

1) Economic downturn and recovery

Economic downturn: The Wall Street Crash

- The 1920s had been a period of success for people in the USA. As a result of the economic boom many people had money to buy new goods such as cars and radios.
- But in 1929 the **Wall Street Crash** happened: People were nervous that the stock market was going to fail. People were selling shares. o Black Tuesday happened on Tuesday, 29 October 1929, when 16.5 million shares were sold. o The value of all shares had dropped by \$40,000 million by the end of 1929.
- By the end of 1929, there were about 2.5 million unemployed in the USA. This figure increased between 1929-1932.
- Factories and businesses began to close down as people stopped spending money.
- Alternative homes known as Hoovervilles popped up around the country. They were made of tin, wood and cardboard and had no running water.
- Some people drifted across the country – hobos.
- Black workers were often the first to be sacked.
- Farmers were unable to sell produce so in many cases the food was left to rot. Colorado, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Kansas were the states worst hit because of drought. When the winds came the soil blew away, creating dust storms. The affected area, about 20 million hectares, became known as the 'dust bowl.'

The Bonus Army / Marchers

- The Bonus marchers were WW1 veterans (ex-soldiers) who had been promised a bonus, payable in 1945, for serving in the army.
- Due to the Great Depression they needed their bonus early so they marched to Washington in May and June 1932 to support a Bill which would allow the bonus to be paid early
- The 12,000 men along with their wives and children built a Hooverville outside the Whitehouse.
- The government didn't pass the bill as it would have cost \$2.3 million.
- Most of the marchers went home after this, but about 5,000 stayed.
- Hoover sent in the army to clear them marchers and conflict broke out.
- 2 veterans were killed, 100 were injured and a baby died of tear gas poisoning.
- This convinced the American people that Hoover didn't care.

Early Republican attempts to deal with the depression (1930s)

- President Herbert Hoover was called upon to help, but it was Hoovers opinion that people should be able to look after themselves and not expect charity or social security from the Government. He did not give unemployed people much help. Hoover believed in Laissez-faire and Rugged individualism.
- Hoover passed the Hawley – Smoot Tariff Act in 1930. This protected US farmers by increasing import duties on foreign goods. In retaliation, other countries refused to trade with the USA.
- Hoover set up relief agencies, for example, the President's Organisation for Unemployment Relief, which aimed to promote and co-ordinate local relief efforts.
- Hoover cut taxes by \$130 million – so people would have more money to spend and stimulate the economy.
- Hoover's measures failed to pull the USA out of the Depression. He could not escape the fact that unemployment figures continued to rise. Many citizens saw him as uncaring, hence the slogan "In Hoover we trusted, now we are busted."

The effects of the Great Depression on family life

- Young people were reluctant to take on the extra commitment of marriage. Marriages fell from 1.23 million in 1929 to 982,000 in 1932. The birth rate also fell.
- The suicide rate rose dramatically from 12.6 suicides per 1000 people in 1926 to 17.4 per 1000 at its peak in 1932.
- In some states, such as Arkansas, schools were closed down for 10 months of the year because there was not enough money to pay teachers.
- The magazine 'Fortune' estimated that by 1932 about 25% of the population was receiving no income. There was no national system of social security, the unemployed and their dependants relied on charitable organisations such as the Red Cross.

2) Economic downturn and recovery

Roosevelt and the New Deal

- In 1932 Hoover lost the election to Roosevelt (FDR)
- The people of America had lost confidence in Hoover and there were placards to be seen during the election campaign of 1932 with the words 'Hang Hoover' on them.
- The Democratic candidate Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the new President, winning 42 of the 48 states.

- Roosevelt introduced the New Deal to the people of America. The New Deal had 3 aims, referred to as the 3 Rs;
- 1. **Relief** – Measures to help the millions who were unemployed and homeless.
- 2. **Recovery** – Policies to rebuild the economy that had suffered due to the Depression.
- 3. **Reform** – Legislation and laws to create a fairer society.

Alphabet Agencies

- **CCC - Civilian Conservation Corps** - A department to help people to employ unemployed men between **18 and 25** to work in forests, in special camps. The workers would get food and accommodation as well as a dollar a day from the Government. They stayed in the CCC for 6-12 months.
- **FERA - Federal Emergency Relief Act** - this **gave \$500m** to the states to spend on **food and shelter** for the unemployed and homeless. For every \$3 each state gave to its people, the Government gave \$1.
- **AAA - Agricultural Adjustment Act** -The AAA tried to encourage farmers to **produce less** by paying them not to produce in the hope that prices would rise and farmers would make a profit. More than 5 million pigs were killed as part of the AAA
- **TVA - Tennessee Valley Authority** - this gave support to people of the Tennessee Valley who had suffered from food shortages. **They built 21 dams** to produce hydroelectricity, providing work for thousands of people and bringing electrical power to the area.

Roosevelt's first 100 days

- During his 100 days he was given emergency powers which meant he could pass laws very quickly.
- Before he could create jobs he needed to find some extra money to pay for his ideas. He passed 3 acts to help him do this:
- **Emergency Banking Act** :The immediate crisis involved the banks. Thousands had failed, costing families their life savings. The failures had prompted bank runs: people rushed to take out their money, causing more banks to become bankrupt. **The Emergency Banking Act** closed all banks for 10 days. The new law authorized the Treasury Department to begin reopening the banks when they could prove they were healthy. Barely a week after the Inauguration, the banking system was operating again.
- He also reassured the America people through a series of Fireside chats, where he empathised with their plight.
- This helped to restore the people's faith in their government.

Alphabet Agencies

- **NIRA - National Industrial Recovery Act (i) NRA - National Recovery Administration** – This encouraged workers **to improve their working conditions, and laid down rules on minimum wages, hours of work** and conditions of work. The companies taking part in the scheme were entitled to display a **blue eagle badge**.
- **PWA - Public Works Administration** – This provided jobs on major building projects for **highly skilled workers**. It dealt with slums and shanty towns, and built houses, schools and hospitals.
- **WPA - Works Progress Administration** - **This created a variety of jobs for people in the countryside**. It combined all agencies responsible for job creation and provided **work building roads, schools and airports**. Authors and artists received contracts to carry out creative work.

3) Economic downturn and recovery

Successes of the New Deal ☺

- Unemployment reduced from 24.9 million in 1933 to 14.3 million in 1937.
- As a result of the AAA, farmers' money doubled between 1932 and 1939.
- The TVA improved the lives of 7 million people.
- The CCC created work for 2.75 million people
- The NRA and the Wagner Act brought better working conditions for workers and introduced trade unions (labour unions).
- The PWA and the WPA created work for 4 million people.
- Roosevelt restored faith in the American people – he kept his election promises of helping to reduce unemployment and make America a better place.

Criticisms of the New Deal ☹

- It was WW2 which ultimately ended the Great Depression .
- The government intervened too much in the business of Americans.
- The Supreme Court announced that the AAA and NRA were unconstitutional.
- The AAA paid farmers not to produce food. This did not help people who depended on farms for their income, e.g. farm hands who lost their jobs. It was also seen as morally wrong to destroy food when people were starving.
- Many argued that Roosevelt's projects were a short-term solution, and that they provided the government with cheap labour e.g. the CCC.
- People thought trade unions were un-American and that they challenged the idea of rugged individualism.
- Many of the Alphabet Agencies discriminated against black Americans and women e.g. the CCC only employed around 200,000 Black Americans and 800,000 women.
- Some felt that the New Deal did not do enough.

Opposition to the New Deal

- Some felt that the New Deal did not help enough. For example, Dr Francis Townsend argued that Roosevelt had not done enough to help the elderly. He wanted a pension of \$200 per month for everyone over 60 – they would have to spend this money within the month and therefore generate a demand for goods and equipment.
- Huey Long had been governor of the State of Louisiana. He claimed that Roosevelt failed to share out the nation's wealth fairly and announced his own plans to do this under the slogan 'Share Our Wealth.'
- The Republicans hated the New Deal as it went against Laissez-faire and rugged individualism. The New Deal interfered in business e.g. minimum wages, and took control of people's lives.
- Other thought the New Deal was a waste of money e.g. boondoggling jobs such as pigeon chasing were a waste of time.
- The Supreme Court opposed the New Deal, the judges said many of the Alphabet Agencies were illegal e.g. the NRA and the AAA.

The Second New Deal

- The **Second New Deal**—the legislation that Roosevelt and Congress passed between 1935 and 1938—was strikingly different from the First New Deal in certain ways.
- Roosevelt altered his policy making in part because of complaints from critics and in part because, by 1935, it was clear that more Americans still needed federal relief assistance.
- The first major legislation that Roosevelt and Congress passed in the Second New Deal—in response to the critics—was the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**. The WPA was similar to the Public Works Administration of the First New Deal, this time hiring nearly 10 million Americans to construct new public buildings, roads, and bridges.
- Roosevelt introduced the National Labour Act(Wagner Act). This act upheld the right of workers to organise and enter into collective bargaining.
- Roosevelt also introduced the Fair Labour Standards Act which increased minimum wages and maximum hours were established for all employees of business engaged in interstate business.
- The Social Security Act – By passing this act the government at last accepted full responsibility for meeting the basic needs of its citizens. The Act established pension benefits for the elderly, orphaned or those injured in industrial accidents.

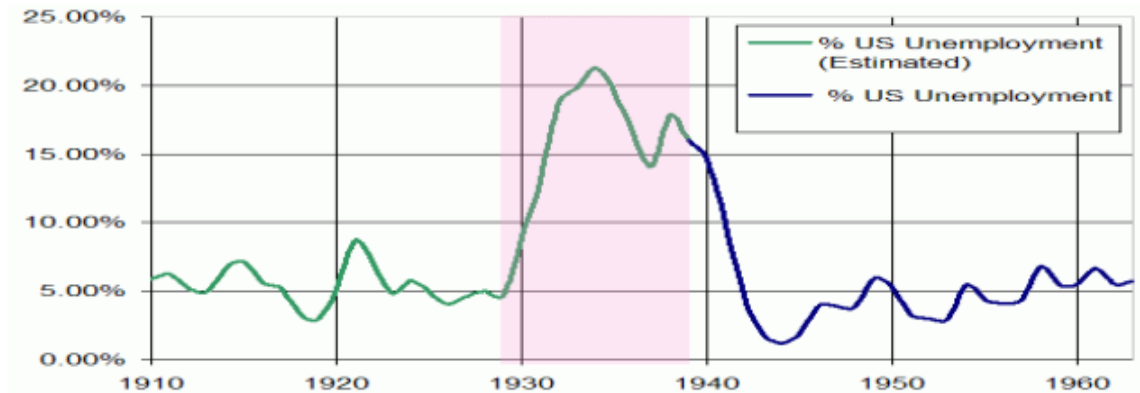
4) The economic impact of WW2 and post-war developments

The Impact of the Second World War (1940s)

The Second World War started in 1939 and America was selling goods to other countries. In 1941 America joined the war and this brought the Depression to an end.

