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for the IB Diploma

PAPER 3

Political Developments in
the United States (1945–1980)
and Canada (1945–1982)

SECOND EDITION

Mike Wells, Nick Fellows

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the United States (1945–1980)
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Mike Wells, Nick Fellows

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1 Introduction

Introduction

This resource is designed to prepare students for *Political Developments in the United States (1945–1980) and Canada (1945–1982)*. This is Topic 15 in HL Option 2, History of the Americas for Paper 3 of the IB History examination. It introduces the main political developments of the period, and examines a selection of the political systems that characterised the Americas at the time. This resource also explains some key political terms and concepts.

Between 1945 and the 1980s, most countries in the Americas faced social, economic and political challenges. This resource investigates how the USA dealt with these challenges immediately after the Second World War and beyond. It also examines the survival of democracy and unity in Canada, with specific consideration of the situation in Quebec.

ACTIVITY

Democracy was the form of government in North America in the period 1945–79. It is therefore important that you have a clear understanding of the characteristics of democracy and how it functions. Using the internet and any other resources available to you, research the different types of democracy. What are the main characteristics of this form of government? What circumstances can cause the success or failure of a democracy?

Themes

To help you prepare for your IB History exams, this resource will cover the main themes and aspects relating to *Political Developments in the United States (1945–1980) and Canada (1945–1982)*, as set out in the *IB History Guide*. In particular, it will consider the following key areas:

- The domestic policies of Truman and Eisenhower in the USA. How far did their policies meet the needs of a changing society in the USA? How effectively did they cope with the transition from war to peace? How successful were their policies in dealing with anti-communism and civil rights?
- Kennedy and the New Frontier, and Johnson and the ‘Great Society’ in the USA. How successfully did these presidents maintain the living standards of the American people? How far were the policies of the New Deal continued and developed? Why did the powers of the president and federal government increase?
- The domestic policies of Nixon, Ford and Carter in the USA
- How successfully did Nixon tackle domestic problems in the USA? What was the significance of the Watergate scandal for Nixon and for the presidency? How did Ford try to repair the damage done by Watergate and how well did he deal with mounting economic problems? How successful was Carter in dealing with economic and energy problems? How did differences develop within the political parties and what impact did this have on US politics?
- The domestic policies in Canada from St Laurent to Trudeau
- To what extent did domestic policies transform Canada? Why was the Liberal Party so dominant in Canadian politics during the period under study? Why did Trudeau dominate Canadian politics for so long?
- The causes and consequences of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the attempts at separatism.
- Why had Quebec been resistance to change? Why did *Union Nationale* dominance end? What were the long- and short-term causes of the Quiet Revolution? How far did the Quiet Revolution transform Quebec? Why did the demand for separatism grow? Why was separatism defeated?

Key Concepts

Each chapter will help you focus on the main issues, and to compare and contrast the main developments that took place in the history of the USA and Canada during the forty years after 1945. In addition, at various points in the chapters, there will be questions and activities which will help you focus on the six Key Concepts – these are:

- change
- continuity
- causation
- consequence
- significance
- perspectives.

Theory of Knowledge

In addition to the broad key themes, the chapters contain Theory of Knowledge (ToK) links, to get you thinking about aspects that relate to history, which is a Group 3 subject in the IB Diploma. The *Political Developments* topic has several clear links to ideas about knowledge and history.

Political historians still debate why democracy survived in some parts of the Americas – notably in Canada and the USA – and not in others. They also question why some Latin American states experienced revolution, why populist or military regimes were installed in others, and why some of these regimes survived significantly longer than others. In addition, the period 1945– c.1980 witnessed an increased role for governments in domestic affairs. This can be seen particularly in social welfare policies such as Lyndon Johnson’s ‘Great Society’ in the USA, and in Lester Pearson’s welfare programme in Canada. Such policies also have links to ideas about knowledge and history.

When trying to explain the policies implemented by leaders, the motives of those leaders, and the success or failure of the policies themselves, historians must decide which evidence to select and use to make their case and which evidence to leave out. But to what extent do the historians’ personal political views influence them when selecting what they consider to be the most important or relevant sources, and when they make judgements about the value and limitations of specific sources or sets of sources? Is there such a thing as objective ‘historical truth’? Or is there just a range of subjective historical opinions and interpretations about the past, which vary according to the political interests of individual historians?

You are therefore strongly advised to read a range of publications giving different interpretations of the theory and practice of the various policies attempted by the states discussed in this resource. This will help you gain a clear understanding of the relevant historiographies (see Further reading).

IB History and Paper 3 questions

Paper 3

In IB History, Paper 3 is taken only by Higher-Level students. For this paper, it specifies that three sections of an Option should be selected for in-depth study. The examination paper will set two questions on each of the eighteen sections – and you have to answer three questions in total.

Unlike Paper 2, where there are sometimes regional restrictions, in Paper 3 you will be able to answer *both* questions from one section, with a third chosen from one of the other sections. These questions are essentially in-depth analytical essays. It is therefore important to study *all* the bullet points set out in the *IB History Guide*, in order to give yourself the widest possible choice of questions.

Exam skills

Throughout the main chapters of this resource, there are activities and questions to help you develop the understanding and the exam skills necessary for success in Paper 3. Your exam answers should demonstrate:

- factual knowledge and understanding
- awareness and understanding of historical interpretations
- structured, analytical and **balanced** argument.

Before attempting the specific exam practice questions that come at the end of each main chapter, you might find it useful to refer *first* to Chapter 7, the final exam practice chapter. This suggestion is based on the idea that if you know where you are supposed to be going (in this instance, gaining a good grade), and how to get there, you stand a better chance of reaching your destination!

Questions and mark schemes

To ensure that you develop the necessary skills and understanding, each chapter contains comprehension questions and examination tips. For success in Paper 3, you need to produce essays that combine a number of features. In many ways, these require the same skills as the essays in Paper 2. However, for the Higher-Level Paper 3, examiners will be looking for greater evidence of **sustained** analysis and argument, linked closely to the demands of the question. They will also be seeking more depth and precision with regard to supporting

knowledge. Finally, they will be expecting a clear and well-organised answer, so it is vital to do a rough plan **before** you start to answer a question. Your plan will show straight away whether or not you know enough about the topic to answer the question. It will also provide a good structure for your answer.

It is particularly important to start by focusing **closely** on the wording of the question, so that you can identify its demands. If you simply assume that a question is *generally about this period/leader*, you will probably produce an answer that is essentially a narrative or story, with only vague links to the question. Even if your knowledge is detailed and accurate, it will only be broadly relevant. If you do this, you will get half-marks at most.

Another important point is to make sure you present a **well-structured** and **analytical argument** that is clearly linked to **all the demands of the question**. Each aspect of your argument/analysis/explanation then needs to be supported by carefully selected, precise and relevant own knowledge.

In addition, showing awareness and understanding of relevant historical debates and interpretations will help you to access the highest bands and marks. This does not mean simply repeating, in your own words, what different historians have said. Instead, try to **critically evaluate** particular interpretations. For example, are there any weaknesses in some arguments put forward by certain historians? What strengths does a particular interpretation have?

Examiner's tips

To help you develop these skills, all chapters contain sample questions, with examiner's tips about what to do (and what not to do) in order to achieve high marks. Each chapter will focus on a specific skill, as follows:

- Skill 1 (Chapter 2) – understanding the wording of a question
- Skill 2 (Chapter 3) – planning an essay
- Skill 3 (Chapter 4) – writing an introductory paragraph
- Skill 4 (Chapter 5) – avoiding irrelevance
- Skill 5 (Chapter 5) – avoiding a narrative-based answer
- Skill 6 and Skill 7 (Chapter 6) – using your own knowledge analytically and combining it with awareness of historical debate, and writing a conclusion.

Some of these tips will contain parts of a student's answer to a particular question, with examiner's comments, to help you understand what examiners are looking for.

This guidance is developed further in Chapter 7, the exam practice chapter, where examiner's tips and comments will enable you to focus on the important aspects of questions and their answers. These examples will also help you avoid simple mistakes and oversights which, every year, result in some otherwise good students failing to gain the highest marks.

For additional help, a simplified Paper 3 mark scheme in Chapter 7. This should make it easier to understand what examiners are looking for in your answers. The actual Paper 3 IB History mark scheme can be found on the IB website.

This resource will provide you with the historical knowledge and understanding to help you answer all the specific content bullet points set out in the *IB History Guide*. Also, by the time you have worked through the various exercises, you should have the skills necessary to construct relevant, clear, well-argued and well-supported essays.

Background to the period

The United States

Throughout the 1930s, there was an unparalleled expansion of the role of the federal (central) government in the USA. To deal with the effects of the Great Depression, President Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced a wide-ranging programme of reforms known as the New Deal. This included extending subsidies to farmers, financing large-scale public works, reforming banks, giving money to the arts, passing trade union reforms and generally making the government responsible for 'relief, recovery and reform'. Such efforts challenged traditional beliefs in free enterprise and economic *laissez faire* ('let it be'), and Roosevelt was accused of becoming a dictator by his political opponents and those who disliked government intervention in the economy.

In 1939, the Second World War broke out in Europe. Up to this time, the USA had adopted a largely isolationist attitude towards European affairs, although this policy did not extend to Latin America or the Caribbean – or to the Pacific, in which region the USA was competing with Japan. However, it soon became clear that this would be a global conflict. Even before the USA officially entered the war in 1941, Roosevelt signed the Atlantic Charter – a document outlining the Allied vision of the post-war world. The Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in December 1941 brought the conflict to the Pacific. Shortly afterwards Germany declared war on the USA, allowing a full-scale US commitment to the Allies' fight against Hitler.

The Second World War transformed the US economy and had a profound effect on US society. Unlike many European countries, the US escaped direct damage from bombing raids. The need to produce war material resolved the problem of overcapacity in US industrial production that had characterised the Depression years. Total production (GNP) rose from \$101 billion in 1940 to \$215 billion in 1945. Unemployment – which had not dropped below 1.5 million in the New Deal years – virtually ended.



Figure 1.1: Economic superpower: US aircraft production October 1942.

By 1945, the federal government directly or indirectly employed half the US workforce. The federal budget had risen from \$8.5 billion in 1940 to over \$100 billion. Goods were rationed, prices were controlled, rents and wages were regulated, and federal bureaucracy had broadened to previously unknown levels. The USA's position on the world stage had also

expanded. Throughout 1945, the US occupied large parts of central Europe and, later, Japan. As a result of this, the US was responsible for feeding millions of people across Europe and Asia. It was a leading power in the United Nations and had global responsibilities.

In the space of about 15 years, therefore, the USA underwent dramatic changes in both domestic and foreign policy, and there were many who welcomed the changes. However, not all Americans were enthusiastic about these developments.

- Traditionally, the power of the federal government was limited in comparison with that of individual state governments, but this had now changed. Many Americans wanted a greater balance between federal and state control.
- Many people felt that the taxes and controls on economic activity were essentially un-American, and some even claimed that they were communist in nature.
- As the US economy boomed in the post-war years, cities grew. Some people felt that this had caused an erosion of traditional small-town values.
- The role of women and African Americans began to change, and many groups regarded this as an unwelcome development.
- Membership of labour organisations rose dramatically during and immediately after the war, as people hoped there would be improvements in working conditions and wages. Between 1945 and 1947, there were a great many strikes.
- More generally, there was a feeling that people wanted life to return to 'normal' after the difficult years of the Depression and the Second World War.

Canada

In the early years of the 20th century, the Canadian economy relied heavily on the export of agricultural goods. As a result, the country was severely affected by the Great Depression, when the price of these goods declined dramatically. The export market, on which Canada relied, collapsed and unemployment reached record levels. The Liberal government that was in power when the Depression began did little to address the crisis and was defeated in the 1930 election. However, the Conservative government that replaced them offered only reform to tariffs, which made the crisis worse as it damaged exports, on which Canada relied. There was a change of direction in 1935, but the government was defeated and the Liberals were returned to power.

Overall, the Liberal and Conservative governments, who were in power during the 1930s followed a policy of non-intervention. When, in 1935, the Conservative Prime Minister, R. B. Bennett offered the Canadian people a 'New Deal', similar to that offered to the American people by Roosevelt, he was not only defeated electorally, but the measures were ruled unconstitutional.

Despite the failure of either government to introduce a programme of welfare and economic reforms during the worst of the crisis, the popularity of the two major parties remained largely intact. This was also seen in provincial elections, as seven of the provinces were still ruled by the Liberals in 1935, with only Alberta ruled by an anti-liberal group. In this sense, despite the difficulties, the population rejected any alternatives that were offered and returned parties and politicians that offered little state help.

The provinces made some attempts to bring in reforms, some of which were far-reaching, but in general their impact was limited. As a result, recovery was slow. It would not be government policies that ultimately solved the problems caused by the Depression, but an upturn in the trade cycle and, most importantly, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Many of the volunteers who fought in the war were from the relief camps and work projects that had been established to deal with the Depression and the resulting unemployment.

Canada emerged from the war a prosperous nation. By 1945, GNP had more than doubled from its pre-war levels. In addition, Canada had the third largest navy in the world and the fourth largest air force. The war strengthened the political and economic ties between Canada and the USA, and the countries signed two key defence agreements: the Ogdensburg Agreement (1940), which established a Joint Board to integrate defence, and the Hyde Park Declaration (1941), which coordinated the two nations' war efforts. Critics such as Donald Creighton have argued that the Second World War brought Canada too far into the USA's sphere of influence, particularly economically. The links between the two countries continued in the immediate post-war period, as Canada courted US investors.

Ultimately, it was this close relationship that brought Canada into the Cold War, which developed almost as soon as the Second World War was over. William Mackenzie King, the Canadian Prime Minister from 1935 to 1948, preferred an isolationist policy. However, it was clear that staying out of a conflict in which the US was so deeply involved was not an option for Canada. Therefore, although this resource focuses on domestic policies, an awareness of Canada's key role in the 40-year Cold War is necessary in order to gain a clear understanding of domestic decision-making.

Domestically, Canada experienced both turbulence and prosperity in the post-war years. Union membership and the number of strikes increased, but prices were low and incomes rose. The war had provided employment opportunities for women, but as men returned from the conflict women were expected to go back to their traditional roles in the home. Canada's population boomed, increasing by 50% between 1946 and 1961. The social changes

caused by this population growth were most noticeable in the development of a new, suburban commuter lifestyle, as Canada shifted from being a producer to a consumer society.

ACTIVITY

Before you begin to work your way through this resource, try to find out a bit more about the USA and Canada in the 1930s and 1940s. Were the experiences of the Great Depression the same in both nations, or did they vary? What involvement did each country have in the Second World War?

Terminology and definitions

In order to understand the political developments that took place in the USA and Canada after the Second World War, you will need to be familiar with a few basic terms – both technical terms and those relating to political ideologies.

Cold War

This term is used to describe the conflict between the capitalist USA and the communist USSR, which began soon after the end of the Second World War and lasted until 1991. During this time, these two superpowers tried to extend their influence and spread their ideologies throughout the world. Although there was no actual fighting between the two countries, both powers became involved in conflicts elsewhere in the world, most notably in Korea and Vietnam. In Europe, there were disputes over the communist takeover of much of Eastern Europe, but Berlin became the centre of the conflict. The Cold War spread to the Americas with the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, and the US often supported dictatorial regimes in other parts of Latin America in the hope of preventing the spread of communism.

