

THE US PRESIDENCY

Precedents

I. Washington's Governmental Spending

- a. Washington's US Army – 600 men, total budget of \$2 million
- b. Department of State – 5 clerks
- c. Washington employed more people on his plantation in Mount Vernon than in his executive branch

II. Washington's Precedents

- a. Made President independent of Congress
- b. Argued that Presidency has broader powers than those in Article II of Constitution
- c. Establishes "Executive Privilege" as a result of slap in the face after Jay Treaty
(Washington consults legislative branch, but doesn't give them foreign documents)

III. Washington's Farewell Address to Public

- a. US government should be friendly with all countries, but remain neutral
- b. US should not get entangled in alliances that would lead US into European wars
(wanted US to remain neutral)
- b. Wanted to extend commercial relations, with as little political relations as possible
- c. George III – "George Washington is the greatest man on earth" – for not abusing his power

IV. John Adams (2nd President)

- a. No precedents

V. Thomas Jefferson (3rd President)

- a. Argued that any presidential action can be justified if it concerns National Security
 - 1. Jefferson believed that purchasing the Louisiana territory was a matter of national security)
 - 2. Jefferson changed his views on the presidency after he became president
 - 3. He originally argued that the President could not go beyond Article II
- b. Jefferson saw Presidency as a vehicle to develop presidency in non-political ways
 - 1. Well known for Lewis and Clark Expedition
 - 2. Jefferson viewed this as an educational journey

- c. Jefferson and Congress
 1. Never vetoed any act of Congress b/c of his personality
 2. Jefferson was good in small groups – he invited many members of Congress to the White House
 3. Jefferson didn't veto b/c it allowed him to get his agenda through

VI. John Quincy Adams (6th President)

A. Presidency

- a. Never received credit for Monroe Doctrine, which he was the brainchild of
- b. Elected in 1824 and took a visionary perspective of the future
- c. Whereas Jefferson wanted America to be a nation of farmers, Adams wanted a more industrial country

B. Precedents

- a. Started **public works projects** to create a more unified interstate system (roads & canals)
- b. Argued for a National University (which didn't exclusively teach religion)
- c. Started Naval Academy at West Point
- d. 1st President to see the National perspective

VII. Andrew Jackson (7th President)

A. Background

- a. Founder of modern Democratic party
- b. Fought in American Revolution at 14 years old, gets captured)
- c. Fought in Battle of New Orleans in War of 1812
- d. 1st Democratically elected President

B. Precedents

- a. Argues that Cabinet serves and is responsible to the President, not Congress
- b. 1st President to create a staff (**Kitchen Cabinet** – advisors/friends)
- c. 1st President to establish **spoils system** – party supporters rewarded for helping him get elected
- d. Argues for National Supremacy (over States) in “Nullification Crisis”
 1. James C. Calhoun in South Carolina wanted to nullify federal laws
 2. Jackson said that if he took one step towards secession, he would march into South Carolina, arrest Calhoun and hang him from the nearest tree

VIII. Abraham Lincoln (16th President)

- a. In time of National emergency, claims that the Presidents can expand their power
 - 1. Expanded powers are known as “emergency powers”
 - 2. When crisis is over, normal rules return
- b. “Emergency Powers” Declared
 - 1. Institutes a Draft
 - 2. Suspends Writ of Habeas Corpus (civilian courts) can be suspended during war
 - 3. Institutes 1st Income tax to pay for war (until Supreme Court declares the act unconstitutional after the war)
- c. Moral Act – States are given land grants to build Universities
- d. Homestead Act – 160 acres given to any individual who traveled west and farmed the land for 5 years
- e. Emancipation Proclamation – Under Executive order – ends slavery in areas of rebellion (although he had no way to enforce it)

IX. Slavery Amendments

- a. 13th Amendment – Outlaws Slavery
- b. 14th Amendment – Makes Blacks Citizens
- c. 15th Amendment – Gives Blacks the right to vote

X. Theodore Roosevelt (25th President)

- a. Responds to national demands, saying that he as President can do anything unless the Constitution specifically forbids it
- b. Most effective molder of public opinion – Said that the White House is a “**Bully Pulpit**” – used media to get his message to public
- c. **Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine, 1904**
 - 1. US has the right to maintain law and order in the Western Hemisphere and has the right to use force
 - 2. US doesn’t want Britain intervening
 - 3. Latin America is critical of Roosevelt Corollary
 - 4. TR sees Latin America as the backyard of the US
- d. TR took land in Panama to build Canal
- e. Big on **Conservation**
 - 1. Establishes Federal Parks
 - 2. John Moore – good friend of TR said that US was losing Frontier and TR decided to preserve the land

- e. **Pure Food and Drug Act** – public regulation of food, medicine, and doctors
 - Inspired by the book, *The Jungle*
 - TR wanted this act passed because he believed that Europeans wouldn't buy US meat if it was unfit for human consumption
- f. TR was trying to make a country where big business could thrive and country that was safe for the general public

XI. William Howard Taft

- a. Strict Constructionalist – believed that a president should confine to what is written in the Constitution
- b. Only President to be a Justice (Chief Justice) of the Supreme Court after being President

XII. Woodrow Wilson

- a. Son/grandson of Prespertyrian minister
- b. Wilson was a college professor (preacher/teacher)
- c. Increases national power
- d. **League of Nations** – Wilson came up w/ idea to keep member states safe
 1. Attempt to put US in leadership position
 2. Senate refused to pass treaty
- e. Wilson used “Bully Pulpit” – went campaigning on a train across the country, but suffered a stroke along the way
- f. Preacher/teacher – Wilson was never able to compromise and surrounded himself w/ yes men

XIII. Coolidge, Harding Hoover

- a. Wanted to reduce national power – thinking that it had become too strong
- b. Hoover kept telling people to be patient and that the economy would get better
- c. But as 1929 turned in 1930 and 1930 turned into 1931, things weren't getting better; they were getting worse

XIV. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Public Works

- a. Establishes that the President and the Executive branch have the responsibility to look out for the welfare of the general public
- b. **Public Works** – 1st time a president starts a program to help civilian population
- c. **Tennessee Valley Authority** – Power companies wouldn't spread electric power to the American South and the Mid-West b/c it was profitable, so the US had to do it
- d. FDR established Social Security for the elderly
- e. Critics of FDR accused his programs of being socialist

FDR's Foreign Policy

XV. Lend-Lease Act, Mar. 1941

- a. Jan. 1941 – FDR says, “We must Lend and Lease equipment to peace loving nations...If you're neighbors house was on fire, would you not lend him your hose.”
- b. American destroyers/Naval vessels are “lent” to the British b/c US is not in the
- c. Privately, FDR knew it was a grant
- d. Critics said that the US would never get anything back
- e. FDR manipulates Congress into passing Lend-Lease in March 1941, saying that the US is the “Arsenal of Democracy”
- f. U.S. ships begin getting attacked by German U-Boats in the Atlantic because US is trying to help Great Britain

XVI. Korematsu v. U.S., Dec. 1944

- a. After Pearly Harbor, Japanese were thought to be dangerous
- b. *Executive Order 9066* (February 19, 1942) – orders that 110,000 American Born Japanese and Japanese immigrants be removed from homes, forced to sell property, and put in relocation centers in several different states in Desert States (low-population)
- c. Japanese were kept under Barb wire
- d. Sons of Japanese were sent into the War in Europe, not Pacific
- e. Internment camps possibly saved Japanese from being attacked and lynched
- f. Japanese released after War ended in '45, but had to start lives over with nothing
- g. December 1944 – Supreme Court voted 6-3 that Camps were a military necessity and backed the government during War

XVII. Did FDR Know About Pearl Harbor Attack?

- a. US knew it broke Japanese diplomatic codes
- b. US knew that there was an attack planned, but didn't know where
- c. Experts felt that the Philippines were the most logical spot for an attack
- d. Nobody believed that the Japanese had the capabilities to sneak across the Pacific to attack Pearl Harbor
- e. Also, nobody knew that planes were going to be a factor

Post-World War 2 Presidency

I. Harry Truman Succeeds FDR

- a. Totally unprepared to assume presidency b/c FDR didn't have much of a relationship with him
- b. Truman didn't even know about the Manhattan Project
- c. He was put on the ticket for political reasons
- d. Truman suffered from backlash:
 - 1. Republicans and American Conservative groups are worried that b/c of FDR, the presidency has become too strong and powerful
 - 2. FDR's death put Truman in an uncomfortable position in having to follow him (because FDR was a great and loved president)
- e. At FDR's funeral, Truman told Eleanor Roosevelt that he was sorry and she told him that she felt sorry for him

II. Truman Presidency

- a. National Defense – President most responsible for the expansion of expansion of the Cold War
- b. Truman used popular media to scare American public into higher defense spending (dramatic increase)
- c. Desegregated American Military Force
- d. Attempts a federal government takeover of American Steel industry, but it was declared unconstitutional (Truman couldn't get away with what FDR got away with during the Great Depression and WW2)

III. National Security Act, 1947

- a. Created 3 new Executive Branch Agencies
- b.
 - 1. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
 - 2. Department of Defense (DOD)
 - 3. National Security Council
- c. These agencies increased Truman's power and the power of the presidency

IV. Truman Doctrine, 1948

- a. Truman scared the American people
- b. Truman said that if America doesn't support free people against Communist invaders, they will fall and will eventually be a threat to the people of the U.S.
- c. Doctrine served as a declaration of Cold War
- d. \$400 million in aid is given to Greece and Turkey to fight Communist invaders

V. Marshall Plan, 1948

- a. Truman realizes that the countries of Western Europe need to be rebuilt for U.S. security against the threat of Communism
- b. Soviets turned down economic aid given under the Marshall Plan, fearing that the U.S. was trying to take them over
- c. Truman wanted this plan named after his Secretary of State, George C. Marshall b/c he felt it would be too controversial if his name was on it (amidst turmoil over inflation, union strikes, and unemployment at home)
- d. Marshall Plan gives Europe \$13 billion to help Europe buy food from U.S. to prevent another U.S. depression

VI. Berlin Blockade, 1948-49

- a. Beginning in 1948, Russians blocked food from getting into West Berlin by sea
- b. Stalin said that all of the roads that led into W. Berlin were closed for construction

VII. Berlin Airlift, 1948-49

- a. Truman said that he would bring supplies to W. Berlin by airlift if the U.S. couldn't reach it by sea
- b. Stalin told Truman that if he went in the air, he would be occupying Soviet airspace and the Soviets would shoot down any plane that crossed into their airspace
- c. Truman told Stalin that, "You shoot down a plane, it'll be World War 3."
- d. Berlin Blockade ends after 11 months when the Soviets blink – 3 roads leading into W. Berlin are reopened without any signs of repairs having been done
- e. U.S. becomes convinced that a new crisis will arise

VIII. Truman Desegregates Armed Forces

- a. Truman didn't propose legislation b/c it would never have passed
- b. White, Southern Senators would have filibustered it
- c. So, Truman signs an Executive Order ending segregation
- d. Puts federal government on the side of desegregation
- e. Truman – "The Buck Stops Here"

IX. Korean War, June 25, 1950 – July 27, 1953

- a. 6/25/1953, North Korea invades S. Korea
- b. United Nations votes to send troops into S. Korea
- c. Soviets, upset that the U.N. was not recognizing the Communist takeover of China, had walked out of U.N. in protest and did not vote in the U.N. decision to get involved in stopping North Korea's invasion of South Korea in 1950
- d. Soviets could have vetoed and prevented U.N. action in North Korea if they had voted
- e. United States and 19 countries go into North Korea
- f. Kim Mu Sum's North Korea is on the offensive until September 1950
- g. General Douglas MacArthur is head of the UN command in the 3-year war
- h. As President-elect, Eisenhower visits S. Korea in Dec. 1952 and tells N. Korea that they better negotiate an ending to the war or else, as President, he was going to drop an atomic bomb on N. Korea
- i. July 27, 1953 – a truce is called

X. Truman's Low Approval Rating

- a. When Truman leaves office, his approval rating is between 18 and 24%
- b. Korean War and White House corruption lead to his low approval ratings

XI. Dwight D. Eisenhower, 33rd President

- a. Not an activist president
- b. Tended to let others in his administration make public announcements
- e. Ike was more of an administrator – felt presidency had become too active

XII. John F. Kennedy, 34th President

- a. Introduces Economic Planning (Council of Economic Advisors)
- b. Uses Media to his advantage (very photogenic)
- c. Relies heavily on opinion polling to know where to concentrate in his campaign and other policies
- d. Conducts live press conferences – uses media
- e. Established Green Berets
- f. Established "Hotline" – direct phone connection between US and Soviets
- g. Used CIA to knock off foreign leaders

XIII. Council of Economic Advisors (CEA)

- a. Agency created by JFK to help him look at economic trends
- b. Makes White House more active in the economy
- c. Headed by Walter Heller (Harvard University)
- d. Agency is filled with Ivy League Economic Planners

XIV. Lyndon B. Johnson, 35th President

- a. November 1963 – LBJ takes over after JFK is fatally shot
- b. Great Society - Expands federal domestic programs more than any president since FDR (his idol)
- c. Vietnam – lied with more ease than any other president – “victory is around the corner”

XV. Great Society

- a. Social/Domestic programs of LBJ expand presidential power
 - 1. Medicare – health funding for seniors
 - 2. Medicaid – health funding for poor
 - 3. Head Start
 - 4. Pell grants (scholarships) – given to students
 - 5. Job Corp
 - 6. War on Poverty
 - 7. Highway beautification – 1st Lady, Lady Bird Johnson was interested in getting rid of billboards on highways

XVI. Tonkin Gulf Attack, 1964

- a. U.S. Destroyer Maddox spies on N. Vietnamese and is shot at
- b. Johnson sends a 2nd Destroyer to accompany Maddox
- c. Destroyers report being shot at, but it is unknown whether they were really shot at
- d. Privately, LBJ thought that the shots were coming from fishermen
- e. Publicly, LBJ claimed Tonkin Attack by N. Vietnam was unprovoked, but it was provoked

XVII. Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 1964

- a. Passed 416 – 0 in House w/ 19 not present (passed w/ only 4 hrs debate – quick decisions often lead to mistakes)
- b. Passed 89-2 in Senate after only a few days of debate
- c. Gave Johnson broad power to handle war in Vietnam
LBJ used Resolution to orders daily sustained bombing of N. Vietnam (2/7/1965 – 3/31/1968 after attack at Pleiku)
- d. LBJ bombed along Ho Chi Minh Trail,
N. Vietnam Capital – Hanoi, and Port City – Hai Phong
- e. Attacks only stopped on Christmas Day – “Christmas Truce”

XVIII. Civil Right Act, 1964

- a. Longest filibuster in US History – 3 months
- b. July 1964 – LBJ signs bill into Law
- c. Public accommodation – No more Segregation in Public Places
- d. Education – Integrates schools across the Nation
- e. Jobs – Threatens lawsuits and to take away federal aid from companies who have contracts with the government if they continue to segregate their employment facilities
- f. Democrats began to lost control of the South after the Civil Rights Act was passed

XIX. Voting Rights Act

- a. Federal oversight of Voting Rights in Areas of Discrimination
- b. Now there cannot be any openly racist candidates because blacks can vote
- c. A New South was created after the passage of the Voting Rights Act
 - Segregationists in Congress gave up their old views
 - New Candidates had a more open mind
 - Governors in Sought started to have a more open mind

XX. Richard Nixon's Foreign Policy

- a. Opened relations w/ China
- b. Created Vietnamization – Forcing S. Vietnamese to take control of Vietnam War
- c. Establishes Détente w/ Soviets – cools tensions with the Soviets

XXI. Imperial Presidency

- a. Nixon thought he was the law – that he had unlimited power
- b. Nixon also thought that everybody was out to get him

XXII. Nixon vs. George McGovern, 1972

- a. Presidential Election
- b. During campaign, Nixon's aides broke into Watergate Hotel complex and attempted to bug it

XXIII. Nixon devalues American Dollar

- a. Country is in an economic downturn
- b. Nixon didn't want to raise taxes
- c. Took the dollar off of a fixed exchange rate b/c it was overvalued
- d. Good for the time being, but it hurt the strength of the dollar and the American currency a year later

XXIV. Gerald Ford

- a. Nixon's 2nd Vice President – after Spiro Agnew resigned
- b. Ford became president after Nixon resigned for his role in covering up the Watergate break-in
- c. President from August 1974 – January 1977

XXV. Jimmy Carter

- a. Imperial Presidency is gone – by this time articles have been written by scholars that reach the general public, claiming that presidency has become too strong
- b. Carter's presidency proves that if a depression/recession hits the American economy, that the president will not be re-elected
- c. Victim of Expectation
- d. Iran-Hostage crisis ruined Carter
- e. Inability as a communicator hurt him

XXVI. Inflation During Carter's Presidency

- a. Inflation increased tremendously (prices increased, wages didn't)
- b. Interest rates increased tremendously (houses – over 20% interest rate)
- c. Gas Prices – B/c of oil embargo – Americans got gas on alternate days based on the last # on your license plate
- d. Carter was blamed for gas shortages

XXVII. Carter – Victim of Expectations

- a. Elected b/c he had nothing to do w/ Washington DC
- b. He was a peanut farmer from Georgia who was elected governor in the “New South” – after the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts
- c. Carter was a Washington outsider who didn't have support from people in his part in Washington
- d. Also, Carter was too detail oriented (created chart w/ times that his assistants could use tennis courts – he would then initial sign-up sheet with his approval)

XXVIII. Carter was a poor communicator

- a. Didn't look comfortable on television
- b. Not able to take advantage of the media to get his programs through

XXIX. Iran Hostage Crisis, 11/4/1979 – 1/20/1981

- a. A president is supposed to be decisive
- b. 1979 – US friendship w/ Iran ended when Shah of Iran was overthrown in an Islamic revolution
- c. US was going to let Shah into the US for medical treatment from Panama (where he was staying in exile)
- d. At this time, the US embassy in Iran was taken over and held hostage for 444 days by student militants
- e. Carter approved a rescue mission that was botched, resulting in 8 hostages killed
- f. Carter let 3 branches of military get involved in the rescue mission (this ensured failure b/c they didn't communicate with each other)
- g. Carter told military, if they are volunteers, kill them – if they are conscripted, don't kill them (but nobody could tap them on the shoulder to find out b/c it was a hostile environment)
- h. Rally Effect helps Carter for 6 months, but his ratings went down after then b/c troops still hadn't been rescued
- i. As the number of days increased, his approval rating fell

XXX. Ronald Reagan

- a. "Government is the problem, not the solution"
- b. Devolution – returned more power to state and local government (took away decisions from national government)
- c. Parallels w/ FDR: pragmatic and inconsistent
Pragmatist: Ran as an ideological conservative, but didn't push many of the issues
- d. Uses focus groups for specific policy questions (made the use of focus groups into an art form)
- e. In 1986, Reagan asked for "revenue enhancements," instead of "tax increase" b/c focus groups didn't respond negatively to the term "revenue enhancements"

Presidential Leadership

Job Description

- a. Crisis Management
- b. Symbolic and morale building
- c. Priority setting and program design
- d. Recruitment of leadership
- e. Legislative and political building
- f. Program implementation and administration
- g. Oversight of government perspective and early warning