- 1941 onwards – Factories and farms focussed on helping America in the war by producing goods and weapons (some of these were sold abroad too).
- Industrial production doubled between 1942-45 - America produced 50% of the world's weapons by 1944.
- Many found work in the factories – **unemployment fell from 9.5 million in 1939 to 670,000 in 1945.**
- **Conscription** – Around 15 million 18-45 year old men were forced to join the army.
- People were encouraged to create „victory gardens“ – to grow their own vegetables.
- Life improved for farmers – there was more demand for their produce and so they were making more money.
- Huge migration happened in the USA – **Around 27 million moved around between 1941-45.** They moved to look for work - to California especially to find work in armament factories.

A graph showing the impact of WW2 on the US employment figures. The shaded area is the great depression. Notice how unemployment was still high during the 'New Deal period' even though it did reduce.



Negative aspects of post WW2 – 'Poverty in the midst of plenty.'

- Black people were still victimised. They served in Jim Crow regiments where only black people could be in them.
- Around 112,000 Japanese Americans were imprisoned and many of them lost their homes and businesses. Around a 1000 were sent back to Japan.
- Women and black factory workers were not always treated the same as the white male employees.

"In one Negro community after another, Negro women, the last to be hired and the first to be fired, are the greatest sufferers from unemployment."

Claudia Jones 1949

The development of the affluent society: Life in suburbia

- In 1952 Eisenhower became President. He continued with the New Deal and the Fair Deal. He encouraged economic growth and looked after the middle classes.
- By the end of the 1950s the USA was producing half the world's manufactured goods.
- As many as 19 million Americans moved from the cities to live in the suburbs (outskirts of towns with bigger houses). It was possible for them to do this because they could buy cars, the standard of roads was better and the interest on mortgages was low.
- Between 1945-60 the number of people who had a car rose from 25 million to 62 million. Cars like the Cadillac were popular. By 1960, 25 per cent of the American people lived in suburbs. These people had a television, a record player, swimming pools and cars.
- People bought on credit – this increased 800 per cent between 1945 and 1957.



5) The issue of Civil Rights, 1941-1945

Background

- In the US Constitution it says that all people in the US are equal, but until 1863 this was ignored: Black people were slaves in the Southern States.
- After the American Civil War 1861-65, fought between the Northern States (Union) and the Southern States (Confederacy), the victorious North punished the South by changing the constitution to make it even clearer that black people were:
 - o Freed from slavery
 - o Equal
 - o Allowed to vote
- The North knew it would hurt the South because the southern whites depended on the black slaves to work on the cotton, tobacco and sugar plantations. That is why the North did it. However as anger over the war died down it became clear that the North did not really care about the black people because it let the south ignore the constitution and introduced the Jim Crow Laws.

Jim Crow Laws

- The Jim Crow Laws were named after a character in a plantation song that the black slaves used to sing. He allegedly had a white girlfriend which made him a hated figure in the South.
- These laws were introduced by the state governments of the southern states after the Civil War to make sure that although black people were free from slavery, they would never be equal to whites.
- The laws: **Segregated** (separated) black people from whites so they had to use separate, or separate sections of buses, trains, theatres, hospitals and churches.
- When black people argued that this was unconstitutional, the Supreme Court of the USA ruled that segregation was legal as long as facilities were equal. They weren't of course, but this was often difficult to prove or ignored.
- Stopped black people from voting. They used various tricks to stop people from registering to vote; Make them pass a literacy (reading) test to show they were clever enough to be allowed to vote. Of course they were asked to read very difficult passages.

The contribution of black Americans during WW2

- In 1941, after the Japanese attack on Pearl harbour, the Americans entered the Second World War on the side of Britain, France and the USSR, against Nazi Germany and Japan.
- The war highlighted the racism and the discrimination in the USA.
- Black Americans volunteered to fight in the war but they had to join segregated units. These were nicknamed the **Jim Crow Army**.
- The black soldiers were given the worst, most dangerous jobs e.g. in the navy black soldiers had to load the ammunition on to the ships, in 1944 a horrific accident killed 323 people – most of them black soldiers.
- The US air force would not accept black pilots.
- When black soldiers were injured they could only accept blood from other black soldiers; many whites felt that mixing blood would „mongrelise“ the USA.
- Many black women served in the armed forces as nurses, but they were only allowed to treat black soldiers.
- There were some examples of black soldiers who achieved success – The Tuskegee airmen (332nd Fighter Group, all black Americans) won great acclaim acting as fighter escorts for US bombers.

Progress made by black Americans during WW2

- **General Eisenhower**, US Supreme Commander, supported integrated combat units. By the end of 1944 black Americans were fighting in these units e.g. during the Battle of the Bulge.
- By the end of WW2 600 black pilots had been trained, although they could not fly with white Americans.
- By 1945, 58 black sailors had risen to the rank of officer.
- In 1946 the navy was desegregated and by 1948 all the armed services were desegregated.
- As more men were conscripted in the army there were more opportunities for black women at home.
- During the war over **400,000 black Americans migrated from the south to the north** to work in the factories producing weapons.
- **The number of black Americans employed in government service increased from 50,000 to 200,000.**
- By the end of the war **2 million** black Americans were working in industry.
- There was still discrimination in the workplace though; black workers were often paid less than their white counterparts.
- Roosevelt set up the **Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC)**. The FEPC could not force companies to employ black Americans, but it could use the threat of withdrawing contracts to encourage them to do so.

6) The issue of Civil Rights, 1945-1957

Why can WW2 be considered a turning point for black Americans?

- Black Americans, white Americans and the rest of the World could see the irony of black Americans fighting against the very racist Nazi Germany, when they themselves were the victims of racism at home i.e. it began to shame the USA.
- **The Double V campaign** was started which wanted Victory against racism at home and abroad.
- Black soldiers felt if they were willing to fight and die for their country, then their country should reward them with equal rights.
- Black soldiers stationed in Britain, particularly if they were from the South, saw another way of life, as they were allowed into mixed pubs and could „chat up“ white girls. i.e. black and white could mix.
- When black Americans realised that nothing was going to change after the war they joined the **NAACP; NAACP membership rose from 50,000 to 450,000** during the war (i.e. 9 times).
- President Truman believed in desegregation and introduced the Fair Deal Programme, which he hoped would get all Americans a better life.
- **THE DOOR HAD BEEN OPENED FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE.**

Little Rock, Arkansas 1957

- In September 1957, at Little Rock Central High School, 9 black students tried to take their places at the all white high school
- They wanted to show that despite the law changing in 1954, schools were still segregated.
- The governor of the state, **Faubus**, used the National Guard (reserve soldiers under the control of the state) to stop them taking their places, even though it was their legal right.
- The black community took the Governor to court, so he withdrew the **National Guard**, but now the black teenagers were left totally unprotected from a violent angry mob of white students and adults, determined not to let them in.
- The situation was so dangerous that President Eisenhower had to send **1000 US Paratroopers** (Federal troops) to protect them for the next 12 months while they attended Little Rock. This shows how deep rooted hatred the hatred for black people was.
- Despite the President's intervention, **Faubus** closed all Arkansas schools the following year to stop desegregation.
- Schools reopened in 1959 after the **Supreme Court** rules that schools must integrate. ☑ Again this was another victory for peaceful and very brave protest.

Brown vs Topeka case (Kansas 1954)

- In 1954, 20 US states, including Washington D.C. had segregated schools.
- Linda Brown, a 7 year old black girl had to walk 20 blocks to school even though there was a school for white people just two blocks away.
- With the help of the NAACP, the Topeka Board of Education was taken to court and the case ended up in the US Supreme Court the most important court in the land.
- The verdict was a landmark decision, the court under **Chief Justice Earl Warren** declared that segregated schools were not equal and therefore illegal. He ordered the **desegregation** of schools in 1954.
- This was a huge breakthrough and gave a huge boost in the fight for civil rights, because the highest, most respected court in the land, whose job it was to decide what the constitution said, had decided that segregation in schools was **UNCONSTITUTIONAL / ILLEGAL.**
- This case only meant that schools should be desegregated, but the NAACP knew that if it took cases about segregation in cafes, buses etc. to the Supreme Court it was likely to win.
- However despite the decision by the Supreme Court there was no date by which schools had to desegregate. This meant only some areas began to desegregate.
- **By 1957, 300,000 black children were attending desegregated schools. However 2.4 million black children were still in segregated schools.**

Why was Little Rock so significant (important) 1957?

- The President supported the students which showed that the Supreme Court's decision to desegregate schools could not be ignored.
- It showed that States could be overruled by the federal government when necessary.
- The demonstrations were seen on television, and many US citizens saw for the first time the racial hatred in the South – they were shocked by this.
- Little Rock helped to moderate some white American's views.
- Black activists began to realise that they could not rely on the NAACP and the law courts alone; just because laws were changing it did not mean things would get better for black Americans. Other protests were still needed.

7) The issue of Civil Rights, 1955-1962

James Meredith case 1962

- In June 1962 the Supreme Court upheld a federal court decision to force Mississippi University to accept the black student **James Meredith**.
- The university did not want black students and refused to allow James Meredith to register.
- President Kennedy, a supporter of civil rights, sent 320 federal marshals to escort Meredith to the campus.
- There were riots; **2 people were killed and 210 wounded**.
- Kennedy then sent **2,000 troops** to restore order.
- **300 soldiers** remained on campus to protect Meredith until he completed his degree.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955

- **In December 1955**, in Montgomery, Alabama a 41 year old black woman, Rosa Parks, refused the order of the driver to give up her seat to a white man. She was sitting in the black seats, but when all the seats became full she was required by law to give up her seat to a white person and stand at the rear of the bus. She was arrested and fined \$10. She was the local secretary of the **NAACP** which is why she was willing to stand up for herself.
- The local black community supported her by staging a 24 hour boycott of the buses (refusing to use them). This was so successful that they carried on until the bus company agreed to seat all passengers on a first come, first served basis. It was in this struggle that a young black minister (religious preacher), **Martin Luther King**, first made his name.
- The bus company, backed by the mayor and most of the white community, refused to give in and things got nasty. The homes of leading black people were destroyed, including King's home, where his wife and seven week year old baby narrowly escaped injury.
- In the end, **13 months after** the boycott began, the bus company gave in.

Results of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

The boycott was successful for 4 reasons:

1. The peaceful protest led by Martin Luther King showed that violence was not needed.
 2. Black people made up 75% of the bus company's business, the bus company couldn't afford to lose their black passengers.
 3. The Black community united and showed what could be achieved when people worked together.
 4. Most important of all in November 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on buses was illegal.
- The Montgomery Bus Boycott was the first peaceful protest that changed life for black Americans, and it inspired many more.

