it is not, especially to those who know that they are morally in the right. Our political system does not handle deeply felt moral issues well.

12. *U.S. v. Nixon*, 1974 (executive privilege and judicial review)

The Constitution established three separate, distinct branches of government—legislative, executive, and judicial. Presidents have long claimed executive privilege or presidential immunity, claiming that the other two co-equal branches are limited in their right to order the president to do something. When subpoenaed, President Jefferson refused to testify personally at Aaron Burr’s treason trial, instead sending written testimony. While common sense says that some areas of executive concern should be sheltered from judicial compulsion, such as military and diplomatic secrets, the Constitution itself does not explicitly mention the concept of executive privilege or presidential immunity.

During the Watergate investigation the special prosecutor asked the White House to turn over certain specific tape recordings concerning seven administration officials indicted for obstruction of justice. The president refused, citing executive privilege. By an 8–0 vote the Supreme Court ordered the tapes handed over. Because the tapes were relevant to an ongoing criminal investigation, “the fundamental demands of due process of law in the fair administration of criminal justice” outweighed the president’s “generalized interest in confidentiality.” The president did not possess an absolute privilege of immunity from each and every judicial process. If no need exists to protect national security, legitimate judicial needs outweigh any absolute executive privilege. For the first time the power of judicial review was used directly against a president rather than against executive branch officials.

13. *Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, 1980 (patent laws and new life forms)

In a decision with monumental possible consequences for the future, the Supreme Court in 1980 declared that a genetically created new bacteria could be patented. Chakrabarty’s new bacteria broke down crude oil components to facilitate the control of oil spills. The Supreme Court ruled that manmade forms of life can be patented because they are “not nature’s handiwork.”

14. *Immigration and Naturalization Service v. Chadha*, 1983 (legislative veto)

Over the years Congress has been frustrated by its inability to maintain influence over executive branch policies as Congress had delegated some regulatory duties to executive branch agencies. The “legislative veto” was a provision inserted into laws concerning regulatory agencies that reserved to Congress the right to review and to veto proposed regulatory agency actions. In essence, Congress gave away some of its responsibility to oversee policy decisions, but it still wanted to intervene occasionally to direct policies. The Supreme Court voided the legislative veto as a violation of the principle of separation of powers. Both the “line item veto” sought by every president, and the “legislative veto” pushed by Congress, are attempts by each branch of the federal government to assert more influence over what it sees as an unwieldy, inefficient competing branch.

15. *Texas v. Johnson*, 1989; *U.S. v. Eichman*, 1990 (flag burning)

Desecration of the American flag, the very symbol of our nation and our heritage, angers many Americans. As a constitutional issue, however, flag burning is protected by the right of free speech. The Texas case declared the state’s anti-flag-burning law unconstitutional. In the second case the following year the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a federal flag-desecration law. “Punishing desecration of the flag dilutes the very freedom that makes this emblem so revered.” Most Americans are able to understand freedom of speech as an abstraction, but the exercising of that right often angers them. The volume of mail that senators and representatives received from constituents over flag burning exceeded that of any other issue.

16. *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, 1989; *Rust v. Sullivan*, 1991 (abortion cases)

In the Webster case concerning abortion rights, the Supreme Court upheld major features of a Missouri law, in effect chipping away at the Roe decision’s unlimited right to an abortion during the first six months of pregnancy. The Supreme Court upheld a

ban on the use of state facilities for abortions and a prohibition against state employees performing abortions. These two parts of the law primarily affected the poor, because they applied to public hospitals.

Wealthier women could always use more expensive private facilities. Another provision required physicians to test whether a post-twenty-week-old fetus could survive outside the womb. Remember, the Roe decision had said that states could not limit or regulate during the first six months, or twenty-four weeks. In the second case, *Rust v. Sullivan*, the Supreme Court upheld an administrative regulation forbidding federally funded clinics from providing abortion services or even mentioning the possibility of abortion to a patient, in spite of the Court’s admission that for eighteen years the statute upon which the administrative interpretation was based had not been so interpreted.

17. *Miller v. Johnson*, 1995 (racial gerrymandering)

The percentage of minority Congressmen has never been as high as the percentage of minorities in the population. Blacks, therefore, have long complained that underrepresentation in legislatures essentially reduces the significance of issues important to minorities. For example, no African-Americans served in Congress from 1901 to 1928; one from 1928 to 1945; and only two from 1945 to 1959. Between 1871 and 1973 no black from Georgia served in Congress. As a remedy, some states, such as Georgia, tried to draw Congressional voting districts to create an almost certain “black” Congressional district. Georgia’s redrawing put three blacks in Congress. Conservative critics sued. The Supreme Court ruled that states may not make race the “predominant factor” when drawing legislative boundaries. The Court stated that “racial gerrymandering, even for remedial purposes, may balkanize us into competing racial factions; it threatens to carry us further from the goal of a political system in which race no longer matters—a goal that the fourteenth and fifteenth Amendments embody, and to which the nation continues to aspire.” The problem of underrepresentation persists; racial gerrymandering as a possible solution is out.