PRESIDENTIAL ROLES

- a. Head of State
- b. Chief Executive
- c. Commander-in-Chief
- d. Chief Diplomat
- e. Chief Legislator
- f. Head of Political Party
- g. Head “Cheerleader”

I. HEAD OF STATE

- a. Symbolic Representation of Nation
- b. (Diplomatic) Protocol Function – If a foreign leader comes to the US, President has to meet with him, otherwise it is considered a slap in the face

II. CHIEF EXECUTIVE

- Right to execute laws given to President by Constitution
 - Sees that US laws are executed
- a. Controls and directs Executive branch agencies (Cabinet, Staff, agencies, etc...)
(\$120 billion payroll --- employs hundreds of thousands of people)
 - b. Grants:
 1. **Reprieves** – Prevents sentence from being carried out until further investigation
 2. **Pardons** – Removes convictions from an individual’s record, or enables them not to have to stand trial
 3. **Amnesty** – Mass pardon

III. COMMANDER IN CHIEF

- a. **Civilian Supremacy** – President is a civilian and has supremacy over the military
- b. **Direct Leadership/Command** – Allows presidents during an emergency to make strategic, tactical decisions
 - 1. WWI – Wilson commits US naval vessels to shoot at German U-Boats, even though there wasn't a declaration of war
 - 2. WWII – FDR followed his own war plan (N. Africa, Italy, France...)
 - 3. Korean War – Truman dismisses Macarthur for challenging him
- *c. **War Powers Act, 1973** – Congress tries to reduce president in his role (Passed b/c of Cambodian Killing Fields and Vietnam)
 - 1. President may commit military forces overseas as long as he informs Congress within 48 hours as to why it's necessary to put US men at risk
 - 2. Military may stay in Combat for 60 days, with an additional 30 day extension without a declaration of war as long as Congress is informed
 - 3. If Congress doesn't approve of a war after 60-90 days, troops are brought home
 - 4. This law was vetoed by President Nixon, but overridden by Congress
 - 5. All US presents since have griped about War Power Act
- d. **Rally Effect** – “Rally around the flag”
 - 1. Anytime the country is in danger, the natural outcome is that everyone supports the President
 - 2. Congress will not use War Powers Act b/c if they cut funding for troops, there will be negative ads broadcast about those who voted to cut funding
 - 3. No constitutional cases define commitment of troops being sent overseas – US Supreme Court does not want to touch the War Powers Acts

IV. CHIEF DIPLOMAT

- a. **Powers**
 - 1. Negotiates treaties (semi-permanent and require 2/3 Senate approval)
 - 2. Signs executive agreements w/ foreign nations (do not require Senatorial approval and last only while President is in office)
- b. **Architect of Foreign Policy**
 - 1. G.W. Bush – Pre-emption (Bush Doctrine)– US can strike other countries before being attacked if US fears an attack is imminent
 - 2. Truman Doctrine – US will give aid to countries to help battle communism

- c. Curtiss – Wright Decision
1. **Gives President (FDR) authority to speak for US in diplomacy**
 2. In 1934, 35, 36 – Neutrality Acts passed – Congress feels that if US gives weapons and assistance, US would be put into conflict. Also bans US citizens from traveling on ships of nations at war (b/c Americans were on Lusitania that was sunk in WWI and that was one of the justifications for going to war)
 3. Curtiss-Wright – One of the major aircraft manufacturers in US in 1930s
 4. **FDR wanted to sell planes to countries in WW2, but Congress said no**
 5. **Supreme Court said that President could sell to other countries during war if the President feels it is in America’s national interest**

V. CHIEF LEGISLATOR

- a. State of the Union
1. President’s wish list for legislation
 2. Reviews Administration’s performance in the last year
- b. Agenda, wish list – provides insight
1. State of the Union sets presidential priorities
 2. Gives comprehensive legislative package to Congress (since WW2, like the New Deal)
 3. President serves different constituencies than Congress (Congressmen represent 1 state, while the President represents the entire nation)
 4. President and Congress are usually represented by split parties
 5. Interest groups, like the NRA often influence Congressional bills, so the President may not get everything he wants
- c. Veto power
1. President is given authority to prevent legislation from going into effect (established in the Constitution to provide a check on legislative power)
 2. In the early period of the country, until Andrew Jackson, Presidents only vetoed bills b/c they may have been unconstitutional
 3. Beginning w/ President Andrew Jackson, Presidents vetoed bills b/c they disagreed w/ its content
 4. **Pocket veto** – If a bill is passed in the last days of a Congress and the President doesn’t sign or veto legislation before the congressional session ends, the bill is dead
- d. Legislative Liaison Officers in White house – Beginning w/ FDR, officers in the White House explain, defend, and get enacted the President’s wishes as explained in the State of the Union (includes Environment, Public Relations, Budge...)

- e. Budget battle, 1995-96
 1. To enact legislation, money is needed (without money, bills can't be followed through on)
 2. After a bill passes, how much money is appropriated for law determines how effective it is
 3. Clinton said that funding for his programs shouldn't be cut
 4. Gingrich said he wouldn't fund additional programs
 5. Clinton then shut down the federal government to see who gets the blame
 6. American public blamed Gingrich (when they couldn't go to parks, work...)

VI. CHIEF OF POLITICAL PARTY

- a. Spokesperson/ Symbol – Presidents speak for their party
- b. Party Leader - platform
- c. Campaigns/ Fundraising – Ronald Reagan went to a Democratic representative and told them that if they favor Reagan's initiatives, he won't go into their district and campaign against them
- d. Difficulty w/ Parliamentary system as opposed to party loyalty
 1. Loyalty to party is key in parliament
 2. Prime Minister can force others in his party to vote for his initiatives (otherwise he won't endorse them, resulting in them not getting re-elected)
 3. Congressmen of a party can vote against bills that their party favors (President sometimes lets Congressmen vote against a bill if they know that voting for it will create problems for his district, especially when the measure is likely to pass anyway)

VII. POPULAR LEADER - "CHEERLEADER"

- a. Crisis Management – Ex: Bush seen on TV giving out supplies during a hurricane
- Ex: After Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton reinforced his role as leader by meeting with and comforting victims' families
- b. Rhetoric/Inspiration: "Malaise" (Depression – era of ill) vs. "Morning in America"
 1. Negativity creates fear
 2. Jimmy Carter saying that the country was in malaise made people look down on him
 3. Ronald Reagan saying "Morning in America" was optimistic – playing to the positive side gets President support, like saying "A New Beginning," meaning that the past negativity is behind us
 - 4.
- c. LOW Thesis: Presidents today are in a non win situation b/c rhetoric creates high expectations that can't be met

Thomas Cronin – Presidential Functions & Job Descriptions

Foreign Policy:

- Invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein
- George HW Bush leading troops into Kuwait to kick Hussein out

Domestic Policy – Reagan’s War on Drugs

I. Crisis Management

II. Symbolic and Morale Building Leadership

- a. Visiting Florida after devastating hurricane

III. Priority Setting

- a. Ariel Sharon, leader of Israel, said that he was not going to follow American roadmap (which includes establishing a state of Palestine)
- b. Bush now has a dilemma b/c he supported roadmap
- c. Is this issue a major priority for him or is another issue more important
- d. Economic Setting: Which is more important?
1. Solving Social Security problem
 2. Tax cuts
 3. Deficit reduction

IV. Recruitment of Leadership

- a. Presidents select cabinet, National Security Advisor, add judges to the court
- b. These leaders take a pay cut to join the public sector

V. Legislative and Political Coalition Building

- a. Senators in Congress have to join together w/ opposing party
- b. Bush had to get Conservative Republicans (who don’t like to spend money) to agree to increase the budget for the war in Iraq

VI. Program Implementation and Administration

- a. Presidents can emphasize or ignore certain programs
- b. Example: If Department of Justice doesn't get the go ahead, Federal Government doesn't look to oversee programs in government

VII. Oversight of Government Performance and Early Warning of Issues

- a. Federal Reserve Board cuts interest rate, but has the economy recovered?
- b. People are being thrown out of work – what is being done about this?
- c. President has to anticipate these issues

2000 Presidential Election

I. Close Election

- a. Not since 1876 for Electoral College and 1960 for Popular vote (when dead people voted for JFK has there been a closer election)
- b. Supreme Court Decision – 5 weeks after election
- c. Low voter turnout
- d. Pivotal election – It would decide whether the White House, Congress, and the Judiciary would become all Republican or all Democratic (7 House seats and 5 Senate seats and the Congress would have been Democratic – the idea was that some Supreme Court justices would leave after the election and would therefore be replaced by the new President)
- e. Role of Florida and close results in Congress (Senate and Congressional races very close – some by a couple of thousand votes)
- f. Incumbents – most win re-election

II. Major Issues in 2000

- a. Prescription Drug Coverage for Elderly
 - 1. Both George Bush and Al Gore made it an issue
 - 2. Healthcare is usually a Democratic concern
 - 3. Conservatives opposed adding prescription drug coverage for elderly, but Bush said he supported it
- b. HMOs and Patient Rights
 - 1. HMOs were dictating procedures and whether surgeries should be performed
 - 2. At issue were Patient's Rights – which doctor a person could use
- c. Tax Cuts
 - 1. Bush said he would cut taxes by 1.2 trillion
 - 2. Gore said taxes would be cut by 500 billion over a longer period of time and favor working families

- d. Social Security privatization
 1. Reagan talked about limiting Social Security increases, then backpedaled after an uproar from the elderly
 2. Every political expert says that no candidate should run on the issue of Social Security b/c it was a death sentence
 3. Bush wanted tax payers to divert part of their Social Security payments in a private account (that could be invested)
 4. Bush's message of privatization was of interest b/c existing Social Security framework wouldn't continue to meet current standard of living
 5. Social Security was initially founded to give people a bonus, to help them in their old age – not meant as the sole income that it has become for many
 6. Questions that haven't been answered regarded privatization are, if the Sock Market goes down, who makes up the difference? Will the government make it up or will the individuals just lose their retirement money (sole source of income for many)

- e. Budget proposals
 1. Bush said that Gore a free spending liberal who would increase the deficit as a reckless spender
 2. Except for being liberal, this is what Bush has become during his presidency

- f. Gun Control – Right to Bear Arms
 1. Gore – for gun control
 2. Bush – wants no intervention
 3. Clinton, as President, signed a bill that banned the use of assault weapons for “as a hobby”
 4. Gun issue backfires in Gore's face

- g. Bush “**Control**” of Congress”
 1. Bush, “I'm a uniter, not a divider.”

III. Importance of the make-up of Supreme Court

- a. 5-4 Conservative majority

IV. Nominations – Campaigns Started in 1996 – 22nd amendment impact

- a. 22nd amendment – President can only serve 2 terms in office
- b. Gore's advantages: Vice President – gave him a head start over other Democrats (Bill Bradley – former Senator, NJ – only real competition)
- c. Bush's advantages: Re-elected to State House (TX) – 1998, name recognition with politics, funding (superb fundraiser)

A. Importance of Money

- a. Makes person a serious player (in the eyes of the media)
- b. Scares off challengers
- c. Provides necessary resources for flexibility (deciding which states to spend the most money campaigning in)
- d. Allows candidate to hire staff (pollsters, others...)

B. Importance of Organization

- a. Bush's father had a relationship w/ every Republican leader in the country
- b. Gore knew people b/c he was Vice President (didn't have to build relationships)

C. Iowa Caucuses

- a. Iowa and New Hampshire have a great influence
- b. Iowa uses a caucus system – meeting open only to active members of a party who decide which candidate to support and how many delegates will be given out based upon who is favored
- c. Gore beat Bill Bradley by more than 10% in Iowa
- d. Bush won Iowa caucus (on the Republican side) b/c John McCain didn't campaign in the state b/c he had voted against the interests of farmers

D. New Hampshire Primary (1st Primary)

- a. McCain jumps in and appeals to independent votes
- b. McCain saved his money by not campaigning in Iowa, where he knew he was going to lose, and got a head start on Bush in New Hampshire
- c. McCain said, "I spent more time as a Prisoner of War (POW) in North Vietnam than George Bush spent in electoral politics"
- d. McCain reminded New Hampshire voters that in Texas, the governor has very little power
- e. McCain won primary with 49% of vote to Bush's 30% of vote

E. Bill Bradley (Democrat) in New Hampshire

- a. Former NBA player for NY Knicks
- b. Raised as much money as Gore, but performed badly in N.H., where **Gore's party organization was a big key**
- c. Bradley came across as too much of an intellectual (not giving moving speeches)
- d. Bradley seemed like he was running out of a sense of duty and not because he wanted the job

F. Gore Attacks Bradley in New Hampshire

- a. Gore says that Bradley is too liberal
- b. Gore says that Bradley may be able to win the nomination, but that he is un-electable b/c of Republican attacks (Bradley was a Senator w/ a liberal voting record)
- c. By N.H., it became apparent that Bradley was wounded
- d. States running primaries earlier and earlier every year also make it hard for a candidate who lacks organization and/or national attention to be nominated
- e. To address this issue, parties are offering states more delegates and votes if they refrain from moving their primaries up (but it has not worked too effectively)

G. Dirty Campaigning – South Carolina

- a. McCain experiences problems in South Carolina
- b. SC – very conservative state that has racial animosities
- c. SC – where the Christian Coalition is at its strongest
- d. The military is of utmost importance to South Carolinians (high military spending for state)
- e. Republican territory
- f. Bush comes in and solidifies his links w/ Conservative – Christian links in states
- g. Bush goes to a university that is anti-Catholic, anti-Black
- h. McCain decided to run campaign in SC aimed at Defense (his war record)
- i. Pat Robertson, Gerry Falldwell (Christian Coalition) get message across to Churches (as a pulpit) to give support of Bush
- j. Bush/McCain begin running negative ads against each other
- k. However, McCain had promised earlier that he would run a positive campaign
- l. When Bush aides brought this matter to light, McCain pulled his ads, but Bush didn't
- m. As a result, Bush won South Carolina

H. Push-Pull Poll

- a. Asking a question on the phone that plants a seed in someone's mind
- b. (Would you be more or less likely to vote for "name of candidate" if you knew he was a "wife beater")
- c. Poll doesn't say that the candidate is a wife beater, but it leaves the impression in one's mind that the candidate is a wife beater

I. Arizona

- a. McCain wins Arizona b/c he's from Arizona

J. Dirty Campaigning - Michigan

- a. Michigan Republicans were more concerned w/ the economy & jobs
- b. McCain wins Michigan
- c. McCain concentrates on Independent voters (who can participate in the Republican or Democratic primaries)
- d. McCain made appeal to Reagan Democrats (Union workers who are big on defense, but lean towards Democrats when jobs are involved)
- e. McCain uses Push-Pull phone calls (Did you know that Bush favors Catholics – b/c he spoke at a Christian University?) – even though that University was anti-Catholic

K. Virginia Primary

- a. McCain makes a big error
- b. Falwell and Robertson help Bush campaign
- c. McCain then says that Bush campaign is beholden to the Christian Coalition and conservatives
- d. McCain's attacks went well in the suburbs near Washington DC (small part of state), but not in the rest of Virginia
- e. These attacks caused McCain to lose Virginia

L. Super Tuesday

- a. Then comes Super Tuesday – where there are winner take all votes in primaries where only party members can vote in their party's primary
- b. McCain was running out of money
- c. Christian coalition was now firmly on Bush's side
- d. Winner takes all states – once big states (NY, CA) gave delegates to Bush, McCain didn't have a chance
- e. So, by early Spring 2000, election is decided (Bradley was wounded by Gore's earlier attacks, calling him an unelectable liberal)
- f. Despite losing the nomination, McCain challenged more people to get out to vote

M. Al Gore

- a. Changed his campaign team in midstream b/c he saw that Bradley was a formidable opponent
- b. Gore wanted to change his image to come across as an alpha-male (as tough as a leader), but instead comes off as wishy-washy
- c. Effectively halted Bradley's momentum by changing his image

V. Conventions

- a. There was little drama or surprises
- b. Only announced running mates and election themes
- c. By April, nominees were already decided
- d. But conventions were not until July/August

A. Dick Cheney

- a. In charge of selecting nominees to be possible running mates for Bush
- b. Surprised many by claiming to be the best candidate – explaining that he had no Presidential aspirations
- c. Brought an image to reassure public that an adult was on the ticket

B. Joseph Lieberman

- a. Al Gore's running mate
- b. Clean History
- c. Jewish
- d. Had contact with American Jewish Community who provided Gore with money
- e. Calculated image

VI. The General Election Campaign

A. Gore Surge

- a. Issues: Strong Economy, edge in experience, but there is "Clinton fatigue"
- b. Strong economy – sizeable economic growth – a surplus
- c. Experience – "Who would you trust: a 2 term government from Texas or a 2 term VP and a 3 term Senator"
- d. "Clinton Fatigue" – Voters were getting turned off by Clinton sex scandal

B. Bush Missteps Early

- a. Vulgarity (open microphone)
- b. RATS (Subliminal advertising commercials) he ran
- c. Debate Avoidance – Wants debates to be more informal, than formal (More of a discussion – give/take with no moderator)

C. Bush “Attacks” – Character Issue

- a. Fundraising – says that Gore accepted money from Buddhist temple (But it wasn’t true – b/c of a shortage of time, two separate meetings were joined – one with a campaign contributor and another with Buddhists)
- b. Internet – Gore said in an interview that he was part of the legislature that created the internet, but the Bush team quoted Gore as saying, “I invented the Internet”
- c. Bush said that Gore was a free spending liberal
- d. Bush said he was an “outsider” and a “uniter”
- e. Effect of Bush Attacks – Gore loses September “Bounce” from Convention

D. Early October – Gore Loses Credibility

- a. Gore gaffes on prescription drugs and education
- b. Prescription Drugs: Gore said, “My mother pays more for her prescriptions than she pays for medicine for her dog”
- c. Republicans said that this lady had a rich son and she refused to let him pay for the drugs – referring that the lady was crazy

E. The Debates (low expectations of Bush/Gore Misfires)

- a. 1st Debate: Gore comes out overly aggressive (not letting Bush finish his statements), making him appear to be a bully for not letting Bush explain his position
- b. Bush hammered same positions over and over again
- c. 2nd Debate: Gore softened up to appear warm (as opposed to overly aggressive, as he did in the 1st debate)
- d. As a result, Bush won the 2nd Debate
- e. 3rd Debate: Gore performs wonderfully, but less people were watching by this time and more had already made up their minds as to who they would vote for

F. “October Surprises”

- a. Bush DUI – Story leaked to paper that Bush, earlier in his life, pleaded guilty to DUI in Maine
- b. Clinton Campaigns – Last 10 days of election, advisors tell Gore to let Clinton campaign for him
- c. Union Efforts – Unions, which are largely Democratic, make telephone calls to get out the vote – offer to help elderly get to the polls

G. GOP Territory: South, Great Plains, Mountain States
Democratic Territory: North East, Far West
Battlegrounds: Midwest, Mid-Atlantic (Border States)

- a. 2nd Debate: Gore softened up to appear warm (as opposed to overly aggressive, as he did in the 1st debate)
- b. As a result, Bush won the 2nd Debate
- c. 3rd Debate: Gore performs wonderfully, but less people were watching by this time and more had already made up their minds as to who they would vote for