Freedom Rides (Transport) 1960

- The Supreme Court decided in December 1960 that all bus stations and terminals that served interstate travellers should be integrated.
- Although buses now had to be desegregated, the bus stations and railway stations were still **segregated in** the South.
- This time another peaceful black pressure group, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), organised a series of freedom rides in which black protesters deliberately sat in „whites only„ sections of bus and railway stations to try and get them desegregated.
- The Freedom Riders travelled from Washington DC to Jackson in the south.
- A lot of these freedom riders were attacked in ugly clashes with white racists.
- **The Attorney General, Robert Kennedy had to send 500 marshals to protect the freedom riders.**
- Fortunately the President's Federal government, not the states governments, was in charge of commerce between states and these bus stations and railway stations were classed as interstate commerce. Therefore the federal government ordered the bus and railway stations to be desegregated or they would be closed down.
- On 22nd September **1961 the Interstate Commerce Commission declared that segregation in bus terminals was illegal.**

8) The issue of Civil Rights, 1960-1963

Sit ins and the fight for equality 1960-1961

- There were several important groups fighting peacefully for Civil Rights for black people: **NAACP, CORE (Congress of racial Equality), SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), SNCC (Student Non-violence Co-ordinating Committee).**
- CORE and the SNCC organised a series of sit-ins at Woolworth's lunch-counters throughout the South in order to get them desegregated.
- The students refused to move until they were served. By August 1961 the sit-ins had attracted over **700,000 participants and resulted in over 3,000 arrests.**
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Why was Martin Luther King important?

- King's non-violent methods were so important in helping getting black people Civil Rights for several reasons:
- If they had used violence white racists could say that black people were not civilized and did not deserve to be given the rights that white citizens had.
- King's peaceful methods made the white racists who attacked the peaceful black protesters look even worse.
- His peaceful methods won him respect and support from abroad (international support) for rights for black people. The Nobel peace prize was recognition of this support. This international support was crucial in putting pressure on the US government to do something about the inequality.

The role of Martin Luther King

- Dr Martin Luther King was a pastor/minister of a Baptist Church (a vicar) in Montgomery Alabama.
- King believed in the non-violent methods used by Gandhi in the 1940's to demand the British give India its independence.
- He was one of the leaders of the SLCC (Southern Leadership Christian Conference), which was formed to co-ordinate protests against discrimination.
- Although there were several large Civil Rights groups that advocated peaceful protest, King became the most well known figure i.e. the effective spokesperson of the peaceful Civil Rights protest.
- In 1963 King led protests against discrimination in Birmingham Alabama, against discrimination.
- In 1963 he led the enormous Civil Rights March on Washington D.C., in which he delivered his famous **„ have a dream“ speech** predicting that one day equality for black people would become a reality.
- In 1964 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
- He was ASSASSINATED in 1968 on a visit to Memphis Tennessee.

Freedom Marches

- In 1963 Martin Luther King led a march **in Birmingham Alabama** to end segregation. The year before the council in Birmingham had closed all public recreational facilities, like parks and swimming baths to black people. **30,000**, mostly black Americans took part in sit-ins in these facilities.
- **500 protesters** were arrested and the Police Commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor used water cannons, dogs and baton charges on the peaceful protesters.
- These events were televised and helped turn public opinion against racists like Connor. He had done the opposite of what he intended by helping the cause of civil Rights for black people.
- **March on Washington (1963)** **In August 1963 over 250,000 people**, including **50,000** white Americans, marched to the Lincoln Memorial in the capital city, Washington DC, to demand civil rights for all and King made his famous „I have a dream“ speech.

9) The issue of Civil Rights, 1964 - 1969

The Civil Rights Legislation

- In the Brown case in 1954 and lots of segregation cases afterwards, the Supreme Court said separate facilities were not equal and therefore were illegal.
- President Johnson passed a series of laws to back up the Supreme Court's decisions and make it clear the Jim Crow laws were illegal; **Civil Rights Act 1964**: banned segregation in public places e.g. bus stations.
- **Voting Rights Act 1965**: black people's right to vote was protected.
- **1967**: the Supreme Court declared that state laws forbidding interracial marriages were unconstitutional.
- **Fair Housing Act 1968**: made it illegal to discriminate in jobs, housing etc.
- **By 1969 64%** of black Americans were registered to vote
- Since these laws were passed, black people have been **legally** equal to whites.



Memorise Civil Rights Legislation



Race riots in the 1960s

- In the mid 1960's a number of riots took place in the northern cities of the USA. In the North there was no official segregation and black people had the vote.
- The riots were about something different to the protests in the South. They were about the hardships black people suffered such as slum housing in the northern ghettos, unemployment, inferior education and police attitudes.
- There were riots in Harlem, New York in 1964 and other cities such as Chicago and Detroit in 1966. In these latter riots people were killed when black militants set fires and opened fire at police.
- The most infamous, however, was the riot in the Watts district of Los Angeles in which 34 people were killed 1072 people were injured in 6 days of rioting. Much of the area was burned down by its own people who chanted „black power“ slogans and fired on police.

10) The issue of Civil Rights, 1964 - 1970

The role of Malcolm X

- He was a very charismatic and influential figure. Malcolm X was originally a member of the Nation of Islam's who rejected Christianity as a white man's religion.
- He left the Nation of Islam organisation when Elijah Muhammed became jealous of his popularity.
- Although he remained a Muslim, he began to later to turn his attention from religion to getting more political power and better living/working conditions for black people.
- He much more aggressive in defence of black rights than Martin Luther King and the wider peace movement.
- He believed MLK's soft approach was not working i.e. there were violent attacks on Black people who protested for equality. Black people should defend themselves i.e. Violence should be met with violence.
- He believed in the idea of "black power".
- He believed that the black community should be segregated from the white community and should not beg the white man for equality.
- X believed that the black community should educate itself, develop its own businesses, and build up its own community without the white man's help.
- He believed black people should be proud to be black – "Black is Beautiful."
- He appealed more to the urban Black people of the Northern cities who could vote and were not segregated, but still were very poor and discriminated against.
- He must not be seen as a violent figure. He advocated violence in self defence. In fact it was his respectability combined with his determination not to be bullied that made him such a frightening figure. He was assassinated in 1965 by members of the Nation of Islam.

Black Power riots and the Mexico Olympics

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- At **the 1968 Olympics Tommie Smith and John Carlos** in order to show black unity saluted with their rights hands to indicate Black Power. They were accused of bringing politics in to sport and damaging the Olympic spirit. On return they received several death threats. An Australian athlete – Peter Norman also showed his support for the Black Power cause by wearing an OPHR (Olympic Project for Human Rights) badge. The Australian Olympic Committee was furious and did not select him for the 1972 Olympics.

The Black Panthers

- These were the most violent and secret of the black power groups and were involved in several bloody battles with the police in the late 1960's when their leaders were killed or imprisoned. **Stokely Carmichael** became its leader, (Carmichael had been an integrationist like King, and one of the leaders of the **SNCC**, but later his views became more militant).
- The successes achieved in the fight for Civil Rights can be as much attributed to people like Malcolm X and **Stokely Carmichael** as Martin Luther King. The peaceful approach showed how respectable black people were. The more aggressive approach of the black power movement showed black people would no longer put up with violence against them and this no doubt scared some white people / politicians in to action.
- **Achievements of the Black Panthers** – Despite constant harassment from the FBI and police, the Black Panthers were able to point to some successes during their existence. They established the '**Free Breakfast for Children Program**' in parts of California and Chicago.
- In addition, they provided clothing distribution centres, gave guidance on drugs rehabilitation and assistance to those who had relatives in prison.



The New Frontier (JFK)

In 1960 John F Kennedy became the first catholic President. His domestic policy was called The New Frontier.

- His aim was to eliminate poverty, inequality and deprivation for all Americans including Black Americans.
- JFK had intended to introduce changes to society and the economy. He had proposed an ambitious system of health insurance called Medicare, medical help for the elderly and a Civil Rights Bill; however none of these were passed.
- He also intended to introduce an education law to give more money to schools. He increased benefits, raised the minimum wage and established training schemes for the unemployed.
- JFK had charisma, but he did not have a good relationship with Congress, and his ideas were often rejected.
- **Kennedy's presidency was cut short due to his assassination in 1963. Despite this he did achieve the following;**
- He appointed 5 federal judges including Thurgood Marshall who was a black American and supporter of Civil Rights.
- He supported James Meredith (a black student) by sending 23,000 government troops to protect him whilst at Mississippi University.
- He increased the minimum wage from \$1.00 to \$1.25 per hour
- He spent \$900 million on public works programmes such as new roads and public buildings.

Opposition to the New Frontier (JFK)

- Some people believed that the new Frontier went against the American ideals of rugged individualism. Many did not trust his use of young college graduates in their 20s and early 30s (Brains Trust).
- Many in congress disliked the radical nature of the programme, seeing it as a socialist programme.
- Many Southern congressmen even Democrats disliked his commitment to black civil rights. They felt it would cost them the votes in the south.

Johnson's Great Society

- Lyndon B Johnson was the new President following the assassination of JFK. LBJ continued to develop JFK's ideas. Johnson wanted to create a Great Society. He won the 1964 election by stating that he wanted to end poverty.
- He carried on the work promised by JFK.
- Johnson was a much more experienced politician than Kennedy and was able to pass more laws;
- **The Medical Care Act (1965)** provided Medicare (for the old) and Medicaid (for the poor). This was to help all Americans have access to medical care.
- **He increased the minimum wage from \$1.25 to \$1.40.**
- Johnson signed the economic Opportunity Act in 1964. The law created the Office of Economic Opportunity aimed at attacking the roots of American poverty. A Job Corps was established to provide valuable vocational training.
- **Operation Headstart** gave money to schools in cities to provide a better education for the poor.
- **1964 Civil Rights Act was passed.**
- **Voting Rights Act of 1965 passed.**

Opposition to LBJ's Great Society

- Johnson faced opposition during the latter stages of his Presidency. He was criticised for America's involvement in the Vietnam War – some thought it was costing the USA too much money and students protested against the draft system (conscriptio)
- In 1968 Johnson decided not to run for re-election and Nixon became the next President of the USA.
- By 1960 the standard of living in America was better than it was in Britain – America had come out of the Depression. However in 1962, Michael Harrington stated in his book The Other America that 50 million – 30 per cent of the people – were poor e.g. the hillbillies of the Appalachia Mountains.
- Hispanic workers in the west and the black people in the ghettos of the northern cities“ were also poor.