Communism

In theory, communism is a social and economic system in which all significant aspects of a country's economy are socially owned and managed. This means that they are run by the state or by local communities or cooperatives, rather than by the wealthy classes. Such social ownership is intended to create a classless society, in which wealth is shared out equally among the people. These ideas came to prominence with the writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. However, as practised in the Soviet Union, communism became a form of state socialism in which political power lay with the Communist Party and the economy was organised on the basis of central planning and collectivisation.

Democracy

There are a number of types of democracy, but the most common form – and the one seen in practice in the Americas – is representative democracy, whereby the people elect representatives to rule on their behalf. In this system, the participation of the people is limited to the election, and it should be noted that in several Latin American states, 'the people' were only a small minority. The most common form of representative democracy is liberal democracy. In this form, there are checks on the power of the state so that the

freedom and rights of individuals are preserved. There are regular, free elections and society is organised along capitalist lines.

Democrats

The Democratic Party is one of the two main political parties in the USA. Democrats are usually in favour of some measure of welfare reform and support government intervention in the management of the economy.

Executive

This is the branch of government that makes policy. In the USA, the Executive branch is made up of the President, the Cabinet and departments headed by secretaries. In Canada, the Executive comprises the Prime Minister and the Cabinet.

Federal

In the context of North America, 'federal' refers to the national government based in Washington (USA) or Ottawa (Canada). This is where the main government departments are situated. However, both nations have a federal structure, which means that power is shared between the central government and the government of each state (USA) or province (Canada). These state or provincial governments have substantial powers, and they can often be an obstacle to federal legislation. States in the US are run by a governor; provinces in Canada are headed by a premier.

National identity

One of the key features of this period in Canadian history was the development of national feeling. Fighting in both wars had helped to create a sense of national identity, but the powers of each province limited this development. However, with Newfoundland joining Canada in 1949, the creation of a new national flag with the maple leaf in the middle in 1965, the Constitution Act of 1982, which gave Canada, rather than Britain, power over its own Constitution and a new national anthem, *O Canada*, much was done to help create a sense of national identity.

The House of Representatives and the Senate

The legislative body in the USA – Congress – is made up of two chambers. The House of Representatives is the lower chamber. Each state elects a number of representatives depending upon the size of its population. One-third of members are elected every two

years. The Senate is the upper chamber. Each state elects two representatives (senators), who serve six-year terms.

Republicans

The Republicans are the other major political party in the USA. Republicans are usually more conservative than Democrats, and lie on the right wing of the political spectrum. They tend to believe in low taxes and minimal government intervention. The word republican is also used to refer to a system in which a president, rather than a hereditary monarch, is the head of state.

Separatism

The province of Quebec, in Canada, was largely French-speaking and Roman Catholic, and therefore had a very different culture from other parts of Canada. During the period there was a growing desire among many in the province to become 'separate' or independent from Canada, or at least re-negotiate their relationship with the other Canadian provinces in order to protect their distinctive culture.

Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is the highest court in both the USA and Canada. It safeguards the country's constitution and decides whether laws are constitutional or not. In the 1930s, both the governments of the USA and Canada had legislation rejected by their Supreme Courts.

Trade cycle

The trade cycle describes the alternating pattern in the economy between periods of growth and prosperity and decline and decreased growth. Some argue that the world's economy goes through a cycle of peaks and troughs in terms of prosperity and production. The Depression of the 1920s and 1930s was one of the troughs, but the recovery that took place towards the end of the 1930s was the result, not of government policies, but of a natural recovery.

Summary

By the time you have worked through this resource, you should be able to:

- understand how effectively governments in the USA and Canada dealt with the social, economic and political challenges they faced in the period after the Second World War
- assess the quality of leadership of successive US presidents and Canadian premiers
- understand the significance of debates and divisions within the political parties in the USA
- explain the reasons for the expansion of social provision in the USA and Canada
- understand how effectively the governments of the USA and Canada dealt with the challenges to unity and society
- show a broad understanding of why the period 1945–79 saw an increased role for the state in the USA and Canada.

2 The USA: the domestic policies of Truman and Eisenhower

Introduction

This chapter deals with how the administrations of Truman and Eisenhower responded to the needs of US society after the Second World War. The Great Depression, the New Deal and the war itself all resulted in profound changes in US government and society. During the 1930s, Roosevelt's New Deal attempted to tackle the effects of the Depression, but it was really the massive rearmament programme brought about by the Second World War that returned the US to full employment. The war also caused considerable economic and social change, and afterwards the US public expected its leaders to maintain the prosperity their country had enjoyed during the war years. On the international stage, the USA became a world power with global responsibilities. This affected domestic policy, as US leaders had to find the resources to maintain military forces as well as continuing the economic and social reforms begun before the war. This chapter considers the personalities and backgrounds of Truman and Eisenhower. Their main domestic policies are outlined, as well as how they dealt with the transition from war to peace. This section also discusses the economic and social issues that arose in the post-war years, including the wave of anti-communist feeling and the development of the civil rights movement.

TIMELINE

- 1945
 - Apr:** Roosevelt dies in office; Truman becomes President
 - May:** Second World War in Europe ends
 - Sep:** Second World War in the Pacific ends
- 1946
 - Mid-term elections increase Republican control of Congress
- 1947
 - Mar:** Truman Doctrine announced
- 1948
 - Apr:** Marshall Aid distributed in Europe
 - Aug:** Alger Hiss accused of espionage

| | |
|------|--|
| | Nov: Truman wins re-election |
| 1949 | Jan: Truman announces Fair Deal |
| | Aug: USSR explodes atomic bomb |
| 1950 | Jun: Korean War begins |
| 1952 | Nov: Eisenhower elected President |
| 1954 | Mid-term elections increase Democratic power in Congress; anti-communist senator Joseph McCarthy loses influence |
| 1956 | Nov: Eisenhower re-elected |
| 1957 | Sep: Civil Rights Act passed |
| 1958 | Sep: Little Rock incident |
| 1960 | Nov: Kennedy elected President |
| 1961 | Jan: Eisenhower warns of power of military-industrial complex |

KEY QUESTIONS

- What issues faced Truman in 1945 and how well did he deal with them?
- What was Truman's Fair Deal?
- What was the significance of divisions within the Democratic Party and Congressional opposition?
- What characterised Eisenhower's domestic policies?
- How successful were Eisenhower's domestic policies?

Overview

- As Roosevelt's Vice-President, Truman assumed the leadership when the President died in office in April 1945. In doing so, he stepped into the shoes of one of the USA's most popular leaders. Roosevelt had introduced radical domestic changes in the 1930s, and brought the US into a foreign war that had made the country a global superpower.
- To begin with, Truman's domestic policy with its 'Fair Deal' remained faithful to the ideals of Roosevelt's New Deal, and the new President maintained high levels of government control to ease the transition from war to peace.
- A surprise victory in the 1948 presidential election kept Truman in office. After this, he introduced the ambitious Fair Deal programme, but many of these domestic reforms could not be put into practice.
- Attempts at further reform were hindered by the USA's involvement in the Korean War, which began in 1950. By 1952, Truman's popularity was declining and the USA was in the grip of anti-communist hysteria.
- The Republican Eisenhower was elected President in 1952, but he did not pursue conservative domestic policies to the extent that some in his party wished. He presided over the period known as the 'Red Scare', but he did not openly condemn extremism.
- Like Truman, Eisenhower found himself distracted from domestic issues by foreign affairs as the Cold War developed. Despite this, Eisenhower managed to maintain and even extend certain social policies throughout the 1950s.
- Civil rights emerged as a main issue in US political and social life from 1954, and in 1957 Eisenhower pushed through the first Civil Rights Act in over 80 years.
- Having served two terms, Eisenhower could not run for re-election in 1960, and the Democrat John F. Kennedy defeated Eisenhower's Vice-President, Richard Nixon, by a small majority.

2.1 What issues faced Truman in 1945 and how well did he deal with them?

Franklin D. Roosevelt died in office on 12 April 1945, while the USA was still at war. He was succeeded by his Vice-President, **Harry S Truman**.

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945):

Born into a wealthy New York family, Roosevelt rose in Democratic politics and became governor of New York. He was elected President in 1932 and soon introduced his New Deal programme of reforms, a large-scale plan to use federal government resources to combat the effects of the Depression and bring about reform in US society. Roosevelt led the USA in the Second World War, but died in April 1945, shortly after beginning his fourth term in office.

Harry S Truman (1884–1972):

Truman came from a family of farmers, and worked as a bank clerk as well as on the family farm. He joined the army and fought in France in the First World War, rising to the rank of captain. After the war, Truman used his army connections to get into politics, and he became a judge in Jackson County, Missouri, in 1926. This was an administrative rather than a legal post, and one of his major achievements was to build new roads in the county.

The Democratic Party in Missouri was dominated by a career politician – ‘Boss’ Tom Prendergast. In 1934, Prendergast backed Truman’s campaign for the Senate, although at the time he won little attention from President Roosevelt. As a senator, Truman quickly earned a reputation for efficiency, and he got approval for a Senate committee on the National Defense Program to investigate poor performance by defence contractors. This role became a key part of the war effort after the US joined the Second World War in December 1941.

Truman was a loyal supporter of Roosevelt’s New Deal policies, and his energy and honesty made him the Democrats’ choice for Vice-President in the 1944 election campaign. He had a reputation as a straight-talking, typical American and a good family man. In fact, Truman had not wanted the nomination and had little desire to be President.

The transition from war to peace

On taking power, Truman was aware that the unprecedented militarisation of the USA and the increase in government control of everyday life had become unpopular. Prices, rents, wages, the supply of food and raw materials, and the drafting of civilians into war service all contradicted US traditions of freedom and limited government power. Half the working population was employed directly or indirectly by the government, and 16 million US citizens

had been drafted to fight for their country. Truman knew that the American people now wanted life to return to normal.

The Republicans began calling for an end to government economic controls as soon as the war was over. However, Truman feared that a sudden withdrawal of government contracts, subsidies and controls might result in inflation and widespread unemployment across the USA. Above all else, he wanted to avoid another economic depression like that of the 1930s.



Figure 2.1: American statesman Harry S Truman (1884–1972), the 33rd President of the United States of America.

Influenced by New Deal policies, and anxious to avoid social and political unrest, Truman was careful to maintain government controls. In his 'hold the line' Executive Order of August 1945, he extended wartime federal powers to peacetime – particularly those of the Office of Price Administration (OPA), which set price controls and rents. In September 1945, Truman

also proposed a programme to maintain full employment. This included a house-building programme and a rise in the minimum wage. The government provided loans for ex-servicemen to buy homes, and offered grants for both training and education.

Despite the wishes of the Republicans, therefore, there was no sudden end to federal economic controls, and the transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy was successful. Towards the end of 1946, prices began to rise significantly, but by this time economic activity was enough to ensure that wages and employment increased to keep pace with the price rises.

In the early post-war years, Truman also faced several foreign policy issues. He was more suspicious of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin than Roosevelt had been, and disliked the spread of Soviet power throughout Eastern Europe. Despite the rapidly developing Cold War, Truman's administration came under pressure to demobilise US forces and reduce the military budget. In the first year after the war, Truman reduced the armed forces from 12 million to 3 million. Eisenhower – supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe during the war – famously claimed that the US had 'run out of army' by 1946.

Labour unrest

The Second World War led to an increase in the membership and status of labour organisations in the USA. These groups were determined that the gains they had made in wages and working conditions during the war should not be lost. By the beginning of 1946, as peacetime brought wage reductions and less favourable working conditions, major strikes began to take place in key defence industries such as coal, iron and steel, railways and electricity. At a time when the USA claimed to be facing a threat from the Soviet Union, such action was felt to be intolerable, and in May 1946 the government took control of the railroads. Truman then went even further, and asked Congress for powers to draft railroad workers into the army. The Senate blocked the proposal, believing it was a threat to the liberty of US citizens.

Truman also took control of the coal mines. Coal was essential to US power supplies and rail transport. When the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), under its leader **John L. Lewis**, refused to honour an agreement negotiated by the government, Truman took Lewis to court and the union was fined for breach of contract.

John L. Lewis (1880–1969):

Lewis was a major figure in US labor history and founded the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), a federation of trades unions, in 1938. He was President of the United Mine Workers of America from 1920 to 1960. A major supporter of the New Deal, Lewis helped to get Roosevelt elected, but his popularity declined after he organised coal strikes during the Second World War.

Truman believed that the strikes threatened national security, and he took extreme measures to end this threat. Although the war was over Truman maintained a wartime mentality, believing that the USA continued to face a national emergency and that the government had a right to take whatever steps were necessary to deal with this. However, his actions cost him the considerable support of the unions, which had previously been allies of the Democratic Party.

In fact, Truman was not as anti-union as the Republicans – or even some members of his own party. However, he opposed the Taft–Hartley Act, which ended the closed shop policy (by which all employees in a business or factory had to belong to a trade union), banned political payments by unions and strikes by government employees, and made it illegal for union officials to be communists. The Taft–Hartley Act was made law in 1947, despite the President’s opposition.

The mid-term elections, 1946

Despite his early successes, by 1946 Truman was becoming increasingly unpopular. Unions disliked his hard line; prices were rising and those soldiers still waiting to be demobilised were growing restless and resentful. The Republicans once more urged economic freedom. Under the slogan ‘Had Enough?’ they demanded a reduction in taxes and greater limits on government control. In the 1946 mid-term elections the Republicans won control of Congress, and government now became a struggle between the Executive (the President) and the Legislature (Congress). The fact that Truman had not been elected President weakened him – there were even some Democrats who felt that he was ill-equipped to lead the country.

Truman tried to boost his popularity by proposing a series of social reforms in the New Deal tradition. In truth, the country could not afford to implement these reforms – and Truman knew it. However, he also knew that the conservative-dominated Congress would not approve the proposals, so he could portray himself as a reforming President working in the interests of the people, without having to follow through on the changes. He put forward plans for health and education reforms, and suggested more subsidies for farmers and a repeal of hostile labour legislation. As expected, Congress rejected all these proposals.

ACTIVITY

In groups, decide on the key features of the USA's domestic transition from war to peace. Write each feature on a card and give Truman a mark out of six for his handling of each one. On the back of the card explain the mark you have allocated. Report the marks you have given to the other groups, and then hold a class discussion to come to an agreement on the features and how successfully Truman handled them.

Civil rights

The increasing participation of African Americans in vital industries and in the armed forces raised questions about their status in the post-war USA, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) experienced a dramatic increase in membership. The USA claimed to be the champion of freedom, and had fought a war against racist regimes, yet discrimination against African Americans continued and laws dating from the 1890s still restricted their civil rights. African Americans who had served in the armed forces had witnessed the greater racial tolerance in other countries, so when they returned from war service they found discrimination at home harder to bear. This resulted in an increase in incidents of racial violence.

As racial tension grew in the South, Truman established the Civil Rights Committee to investigate the issue. The committee's report recommended changes to end abuses, and in 1948 Truman proposed measures to end restrictions on black voting in the South and to make lynching a federal offence. This would prevent local police and judges allowing race crimes to go unpunished.

Southern Democrats were furious, and in 1948 a group of them set up their own party – the States' Rights Democratic Party, or 'Dixiecrats'. In the past, reforming Democratic presidents had often had to deal with an uneasy alliance of northern progressives and southern white supremacists, but Truman was determined not to be controlled by this faction of his own party. Instead, he pursued his agenda of reform in several ways:

- He ordered desegregation to begin in the armed forces.
- He banned discrimination in federal employment and in hotels in Washington, DC.
- He refused to give government contracts to firms that discriminated against African American employees.
- He appointed the first African American federal judge.