VII. Why Bush Won?

A. Nader Factor

- a. Nader won %% of the vote
- b. If Nader hadn’t participated in election, Gore would have won 5 more states

B. Supreme Court vs. Florida Court

- a. Butterfly ballot in Palm Beach, FL confused a lot of people
- b. Hanging Chads – Supreme Court said there would be no recount
- c. The day before the Supreme Court ruled, the Florida Court ruled that there should be a hand recount
- d. After the US Supreme Court ruled, hand recounts were stopped

C. Gore Lost 11 States Carried By Clinton

D. Other Factors

- a. In Border States (KY, TN, AK, WV), men are pro-guns and the NRA concentrated attacks against Gore
- b. Border states have coal mining and timber – meaning that they are anti-environment (when protecting the environment was one of Gore’s biggest stances)
- c. Guns and Environmental Concerns were paramount
- d. Gore’s character was undermined in the previous 6 – 8 weeks before the election
- e. Gore didn’t use Clinton – Clinton had a 66% popularity rating when he left office – Democratic constituencies didn’t have “Clinton fatigue” b/c they didn’t think that the scandal belonged in the national field

Presidency: Press & Media

I. White House “glass house”

- a. It is a glass house because people are always looking in
- b. Intrusiveness
 - Today’s media pokes its nose into the Presidency more than it would have in past years
 - In past years for instance, the media never told the people that FDR was in a wheel chair
 - But now a days, media covers George HW Bush throwing up in Japan after getting sick
- c. Triviality
 - Does anybody care about what happened to Clinton’s cat or dog?
- d. Competition
 - Today’s media has become a conglomerate
 - There is no liberal media
 - Print media – has a more liberal orientation, but the journalists are not intellectuals and are not aggressive in political leanings, so the “liberal” media is not intentional
 - Radio – more conservative
 - TV – more towards the middle

II. Why US Frustration on White House?

- a. American Royalty
 - First Family becomes like American royalty
 - Just like the British fixate on the Royal family, American media fixates on the First Family
- b. American Fascination/Celebrity
 - Americans seem to be fixated with celebrity
 - People can become a celebrity overnight
 - Once you become famous, people care about their opinion
 - Survivor, Fear Factor – Americans, along with Japanese will do anything to become famous
 - Jesse Ventura, Arnold Schwarzenegger – instant celebrity that transformed to the political world
- c. Cynicism “using” us
 - Relationship driven between President and media to influence the public

III. **Symbiotic Relationship** – Press & President use each other

a. Smallner

- Says that there is a symbiotic relationship because the media defines the presidency (TV - #1 source for news to the American public)

b. Mutual Interests

1. **Filter** – People only watch, hear, and view what the media wants them to, so the media is beneficial to a president who can use the media to pass on their views
2. **Amplifies** – Information is taken and then amplified to the American public; Reputable journalists break exciting news to avoid others from getting it first (like Matt Drudge did with the Lewinsky story)
3. **Watergate & Scandals – “Media Watchdog”**
 - Have made the media conduct “*gotcha journalism*,” acting as a media watchdog
 - Before Watergate, Washington press ignored rumors of JFK’s relationship with Judith Campbell Extner
 - Bradley at Washington Post used to get information from JFK, which helped to shape his image
 - During JFK’s time in office, he was left alone
 - LBJ lied about invasion of Dominican Republic and Gulf of Tonkin attack
 - Johnson’s lying to the press caused the President’s credibility to go down
 - Nixon cemented the loss of Presidential credibility by covering up the Watergate scandal
 - Now the media scrutinizes presidents more, such as during the Clinton/Lewinsky scandal when Clinton said, “I had no sexual relationship with that woman.”

*** **Symbiotic Relationship** – Media depends on President for access and the President needs the media to help shape his image

IV. Presidential Techniques Since TR

A. Teddy Roosevelt

- a. First to craft a strategic media approach
- b. Had a barber shave him, while journalists interviewed him
- c. TR's handling of the press helped to resonate with other presidents
- d. Most popular presidents are those who communicate the most with the media (b/c the media then portrays president in a positive light in order to keep their access to the president)

B. Franklin D. Roosevelt

- a. FDR invited 5 – 25 journalists to his Fireside Chats
- b. Fireside Chats – First to use radio to communicate to the American public
- c. Cultivated relation with the press by inviting them to White House and giving them on an off the record interviews
- d. FDR crafted the newspaper media in his own image (by giving them access to him) and took advantage of the radio

C. Harry Truman

- a. When Truman dropped the atomic bomb, he read the announcement to 25 journalists

D. John F. Kennedy

- a. First President to use television to his advantage
- b. Uses public opinion polling (to find out the mood of the public)
- c. Liked Live, televised news conferences (b/c they spoke over the print media)
- d. TV – 30 million viewers; Newspaper – 2 million readers
- e. Live news conferences – provided for no editing of his words
- f. News conferences allowed JFK to build rapport with the public
- g. JFK always looked comfortable in front of the TV camera
- h. JFK was always a very good debater (which is the reason why Kennedy liked TV)

E. Ronald Reagan

- His White House was the epitome of how to hand the press
- a. Professional in communicating (knew how to speak a line – b/c he was an actor)
- b. Stayed on his message
- c. Use polling data and presented his message in ways that eliminated rough edges (said *revenue enhancement* instead of *tax increase*)
- d. Knew questions ahead of time – Reagan had a mock press conferences, so he knew ahead of time who to call on and already had a prepared answer when he was in front of the camera
- e. Memorized Seating Chart to impress press members
- f. Reagan ignored his enemies
- g. Understood that he had to craft the media
- h. Gives some of the story, but not all of it (said *revenue enhancement* instead of *tax increase*)

F. Bill Clinton

- a. Comes in saying that he doesn't trust the national press
- b. Says that he is going to be non-traditional, using TV
- c. Plays saxophone on TV to get the youth vote
- d. Had trouble getting prime time on network television for press conferences b/c public is bored by them
- e. Cable news networks carried press conferences b/c they carried information for their target audience
- f. Clinton cultivated the press to try to get his message across
- g. Understood the importance of foreign travel to exotic locations when giving press conferences (People don't want to see a President answer questions behind a desk at the White House – they want excitement)

G. George W. Bush

- a. Uses a lot of Reagan's advisors
- b. Hires make-up and background artists to make Bush look better
- c. "Mission Accomplished" banner behind Bush on May 1, 2003 declaring an end to major combat in Iraq is an example of this
- d. It also showed him interacting with American troops
- e. \$5 million outlay for this 1 image, showing him leading the troops, with the mission accomplished banner behind him, is a good investment
- f. It probably would have been used for re-election campaign commercials for 2004 if combat in Iraq had really ended

V. Press Secretaries

a. Briefings

- Conduct daily press briefings, which allow access to the President
- Press Secretaries decide how much coverage a certain piece of news related to the President gets

b. Grillings

- If President will not answer questions, Press Secretary has to spin information (he's in the hot seat) and he has to say what the president said and what he meant to say
- In 1984, when Reagan ran for re-election, he gave no press conferences and only had selected media appearances

VI. Mark Hertsguard – *On Bended Knee*

- Sees that the media is a lapdog, not a watchdog to the President
- Gergen – worked for President Reagan as a White House Communications director and also worked for Clinton – Said that the media can't be allowed to set the agenda
- Deaver – worked for President Reagan

a. Weekly Meetings – policymakers, like Gergen, along with other people, have weekly meetings with the press to talk about what the stories will be for the upcoming cycle

b. Daily Meetings – Meetings are held daily to discuss what the President wants the press to cover and how (If the topic was education, then President would be shown favoring education – There would be a visual of him going to an inner-city school

c. As the previous step indicates, repetition is the key (feed the same message with a new visual setting to the press – media wants new pictures (visuals), it doesn't really care about the explanation (Deaver said that repetition drove Reagan crazy, but it was effective)

d. Put out the line of the day to other groups within the executive branch to make sure that they are all saying the same thing at the same time (Receives calls from Communications Director every day)

e. Coordinate the day's news via conference calls to make sure officials won't say something they're not supposed to, and accidentally leak information before the President approves it

f. Spin Control - Call Reporters and their bosses to make sure that they understand the President's message and clarify it for them

- g. Weekly Seminars w/ various bureaucracies to educate them about what upcoming themes will be
- h. Heavy volume opinion polling, market research, focus groups so that President can learn what the public has in mind
 1. Market Research – Reagan White House looked at viewership of a TV station to see which commentator is most listened to, then they are given breaking news to spread that can make the President look better (symbiotic relationship)
 2. Opinion Polling
 - Result depends on the sample taken (phone, mail-in surveys are useless – must be a random sample)
 - How the question is worded drives the outcome (loaded question)
 - For instance, assistance to poor (positive) vs. welfare (negative)
 - They both mean the same thing, but each has a different connotation
 3. Leslie Stahl (CBS News)
 - She analyzed the difference between what Reagan said and what he did
 - She was nervous that uncomplimentary piece on CBS would hurt her access to Reagan
 - After the piece aired, she got a phone call from the White House
 - The White House told her that it was a great piece
 - She was told that the 4 ½ minutes of pictures that accompanied the editorial overrode her message and helped Reagan’s re-election campaign
 - She couldn’t believe it
 - **What will people believe, the facts or their own eyes?**

VII. Brill’s Content

- A. New News – Information Entertainment
 - a. Unsources Rumors – Presents rumors as facts without clearly checking the sources (in order to be first in breaking a major story)
 - b. “Breathless Developments” vs. Analysis --- Covers things like what did Monica say, rather than
 - c. New News only gives fragmented news rather than analysis
- B. Speed – 24 hour news cycle
 - a. Always something on TV
 - b. Emphasizes that a media outlet wants news – now – to avoid getting outscouped

C. Prociferation of Outlets & Self-Selection of Channels

- a. People only read and see the outlets that share the same points of view as their own
- b. Fox News, a Republican Channel
- c. 3/4 Republicans get their news exclusively from Fox News
- d. 2/3 Democrats get their news exclusively from CNN
- e. People should look to get an unbiased approach

D. Economizing – TV stations/newspapers guilty of this

- a. Very few reporters from local newspapers cover live events in Washington (b/c it is very expensive to pay for reporter's costs to live in Washington)
- b. In order to cut staff and save money, people who do fact checking are eliminated
- c. As a result, information taken from the wire service news is presented as the news, without checking their facts
- d. Wire service news is condensed in local papers (that is why national newspapers should be read – because they have a full staff)
- e. Local papers are business driven, not new driven like the national papers

E. Audience/Public Attention Span

- a. Adult Attention Span – 5 seconds
- b. When a film is well acted, people are turned off because there are no special effects
- c. News plays to attention span (which is why many segments are no longer than 6.2 seconds, in order to give the sizzle – not necessarily what's said)

F. Conflicts of Interest STAR or Reporter

- a. Are journalists reporting the news or are they the news? (Bill 'O Reilly, Larry King)
- b. They are made out to be celebrities so that they can invite people on their shows and yell at them (Bill 'O Reilly)
- c. This is what now passes for news
- d. Are people objective reporters or self-serving to make money (take a certain position when in reality, they are doing the opposite in their real life)

President & Bureaucracy (Control of Executive Branch)

I. Intro – Major Components

- President generally relies on cabinet for 1st year and then decides who he wants to trust

A. Inner Cabinet

- a. 4 cabinet positions (State, Defense, Treasury, Justice)
- b. President often relies on inner cabinet for information

B. Outer Cabinet

- a. 11 cabinet positions (everything not in inner cabinet)
- b. Includes Commerce, Veteran's Affairs, Agriculture, Homeland Security...
- c. These are important positions, but not that important

C. Independent Executive Agencies

- a. When Congress creates agencies, they are created with a specific and narrow mandate without regulatory capacity
- b. CIA, NASA, EPA

D. Independent Regulatory Commissions

- a. Regulate specific economic activity or interest
- b. Independent agency b/c once individuals are selected for the agency, they cannot be removed without cause
- c. Often have long terms in office to make sure that no 1 political party can appoint all of its members
- d. Example: Federal Reserve Board (14 year term – every 2 years, 1 person's term is up)
- e. So, to make sure it is non-partisan, a new person is appointed by the President (b/c no one president is in power for 14 years) to make sure that no one political party benefits
- f. Another Example: National Labor Relations Board

E. Government Corporations

- a. Part private, part public corporations controlled by the President
- b. Began in 1930s with the New Deal
- c. Example: Amtrak (never makes a profit and has to be subsidized by the government)
- d. Example: Tennessee Valley Authority – private companies wouldn't provide electric to rural South because there was no profit in it, so the government had to set up a corporation to provide electric to the South (this agency is still with us)

F. Executive Office of the President (EOP)

- Has become most important inner circle of advisors for White House, especially when coupled with White House staff

MOST IMPORTANT ADVISORY GROUPS

1. **National Security Council** (Headed by a national security advisor)
2. **Office of Management and Budget (OMB)**
3. **Council of Economic Advisors (CEA)**
 - a. Do long term planning for economic decision makers
 - b. Part of Presidential inner circle
 - c. More powerful b/c of their location (in the EOP)

G. White House Staff

- a. Cooks, chauffeurs, secretaries,
White House Chief of Staff (gatekeeper of President)
- b. Has a spoke and wheel organization (everything goes to the President)

II. Policy Making – congress “creates” bureau and parameters

- Bureau – Congress needs to provide necessary funding for bureaucracies
- Parameters – Through legislation, Congress establishes what power is given to agencies (under Article I of Constitution)
- However, once Congress provides money, it is up to the agency to act properly with the money (this sometimes frustrates presidents because agencies don't do what they're supposed to do)
- Agencies create and implement policies

A. Administrative Discretion

- a. Bureaucracies, in addition to creating policies, are responsible for implementing them (For instance, Department of Education has to implement 'No Child Left Behind Act')
- b. There's administrative discretion as long as language in the Congressional law isn't clear – which leads laws/agency to take on a life of their own
- c. It takes Congressional laws that are supposed to be carried out, but it does it at their own discretion (should we do it this month?)

B. Rule Making

- a. Bureaucracies write legislation that have the force of law
- b. Individuals in bureaucracies can't be fired – they are more powerful than elected officials
- c. Federal Register – has industry guidelines
- d. Example: Ketchup must pour out of a container at a certain rate to meet federal guidelines
- e. Once rules are printed in federal register, they become effective 30 days later

C. Administrative Adjudication

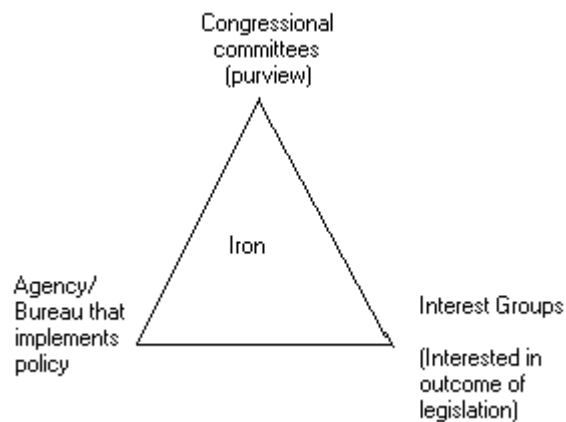
- a. Bureaucracies have a right to force compliance with its rules of law to a right of trial
 - b. EPA – if a company dumps chemicals into a South Florida canal and it is reported, the EPA will prosecute the company, or fine them (they have a quasi-judicial ability)
- Bureaucracies frustrate presidents because they have longer terms and sometimes disregard or put off what the president wants done

III. Controls By Executive

- a. Appoints or Removes Department Heads with or without cause
- b. Issues Executive Orders that have the force of law (FDR – interning Japanese)
- c. Through Office of Management and Budget (OMB), President can reduce a bureau's funding (so the bureau can't do anything b/c it won't have any money)
- d. President can re-organize bureaucracy (you just lost your job and we're going to put it in a different pot)

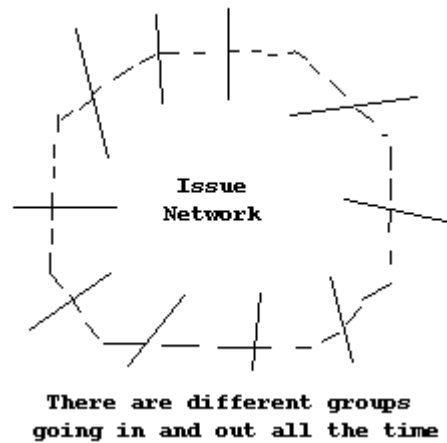
IV. Presidential Tensions/Conflicts with Bureaucracies (Essay – test 2)

- a. Bureaucracies have discretion over **speed/time of implementation**
- b. Can propose legislation
- c. Bureaus are powerful because they give information to other branches of government b/c of the data they collect and b/c of their expertise



V. Iron Triangle

- a. Congressmen from states where agriculture is a primary interest have pro-farm interest groups which want price supports for products and will form interest groups to try to influence legislation
- b. Members of Congress that come from agricultural states want to get onto Congressional Committees dealing with agriculture
- c. Congressional Committees – provide money for legislation
- d. Interest groups give money to Congressmen on Committees to influence their position
- e. Congress then writes laws that are favorable to interest groups
- f. Congress also funds the agency's budget
- g. As a result, President is not involved in decisions that are made



VI. Presidential Tensions/Conflicts with Bureaucracies (Essay – test 2)

1. President is frustrated by bureaucracies and Congress because he is not involved in decisions that are made

2. Controls by President / Executive Branch

- There are limits on who the President can select

1. Political Considerations

- Reagan made sure anybody at the top of his government was in his political party, shared his ideology (this conflicted with getting the best person for the job)

2. Ethics in Government Act

- Blind Trust – Money of public figures in the executive branch are put into assets that can't be changed until they leave office
- Makes sure that a federal official can't profit from information while they are a public official

3. Lobbying

- Someone who has been in an executive agency may not be a lobbyist for 1 year after leaving office (so they can't profit from their policies)
- Deaver (worked for Reagan) was prosecuted for breaking Ethics of Government Act for opening a lobbying office
- Clinton made his executive officials wait 3 years before they could lobby

4. **Public Officials in Executive Branch must reveal all of their financial information (assets)** (this is how we know that Donald Rumsfeld has \$200 million)
 - Public officials get paid much less than in the private sector (only 100-150,000/year)

5. **High Cost of Living**
 - DC – one of poorest cities in country
 - Congressmen live in Maryland and Virginia
 - Enormous economic cost of living in MD and VA

6. **Senate Approval**
 - High offices require Senate approval
 - Senator John Tower – nominated by George HW Bush to be Secretary of Defense – knew issues inside out – one of best qualified, but had 3 problems (grabbed women, alcoholic, involved in Texas politics, so he was considered to be in the pocket of defense industry) – So Senate wouldn't approve him

7. **Civil Service Protection** (Hall Walkers)
 - Once probationary period is past, it is difficult to dismiss someone who's not in the Plum Book
 - Plum Book – Highest jobs that require Senatorial approval
 - It is extremely difficult to fire members of federal agencies
 - In a normal, private corporation, 5% of workers are dismissed each year
 - Less than 1 1/10 of government workers are dismissed for cause
 - Civil Service Protection ensures that an individual can't be fired unless they are guilty of malfeasance or corruption
 - **Hall Walkers**
 - People who the President wants to get rid of
 - They are on the payroll, walk the halls, but don't do anything
 - It is hoped that they get bored and quit (this is a way to force someone to quit)
 - Also, relocating someone could force someone to quit
 - These Hall Walkers stop getting promotions (which may drive them to quit)