12) Political change in the 1970s

The Watergate Scandal – 1972

- Nixon (Republican) won the election in 1968, but was worried he wouldn't win the 1972 election so he set up a group called **CREEP** which was The campaign to re-elect the president.
- The Watergate building was a hotel which the Democrats used as their campaign headquarters. CREEP broke into the **Democrats** rooms on 17th June 1972 to plant listening devices to spy on their election plans. The burglars were arrested.
- The Washington Post newspaper discovered that all 5 burglars were part of CREEP, but Nixon denied any involvement in the break-in. Nixon won the November 1972 election with a landslide victory; he got more than 60% of the vote.
- In January 1973 the burglars went on trial and were all found guilty. Whilst in court one of the men claimed there had been a White House cover up. Again Nixon denied any involvement, but two of Nixon's advisors resigned.
- The Senate set up an investigation and the trials were televised. It became very clear that White House officials were involved.
- One White House aide told the investigation that Nixon had installed a tape-recording machine at the White House to record his meetings. The investigation told Nixon to hand over the tapes but he refused. Then he handed over the tapes but they were heavily edited and had an 18 ½ minute gap on them.
- On 30th April 1974 Nixon was forced to hand over the White House tapes, unedited. They proved that Nixon did know about the fake burglary and had been lying to the American people.



The consequences of Watergate

- On 8th August 1974 Nixon became the first US president to resign before he was impeached. Gerald Ford became the next President and pardoned Nixon of all charges relating to Watergate.
- As a result of the Watergate affair the people of America lost confidence in the Government and it was a turning point in their trust of the White House.
- The scandal also affected America's reputation abroad. The USSR used the scandal to show that the capitalist system was corrupt.
- In the 1976 election Jimmy Carter became President and he tried to regain people's trust in the Government. His main slogan was "I will not lie".

More consequences of Watergate

- A number of laws were passed to reduce the power of the government and President;
- **Election Campaign Act 1974** – set limits on election contributions to prevent corruption.
- **Privacy Act 1974** – allowed citizens to have access to any files that the government may have had on them.
- **Congressional Budget Act 1974** – the President could not use government money for his/her purpose..

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1980, the Republican Ronald Reagan became President of America. Reagan had been famous as an actor in Hollywood before turning to politics. • When Reagan became President, inflation was high (15 per cent) and unemployment was high (7.5 per cent). Reagan's economic policy was called <u>Reaganomics</u> – the idea was to cut taxes so that people had money to spend on goods which would create jobs. He believed the wealth would “trickle down” through society. • His solution was to reduce income tax and reduce social benefits – he emphasised the old ideas of <u>rugged individualism</u>. • In 1981, his <u>Economic Recovery Tax Act</u> succeeded in reducing taxes for individuals and businesses by around \$33 billion – the greatest reduction in tax in the history of America. • However, in the mid-1980s a recession happened. Congress raised taxes to a total of \$91 billion – the biggest tax increase in the history of America. By the end of 1982 unemployment was higher than it was in 1941. Then a period of recovery came, and by 1984 the economy was thriving. • Reagan succeeded in winning the 1984 election easily. In order to win, he emphasised the way in which he had reduced inflation and unemployment, and also focused on the economic growth of the country. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In his second term as President, Reagan continued with his policy of reducing taxes. But the Government was now spending most of its money on a research programme to send arms into space to protect America from a nuclear attack. • The name of the scheme was the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), but it was later called Star Wars by the media. It cost \$26 billion and was eventually scrapped as it drained the economy. • <u>Failures of the space programme</u> – In January 1986 the space shuttle Challenger exploded only seconds after lift off – killing all 7 crew members. In April a Titan rocket carrying secret military equipment exploded immediately after lift off. In May a Delta rocket failed.
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<p><u>Reagan years – 1987 onwards</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1987 Congress, increasingly worried by the rapidly growing budget deficit, rejected Reagan's budget for increased defence spending. • There was a severe stock market crash in 1987, one of the worst stock market crashes since the crash of 1929. This was mainly due to Reagan's economic policies. • Due to Reagan the USA had the largest trading deficit of any of the leading industrialised nations. • <u>Trading deficit = when the trade balance was negative and the value of what the USA imported was more than the value of what they exported.</u> • At the same time the economy was beginning to slow down as industry moved in to recession. 	<p><u>Reagan's other policies</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>The environment</u> – Reagan suggested that some damage to the environment was the price to pay if the nation wanted companies to create jobs and strengthen the economy. • Two thirds of the public from a 1985 public opinion poll disagreed with Reagan's rhetoric. • <u>Civil rights</u> – Reagan caused the anger of many civil rights organisations when he made some comments about MLK when Congress was discussing whether to make MLK's birthday a national holiday. He only voted for it after being persuaded by Congress. • <u>Women</u> – Reagan lost some support from women when he opposed abortion and showed a lack of concern for gender issues. • <u>AIDS</u> – When HIV/AIDS struck the USA, there was no known cure, and by 1985 nearly 4000 people had died. Initially Reagan had a dismissive attitude to the AIDS crisis but gradually changed his views. By 1989, the federal government was spending \$2.3 billion a year on research and AIDS prevention. • <u>War on drugs</u> – 14th October 1982 Reagan declared illegal drugs to be a threat to US national security.
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14) Political change – Changes under Bush Senior and Clinton

The Bush Presidency: Political and Economic Developments (1988-1992)

- Bush had to deal with the problems left by Reagan – the country was in debt (\$220 billion).
- Bush's famous promise was "Read my lips, no new taxes." He broke his promise and increased taxes – he was forced to make a deal with the Democrats as a result of his own party's objection. He was often ridiculed because of this promise made on American television.
- By the end of his presidency interest rates and inflation were the lowest they had been in years, but unemployment had risen to 7.8% the highest since 1984.
- In 1990, the Government's debt was three times more than it was in 1980 (\$300 billion) because the economy was not growing as quickly as it was in the 1980s under Reagan.

- He also passed some important social legislation;

The American Disability Act (1990) was passed which protected disabled people from prejudice. This was the most important antidiscrimination legislation since the Civil Rights Act.

The Clean Air Act (1990) focused on reducing pollution.



Bill Clinton (1992-2000)

- Bill Clinton was the first Democrat to serve for two full terms in the White House since the presidency of F D Roosevelt in the 1930-40s.
- Clinton moved away from the idea of Reaganomics – he wanted to reduce the debt and increase spending on social welfare. He reduced the debt to \$107 billion by 1996 and by 1998 the budget was balanced for the first time since 1969.
- **In 1996 he introduced a minimum wage of \$4.75 per hour, and in 1997 he increased that to \$5.15.**
- He tried to introduce a national health system, but this was not approved by Congress.
- In 1993 he introduced the Family and Medical Leave Act which gave employers the right to give unpaid leave to pregnant workers or workers who had a serious medical condition.
- Clinton also gave gay men and women the right to serve in the armed forces.
- Clinton's government launched the White Houses first official website in 1994. This had a huge influence on interactive communication. Federal agencies, the courts system, the US army etc. were all now online and communication between the American government and people greatly improved.
- Clinton signed the Brady Bill on 30 November 1993 which enforced a five-day delay when purchasing a hand gun. He also developed Earned Income Tax Credit in order to help workers on low wages.

More on Clinton

- Bill Clinton was impeached in December 1998 due to his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. The House of Representatives had voted to impeach him for perjury but he was found not guilty by the Senate. He continued as President until the end of his second term in January 2001.
- Clinton was also linked to the Whitewater scandal of 1996 when two former business associates were convicted of multiple fraud over a housing development in the Whitewater area of Arkansas. However, there was no conclusive evidence to find that Clinton or his wife Hillary had been involved.
- On the whole, Clinton was a popular President despite the Monica Lewinsky scandal. During his time as President, the American economy was strong.

15) Social change – 1950-2000 (music)

Music in the 1950s

- The 1950s witnessed the birth of **rock and roll music**. This gave teenagers music of their own to listen to, instead of having to listen to their parents' type of music. The more parents disliked the new music, the more popular it became with teenagers.
- In **1956 Elvis Presley** erupted on to the pop music scene, singing songs that broke all sale records, such as 'Heartbreak Hotel' and 'Hound Dog.'
- Elvis was a phenomenal success with teenagers, while their parents and teachers detested his sensual style of performing – with his tight jeans and permanent sneer.
- Elvis was the first rock and roll star to influence the young in their attitude to authority and their appearance.
- Moreover, Elvis greatly popularised rock and roll music.
- Rock and roll grew and was transformed into many musical variations in the following decades.

Music in the 1970s

- In the 1970s disco performers such as **Donna Summer, the Bee Gees, KC and the Sunshine Band, Chic and the Jacksons became very popular.**
- Disco was a reaction to the domination of rock music and was particularly popular with women.
- The disco became a favourite hang out for teenagers, further popularised by the film **'Saturday Night Fever (1977).'**
- Heavy metal music also became popular. Bands such as Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath and Deep Purple led the way, followed by Motorhead and Iron Maiden.
- Their music was characterised by amplifier distortion and long guitar solos. Heavy metal was associated with aggression and masculinity.
- There were also influential solo artists such as Bruce Springsteen and John Mellencamp.
- Springsteen became popular due to the fact that his music focused on the struggles of ordinary people, more especially the working class.
- **His albums such as 'Born to Run (1975)' and 'Born in the USA (1984)' were based on his own experiences of life in New Jersey.**
- John Mellencamp rose to stardom in the 1980s with a string of top 10 singles. Mellencamp also wrote about daily life. He also helped to set up Farm Aid and organised a concert to try and prevent families from losing farm land.

Music in the 1960s

- In the 1960s the **Beatles, the Rolling Stones** and other British groups took the USA by storm.
- 'Hard rock' grew popular and protest songs, such as those by singer/songwriter **Bob Dylan**, became common.
- **The Beach Boys** were an American rock band, formed in 1961, who gained popularity for their close vocal harmonies and lyrics reflecting a southern Californian youth culture of cars, romance and surfing.
- Many white middle class parents were shocked and concerned by their teenage children's explosion of anger and lack of respect for the law and believed that Rock and roll music encouraged teenage crime.

Music 1980s onwards

- Rap and hip hop music developed, to a certain extent, from the disco music of the 1970s and became very popular in the last 20 years of the century.
- Although very much a product of inner city problem areas, especially those with high unemployment among young black Americans, research carried out on consumer groups during the mid 1990s highlighted the fact that over 75% of hip hop buyers were young and white.
- Hip hop had become popular and mainstream.
- **Jay-Z's 'Vol. 2...Hard Knock life'** album reached the US number 1 position for weeks in 1998.
- Other artists/bands such as Ice-T, Will Smith and the Fugees all achieved great chart success.

16) Social change – 1950-2000 (entertainment: cinema and TV)

Cinema

- **Drive ins** - These open air cinemas became popular in the 1950s and 60s. By 1960 there were 4,000 drive-ins across the USA. They were particularly popular with young courting couples who enjoyed the privacy. Some people argued that they were immoral.
- **Multiplexes** - The first ever multiplex opened in 1963. They were designed to encourage more people to go to the cinema as multiple films could be shown at the same time. Stanley H. Durwood became the father of the multiplex movie theatre – he opened the first ever mall multiplex, made up of two side by side theatres with 700 seats at Ward Parkway Center in Kansas City.
- **Anti-heroes/Method Actors** - After WW2 young people wanted new and exciting symbols of rebellion. Hollywood responded to this with the rise of the anti-hero characters. The characters often lacked the traditional heroic qualities such as idealism or courage. Paul Newman and Marlon Brando very popular. Female actresses like Marilyn Monroe portrayed exciting, vibrant and sexual roles.. James Dean in Rebel without a cause became popular and young men acted like them and girls wanted their boyfriends to be like them. **Method Actors** – In later decades, this new generation of **method actors** would be followed by Robert De Niro, Jack Nicholson and Al Pacino. Anti-heroines included Ava Gardner, Kim Novak and Marilyn Monroe.