These measures lay within Truman's existing powers as commander-in-chief and head of the federal government. However, more general legislation depended on congressional approval, so further progress in civil rights was limited.

We have reached a turning point in the long history of our country's efforts to guarantee freedom and equality to all our citizens. Recent events in the United States and abroad have made us realise that it is more important today than ever before to insure that all Americans enjoy these rights...

When I say all Americans I mean all Americans...

We must keep moving forward, with new concepts of civil rights to safeguard our heritage. The extension of civil rights today means, not protection of the people against the Government, but protection of the people by the Government.

We must make the Federal Government a friendly, vigilant defender of the rights and equalities of all Americans. And again I mean all Americans...

Each man must be guaranteed equality of opportunity. The only limit to an American's achievement should be his ability, his industry, and his character. These rewards for his effort should be determined only by those truly relevant qualities.

Extract from a speech made by Harry S. Truman to the NAACP, 29 June 1947. From Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, millercenter.org

QUESTION

Read Source 2.1 and then answer the following questions.

- What was Truman's concept of civil rights?
- What actions did Truman take that show he was a 'vigilant defender of the rights and equalities' of African Americans?
- Is it fair to say that Truman offered more than he delivered on civil rights?
- What obstacles were there to a more energetic civil rights policy in Truman's time in office?

DISCUSSION POINT

Historian James T. Patterson takes a less than enthusiastic view of Truman's record on civil rights: 'Speaking for civil rights... was not the same as taking decisive action. When it came to that, Truman moved slowly.' Patterson argues that Truman did not believe in integration and used racist terms in private. He also points out that Truman failed to issue Executive Orders against discrimination in the armed forces and civil service in 1948. It was only in 1954 that desegregation in the armed services was complete. Even then, there were few African American officers.

Consider the view that by raising awareness of civil rights issues, and by proposing measures such as an anti-lynching law, Truman made a major contribution to civil rights. Then consider the view that all Truman offered was talk, an over-cautious attitude and a series of failed measures. Which case do you find more convincing?

The 1948 election

By 1948, Truman had implemented a number of successful reforms. For example, he had made several aspects of government more efficient. Congress approved the creation of a new Department of Defense, merging the old Departments of War and Navy. The National Security Council (NSC) was established, as was the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). In the Cold War context, such measures were regarded as valuable streamlining. However, a proposal to create a Department of Health and Welfare was rejected by Congress, which was anxious not to further extend the state's control over its citizens.

Despite his successes, Truman also faced several difficulties. He took a hard line against communism abroad by launching the Truman Doctrine in 1947, in which he pledged US support for any country threatened by communism. The following year, the Marshall Plan was implemented, giving financial aid to war-torn Europe. In theory this was available to any European country, but in practice only the 'free' (capitalist) countries of Western Europe benefited.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan clearly established the USA as a protector of the capitalist world against the spread of communism. Conservative elements in the US accepted this position, but those with more liberal political leanings regarded Truman's anti-communist policies as an open-ended and dangerous commitment to affairs beyond the USA's borders.

Conservative support for Truman did not extend to his domestic policies. Many objected to his liberal attitude on issues such as health reform and civil rights. Organised labour – one of the Democratic Party's main sources of support – was offended by Truman's actions over the labour strikes, and southern Democrats were angry about his civil rights policies.

Increasingly regarded as too conservative by the liberals and too liberal by the conservatives, it seemed unlikely that Truman could win the 1948 presidential election. The Republicans had a strong candidate in **Thomas Dewey**, while the Democrats were divided between the Dixiecrats (see Section 2.3) and the northern-based Progressive Party of America (PPA). The opinion polls were unanimous in predicting Truman's defeat.

Thomas Dewey (1902–71):

Dewey was a brilliant lawyer and the governor of New York from 1943 to 1954. With the strong support of US business interests, he ran in the 1944 presidential election campaign, but lost to the sitting president, Roosevelt. Moderate and articulate, Dewey seemed a sure winner against Truman in 1948, but his election campaign was not well run, and he suffered a surprise defeat. He later retired from political life and returned to his law practice.

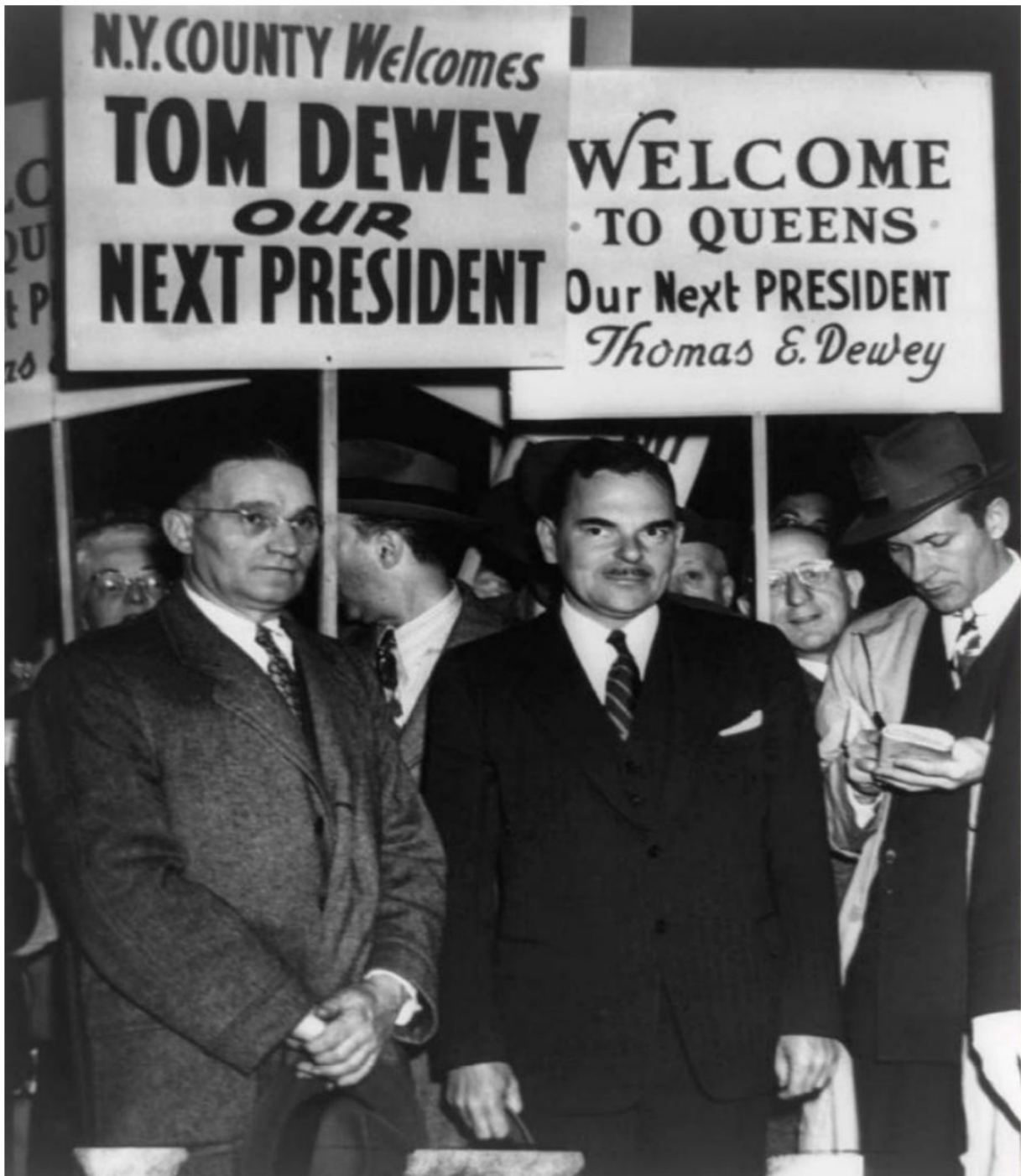


Figure 2.2: Republican candidate Thomas Dewey (right) during the 1948 presidential election campaign.

The Republicans fully expected to win the election, and Dewey's campaign was conducted cautiously in order to maintain the status quo. In contrast, Truman launched a vigorous campaign late in the run-up to the election. He travelled up and down the country, giving spirited speeches in defence of his policies and attacking his opponents. In particular, he

criticised the Republican Congress for blocking social and economic reform. Historian Robert Ferrell remarks that 'in 1948 Truman was for the first time in his life a dynamic campaigner'. Contrary to all expectations, Truman won the election and – crucially – the Democrats regained control of Congress.

Truman believed that his victory was due to support for his social reform programme, but many historians have argued that it was circumstances rather than personal popularity or support for his agenda that led to Truman's success in 1948.

Four years later, facing stronger opponents, Truman decided not to seek re-election and the Democrats lost heavily. In addition, Truman's victory in 1948 was not decisive – he only gained 49.5% of the popular vote. However, he won without the support of white southerners, and this opened the way for greater civil rights reform. Truman also felt confident enough to relaunch his programme of social reform.



Figure 2.3: A triumphant Truman displays a premature headline in the Chicago Daily Tribune in 1948.

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Significance: What do you think was the main reason for Truman's election victory in 1948?

2.2 What was Truman's Fair Deal?

Formally announced in January 1949, but reflecting earlier policy statements, the Fair Deal had echoes of Roosevelt's New Deal of the 1930s. It proposed:

- more civil rights reforms
- unemployment benefits
- support for house-building
- federal aid for education
- tax relief for low earners
- a repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act
- a higher minimum wage
- help for the agricultural sector.

After 1948, Truman had enough support in Congress for some of these proposals to become law. A total of 800 000 houses were to be built by 1955, and the minimum wage rose from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour. Social Security was extended and a Displaced Persons Act allowed 40 000 refugees from Europe to enter the USA. The Hill–Burton Act approved federal and state support for public hospitals. However, much of the Fair Deal was blocked by an alliance of Republicans and Dixiecrat conservatives. More policies were proposed than achieved, but Truman kept alive the idea that government was responsible for the welfare of its people. In the 1950 mid-term elections, however, the Republicans increased their seats in Congress once more, and the Fair Deal effectively came to an end.

How far did the Fair Deal meet its aims?

There has been some historical debate about Truman's success with the Fair Deal.

Conservative historians such as Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen argue that by raising the minimum wage, making an additional 10 million people eligible for Social Security benefits, and through federal slum clearance and housing projects, Truman successfully continued the New Deal of the 1930s. Many liberals agree with this view.

In an address to Physicians for a National Health Program in 1999, Dr Karen S. Palmer claimed that Truman was more radical in his healthcare proposals than the New Deal had been: 'It was Truman who proposed a single egalitarian system that included all classes of society.'

An alternative modern view is that there was a lot of support for continuing the New Deal policies, but that Truman was not a driving force in their planning, and only offered limited leadership. The real influence came from the ongoing support for state intervention that had developed during the years of the Depression and the Second World War. In particular, the Republicans had accepted the reforms brought about by the New Deal, and Truman offered little that was distinctive.

SOURCE 2.2

Admirers of Truman contend that he was... a saviour of liberalism and the New Deal... But Truman's role... should not be exaggerated. Much more important in preserving the New Deal were political forces established before Truman took office. By 1945 most Americans had accepted Roosevelt and programmes such as Social Security.

Patterson, J. 1998. Grand Expectations: The United States. Oxford. Oxford University Press. p. 164.

QUESTION

What does Source 2.2 mean by Truman being seen as 'a savior of liberalism'? In what ways did the Fair Deal show that Truman was a follower of the New Deal? Why does Source 2.2 cast doubt on how liberal the Fair Deal was?

Some historians are sceptical about how much was really achieved by the Fair Deal. For example, Hugh Brogan questions the results of the programme, pointing out the poor quality of the new federal housing and the government's failure to pass a health bill, an anti-lynching law or a bill on fair employment practices.

ACTIVITY

Plan a short essay entitled 'How Important was Truman's Fair Deal?' In pairs, consider how you might deal with the issue of importance – was it important for what it actually achieved or important for what it stood for in post-war America? Write an introduction to your essay that sets out the issues about importance, and then consider what points you would use to support your argument.

Why did Eisenhower win the 1952 presidential election?

Truman's second administration

At the same time as Truman was pushing through domestic reform, he was also dealing with events in the wider world. This included Germany – and Berlin – which, after the war, had been temporarily divided into zones of occupation run by the USA, Britain, France and the USSR.

In 1948, following the West's unilateral imposition of a new currency for its zones, the USSR blockaded Berlin. The USA and Britain coordinated the Berlin Airlift, by which supplies were flown into the besieged city. In addition, in 1950 communist North Korea invaded South Korea, drawing the USA into a three-year war in the region.

Truman's administration was also weakened by increasing concerns in the USA about the influence of communists in government and the so-called 'Red Scare' – a more widespread fear of communist infiltration in US society. In 1945, there were accusations that official US documents had been leaked to a left-wing journal called *Amerasia*.

In 1949, the USSR successfully exploded its first nuclear bomb – a development that many Americans believed was only possible because US atomic secrets had been passed to the Soviets by spies. This led to the arrest and execution of **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** in 1953.

Julius (1918–53) and Ethel (1915–53) Rosenberg:

Husband and wife Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were communist supporters. After Ethel's brother David Greenglass was arrested for spying, Ethel and Julius were named as co-conspirators in the wartime spy network. Despite protesting their innocence, they were both executed in 1953. Documents released in the 1990s confirmed Julius Rosenberg's guilt, but Ethel's involvement remains uncertain.

Communist supporters in the USA made up less than 1% of the population, but many people believed that they had infiltrated key positions in society. Truman responded to these concerns in 1947 by introducing a loyalty programme. The loyalty of all federal employees was assessed by the FBI and a civil service commission. Membership of certain organisations, including the Communist Party, was regarded as incompatible with loyalty towards the USA.

In all, around 3 million people were investigated and 212 were dismissed from their jobs. In part, the continued spread of the Red Scare was due to the high-profile case involving a leading government advisor, Alger Hiss.

Hiss was an intellectual from a wealthy background who worked in Roosevelt's State Department and who had been a confidential aide of the President. In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, an editor at *Time* magazine, accused Hiss of being a Soviet spy.

Chambers claimed that Hiss had recruited him and led him to take part in copying and hiding official documents that were then passed to the Soviets. Hiss was found guilty of perjury in January 1950 and sent to prison for five years.

In the wake of the Hiss trial, the government arrested leaders of the Communist Party for violating the Smith Act, which made urging the violent overthrow of government illegal. Then, on 9 February 1950, Wisconsin senator **Joseph McCarthy** made a speech in which he claimed to have a list of 250 communists working in the State Department.

Joseph McCarthy (1908–57):

McCarthy became a Republican senator for Wisconsin in 1945. In 1950, he began his campaign against suspected communists in the US administration. In 1952, he used the House Un-American Activities Committee, but had no real evidence to back up his claims. McCarthy began to lose credibility in 1954, after failing to supply any proof during a televised hearing. Despite this, he went on to accuse the army and even Eisenhower of communist activities.



Figure 2.4: Alger Hiss takes the oath before giving evidence to the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948.

A committee was established to investigate this claim, and McCarthy made various accusations. However, Truman ordered the release of FBI files on the accused, which demonstrated no evidence of disloyalty or communist activity.

The committee condemned McCarthy as a trouble-maker, but he had a great deal of support among Republicans in Congress, and the Red Scare continued. Truman opposed but could not stop the McCarran Act, a law against communist activity that even allowed for the establishment of concentration camps for subversives. In 1952, a congressional immigration act banned communists from entering the USA.

