



Welcome to US History Talks

# Preview : Module 6: A Nation Adrift

Talk	Title	Time Period	Date of Talk
37	The Great Society	1964-1968	May 19th
38	Vietnam	1961-1975	June 2nd
39	US society and culture 1960's	1960-1970	June 16th
40	Return of the Republicans	1968-1976	September 1st
41	US and the world	1964 -1976	September 15th
	Discussion Group		September 24th
42	Experiment in Virtue: Carter Presidency	1976-1980	September 29th
43	US 1970's culture and society	1970-1980	October 6th



# “A Nation Adrift”: Module 6 : Part Two

1964

1968

1976

1980



Return of the  
Republicans (40)

“The Experiment in Virtue”  
(Carter Presidency)  
(42)

US and the World (41)

US 1970’s Culture and Society  
(43)

Reagan “Revolution”

# Talk 40: Return of the Republicans

- The 1968 Election Campaign
- The rise, fall, and rise of Richard Nixon
- The Election
- Nixon's First Term
- Watergate
- The Ford Administration



# The 1968 Election Campaign

# USA March 1968

- ▶ US divided and in turmoil:
  - ▶ Vietnam War ongoing...no end in sight: “patriots” vs “traitors”
  - ▶ “Law and Order” breakdown:: Race riots , “Summer of Love”, rising crime
- ▶ Scramble for delegates for nominate Presidential candidate has begun
  - ▶ 16 “Primary State” elections (popular vote) 16 states...popular vote
  - ▶ 34 Caucus States ...meetings of Party Leaders
- ▶ State of the parties
  - ▶ Republicans united: “Law and Order” + “End War with Honour”
  - ▶ Democrats in chaos: LBJ declines to run ....no clear leader....or message

# Democratic “Parties”

- “Establishment”: support Peace Plan, slow down Civil Rights
  - Unions, Big City “machines” and rural voters
- “Progressives“: End war now, accelerate Civil Rights, Social Change
  - Youth, minorities (Northern blacks), radicals
- Southern White Democrats: “Win war now, retain segregation”
  - White Southerners and KKK membership

Alliance incompatible: ...Southern White Democrats leave par

# The “Solid South”



Old Confederacy “  
...”Lost Cause” myth  
...Republicans= enemy”  
...Politics of segregation

Democratic vote 1876-1948

1948-1960

...Dixiecrats vs integration  
... Eisenhower.. Courts ignored

1960’s Civil Rights Reforms  
JFK/LBJ Civil Rights Act 1964  
...”Great Betrayal”  
...Goldwater failure 1964

White South resistance  
.....new leader

# George Wallace (1919-1998)



Segregationist Gov of Alabama...life long “White Supremacists” Democrat

Runs for Democratic nomination 1964...loses to LBJ  
..offers to join Goldwater (Republican)  
...Goldwater takes “solid South”

Creates “American Party” 1968  
...repeal Civil Rights Act  
...win war Vietnam

Goal “contingent election”  
...Prevent majority in college  
...election decided by House

# “Establishment vs Progressives” Impasse

- “Establishment:” Hubert Humphrey lead candidate
  - Ignores “Primaries/ Focuses on “Caucuses” ...Party
  - Accumulates delegates...but no charisma
- Progressives: Eugene McCarthy
  - Ignores “Caucuses”/Mass appeal to youth: End War: “Go clean for Gene”
  - Losing black vote...will not commit on Civil Rights

Polls predict either Republican victory of “Contingent” election  
.....Wallace in control

Prospect unacceptable ” .....time for some “magic”

Enter Bobby Kennedy (JFK brother) April 1968

...“New Camelot”: ..End War NOW, drive Civil Rights forward

...Progressives united...Mcarthy out/ Humphrey facin defeat



# Kennedy wins California primary August ....."new age imminent"



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Credit: NBC NewsWire

...Kennedy assassinated minutes after winning



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Credit: Popperfoto

# Democratic 1968 Convention August 26<sup>th</sup>- 29<sup>th</sup>

- ▶ Party in chaos
  - ▶ Competing Southern delegates...fight for recognition
  - ▶ Bobby Kennedy delegates free to choose
  - ▶ Humphrey has majority of delegates....but NOT popular vote
- ▶ “Progressives” convinced Nomination “rigged”
- ▶ Stage set for most violent/ contentious Convention in US History

The “Mayor” versus the “Yippies”

# The Mayor:

## Richard Daley Mayor of Chicago: 1956-1976



Son of sheet metal worker  
...catholic Irish / machine politics

Elected mayor 1956  
..thrives on patronage  
...effective financial control  
...”engineered” segregation  
...despise “Progressives”

His role: maintain power and  
control “long hairs”  
...ensure Humphrey win

The “Yippies” ...anti Establishment  
...support McCarthy....”end war” ..mass  
demonstrations....Daley arrests leaders “Chicago 7”



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Credit: Donaldson Collection

Convention Meltdown.....Daley imposes order  
.....within & without Convention Hall



Demonstrations widespread  
100's injured, 1000's arrested...on live tv



# Violence “outside” televised live



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Credit: Bettmann

# “Yippies” nominate “Pegasus” the Pig for President



# Mayhem inside Convention



gettyimages®  
Credit: Archive Photos

.... Mcarthy weakened .....poor speech..Yippies  
“Machine” ..wins over Kennedy delegates





# Humphrey wins Nomination on 1<sup>st</sup> ballot .....weakened by chaos



gettyimages®  
Credit: Archive Photos

# Republican Convention August 5-8th

Progressives : Richard Nixon (Eisenhower Vice President)

- Accepts New Deal (Civil Rights/ Health/ Education)
- Big Government needed to engineer change
- “End war with honour” ... (“secret plan)

➤ Conservatives: Ronald Reagan (Governor of California since 1966)

- Reject new Deal
- Government is the problem
- Victory needed in Vietnam ...defeat of Communists a priority

Convention orderly...business like....Nixon wins 70% 1<sup>st</sup> ballot  
...Reagan withdraws & endorses Nixon

# Richard Nixon: Republican Candidate

....25 points ahead in polls...on track to victory



687082983



# Richard Milhous Nixon

# Childhood in California...loss of brothers



Richard

Arthur

Quaker family, rural California  
Father Lemon rancher/  
Grocery store owner  
“we were poor, did not know it”

Younger brother Arthur  
Dies age 7, older brother  
from TB....loses faith

gettyimages®  
Credit: Hulton Archive

Strong debater.....  
...hailed lemons for  
farther after school  
...determined to succeed  
....at any cost/ method

# Richard...at Whittier College



Attends low cost  
College...100 students  
Excels at debate

Football team  
....on bench  
...team always losing  
...determined

Law school  
..commercial law.  
...oil companies

Marries 1938 to Pat Ryan

# Pat Nixon (1912-1993)

Pat Ryan 1935



Father truck driver, mother home-maker ..move to California ...small farm/ work/ college

Aspiring actress

....bit parts/ ...amateur dram  
...school teacher / own car

Met Nixon..both in play..

Sees him as “fun, ambitious

Active 1<sup>st</sup> lady, mother

... trip to Peru/ elegant  
volunteerism

Response Kissinger,,flatter

“you mean you have not

Seen through him?”