Cinema Blockbusters of the 70s/80s and start of the 1990s

- The 1970s saw the emergence of the blockbuster film.
- As a result, films such as **The Godfather (1972)** were successful. Also in the 1970s, talented directors such as **Steven Spielberg and George Lucas** came to the fore with films such as **Jaws (1973)** and **Star Wars**.
- In the 1980s technological developments had enabled film producers to create more impressive special effects on screen, e.g. **Terminator (1984)** and **Ghostbusters (1984)**.
- **In the 1990s**, for the most part, cinema attendance was up – mostly at multiplexes throughout the country. The 90s was the decade of the mega paid movie stars such as Arnold Schwarzenegger, Tom Cruise, Sylvester Stallone, Mel Gibson, Kevin Costner, Harrison Ford, Robin Williams, Jim Carrey, Demi Moore and Julia Roberts.
- The VCR was still popular in most households (about ¾ of them had VCRs in 1991) and rentals and purchase of films on videotape were big business – much larger than sales of movie tickets. By the 1997, the first DVDs had emerged in stores, featuring sharper resolution and better quality pictures.
- Films such as **Jurassic Park (1993)** and **Star Wars Episode I – The Phantom Menace (1999)** used more advanced digital imagery and special effects.

Television

- During the 1940s there were relatively few television sets in American homes. However, the number of televisions **increased from 7000 in 1946 to 50 million by 1960**.
- Between **1959 and 1970**, the **percentage of households in the USA with at least one television went from 88% to 96%**.
- The average family watched **6 hours a day**.
- Subscription TV such as cable and satellite became popular in the early 1980s.
- Americans especially liked game shows and funny shows with comedians such as **Milton Berle and Lucille Ball**.
- They also liked shows that offered a mix of entertainment, such as those presented by **Arthur Godfrey and Ed Sullivan**.
- The **'Western'** became one of the most popular styles of programme, with series including The **Lone Ranger, Bonanza and Gunsmoke**.
- Other popular programmes such as **'I Love Lucy'** and **'The Honeymooners'** gave a romanticised view of American middle class Suburban life.
- What was portrayed on TV came to be accepted as normal. However, at the same time, television failed to recognise that America was a great mix of races and religions. Few members of racial or religious minorities were represented on TV. Those who did appear were usually shown to be working for white people.

Later Soap Operas and chat shows

- American soap operas became, and still are, very popular. Long running daytime dramas included **Search for Tomorrow (1951-1986)**, **Love of Life (1951-1980)**, **The Doctors (1963-1982)**, **Dallas(1978-1991)**, **Dynasty (1981-1989)** and **Beverly Hills 90210 (1990-2000)**
- **Chat shows** – Daytime chat shows such as Phil Donahue (1970-96) and The Jerry Springer Show (1991 – present) have also pulled in many viewers.
- By far the most successful of these has been the Oprah Winfrey Show which is the longest running daytime television chat show in the USA, having run nationally since 8 September 1986.

17) Social change – 1950-2000 (developments in IT and literature)

Developments in IT

- **Personal Computers** – The 1990s saw a massive growth in the sale of personal computers. This was mainly due to the competition between two rival organisations, Microsoft and Apple.
- Bill Gates set up his company Microsoft in 1975. Microsoft launched its first retail version of Microsoft Windows on November 20th 1985.
- Gates's major rival was Apple Computer; Inc. which was set up by Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak and Ronald Wayne in California in 1976.
- **The internet** – In 1991, the first really user friendly interface to the internet was developed at the University of Minnesota.
- In the following year, Delphi was the first national commercial online service to offer internet access to its subscribers.
- The release of Windows 98 in June 1998 with the Microsoft browser integrated into the desktop enabled Bill Gates to take advantage of the enormous growth of the internet.

Developments in IT

- **Gaming** – The first commercially viable video game was Computer Space in 1971. In subsequent decades there was massive growth in computer games as well as significant improvements in technology.
- In the 1980s Nintendo introduced the first modern day game console called the NES (Nintendo Entertainment System), followed by others such as Sega Mega Drive, the Sony PlayStation and in 2001, the Microsoft Xbox.

Impact on US society – The internet has had a drastic impact on culture and business. This included the rise of near instant communication by electronic mail (email), text based discussion forums and e-commerce.

- More and more leisure time for the younger generation began to be taken up with social networking on the internet as well as the various game consoles. This led to an increasing concern for a generation abandoning an active lifestyle for passive activities, resulting in lack of exercise and obesity issues.

Literature – there were two major features of American literature in the second half of the 20th century; the continued search for the '**great American novel**' and **counter-cultural** literary works, which challenged the general conservatism of US society.

- **The great American novel – This was the quest to write a novel which defined the meaning of being 'American.'**
- **The quest for the 'great American novel' led to the publication of some of the most popular works in American literary history in the 30 years after WW2 and included:**
- **To Kill a Mockingbird by Harper Lee** – published in 1960, it focused on issues such as racial inequality and rape.
- **The Catcher in the Rye by J.D. Salinger** – published in 1951, the book commented on the apparent madness of American society, especially with teenagers.
- **Rabbit, Run by John Updike** – published in 1960, focused on changes in middle class American society.
- **Norman Mailer's popular novel, The Naked and the Dead**, and Mailer's own experiences of fighting in the war in the Pacific, more especially in the Philippines.
- **Cormac McCarthy's epic novel Blood Meridian** which was published in 1985, focusing on the American West, is one of the most highly acclaimed American novels of the later 20th century.

Counterculture – Another major theme in the development of American literature in the years after WW2. This challenged the traditional conservatism of American society.

- The '**Beat Generation**' often referred to as **Beatniks** were a group of novelists and poets who led the way in rebelling against conservative/traditional values.
- **Allen Ginsberg led the way with the poem Howl (1956)** which was so sexually explicit that it shocked contemporary American society. This was followed by: **John Kerouac On the Road (1957)** and **William S. Burroughs' Naked Lunch (1959)** which both focused on the controversial issue of hard drugs.
- **Betty Friedan's Feminine Mystique (1963)** challenged the traditional role of women.
- African American authors focused on racial inequality in American society such as **Ralph Ellison who in his novel, Invisible Man (1952)** highlighted racial tension in the North.
- **Toni Morrison** won the Nobel Prize for Literature with her controversial debut novel, **The Bluest Eye (1970)** using the theme of rape to comment on racial inequalities.

18) Social change – 1950s-1970s (changes in youth culture)

1950s

- Within this decade there was the emergence of the teenager and teenage rebellion.
- The teenager of the 50s seemed to want to rebel against everything and especially against whatever their parents believed in.
- They developed their own identity by wearing distinctive clothes and listening to their own music.
- Other young people dropped out of society altogether to become 'beatniks.'
- **These changes occurred due to several factors:**
- Young people had far more money to spend due to the country's increasing affluence.
- In 1957 it was estimated that the average teenager had US\$10-15 a week to spend, compared with US\$1-2 in the 1940s.
- They were the first generation to grow up under the shadow of nuclear war ; therefore the world could end at any time and teenagers thought that they wanted to enjoy 'today.'
- Many teenagers were influenced by the youth films of the 1950s – Rebel Without a Cause was the first film to appeal specifically to a teenage audience. It was the first film to address the issue of a generation gap. The film made a cult hero of **James Dean**. In the film Dean plays a character who rebels against his parents, even coming to blows with his father and gets in to trouble with the police for drunkenness.
- The behaviour of the young people shocked the adults and the **generation gap** developed.

Youth counterculture (50s and 60s)

- Hair was grown longer and beards became more common. Blue jeans and T-shirts took the place of slacks, jackets and ties.
- The use of illegal drugs increased.
- The introduction of the contraceptive pill seemed to encourage greater sexual freedom and promiscuity.
- **The movement was of particular concern to the older generation because: hippies often refused to work; they experimented in drugs such as marijuana and LSD; many were from middle class and not under privileged backgrounds; they rejected all the values that their parents believed in.**

The hippy movement

- These youths decided to 'drop out' of society and become hippies. This meant that they grew their hair long, wore distinctive clothes and developed an alternative lifestyle.
- Often they travelled around the country in buses and vans. They wore flowers in their hair as a symbol of peace rather than war. Their slogan was 'Make love, not war.'
- As hippies often wore flowers and handed them out to the police they were called 'flower children.'
- They often settled in communes and San Francisco became the hippy capital of America.
- Their behaviour, especially their use of drugs, frequently led to clashes with the police who they nicknamed 'pigs.'
- Hippies were influenced by rock groups such as the Grateful Dead and the Doors.
- The high point of the movement came at the Woodstock rock concert at the end of the 1960s.
- Woodstock was a 3 day music festival in rural New York State in August 1969, attended by almost half a million people.
- The festival gave its name to the Woodstock Generation.

The Hippy Movement, student protests and their impact

- In the second half of the 1960s young people had started to reject their parents' way of life. young people were protesting against the war in Vietnam and racism, and rebelling against the 'safe' route from secondary school to a good job.
- Towards the end of the 1960s students were protesting in colleges. They were calling for the right to express their opinions and demanding that strict rules were removed. There were also major protests against the Vietnam war. This war was broadcast on television and so everyone could see what was happening.
- In 1968 there were over a 100 separate protests against the Vietnam War. In May 1970 during a protest at **Kent State University**, Ohio, against Nixon's decision to bomb Cambodia, soldiers of the National Guard were sent to disperse the 600 students who were protesting.
- The students refused to move and the soldiers used tear gas and guns. As a result 4 people were killed and 11 injured.

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (student protest)

- SDS was the largest and most influential radical student organization of the 1960s. At its inception in 1960, there were just a few dozen members, inspired by the civil rights movement and initially concerned with equality, economic justice, peace, and participatory democracy.
- By the end of the 1960s the SDS had 100,000 members.
- The SDS protested against the way Universities were run; they thought students should have a greater say.
- With the escalation of the Vietnam War, SDS grew rapidly as young people protested the destruction wrought by the US government and military. Polite protest turned into stronger and more determined resistance as rage and frustration increased all across the country.

19) Social change – (The changing role of women)

Impact of WW2

- More and more women started to work during the Second World War – around 6 million were working in factories and about **300,000** served in the women's sections of the army, navy and nursing corps.
- During the war women had enjoyed a new sense of independence and they were not willing to give it up after the war.
- However when the war ended many women lost their jobs and the financial freedom that they had enjoyed during the war.
- **DESPITE THE WAR:**
- The majority of women willingly gave up their war time jobs and returned to their roles as housewives and mothers.
- Women were generally excluded from the highest, well paid jobs and on average earned 50-60% of the wage that men earned from doing the same job.
- Women could still be dismissed from their job when they married.