The 1952 election

In the midst of this growing hysteria, Truman was accused of being ‘soft’ on communism. In addition, he was associated with the lack of progress being made in the Korean War, poor handling of a steel strike in 1952 (in which he brought the steelworks under government control), and revelations of corruption in government. He was also accused of failing to halt the spread of organised crime in the USA.

As his popularity declined, Truman stood down from the presidential race. The Republicans chose the popular war leader Dwight D. Eisenhower as their candidate, with the anti-communist Richard Nixon as his running mate. They campaigned strongly against the Korean War and the two ‘Cs’ in government – corruption and communists. They also offered lower taxes and less government interference.

All these strategies won the support of the people, and Eisenhower took the popular vote by a majority of 6 million. The Republicans also won a majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives, as well as a high number of state governorships. For the first time since 1933, the Republicans were back in power.

QUESTION

Using the information given in this chapter and any other resources available to you, find as much support as you can for the two views expressed in Sources 2.3 and 2.4. Which view do you find most convincing?

SOURCE 2.3

Truman oversaw the conversion of the American economy from its World War II footing to one that emphasized both consumer and military production. Truman protected the New Deal and—with a rise in the minimum wage in 1949 and the enlargement of Social Security in 1950—built upon its achievements. He pushed forward the cause of African American civil rights by desegregating the military, by banning discrimination in the civil service, and by commissioning a federal report on civil rights. Just as important, Truman spoke out publicly on the matter. Finally, Truman engineered one of the most unexpected comeback victories in American political history.

From Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, millercenter.org

SOURCE 2.4

Some historians argue that Truman responded too slowly and weakly to Senator McCarthy and that his support for African American civil rights was underwhelming. Finally, many historians contend that Truman grievously erred in 1946 and 1949 by advocating liberal initiatives that expanded the welfare state and increased government intervention in the nation's economy, for which a conservative polity had no appetite.

From Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, millercenter.org

Truman: an assessment

It is probably an exaggeration to suggest that Truman played no part in preserving or extending the liberal policies of the New Deal. In particular, he demonstrated decisiveness in his stand against the Dixiecrat opposition to civil rights reform. However, internal policy was limited by the US Constitution and the power of Congress to block legislation.

Truman raised key issues and tried to adjust domestic policy to encourage social change. More radical actions would have been rejected by Congress and occupied time that Truman could not devote to internal policies while dealing with wider Cold War issues.

Much of Truman's presidency was concerned with foreign rather than domestic affairs, and the Fair Deal was hindered by the need to allocate resources to the Korean War in 1950. Fears of communist infiltration within the USA grew from events in the wider world and revelations about espionage that were beyond Truman's control. He and other opponents of anti-communist hysteria found it difficult to stop the Red Scare gaining momentum.

Some historians have condemned Truman for not doing more, but it is also possible to argue that he battled courageously with opposition in Congress, and fought to protect the ideals of the New Deal in a hostile national and international environment.

2.3 What was the significance of divisions within the Democratic Party and Congressional opposition?

The Democrats were an alliance of progressive and liberal elements in the North who had supported the New Deal policies in the 1930s and Southern politicians, many of whom defended the interests of the white majority and were opposed to civil rights. The influence of these powerful southern congressmen and senators had restricted New Deal help for African Americans and made it difficult for Truman to act on civil rights.

Southern Democrats were furious at his proposals, and in 1948 a group of them set up their own party – the States' Rights Democratic Party, or 'Dixiecrats'.

The trigger for the creation of the States' Rights Democratic party was Truman's executive order for desegregation in the armed forces in 1948 and his inclusion of civil rights in the Democratic party platform for the election of that year. At the party convention the delegates from Alabama and Mississippi walked out in protest.

Joined by some delegates from other states, though not all, they chose the South Carolina Governor, Strom Thurmond, as an alternative presidential candidate. The hope was that this third force would prevent either the official Democrats or the Republicans getting a majority in the electoral college and that the election would be decided in the House of Representatives. In Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina Thurmond was the 'official' Democratic candidate.

Thurmond was successful in these 'deep South' states but not in any state where he stood against Truman. The party dissolved after the election and Truman was re-elected to office, but the Democratic party was divided and the Southern democrats in Congress were resentful. In the long term the division led to the re-emergence of the Republicans in the South by the 1960s.

The Republicans were still in 1948 associated with progressive policies towards African Americans after the civil war and with Northern business and commercial interests, but this changed with increasing links between Republican and Southern conservatives who opposed the power of the Federal Government, civil rights and shared a fear of communism.

Truman had to negotiate with discontented elements of his own party and also faced the problem that the mid-term elections of 1950 increased the representation of the

Republicans in Congress. The alliance of conservative Democrats and Republicans effectively blocked not only further Civil Rights reforms but also much of the Fair Deal. Truman's ideas for increased health care, for instance, was seen to be too radical by a Congress majority whose views were influenced by a move away from a belief in greater state intervention which had characterised the New Deal and the wartime period to a more traditional, conservative and individualistic approach.



Figure 2.5: Strom Thurmond speaking at the Democratic Convention on 14 July 1948. He was one of the southern 'Dixiecrats' who, angered by Truman's support of civil rights and opposition to lynching, later left the Democrats and formed the States Rights Party.

This was partly a reaction to the spread of communism in Eastern Europe and China and partly a reaction to greater prosperity and economic growth which seemed to confirm that private enterprise and 'small government' was the American Way to progress.

By 1952 Truman had limited ability to carry out his reforming programme and with a divided party and a shift to the right in the USA with the Red Scare and the hysteria over McCarthy's accusations, the stage was set for a return to Republican rule.

2.4 What characterised Eisenhower's domestic policies?

Dwight D. Eisenhower

The new President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, grew up in Abilene, Kansas, where his family ran a creamery. In 1911, he won a place at West Point military academy. As a military trainer, he did not see combat in the First World War, but from 1927 he worked as a military historian and then a planner. He rose to the rank of brigadier general, and was known for his skilful organisation in military exercises.

A leading Allied army general during the Second World War, Eisenhower later became NATO's first supreme commander. He dealt diplomatically with his fellow generals, and he had a good understanding of global affairs.

The USA had a tradition of soldier presidents, and many felt reassured by Eisenhower. During the election, his role as a national hero secured him a lot of 'floating votes', but he also benefited from the splits in the Democratic Party and Truman's unpopularity in his last years in office. Eisenhower stood out as a man who had not previously been associated with local politics or played a part in government.

Eisenhower's views on social policy were different from Truman's, and he believed in individual responsibility rather than government backing. He was a supporter of big business (his first Cabinet contained eight millionaires) and distrusted large and powerful government.

From the start, Eisenhower declared his aim of reducing federal influence and spending, in line with pre-war Republican policies. His Cabinet reflected that of the Republican governments of the 1930s – Hoover had also chosen people with business associations.

Eisenhower's style of government was based on his experiences in the army, and he relied on his Cabinet members, his advisors and his chief of staff **Sherman Adams**. He allowed his subordinates the freedom to implement policies in the way they believed best, rather than maintaining strict presidential control.

Sherman Adams (1899–1986):

Adams was a Republican politician and former governor of New Hampshire. As a businessman, he believed strongly in controlling government expenditure and he encouraged Eisenhower in making changes to US economic policy. Adams resigned in 1958 after being accused of taking bribes.



Figure 2.6: At the Republican National Convention, American politicians Richard M Nixon (1913 – 1994) (left) and Dwight D Eisenhower (1890 - 1969) are nominated for Vice President and President, respectively, 1952.

ACTIVITY

Use the internet to find out more about the lives of Truman and Eisenhower before they each took office. Write a brief comparison of their personalities and backgrounds. Who do you think was better suited to the role of President?

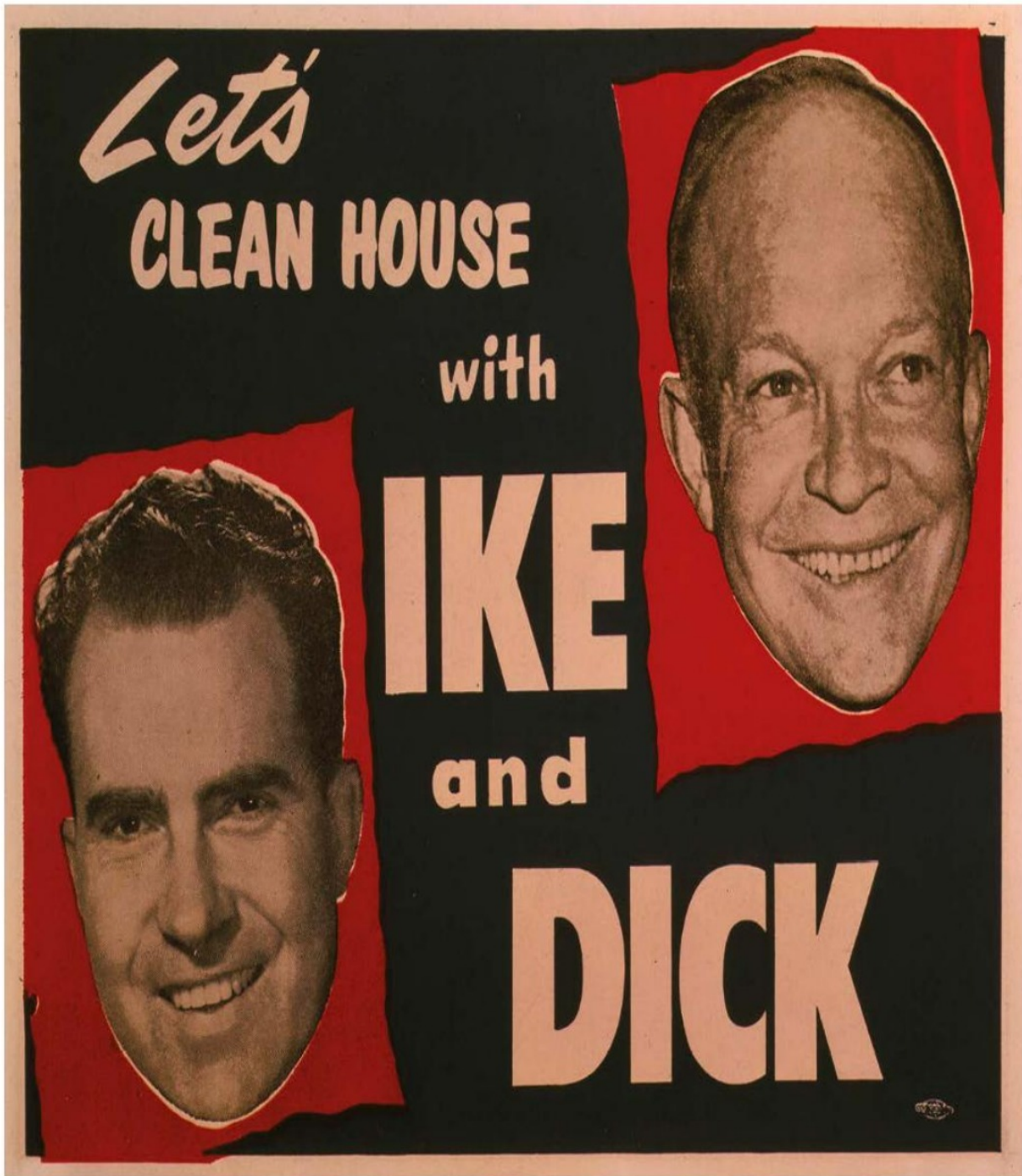


Figure 2.7: A Republican campaign poster from 1952, showing Eisenhower and Nixon.

The situation by 1953

Eisenhower inherited significant and costly foreign policy commitments from the outgoing administration. He also faced demands from the American public for greater economic freedom and a reduction in government interference in daily life. In addition, there was increasing pressure for social change, notably in civil rights.

Perhaps most significantly, the new President had to deal with the same anxieties about national security and fears of communism that had played a key part in the Democrats' defeat. In practice, Eisenhower found he could do little more than Truman to control the tide of anti-communist agitation in the USA during his presidency.

Anti-communist hysteria

By the time Eisenhower took over, the anti-communist movement had grown even more influential. In private, Eisenhower was critical of communist hysteria in general and McCarthy's actions (see 2.2, Truman's second administration) in particular. However, he did not openly condemn anti-communism.

Under pressure from McCarthy's supporters, embassies burned books believed to have been written by communists. One Indiana school board even banned books featuring Robin Hood, claiming that the legendary figure was a communist, stealing from the rich. McCarthy was made chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigation Subcommittee, which allowed him even greater freedom to investigate suspected communists in public life.

In 1954, Congress banned the Communist Party. Increasing numbers of federal employees were dismissed as security risks – a total of 2400 in 1954 alone. McCarthy even began accusing Protestant clergymen of being communists, but still Eisenhower did not confront him. It was only when McCarthy attacked a respected army dentist that he began to fall from public favour.

The trial was televised, and McCarthy's disrespectful behaviour and lack of proof angered both the viewing public and many people in positions of authority. His support declined, and by 1955 McCarthy had been publicly reprimanded by the Senate and alienated by Eisenhower's administration.

QUESTION

What is the message of the cartoon in Figure 2.8?



Figure 2.8: A cartoon from 1953 commenting on how McCarthy appeared to be controlling Eisenhower.

ACTIVITY

In groups of four or five, imagine you are the President's advisors in 1953. Explain the advantages and disadvantages of openly opposing McCarthy and the anti-communist campaign. Afterwards, discuss among yourselves why Eisenhower did not take firmer action. Do you think he took the right approach?

Financial matters

During the 1952 election campaign, Eisenhower and the Republicans promised to reduce federal spending and taxation. After taking office, Eisenhower initially cut back on military spending, but there was no reduction in other areas of federal outlay. He failed to meet his aim of balancing income and expenditure, and there were budget deficits for most years in the period 1953–62.

Where possible, Eisenhower attempted to reduce the power of the federal government. For example, he sold off atomic material and production factories to private firms. He reallocated federal rights over offshore oil deposits to individual states. On the other hand, in 1956 Eisenhower implemented a large-scale federal road-building plan that was to be financed by taxes on fuel, cars and commercial vehicles. He reduced other federal taxes by \$7 billion, but did not fulfil his stated aim of reducing Social Security. In fact, in 1954 Social Security was actually extended to self-employed people, and the minimum wage was raised from 75 cents to \$1 an hour. Another key development during this period occurred in 1958, when the Defense Reorganization Act was passed. This allowed greater control over defence spending by an enlarged military establishment.

Agriculture

Throughout the 1950s, agricultural overproduction and low prices continued to be a problem. Eisenhower adopted a policy of cutting subsidies, but this only resulted in farmers producing more to try to make up for lost income from the state. In 1954, a law was introduced that allowed the government to purchase surplus crops for export and direct food aid abroad.

The President introduced the Soil Bank law in 1956, by which farmers would be paid not to use land for farming, but to put it into a 'soil bank' for future use. Eisenhower hoped that this would restrict production and maintain prices. Money was also given for land to be used for conservation rather than farming. However, agricultural prices continued to drop, and the farming community grew increasingly resentful.

The 1956 election

The Democrats made some gains in the mid-term elections held in 1954, but Eisenhower had worked well with Congress and the Republicans did not feel this would be a significant threat to their success in the next presidential election.

For the 1956 campaign, Richard Nixon was once again Eisenhower's Vice-President, although he was not the preferred candidate of the President himself. One significant difference in this election campaign was the amount of support the Republicans won from African Americans. **Adam Clayton Powell**, an influential mixed-race congressman from New York, gave his support to Eisenhower and swayed many African American voters. Many big cities – traditionally Democrat – also swung to Eisenhower. The sitting President won re-election with 58% of the vote. However, the congressional elections were a victory for the Democrats, who retained control of the Senate and gained seats in the House of Representatives.