# Nixon climb to power

1941-1945

- ▶ Enrols US Navy 1941..logistics South Pacific
- ▶ Returns to law practice 1945..oil contacts + poker winnings funds campaign

▶ Congressman 1946-1952

- ▶ Anti communist smear campaign vs elite Democrat
- ▶ “Hiss Trial....”pumpkin patch” ...Whittaker Chambers
- ▶ 1950....”pink sheet” hidden communists

▶ Vice President to Eisenhower 1952-1960

- ▶ Picked by Eisenhower to win California
- ▶ “Checkers Speech” to keep job
- ▶ Excluded from decisions, sent on world tours



"Nixonland"  
(Adlai Stevenson 1950's Democrat  
candidate)

"A Land of slander and scare; the land of sly innuendo, the poison pen, the anonymous telephone call, hustling, pushing, shoving; the land of smash and grab and anything to win"

# Man on the rise...Vice President 1952



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Credit: Bettmann

# "Wilderness Years"

Wins Republican nomination 1960 but loses to Kennedy by 0.2% of votes

- Eisenhower support lukewarm
- Mayor Daley Chicago/ LBJ Texas...votes of the "undead"
- Declines to challenge result: bad example to US allies & war vs communism

➤ Loses Governor of California race 1962

- "You want have Richard Nixon to kick around any more"
- Retires to private life...NY Corporate Attorney

➤ Loses to Goldwater Conservatives in 1964 campaign

- Retires to private life...NY Corporate Attorney
- Subject of ridicule..anti Communist fanatic...seen as "loser"

# Recovery

- Sees opportunity “Summer of Love” ....”Race Riots” ... Anti war demonstrations
  - Rebrands as “moderate Conservative” after Goldwater disaster
  - Nice Guy Campaign....personification of “middle America”
- Adopts “Southern Strategy. Nixon as “The Common Man”
  - Replace Democrats in “Solid South” by opposing “rushed” Integration
  - Demands “Peace with Honour” to end Vietnam War (“the secret plan”)
  - Crush “long hairs” ....return to American values
- Victory in sight...25 point lead after chaotic Democratic Nomination

# Securing Republican Nomination

- Democrats discredited
  - Chaotic convention...breakdown of law and order
  - Southern democrats defect to Segregationist 3<sup>rd</sup> Party... "South Lost"
  - Peace Talks in Paris stalled....Vietnam war raging (15,000 US killed during year)
- Republican Convention
  - Nixon wins 70% of ballot
  - Reagan withdraws from race, unites behind Nixon
  - Nixon Democrats by 25 points at end August...on track to win

# Paris Peace Talks...and their sabotage

Paris Peace Talks stalled...May- October 1968..issue of recognition

## ➤ “October Surprise”

- LBJ announces agreement imminent, US to withdraw coalition government
- South Vietnamese refuse to sign....LBJ offers incentives
- Democrats surge in polls...Nixon about to lose again

## ➤ Nixon response

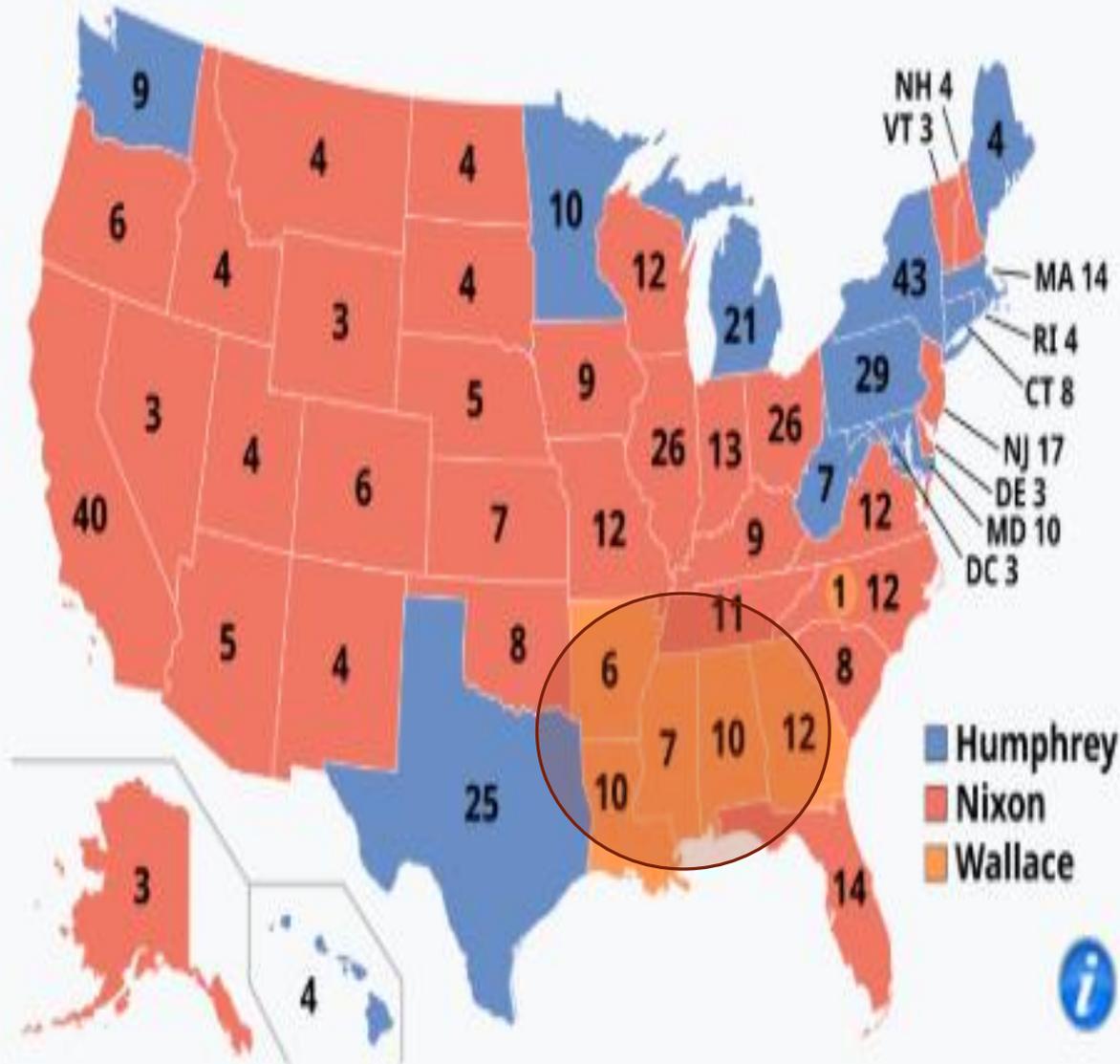
- Offers “Better deal” if South waits for Nixon
- Talks collapse
- Humphrey refuses to accuse Nixon of “Treason”....( “supreme act of decency”)

Democrat surge ends...war continues for 5 years....2 million + deaths



# 1968 Election

# 1968 Election Results



Republicans win 303 electoral votes vs 191 Dems, Wallace 45

Popular vote close

Nixon 44%, Humphrey 43%

Wallace 14%...Dems lose South

Democrats retain control of Congress

.....lose only 5 seats.