The growth of the feminist movement (1960s)

- **Eleanor Roosevelt**, the widow of President Roosevelt, published a report in 1963 showing the problems women faced in employment;
- 95% of company managers were men .
- Only 7% of doctors were women .
- Only 4% of lawyers were women.
- Women earned 50-60% of the wages men earned.
- **In 1963 Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique.** This was a very important book in terms of women's rights and the feminist movement. Friedan said that women should have equal rights with men in every way and that women should be able to pursue a good career.
- In 1966 Friedan and others established the **National Organisation for Women (NOW).**
- **NOW** demanded equal rights for women in US law and a woman's right to make her own decisions with regards to reproduction (at the time abortion was illegal in all US states). They used peaceful methods of protest to get their points across.
- They were instrumental in getting the contraceptive pill legalised in the America. Women held protests and strikes in order to gain these rights.

1950s impact on women

- During the 1950s and 60s women were just expected to stay at home and be housewives. They did not enjoy the same legal protection as men in the workplace and were often paid less than men for the same job.
- Due to the increasing affluence of the 1950s and the labour saving devices e.g. washing machines, women had more free time and became bored with their domestic role.
- In the 1950s, growing numbers of women, especially those from middle class backgrounds, began to challenge their traditional role as they became increasingly frustrated with life as a housewife.
- The contraceptive pill gave females much greater choice about when or whether to have children, Pregnancy could be prevented or postponed whilst a woman pursued her career.
- In 1950, there were 721,000 women at university; by 1960 this had reached 1.3 million.
- However there were still many women who had very limited choice of career because, once they married, they were expected to devote their energies to their husband and children.

The Women's Liberation Movement and Legislature

- They had far more radical aims than NOW and were known as feminists.
 - They wanted all signs of male supremacy to be removed from America e.g. they believed in not wearing make-up as they thought it was only worn for men.
 - They protested against the Miss America contest in 1968 by crowning a sheep!
 - Their actions actually turned people against the cause as their actions brought the wrong sort of publicity.
 - There has been considerable progress in female employment. Over 70% of women of working age were in employment in 1995 compared to 38% 40 years earlier.
 - Acts were introduced such as **The Equal Pay Act of 1963** required employers to pay women the same as men for the same job. Also, **The Civil Rights Act of 1964** stated that prejudice and discrimination on the basis of sex and race were illegal.
 - **1972** – The Educational Amendment Act outlawed sex discrimination in education so boys and girls could follow the same curriculum. This would give girls greater career opportunities.
 - **1973 – Abortion Legalised** – women could choose whether to have children. **1978 – The Pregnancy Discrimination Act** – banned employment discrimination against pregnant women
- However: Many women worked in traditional female occupations such as receptionists; only 30% of managers were female; over two-thirds of part time jobs were done by women; average women's earnings were about 75% of those of men in 1998.

20) Cold War rivalry – reasons for US involvement in the Cold War

Introduction to the Cold War

- In 1945 the leaders of USA, Britain and the USSR met at two peace conferences, Yalta and Potsdam, to decide the future of Germany and Eastern Europe.
- By the end of the second conference at Potsdam, the USA and USSR had become rivals in what became known as the Cold War, which lasted over 40 years.
- A **hot war** is a conflict in which actual fighting takes place.
- A **cold war** is a war waged against an enemy by every means short of actually fighting.

Fear of communism

- The USA believed in capitalism and feared the spread of communism. This fear originated with the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the Bolsheviks believed in worldwide revolution to spread communism.
- This fear was evident in the Red Scare, the growing fear of communism in the USA in the years after WW2, and McCarthyism, the practice of making accusations of communism led by Senator Joe McCarthy with little or no real evidence, of the late 1940s and 1950s.

Soviet Expansion in Europe

- Having freed much of Eastern Europe from the Nazis, the Red Army remained in occupation in this area and the Soviet Union established communist governments that were closely controlled from Moscow.
- These areas became known as Soviet satellite states and included Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.
- Truman was convinced that Stalin wanted to expand in to Western Europe.
- On the 16th July 1945, the Americans successfully tested an atomic bomb at a desert site in the USA. At the start of the Potsdam Conference, Truman informed Stalin about this. Stalin was furious that he had not been told about this beforehand. (The Conference being held after the test)

Post-war peace conferences: Yalta and Potsdam

- **Yalta Conference – Jan 1945** attended by Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. Here it was agreed that Germany would be divided in to 4 zones. However there were differences over how much Germany should pay in reparations and over the future government of Poland.
- **Potsdam Conference – July/August 1945** – Truman and Stalin had several disagreements. 20 million Russians had died during the war and Stalin wanted massive compensation that would have totally and permanently crippled Germany. Truman refused. Truman also wanted free elections in the countries of Eastern Europe occupied by Soviet troops. Stalin refused to submit to US pressure. Truman was furious and began a **'get tough'** policy against the USSR.
- At Potsdam it was agreed:
 - To divide Germany and Berlin as stated at Yalta (4 zones administered by the Allies)
 - To Demilitarise Germany.
 - To re-establish democracy in Germany including free elections, a free press and freedom of speech.
 - Germany had to pay reparations to the Allies in equipment and raw materials. Most of this would go to the USSR, which had suffered the most.
 - To ban the Nazi Party. Nazis were removed from important positions and leading Nazis were put on trial for war crimes at Nuremberg in 1946.
 - To participate fully in the United Nations organisation.
 - That Poland's frontier was to be moved westwards to the rivers Oder and Neisse.

The Long Telegram

- **George Kennan** was the USA's Deputy Chief Mission at the US Embassy in Moscow in 1946.
- He saw the USSR as aggressive and suspicious and recommended firm action by the USA against what he viewed as **Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe**.
- His telegram, which became known as the **Long Telegram**, greatly influenced Truman's policies in the Cold War, especially his policy of **containment**.

Iron Curtain

- In March 1946 Winston Churchill, made a speech at Fulton, Missouri, USA which showed how divided Europe had become within less than a year of the end of WW2.
- In this very famous speech he suggested that 'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an **iron curtain** has descended across the continent of Europe.

21) Cold War rivalry – The Truman Doctrine and containment of communism 1945-1949

The Truman Doctrine

- In 1947 Britain, who had been giving financial aid to Greece and Turkey since 1944, told the USA they could no longer afford to continue.
- The USA stepped in with the necessary financial aid, fearing these two countries would come under Soviet influence. Truman announced US support in an important speech in March 1947.
- The speech marked a turning point in US foreign policy. He was committing the USA to a policy of containment that became known as the **Truman Doctrine**.
- **Consequences of the Truman Doctrine:**
- The Greek government was able to defeat the Communist; the rivalry between the USA and USSR increases; the USA decided to provide economic aid to Europe, known as the Marshall Plan.

Marshall Plan (Aid 1947)

- Truman described Marshall Aid and Containment as ‘two halves of the same nut’ – contain communism (Truman Doctrine) and commit money to rebuild Europe, showing the benefits of capitalism (Marshall Aid)
- Marshall Aid was an attempt to rebuild Europe after the Second World War. It put the ideas of the Truman Doctrine into effect. In March 1947 President Harry Truman offered grants of American money to all European countries. The plan was named after his secretary of state George C Marshall.
- Truman intended that Marshall Aid would be made available to all countries in Europe, but in fact only countries in the west accepted it.
- By 1953 the USA had provided US\$17 billion in Marshall Aid.

Domino Theory

- **Containment was based on the Domino Theory, the belief that if one country fell to communism this would trigger the fall of its neighbouring countries. The theory was later applied to Asia.**

The Berlin Crisis 1948-1949

- Germany was divided into 4 sections; including Berlin. The western Allies pushed ahead by encouraging the economic recovery of their zones, especially in providing a much needed currency.
- The western zones received large quantities of Marshall Aid. In addition they also set up free elections to establish democracy. This was a sharp contrast to Soviet policies.
- Stalin feared that a ‘western’ currency and democratic ideas would spread to the Soviet zone and undermine control of East Berlin.
- When in 1948, the Allies announced plans to create a West German state and a new currency, Stalin accused the West of interfering in the Soviet zone.
- On **the 24th June 1948**, Stalin cut off road, rail and canal traffic to Berlin from the western zone of Germany in attempt to starve the Allies out of West Berlin. (**Berlin Blockade**)
- Truman was determined to stand up to the USSR to show he was serious about containment.

Events and results of the Berlin crisis

- The only way in to Berlin was by air, so the Allies decided to airlift supplies from their bases in West Germany. There were anxious moments as the first planes flew over Berlin, but no shots were fired.
- The **airlift began on 28th June 1948** and **lasted for 10 months**.
- The British codenamed it ‘Operation Plainfare.’ The planes flew in via air corridors.
- **The airlift reached its peak on 16-17 April 1949 when 1,398 flights landed nearly 13,000 tonnes of supplies in 24 hours.**
- During the airlift West Berliners were supplied with everything from food and clothing; to oil and building materials. However there were great shortages in the city and many decided to leave.
- **During this period there were a total of 275,000 flights with an average of 4000 tonnes of supplies each day.**
- **Results**
- **On 12th May 1949 Stalin called off the blockade.** He had failed to starve the Allies out of Berlin. The crisis greatly increases East-West rivalry – **this led to creation of NATO.**
- Truman saw the outcome of the crisis as a great victory – his policy of containment had worked.

22) Cold War rivalry – Episodes/Events of the Cold War

Creation of NATO

- The Berlin crisis had confirmed Truman's commitment to containment in Europe and highlighted the Soviet threat to Western Europe.
- The Western European states were aware that, even joined together, they were no match for the USSR and needed the formal support of the USA.
- **In April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was created (NATO).**
- Although mainly a defensive alliance, its main purpose was to prevent Soviet expansion.
- The countries agreed that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America would be considered an attack against them all.
- Stalin saw NATO as an aggressive alliance aimed against the USSR and within six years, in **1955**, the USSR had set up its own rival organisation known as the **Warsaw Pact.**
- The creation of these two rival groups increased Cold War tension.

The Berlin Crisis, 1961

- In the early 1960s Berlin again became a major flashpoint in Cold War relations.
- **In August 1961, Khrushchev, the leader of the USSR, ordered the construction of a wall to separate East Berlin from West Berlin.**
- **From January 1961 the number of refugees leaving East Berlin had increased to 20,000 a month – this had to be stopped.**
- Moreover; Khrushchev thought he could bully the new, inexperienced president of the USA, John F. Kennedy.
- **From 5pm on 27th October to 11am on 28th October, US and Soviet tanks, fully armed, faced each other in tense stand off.**
- Then, after 18 hours, the US tanks pulled back.
- Kennedy had been forced to back down but was furious with the USSR.