3. Regulatory Bureaucratic Tactics

(Civil Service Protection tactics that frustrate the president)

- a. Letter of the Law vs. Spirit of the Law
 - Letter of Law – Congress writes laws expecting a predictable outcome
 - Spirit of Law – Bureaucracies try to come up with ways to get around the law's intention by interpreting them broadly (Fighting Cocaine: They decide whether to go after Regular **or** Crack Cocaine)

- b. Press Leaks to Media
 - People in bureaucracies sometimes release information to the press before the President has been able to present it to the public so that the issue the president wants can't gain momentum

- c. Interest Groups/Congress
 - Interest groups tell people on Congressional Committees that the President wants to pass something that will affect their interests (Congressmen on these committees are interested in interest groups because they provide money for their election campaigns)
 - Example: Budweiser was tipped off that the President wanted to raise the tax on beer; they then included tear away, postage paid cards addressed to Congress on their beer that consumers could drop in the mail – all they had to write was that they were against the tax
 - As a result of Budweiser being tipped off, the issue never gained momentum

- d. Delaying Tactics
 - Once Congressmen are notified by consumers/interest groups that they object to a certain measure, they hold meetings
 - However, a meeting can take 1, 2, 3, or 4 months (because of people saying that they are out of town)
 - As a result, a presidential initiative is delayed from being considered (to appease interest groups) – Many Congressmen claim that they are out of town)

4. Going Native

- Over time, one of the biggest criticisms leveled is that cabinet officials in the Plum Book (3000 positions which require Senatorial approval):
 1. Often times, the people who are appointed have little knowledge, forcing them to rely on regular civil service (can't be fired) for help because cabinet members don't know the agency's rules and behavior
 2. There is little time for cabinet officials to directly oversee and administer the agency because of all the time they spend in meetings with the President and Congress (This puts the day-to-day operations in the hands of the career people (can't be fired))
 3. Peer Pressure by civil servants, directed at cabinet officials (who want to change procedures – and who wants to be ostracized?)
 4. Cabinet officials must be attentive to Iron Triangle (often more loyal to interest groups than the President)

VII. Problems with Bureaucracy

- a. Reorganization Act of 1939
- b. Jurisdictional disputes – overlap
- c. **** Central Clearance ****
- d. Size and Complexity of bureaucracy (JFK – missiles – Turkey – Cuban Missile Crisis)
- e. Examples/Approaches: Reagan vs. FDR vs. Nixon

VIII. 1939 Reorganization Act

- a. New Deal Agencies have gotten out of hand
- b. Some are no longer needed
- c. This act allows the President to transfer, abolish, or consolidate government agencies, unless vetoed by both houses of Congress (in order to deal with the growing bureaucracy)
- d. 10 years later, under Truman, 1949 Reorganization Act allows President to create new bureaucracies and yet it forbids a legislative veto

IX. Jurisdictional Disputes - Overlap

- a. On the issue of the wilderness, the EPA, Department of Interior, and Department of Agriculture can all make a case as to who has the final say
- b. If the President wants to protect a wilderness area, like the Everglades, he will assign it to the agency that is most likely to support preservation
- c. If a President is against the wilderness, he will assign the issue to the agency which is least likely to ensure preservation measures

X. Central Clearance

- a. Refers to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
- b. Gives an image of extending presidential power and limiting the power of bureaucracy
- c. All legislative actions or proposals within executive branch agencies must be cleared through the Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
- d. OMB then may accept, amend, or send back the proposal to the issuing agency
- e. OMB and the relevant White House staff are even more involved with Central Clearance today (past 20 years) than in past years

XI. Office of Management and Budget (OMB)

- a. All legislative actions within the executive branch must be cleared by OMB
- b. OMB in the Executive Office of the President (EOP)
- c. OMB administers money to go to programs as they are presented to them
- d. Before an executive agency law becomes effective, it must go through the OMB
- e. Decisions to accept, reject, or partially support initiatives depends on the President's agenda
- f. Central Clearance allows President to control his agenda (Bureaucracies resent this control)
- g. OMB has become one of the most powerful shadow institutions

XII. Example of an OMB Action

- a. The Department of Education wants to enforce the 'No Child Left Behind Act'
- b. Before the act goes into effect, they agency has to show the OBM how much it will cost
- c. OBM may then say that it wants to try it out and will fund it for 2-3 states to try
- d. The results will then be analyzed to make sure it meets the budget and will fulfill the President's agenda
- e. **Central Clearance is how the President has responded to bureaucracy**

XIII. Size and Complexity of Bureaucracy

- a. Presidents are often kept in the dark about whether their initiative are actually carried out

XIV. (JFK – missiles – Turkey – Cuban Missile Crisis)

- a. JFK ordered missiles to be taken out of Turkey before the Missile Crisis occurred
- b. The Missiles were becoming obsolete and needed to be removed b/c they were becoming a detriment with no redeeming quality
- c. But the missiles were never taken out
- d. CIA flew a plane over Cuba where they saw missiles bases with missiles
- e. Things then heated up between Kennedy and Khrushchev
- f. JFK tells Khrushchev that he had ordered the missiles to be taken out of Turkey
- g. Khrushchev then said, then what are these missiles pointing at us?
- h. Department of Defense was going as slow as possible in taking missiles out of Turkey
- i. JFK assumed that his orders had been carried out

XV. Franklin Roosevelt

- a. Liked creative chaos
- b. Implied a spoke and wheel approach (everything went to him)
- c. Loved to hear diverse opinions
- d. Wanted all cabinet and civil service officials to give him different options
- e. He often wanted friction between different advisors so they wouldn't be guilty of "group think"
- f. Group Think – When people share the same offices, they take on the same points of view and don't provide the President with a full range of options
- g. Reorganization Act of 1939 was passed because FDR found the bureaucracies to be too chaotic

XVI. Ronald Reagan

- a. When Reagan was elected in 1980, through David Stockton (OMB), he would screen all candidates thoroughly before they were offered positions
- b. Criteria he used to give people jobs: (The Reagan Revolution)
 1. Had to be a Republican
 2. Wanted politically conservative people who believed in **Devolution** (Give power back to state/local government)
 3. As much as possible, he didn't not want anybody with a Washington DC background (b/c Reagan believed government was the problem, not the solution)
 4. Was the candidate ideologically consistent with following the party line?
 5. When Reagan became President, he asked David Stockton (OBM) to request from all government agencies: their missions, their organization, and their structure (also, who works there? So that Reagan could change those people to make them more consistent with his criteria for his desired government and lessen federal power)
 6. Worked to examine whether agencies had become captive to their clientele groups (have interest groups taken over control of the bureau?) (Gave different responsibilities to people who supported things that he was against – hall walkers)
 - Reagan believed that things were too liberal in the government
 - The Reagan Revolution makes things more Republican oriented in government

XVII. Richard Nixon

- a. Said that anybody could run domestic politics
- b. He wanted to run foreign politics
- c. Chief Executive Office at the top
- d. Cabinet structure would be formal (every one involved in running their agency)
- e. Wanted strong centralized government
- f. His White House staff started to take over cabinet positions because Nixon felt that cabinet positions were too supportive of interest groups
- g. Halderman and Ehrlichman – cabinet secretaries were brushed aside as they became more important
- h. By doing this however, Nixon doesn't her diverse opinions (leading to his downfall with Watergate)
- i. Nixon then has his officials sign undated resignations slips to control them and then continues to open positions, looking for more loyal staff members
- j. Everything flows through the White House Chief of Staff to the President

Personality Characteristics of Leaders

By Margaret Herrman

(focused exclusively on foreign policy)

Nationalism	Strong emotional ties to nation; emphasis on national honor and dignity
Perception of Control	Belief in one's ability to control events: high degree of control over situations; governments can influence state and nation (Truman – "The Buck Stops Here")
Need for Power	Need to establish, maintain, and project one's power or influence over others
Need for Affiliation	Concern for establishing and maintaining friendly relationships with others
Conceptual Complexity	Ability to discuss with other people, places, policies, ideas in a discerning way (able to weigh relative merits – positives/negatives); Are they open to different view points?
Self Confidence	Individual's sense of self-importance or image of their ability to deal adequately with environment (conceded or lack of self-esteem?)

Using these 6 variables:

1. Nationalism
2. Perception of Control
3. Need for Power
4. Need for Affiliation
5. Conceptual Complexity
6. Self Confidence

Two different types of leaders can be determined,

such as in the book (directors vs. facilitators, but this is directed at foreign policy)

<p>Independent Leader</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High in Nationalism • High in Perception of Control (I know what is best) • High in Need for Power (absolute power corrupts) • Low in <i>Conceptual Complexity</i> (Don't give me facts that oppose my views) • High Distrust in Others (see most other news as prejudice)
<p>Participatory Leader</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low in Nationalism • Low in Perception of Control • High in Need for Affiliation (Need interpersonal support) • High in Conceptual Complexity (Detail oriented, consults lots of sources) • <i>Low in Distrust of Others</i>

I. Hitler (Independent leader)

- a. High in nationalism (Germans control)
- b. High in perception of control
- c. High in need for power
- d. Low in conceptual complexity (lost Stalingrad battle b/c he wouldn't listen to his generals)
- e. High distrust in others

II. Churchill

- a. You don't always have every characteristic of a type of leader
- b. Churchill was an independent leader (he didn't want to be remembered for losing the British Empire)
- c. He was not low in conceptual complexity

III. Gandhi (India) – (Participatory Leader)

- a. Low in nationalism (wanted inclusive India, not exclusive) – assassinated for being low in nationalism for not wanting a separate India)
- b. Low in perception of control (said that there are things outside the perspective of mortal man)
- c. High in need for affiliation (believed that the relationship with people marked the human condition)
- d. High in conceptual complexity
- e. Low in distrust of others (very trusting)

IV. Psychology

- a. Generalization: Before resorting to war, a peaceful, participatory leader is more likely to get more questions answered than an independent leader
- b. Psychology predicts behavior, but it is not definite

V. Reagan (Independent Leader)

- a. Reagan has mixed characteristics between a participatory leader and an independent leader (changes from his first to second term), but leans more towards being an independent leader
- b. High in Nationalism
- c. Perception of control (understood power of the presidency, but didn't believe that only he was in power)
- d. Reagan called the Soviets an evil empire, but within a matter of years, he travels to Iceland to meet Gorbachev, where he strikes a deal to eliminate intermediate range missiles in Europe

“The Presidential Character”

by James David Barber

“Man himself weighs heavily on events. The child is father to the man”
“Personality begins at childhood and for presidents, ends once they have been elected”

I. James David Barber – 4 Basic Assumptions

- a. Personality shapes behavior
- b. Personality is patterned (follows and develops a character with a world view)
- c. Personality interacts with power situation and climate of situation
- d. Character can be predicted based on an analysis of early life, therefore we can predict a president’s success in office

II. Importance of Character – (Defined by Barber)

- a. What is the person’s orientation towards life?
- b. What are they willing to sacrifice?
- c. Does he rate himself based on affection or achievement?

III. Barber's Approach and Methodology

A. Style – a way of acting (not charisma or physical appearance)

1. Rhetorical (Talks) – Talks a lot, but doesn't act, so that people think that something is being done, when it really isn't (Reagan)
2. Personal (Consults) – Based on personal relations, has close informal dealings with aides (small group of advisors) or he could go to public (using bully pulpit)
3. Cognatational (Studies) – Think – tends to study/reflect on an issue, then make up his own mind

B. World View (how does a leader develop a world view?)

1. Primary Beliefs – Good/Evil – issues a person won't compromise on (example: a president who believes that religion plays an important role in public life)
2. Human Nature – Mankind can be trusted or not be trusted – Is human nature cooperative? Confrontational?
3. Social Causality – Cause/Effect within a given society (social economic status helps develop personality
(Rich people believe that poor people are poor because they are lazy)
(Poor people believe that accidents make it hard to rise because of circumstances that make one poor (poor schools, no job training))
4. Central Moral Issues of the Time – Cold War – if you grew up during the Cold War, Vietnam was a central, moral issue. Did US belong in Vietnam? Are guns good or bad? Is abortion good or bad?

C. Power Situation

1. Level of Support? – Does President enjoy high support with Congress, Supreme Court, interest groups?
2. Advantageous or not? – Is power situation advantageous or is there a brick wall? Is it better for a president to wait to introduce initiatives now or at a later time?
3. Caretaker or not? – Should he take no chances and remain passive, even if there is an open window to implement an initiative, or is he overly cautious to the point that the open window passes?

D. Climate of Public Expectations

1. Does President show a sense of progress to the public? Does the public see this individual as capable of progress?
2. Is he able to convince the public that he is above politics (statesman) and is acting in the national interest?
3. Does he personify trust and dignity?

IV. Barber on Personality

- a. Barber says that a president's ability to persuade others is based on his personality
- b. Activity or Passivity
- c. How much energy does a President invest?
- d. Are they workaholics or do they take breaks?
(LBJ – workaholic; Coolidge – more passive)

V. Framework: Activity or Passivity

A. Active – Positive

- a. Spends a lot of energy; enjoys the job
- b. High self-esteem
- c. Tends to be productive in pushing their agenda
- d. Satisfaction in getting job done
- e. Even though they are successful, at some point they feel they are being prevented from moving faster and accomplishing more b/c Congress is standing in their way (lack of cooperation)
- f. They will employ a lot of choices to get their agenda passed

B. Active – Negative

- a. Most dangerous to have in White House
- b. Spends lots of energy, but doesn't enjoy the job (very stressed)
- c. Thrive on caffeine
- d. Like conflict and tension to prove their importance
- e. Has low self-esteem
- f. Expend energy compulsively as if they were compensating for a short coming or to prove their power to others
- g. Seek power and once they get power, they don't want to give it up (don't want to appear weak)

C. Passive – Positive

- a. President doesn't spend much energy, but likes the job
- b. Likes the attention; enjoys the position
- c. Has low self-esteem
- d. Rather than seeking power, they want affection (agreeable, compromise readily, extend a hand)
- e. Not domineering
- f. Soften the hard edge of politics (want people to feel included)

D. Passive - Negative

- a. Don't spend much energy; don't like the job
- b. Reasons they become president:
 1. Someone who means a lot to them influenced their decision to seek office
 - (Key) 2. Serve out of a sense of duty to the country (my country needs me)
 3. Chosen by an *active-positive* to carry on the programs of predecessor

VI. First 4 Presidents

A. Washington (Passive – Negative)

- a. Nudged to the presidency
- b. Ran out of a sense of duty
- c. Didn't want to look like a king
- d. Served his country in 2 wars, so he was not going to rule in chaos
- e. Wanted to create a foundation for the nation
- f. Stepped down to go back to Mount Vernon

B. John Adams (Active – Negative)

- a. Pushed into the job because he was Vice President
- b. His administration passed the Alien and Sedition Act, making it a crime to criticize the leader
- c. Mean spirited guy from Massachusetts
- d. Almost got US involved in a war with France during Napoleon's rise b/c he didn't like their revolution

C. Jefferson (Active – Positive)

- a. Opposed a strong national government until he became president
- b. Didn't use veto power – good relation with Congress
- c. Child of the enlightenment
 1. Believed in social contract
 2. Most important creation – founding of University of Virginia

D. Madison (Passive – Positive)

- a. Indecisive, wishy-washy
- b. Took office at a time world was in chaos (Napoleonic Wars)
- c. Got US involved in War of 1812 because he listened to young war hawks, like Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun whose fathers had been in the Revolutionary War
- d. British land in D.C.
- e. Madison orders generals around who have very few troops at their disposal
- f. Low self-esteem
- g. Little guy complex
- h. People spoke to First Lady, Dolly Madison before speaking to him, because she had more personality

VII. Active – Negative 20th Century Presidents

1. Woodrow Wilson
2. Herbert Hoover
3. Lyndon Johnson
4. Richard Nixon

A. Wilson

- a. Wilson was an idealist (right/wrong)
- b. Part of Versailles Treaty, which ended WWI would have had the US participate in the League of Nations
- c. Wilson made 4 fundamental errors before, during, and after ratification of Versailles Treaty
 1. Prior to the end of WWI, there were Congressional elections. At that time, Wilson gave a speech asking people to vote Democratic after 5 months earlier he gave a speech asking for non-partisanship. To Republicans, the League of Nations participation seems like a tool he planned on using to get a Democrat elected in 1920
 2. When Wilson went to Versailles Conference, he didn't take any Republican aides with him. He didn't bring the Secretary of State. He didn't want any other perspectives.
 3. Returns to US with treaty
Wants the Versailles Treaty approved without changes
Says that the Senate must take its medicine and accept treaty as it was.
Wants a yes/no vote without any changes
 4. Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, *Chairman of Foreign Relations Committee* and *Majority Leader of Senate* said he wouldn't support participation in League of nations
Lodge claimed that Senators would have supported it if he allowed changes.
Using bully pulpit, Wilson goes around campaigning for entry into League of Nations, when he gets a stroke
Instead of US getting into a leadership position, where US could have potentially prevented WWII, Wilson was too rigid to compromise

B. Hoover

- a. Millionaire
- b. Stanford University graduate
- c. In 1928, claimed that he “wants to eradicate poverty in our lifetime”
- d. But then Great Depression occurs in 1929
- e. Mistakes:
 1. Refused any element of welfare (the dole) – if you give Americans jobs/food, it will ruin their rugged individualism and lead to the creation of a socialist state
 2. Refused to use deficit spending (rigid) – Believed that when there was a down turn in the economy, government should raise taxes to increase government spending
 3. Farmers/food – Farmers needed subsidies to prevent foreclosures of farms, but Hoover wouldn’t give them subsidies.
Hoover would support millions being given to businesses, but wouldn’t give unemployment to workers who lost their jobs.
No dole and no change in policy results in the Depression getting worse. By 1932, Hoover only wins 6 states

C. Lyndon Johnson

- a. Created Medicare, Medicaid, Pell Grants, Started a War on Poverty
- b. Negatives:
 1. Lied to the public, so that he wouldn’t look indecisive
 2. Gulf of Tonkin speech had been made before he gave it
 3. Didn’t understand that North Vietnam was fighting for a cause

D. Richard Nixon

- a. Conflicted
 1. In childhood, his father was rough and always failed
 2. In childhood, saw 2 brothers die
 3. Understood at an early age that he was not brilliant, but as a good student who worked hard, he could achieve a lot
- b. Enters politics in 1946
- c. Went after people by saying that they were soft of communism
- d. Loses bid for presidency in 1960
- e. Loses bid for California governorship in 1962
- f. Quits politics
- g. Self-driven to participate again in 1968 Presidential campaign
- h. Wins – has high approval rating
 - Initiatives with China and Soviet Union
- i. 1972 opponent, George McGovern – not a good candidate, flawed
- j. Nixon’s personality type wants to keep power, making him dangerous during a crisis situation

VIII. Active – Positive 20th Century president

1. Teddy Roosevelt
2. Franklin Roosevelt
3. Bill Clinton
4. Harry Truman
5. George HW Bush
6. John F. Kennedy

(With the exception of Truman and Clinton, all are rich and privileged)

A. Truman

- a. His father had money, but then lost it
- b. His father had \$30-40,000, then made some bad investments