Senate 58 Dems vs 42 Republicans

House 243 Dems vs 192 Reps

# Nixon..announcing victory







A winner at last: vows to never lose again

The undoing of Nixon will be the fear of losing  
...the willingness to do anything to prevent it



# Intermission



# Nixon's First Term 1968-1972

# Nixon Presidency

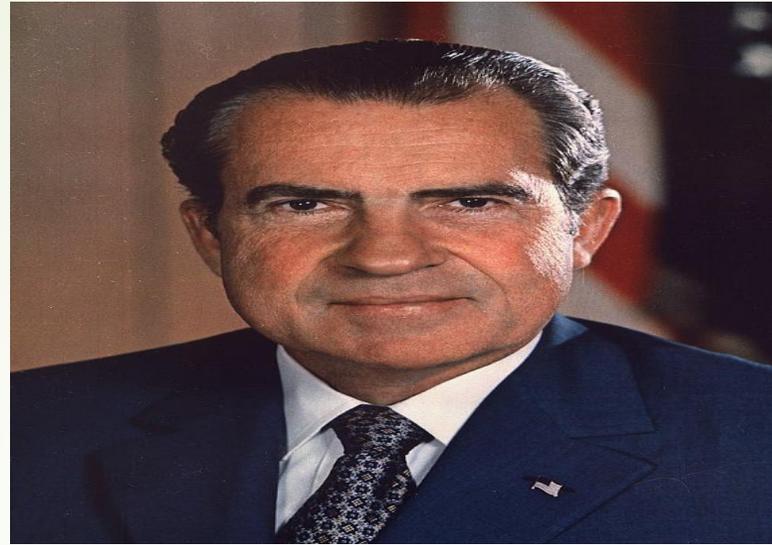
- Focus on International affairs (Talk 41)
- Defer to Democrat controlled Congress...unless
  - Support popular programmes/ avoid conflict
  - Address “Law and Order”
- Paranoia....”Nixonland” has arrived
  - Government by “Special Advisors”
  - Wall of Secrecy vs Cabinet, Congress
  - Installs 24 hour Tape recording system

# Nixon Government

Bob Haldemann  
Chief of Staff  
“Domestic Affairs”  
Economics, Legislation



John Erlichmann  
Special Advisor



Cabinet

Henry Kissinger  
National Security Advisor  
“Foreign Affairs”  
(Talk 41: US and World)



Congress (Democrat controlled)

# The First Term 1968-1972

- International “successes”: Vietnam, Détente, China (Talk 41)
- Minimal change to “Good Society” programmes (despite rhetoric)
  - Expands Medicare/ Affirmative Action
  - Reduces capital gains tax , retains 70% top rate income tax
  - Defer Civil Rights to Liberal Courts: 4 Conservative Justices
  - Environment Protection: Clean Air, EPA
- Highlights
  - Winning “Space Race”
  - Law and Order
  - Resolving “dollar crisis” of 1971

# Space Race: a brief history

## USSR domination 1957-1965

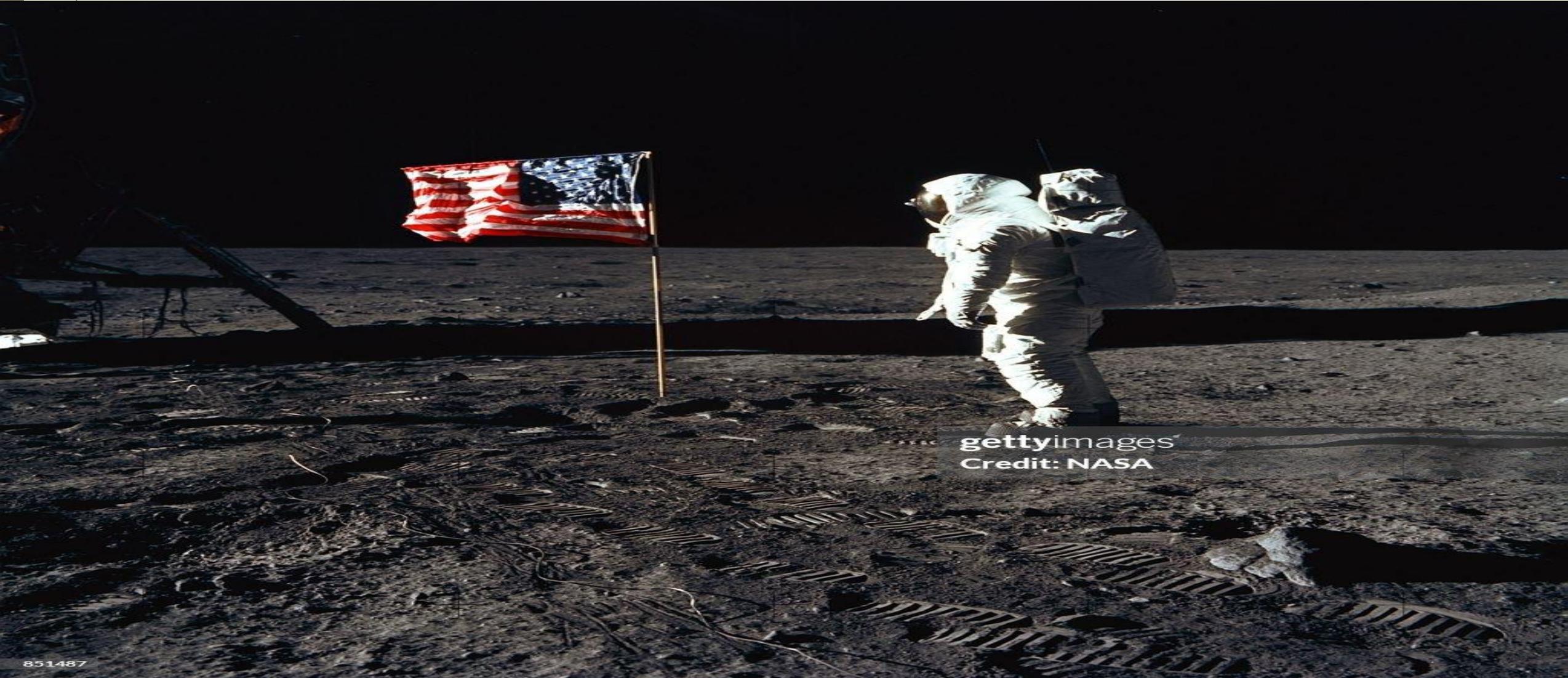
- Sputnik....1959, Laika 1960
- “Missile Gap” 1960 election
- JFK response 1963 commit to moon landing by 1970

## ➤ US programme overtakes USSR 1965

- Space exploration: extension of Cold War
- Budget increase 10x from 0.1% to 4% budget by LBJ
- Apollo Programme launched 1961
- USSR overwhelmed...abandons race..focus on robots/space station

First Moon landing scheduled after Nixon inauguration

“That’s one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind”....and US prestige  
July 20, 1969



# Global admiration: London Night of Moon Landing 600 million (world population 3.8 Billion) watch live



# Parades across Nation (Chicago October 1969)



# US Space Programme post Moon Landing

## ➤ The Reassessment

- Nixon & CIA --- limited value Space for military purposes
  - Public interest wanes with follow up missions Apollo 12, 14, 16, 17
  - Excitement Apollo 13 near disaster
  - Nixon cuts budget from 4% to 1% US Budget
- 
- Shift to robotics.....Space Shuttle/ interplanetary exploration
  - Space Programme repositioned as vehicle for cooperation with USSR

# Law and Order

- Expansion and rise in use of narcotics
  - Prior to 1960 ---fines/ imprisonment Cannabis use: minority problem
  - 1960's youth culture, mass production LSD,
  - Law and Order...rising crime levels, mass media
- Nixon Approach
  - 1969 Address to Congress: "War on Drugs"...drugs #1 threat to US society
  - 1970 Drug Abuse and Prevention Act/ 1973
    - Intended to fund treatment
    - Degenerates in 90% enforcement

Nixon (helicopter over NY):"You and I care about treatment. But those people down there, they want those criminals off the streets."