The Cuban Missile crisis – causes

- The USA backed the military dictatorship of **Batista** since 1934.
- However in 1954 the Cuban revolution occurred and **Fidel Castro** rose to power.
- Castro ejected all US businesses and investment – in retaliation, the USA refused to buy Cuba's biggest export – sugar.
- The USSR offered to buy Cuban sugar. The Soviet leader **Khrushchev** was keen to extend Soviet influence in the Caribbean and wanted to out do Kennedy.
- In April 1961 JFK allowed an invasion of Cuba by exiles who had left Cuba in 1959. This was called the Bay of Pigs invasion. It was a disastrous failure for the USA and strengthened Castro's position in Cuba and brought Cuba even closer to the USSR.
- In 1961 Castro announced his conversion to Communism.
- Khrushchev concerned about **US missile bases in Italy and Turkey** wanted to establish Soviet bases in Cuba.
- On 14th October an **American U-2 spy plane** took photographs of Cuba which showed that Soviet intermediate-range missile launch sites were being constructed. JFK needed to act fast.

The Cuban Missile crisis – main events and consequences

- The crisis lasted **13 days** in October 1962.
- JFK had a number of options that he could have chosen to pursue – some more aggressive than others.
- Kennedy decided to impose a **naval blockade** around Cuba to prevent Soviet missiles reaching Cuba.
- Khrushchev sent a letter to JFK insisting that Soviet ships would force their way through the blockade – Kennedy wrote back asking Khrushchev to withdraw missiles from Cuba. Khrushchev replied and said he would withdraw missiles if the USA promised not to invade Cuba and withdrew its missiles from Turkey.
- A US spy plane was shot down over Cuba. Robert Kennedy (JFK's brother) agreed a deal with the USSR. The USA would withdraw missiles from Turkey as long as the deal was kept secret. Khrushchev accepted the deal.
- The superpowers had played a dangerous game of **brinkmanship** (pushing each other to the verge of war)
- The superpowers had almost gone to war – to ensure that the two leaders did not have to communicate by letter in the case of a crisis, a **telephone hotline link** was established between the White House and the Kremlin in Moscow.
- Further improvements came when the **Partial Test Ban Treaty** was signed in August 1963 – whereby both powers agreed to stop testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.

23) Cold War rivalry – Episodes/Events of the Cold War

Reasons for US involvement in the Vietnam War

- Vietnam had been a French colony, but the defeat of the French in 1954 resulted in far greater US involvement.
- This was part of the US policy of **containment** in order to stop the spread of communism. The fundamental reason was the **Domino Theory**.
- The USA was convinced if Vietnam fell to communism it would be followed by its neighbouring states, especially Laos and Cambodia.
- In 1963 Diem (the US backed leader) was overthrown. In the south. He was a corrupt and unpopular leader. The **Vietcong** (communist guerrilla fighters) became more popular in the South.
- 1963 – Failure of **'Strategic Hamlet Policy'** – JFK tried to reduce communist influence through this policy. It involved moving peasants into fortified villages, guarded by troops. It did not stop the communists and was very unpopular with the peasants.
- 1964 – **Gulf of Tonkin incident** – President Johnson wanted more direct military involvement in Vietnam but needed an excuse. **On 2nd August 1964** the **US destroyer Maddox** was fired on by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the **Gulf of Tonkin**. Johnson was able to use these attacks to persuade Congress to support greater US involvement.

Reasons for US defeat

- **Fighting for a cause** – The North Vietnamese and Vietcong were fighting for a cause – they refused to surrender.
- **Effective guerrilla tactics** – the Vietcong fought 'low tech' war using very successful tactics – these methods were suited to jungle terrain.
- **Support from USSR and China** – both these countries supported the reunification of Vietnam (North and South together)
- **Vietcong received support from the South Vietnamese** – this made guerrilla tactics far more effective.
- **The tunnels** – the communist forces dug deep tunnels and used them as air raid shelters. These tunnels often acted as death traps for US and ARVN forces.
- **US troops** – many were young and inexperienced. This led to a fall in morale with some resorting to drug taking and brutal behaviour such as seen in the My Lai massacre.
- **Opposition at home** – televised pictures showing the horrors of war caused this.
- Failure of US tactics – The US army failed to develop an effective response to Vietcong guerrilla tactics.
- **The Tet Offensive** – on 31st January 1968, the Vietcong launched a massive attack on over 100 cities and towns in South Vietnam during the Tet holiday. This proved an important turning point in the conflict as it showed that the Vietcong could strike at the heart of the American-held territory. This brought a further loss of US military morale and made the war seem unwinnable to the public.

US methods of warfare in Vietnam

- **Operation Rolling Thunder** – the US bombing campaign of North Vietnam that lasted 3.5 years (1965-1968). The US hoped to destroy supply routes to the South.
- **Chemical warfare** – defoliants such as 'Agent Orange' and 'Napalm' were used. **Agent Orange** was a highly toxic weedkiller used to destroy the jungle. The Americans used 82 million litres. **Napalm** was a type of bomb that exploded and showered the surrounding victims with a burning petroleum jelly. Napalm sticks to the skin and burns at 800 degrees Celsius. It could burn through skin and flesh to the bone.
- **Search and Destroy** – The US commander in Vietnam, Westmoreland, established secure and heavily defended US bases in the south of the country. The US and South Vietnamese (ARVN) forces launched 'search and destroy.' They would descend on a village suspected of assisting the Vietcong forces and destroy it. The troops called these attacks '**Zippo**' raids after the name of the lighters they used to set fire to the thatched houses of the villages.. Inexperienced US troops often walked in to traps and civilian casualties were very high. This, in turn, made the USA and ARVN very unpopular with many South Vietnamese peasants who were then more likely to support the Vietcong.

US withdrawal and peace talks

- By 1969 more than 36,000 members of the US military had been killed in the war.
- Nixon unveiled a plan to end US involvement in the war – this plan was known as **Vietnamisation** – the idea was that the South Vietnamese soldiers would be trained and equipped to take the place of US troops as they were gradually withdrawn.
- The strategy did not work because the South Vietnamese troops were no match for the communist forces.
- Peace talks to end the war had begun as early as 1968 but for the next four years there was no real progress as each side haggled over minor issues.
- The turning point came with Nixon's visit to China in 1972 after which the Chinese encouraged more cooperation from the government of North Vietnam.
- On 23rd January 1973, a ceasefire was signed in Paris, followed four days later by a formal peace treaty in which the USA promised to withdraw fully all its troops and the Vietcong was allowed to hold on to all captured areas of South Vietnam.
- Within two years the communists had defeated the South Vietnamese armed forces and reunited Vietnam.
- The US had failed in its attempts to stop the spread of communism in south-east Asia. Cambodia and Laos also fell to communism, proving the Domino Theory partially true.
- The Vietnam War was the first war that the USA had lost and there was an unwillingness to become involved in future conflicts. **Détente** was developed.

24) The search for world peace since 1970

Reasons for Détente (relaxation in tension)

- The threat of nuclear war during the **Cuban Missile Crisis** had a significant effect upon the relationship between the super powers.
- Both USA and USSR were keen on **arms limitation talks** as a means of reducing their ever-increasing defence spending.
- USA involvement in Vietnam had not gone well. After Nixon became president it was hoped that if the USA improved trade and technology links and made an offer of arms reduction, then **Brezhnev**, the Soviet leader, might persuade his North Vietnamese ally to negotiate an end to the Vietnam War. This idea by Nixon was called '**linkage.**'
- Nixon visited Moscow in 1972 and made it clear that he did not see Vietnam as an obstacle to détente.
- Nixon had visited China three months earlier and the Soviet leader (Brezhnev) did not want to see a **Chinese-US alliance develop**. The Soviet leader was eager to gain access to US technology and further grain sales.
- The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 gave rise to **the Brezhnev Doctrine**, This declared that all member countries had to remain part of the **Warsaw Pact**. In other words, the USSR would put down any attempt to suppress communist control. This alarmed the USA and showed the need for dialogue between the two superpowers.

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

- On 27th April 1978, the **People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA)**, a communist party, overthrew the government of Afghanistan. During its first 18 months of rule the PDPA imposed a communist style reform programme. In addition, thousands of members of the traditional elite – the Muslim religious establishment and intellectuals were imprisoned, tortured and murdered.
- Therefore thousands of Afghan Muslims joined the Mujahideen – a **guerrilla movement** which proclaimed to be on a holy mission for Allah. They wanted to overthrow the communist government.
- **The Mujahideen declared a jihad – a holy war** – on the supporters of this communist government.
- Brezhnev was concerned about the growing power and spread of Islamic fundamentalism and wanted to show the 30 million Muslims in the USSR that there would be no changes to the way the USSR was run.
- The USSR saw **fundamentalism** as a great threat to the Soviet system. Between 25th December 1979 and 1st January 1980, more than 50,000 Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan to restore order and protect the PDPA from the **mujahideen**.
- The invasion changed the Cold War and relations between the superpowers.

Détente in action

- The most significant features of détente were the **SALT agreements** and the **Helsinki Agreements**.
- **SALT stands for Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. There were two such treaties (SALT I and SALT II)**
- **SALT I** – this agreement imposed limits on the nuclear capability of the USA and USSR. The two superpowers also agreed that there would be no further production of strategic ballistic missiles (short range, lightweight missiles) Both powers also agreed that submarines carrying nuclear weapons would only be introduced when existing stocks of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) became outdated.
- **SALT I** was significant because it was the first agreement between the superpowers that successfully limited the number of nuclear weapons they held.
- **SALT II** – Final agreements were reached in June 1979. The terms were: a limit of 2,400 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles for each side; a 1,320 limit on multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle systems for each side; a ban on the construction of new land based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) launchers.
- **SALT II** was significant because the US Senate refused to ratify the SALT II agreements following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, December 1979.

Other episodes of Détente (Helsinki Agreements and changing relations with China)

- **Helsinki Agreements 1975** – In July 1974 Nixon visited Moscow. After the meeting the two leaders agreed to develop broad, mutually beneficial cooperation in commercial, economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields.
- The USA and the USSR, along with **33 other nations** made declarations about three distinct international issues called 'baskets.' **These are the 'baskets' – security, human rights and cooperation.**
- **China** – Relations between China and the USSR had worsened in the later 1960s, especially after the Chinese criticised the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Nixon saw an opportunity to exploit this split between the two leading communist nations.
- **Ping pong diplomacy** – This began at the World Table Tennis Championship held in Japan on 6th April 1971. The Chinese ping-pong team formally invited the US team to play in their country on an all-expenses paid trip. When American player missed his team's bus after practice, he was offered a ride by a Chinese player. This friendly display of good will was well publicised and later that day the American team was formally invited to China.
- They were among the first group of US citizens permitted to visit China since 1949.
- On 14th April 1971, the US government lifted a **trade embargo** with China that had lasted over 20 years. In Feb 1972, Nixon would become the first resident to visit China. Ping Pong Diplomacy also triggered the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the **United Nations**.