B. Clinton

- a. Not from a well-to-do background
(so, he works hard, is agreeable, looks out for himself, and has high self-esteem)

C. FDR

- a. Said the New Deal was a work in progress

D. JFK

- a. Bay of Pigs vs. Cuban Missile Crisis – JFK seems like a different person, in the way that he handles the latter crisis

E. George HW Bush

- a. Said, “Read my lips, no new taxes,” but then he changed his mind because it was necessary

IX. Passive – Positive 20th Century Presidents

1. Ronald Reagan
2. William Howard Taft
3. Jimmy Carter
4. Warren G. Harding

A. Taft

- a. Ran because TR told him to be president
- b. Mrs. Taft wanted him to run so that she could be 1st Lady
- c. Nickname in College was “the lub” because of his weight
- d. Got stuck in White House bathtub
- e. Lawyer, judicial giant, and yet, he is passive (liked to nap, and eat good meals) – felt that presidency had become too active during past administrations

B. Harding

- a. Considered to be the worse President in American History
- b. At his inaugural Address, he said that he would be the greatest or smartest President in American History
- c. Wanted to be loved, rather than respected
- d. Product of his political party – they believed that he was the most electable (and he wanted to support his party’s inner circle)
- e. His father was happy that he wasn’t born a girl because he could never say NO
- f. Had a mistress, Anne Briton, who published his love letters after he died
- g. Harding appoints people to positions of authority who are crooks
 1. Forbes – Director of Veterans Affairs – steals Veteran’s benefits
 2. Teapot Dome Scandal – Secretary of Interior (Fall) allowed a private oil company to drill for oil on federal oil land in exchange for money
 3. Attorney General was getting kickbacks and bribes for prohibition violations
- h. Harding said, “It’s not my enemies, it’s my friends I can’t trust
- i. His personal physician diagnosed him as having stomach problems, when he was having a heart attack (he died a week later)
- j. Death saved him from impeachment
- k. Harding’s wife was slowly poisoning him by slipping arsenic into his drinks because she found Anne Briton’s love letters
- l. Harding died of arsenic poisoning

X. Positive – Negative 20th Century Presidents

1. Calvin Coolidge
2. Dwight D. Eisenhower (Ike)

A. Coolidge

- a. Didn't want to be President, but took the position to restore honor to the presidency after the Harding scandals
- b. Writes a message to the press in 1928, "I don't wish to run again"

B. Eisenhower

- a. Military man in WWII
- b. Ike was a frustrated athlete who went to West Point Military Academy to play football and baseball
- c. He was not a distinguished student
- d. Never voted, believing that a military man should be bipartisan
- e. Saw his cabinet as running the show, with him as final decision-maker

Congress and the Presidency: Conflicts and Cooperation

I. Generalizations

A. More Conflict than Cooperation

- a. When the US was founded, the founding fathers wanted a separation of powers – basic differences between Congress and the President
- b. Framers wanted tension between the two branches

B. Adversarial Relationship

1. Legislative Branch
 - a. Article I – Addresses power of Congress
 - b. The intention of the founders was that the legislative branch would be the dominant branch of government, hence Article I
 - c. Enumerated Powers – example: right to declare war (legislative prerogative)
 - d. Institutional Rivalry
2. Executive Branch
 - a. Article II - President only has a few legislative powers
 1. Calls special sessions of Congress
 2. State of the Union
 3. Recommends Legislation (recommend, but not supposed to initiate (which happens in 20th century)
 4. Can call on Senate for advice/consent on issues (detailed legislative agenda was not intentioned by the founders)
 5. Consent is approval of presidential appointees/treaties
 6. Veto – to overcome the fear of the founders that the legislature would become too powerful, veto power was given to the president (but wasn't specific about when to use it)

C. Differences between Congress and Presidency

1. Serve Different Constituencies
 - a. Presidential – serves the entire nation
 - b. Congress – locally elected
 - c. There is a sense that members of Congress think about local issues, such as for South Florida Senators, would be concerned with Hurricane Relief
 - d. Often, the national interest conflicts with local interest
 - e. Parochial Interests – elected to different terms in office
 - f. Senate 6 years, House of Reps. 4 years, President 4 years (and president can only serve up to 2 terms)

2. Budget/Spending – “Power of Purse” – Boondoggle or Necessity
 - a. Power of the purse is given to the legislative branch
 - b. Boondoggle – slang term for money spent on questionable programs (interest to a local constituency, like a water project in the American west that diverts water from the Colorado River) – this is money that others outside the district/area would not care about
 - c. A Congressman see this as a vote for them locally (they are concerned with re-election), but president wants to save money because it only benefits the people of Colorado and not nationally

3. Loss of Support over Time (Honeymoon/100 days)
 - a. Once a president is in office, he will lose support in Congress over time
 - b. This is because the President has to make hard decisions that will make some happy and other not happy
 - c. Under the constitution, Presidents can't run for a 3rd term and there are no-term limits in Congress
 - d. Unfair Yard stick to Honeymoon – People and Congress give the President the benefit of the doubt when they first get the job (usually, 3 months minimum, 9 months – 1 year maximum)
 - e. 100 Days – many commentators hold presidents to the standard that FDR accomplished in his first 100 days without taking into consideration the circumstances in 1933
 1. Greatest economic calamity
 2. When FDR became president in 1932, he had a democratic Congress, which was supportive of him and his views
 3. Flexible as can be – tries as many different approaches as necessary because the public wanted action (Hoover kept saying that things would get better without action, but they weren't)
 4. 100 Days Congress passes 15 major pieces of legislation
 5. Today's Congress is ignoring problems
 6. FDR's 100 Days Congress created Civilian Conservation Corp. – put young men to work
 7. A bank holiday was initiated
 - f. It's unfair to compare any president's action to FDR's because of the time and the climate of the country

4. President and Congress Serve Different Constituencies
 - a. State Parties – President is nominated nationally. In Congress, people can be a local notable. In the House/Senate, there are often no national figures, whereas the President has a national reputation
 - b. Self-Nomination – often today, a person with economic resources will nominate themselves for the House/Senate (Hillary Clinton – NY, Schwarzenegar – CA)
 - c. Prevalence of Safe Districts – Many districts that are represented in the house are drawn in a way that give one party an overall advantage (only 20 House seats are competitive) – so Presidents can't really influence Congressman because local population will elect the same candidate regardless
 - d. Re-election – Most important to Congressmen. They represent local interests because if they don't, they won't get re-elected (20% of House seats run unopposed)

II. 20th Century Conflicts and Tensions

A. State of the Union

- a. Provides detailed legislative proposal – legislative wish list
- b. TR, Woodrow Wilson, FDR gave detailed legislative agenda
- c. Truman packages a detailed agenda from his State of the Union on Television to maximize publicity

B. Congress Delegates Power

- a. 1921 Budget and Accounting Act – for the 1st time in Constitutional history, Congress puts the cost of running campaigns into White House hands

III. Other Factors in Relationship

A. Congress is Parochial, Local, “Controlled” By Interest Groups

- a. When there is an issue between the White House and Congress, they don't change anything (status quo) – this is conservative change
- b. Congress is controlled by interest groups because they contribute money their election campaigns

B. Boll Weevils (bugs that attack cotton)

- a. Southern Democrats (politically conservative) who undermine initiatives by Democratic presidents that they think are too liberal
- b. Until the early 1960s, the Democrats controlled the American South because Republicans were viewed as the party that ended slavery, so Southern governments became overwhelmingly Democratic (but politically conservative)
- c. FDR, Truman, JFK – all had trouble with Southern Democrats – Boll Weevils
- d. Boll Weevils were most concerned with preventing civil rights
- e. This is why Truman desegregated the Armed Forces by Executive Order because he knew it would never pass through Congress

C. Congressional Norms (not law, but what's expected behavior)

1. Institutional Loyalty

- a. Congressmen take the legislative side in a dispute with the president
- b. A House member's order of loyalty is the House, then the Senate, then the President

2. Reciprocity

- a. You scratch my back, I'll scratch your back
- b. No Congressman is an expert on everything
- c. Someone who doesn't know much about “agriculture” relies on another Congressmen who knows about that subject to direct them
- d. Each Congressman will support another Congressman's interests before they support the President's interests

3. Cues

- a. There are cues in Congress – where a person in Congress knows to follow other Congressmen in voting their way when it is concerning an issue in their district

4. Logrolling
 - a. One person can't push a log, but 5, 10, 15 people behind the log can begin picking up momentum, so when a # of elected officials begins to push for a bill, it passes

5. Seniority and Apprenticeship
 - a. Congress (House and Senate) – the longer you are there, the more political capital you possess
 - b. If you are viewed as a senior leader, you are given positions as committee chairman or subcommittee chairman
 - c. Congress is hierarchical
 - d. Apprenticeship – Assistant Congressman who has learned the ropes
 - e. Senior Congressmen give direction to junior Congressmen
 - f. For the first 2 years of a 6 year term, Senators are not supposed to say anything because they are just learning the ropes – they are not expected to lead
 - g. House and Senate are organized differently than the White House

6. Pork Barrel – Wasteful spending
 - a. What's wasteful for some, isn't for others
 - b. These are goodies – local spending projects that benefit only a narrow percentage of the population
 - c. This is why Congress doesn't want the line item veto (enjoyed by over 40 governors to take out portions of bills that they don't like)
 - d. Example of Pork Barrel project: Building a bridge that will only benefit the Congressmen in his district
 - e. It shows the Congressmen's constituents that he is getting things done for them

IV. Structural Differences

- President (Hierarchical) – power flows top-down
- Congress (Collegial/Egalitarian) – Relative equality among Senators

A. Bicameral Legislature with Different Style (2 Coalitions)

1. House of Representatives

- House Rules Committee
 - 1 committee, like a traffic cop, speeds up or slows down proposed laws because they establish the rules for how proposals will be instituted
 - They can decide to speed up an issue by saying that every congressman can only speak for 5 minutes – if they desire
- Jermaine Committee
 - Directly related to the issue at hand
 - Prevents or encourages amendments to bills

2. Senate

- No Rules
- Filibusters allowed (talk an issue to death)
- For filibuster to end, 60 members have to vote for cloture
- Cloture – ends the debate and allows a vote
- Strom Thurmond – filibustered a bill for over a day
- Cloture is used sparingly because Senators know that in the future, there is an issue they will want supported, but won't have the support for
- In the Senate, there is usually no opposition to a Jermaine amendment

B. Incumbency Advantage

- a. It is rare that an incumbent loses
- b. 92-94% of House members usually win re-election
- c. High 70s% in Senate win re-election
- d. They win re-election because of their name recognition

C. Committee System in Congress (“Bill of Rights, Powers) Decentralized

- a. House/Senate are divided into numerous special committees, which have jurisdiction over issues
- b. Subcommittee Bill of Rights
 - In 1970s, Congress began putting provisions into its rules that gave Congressional committee chairmen more power over legislation
 - Congress started to allow proxy voting (committee chairman may vote for a Senator as a proxy)
- c. Decentralized – There are 15-20 different congressional committees
 - Congressmen/Senators serve on many of these committees and subcommittees and they can’t be in all places at once
 - As a result, people must rely on reciprocity

D. Fragmented Decision Making, Overlapping Jurisdictions

- a. There are many committees with overlapping responsibilities (Homeland Security, Communications, Veterans Affairs)
- b. As a result, it might take 2-3 years to get things done
- c. President wants things done NOW

E. Name Recognition, Blame, and Finger Pointing

- a. Everyone knows the President
- b. But Americans don’t necessarily know the names of Congressmen
- c. Below the major Congressional leaders, Americans don’t know the power brokers behind the scenes
- d. So, Congressmen often frustrate presidents because they delay initiatives and since the public doesn’t know them by name, the blame is shifted to the President

F. Information, Expertise (Staff) and Immediacy (see time)

- a. Information Expertise and Immediacy
 - Congress doesn't have the same information or expertise as the President
 - Congressmen don't have the wide variety of information sources available to the President
- b. Expertise and Staff
 - Congressmen/Senators have 15 staff members
 - President has thousands of staff members
- c. Immediacy (time)
 - Congress has all the time in the world to pass something because they keep getting elected, while the President only has 4 years and wants to get things done in their first 2 years

V. Party Support and Loyalty – Compare with Parliamentary System

- a. American system is not unique, but different
- b. British parliamentary system – normally 90-95% of a party's members support the Prime Minister's initiatives (voting in Parliament conforms along party lines)
- c. President is not the same as Prime Minister (President is not in Congress, so he can't command the same party loyalty)
- d. In America, it is common for members of the president's party to vote against their party's initiatives because they are more concerned with the local reaction to their supporting or not supporting an initiative (concerned with re-election)
- e. In a Parliamentary system, if you cross the party, you are thrown out (not endorsed for re-election by the Prime Minister)

VI. Cooperation

A. Personality of President (Barber Approach)

- a. “Loner” (Carter) or “Coalition Builder” (LBJ)
 1. Lyndon Johnson
 - a. As far as getting cooperation he has advantages:
 - b. Death of JFK
 - c. Former Leader of Senate
 - d. Southerner
 - e. Liberal-Democratic majority in Congress
 - f. Master of intimidation
 - 6’4 – 250 lbs
 - Big, strong – “Johnson Treatment” – beat you over the head if necessary, but gets what he wants, enacted
 2. Jimmy Carter

General Reasons:

 - a. Ran as an outsider against Washington (so he couldn’t get things enacted once he got to Washington)
 - b. Subcommittee Bill of Rights (Johnson didn’t have to concern himself with it – Carter Did)
 - c. Party discipline within the Democratic Party were getting ready to collapse in the 1970s because they were too many different interests

Personality:

 - a. Poor staff coordination
 - b. Too many proposals – no priorities
 - c. Saw “politics as a morality play” (what’s right, what’s moral because he was a born again Christian)
 - d. Airline anecdote – 40-50 members of the media were on Air Force One; Carter sits by himself reading different things that could have been handled by a lower functionary; As a result, he missed the chance to talk to the press, possibly leak some favorable information about himself
 - e. Not one to use carrots, goodies, rewards to instill party loyalty (social lobbying)

B. Nature of the Times

- a. FDR – 1933 crisis
- b. Death of JFK – 1963

C. Public Prestige and Popularity (Poll Driven)

- a. If the President has a higher opinion rating, it is easier to get Congressional support for his initiatives

D. Communications

- a. Reagan was a good communicator
- b. Carter was a bad communicator

E. Mandate “Coat tails”

- a. Mandate – idea that the President has demonstrated by gaining a large majority in an election that the public wants meaningful change – This shows Congress that the President has higher support than Congress does so that the President can change things in the country
- b. 1932 – FDR won; 1936 – FDR took 46/48 states (FDR blew it in 1937-38 – Presidents don’t have a mandate for long
- c. 1964 – LBJ got 61.1% of vote against Goldwater, giving him a large mandate
- d. George W. Bush didn’t have a large mandate – he barely won the election
- e. Coat tails – related to mandate – riding the president’s popularity (members of the President’s party) in order to get elected

F. Climate of the Times – Strategic Position

- a. LBJ after the JFK assassination
- b. LBJ says he has 6 months to govern freely, not 100 days
- c. Uses JFK’s memory to get Civil Rights passed

VII. Presidential Tactics with Congress

A. Office of Congressional Liaison (OCL)

- a. Founded by Eisenhower in 1953-54
- b. Today, its called the Office of Legislative Affairs
- c. Lobbies for Presidential Legislative Proposals
- d. Works out of the Executive Office of the President
- e. OCL has continually had to increase its staff

B. Bipartisan Appeal

- a. very rare today
- b. Used for foreign policy matters until Truman/Ike's time
- c. Around the time of McCarthyism, bipartisanship ended
- d. Bipartisanship – never existed inside the US
- e. Bipartisanship is supposed to unite both parties to do what's best for the nation (such as bipartisan support after 9/11)

C. Social Lobbying vs. Arm Twisting

Social Lobbying

- a. **Goodies/rewards given to a Congressman or Senator in exchange for voting for a presidential initiative**
- b. This could include the use of Presidential box seats, Washington Redskins football tickets, a ride on Air Force One, which could then be used to raise money by taking pictures with the President
- c. LBJ used 32 pens to sign the name LBJ when signing an important piece of legislation – he then gave them to Congressmen
- d. He could also offer a Congressmen a vacation at Camp David

Arm Twisting

- a. Intimidation – pushing Congress around (LBJ – Johnson Treatment)
- e. However, the more you use arm twisting, the less effective it will be

D. White House – Services/Constituency Needs

- a. A Congressman or Senator does a favor for important people in a state
- b. This could include helping someone's son get a job because the person contributes money to Congressional candidates and expects favors in return
- c. Senator or Congressman will then ask the President for a favor to provide a favor their financial supporters want
- d. Clinton got in trouble for this – giving pardons to several individuals
- e. Some people in Iraq that are there are incompetent and are only there as favors

E. Bargaining – “Christmas Tree” Bills

“Buy votes (Stockman Budget) – Party Sanctions (Shelby, Jeffords)

- a. Just like at Christmas time, everybody gets a gift
- b. What starts out as a simple bill, the President gives favors for voting for a presidential initiative (including pork barrel projects)
- c. Stockman (Head of OMB) for Reagan bought votes from Democratic members of the House of Representatives to support Reagan's initiatives
- d. Reagan also promised not to campaign against people who supported his initiatives
- e. Using computer programs to balance the budget, when Stockman found out that the numbers were fake
- f. Stockman subsequently resigned after 2 years of seeing bad economic practice and wrote a tell-all book

Party Sanctions – Can lead candidates to change party affiliation

A. Shelby

- a. Shelby of Alabama challenged Clinton's budget legislative initiatives
- b. When the University of Alabama won the National Championship, he invited the team to the White House
- c. Shelby only received 1 ticket, whereas other Senators received 25 tickets
- d. As a result, Shelby quit the Democratic Party and became a Republican

B. Jim Jeffords

- a. High on special education
- b. Not invited by Bush to No Child Left Behind signing
- c. So, he quit the Republican Party and became an independent

F. Consultation, Study Groups, Task Forces

- a. President sets up consultation, study group, and task forces to look at issues

G. Appeals to Interest Groups

- a. NRA: to its members, the President is Charlton Heston
- b. NRA uses his influence to tell people in House/Senate how they want them to vote (they provide money for their re-election campaigns)

Lobbyists

- a. Hired guns that help interest groups
- b. More apparent in Washington DC since the mid-1970s
- c. In mid-1970s, there was a large expansion of interest groups
- d. Today, there are 8,000 interest groups and 34,000 attorneys acting as lobbyists for them in Washington DC

Grass Roots (Single-Issue Voters)

- a. People who can be appealed to because they are single issue voters
- b. Use the membership of an interest group to write letters

H. Use of the Vice Presidency

- a. President can be in only one place at a time
- b. As a result, he has to give his Vice President some of his duties
- c. Cheney deals with energy
 - a. To lobby Congress, since Cheney has been a 3-term Congressman, he can help push presidential initiatives
 - b. He has friends in Congress who he has a good relationship with who can help get presidential initiatives passed.