Adam Clayton Powell (1908–72):

Powell was a mixed-race clergyman and politician from a wealthy family. Initially a Democrat, Powell became the first non-white congressman to be elected in New York. He opposed segregation, but disliked the power that the white Southern Democrats seemed to have over the party, and switched to support Eisenhower in the 1956 election.

Eisenhower's second term

Throughout his second period in office, Eisenhower faced significantly greater opposition from Congress than he had before. A recession in 1957–58 resulted in a rise in unemployment and a drop in production. The President feared that introducing any kind of spending programme would cause inflation, but despite his objections Congress passed a \$1 billion subsidy for housing and more road construction.

The Soviet launch of the world's first satellite, *Sputnik*, in 1957 also forced Eisenhower's hand. The USA could not be left behind in the 'space race', and he approved funding for the establishment of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in 1958. The USA's need to keep pace with the USSR in space technology also led to a new, federally directed educational curriculum and greater spending on education, in order to properly train future scientists and help the USA take the lead.

In addition – and partly in response to rising unemployment – the Republican government accepted increased investment in Social Security, and a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was established. Farm subsidies also increased. By 1959, the budget deficit stood at \$12.5 billion, a fact that caused enough concern to bring a halt to reforms and federal spending.

Although there were some successes during Eisenhower's second term, such as the addition of Alaska and Hawaii as states in the union, fewer gains were made overall than during his first term. This was partly due to fears about inflation and overspending, but the increased Democrat influence in Congress was also a significant factor. In particular, the Democrats

began winning greater public support under the leadership of their young rising star John F. Kennedy.

Civil rights in the Eisenhower presidency

Civil rights were already a key issue in American life when Eisenhower took office, and it was a problem that the new President could not ignore. To begin with, Eisenhower followed the moderate level of reform that Truman had started. He completed the desegregation of the armed forces. In addition, he appointed the first African American, **J. Ernest Wilkins**, as undersecretary of labor, and more African Americans won senior government posts. Eisenhower encouraged trades unions to admit African American members, and he demanded the desegregation of interstate dining facilities on trains.

J. Ernest Wilkins (1894–1959):

Wilkins was an eminent African American mathematician and lawyer. He held several positions in Eisenhower's government before being appointed undersecretary of labor in 1954. Four years later, following a disagreement with the administration, he left this post and was replaced with an anti-civil rights conservative. Wilkins later played a prominent role in the US Civil Rights Commission.

Eisenhower's 1953 appointment of Chief Justice Earl Warren to the Supreme Court led to a major development in civil rights. A case heard by Warren in 1954 – *Brown v. Board of Education* – resulted in a ruling that segregated education in public schools was unconstitutional and should be ended 'with all deliberate speed'. There was a backlash in several southern states, which refused to honour the ruling and desegregate their schools. Eisenhower himself made no move to support the efforts at desegregation, and expressed doubts about the court ruling.

Martin Luther King (1929–68):

King was brought up in Atlanta, Georgia, where both his father and grandfather were Baptist ministers, and he encountered racial discrimination and segregation on a daily basis. He went to theological college and later completed a Ph.D. In 1953, he married Coretta Scott, a fellow black activist from the South. King became convinced of the need for a mass movement against racial discrimination, founded on the Christian belief in reconciliation through love. He was also influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's success in India using non-violent mass action. King came to be seen as an icon of the civil rights movement and was an inspiration to millions, both black and white and he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–56

While this issue remained unresolved, further civil rights events arose. Most significant of these was the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which occurred after an African American woman, Rosa Parks, refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white passenger in Montgomery, Alabama. Parks was arrested and fined, inciting anger among the town's African Americans.

Local activists were joined by the Baptist minister **Martin Luther King** in organising a boycott of local buses, which gained national attention. In 1956, NAACP lawyers won a Supreme Court ruling that transport segregation laws were unconstitutional. King formed his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957, and became a leading force in the civil rights movement.

Little Rock, Arkansas, 1957

By 1957, the situation over desegregated schooling had reached crisis point. In September that year, the governor of Arkansas refused to force the high school in the town of Little Rock to accept nine African American students who had enrolled there. As the students tried to enter the school they were prevented by angry mobs of white segregationists.

The event made headlines at home and abroad, and Eisenhower finally stepped in to enforce federal law. Paratroopers were sent to escort the nine students to their classes in safety, and the President made a televised address about the damage caused by such open displays of hostility and defiance of US law.

The use of federal troops to intervene in southern race relations had not been seen since the American Civil War (1861–65), and was undoubtedly a significant step forward for the civil right movement. However, racial tensions continued and Eisenhower was forced to intervene further to enforce anti-racism laws. In 1958, he ordered the release of two black boys aged seven and nine who had been imprisoned for ‘rape’ for 14 years for kissing a white girl.



Figure 2.9: Federal troops escort black students from their classes in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957.

The Civil Rights Act, 1957

In 1957, Eisenhower proposed a Civil Rights Act that dealt mainly with voting rights for African Americans. Despite Democrat opposition led by Senator **James Strom Thurmond**,

the act was passed by Congress with the help of Texas senator and future President Lyndon B. Johnson. This act established the Civil Rights Commission to investigate discrimination in voting practices.

James Strom Thurmond (1902–2003):

Thurmond was bitterly opposed to desegregation, and during the 1948 presidential election he stood against Truman as an independent southern segregationist candidate. He later became senator for South Carolina, and worked hard to block civil rights reforms in Congress. Originally a Democrat, Thurmond became a Republican in 1964 in opposition to that year's Civil Rights Act.

The commission found that only 1.5 million out of an eligible 6 million African Americans voted in the South because of restrictions the states placed on voter registration. In response to these findings, the position of civil rights attorney general was created so that injunctions could be placed on anyone preventing African American voters from exercising their rights.

The legislation proved difficult to enforce, however, and civil rights groups began to adopt more militant tactics to make their voice heard. In February 1960, the first sit-in protest over segregated lunch counters took place in Greensboro, North Carolina, when a group of African American students refused to leave a white-only counter. Similar protests broke out elsewhere, often provoking a violent white reaction. The issue of civil rights seemed set to continue for many years.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Consequences: Read the following views on how Eisenhower dealt with the issue of civil rights.

View A: Eisenhower's actions over the civil rights issue were of great significance in promoting the growth of civil rights in the USA, and earn him a place among the great US presidents.

View B: Like most of Eisenhower's presidency, limited reaction to events characterised his policy towards civil rights. He was forced into action more to uphold federal authority than anything else, when in reality he had little sympathy for the policies he was supporting.

In pairs, discuss which view you find the most appropriate and justified. Then write a couple of paragraphs to summarise the evidence for both views and come to a conclusion.

Theory of Knowledge

The actions of historical figures

When passing judgement on the stature or greatness of figures from the past, should historians take account of the effects of their actions or the motives and attitudes behind them? If Eisenhower's actions resulted in progress in civil rights and helped end segregation, does it matter that he may have

taken those actions reluctantly, and for reasons that had as much to do with exerting federal authority and promoting the USA's image abroad as protecting the interests of African Americans?

The 1960 election

As Eisenhower's second term drew to an end, Republican hopes for staying in power rested with the Vice-President Richard Nixon – now their presidential candidate. The Democratic nominee was John F. Kennedy.

Although Kennedy represented a youth and energy that Nixon lacked, the record of the Eisenhower years ensured the Republicans a continued base of support, and a Democratic victory was far from assured.



Figure 2.10: The debates that took place between the presidential candidates Kennedy and Nixon were televised, marking a new era in political campaigning.

In fact, the 1960 election was one of the most closely run in US history. The debates that took place as part of the campaign – televised for the first time – resulted in no clear winner. The results of the election itself were quite evenly matched. Only a small number of votes

gave Kennedy the victory, and the Democrats lost seats in both the House and the Senate. For all this, though, the 1960 election ushered in a new era in US domestic policies.

2.5 How successful were Eisenhower's domestic policies?

Throughout his presidency, Eisenhower was increasingly regarded as a leader who reacted to events rather than controlling them. However, the successes of his time in office should not be underestimated. These included:

- passing the first post-war Civil Rights Act
- continuing to offer financial support to farmers
- developing the transport infrastructure through bringing in a major highways programme
- developing and modernising the education system
- expanding Social Security so that, by 1961, 90% of Americans were covered in some way
- fulfilling some of his promises to return power to the states (although civil rights policies were believed by some to oppose states' rights)
- introducing an era of relative prosperity, with more cars, urban development and higher living standards.

Against these positive developments are the fact that unemployment remained high and there were many poor areas of the country. Civil rights were a serious issue, and when Eisenhower left power there were still unresolved problems in enforcing legislation and undermining deeply held racist attitudes. He had been driven into taking action by Supreme Court decisions and civil rights initiatives, rather than being led by his own policies and ideals.

In addition, Eisenhower had been unable to maintain the initiative and Congress had come under Democrat control. High defence spending had led to budget deficits and undue influence from heavy industry and the armed forces – and this was something Eisenhower warned about in his farewell address.

In this speech, Eisenhower's use of the term 'military-industrial complex' (see Source 2.5 below) was significant. By this, he was referring to the growth of the influence of US military leaders and the considerable armaments industry that arose during the Second World War – and which reached significant proportions during the Cold War.

The political left feared this alliance between the military and capitalist powers, and for a Republican leader to use the term 'military-industrial complex' was a sign of the concern even in US conservative circles about the cost and potential dangers of the arms build-up.

SOURCE 2.5

We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought by the military-industrial complex.

The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

Extract from Eisenhower's farewell address, 17 January 1961. Quoted in Mooney, P. and Brown, C. 1979. **Truman to Carter: Post-war History of the United States of America**. London. Arnold. p. 69.

QUESTION

What message is being given in Source 2.5? What did Eisenhower mean by 'the military-industrial complex'? What did he mean by 'misplaced power'?

Paper 3 exam practice

Question

Evaluate the extent to which Truman and Eisenhower were **successful** in achieving their **domestic policy aims**. [15 marks]

Skill

Understanding the wording of a question

Examiner's tips

The first step in producing a high-scoring essay is to look **closely** at the wording of the question, and every year students lose valuable marks by failing to do so. It is therefore important to start by identifying the **key** or '**command**' words in the question. In the question above, these command words are:

- evaluate
- successful
- domestic
- aims.

Key words are intended to give you clear instructions about what you need to cover in your essay – hence they are sometimes called 'command' words. If you ignore them, you will not score high marks, no matter how precise and detailed your knowledge of the period.

- **evaluate:** this is not the same as 'describe'; it asks for some analysis and judgements about relative importance
- **successful:** this also requires a judgement rather than just a description of what happened; consider how you will measure success
- **domestic:** the question clearly asks you to focus on internal policies, such as health, education, Social Security and civil rights, rather than on international issues and foreign policy
- **aims:** Truman's aims were related to the post-war situation in the USA and also to his beliefs in continuing the reforms of the New Deal; Eisenhower's aims were based on the changed situation by 1953 and the need to redress the balance between the role of the federal government and that of the individual in US life.

For this question, you will need to cover the following aspects:

- **Truman's aims as the US made the transition from war to peace:** the need to maintain economic control and to avoid a return to the high levels of unemployment of the pre-war years

- **the changes brought about by the end of the war:** hopes for a better and fairer society, such as greater civil rights for African Americans and an extension of social services and health care
- **the achievements:** the beginnings of civil rights reform; the extension of social reforms; the transition from war to peace without economic decline
- **the limitations:** the opposition of Congress; resistance to change in the South; the need to divert resources to defence; problems that arose with trade unions; the distraction of the Red Scare
- **the situation when Eisenhower came to power:** the need to please his supporters by reducing federal spending and encouraging economic reform, without causing social and economic hardship by reversing the gains made by the New Deal and the Fair Deal
- **the problems Eisenhower faced:** ongoing anti-communist hysteria; the need for heavy defence spending as the arms race developed with the USSR; demands for civil rights and the poor image that southern resistance projected to the world
- **the achievements:** did Eisenhower keep a balance between ending government control and maintaining welfare spending? Did he deal well with the McCarthy campaign? Did he offer key support to civil rights by sending in federal troops?
- **the limitations:** did Eisenhower allow McCarthy's campaign to go on for too long? Was the Civil Rights Act too limited? Did he fail to prevent economic downturn and yet still maintain government spending at a higher level than he and many Republicans had wished? Did he fail to control the growing power of the military-industrial complex?

Common mistakes

Under exam pressure, two types of mistakes are particularly common, both of which can be avoided by focusing carefully on the wording of the question.

The first is to begin by giving some pre-1945 context, but then to continue writing a narrative account of the period, focusing on domestic events and the elections of 1948 and 1952. Such a narrative-based account will not score highly, as it will not explicitly address the question. Also, simply listing policies and their results is not enough to gain high marks. You need to make clear judgements about their success in relation to their aims.

The other – more common – mistake is to focus **entirely** on the dates. This will almost certainly lead you to write a general account of what happened during this period. Such a narrative-based answer will not score highly, as it will not explicitly address the ‘assess’ part of the question. Select **relevant** events from the period and use them to develop an argument that is **analytical** and uses **supporting evidence**.

Activity

In this chapter, the focus is on understanding the question and producing a brief essay plan. Look again at the question, the tips and the simplified mark scheme in Chapter 7.

Now, using the information from this chapter, and any other sources of information available to you, draw up an essay plan (perhaps in the form of a spider diagram) that includes all the necessary headings for a well-focused and clearly structured response to the question.

Paper 3 practice questions

1. Compare and contrast the domestic achievements of Truman and Eisenhower.
2. Examine the reasons why the Democrats won the presidential election of 1948 yet lost in 1952?
3. Evaluate the importance of the civil rights issue in US domestic politics between 1945 and 1960?
4. Compare and contrast the domestic policies of Eisenhower and Truman.
5. Evaluate the success of US governments between 1945 and 1960 in dealing with the social changes resulting from the Second World War?

3 Kennedy and the New Frontier; Johnson and the 'Great Society'

Introduction

This chapter deals with the ongoing responses of two different presidents to the issues faced by the USA in the post-war years, notably civil rights, the management of the economy to maintain living standards, and the preservation and modernisation of the reforms of the New Deal, the legacy of which continued into the 1960s and 1970s. This chapter also investigates the personality and governing style of each president. Kennedy's image was a major factor in his popularity, regardless of the realities of his domestic achievements. Johnson exercised greater personal control over administration and internal change than his predecessors, and federal legislation reached a post-war peak with his 'Great Society' programme.

TIMELINE

| | | |
|------|---------|--|
| 1960 | Nov: | Kennedy wins presidential election |
| 1961 | Jan: | Housing Act and Area Redevelopment Act passed |
| 1962 | Sep: | Congress accepts tax cuts; federal government supports James Meredith entering University of Mississippi |
| | Oct: | Cuban Missile Crisis |
| 1963 | Jun: | Kennedy confronts George Wallace in desegregation of University of Alabama |
| | 22 Nov: | Kennedy assassinated; Johnson becomes President |
| 1964 | | Office of Economic Opportunity created; Civil Rights Act passed |
| | 22 May: | Johnson makes 'Great Society' speech |
| | Nov: | Johnson elected President |

1965 Voting Rights Act passed

1968 Civil Rights Act passed

4 Apr: Martin Luther King assassinated

Nov: Nixon wins presidential election

KEY QUESTIONS

- What was distinctive about Kennedy's style, ideas and policies?
- What was the New Frontier?
- How much impact did the New Frontier have?
- What was Johnson's 'Great Society'?
- How far did Johnson fulfil his aims for the 'Great Society'?