# Nixon: "War on Drugs"

Mass propaganda

...research ignored, treatment underfunded.



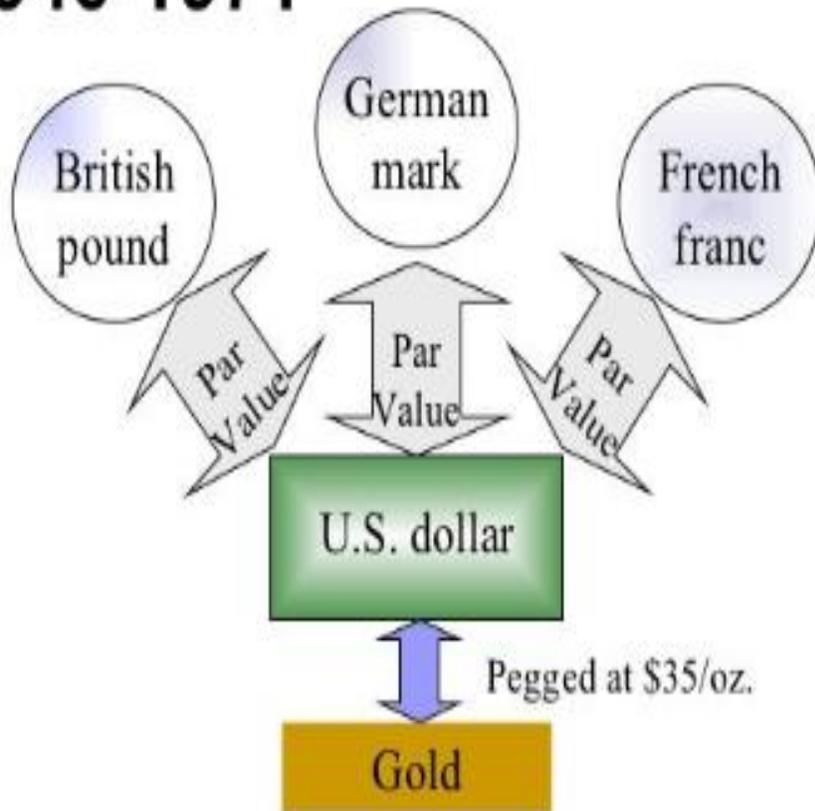
John Erlichman memoirs "... by getting the public to associate the hippies with marijuana and blacks with heroin, and then criminalizing both heavily, we could disrupt those communities. We could arrest their leaders, raid their homes, break up their meetings, and vilify them night after night on the evening news.

Did we know we were lying about the drugs? Of course we did."<sup>1</sup>

Usage continues to increase...as do levels of Crime and prison population

# Post WW2 World Financial Order

## Bretton Woods System: 1946-1971



Fixed Exchange Rates vs \$  
...fluctuate 1%  
...Formal devaluations only  
(UK 1967 from \$2.80 to \$2.40)

US \$ convertible to gold  
At \$35 per ounce

Effective only when  
US 80% global trade  
Dollar value vs gold stable

# The “Dollar Crisis” of 1971

- US economic boom 1941-1970 ending
  - Imports surging....first US Trade Deficit since 1860 due to demand for oil
  - Inflation increase from 3% to 5%, unemployment up from 3% to 7%
  - 10 Year bond yields increase from 5% to 8%...and rising
  - US gold reserves drop 50%....expected to be wiped out within 2 years
- Nixonomics
  - 90 day price and wages freeze /10% import surcharge
  - Ends convertibility gold for \$/ devalue
  - Decreases taxes/ increases government expense

# Impact of Nixonomics

## Expansion of global trade

- Trade no longer restricted by gold
- Every nation free to develop its own strategies
- Rise of global finance industry...without rules
  
- US dollar becomes world currency
  - US \$ becomes “new gold” ....replaces British £, DM, Francs
  - Rise of the petro dollar Middle East as oil imports surge
  - Dollar devalues 30% by 1980

Short term boost to US economy...Nixon re-election

Long Term: Stage set for increasing inflation, reduced growth: Stagflation

# Nixon at end of first term

Nixon “admired, on track to re-election

- International success ..Vietnam war ending, deal with China.. (Talk 41)
- Economy recovering, demonstrations winding down,
- Fear of defeat...admired, not liked
  - Democrats gain seats in Congress in 1970 mid-terms
  - Strong polling for Teddy Kennedy (3<sup>rd</sup> brother), Ed Muskie
- Established “Committee to Re-elect the President “
  - Special Advisors conduit to Nixon
  - Chaired by Attorney General Mitchell (top law enforcement)
  - Guarantee victory by any means

Politics of “Dirty Tricks”



# Watergate

# “Dirty Trick Campaign”

- Operationalise power of Government
    - “enemies list” (journalists, writers, academics, celebrities)
    - Audit tax records of opponents/ CIA as “private investigators”
  - Use of forgeries and rumour management
    - Fake speeches vs minorities/ attacks on family members
    - Lead Democrat candidate Ed Muskie’s wife identified as alcoholic
  - Hiring of prostitutes to blackmail Convention delegates
- ....decision 1972 to infiltrate and sabotage Democratic campaign

# Watergate Hotel: Democratic Party Headquarters



# Watergate: the Crime

- ▶ January 1972...Mitchell ok's plan to raid HQ and bug phones
- ▶ May 1972 – first burglary to install bugs
- ▶ June 1972 – Second burglary to conduct repairs
  - ▶ Security Guard alerts police/ Police arrive burglars arrested
  - ▶ Cash \$5,000 cash, high tech equipment...nothing stolen
  - ▶ Burglars staying at Watergate
  - ▶ Address book found....names of White House staff...payments!

# Watergate aftermath

- Minor story US Press...focus on Vietnam
- Nixon response
  - “what arsehole organised this?”...orders evidence destroyed
  - Nixon orders FBI to stop investigations/ files destroyed
  - Agents continue to follow money...leak story to press
- Attorney General John Mitchell launches attack on media attack  
.....”fake news”, communists....hires “plumbers” to fix leaks

Does not anticipate actions of his wife Martha

# “Martha Mitchell”

Martha 1969



Father cotton broker.  
..wealthy private education

Marries John Mitchell .Attorney  
General, celebrity “Mouth of South”