2004 Presidential Election

Factors Affecting Republican Victory

- a. Religious Right mobilized more voters than the Democrats
- b. People didn't want to change leadership during the middle of the war (Americans seem to see the War on Terror as a real war)
- c. Issues on State Ballots, like votes to ban gay marriage brought people out to the polls – these people were more Republican oriented
- d. Social Wedge issues
- e. Kerry was not likeable
- f. Clinton's lack of moral leadership during his presidency shifted conservative Democrats to the Republican side – Clinton also couldn't campaign for Kerry because he had a book tour and had heart problems
- g. 18-24 year old didn't come out any higher than in 2000 (17%)
- h. Married women voted for Bush because of security
- i. Traditionalism vs. Social issues
- j. Kerry flip flopped, saying that we shouldn't be in Iraq
- k. Kerry's wife, Theresa Heinz Kerry was seen as a loose cannon
- l. Vice Presidential Candidate John Edwards was supposed to bring more votes along (because he was a Southerner), but he didn't
- m. Bush seemed more decisive to the American people
- n. Kerry failed to energize the public
- o. Kerry spent most of the campaign on the defensive
- p. People were more worried about safety than economics
- q. Supreme Court in 2000 – if they hadn't appointed Bush, he wouldn't have been the incumbent for the election
- r. People affected by the 4 Hurricanes that hit Florida may have voted Republican because of the money that was spread to them

Issues to Focus On:

I. Replay of 2000: Border States

- a. Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas were concerned with guns and the environment
- b. Guns: Even though Kerry was dressed in Hunter's garb, the fact that he didn't have a kill, made the appearance seem to be a joke
- c. Environment: Border states use coal – these states believe that Bush has given them a free ride to destroy the environment
- d. They believe that with high oil prices, coal will be used more

II. Terror and Security

- a. Terror and Security were the #1 issues
- b. People didn't want to switch leaders in the middle of a war
- c. VP Cheney made claims that if you elect Kerry, that we're going to get attacked again"
- d. Despite losing thousands of jobs, Ohio was more concerned with terror than with their own pocket book

III. Economy

- a. Kerry should have emphasized the deficit and the loss of jobs more
 - Kerry should have explained to the Middle Class that while they received \$300 in comparison to higher amount received by the rich, that they would wind up paying an unequal amount – Middle Class didn't care that the rich received more because at least they received something
- b. American Currency – Dollar value has decreased under the Bush administration, meaning the purchasing power of Americans has gone down
 - Deficits are bigger when Republicans are in office
- c. US has a large trade deficit – we import more than \$60 billion/month

IV. Grassroots Campaign

Republican

- a. Churches and neighborhood networks established by Republicans were more effective in getting their core to the poll
- b. Mass mailings to their Christian denominations also played an important role
- c. They called each other and offered rides to the polls for their neighbors

Democrats

- a. Unions weren't energized because while they supported Kerry, they didn't like him
- b. Students were not active
- c. Democrats had to rely on hiring people because they didn't have enough volunteers and this was expensive and not cost-effective

V. Debates

- a. There wasn't a big change in the polls after the first debate
- b. In Europe, this presidential election was looked at as the incoherent vs. the incompetent

VI. Urban-Rural Split

- a. Heavy urban areas were for Kerry
- b. In rural areas, Bush dominated because social issues, like a ban on gay marriage, are more important to them, creating a cultural conflict
- c. 1920s: Wets vs. Dries on Prohibition – Rural area supported prohibition, urban area was against prohibition because they were largely workers

VII. Social – Wedge Issues

- a. 11 states banned gay marriage in a vote on election day
- b. The plurality of the people who vote against gay marriage were Republicans
- c. Stem cells research was approved in California because it was not a wedge issue in California – they see the importance of it, especially after the death of Christopher Reeve

VIII. Florida, Pennsylvania, Ohio Factor

- a. 3 most important states
- b. Kerry won Pennsylvania
- c. Bush won Florida and Ohio

IX. Senate Races Confirm Realignment

- a. Senate races confirm that the country is becoming more politically conservative
- b. Also, never in US history have liberal initiatives been enacted in war time and since Americans because that the war on terrorism is a real war and not just a metaphor, they follow the rally effect of supporting the president
- c. There were also mostly safe seats in the House of Representatives

X. Iraq

- a. US public hasn't directly felt the heat
- b. There has been no draft
- c. There have been no real discussions among families because they haven't been asked to sacrifice anything
- d. American public believes that high gas prices are caused by the war
- e. There has been no rationing – no attempt to tighten purse strings (taxes have gone done, despite being in a war – not up as is the norm during a war)
- f. Instead, deficit spending has been used to pay for the war

XI. Kerry's Poorly Run Campaign

- a. Kerry ran a poor, dismal campaign
- b. He was wooden, not dynamic
- c. He tried to out tough Bush and be more macho than Bush, so when the Swift Boat Veterans brought up the idea that he didn't see any real action in the war, he lost the election
- d. Kerry's emphasis on having served in a war, meaning that he would be well suited to run a war, didn't work

XII. Undecided Vote

- a. 44% - 44% - each political party and each candidate have this as their bedrock support
- b. Bush got 6% of the undecided vote
- c. Kerry got 5% of the undecided vote

XIII. Jewish/Elderly Vote

- a. Jewish: In foreign policy towards Sharon and Israel, Bush hasn't objected to Sharon's policies, such as building a wall – As a result, many Jews voted for Bush
- b. Elderly: Bush passed a Medicare prescription drug act before the election, but don't fund it until after the election (Prescription costs will probably increase higher than the subsidy for drugs)

XIV. Realignment in the Country

- a. Now we have a realignment in the country – the former majority party is now the minority party and the former minority party has become the majority party
- b. Every 40 years, there is usually a realignment

XV. Republican Agenda Will Become Law

- a. Now that there's a Republican majority, so their agenda will be approved and passed into law
- b. If Iraq policy backfires, public opinion will become more anti-Republican
- c. If economy continues going down, Republicans will be blamed
- d. Deficit spending and tax cuts are usually used to get the country out of recession, but they can't be continued for much longer
- e. This could lead to another realignment

XVI. Problems with Allies

- Bush has a low supporting rating worldwide

A. Russian Authoritarianism

- a. Things are not good in Russia
- b. In the Ukraine, Putin's preferred candidate has been given a lot of advantages
- c. What has kept Putin in charge is the Russian tendency to follow authoritarianism

B. Russian Oil

- a. Next to Bush, Putin supports high oil prices because he is exporting oil
- b. So, Putin is taking the oil industry out of private hands, which could test the US-Soviet friendship

C. China/Taiwan Problem

- a. China/Taiwan – Powell said that there is only 1 China and the US opposes an independent Taiwan
- b. Powell told Taiwan to stop creating friction
- c. US Defense Department is selling \$14 billion in missiles to Taiwan, while the One China policy is in play

D. Medicine/Prescription Drugs

- a. Once the elderly find out that seniors are only saving \$12 a month on prescription, when the price of their drugs go up by \$30, they'll turn on the Republicans
- b. Once you become the majority party, interest groups can't be satisfied

E. Bush's policies are going to get him in big trouble

US Presidency and Supreme Court

I. Topics

- a. Judicial Activism vs. Judicial Restraint
- b. Nomination to District Courts
 - Senatorial Courtesy
 - Partisanship
- c. Nomination Criteria
 - Competence (merit)
 - Ideological (partisan)
 - Rewards (“plums”)
 - Pursuit of political support (party)
 - Religion
- d. Confirmation/Selection Process
 - Investigation
 - Interest Groups
 - Senate Committee Hearings
- e. Bork(ing) and Thomas (and Scalia)

II. Judicial Activism vs. Judicial Restraint

- a. Judicial Activism – Broad Constructionalism / Broad Interpretation of Constitution
- b. Judicial Restraint – Strict Constructionalism / “Original Intent”

III. What is Judicial Activism?

- a. Aggressively use judicial review
- b. Apply the American constitution to social and political questions
- c. Use their power to promote desirable social programs and policies
- d. Act as a policy maker, not just interpreting the law
- e. Judicially active judges generally refers to those judges during the Warren Court

IV. What is Judicial Restraint?

- a. More passive
- b. Tends to defer decisions to the lower courts
- c. Only interprets the law (doesn’t promote policies)
- d. Defer issues to the legislative and executive branches unless there is a conflict between the 2 branches
- e. Avoid constitutional questions if possible
- f. Emphatic in opposition to social change through the court system

V. Examples of Judicial Activism

- a. Eisenhower said that appointing Earl Warren as Chief Justice was the biggest mistake he ever made
- b. Warren has been viewed as the most liberal Chief Justice of the 20th century
- c. Warren Court uses judicial review – court overviews laws passed by Congress and signed by the President
- d. The decision to integrate the school system in *Brown v. Board of Education* was the type of judicial activism deplored by conservatives because integration was a social problem they believed should have been handled by legislation, instead of through the courts
- e. In *Baker v. Carr*, there was a political question concerning the idea of 1 person, 1 vote – Supreme Court said that districting lines had to be drawn based upon an equal population, not just geography
- f. In *Griswald v. Connecticut*, was argued because the state of Connecticut prohibited the use of birth control devices – Supreme Court ruled that people had a right to privacy

VI. Examples of Judicial Restraint

- a. Judicial Restraint was part of the Reagan Revolution, especially Rehnquist Court
- b. Rehnquist Court was the most judicially restrained – strict constructionalists (original intent)
- c. Keep social and political questions out of the court
- d. Interpret the law, not make the law
- e. They believe that if the founders intended the people to have a right to an abortion, it would have been in the Constitution (however abortion was legal when the Constitution was written, so it didn't need to be included)
- f. Want action via legislation of the states (some states permitted abortion, while others did not before the *Roe v. Wade* case nationalized the decision g. Female interest groups were prominent in fighting for abortion rights
- h. Church groups opposed *Roe v. Wade*
- i. As an example of a political question that the courts have left up to the executive and legislative branches is the *War Powers Act of 1973* – There has been not test of the act by the Supreme Court
- j. In *Youngstown Steel v. Sawyer*, 1951, the Supreme court take a hassle and makes a decision
- k. This case involved Truman's seizure of the steel mills during the Korean War, claiming that since the country was at war, it couldn't afford a work stoppage that was currently in effect
- l. The Court, pre-Warren, felt that only Congress had the right to empower the president to seize control
- m. This was in the middle of the McCarthy Era, where there was a red scare over Communist infiltration
- n. Truman's popularity was decreasing, while Congressional power was increasing
- o. Supreme Court took away Truman's right to seize the steel mills

VII. Nomination to Federal District Court

A. Senatorial Courtesy

- a. Political custom developed during Washington's presidency, which increased until Jackson's time
- b. If there was a federal appointment in a senator's state, the president consulted the senator of that state first
- c. Originally federal appointments included Post Office, Federal Judgeships, Customs Position
- d. Customs Position – controlled tariffs (this was a very important position because the US didn't have an income tax until 1913, so all taxes came from imported goods – Customs position was a "plums" position)
- e. It used to be that it required the senator to be in the same party before he was consulted
- f. However, today as a matter of courtesy, any senator from a state in question, is consulted, especially if they are of the same party
- g. This is because in the Senate, to be a federal judge, you need the approval of the Senate Judicial Committee
- h. So, courtesy helps ensure that the judges the president nominates are ones that are acceptable

B. Partisanship

- a. Since Carter, if a judge is liberal and judicially active = Democrat
- b. If a judge is conservative and uses judicial restraint = Republican

Carter and Minorities

- a. Rehnquist and O'Connor both went to Stanford Law
- b. Rehnquist, just out of law school, was placed on the Supreme Court staff of Jackson
- c. However, O'Connor became a paralegal in Arizona because no firm would hire a female with a child
- d. As president, Carter tried to get minority candidates confirmed
- e. Carter was most active in putting minorities on the federal district court

Reagan

- a. Wanted strict constructionists
- b. Wanted politically conservative judges
- c. Reagan's Attorney General Meese was ideologically driven against liberal initiatives
- d. These facts affect judicial appointments

Reagan's Criteria for Judges

- a. Must be Republican
- b. Must have worked on his election campaign
- c. Must have state experience, not federal

Attorney General Edward Meese's Presidential Commission on Pornography

- a. Meese said that movies/pictures had become too graphic
- b. At the time, certain books, describing sexual conduct were not allowed in the US
- c. If you see what's on TV today, you see how far the country has come
- d. Meese's Commission wanted to make sexual exploits illegal, but didn't get anywhere
- e. Attorney General working with the President helps determine who gets onto the federal bench

Reagan in 1984

- a. After Reagan was re-elected in 1984, he pushed for judicially restrained judges because he didn't have to worry about getting re-elected again
- b. Reagan makes Virginia District Court the most conservative District
- c. Today's justices are mainly Reagan/Bush appointees

Clinton and Partisanship

- a. Clinton didn't undo partisanship
- b. This was because he didn't enjoy a majority in the House/Senate
- c. Clinton also didn't have a mandate and his health plan, which he was elected on, failed
- d. As a result, he was not going to fight for individuals
- e. Clinton had to accept moderate Democrats with a low profile because of Republican filibustering in the Senate

VIII. Nomination Criteria

A. Competence (merit)

- a. Wisest and most intelligent don't always make it to the Supreme Court
- b. President wants most qualified individual with the most ethical standards
- c. However, scholars agree that court appointees are very much committed giants (Marshall, Warren, Hughes)
- d. There is no tradition of Senatorial Courtesy when the Supreme Court is involved because the judge will judge over all 50 states
- e. However, the Constitution doesn't say the criteria for being nominated to the Supreme Court
- f. Merit is of great importance
- g. Before 1980s, before the president nominated someone, they followed ratings given to nominees by the American Bar Association (ABA)
- h. However, Reagan, especially in 1984, paid more attention to Meese than the ABA
- i. George W. Bush ran against trial lawyers, so he didn't listen to the ABA
- j. As part of competency, the FBI looks in the nominees background
- k. Douglas Ginzburg embarrassed Reagan in 1987 after Reagan nominated him and he was found that have smoked marijuana while on the college faculty

B. Ideological (partisan)

- a. While President wants the most qualified individual, he also wants someone who shares his opinion, whether liberal or conservative
- b. President wants a justice who looks at the world in the same way he does
- c. There is a litmus test for the nomination procedure – a committee representing the president asks questions to individuals being considered about their views on certain issues

C. Rewards (plums)

- a. More than half of the people have been personally acquainted with the President of the US
- b. Seats on the court are given to political allies or other people the president wishes to reward
- c. FDR – appointed people who supported the New Deal
- d. JFK – appointed longtime friend Byron White to the court
- e. LBJ – appointed his friend Abe Fortas to the bench
- f. Clinton – one of his friends were appointed because they were too liberal and too democratic – he could only get moderates (Ginzburg and Breyer)

D. Pursuit of Political Support (party)

- a. President is often seeking political support for his nominations
- b. He appoints people based on demographics
- c. When Reagan was viewed as being against women, he appointed a woman to the Supreme Court

E. Religion

- a. In earlier years, the president wanted at least 1 catholic and 1 jew on the bench
- b. But now, interest groups are more concerned with ideology and fiscal ideology than religion
- c. Religion is not as important in the nominating process today

IX. Problems Faced by Nominated Judges

- a. They have their finances investigated
- b. Have their background checked
- c. Growing partisanship in the Senate – as parties have become more ideologically split, delaying tactics has made this process more difficult

X. Selection Process**A. Investigation**

- a. Services offered by the FBI of investigating an individual's background
- b. Nominees also have their finances investigated
- c. American Bar Associating also ranks nominees based upon their view of the candidate

B. Interest Groups

- a. In the context of the iron triangle, political action committees (PACs) contribute money to political candidates
- b. Interest groups can mobilize grassroots support for the president and his nominees
- c. Until O'Connor and Ginzburg, there were never 2 women on the court at the same time
- d. Interest groups lobby the president and have a wide amount of influence in the selection process
- e. 1 of the biggest criticisms raised against Hugo Black from Arizona, who was trying to be come a Supreme Court Justice, was that he was a former member of the KKK
- f. He was attacked by the NAACP for being a former KKK member
- g. NAACP lobbied against his nomination by FDR

- h. However, Black was pro-African American
- i. If you've studied the McCarthy era, there were people blacklisted for participating in Communist organizations in the 1930s, even if they didn't know they were Communist
- j. Some interest groups try to block nominees based upon their past

C. Senate Committee hearings

- a.
- b.
- c.

XI. Robert Bork(ing)

A. Bork's Nomination

- a. Liberal interests groups oppose Bork's nomination
- b. Liberal groups didn't like him based on his earlier political career because he was the one who fired Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, after two others refused, in what is referred to as the Saturday Night Massacre
- c. Bork was nominated by Reagan
- d. Interest groups (labor, women, pro-affirmative action) attack his nomination

B. Bork's Qualifications

- a. When Justice Lewis S. Powell dropped from the bench, it opened a position for Bork in 1987
- b. Bork had been a Yale Law School Professor
- c. He was Nixon and Ford's Solicitor General
- d. So, he fit competency
- e. He was also on the Court of Appeals
- f. So, Bork fit nomination criteria

C. Bork's Ideology

- a. Religion was not an issue with Bork, but it was his record on the bench that made him a target
- b. Ideological balance when vacancy took place was 5-4
- c. If a more conservative individual was put on the court, it would tip the court
- d. Reagan nominated Bork because he was ideologically consistent as a conservative Republican and he had a brilliant legal mind and was a strict constructionist
- e. Bork was opposed to Earl Warren's actions on the court
- f. Bork believed that original intent was the only important criteria
- g. He opposed privacy rights (so he was opposed by the ACLU, Planned Parenthood, NOW) – so Interest groups go after Bork
- h. Bork was opposed to affirmative action, believing it was unconstitutional (so ethnic groups, like NAACP joined interest group fight against Bork)

D. Bork's Record

- a. Bork's record came from being a Yale professor, where he taught based upon his views
- b. He spoke to groups and had also been solicitor general
- c. So, it was believed that he would turn Warren Court decisions upside down
- d. Bork's legal philosophy offended many professors and he was controversial with the liberal left

E. Senate Judiciary Committee

- a. If Bork would have kept his mouth shut and answered questions as presented, he would have been able to blunt the attacks
- b. However, Bork used his vocabulary and experience to make himself appear superior during the question and answer part
- c. He appeared for a few days of hearings in front of the committee
- d. Edward Kennedy accused Bork of trying to turn back the clock on all initiatives of the 1960s
- e. Proceedings are televised
- f. 100 witnesses testify for and against him
- g. Bork testified for 32 hours
- h. The longer he is there, people begin calling and writing their congressmen and senators to vote against him (58 oppose –42 support)
- i. So, for the first time in the American Supreme Court and presidential relation, social questions determined whether a he would be placed on the court, instead of the tradition nomination criteria

- j. Democrats gained control of the Senate in the 1986 mid-term election
- k. Nominees were now being *Borked*, now process was known as **Borking** – oppose a candidate because of social view and the view of the nominee

F. Reagan Appoints Ginzburg

- a. 6 Days later, Reagan nominates Ginzburg to the Court
- b. Then a marijuana charge is discovered, causing him to withdraw his nomination

G. Anthony Kennedy

- a. Reagan then nominates Anthony Kennedy because
 - 1. He kept a low, legal profile
 - 2. More Moderate than Bork/Ginzburg
 - 3. Avoided making definitive statements on points of law (claimed that abortion was acceptable under certain exceptions) – law can always be interpreted