Sample Outline

The organization of this outline comes from two books that are well worth reading: Clinton Rossiter's *The American Presidency* and Theodore Sorensen's *Decision Making in the White House*. You will also benefit from Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Imperial Presidency*.

The Presidency in the Twentieth Century

I. Constitutional Responsibilities

A. Chief of state

1. Most nations divide their leadership positions in two: a head of government (prime minister) and a head of state (queen, president). The United States combines both positions in the same office.
2. Figurehead
3. Symbolic embodiment of the United States

B. Chief administrator or chief executive

1. Runs the executive branch of government, executes laws, carries out laws and court directives.
2. Oversees millions working in the executive department (Ballinger-Pinchot controversy under Taft).
3. Hampered and limited by the rise of regulatory agencies—now more than 1800 beyond the president's immediate control—Federal Reserve Board, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission.
4. Agencies are often controlled by interest groups. An example is Kolko's argument on Meat Inspection Act, 1906. He argues that the Progressive movement included a successful attempt by big business to eliminate competition in the guise of reform.
5. Carter tried to streamline the bureaucracy but encountered much inertia.
6. Kennedy complained that he spent half of his time trying to get people to do what they were supposed to be doing.
7. Beginning with the 1921 Budget and Accounting Act, many responsibilities have passed from Congress to the president.
8. Nixon: revenue sharing and New Federalism shifted more responsibilities back to the states.
9. Executive Order 8248 (FDR, 1939) created the Executive Office of the President, putting some agencies within the White House—Bureau of the Budget, National Security Council, Central Intelligence Agency, Council of Economic Advisors. (Note that older cabinet organization has become less important.)

C. Commander in chief

1. For all practical purposes the president controls the army, navy, air force, marines, and coast guard.

2. Lincoln expanded original definition to include powers over civilian matters considered to be militarily significant.
 3. Second World War greatly expanded scope of CIC powers. FDR claimed the right to “take measures necessary to avert a disaster which would interfere with the winning of the war.” Examples: stabilized prices by controls, Japanese removal, Truman’s dismissal of General MacArthur
 4. Congress retains sole power to declare war, but technology and the need for speed puts many military options under the president’s practical control: Teddy Roosevelt and Great White Fleet, Manhattan Project, nuclear response.
 5. Attempts to restrict the president include Wilson and arming of merchantmen, Ludlow Amendment, Neutrality Acts, Bricker Amendment, two-term limitation, War Powers Act, 1973.
 6. The president is also restricted by budget fights with Congress and the need for two-thirds Senate approval for treaties.
 7. Executive orders often are used to implement CIC goals and diplomatic goals. (An executive order is based on the president’s authority and theoretically is in force only to the end of that president’s term. As a practical matter, most executive orders are irreversible.) Examples: FDR and destroyers for bases deal, Truman and desegregation of armed forces.
 8. Real change in CIC role came in August 1945. The bomb brought massive retaliation, preemptive strike, and nuclear shield under the president’s power.
 9. Before the Second World War we had no bases overseas outside of American territory. Now we have more than 400.
 10. Since 1940 a major long-run change in our society is the permanent military presence during peacetime.
- D. Chief diplomat or chief of foreign policy
1. The single voice of American foreign policy. As Truman said, “I am American foreign policy.” The president controls negotiations of treaties, such as SALT I, SALT II, Yalta Conference, and summit conferences.
 2. Limited by Congressional control of funds and Senate ratification of treaties. Examples: Roosevelt and Great White Fleet, neutrality acts in 1930s, Wilson and Versailles Treaty
 3. May boldly lead: Teddy Roosevelt and Panama Canal, Russo-Japanese War mediation; Truman-Marshall Plan, Point Four, NATO, Cold War, recognition of Israel, decision to intervene in Korea; Carter’s peace initiative in the Middle East; Nixon’s visit to China; JFK’s Alliance for Progress, Peace Corps
 4. May follow public opinion rather than mold it: FDR and Quarantine speech; Washington Disarmament Conference in 1920s; FDR in 1940–41; Wilson in 1914–17
 5. May ignore public opinion or previous conventional policies: LBJ and Vietnam; Nixon and bombing of Cambodia; Wilson and Watchful Waiting; nonrecognition of USSR from 1917 to 1933

E. Chief legislator

1. Most major pieces of legislation now originate in the White House. The president takes the legislative initiative such as the State of the Union Address, budget message, and presenting a program. Examples: FDR and 100 Days; LBJ and Great Society; Wilson and tariff, banking, and antitrust legislation
2. President rarely gets all he wants: FDR and court packing plan.
3. President has lost historic confrontations with Congress: Truman and OPA extension, Taft-Hartley Act.
4. Must veto an entire bill, no line item veto.

F. Chief judicial officer

1. Appoints all federal judges. Memorable examples: Wilson, Louis Brandeis; LBJ, Thurgood Marshall; Reagan, Sandra Day O'Connor
2. Limitations: FDR and court packing plan, Nixon and appointment of Southerners to Supreme Court
3. Length of judicial service means a president's influence may extend for years after his own term.
4. Part of election politics: "Impeach Earl Warren." Wallace in 1968 hoped to throw the presidential election into the House to exchange his support for the power to veto appointment of Supreme Court judges.