Overhears plotting..threat to expose

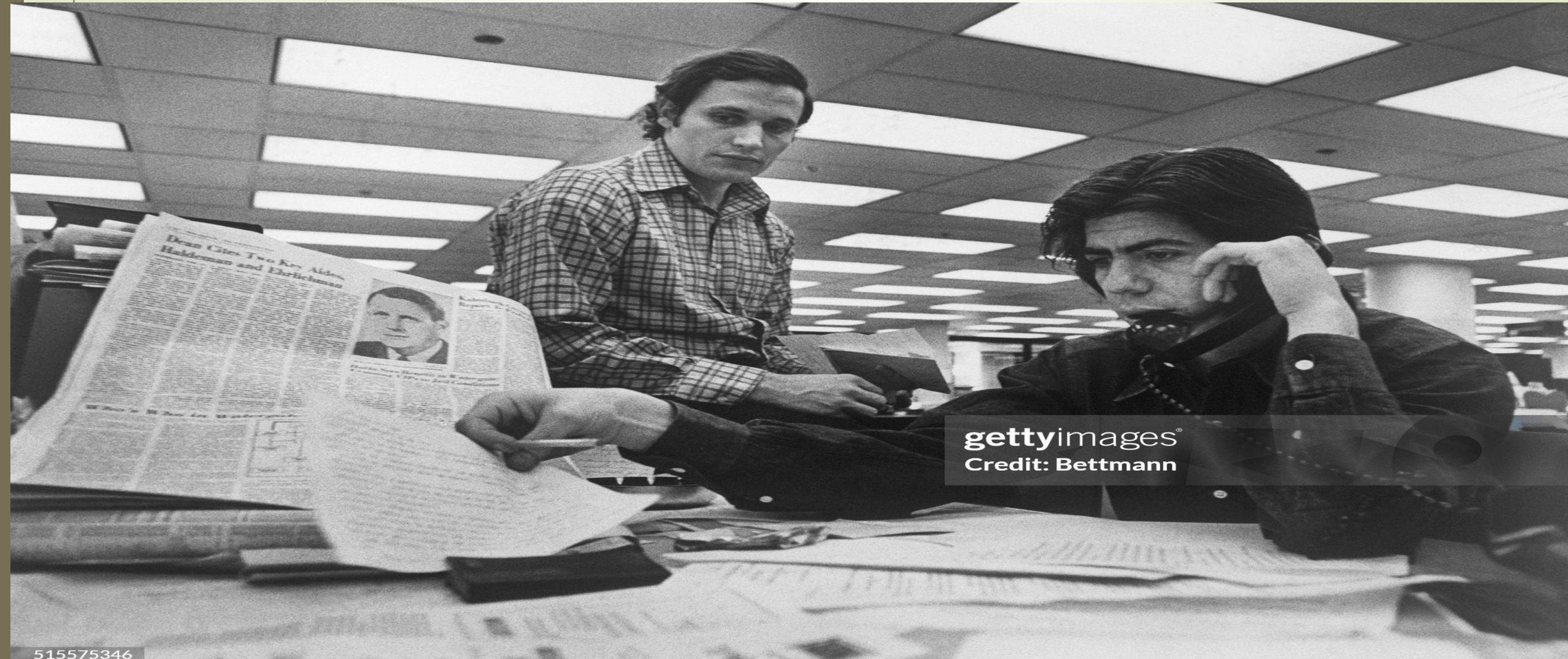
Kidnapped by CIA ..trapped in hote  
....beaten up attempting to escape  
...leaks story of burglary to press

Husband claims “mentally unstable”  
...“Martha effect!”, sent to sanitarium

dumps husband on release  
..honoured for courage before death  
Courage...dies from cancer 1975

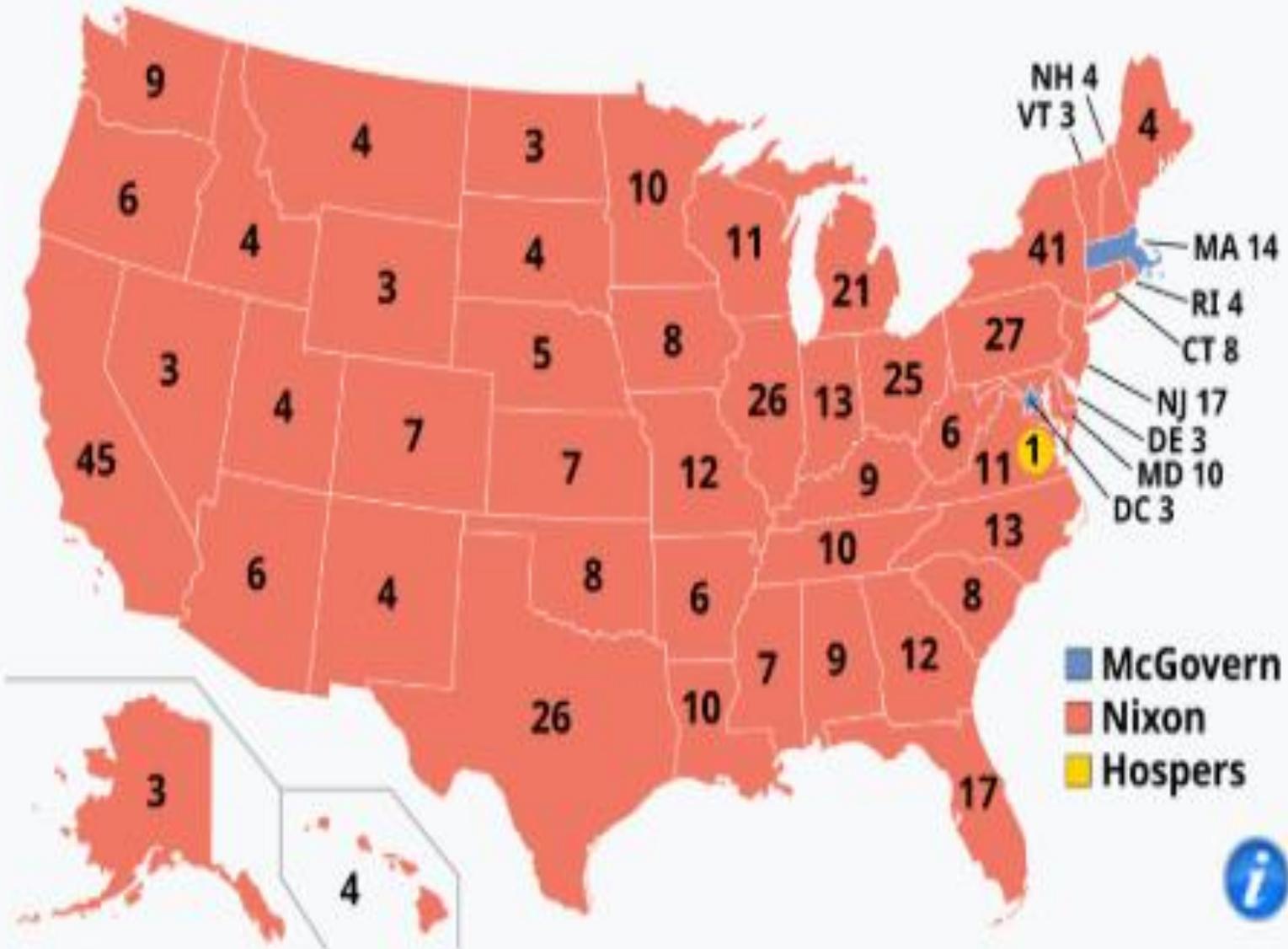
# The Reporters: Howard and Bernstein: Washington Post

...believe Martha... contacted by govt informant "Deep Throat"  
...continue relentless investigations...reports



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Credit: Bettmann

# 1972 Presidential Election



Dirty Tricks work

Establishment candidates out  
Muskie... "breakdown"  
Teddy Kennedy ..self imposed

Dems choose "unelectable"  
George McGovern  
VP candidate depression

Nixon landslide 61% vote  
529 vs 49 elector votes

Dems retain control of  
Congress...continue  
Watergate investigations

# The Agnew "interlude"

Spiro Agnew



Lawyer, combat veteran WW2

...Governor Maryland

...traditional Conservative

...Republican "George Wallace"

,,,Nixon Vice President

Excluded from CREEP

...Used to attack demonstrators

...Nixon's "attack dog"

Leads attack on Press

....."nattering nabobs of negativism"

...first attack on elite news

Revealed as criminal/ bribes

...forced to resign

...Replaced by Gerald Ford

(Minority Leader House)