25) The search for world peace since 1970 – the ‘second’ Cold War

The reaction of President Carter to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

- The USA saw that a Soviet occupied Afghanistan would threaten India and Pakistan and would be a stepping stone to possible Soviet control of much of the West’s oil supplies.
- President Carter adopted a firm approach with the USSR over the invasion. Carter believed by taking a firm approach with the USSR that relations between the USA and China would improve as they also opposed the invasion.
- The **Carter Doctrine** stated that the USA would use military force if necessary to defend its national interests in the Persian Gulf region. It also promised US military aid to all the countries bordering Afghanistan.
- The tough line was continued when Carter asked the Senate to delay passing the SALT II treaty.
- The USA cancelled all shipments of grain to the USSR and US companies were forbidden to sell high tech goods there.
- Carter pressured the United States Olympic Committee to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Sixty one other countries followed Carter’s example.

Gorbachev’s new policies

- Gorbachev recognised that communism in the USSR faced many problems. For example, the economy was not nearly as efficient as the American economy.
- Gorbachev introduced three important strategies which greatly changed relationships with the west and more especially, the USA.
- Gorbachev initiated reforms in the Communist Party and Soviet system in the USSR. These included **Perestroika (restructuring)** which meant economic reforms were designed to make the Soviet economy more efficient. **Glasnost (openness) was also introduced – this relaxed censorship.**
- He ended the arms race with the USA and signed various arms reduction agreements.
- Gorbachev stopped Soviet interference in eastern European satellite states such as Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- **At first Regan reacted in a negative way towards Gorbachev’s reforms. However, eventually Regan supported the reforms but refused to ‘reward’ Gorbachev with economic concessions.**
- **Glasnost** proved to be fatal for Gorbachev – the more freedom that people gained, the more they wanted and the more they began to criticise Gorbachev – making it more difficult to maintain the Communist Party’s grip on power.
- The USSR economy had been damaged by the arms race, the space race, the war in Afghanistan and above all else, by a system which did not encourage incentive.
- Perestroika did bring in some considerable changes, however these were not fast enough to satisfy many Soviet people.

Reagan and the ‘Second Cold War’

- Reagan, more so than Carter, wanted to take a far tougher line with the USSR than Carter.
- He made it clear that he had no interest in détente.
- Regan called the USSR an **‘evil empire’** in the British House of Commons in 1982.
- Reagan was determined to win the Cold War and believed that the USSR could be forced to disarm by his new initiative (Strategic Defence Initiative) **(see knowledge sheet number 13 for more information about the SDI)**
- **The SDI proved a turning point in the arms race. Soviet leaders knew that they could not compete with Reagan’s ‘Star Wars’ plan. The USSR were behind the USA in space and computer technology.**

The end of the arms race

- A summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan was held in Geneva over 2 days in November 1985. Though nothing was decided, **the Geneva Accord** was set out which committed the two countries to speed up arms talks.
- **Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, 1987** – A third summit in Washington in December 1987 was more successful than the second summit meeting at Reykjavik in 1986. At Washington the signing of the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was signed. **This treaty eliminated nuclear and conventional ground launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500-5,500km.**
- **By the treaty’s deadline, 1 June 1991, a total of 2692 such weapons had been destroyed; 846 by the USA and 1846 by the USSR.**
- **The INF Treaty** was important because it was the first treaty to reduce the number of nuclear missiles that the superpowers possessed. It therefore went much further than SALT I, which simply limited the growth of Soviet and American stockpiles.
- **Moscow summit – Held in May 1988** – this was the final meeting. At this summit there were more arms control talks. This led to the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, which was signed by NATO and Warsaw Pact representatives in November 1990. The agreement reduced the number of tanks, missiles and aircraft held.
- George Bush Sr and Gorbachev were able to announce that the Cold War was over in a summit in **Malta, 1989.**
- **At the Washington summit of 31st May – 3rd June 1990**, Bush and Gorbachev discussed Strategic Arms Limitation (**START**) and finally signed the Treaty for the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Arms (**START I**) on **31st July 1991.**

26) The search for world peace since 1970 – the fall of Communism

Changes in Eastern Europe

- In December 1988, Gorbachev withdrew Soviet troops from Eastern European bases to save money.
- In the following year he announced what became known as the Sinatra Doctrine – that members of the Warsaw Pact could make changes to their countries without expecting outside interference.
- He hoped to strengthen communism in Eastern Europe but all he did was weaken it.
- Once reform has started in these countries, he was unable to contain it.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the USSR

- This event has come to symbolise the end of the Cold War. On the 9th November the East German government announced the opening of the border crossings in to West Germany.
- The people began to dismantle the Wall. Within a few days, over 1 million people had seized the chance to see relatives and experience life in West Germany.
- West and East Germany were formally reunited in October 1990.
- The new Germany joined **NATO and in 1991 the Warsaw Pact was dissolved.**
- Many nationalities and ethnic groups saw how satellite states had been able to break away from Moscow. **In 1990 the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania** declared themselves independent, which was accepted by Moscow in 1991.
- Gorbachev found that he was opposed by most sections of Soviet society.
- In August 1991, there was an attempted coup d'état which was defeated by Boris Yeltsin who was President of the Russian Socialist Republic. Gorbachev was restored as General Secretary but he had lost his authority. Gorbachev resigned in December 1991 and the USSR split in to several independent states. Now there was only one superpower left (USA)

Changes in Eastern Europe (continued)

- **East Germany – October 1989** – Gorbachev tells East Germany that Soviet troops will not put down East German demonstrations; **23rd October 1989** – 300,000 people protest in Leipzig; **4th November, 1989** – One million people protest in East Berlin; **9th November 1989** – Berlin Wall is opened; **1991** – Germany reunified into one country.
- **Poland – 1988** – Strikes throughout the country and by **1989** Free trade union – Solidarity – wins elections. Mazowiecki becomes first non-communist Prime Minister of Eastern Europe.
- **Czechoslovakia – 17th November 1989** – huge demonstrations against communism begin; **24th November 1989** – Communist government resigns; **9th December 1989** – Havel becomes first non-communist president of Czechoslovakia since 1948; **1990** – Democratic elections won by Civic Forum – an alliance of anti-communist groups.
- **Hungary – 1988** – Gorbachev accepts that Hungary can become a multi-party state; **1990** – Democratic elections won by Democratic Forum, an alliance of anti-communist groups.
- **Romania – 16th December 1989** – Secret police fire on demonstrators in Timisoara; **21st December 1989** – Huge crowd in Bucharest boos President Ceausescu, who flees but is captured later; **22-24th December 1989** – Army joins rebellion and fights the secret police. Hundreds are killed; **25th December 1989** – Ceausescu and his wife are shot by firing squad; **1990** – Democratic elections won by National Salvation Front, containing many ex-communists.
- **Bulgaria – 1990** – Democratic elections won by renamed Communist Party.



27) The search for world peace since 1970 – US involvement in Iran, Iraq and the Gulf War

Iran

- **America's closest ally in the Persian Gulf region was Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran. For 25 years the Shah had tried to modernise Iran by rapid industrialisation and the emancipation of women.**
- However, this modernisation and his increasingly tyrannical government led to his forced abdication in January 1979. This unsettled the whole region.
- The USA had vital oil interests in the Gulf area and especially in Iran.
- This period saw the growth of **religious fundamentalism** in the region which demanded an end to Western (more especially American) imperialism and seriously threatened US Middle Eastern oil interests.
- Iran was now controlled by the fundamentalist religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini, who denounced the USA as the '**Great Satan**' and announced an Islamic republic determined to destroy all western influences.

Gulf War

- On the 2nd August 1990 Saddam Hussein, the leader of Iraq, ordered the invasion of Kuwait, one of the leading oil producing countries in the Middle East.
- **Saddam invaded for several reasons:**
- Burdened with debts from Iraq's war with Iran, Saddam saw Kuwait as a rich prize.
- Saddam claimed that Kuwait was historically part of Iraq, although in fact Kuwait had existed as a separate territory since 1899.
- Saddam did not expect the USA to use its military power – the USA had been supporting him all the way through the war with the Iranian regime.

- President Bush Senior took the lead in pressing for action to remove the Iraqis from Kuwait. He used the argument that it was an act of blatant aggression against a smaller neighbouring country. **In reality Bush wanted to protect US economic interests, especially oil interests, in the area.**
- The United Nations imposed tough sanctions on Iraq and then the USA, Britain and other states sent forces to Saudi Arabia. This was called **Operation Desert Shield**, designed to defend Saudi Arabia and its vast oil resources from possible Iraqi attack as well as to push Iraq out of Kuwait.
- In November 1990, the USA and its allies vastly increased their forces in the area.

The Iranian hostage crisis

- **On 4th November 1979, the US Embassy in Tehran was taken over by militant Iranian students.**
- 66 Americans, including diplomats and their guards, were taken hostage.
- In return for the release of the hostages, the **Ayatollah Khomeini** demanded that the USA agree to the extradition (handing over) of the former Shah who was undergoing medical treatment in New York.
- The US government refused to hand over the Shah. Carter threatened Iran with military action if the hostages weren't released.
- The Ayatollah refused to budge and threatened to try some of the hostages on a charge of spying on Iran for the USA.
- In April 1980, a rescue mission by US forces went horribly wrong. Eight servicemen were killed and the operation called off.
- Carter lost even more popularity because of his failure to secure the release of the hostages.
- Negotiations for the release of the hostages resumed after the death of the Shah in July 1980.
- **On 20th January 1981, 20 minutes after Reagan was sworn in as President, 52 American hostages were released by Iran in to US custody, having spent 444 days in captivity.**

Military campaigns in the Gulf War

- **The campaign was opened with an air assault – Operation Desert Storm – launched on 16th January 1991.**
- In the first 10 hours a combination of stealth aircraft, cruise missiles, electronic warfare and precision guided munitions took apart Iraq's military infrastructure and wrecked its ground forces.
- After more than a month, **Operation Desert Saber**, the ground offensive to free Kuwait, was launched on 23rd February 1991. By 27th February, Kuwait City had been taken by coalition troops and the following day the US ordered a ceasefire.

Outcomes of the war

- **Saddam was allowed to withdraw with much of his army intact.** When the Gulf War ended in the defeat of Saddam, Bush's reputation stood high. However, as time passed, he was increasingly criticised for not having pressed home the advantage and for allowing the brutal Saddam to remain in power.

CONCLUSIONS

- American foreign policy had undergone significant changes in the last 20 years of the 20th century. Détente under Carter gave way to a 'Second Cold War' under Reagan. Gorbachev's reforms brought an end to the Cold War. The US became increasingly involved in the Middle East with the emergence of Islamic Fundamentalism in Iran and the ambitions of Saddam Hussein.