II. Unofficial Positions

A. Chief of party

1. Taft's fight with Teddy Roosevelt for control of Republican Party machinery in 1912
2. FDR was the most successful broker of political coalitions.
3. Kennedy went to Dallas in November of 1963 to smooth over infighting among Texas Democrats.
4. Patronage jobs distributed
5. Involved in Congressional party politics: Taft, Uncle Joe Cannon, Old Guard versus George Norris and Progressive Republican insurgents

B. Molder of public opinion, or voice of the people

1. Commands immediate attention of the media
2. Successes: LBJ in pushing for civil rights, Reagan's image in news conferences, FDR in fireside chats, Harding as a symbol for Normalcy
3. Failures: Wilson's push for joining the League of Nations; Nixon's attempt to quiet Watergate
4. Especially powerful in foreign affairs: FDR and Atlantic Charter; Carter and Olympic boycott; Wilson and "Make the world safe for democracy."

5. Creates commissions to publicize issues: LBJ and Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders; Truman and civil rights report, *To Secure These Rights*; T. Roosevelt and conservation conference, 1908
 6. Sometimes forced by public opinion to act, for example, Eisenhower in Little Rock, Ark, 1957
- C. Chief of the economy, or manager of prosperity
1. Public has always blamed the president for economic hard times.
 - a. Pujo Committee under Taft was established to study financial concentration on Wall Street.
 - b. Politics and ideology sometimes dictate response: Hoover and Hawley-Smoot Tariff; T. Roosevelt and Northern Securities case and Anthracite Coal strike, 1902.
 2. Hoover was the first to assume responsibility for intervening in the economy to reverse downturns with the RFC; FDR assumed total responsibility; JFK and steel price rollback; Truman lost to steel companies; Bush and Savings & Loan industry
 3. Employment Act of 1946 created legislative foundation for giving the president responsibility for maintaining full employment; Council of Economic Advisors.
 4. President, Congress, and agencies control through fiscal policy (spending and taxing policies) and monetary policy (controlling the amount of money and credit in circulation), and through general policies toward the economy. Kennedy and Reagan cut taxes to stimulate the economy; Federal Reserve Board, SEC, FDIC, JFK and Trade Expansion Act of 1962; dollar diplomacy
 5. Responds to emergencies, natural and man-made, such as floods, riots, strikes, to maintain order in our society: Hoover and the Bonus Army
- D. Leader of free nations or president of the west
1. From 1815 to 1914 U.S. stayed out of European wars only because there were none.
 2. Teddy Roosevelt asserted hegemony over Caribbean and Central America through the Roosevelt Corollary, Panama Canal; later, dollar diplomacy.
 3. Wilson: Fourteen Points, League of Nations, World Court
 4. 1920s—U.S. abdicated; 1930s—West leaderless
 5. Second World War—FDR, Churchill, Stalin. By 1945 only two major countries were left.
 6. Collective security: NATO, SEATO, CENTO, ANZUS, UN
 7. Bipartisan foreign policy
 8. Frustrating responsibility: de Gaulle, Suez Canal crisis, 1956; Eisenhower Doctrine; Vietnam; Korea; Bay of Pigs; Cuban missile crisis; Iran-Contra affair
 9. Reagan, “The Cold War is over.”

III. Limits on the Power of the President

A. Limits on permissibility

1. Must follow Constitution, international law; hampered by policies of our allies (French in Indochina; OAS and Cuban missile crisis)
2. Limited by his own judgment of action being accepted by military, Congress, public, allies, and so forth.

B. Limits on resources

1. Money, manpower, time to respond
2. United States is a superpower, but is not equally powerful everywhere. In 1968 the *Pueblo*, a U.S. spy ship, was captured off North Korea. We protested in the UN because within a few hours we could fly 25 jet fighters to the scene whereas North Korea could fly 625 comparable jet fighters.
3. Dropping an atomic bomb is not a viable option; our nuclear arsenal is more of a defense shield.
4. Unwillingness to commit resources: Hoover-Stimson Doctrine in Manchuria

C. Limits on time

1. Political timing of proposals may be dictated or hindered by events: Sputnik and education.
2. In early period of Cuban missile crisis, almost all advisors urged an all-out attack on Cuba. Kennedy waited, and decided on a blockade to give Soviets time to react.
3. Advisers frequently divided
4. Twenty-second Amendment limits time to carry out proposals, because a president is a lame duck after election to a second term.

D. Limits of previous commitments

1. Traditional party stands and constituencies
2. Treaties and laws
3. Past record in foreign policies, as abrupt changes may be unsettling
4. Existing precedents on what presidents have done in similar situations
5. Commitments made by subordinates in diplomatic situations, and promises to senators and congressmen
6. Political party platforms rank lowest of any commitments.

E. Limits on available information

1. Flow of information to presidents varies with personal style. JFK and LBJ absorbed much public media information; Nixon and Reagan preferred short summaries from their staffs.
2. Usually too much information, except for foreign affairs