# The road to Perdition

August 1972...Washington Post print story linking burglars to CREEP

- ▶ January 1973 burglars convicted....paid for silence
- ▶ February 1973 Senate Judicial Committee / Special Prosecutor assigned by Nixon
- ▶ April 1973 Haldemann and Erlichmann resign
- ▶ June July...Nixon implicated....existence of tapes revealed
- ▶ July- November...Nixon refuses to hand over tapes, fires Special Prosecutor  
Agnew resignation....Nixon: "I am not a crook speech"

# The Judicial Committee hearings...start May 1973



National audience

...80% of US public watch ...some for hours

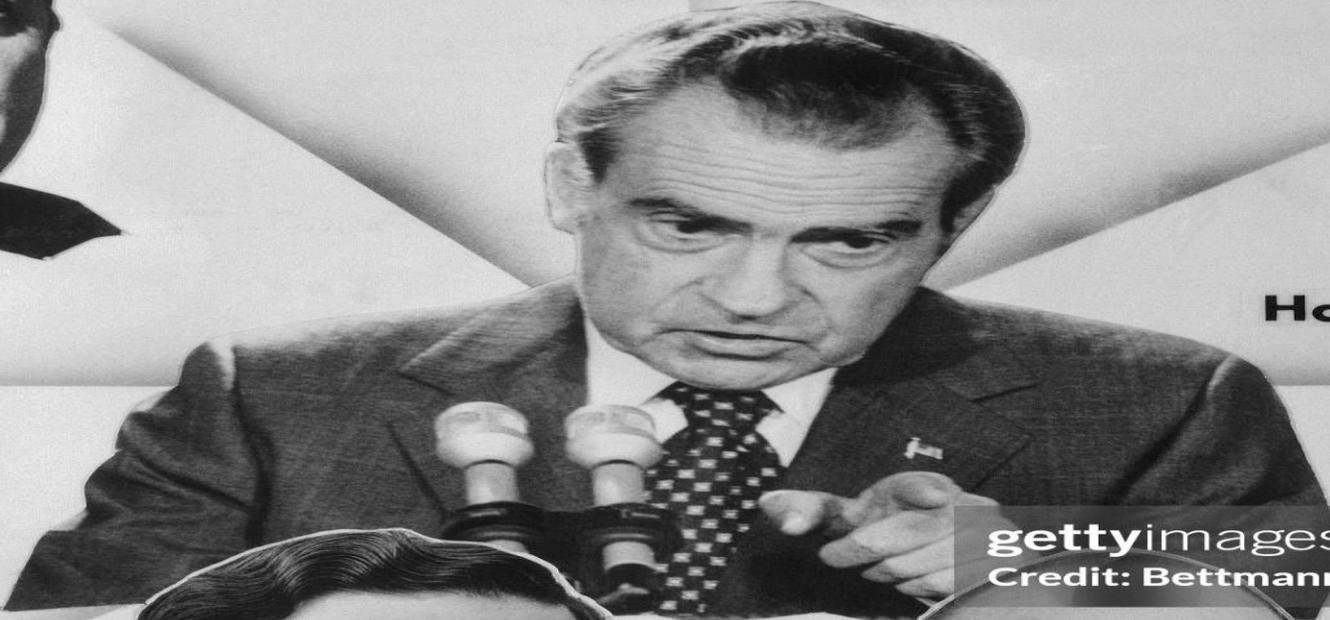


# Net closing in

## WATERGATE SCANDAL



**Kleindienst**



**Haldeman**

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Credit: Bettmann



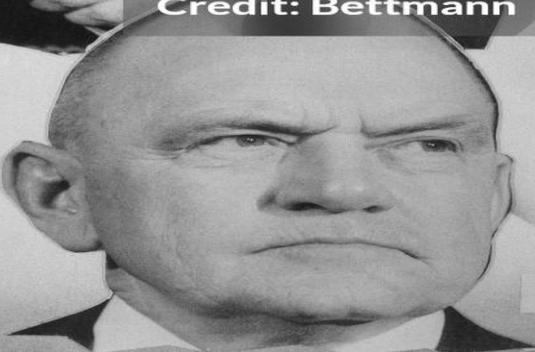
**Ehrlichman**



**Dean**



**Magruder**



**Gray**

# Collapse

- ▶ January – June 1974 ...International affairs/ denials/ resist handing over tapes
- ▶ July 1974 Supreme Court rules tapes must be released/ Republicans abandon
- ▶ House approves articles of Impeachment by majority vote
  - ▶ Obstruction of Justice/ Abuse of Power/Contempt of Congress
  - ▶ Senate prepares case...2/3 majority needed to convict..6 Republicans to switch
- ▶ August: Nixon releases tapes “ ..smoking gun..about payments for silence  
"Well ... they have to be paid. That's all there is to that. They have to be paid."

**Nixon resigns August 9, 1974**

# Resignation Letter



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1974

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I hereby resign the Office of President of the  
United States.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Richard Nixon", is written in dark ink. The signature is fluid and extends across the width of the page.

The Honorable Henry A. Kissinger  
The Secretary of State  
Washington, D. C. 20520

11.35 AM

HK

# Comforting daughter



# The exit



# Celebrations



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Credit: Owen Franken - Corbis

# Nixon...intellectual..devoid of values

“When the President does it, that means that it's not illegal.”

“I didn't do anything wrong and I promise to never do it again”

Honesty may not be the best policy, but it is worth trying once in a while.

“With all the power that a president has, the most important thing to bear in mind is this: You must not give power to a man unless, above everything else he has character. Character is the most important qualification the president of the United States can have.”

.Frost interview 1977 (£3m fee): ..."I brought myself down. I gave them a sword and they stuck it in. And they twisted it with relish. And, I guess, if I'd been in their position, I'd have done the same thing."<sup>[2]</sup>

# Aftermath “Babylift” & Mayaguez

## ➤ Operation “Babylift”

- Accident dominates news
- Claims “orphans” ...hospitalised babies
- North Vietnamese claim theft of children, undocument

## ➤ Mayaguez aftermath

- Wrong island attacked
- Hostages already in process of release
- High casualties 7 out 10 helicopters shot down/damaged

Ford popularity increases at time of events

Sinks as chaotic/ ill prepared actions revealed

...law suits Agency, Crew of Mayaquez



# Gerald Ford Presidency 1974-1976

# Gerald Ford (1913-2006)

Middle class

College football player

Navy WW2/ Progressive

Lifelong goal “Speaker of House”

....minority leader 1949-73

...background negotiator

..no ambitions top job

,,,LBJ “Can’t chew gum & walk at

...too much football w/o helmet

Honest, decent –contrast to

Nixon.....public support 70%

.... Stops taping/Secrecy

.....reduces Special Advisors.....