Overview

- Kennedy was a dynamic young leader with a sense of idealism. During his presidency, the Peace Corps initiative took young Americans into service abroad, demonstrating a commitment to international freedom.
- This commitment was exemplified by Kennedy's visit to Berlin in 1961, after the communists constructed the Berlin Wall to separate eastern and western parts of the city. The fight for international freedom from communism took a less positive form the same year, with Kennedy's ill-judged support for an invasion of Cuba.
- Kennedy's preoccupation with foreign policy reached a climax when the USSR placed nuclear missiles in Cuba, and the President was forced to negotiate with the Soviets to avoid nuclear war.
- Kennedy spoke out in favour of domestic reform and support for civil rights, but little progress was made in these areas due to congressional restrictions and Kennedy's own preoccupation with foreign affairs.
- After Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Johnson assumed the presidency and attempted to continue the reforms his predecessor had started.
- Johnson introduced a large number of measures, but not all were successfully implemented. This was largely because foreign affairs once again distracted the President – this time in the form of the escalating conflict in Vietnam.
- Domestic reforms were scaled back as defence spending rose, but Johnson's 'Great Society' measures were the most extensive since the 1930s, and their importance is still the subject of debate today.

3.1 What was distinctive about Kennedy's style, ideas and policies?

The new president

John F. Kennedy represented a new force in US politics. He was born into a wealthy Catholic family, the son of a businessman and former US ambassador to Britain. He served in the navy from 1941 to 1945, and gained a medal for heroism. Kennedy was elected as a Democrat congressman in 1946, and became a senator in 1953. In 1960, at forty-three years old, he became the youngest president of the USA and the very first Roman Catholic to be president.

He was one of the first presidents to master the art of using the media and always looked at ease, effortless socially especially when up against the restless Richard Nixon. He had great personal and political charm: he looked good on television, had an attractive wife (Jacqueline Lee Bouvier) and was an eloquent public speaker. Overall, he seemed to embody a more youthful and hopeful style of government, less concerned with material values and more open and idealistic.

Kennedy was careful about his image and in a way he was the first celebrity president, more notable for what he was than either what he said or what policies he put forward. The word 'Camelot' summed up his prestige – the creation of a magical and glamorous 'Round Table' atmosphere with inspiring phrases like 'New Frontier', 'Peace Corps' 'Hundred Days' and an appeal to Americans to 'ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country'. He claimed to be forward thinking.

This speech, accepting the New York Liberal Party nomination sums up a lot of what his political image contained:

'What do our opponents mean when they apply to us the label "Liberal?" ... If by a "Liberal" they mean someone who looks ahead and not behind, someone who welcomes new ideas without rigid reactions, someone who cares about the welfare of the people — their health, their housing, their schools, their jobs, their civil rights, and their civil liberties — someone who believes we can break through the stalemate and suspicions that grip us in our policies abroad, if that is what they mean by a "Liberal," then I'm proud to say "I'm a Liberal".'

However, in reality, he was not especially Liberal: he believed in the Cold War as a moral crusade; he took a hard line on Cuba and was a bitter opponent of Castro; the space race and the Peace Corps were not disinterested initiatives, but deliberately anti-Russian; he maintained good relations with the racist Southern congressmen and women; and his policy of tax cuts was condemned by real liberals.

What was distinctive about his presidency was his ability to seem more progressive than he was, and establish a liberal atmosphere without really diverging much from conservative ideology. He was not a popular hero at the time of his election – he was, in some ways more right-wing than Nixon and only won by 112 827 – however, the image that he portrayed was not that of a conservative but of a visionary, idealistic leader who wanted to take the USA to a ‘new frontier’.

His assassination was so shocking that it coloured views of his presidency as being closer to the image that he presented, than he was in reality. Coupled with this, his advisers were often more liberal than their boss and so projected onto him some of their ideas, especially in accounts written after his death.

What was most distinctive about Kennedy was the way that his public image (carefully calculated) and his private life (often lurid) and his actual views and policies were so different. In this, he was the first TV-orientated politicians, masters of ‘spin’, acutely conscious of the importance of image over substantial and detailed policies.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Significance: Use the internet to find some key images of, and speeches given by, Kennedy that set him apart from other political leaders. Create a short presentation entitled ‘The Kennedy Image’. Try to find some sound clips that demonstrate Kennedy’s effectiveness as a public speaker, and assess the significance of his ‘presidential style’.

What were the key differences in style between Kennedy and older politicians such as Truman and Eisenhower? Why had style and personality become so important by 1960?

3.2 What was the New Frontier?

The New Frontier was announced in a speech in July 1960 in Los Angeles at which Kennedy accepted the Democratic nomination.

SOURCE 3.1

I stand here tonight facing west on what was once the last frontier. From the lands that stretch three thousand miles behind us, the pioneers gave up their safety, their comfort and sometimes their lives to build our new West. They were not the captives of their own doubts, nor the prisoners of their own price tags. They were determined to make the new world strong and free -- an example to the world, to overcome its hazards and its hardships, to conquer the enemies that threatened from within and without.

Some would say that those struggles are all over, that all the horizons have been explored, that all the battles have been won, that there is no longer an American frontier. But I trust that no one in this assemblage would agree with that sentiment; for the problems are not all solved and the battles are not all won; and we stand today on the edge of a New Frontier -- the frontier of the 1960's, the frontier of unknown opportunities and perils, the frontier of unfilled hopes and unfilled threats.

Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom promised our nation a new political and economic framework. Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal promised security and succor to those in need. But the New Frontier of which I speak is not a set of promises. It is a set of challenges.

It sums up not what I intend to offer to the American people, but what I intend to ask of them. It appeals to their pride -- It appeals to our pride, not our security. It holds out the promise of more sacrifice instead of more security.

The New Frontier is here whether we seek it or not.

Beyond that frontier are uncharted areas of science and space, unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered problems of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus. It would be easier to shrink from that new frontier, to look to the safe mediocrity of the past, to be lulled by good intentions and high rhetoric -- and those who prefer that course should not vote for me or the Democratic Party.

But I believe that the times require imagination and courage and perseverance. I'm asking each of you to be pioneers towards that New Frontier. My call is to the young in heart, regardless of age -- to the stout in spirit, regardless of Party, to all who respond to the scriptural call: 'Be strong and of a good courage; be not afraid, neither be [thou] dismayed.'

Source: www.americanrhetoric.com

The speech had a number of important ideas. It reminded America of their frontier past and their achievements in opening up the West. It stressed that opportunities were still there for modern Americans. It changed the usual political speech of promises into one which offered challenges to the American people. It established the importance of scientific progress and the chance to explore Space. It saw the need to meet problems of international peace. At home it raised the problems of poverty, ignorance and prejudice. It also used highly emotive and Biblical language.

So the idea of a New Frontier linked Kennedy to previous Democratic campaigns -- Wilson's New Freedom and Roosevelt's New Deal. It did not contain specific proposals for domestic

reforms. Its tone was reflected in later, perhaps more famous speeches, for example when in his inaugural address in 1961 he said:

SOURCE 3.2

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help.

Source: www.ushistory.org

QUESTION

Look at Sources 3.1 and 3.2:

- In what ways are the speeches similar?
- What do they tell you about Kennedy's style as a political leader?
- What specific areas of domestic policy does Source 3.1 propose to change?
- What is the message of Figure 3.1?

The New Frontier was less a set of concrete proposals than an ethical statement establishing some principles that would guide policy. It was endorsed by a large majority and was viewed sceptically by some.



Figure 3.1: This supposed song book of 1963 pokes fun at the New Frontier.

3.3 How much impact did the New Frontier have?

Although domestic policy featured prominently in Kennedy's election campaign, there was little mention of it in his inaugural speech in January 1961. At the time, the USA was engaged in a stand-off with the USSR over Berlin, as well as becoming increasingly involved in the conflict in Vietnam. In addition, the Soviets were supporting the communist regime in Cuba, and the US was losing its previously overwhelming lead in the arms race. All these factors made Kennedy believe that he would be judged by his approach to foreign affairs, and that foreign policy must be the key feature of his presidency. In private, Kennedy asked Nixon: 'Who gives a **** whether the minimum wage is \$1.15 or \$1.25 compared to something like Cuba?'

Events in the wider world made it difficult for Kennedy to prioritise domestic issues, but there were factors closer to home that also hindered progress in this area:

- Since 1946, presidents had a poor record of getting legislation through Congress. The US Constitution protected its citizens against an overly powerful Executive branch, and the House Rules Committee had established a strong group of conservatives that blocked discussion of reforming legislation.
- There was a strong tradition of 'states' rights', which stood against federal interference in matters that supporters felt were the responsibility of state governments.
- The Democratic Party contained a strong white supremacist element from the South, which would block civil rights reforms.
- Kennedy was personally much more interested in foreign policy than in the more mundane issues of tax, welfare, economic subsidies to farmers and Social Security.

Kennedy's reforms

When Kennedy came to power, the USA was facing several domestic problems. The country was in a recession and suffering a 7% unemployment rate.

The civil rights movement was growing increasingly militant. Congressional opposition to reforms could not be easily overcome, and out of 355 administrative measures introduced, only 172 passed; 16 out of 23 major bills were defeated.

Given these facts, it is not surprising that the success of Kennedy's New Frontier policy has been questioned. However, consideration should be given to the reforms that were implemented during his presidency. In an attempt to help those worst affected by the recession:

- the minimum wage was raised from \$1 to \$1.15 and then to \$1.25

- states were empowered to extend unemployment benefit for a longer period
- a \$4.9 billion Housing Act was passed and an Area Development Act giving federal aid to 'distressed areas' was introduced.

These measures helped counter the effects of the recession, but increased defence spending – necessary for Kennedy's foreign policy – also stimulated the economy.



Figure 3.2: John F. Kennedy giving his inaugural address in January 1961.

As the economic recovery gathered pace, the government introduced additional measures to stimulate growth, encourage social reform and improve the international standing of the United States:

- The Trade Expansion Act gave the President power to cut customs duties in an effort to increase trade with Western Europe.
- The Manpower Retraining Bill allocated over \$400 million dollars to retrain workers.
- The Public Works Act set aside \$900 million for schemes to help designated areas of high unemployment (this was, however, considerably less than the \$2 billion Kennedy wanted).
- Major federal projects included setting up a large atomic power station at Hanford, Washington, and the Communications Satellite Act to launch space satellites to relay communications worldwide.
- There were successful bills to increase funding for research on mental illness and to regulate the production of drugs.

Kennedy's failed plans

However, several of Kennedy's domestic initiatives were rejected by Congress. These included education reforms, a reform of farm subsidies and a proposal for a new Department of Urban and Housing Affairs. In addition, a scheme for medical insurance for retired workers over 65, to be paid for while they were in work, met with resistance from medical and insurance interests and was blocked by conservative opposition in Congress.

Furthermore, a number of intended measures were never carried out before Kennedy was assassinated. These included a Civil Rights Bill and a programme for waging 'War on Poverty'. Kennedy also had a tax cuts strategy, but this was never fully implemented.

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Significance: How significant was opposition from Congress when assessing Kennedy's domestic achievements?

The Kennedy debate

The new style that Kennedy brought to the White House led to high expectations of domestic reform, and there has been much debate about how far he was successful in this area during his 'thousand days' in office. Kennedy's assassination in 1963 generated a wave of emotion that made it hard to be critical of his administration in its immediate aftermath. It also led many to speculate about what he might have gone on to achieve, rather than assessing his actual achievements. His widow, Jackie, encouraged talk of 'Camelot' – a semi-mythical heroic kingdom that equated to Kennedy's presidency.

The early histories of Kennedy's period in office were written by people close to him – notably his advisors Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Theodore Sorensen.

Both these men published books about Kennedy in 1965, and between them they quote the following reforming measures that Kennedy undertook:

- a minimum wage that was ‘the first major increase since 1938’
- the ‘most comprehensive farm legislation since 1938’
- the ‘first accelerated public works program since the New Deal’
- the ‘most far-reaching tax reforms since the New Deal’
- the ‘most comprehensive housing and urban renewal policy in history’
- ‘the longest American expansion of the economy’
- ‘a national assault on the causes of poverty’.

In 1991, a generally sympathetic study of Kennedy by James M. Giglio (*The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*) said that ‘Kennedy fell short of accomplishing his domestic objectives. Programmes for Civil Rights, medical assistance to the aged, education and poverty, failed to materialise.’ However, Giglio goes on to point out that Kennedy promoted economic growth, unemployment fell, New Deal commitments such as Social Security, the minimum wage and reduction of discrimination against women were updated, and a major housing programme launched a period of urban renewal.

By 1996, however, views on Kennedy’s domestic achievements had changed. Historian James T. Patterson states: ‘Kennedy’s record in the realm of domestic policies was hardly stellar.’ Patterson believes that Kennedy was an uninspiring leader who made little effort to win congressional support for domestic reform.

Kennedy apparently told Sorensen to ‘drop the domestic stuff altogether’ when drafting his inaugural speech. Many of Kennedy’s policies, Patterson claims, helped interest groups and not the people. For example, a Housing Act of 1961 did more to assist developers and construction unions than the poor. In addition to this, Patterson points out that acts aimed at helping depressed areas were not sufficiently funded. Congress scrapped the Area Development Act in 1965.

QUESTION

Is Source 3.3 justified in its view of Kennedy’s New Frontier domestic policies? Use knowledge from the chapter to explain your view.

SOURCE 3.3

Historian Robert Dallek refers to a gap between the claims Kennedy had made by the 1962 mid-term elections and the reality of the situation:

Journalists... pointed out that he [Kennedy] had lost his aid to education and Medicare fights and that many of the Kennedy laws were not new frontier measures, but extensions of earlier programmes... For all Kennedy’s efforts to talk up his legislative accomplishments, a defensive tone revealed his own doubts and his limited interest in domestic affairs.

Dallek, R. 2003. *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life*. London. Penguin. p. 491.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Change: Look again at the summary of measures adopted and those that Kennedy intended to implement. Split into two groups. One group should produce a poster highlighting Kennedy's achievements, and the other group should create a poster outlining his failures and limitations. Use the information in your posters to reach a judgement about how successful Kennedy was in dealing with domestic affairs, and how much change his policies brought about.

Kennedy's New Frontier policies: an assessment

Kennedy's legislative achievement seems more limited than the earlier histories suggest. Conservative opposition in Congress was clearly important, but when Kennedy threw the full weight of his authority behind a measure, he was often successful. However, the President did not exert this authority frequently in domestic affairs, nor did he make concerted efforts to persuade Congress to back his proposals, as Lyndon Johnson later did.

Another factor to consider is whether the reforms Kennedy introduced were the right ones. For example, his tax reforms were heavily criticised and many proposals lacked enough funding to be fully implemented. Kennedy launched his mental health reforms as a result of concerns about poor conditions in mental institutions. However, the real consequence of this was that higher numbers of mentally ill people re-entered society – a situation that brought its own problems that were never addressed. Kennedy's War on Poverty was not a priority in his first two years in office, and was still in its planning stages when he died.

How much impact did Kennedy have on civil rights?

Civil rights were already a key social issue when Kennedy came to power. The new President wanted to proceed cautiously, 'in a way that will maintain a consensus of national opinion'.

African American appointments

To begin with, Kennedy continued Eisenhower's policy of appointing more African Americans to senior positions, notably making **Thurgood Marshall** a judge in the Court of Appeals and Carl Rowan US ambassador to Finland. In his role as US attorney general, Kennedy's brother **Robert Kennedy** also employed African American lawyers in the Justice Department and appointed them to the federal district court.