H. George HW Bush Nominates David Souder

- a. Souder is moderate and keeps a low profile
- b. So, there was no opposition to him

XII. Clarence Thomas

1. Takes Thurgood Marshall's Seat on Court, June 1991
 - a. In June 1991, Thurgood Marshall retired
 - b. So, Republicans needed an African American to appoint to the bench
 - c. Marshall was viewed as judicially active with a reputation for integrity
 - d. Marshall earlier in his life had traveled by car through the American South in the 1930s and 40s picking up test cases for the NAACP
 - e. He was a brilliant legal defender, who was most famous for winning the *Brown v. Board of Education* case
 - f. One critic of Thomas said, Thomas was not competent to shine Marshall's shoes

2. Thomas' Background

- a. Like Marshall, Thomas is an African American
- b. Thomas had been at Yale Law and moved rightward
- c. Thomas came from the lowest socioeconomic level in the African American community
- d. After he graduated from Yale, he criticized the NAACP for stigmatizing Blacks, to make them seem like they need extra help
- e. However, because he rose from poverty and went to Yale Law, he was seen as an exemplary person in the Black community
- f. A Black conservative posed problems a Black liberal wouldn't
- g. Democrats considered voting against Thomas, but he was black and Blacks vote Democratic

3. Senate Judiciary Committee

- a. People thought that Thomas was going to be Borked
- b. But members of committee were all white, so it wouldn't look good on TV to Bork him
- c. Thomas had been coached before meeting the committee
- d. Committee's questions were directed at Thomas' view of abortion
- e. Thomas said he couldn't respond to upcoming cases because he didn't know all the facts and so, he could only comment on past cases)
- f. Republicans on Committee defended Thomas, while Democrats attacked
- g. All Democrats except 1 voted against Thomas
- h. All Republicans voted for Thomas
- i. This created a tie, so the vote was thrown to the full Senate

4. Anita Hill

- a. Senators staff members try to dig into Thomas' past
- b. At this time, it is discovered that Anita Hill, 10 years earlier, as a staff attorney, reported to a friend that her boss, Clarence Thomas in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was sexually harassing her
- c. This news prompted the Senate to delay its vote
- d. Hill was promised confidentiality if she spoke with the Committee
- e. But her name was leaked to the press
- f. Thomas and Hill went back and forth
- g. Thomas said that this was nothing but a "high tech lynching"
- h. The word "lynching" had a powerful impact
- i. 52-48 approve Thomas
- j. Hill was bitter after the fact, but a majority of Senators didn't agree with her view of harassment

5. Book About Anita Hill

- a. There was a book written and published after the event, where Hill is torn apart
- b. Her reputation was ripped to shreds
- c. Author made a fortune on the book
- d. 3-4 years ago, author of the book came out and said that he was fed the information for his book and that much of what he said was lies
- e. Then, the author attacked Thomas

XIII. Antonin Scalia

- a. If you like the controversy caused by Bork and Thomas, wait till you hear the Scalia hearings (if Bush attempts to elevate him to Chief Justice)
- b. Scalia believes that original intent will be the rule of the court

US Presidency and Budget

I. 19th Century – Classical Economics

A. Adam Smith – *Laissez-Faire*

- a. Smith wrote the *Wealth of Nation* in 1796
- b. Most thinkers were largely supportive of classical economics
- c. Smith argued that the government's job was to stay out of the economy – and that very little government intervention should be used
- d. Smith argued that the government should:
 1. Protect the country from foreign attacks
 2. Ensure that contracts between individuals and businesses are adhered to and followed
 3. Help develop infrastructure (like roads and highways, where the private sector wouldn't participate because of a lack of profit)
 4. Encourage Free Trade

B. David Ricardo – “Iron Law of Wages”

- a. Classical Economist of early 19th century
- b. Argued that economies should keep wage at subsistent levels (just enough to keep the work force alive) because raising wages would lead workers to have more children and then the marketplace would be flooded with more workers, causing wages to go down because labor is based on supply and demand

C. US Situation

- In the 19th century, the government usually ran a surplus because there was always an emphasis on having a balanced budget

1. Revenues

- a. In the 19th century, revenues came from tariffs on imported goods
- b. Sale of public land as the country moved from east to west
- c. So, there was a budget surplus

2. Spending

- a. Total budget was less than \$1 billion

3. Changes in Economy

- a. At the end of the 19th century, the US has become the largest industrial country in the world
- b. Tariffs are becoming a problem as other countries try to keep equilibrium

II. 1905 – 1918

- President and the executive branch are becoming more active from 1905-1918
- By 1905 (under TR), a deficit began for the 1st time because of new agencies that were created
- As a result, Congress gives TR the power to cut spending he disagreed with (Presidential Right of Impoundment)
- Presidential Right of Impoundment establishes a precedent of a more active role by the President in finances

A. Income Tax

- a. Income Tax – Amendment 16 is passed into the Constitution
- b. It originally began as a 2-3-4% tax that hit only 2-3% of American tax payers
- c. It was a progressive tax
- d. The tax didn't hit many people at first because the US wasn't spending very much
- e. After the US increased its spending, the percentage would go up, along with the number of people it effected

B. Federal Reserve Board, established in 1913

C. WWI Impact

- a. 1914-16 – US is neutral and becomes wealthier as a result by selling goods to countries in the war
- b. This shifts the US economy from being a debtor nation to being a creditor nation
- c. When US entered in 1917-18, there was an increase in governmental spending, thus increasing the deficit

III. Post WWI

- After WWI ends, there are 3 Republican Presidents that come into the White House
- All 3 of these presidents are influenced by the Classical Economic Theory (*laissez-faire* – hands off the economy)

A. US Position

- a. \$10 billion that had been owed to the US is returned, giving the US more money
- b. US industry because of the government's war spending becomes more productive
- c. There are new products on the market that people want, including autos, radios, refrigerators, washing machines...
- d. This is a cycle in the business sense that's a boom period

B. US Domestic Politics Leads to Roaring 20s

- a. US keeps tariffs high
- b. Cuts both income taxes on businesses and individuals
- c. Cuts federal spending by half (\$4 billion to \$2 billion)
- d. Fairly strong easy money policy, pushed by Federal Reserve Board to keep interest rates low
- e. New products in the market with little regulation and low interest rates, leads to a boom
- f. Stock Market booms
- g. This creates the Roaring 20s

C. Treasury Secretary Mellon

- a. Mellon was Treasury Secretary for all three Republican presidents in the 1920s
- b. He was the 2nd richest American in the country, next to Rockefeller
- c. He believed in a trickle-down theory to improve the economy

D. Budget and Accounting Act of 1921

- a. Under the Budget and Accounting Act, President is responsible for the budget of his executive branch agencies
- b. President, through advisors in the Treasury Department, is to ask each federal agency what their requirements are
- c. If the president feels the requirements are wise, Congress will give them the money

E. Mellon and Hoover: 1929-1932

- a. Mellon wanted the rich to become richer, so cutting taxes was the best policy
- b. Favored economic isolationism for US (trade policies should benefit US over other countries)
- c. Mellon wanted increased cutting of government spending
- d. Continued *laissez-faire* economics
- e. These were damaging policies to have in the midst after the Great Depression hit, when the economy was in decline and not booming

IV. Great Depression: 1929 – 1939

- 25% of Americans are unemployed

A. Hawley-Smoot Tariff, 1930

- a. Hawley-Smoot Tariff is passed in the 2nd year of the Depression
- b. Hoover is in the White House and Mellon is his Treasury Secretary
- c. Republicans are in control of Congress
- d. Hoover is handed Hawley-Smoot tariff
- e. This act raises tariffs higher in order to protect Americans from foreign competition in American markets
- f. Thousands of economists urged Hoover to veto this measure, fearing that other countries would retaliate and do the same
- g. But, Hoover signed it anyway and as economists predicted, other countries raised their tariffs as well
- h. Thereby, the Depression spread to the rest of the world
- i. Hawley-Smoot is an example of logrolling and Christmas Tree bills rolled into one
- j. By 1931, US trade with Canada dropped by 75%
- k. Japan was also hit hard because the US was their largest importer
- l. This resulted in Japan seeking an empire, subsequently invading Manchuria, in order to get what they needed

B. Keynesian Approaches

- Elements: Fiscal Policy and Monetarism
 - In 1936, John Maynard Keynes published *A General Theory of Economics, Income, and Money*, outlining Keynesian Economic Theory
1. Keynes' Fiscal Policy
 - a. More government spending
 - b. Taxing and spending
 2. Keynes' Macroeconomic Approach
 - a. Argues for a macro economic approach, in which governments and large industries would interact in ways that would lead to economic growth
 - b. (Macroeconomics studies large industries; Microeconomics studies individual companies)
 - c. Adam Smith never addressed phenomena of large corporations
 - d. Large corporations are very active in the economy
 - e.
 3. Keynes Wants Government to Help Increase Aggregate Demand
 - a. Keynes said that the way to address the Depression is to increase government spending
 - b. Cut taxes on individuals and corporations (businesses)
 - c. Wants Government to act as the mediator in issues between labor and management by introducing laws that will balance the needs and interest of both sides
 - d. When the economy reverses course and improves, government should decrease spending and allow the natural order to restore again
 - e. Keynes believed that intervention should only be used in an emergency
 - f. Later economists wanted to use it all the time, figuring that it would avoid having any down cycles

C. New Deal - FDR

1. Increased Government Spending – Public Works Projects
 - a. FDR Puts people back to work by introducing public works projects
 - b. These work projects improve infrastructure
 - c. Increased employment put more money into the marketplace and thus raised aggregate demand
2. Entitlement programs – Social Security
 - a. Entitlement programs are programs that are inherently deserved for be a citizen
 - b. This program is Social Security
 - c. Need to be a certain age and an American citizen
 - d. Entitled to receive Social Security whether you're rich or poor
3. View of Hoover
 - a. Hoover was looked at as a cold hearted individual who saw people's lives falling apart around him and did nothing
 - b. This is why Hoover wasn't re-elected in 1932
 - c. FDR made the general welfare of the public the president's job
4. Roosevelt's Recession: 1937-38
 - a. Social Security takes money out of the economy
 - b. As a result, when the economy improves, businesses object to the program
 - c. However, US is still not spending enough to get out of the downturns because global trade is down

D. WWII

- a. WWII clears up problems with the economy
- b. Government increases spending, leading to an economic boom
- c. Government spending and the shortage of labor during WWII made the economy boom

V. WWII Aftermath

A. US Situation: 1945 – 1960 (External Factors)

1. Strong Dollar
 - a. US has emerged as the top economic power
 - b. Unlike after WWI, after WW2, US assumed leadership role
 - c. FDR is instrumental in pushing for **Bretton Woods Conference** in 1944, where he attempts to craft a relationship for the post-war world
 - d. American dollar will become the world currency
2. Fixed Exchange Rate: \$ to Gold – 35:1
 - a. At Bretton Woods, a fixed exchange was established
 - b. Every \$35 = 1 ounce of gold
 - c. All countries would be pegged for dollars that could then be used to buy gold
 - d. For example, if 10 French Francs = \$1, then dollars can be used to buy gold on the world market
 - e. This gives paper money value
 - f. This system was from 1945-1971
 - g. Russians were not part of the Bretton Woods Agreement
3. US Economic Aid
 - a. Marshall Plan – provided economic aid to Europe (Germany, England, France)
 - b. Dodge Plan – provided economic aid to Japan
4. US Foreign Investment
 - a. Investment comes from businesses (aid comes from government)
 - b. American companies buy steel from foreign countries and build cars in other countries
 - c. By 1953-54, European economies improve
5. US Trade Deficit
 - a. US begins importing more than exporting, resulting in a trade deficit
 - b. With more jobs being created in other countries, aggregate demand will increase in other countries and then they'll buy US products

6. Changes in Economy

- a. As trade deficit gets bigger, gold : \$ ratio gets bigger

B. US Situation / President (domestic)

1. Harry Truman - Keynesian

- a. Internally, Truman was a Keynesian

2. Dwight Eisenhower - Keynesian

- a. Internally, Eisenhower was a Keynesian

3. Full Employment Act, 1946

- a. Full Employment Act guarantees full employment
- b. Guarantees high economic growth
- c. Guarantees low/stable consumer prices
- d. (These were optimistic assurances, but in reality, it was hard to get these things truly put into effect)

4. Taft-Hartley Bill, 1947

- a. Anti-labor, pro-business
- b. Prohibits labor unions from harming the economy/businesses by permitting president to order a cooling off period, forcing labor to go back to work until negotiations can begin
- c. This was passed because Congress, which was Republican controlled, felt that labor unions had become too powerful in the US
- d. Truman vetoed this bill, but the Republican Congress overrode his veto

5. Increased Military Spending in the 1950s

6. 1950s Growth until 1958-59

VI. JFK and LBJ

A. JFK – Unemployment Fears (union pressures, etc)

- a. Kennedy brings Harvard educated economist, Heller, to head the Council of Economic Advisors
- b. Heller is a Keynesian, so he tells JFK that unemployment fears will be helped by cutting taxes, despite \$10 billion deficit
- c. In 1960s, unions were powerful in American politics and were democratic

B. CEA – Heller – Keynesian → cut taxes despite deficit of \$10 billion

- a. Heller, trained as a Keynesian, tells JFK to raise government spending and cut taxes
- b. JFK, in his inaugural address, was calling American public for sacrifice, so how was he going to spend more?
- c. JFK also didn't have a mandate, so he follows Heller's advice
- d. Because JFK was assassinated, he never put the tax cuts into effect

C. LBJ “Initiates” – 1964-65 Boom (\$14 billion tax cut)

- a. LBJ gets the tax cuts initiated
- b. Individuals, now with more money in their pocket, spend more
- c. Businesses investment more in their companies when they pay less taxes – as a result, more workers are hired
- d. Economy goes into a boom because of the tax cut

D. 1966 – Guns and Butter (Full Employment etc. = inflation)

- a. At the end of 1965, CEA tells LBJ that there's full employment
- b. After full employment is reached, people want higher wages, but there is a surplus of goods in the marketplace
- c. Inflationary pressure is building, but LBJ doesn't increase taxes, like he should have
- d. Guns (military spending) vs. butter (consumer spending)
- e. At the time, US is in Vietnam
- f. LBJ could either cut military spending and lose Vietnam or he could cut consumer spending and lose the unions
- g. As a result, he does neither

E. Johnson's Fears – Great Society and Vietnam Debate

- a. Johnson fears that if he raises taxes or cuts government spending, his Great Society would be threatened
- b. LBJ also doesn't want public attention on Vietnam because there is a troop buildup

F. Johnson Raises Taxes, 1968

- a. In the summer of 1968, LBJ finally raises taxes
- b. He imposes a 10% surtax for one year, but it's too late
- c. Surtax is added to personal and business incomes

VII. Monetarism and Chicago School (Friedman)

A. Monetarism

- a. Nixon is worried about inflation
- b. He is influenced by Monetarism, created by Dr. Milton Friedman from Chicago School
- c. Monetarism opposes Keynesian policy
- d. Monetarism claims there is too much government spending

B. Nixon – CEA –Stein (Increase Money Supply 3-5%, No Wage and Price Controls, No Tax Increases = NFL ↓ 1969-1970, ↑ 1971)

- a. Stein who heads the CEA says, instead of worrying about government spending, all the government has to do is do as little as possible and allow the Federal Reserve Board to constantly increase the money supply between 3-5%
- b. There is no wage and price control at this time
- c. There are not tax increases at this time

C. Federal Reserve Board

- US, unlike most other countries, doesn't have a central bank that controls the money in circulation
- Federal Reserve Board has 7 individuals, including 1 chairman, each serving a 14 year term

1. Discount Rate

- a. Federal Reserve Board sets interests rates so that banks in the US may borrow from the Federal Reserve Board so that banks can borrow at a rate set by federal government

2. Margin Requirement

- a. Reserve requirement – member banks are told to either increase or decrease money kept on hand for demand deposits
- b. This allows Federal Reserve Board to decide how much money to keep in circulation

3. Buying and Selling of Government Securities

- a. Short-term Treasury (T)-Bills / Long term T-Bonds
- b. Federal Reserve Board member banks buy/sell government securities
- c. When Board sells securities, it is taking money out of the economy
- d. When it buys securities, it is putting money back into the economy

4. Overnight Loan Rate: Bank-to-Bank

- a. Banks loan money to other banks
- b. This rate is set by the Federal Reserve Board

D. Election – 1972 Worries

1. 8/15/1971 – Wage and Price Controls
 - a. In 1791, prices jump 6.5%
 - b. Seeing the economic slowdown, coupled with inflationary pressures, leads Nixon to order wage and price controls on 8/15/1971
 - c. Government sets prices for gasoline
 - d. Unions and workers are told that their wages were frozen (they can't get raises during this time)

 2. Increase (Burns and Fed) of Money Supply (9%)
 - a. Nixon pressures Federal Reserve Chairman Burns to increase the money supply by 9% until the election is over

 3. US OFF Fixed Exchange Rate – Float and Other Countries' Currencies Re-valued
 - a. Nixon takes the US off of the fixed currency exchange rate because of high price of gold (couple hundred dollars/ounce)
 - b. Nixon then said that he was revaluing other currencies, so the purchasing power of the US dollar is cut by 10%

 4. Stagflation – 1973 Oil Shocks
 - a. 1973 oil price shocker = inflation
 - b. This results in prices going up dramatically
 - c. Stagnant economy and inflation leads stagflation (something economists had said could never happen)

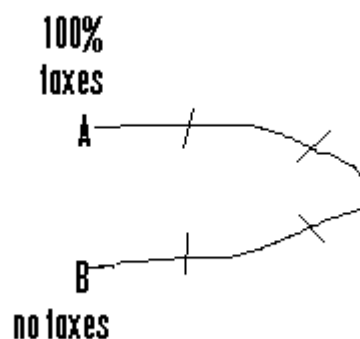
 5. Jimmy Carter
 - a. Carter inherited economic problems
 - b. After 2nd round of oil embargo in 1979, oil prices skyrocket
 - c. This results in more stagflation
 - d. As a result, people are angry at Carter
- As a result of JFK/LBJ/Nixon, Monetarism and Keynesian Approaches are discredited

VIII. Reaganomics – (Supply-Side, Trickle Down)

A. Tax Cutting

- a. Reagan follows trickle-down theory
- b. Cuts taxes on individuals and on businesses
- c. Cuts government spending as well

B. Laffer Curve



- a. Laffer curve looks for the drop point where by cutting taxes, it gives consumers more money
- b. Supply of goods is increased
- c. Tax cuts would make people and businesses work harder

C. Criticized by Bush “voodoo” / Skin “simplistic and harmful”

- a. Laffer curve was criticized by Bush as “voodoo”
- b. Federal Reserve Chairman Stein said that it was too simplistic and that it would be harmful because it would increase deficits greatly

D. Theory – Little Support Except Politically (cuts spending = growth of government)

- a. Theory had little support because there was no evidence to show that the curve would work
- b. Politically, it cuts spending and cuts the growth of government
- c. Reagan favored cuts in social government programs, feeling that entitlement programs had become too large
- d. This is a pro-big business approach