Problem #1 what to do with Nix



# The Pardon

- A “plenary” power: US Constitution Article 2, Section 2, Clause 1
  - Watergate
    - All members of CREEP indicted...48 convictions/ jail
    - Nixon asked for pardons, gave none...admission of guilt
  - Ford & Nixon
    - Nixon refuses to “confess”
    - Issues Pardon anyway: “nation needs time to heal”
- Ford popularity collapses 70% to 50%...reputation lost

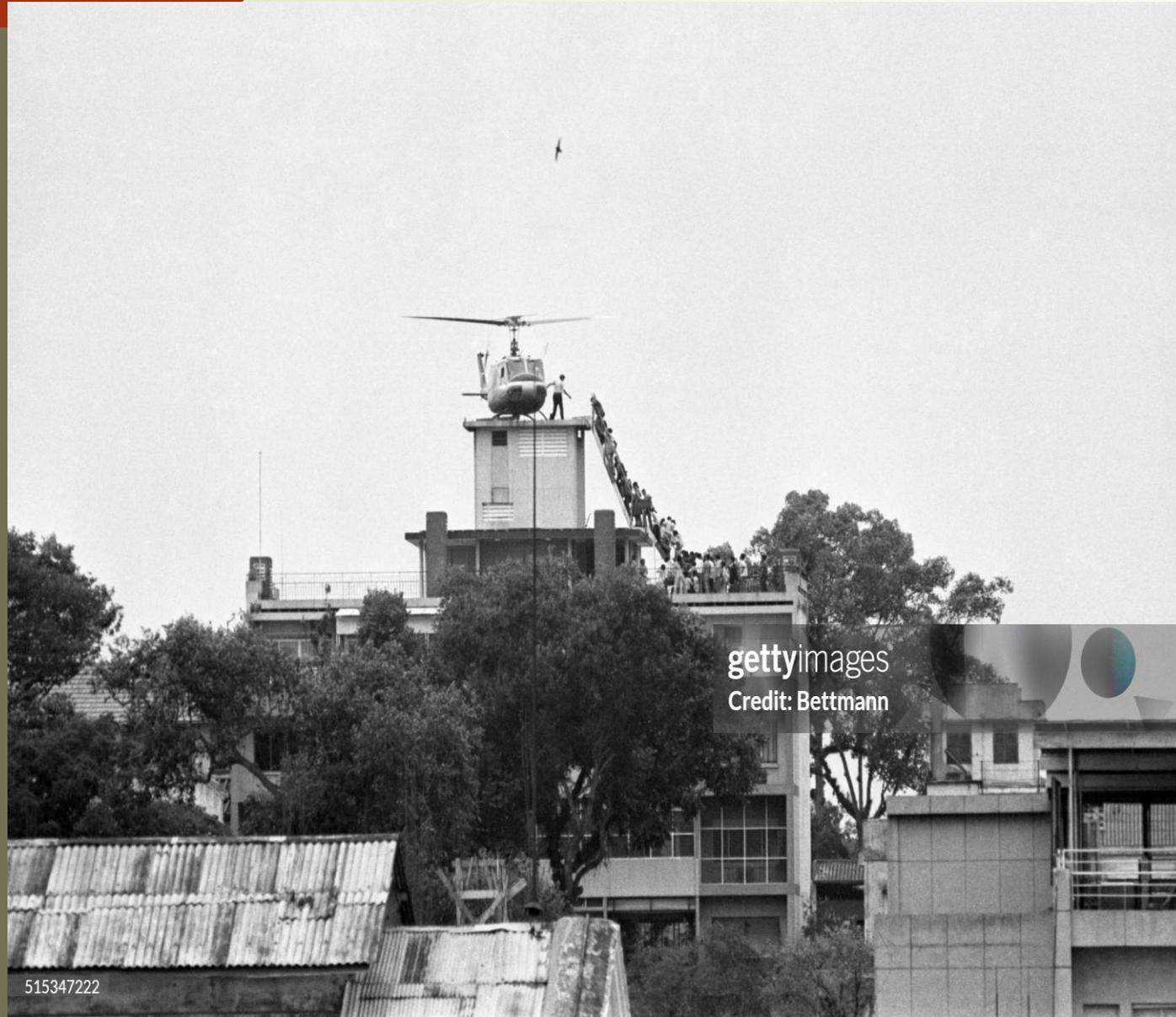
# Vietnam Collapse

Peace Talks “agreed” January 1974: goal “Decent Interval”

Nixon “strategic success”

Vietnamese Offensive 1975

- Fall of Saigon April 1975
- Ford not blamed
- National nightmare over
  
- Ford end actions: “Right actions/ wrong methods”



Ford and Orphans: operation Babylift  
....rushed decision, rescue orphans before VC arrive



First flight....a disaster

250 passengers, 150 killed, 80 babies



# Ford orders flights to continue .....3,000+ “rescued”



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Credit: Fairfax Media Archives

Ford: San Francisco airport  
...decent man, attempting right thing...not Nixon

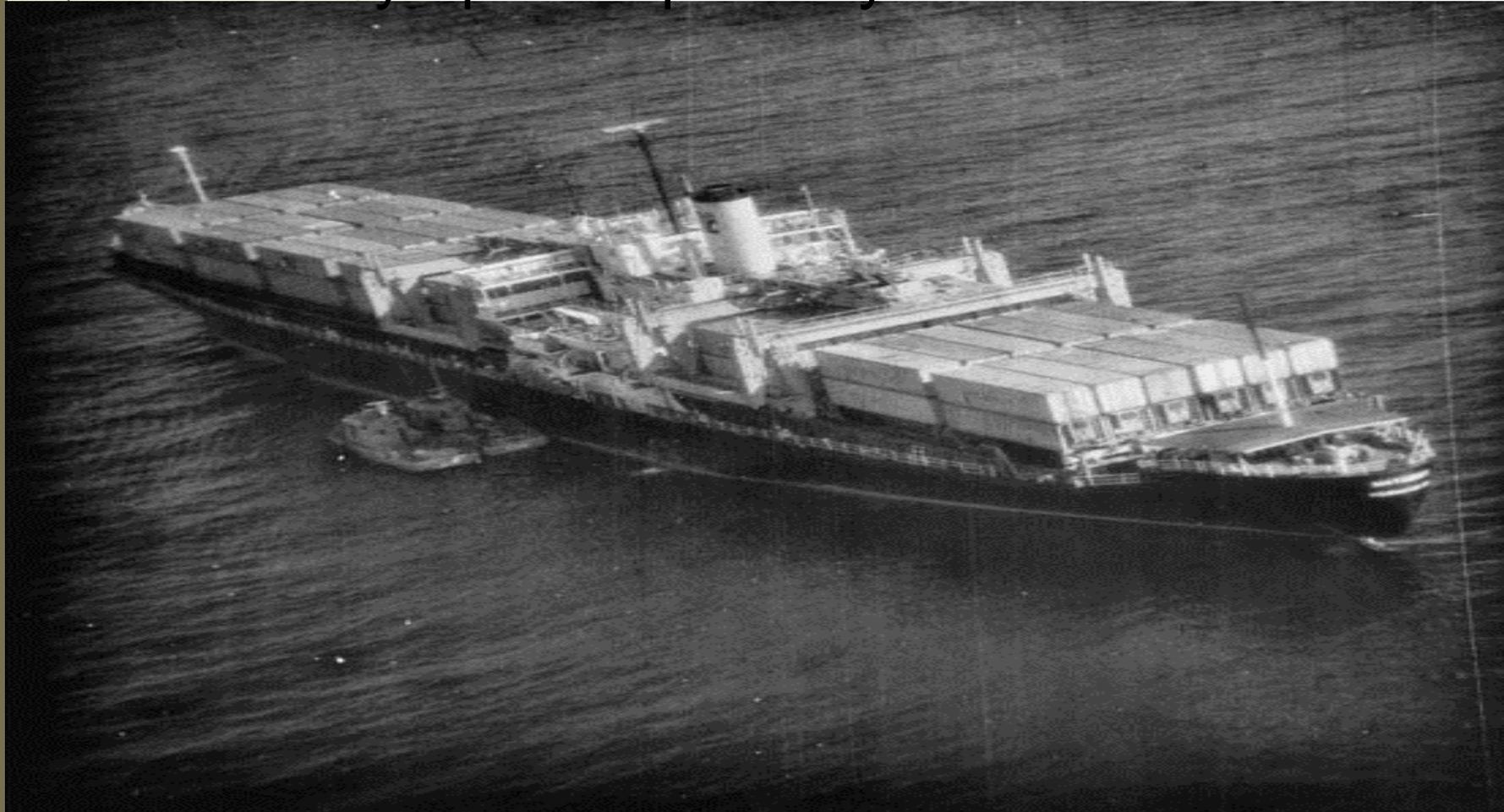


# Mayaguez Incident

...May 1975 ..one month after fall of Saigon

....US cargo ship & crew captured by Khmer Rouge

Mayaguez capture by "Swift Boats"