Thurgood Marshall (1908–93):

The great-grandson of a slave, Marshall grew up in Baltimore, Maryland. He became a civil rights lawyer and represented the NAACP in the famous *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954. He was appointed to the Court of Appeals by Kennedy, and was later promoted to Supreme Court justice by Johnson – the first African American to hold this position.

Robert Kennedy (1925–68):

Kennedy was the younger brother of John F. Kennedy, and was one of his senior advisors. He was the US attorney general throughout Kennedy's presidency and became an influential civil rights activist. After his brother's death, Robert was elected as senator for New York. In 1968, he began his own campaign to become President, but was assassinated in June that year.

Civil rights reform

The New Frontier had challenged Americans on the issue of 'prejudice' and Kennedy enacted several reforms designed to tackle discrimination. He established the Commission on Equal Opportunity Employment to ensure fair treatment for all federal employees. Segregation was banned in federal housing, and only integrated schools were awarded federal grants in 'impacted areas'.

In 1962, poll tax payment was abolished as a qualification for voting in federal elections. Only those who earned more than a certain amount of money had to pay poll tax. As many African Americans did not achieve this level of income, they did not pay the poll tax and were therefore ineligible to vote. After payment of poll tax was dropped as a voting qualification, however, five southern states still insisted on a minimum amount of income-tax payment in order to qualify for voting rights. This was still more than many African Americans paid.

Continued problems in the South

These modest changes were little more than a continuation of policies initiated by the previous administration, but the demand for reform grew rapidly in the USA in the early 1960s. Civil rights groups organised Freedom Rides, in which black and white activists rode buses into southern states to test the transport desegregation laws.

In the deeply segregationist South, the Freedom Riders met with abuse and often violent assault, which local authorities did little to prevent. US marshals were called in to stop the violence, but only limited action was taken against the state authorities.

Discrimination in education made headlines again in 1962, when **James Meredith** was denied entry to Mississippi University despite a Supreme Court ruling. The governor of Mississippi defied the court and refused to allow Meredith his place at the university. Against a backdrop of violence, 400 federal troops were sent to escort Meredith to the university in safety in September 1962.

James Meredith (b. 1933):

African American James Meredith grew up in Mississippi, where he was educated at segregated schools. Determined to challenge segregation and to push Kennedy towards civil rights legislation, he applied to Mississippi University. Meredith's application was denied, but with the help of the NAACP he appealed to the courts. The case was carried right through to the Supreme Court, which ruled that he had been discriminated against on grounds of his race, and ordered that he be admitted to the university. Meredith later had a distinguished career promoting civil rights.



Figure 3.3: James Meredith enters Mississippi University under the protection of federal marshals in September 1962.

The problems continued the following year in Birmingham, Alabama, when the police chief, 'Bull' Connor, launched violent attacks against African American protesters. Once again, the federal government was forced to intervene.

In June 1963, the governor of Alabama, **George Wallace**, tried to prevent two African American students entering Alabama University. Kennedy federalised the Alabama National Guard.

George Wallace (1919–98):

Wallace was a former bomber pilot who served four times as governor of Alabama between 1963 and 1987. He was an ardent white supremacist, who despised Kennedy and what he regarded as the 'Eastern Establishment'. Wallace's failed attempt to stop two students enrolling in the state university in 1963 (known as the 'Stand at the Schoolhouse Door') did not deter him, and later the same year he tried to prevent integration in four primary schools in Huntsville. Wallace was crippled by a gun attack in 1972.

By the middle of 1963, the South was in a turmoil of protests and violent attacks. Membership of the extreme white supremacist group the Ku Klux Klan was reported to have reached 50 000, and local governments in the South were ignoring federal authority.

Kennedy realised that racial attacks were severely damaging to the USA's reputation abroad, offering opportunities for Soviet propaganda to brand US talk of 'liberty' mere hypocrisy. The assassination of Medgar Evers, the Mississippi secretary of the NAACP, in June 1963 proved a turning point. The government could no longer simply react to individual occurrences of violence and discrimination in the South – it had to take broader measures to prevent them.

The Civil Rights Act

On 11 June 1963, Kennedy delivered a televised speech in which he called for a Civil Rights Act that would address the problem of discrimination against African Americans and guarantee their equal treatment in all areas of life. Despite his impassioned address, Kennedy was doubtful that such a bill would pass through Congress, and he feared that just proposing it would end his chances of re-election. However, Martin Luther King, one of the leaders of the famous March on Washington in August 1963 in support of African American rights, expressed his approval of Kennedy's proposal.

Kennedy's attitude towards civil rights is one of the most debated points of his presidency. Sorensen called the Civil Rights Act 'the most comprehensive and far-reaching Civil Rights Bill ever proposed'. Schlesinger believed that civil rights were an integral part of Kennedy's

domestic policy, citing the President's claim that 'an increased minimum wage, federal aid to education and other social and economic reforms were all civil rights bills'.

Modern views are less enthusiastic. In his 2006 book *The Bystander*, historian Nick Bryant argues that civil rights took second place to the Cold War throughout Kennedy's administration. He claims that 'Kennedy was often tone deaf about civil rights' and never provided 'the kind of principled leadership that black activists needed'. Bryant believes that Kennedy simply began a policy in which 'grand gestures... obviated the need for truly substantive reforms'. Dallek also believes Kennedy took a cautious approach to civil rights, and suggests that there were 'more than moral considerations' in the President's decision to embrace a Civil Rights Act in 1963 – namely fear of increasing black violence.



Figure 3.4: Martin Luther King addresses a rally in 1963.

Civil rights under Kennedy: an assessment

Kennedy was undoubtedly driven by events when it came to civil rights. It is unlikely that he would have proposed the Civil Rights Act if violence in the South had not reached the levels

it did in 1963. Kennedy knew that he lacked the power over Congress to push such a bill through, and he needed the conservative southern Democrats on his side to ensure the success of other legislation.

In his June 1963 speech, Kennedy seemed heartfelt in his portrayal of civil rights as a moral issue – one that transcended states' rights and legalism. However, it should be remembered that this came more than two years into his presidency. By this point, African American incomes were half those of white Americans, and black unemployment was more than double the figure for whites.

In the South, membership of racist groups was high; their activities went largely unchecked and there was almost constant infringement of black constitutional rights. In light of these facts, civil rights were a pressing issue, and it is easy to argue that Kennedy should have done more to tackle the root cause of the problem right from the start. On the other hand, Kennedy made several important speeches on the issue of civil rights, which highlighted the problems and brought them more firmly into the national consciousness. He also risked his political future by setting the Civil Rights Act in motion.

Kennedy had his detractors at the time, but his reputation was transformed by his assassination in November 1963. He became a heroic figure, cut down in his prime before he could carry through his dreams of social reform.

One consequence of this strong public reaction to Kennedy's death was that Congress found it difficult to oppose any initiative that he had launched. Most significantly, perhaps, the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964, paving the way for further reform under Kennedy's successors.

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Significance: The following is an extract from an online article about Kennedy:

'John F. Kennedy's assassination on 22 November, 1963, was a defining moment in both the history of the United States and the lives of millions of people around the world. He was the figurehead for a sea change of attitudes at the beginning of the vibrant 1960s in a country fast becoming disillusioned with its foreign policy and desperate for civil rights reform.'

How important do you think Kennedy's domestic achievements were?

3.4 What was Johnson's 'Great Society'?

A plain-speaking Texan, Johnson had already enjoyed a long career in politics by the time he became President. He played his part in Roosevelt's New Deal (see Section 2.1) as director of the National Youth Administration in Texas, and was elected to Congress in 1937.

Kennedy chose Johnson as his Vice-President during the 1960 election campaign largely because of his political experience. However, after the election Johnson never found a place in Kennedy's closest circle of advisors, and he resented the strong influence the Kennedy family had in government. Despite the fact that the two men had not enjoyed a close political relationship, Johnson pledged to continue Kennedy's work.



Figure 3.5: President Johnson.

A new style of government

Johnson's presidential style was very different from that of his predecessors. He demanded total loyalty from his staff and insisted on maintaining personal control of most matters of

policy. He became one of the most-photographed presidents in history, taking every opportunity to project his image to the American public. Johnson also earned a reputation for humiliating his subordinates (some say he even issued orders to them while he was seated on the lavatory).

Johnson's accession marked a major shift in policy as, to begin with at least, the new President focused on domestic rather than foreign affairs. This was partly in deference to the public's expectation that he would complete the work Kennedy had begun on domestic reform. However, Johnson believed that Kennedy had been too conservative when it came to internal policy, and he was much more committed to domestic change than his predecessor had been. As a congressional insider, Johnson was also more skilled at persuading Congress to support his measures.

The 'Great Society' reforms

The new President had a vision for transforming the USA into a 'Great Society', which he outlined in a speech delivered at the University of Michigan in May 1964. He asked the students gathered there: 'Will you join the battle to build the 'Great Society', to prove that our material progress is only the foundation to build the richer life of mind and spirit?' Johnson established 17 different task forces to draft a range of reforms, and instituted a flurry of legislation, in what has been called 'the most intense period of reform in US history'.

The sheer scale and complexity of Johnson's domestic policy can be daunting. Table 3.1 gives a summary of some of the key legislation passed during his administration.

ACTIVITY

Using Table 3.1, list the measures that fall under the following categories:

- civil rights
- culture
- housing and welfare
- education
- environment.

a Prepare a PowerPoint presentation explaining the impact of your chosen category.

b Split into groups. Each group should select a category and do some further research into the legislation and its short- and long-term effects.

Table 3.1: summary of some of the key legislation passed during Johnson's administration.

| Measure | Date | Description |
|---|------|--|
| Higher Education Facilities Act | 1963 | Federal aid for colleges, libraries, new technical institutes and 30 new community colleges. |
| Civil Rights Act | 1964 | Enforced the constitutional right to vote, provided protection against racial discrimination in 'public accommodations', authorised the attorney general to protect equal rights in public facilities and education. |
| Food Stamp Act | 1964 | Gave direct help with food for the poor. |
| Economic Opportunity Act | 1964 | Created the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEC); \$1 million funding in 1964 and another \$2 million in 1965 and 1966. |
| Urban Mass Transportation Act | 1964 | \$375 million in aid for urban rail systems to ease traffic. |
| Wilderness Act | 1964 | Preserved areas of natural beauty and set up national parks. |
| Clear Air, Water Quality and Clean Water Restoration Acts | 1964 | Established controls on pollution. |
| Elementary and Secondary Education Act | 1965 | \$1 billion in federal aid to public education in areas with high numbers of poor families. |
| Higher Education Act | 1965 | 140 000 scholarships and low-interest loans granted for poorer college students; Teacher Corps established. |
| Housing and Urban Development Act | 1965 | Federal funds provided for urban renewal, including recreation centres and a rent supplement scheme. |
| Social Security Act | 1965 | Provided for two health-insurance programmes: Medicaid (for people on low incomes) and Medicare (for those over 65 or with disabilities). |
| National Endowment for the Arts | 1965 | Federal funding for arts projects; there was also a National Endowment for the Humanities. |
| Voting Rights Act | 1965 | Outlawed literacy tests as a means of assessing someone's right to vote, and provided safeguards against state governments restricting voting rights. |
| Immigration and Nationality Services Act | 1965 | Abolished national origin quotas in immigration law. |
| Jobs Corps | 1966 | To help develop skills among disadvantaged young people. |
| Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act | 1966 | Model Cities Program for urban redevelopment; coordinated existing plans and extended them to depressed cities. |

| Measure | Date | Description |
|---|------|--|
| National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act | 1966 | Created the National Highway Traffic Safety Bureau to give federal government more control over road safety. |
| Freedom of Information Act | 1966 | Allowed information and data from federal agencies to be publicly available except in matters affecting security. |
| Federal Jury Reform Act | 1968 | Protection from racial discrimination by juries. |
| Civil Rights Act | 1968 | Banned housing discrimination on racial grounds, and extended rights in registration and voting to Native Americans. |
| Bilingual Education Act | 1968 | Provided aid in local districts for children with limited English. |

3.5 How far did Johnson fulfil his aims for the 'Great Society'?

The table you created at the end of the last section gives an idea of the huge expansion of the activity and regulation of the federal government in a short period of time. Even at the time, there were some who believed that the legislation was rushed through in an effort to please everyone. The debate about the effectiveness of Johnson's 'Great Society' reforms continues to this day.

Negative perspectives

Modern conservative historians tend to regard Johnson's measures as socially destructive. They argue that such legislation broke up traditional family structures by creating welfare dependency, and ultimately brought little benefit to those it was supposed to help. Historians Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen claim that 'the Great Society programs had not had any measurable impact on the percentage of poor in America as compared to the trends before the programs were enacted'.

The view from the political left was not much more encouraging. Howard Zinn also expresses doubts about the effectiveness of the 'Great Society': 'Those blacks who could afford to go to restaurants and hotels in the South were no longer barred. More blacks could go to universities and colleges... None of this was halting the unemployment, the deterioration of the ghetto, the rising crime, drug addiction and violence.'

James Patterson believed that Medicare and Medicaid 'fell short of national health insurance'. Many Americans were not eligible for this cover, and in fact the US had fewer people covered by health insurance than any other industrialised nation in the world. Even those who were covered by Medicare and Medicaid found that there were many exemptions to what they could claim for.



Figure 3.6: In this 1967 cartoon the 'Great Society' is threatened by foreign policy.

QUESTION

What is the message of the cartoon in Figure 3.6?

Commitments

By the time Johnson left office, many people felt that social reform had moved too far away from the community and was too tightly controlled by the state. Johnson was also criticised for not doing enough to address the cause of poverty – unemployment. Ronald Reagan later claimed that Johnson and the Democrats had waged war on poverty and poverty had won.

The historian Allen J. Matusow produced some devastating criticism in his book *The Unraveling of America: Liberalism in the 1960s* (1984). The Jobs Corps, which aimed to train disadvantaged young people and solve the 1 million youth unemployment problem, did not

have a high success rate; 28% of its trainees were still unemployed after six months. In addition, most training was for entry-level proficiency in low-income work. By 1976, 20% of Americans were still living below the poverty line. Income distribution had not shifted significantly and 40% of the poor did not receive welfare benefits or Medicaid. Michael Katz points out Johnson's refusal to adopt a policy of job creation. The main strategy of the 'Great Society' seemed to be preparing people for employment through education and training, but there were no plans to provide the employment itself.

In any case, by 1966 the most intense period of social reform was coming to an end, and Johnson himself was starting to lose confidence in his vision of a 'Great Society'. Significantly, he blocked a major literacy project and failed to introduce any radical new measures in the face of increasing racial tensions in 1967.

Positive perspectives

A Cabinet paper of 1967 reported that unemployment for that year stood at 25.9 million – down from 28 million in 1958. Other statistics also suggest that Johnson's early reforms did contribute to social improvements that continued to develop beyond his years in office:

- The proportion of elderly poor dropped from 35% to 16% between 1959 and 1980.
- The proportion of families on welfare benefits went from 33% in 1960 to 90% in 1971.
- In 1964, the hospital admission rate for families earning under \$1000 a year was 107 per 1000; by 1968 it was 123 per 1000; those on low incomes saw doctors more frequently than those on middle incomes by 1970.

In 1999, **Joseph Califano** defended the 'Great Society' in an article in *Washington Monthly*, entitled 'What Was Really Great About the "Great Society"?'