E. US Trade Deficit ↑

- a. As Laffer curve is implemented, trade deficit sky rockets

F. US As Debtor Nation

- a. Sky rocketing trade deficits, lead the US to lose its status as a creditor nation, becoming the biggest debtor nation on earth
- b. American dollar appreciates in value, making it harder for US to export (this is what directly led to the US increasing its trade deficit)
- c. As a debtor nation, US has to sell more government securities as the deficit gets larger
- d. Securities are purchased by foreign investors, foreign companies, and well-to-do people in the US who see the US as a good place to invest their surplus dollars

G. Reaganomics Increases Deficit

- a. Reagan ran to cut taxes
- b. Reagan said he would cut military spending
- c. Reagan cut social programs
- d. However, military budget doubles, while social spending drops 10%
- e. So, deficits keep getting larger
- f. There is a \$100 billion deficit each year of Reagan's presidency

H. Criticism of Reaganomics

- a. Critics said Reaganomics didn't work because social programs were not cut enough (voters would not support an end to Social Security)
- b. Tax cuts were done over 3 years, instead of 1 year
- c. Deficits increased enormously
- d. The rich got richer
- e. American growth rate was largely no worse and no better than in previous times
- f. The only difference was that military spending went up, along with having stagnant social program
- g. From Washington – Carter, there was a total deficit of \$1 trillion
- h. In Reagan's 8 years, he doubled the deficit that took the course of American history to build up to (\$1 trillion)

I. President George HW Bush

- a. Created a \$1 trillion deficit

President as Commander-in-Chief and Chief Diplomat

I. Constitutional Provisions

- a. Constitution is vague, allowing overlapping jurisdiction between the executive and legislative branches
- b. Founders favored isolation and not being involved in world affairs
- c. Founders were very clear that power to make foreign policy should be shared by executive and legislative branches
- d. Foreign policy is shared between the two branches because the founders feared that presidents would get us involved in foreign policy confrontations because it served their political purposes

II. Inherent Conflict

- Madison – Congress controls purse strings and can short circuit a presidential initiative by withholding funds
- Truman – “I make American foreign policy” – this is a real departure from earlier claims that foreign policymaking is shared

A. Presidential Advantages

1. Unity of Decision Making
 - a. Assumption that 1 person is better suited for foreign policymaking than a group of people
 - b. President is going to be more decisive than 435 congressmen, enabling unity of decision making
2. Secrecy and Fait Accompli (accomplished fact)
 - a. Policy has already been initiated, then the public is informed about it
 - b. Once Reagan gives the order to bomb Libya, Congress and the public has no choice but to accept that it happened (although they can complain about it)
3. President has more information and more expertise than Congress

4. Decisiveness

- a. Truman – “The Buck Stops Here”
- b. Citizens look to the president during an international crisis
- c. There is a rally effect during a crisis, where everybody supports the president, at least in the short term)

5. Media Coverage

- a. Media provides the president with cover
- b. Embedded journalists in Iraq are a good way for the president

B. Congressional Responses

1. War Powers Act, 1973

- a. President may commit military forces overseas as long as he informs Congress within 48 hours as to why it’s necessary to put US men at risk
- b. Military may stay in Combat for 60 days, with an additional 30 day extension without a declaration of war as long as Congress is informed
- c. If Congress doesn’t approve of a war after 60-90 days, troops are brought home
- d. This law was vetoed by President Nixon, but overridden by Congress (All US presents since have griped about War Powers Act)

2. Intelligence Briefings

- a. Members of the House and Senate Congressional committees have access to national intelligence briefings
- b. They may call agents of the CIA, or other intelligence agencies to testify before them in order to enhance their information

3. Appropriations, especially for Foreign Aid

- a. 80% of US foreign aid is military assistance programs
- b. Top 5 countries of US military assistance are Israel, Egypt, Colombia, Iraq, and Afghanistan

4. Fact – Finding Missions

- a. Congress members go overseas to troubled areas to
- b. In the process, they gain greater expertise that they can use to ask better questions when intelligence officials testify before them

5. Hearings

- a. Congress conducts special investigative sessions to hear in depth analysis of executive branch decisions
- b. Example: Church Committee – investigates assassinations attempts on foreign leaders, revealing the CIA’s actions of the 1960s and 70s
- c. 9/11 Commission – investigated failures of the intelligence community for not foiling 9/11 attacks

6. Inclusion of Amendments in and on Presidential Treaties

- a. Example: Jimmy Carter/Senate and the Panama Canal Treaty
- b. Democrats controlled House and Senate, but Carter still had trouble getting the treaty approved
- c. Senate accepted the treaty, but put an amendment on it, saying that if the Canal fell into hostile hands, US had the right to intervene to defend it

C. Executive Branch Agencies – National Security

1. National Security Council (NSC)

- a. NSC is headed by a national security advisor
- b. It is located in the president’s office in the White House
- c. It is designed to give the president advice/options in foreign policymaking (never intended to conduct covert operations)
- d. Depends on the president as to whether the NSC is used as the primary or secondary element in foreign policymaking

2. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

- a. Branch 1 – director of intelligence does analysis;
Branch 2 – director of operations undertakes covert operations
- b. Nobody knows its annual budget, but it is probably \$25-30 billion per year
- c. Presidents until 1980 saw the CIA as a non-partisan resource to give a president options, regardless of partisanship

- d. (Reagan's appointment of William Casey is partly the reason why the CIA has been politicized)
 - e. CIA is generally successful in launching small, covert operations that do not require substantial military components
 - f. However, in large covert operations, it must bring in the military's Special Forces (example: the Bay of Pigs fiasco – it failed because it was a large covert operation that was too big for the CIA and required military intervention)
3. Department of Defense (DOD) – Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)
- a. Until WW2, there was a Department of War, which included Department of Navy, Army...
 - b. The National Security Act of 1947 reformed the executive branch and the military
 - c. In 1947, CIA, NSC, and DOD were created
 - d. DOD – currently receives \$400 billion today for military budget
 - e. DIA, which is under the command of the DOD, reports on the military capabilities of foreign nations
 - f. JSC – uniformed heads of the major military branches, provide information almost daily
4. National Security Agency (NSA)
- (agency is larger than a council)
- a. NSA is headquartered in Fort Mead, Maryland
 - b. NSA is where we keep our eavesdropping and wire tapping capability
 - c. It is also where spy satellites are housed
 - d. NSA also does code-breaking
 - e. They answer to the president
5. Department of State and its special operations groups
- a. State Department officials are Foreign Service officers
 - b. They provide the president with information about other countries

III. History

A. Washington – Advice & Consent – Treaty Powers w/ W. Georgia Indians

- a. Washington reads the constitution closely and tried to uphold the letter of the constitution
- b. He consulted Senators, wanting to discuss with them a treaty with the Indians in Georgia (foreign neighbor)
- c. West Georgia was considered to be frontier land
- d. However, the Senate delayed in giving him advice
- e. This prompted Washington to give up on seeking their approval
- f. Washington sets precedent that Senate only provides consent/advice for treaties
- g. Washington wanted to negotiate with tribes to treat them as a foreign nation

B. Lincoln – Ex Parte Milligan and Ex Parte McCordle

- a. Ex Parte Milligan – setting up of military tribunals and the suspension of habeus corpus during time of war (George W. Bush cited this as a precedent for keeping prisoners in Guantanamo)
- b. Ex Parte McCordle – private homes may be searched if military believes there are weapons there during a war (Supreme Court said this was a temporary measure and was not allowed after the war ended)

C. FD Roosevelt – Curtiss – Wright Decision

- a. Gives President (FDR) authority to speak for US in diplomacy
- b. In 1934, 35, 36 – Neutrality Acts passed – Congress feels that if US gives weapons and assistance, US would be put into conflict. Also bans US citizens from traveling on ships of nations at war (b/c Americans were on Lusitania that was sunk in WWI and that was one of the justifications for going to war)
- c. Curtiss-Wright – One of the major aircraft manufacturers in US in 1930s
- d. FDR wanted to sell planes to countries in WW2, but Congress said no Supreme Court said that President could sell to other countries during war if the President feels it is in America's national interest

D. Truman Doctrine & Steel Mills Issue

1. Truman Doctrine

- a. Truman scared the American people
- b. Truman said that if America doesn't support free people against Communist invaders, they will fall and will eventually be a threat to the people of the U.S.
- c. Doctrine served as a declaration of Cold War
- d. \$400 million in aid is given to Greece and Turkey to fight Communist invaders

2. Steel Mills Issue

- a. In *Youngstown Steel v. Sawyer*, 1951, the Supreme court take a hassle and makes a decision
- b. This case involved Truman's seizure of the steel mills during the Korean War, claiming that since the country was at war, it couldn't afford a work stoppage that was currently in effect
- c. The Court, pre-Warren, felt that only Congress had the right to empower the president to seize control
- d. This was in the middle of the McCarthy Era, where there was a red scare over Communist infiltration
- e. Truman's popularity was decreasing, while Congressional power was increasing
- f. Supreme Court took away Truman's right to seize the steel mills

E. LB Johnson – Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

- a. Passed 416 – 0 in House w/ 19 not present (passed w/ only 4 hrs debate – quick decisions often lead to mistakes)
- b. Passed 89-2 in Senate after only a few days of debate
- c. Gave Johnson broad power to handle war in Vietnam
LBJ used Resolution to orders daily sustained bombing of N. Vietnam (2/7/1965 – 3/31/1968 after attack at Pleiku)
- d. LBJ bombed along Ho Chi Minh Trail, N. Vietnam Capital – Hanoi, and Port City – Hai Phong
- e. Attacks only stopped on Christmas Day – “Christmas Truce”

F. War Powers Act of 1973

- a. President may commit military forces overseas as long as he informs Congress within 48 hours as to why it's necessary to put US men at risk
- b. Military may stay in Combat for 60 days, with an additional 30 day extension without a declaration of war as long as Congress is informed
- c. If Congress doesn't approve of a war after 60-90 days, troops are brought home
- d. This law was vetoed by President Nixon, but overridden by Congress (All US presidents since have griped about War Powers Act)

G. Boland Amendment & Iran-Contra Affair

- a. Boland amendment – a specific prohibition passed by Congress, forbidding American military and intelligence operations in Nicaragua
- b. Iran Contra – Reagan administration was on record as saying that it wouldn't negotiate with terrorists
- c. However, the administration got Israel to provide weapons to Iran
- d. Profits from arms sale were sent to Contras in Nicaragua
- e. One Arab newspaper released information about this and it opened up a firestorm in the US
- f. When the Iran-Contra scandal was investigated, it embarrassed Reagan
- g. People began seeing the CIA, NSC, and the White House in a negative light

IV. Presidential Powers (Accrued & Developed)

- Accrued Powers – built up over time

A. Executive Agreements

- a. Executive agreements don't need to be ratified by the Senate
- b. Lend-Lease Act – FDR agreed to lend Churchill military equipment that they would repay the US for after the war
- c. This act wouldn't have passed in a treaty because Senate was still isolationist
- d. Treaties supercede an act of congress
- e. Executive agreements do not supercede acts of Congress
- f. Another president can rescind a previous executive agreement, however they usually don't because it can create problems with other countries
- g. Although, Clinton favored Kyoto Treaty to curb global warming, while Bush opposed it

B. Executive Privilege

- a. President can withhold information from the Senate and not release it, if they cite national security concerns
- b. Nixon didn't release information about Cambodia for 2 years

C. Emergency Powers

- a. When a president feels that national security is at risk, he can act unilaterally and conduct extralegal activities

D. Executive Orders

- a. Executive orders are extralegal actions by the president to bypass Congress
- b. Truman desegregated the American military in 1949 by executive order because Congress would never have supported integration

V. US Foreign Policy Phases

A. Isolationism (1789 – 1898)

B. **Interventionism (1898 – 1918)** – US picks and chooses intervention

C. **Neo Isolation (1919 – 1941)** – Neutrality Acts passed to prevent US from going to war

D. Internationalism (1945 – 1991/2000)

- a. US would cooperate with other countries to further American interests
- b. Examples: Marshall Plan, NATO, Containment, GATT, IMF/World Bank, OAS
- c. General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) – formulated in 1944 at a meeting in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire to push countries to lower tariffs in order to increase interdependence between countries so that the chance for another Great War would be decreased
- d. International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank provide assistance to poor countries

E. Unilateralism ? 2001 --

- a. American government will take actions necessary for its own national interest without close consultation with its allies
- b. Looks at the United Nations and the international organizations as irrelevant
- c. Orientation towards a *Pax Americana* (American Peace)
- d. Demonstrates American Exceptionalism – we have the power and might – now get out of our way

VI. Why Complexity of International Relations & US Internationalism

A.

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.
- f.

B.

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

VII. Framework for Analysis (Model) and Approaches

- A.** Personal and Political Tactics
- B.** Character and World View
- C.** Training and Background
- D.** Style
- E.** Office Management
- F.** Key Events
- G.** Policy Proposal
- H.** Implementation
- I.** Assessments

VIII. JFK – Alliance for Progress

A. Character

- a. Kennedy is an active-positive
- b. Fairly confident individual
- c. He's a cold warrior
- d. Think about the president's character and world view

B. World View

- a. JFK sees the world as bipolar – 2 countries fairly equal in power are in a tug of war for global advantage
- b. Kennedy saw the “Red Menace”

C. Value System

- a. Is JFK an aggressive (push a policy) internationalist (work with other countries) or a cautious realist?
- b. JFK has a strong interest in foreign policy
- c. JFK was more geared towards foreign policy than domestic policy
- d. During the 1960 debates, JFK identified as a dangerous missile gap between the US and Soviets in a bipolar struggle
- e. JFK cited launch of *Sputnik*
- f. Kennedy promised to close the missile gap and put a man on the moon

D. Style

- a. Self-confident
- b. High self-esteem
- c. He's personable, so his operational style was geared towards personal contacts
- d. He's the director type – He does not delegate – He takes responsibilities himself
- e. Favored group problem solving
- f. Favored multiple advocacy over group think
- g. Enjoyed conflict and debate – felt comfortable

E. "Training"/Preparation

- a. Education – Harvard Graduate, attended Choate (one of the 5 best prep schools in US)
- b. Residence – In the 1930s, his father Joe Kennedy, was ambassador to Great Britain, so he lived in London
- c. WW2 Expertise – Kennedy served in WW2, which helped to shape his view once in office – WW2 also resulted in opposing appeasement while in office
- d. McCarthy Era and its impact – Republicans under McCarthy attack Democrats and Truman as being soft on Communism (This was important because Kennedy wanted to appear to be tougher than Ike on the stance of Communism)

F. In Office

- a. Distrust of State Department – Kennedy felt it was too slow and not dynamic
- b. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was largely a political appointee and not close with Kennedy
- c. Kennedy was going to make foreign policy through the NSC
- d. Reliance on Outsiders – Kennedy went to academic community
- e. McGeorge Bundy, a Harvard Ph.D. graduate, was JFK's national security advisor

G. Advantages

- a. Relies on many sources of information – Bay of Pigs fiasco made JFK realize that the larger his group of advisors was, the better policy would be
- b. Good aides/advice – Kennedy picked good aides that provided him with good advice
- c. Kennedy's aides meshed with his personal and political skills
- d. JFK saw foreign policy as a process with a beginning, middle, and end (preparation, education, and execution – following a regularized routine)

H. Disadvantages

- a. No primary advisor
- b. No single voice, results in over reliance on JFK as an individual
- c. Lack of Coordination – without the State Department, it was difficult to coordinate foreign policy
- d. No “Institutional Memory” – there was friction between NSC and Department of State
 - 1. Any bureaucracy builds up institutional memory
 - 2. This memory involves remembering past decision and takes on certain views over time
 - 3. Institutional Memory allows a bureau to tell the president why current policies may not work out because they didn't work out in the past
 - 4. Since State Department was not consulted by JFK, they do not make sure that JFK's policies will work properly

I. Alliance for Progress

- Aimed at Central and South America
 1. Humanitarian
 - a. South and Central America have a low standard of living compared to the US
 - b. Kennedy was concerned with the poverty there during the 1950s
 2. Counter-revolutionary – No more Cuba's
 - a. In 1959, Castro took power
 - b. In 1960, Castro throws out US businesses
 - c. Eisenhower then establishes an embargo on Castro
 - d. In Late 1960, Cuba starts a friendship with the Soviets
 3. Good Neighbor Policy
 - a. In the 1930s, FDR abandoned American interventionism as practiced by TR w/ his Roosevelt Corollary
 - b. FDR withdrew American forces from Central America
 4. Trip as Youth
 - a. As a youth, JFK visited South America and saw the poverty there
 - b. He also visited there on a fact-finding mission when he was a Senator
 5. Nixon's Visit to Venezuela – 1958
 - a. In 1958, Vice President Nixon's car is attacked by a mob in Venezuela
 - b. This was reported widely by the US press
 - c. Vice President was almost killed
 6. Campaign Promise - Tampa
 - a. JFK launches a trial balloon for Alliance for Progress in Tampa because it was the largest Hispanic city
 - b. In trial balloon, JFK said that the US government would send \$7 billion in economic aid to help South America get out of their predicament

J. Tactics

- a. Goes on live television to raise the specter about growing revolutions in Latin America (to scare the American public)
- b. Dispatches Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon to give a speech, promising \$1.1 billion in American aid to Latin States
- c. Through the legislative liaison process, Kennedy introduces to Congress his wish for economic aid for Alliance for Progress (so far, it had only been promises)
- d. Kennedy has his OAS representative introduce a resolution to OAS
 1. Put arms embargo against Castro's Cuba, where OAS members promise not to sell arms to Castro
 2. Cuba will be kicked out of Inter-American system, or OAS (Kennedy wanted Latin American countries to show regional solidarity towards his policies in order to get US money)
- e. However, there is a bureaucratic inefficiency in the US
 3. Money sent as assistance became part of the bureaucratic Agency for International Development (AID), which is involved with countries all over the world and not as concerned with Latin America
 4. Since Kennedy devoted little attention to his State Department and didn't consult with them, they act very slow in delivering money

K. Results

1. Positive
 - A. Increased per capita income in Latin countries
 - B. Food Supplies, classrooms, text books, hospitals, and highways are all the result of the Alliance for Progress
 - C. Improved relations between US and some of the Latin Republics

2. Negative

- A. Military Coups in Latin America in 1962-63 in 5 Countries (Guatemala, Argentina, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Peru)
 - a. Coups bring right wing dictators to power
 - b. It was believed that money would create democracy, but it didn't
 - c. US was forced to continue giving money to the dictators because they were anti-Communist (but this harms the intent of bringing reform to all of Latin America)

- B. Slowed by Conservative legislation in Latin America because real problems were largely due to land and tax initiatives
 - a. In those cases, true reform would have hurt Latin American elites in those countries
 - b. Land reform – break up big estates and redistribute it (elites were not going to allow this)
 - c. Tax reform – raise taxes on the well off (elites were not going to allow this)

- C. Bureaucratic Inefficiency in the US
 - a. Money sent as assistance became part of the bureaucratic Agency for International Development (AID), which is involved with countries all over the world and not as concerned with Latin America
 - b. Since Kennedy devoted little attention to his State Department and didn't consult with them, they act very slow in delivering money

- D. Political appointees are not behind programs because

- E. Emotional attachment by decision-maker to Latin America was very low because there were bigger events in the world to deal with, like Russia and Vietnam

- F. The appeal for the money in Latin America itself was low because \$600 million per year didn't go very far, being spread out through all of Latin America