Kissinger advises  
"decisive action" to  
Show US resolve

Goal :Avoid hostages

US marines, Airforce  
Police attack ship  
And islands where  
59 crew believed held

Gun battle, 30 marines  
Killed, 20 Khmer Rouge  
...hostages released

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# Economic decline: Stagflation

- ▶ Oil price increases 400% from \$15 to \$50 (2015\$)
  - ▶ US production declines 1970
  - ▶ 1973 Middle East war (Talk 41) & oil embargo
- ▶ Inflation and unemployment rise....not supposed to be possible

Year	Unemployment	Inflation	"Misery Index"
1960's	3.5%	3.5%	7.0
1972	5.2%	3.5%	8.7
1973	4.9%	6.2%	11.1
1974	7.2%	11.0%	18.2
1975	8.2%	9.2%	17.4
1976	7.8%	8.5%	16.3

Ford proposes tax increase to reduce inflation

....then tax cut to reduce unemployment ..then Inflation reduction plan

“Monetary Policy Nixon/ Ford  
...biggest PR blunder of financial history  
...bumper stickers and



Dear President Ford:

I enlist as an Inflation Fighter and Energy Saver for the duration. I will do the very best I can for America.

(Please Print.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

Most ludicrous government campaign  
...ridiculed by left and right...does not work



# Economic decline and Law and order

## New York bankruptcy 1975-1976

NY Crime explosion

	<b>Homicides</b>	<b>Rate per 1000</b>
1970	1,117	14.1
1971	1,466	18.6
1972	1,691	21.4
1973	1,680	21.2
1974	1,554	19.7
1975	1,645	19.1
1976	1,622	21.2

US average 1960's, 4.0, 70's 9.0  
14X UK average 1970's 500...1.2!

Budget crisis mid 1970's

...white flight

....mfg jobs move South

...influx immigrant population

Corruption/ mismanagement

...Police Unions

...City government

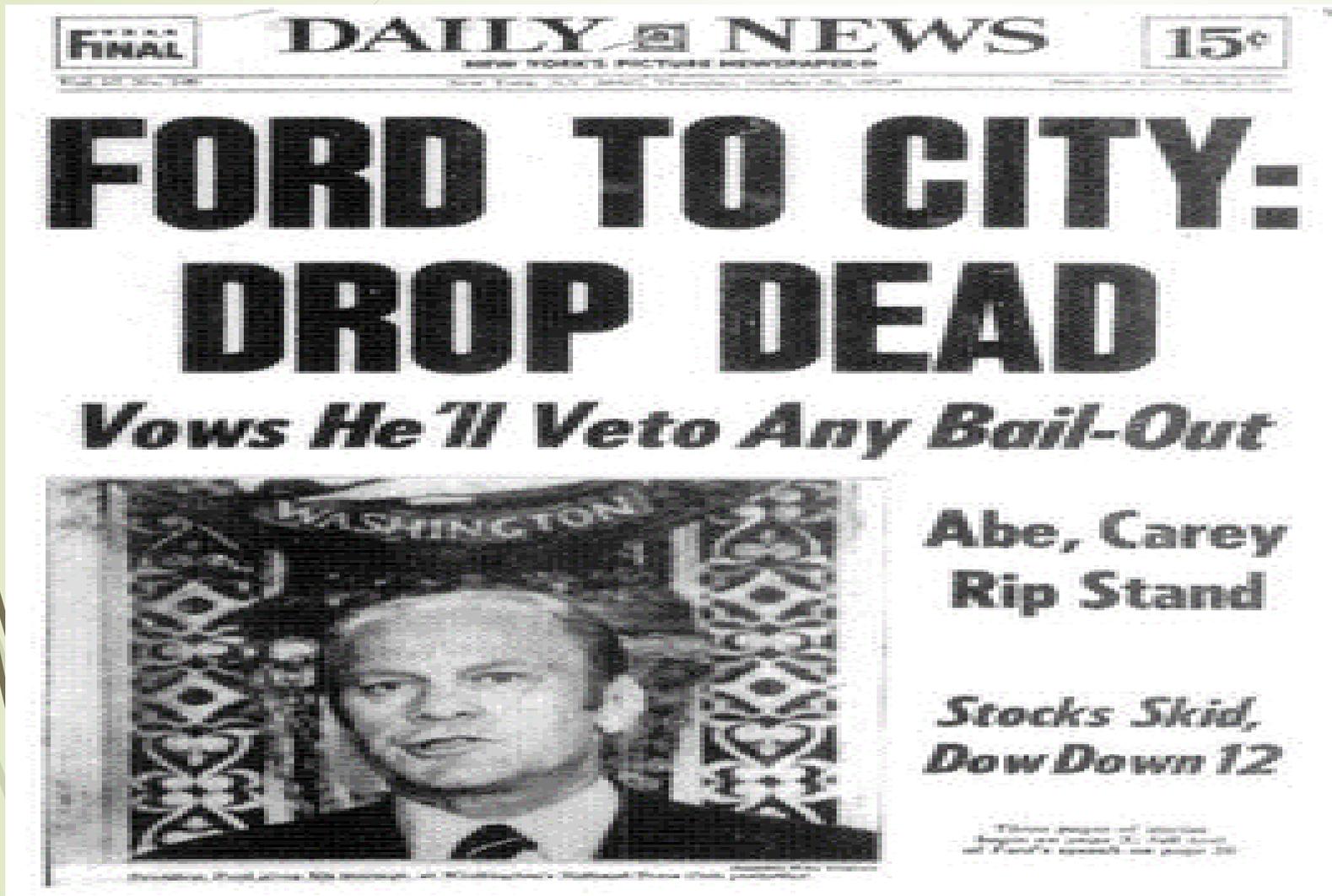
...Municipal Unions

By mid 1975 finance capital

“Free world” in collapse

Accompanied by mass crime wave

# Ford Response



Ford: Hard line rhetoric  
....Municipal excess  
....Budget cuts ignored  
...threat of city collapse

Implications to US role  
Spread across media

Ford relents  
...Emergency finance ac  
...Unions...pensions>bor  
...welfare cut

# 1976 Presidential Election

- ➔ Nation “Adrift” ....Ford “liked” but considered ineffective
- ➔ Domestic affairs in disorder
- ➔ US losing its status as “leader” of free world

# The new voice: the politics of virtue

elect  
**Jimmy Carter**  
**President**

gettyimages®  
Credit: Bettmann



Domestic turmoil and sense of being adrift  
compounded by apparent loss of American  
power across “free world”

Next Talk: US and the world 1965-1976  
.....September 15th