Joseph Califano (b. 1931):

Califano was a distinguished lawyer and Johnson's top domestic aide. He took a leading role in the legislation of the 'Great Society', working on labour relations, health care, education and civil rights issues during Johnson's administration.

In this article, Califano outlined several significant benefits that he believed Johnson's reforms were ultimately responsible for. Some of these are listed here:

- In 1960, the infant mortality rate for African Americans was 44.3 for every 1000 live births; in 1997, it was 14.7. Overall infant mortality dropped by nearly 75% between 1963 and 1999.
- In 1960, life expectancy for African Americans was 63.6 years; by 1997, this had risen to 71.2 years. Overall life expectancy in 1964 was 69.7 years; in 1997 it was 76.5 years.
- Over a 30-year period, a quarter of a trillion dollars was made available to college students.
- In 1964, only 41% of Americans finished high school and only 8% held college degrees; by 1999, more than 81% finished high school and 24% finished college.

- In 1960, only 20% of African Americans completed high school and 3% finished college; in 1997, those numbers had risen to 75% and 13% respectively.
- 79 million people signed up for Medicare in the period 1965–99 and Medicaid helped more than 200 million people in the same period.
- Because of the 1965 Health Professions Educational Assistance Act, the number of doctors graduating more than doubled by 1999.
- In 1999, the Great Society's food stamp programme helped to feed more than 20 million people in more than 8 million households.
- Between 1967 and 1999, the school breakfast programme provided breakfast for nearly 100 million school children.
- The Corporation for Public Broadcasting supported 350 public television stations and 699 public radio stations.
- The 1968 National Trail System Act established more than 800 recreational, scenic and historic trails.
- In Johnson's first year in office, only 300 African Americans served as elected officials in the USA; by 1998 there were 9000.
- In 1996, Social Security raised 12 million senior citizens above the poverty line.
- The 1968 Housing Act later provided homes for 7 million families.

SOURCE 3.4

This reduction in poverty did not just happen. It was the result of a focused, tenacious effort to revolutionise the role of the federal government with a series of interventions that enriched the lives of millions of Americans. In those tumultuous 'Great Society' years, the President submitted, and Congress enacted, more than 100 major proposals in each of the 89th and 90th Congresses. In that era of do-it-now optimism, government was neither a bad man to be tarred and feathered nor a bag man to collect campaign contributions, but an instrument to help the most vulnerable in our society.

Califano, J. 'What Was Really Great About the Great Society?' Washington Monthly, October 1999.

QUESTION

What claims are being made for the success of Johnson's domestic policies in Source 3.4?

Theory of Knowledge

History and statistics

What are the problems for a historian such as Califano in using statistical evidence to support a programme in which he was deeply involved? For example, is there a definition of 'poverty line'? What controls are in place to allow an objective assessment of what might have happened over 30 years *without* these programmes? Are historians over-influenced by statistics?

The civil rights issue

Johnson's civil rights legislation initially focused on segregation (mainly a southern issue) and constitutional rights – both issues addressed by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. However, by

1965 the civil rights movement had become more focused on social and economic inequality and lack of opportunity for African Americans. Civil rights had also become a national issue, not merely a southern one.

Amid the prosperity of white urban areas, African Americans lived in areas with high crime rates, and suffered unemployment and poor housing. Inner-city areas became ghettos, and tensions often erupted in confrontations between young blacks and the police. In August 1965, riots broke out in the Watts district of Los Angeles, leading to 34 deaths, 899 injuries and 4000 arrests.

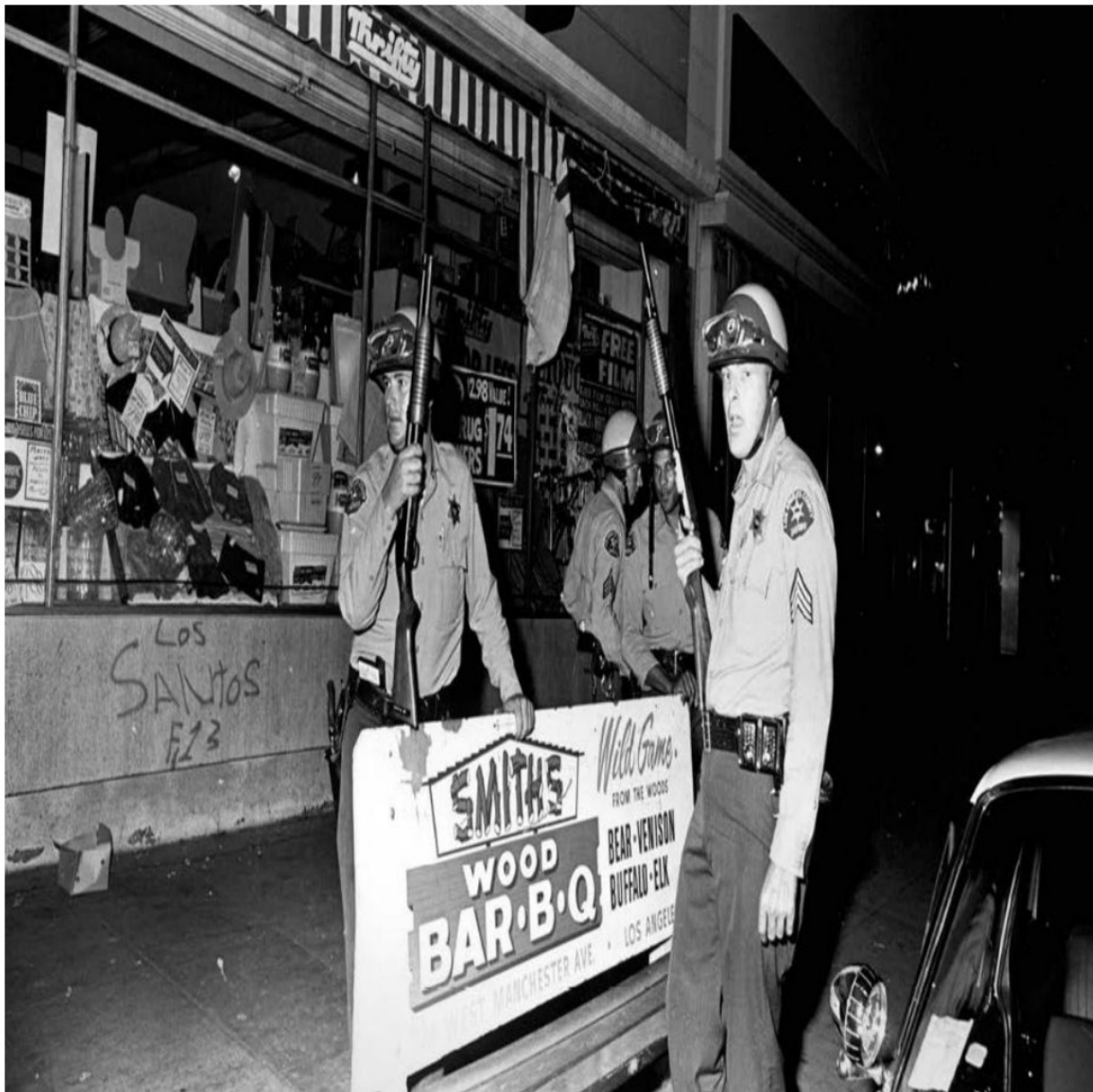


Figure 3.7: Armed police patrol the streets during the Watts riot in Los Angeles in 1965.

By 1966, the civil rights movement was divided between the integrationists, who believed that civil rights should be about equality and integration, and the separatists, who rejected the white system altogether and aimed for 'Black Power'.

Throughout 1966, there were race riots in 42 cities. Violence continued into 1967, and in April 1968 the assassination of Martin Luther King sparked riots in 168 cities and towns across the USA. Johnson failed to respond with further civil rights legislation. Despite all his welfare reforms, the gap between white and black seemed to have widened during Johnson's tenure.

DISCUSSION POINT

Who played a more significant role in civil rights issues – Johnson or Kennedy? Debate the issue in groups of three, with one person arguing for Kennedy, another for Johnson and a third taking notes and reporting back to the class on the discussion.

Paper 3 exam practice

Question

Discuss the view that ‘Changes to civil rights were the most important achievement of Kennedy’s and Johnson’s domestic reforms in the USA.’ [15 marks]

Skill

Planning an essay

Examiner’s tips

As discussed in Chapter 2, the first stage of planning an answer to a question is to think carefully about the wording of the question so that you know what is required and what you need to focus on. Once you have done this, you can move on to the other important considerations:

- Decide your **main argument/theme/approach before** you start to write. This will help you identify the key points you want to make. For example, this question clearly invites you to make a judgement about whether the named factor – civil rights – was the most important out of a range of other possible factors. Deciding on an approach will help you produce an argument that is clear, coherent and logical.
- Plan **the structure of your argument** – i.e. the introduction, the main body of the essay (in which you present precise evidence to support your arguments), and your concluding paragraph.
- For this question, whatever overall view you have about the relative importance of civil rights, you should try to make a **balanced** argument by considering the opposing view. Was social and economic reform more important, given the limitations of civil rights legislation to prevent discontent? Was it important for Johnson, but less so for Kennedy? A good starting point is to consider why civil rights might be the most important factor and develop the argument from there.

Whatever the question, try to **link** the points you make in your paragraphs, so that there is a clear thread that follows through to your conclusion. This will ensure that your essay is not just a series of unconnected paragraphs. Include **linking phrases** to ensure that each ‘factor’ paragraph is linked to the question. For example:

- Civil rights were the most important element for both Kennedy and Johnson because...
- However, many other aspects of domestic change also had an impact on African Americans, for example...
- Although the passing of Civil Rights Acts and the securing of constitutional rights was important, these were driven by key decisions by the Supreme Court, such as...
- However, although Supreme Court decisions were significant, and both presidents passed important social and economic legislation, their actions and policies on civil rights were the most important because...

There are clearly many factors to consider, which will be difficult under the time constraints of the exam. Producing a plan with brief details (such as dates, main events/features) under each heading will help you cover the main issues in the time available. It will also give you something to use if you run out of time and can only jot down the main points of your last paragraph(s). The examiner will give you some credit for this.

Common mistakes

Once the exam has started, one common mistake is for candidates to begin writing **straight away**, without being sure whether they know enough about the questions they have selected. Once they have written several paragraphs, they run out of things to say – and then panic because of the time they have wasted. Producing plans for **each of the three questions** you have to write in Paper 3 at the **start** of the exam will help you assess whether you know enough about the questions to tackle them successfully.

Activity

In this chapter, the focus is on planning answers. Using the information from this chapter, and any other sources of information available to you, produce essay plans – using spider diagrams or mind maps – with all the necessary headings (and brief details) for well-focused and clearly structured responses to **at least two** of the following Paper 3 practice questions.

Remember to refer to the simplified Paper 3 mark scheme in Chapter 7.

Paper 3 practice questions

1. Discuss how effectively US presidents dealt with civil rights issues between 1963 and 1973.
2. To what extent does Kennedy's domestic policy confirm his reputation as a great US president?
3. Evaluate the success of Johnson's attempt to create a 'Great Society'.
4. Compare and contrast the aims and achievements of the domestic policies of Kennedy and Johnson.
5. 'Kennedy's 'New Frontier' domestic policies were more to do with style than real achievement'. To what extent do you agree with this statement?

4 US domestic politics under Nixon, Ford and Carter

Introduction

This chapter considers the domestic policies and problems of three presidents, none of whom have a strong reputation. It explains why Nixon came to office and assesses his record in domestic policy, some of which was pursued despite rather than because of his conservative ideas and was often quite progressive. The infamous Watergate scandal is described and its consequences analysed. Nixon could not contain the damage it caused and he resigned from office rather than suffer impeachment and trial. His successor Gerald Ford was a very different personality and his most controversial decision was to pardon Nixon, something that brought him criticism. The wisdom of the decision is considered in the chapter. The domestic policies of Jimmy Carter are assessed in the light of growing problems and his efforts to meet them. The reasons for Carter's defeat in 1980 are considered and the chapter ends with an overview of an interesting political development in which the parties, which had not been pursuing very dissimilar policies in the 1970s began to be characterised by sharper internal divisions. There were often more differences within the parties than between them.

TIMELINE

| | |
|---------|---|
| 1968 | Nov: Nixon wins presidential election |
| 1970 | National Environmental Policy Act passed |
| 1971 | Aug: New Economic Policy introduced |
| 1972 | Feb: Nixon visits China |
| | Nov: Nixon re-elected |
| 1972–73 | Invasion of Cambodia |
| 1974 | Aug: Nixon resigns after Watergate scandal |

| | |
|------|---|
| 1975 | Ford pardons Nixon Whip Inflation Now campaign |
| 1976 | Carter wins election |
| 1978 | Inflation increases |
| 1979 | Iranian Revolution – rise in oil prices Three Mile Island accident |
| 1980 | Carter loses election to Reagan |

KEY QUESTIONS

- How successful were Nixon's domestic policies?
- What was the significance of the Watergate affair and Nixon's possible impeachment?
- What was the importance of Ford's pardon of Nixon?
- How successful were Ford's domestic policies?
- How successful were Carter's domestic policies?
- What impact did changing composition and internal conflicts within the Democratic and Republican Parties have on elections?

Overview

- Nixon became President in 1968. Like Johnson, he found foreign policy took his attention more and more, even though he had campaigned on domestic issues.
- However, domestic policy was important. Nixon was not personally sympathetic to reform, but he did introduce some significant measures to help African Americans and to protect the environment.
- In private, Nixon was much less progressive than his policies suggested but he did institute significant welfare reforms and he gave localities more control of spending. He was not indifferent to environmental needs or to affirmative action to help minorities.
- Nixon was not popular with the media and suffered from distrust of opposition. (He did not draw a strong line between opposition to and dislike of him personally and opposition to national security.) When confidential documents regarding foreign policy were leaked, Nixon became anxious to know if his enemies were plotting against him. His staff unwisely authorised the bugging of opponents and a break in to the headquarters of the Democrat campaign headquarters in 1972. This led to the extended period of scandal over the so-called Watergate affair.
- By the 70s Nixon was facing increased pressure at home as the economy faltered. The war between Israel and its Arab neighbours caused an oil shortage and price rises.
- The bombing in SE Asia to bring an end to the war in Vietnam was controversial. Nixon's enemies took every advantage of his embarrassment over covering up Watergate.
- Corruption seemed to abound in the administration and by 1974 public opinion had swung sharply against Nixon and even his own party failed to give him complete support. He resigned in August 1974.
- His successor had only been Vice-President since October 1973. A decent and conscientious person, he was faced with a difficult choice about whether to pardon Nixon or let the affair drag on. It was a no-win situation and his decision for pardon was heavily criticised.
- Ford faced the problem of rising prices (inflation) and also low economic growth and rising unemployment. This was known as 'stagflation'. This contributed to his defeat in the 1976 election.
- Jimmy Carter, his successful opponent, offered a much 'cleaner' image than Nixon. However, by 1976 'stagflation' was still a problem and energy needs had become a major issue. Carter seemed unsure whether inflation was the main target or whether there should be stimulation of the economy.
- His energy policy was praised, but war in the Middle East again caused problems and undermined steps taken to reduce energy costs.
- By 1980 the US was ready for change. They found a popular candidate in the Governor of California Ronald Reagan, a former film star. He favoured more conservative economic and social policies. Reagan's election in 1980 marked a new departure in terms of policy and also presidential style.

4.1 How successful were Nixon's domestic policies?

The 1968 election

In March 1968, Johnson decided not to run for re-election. He had grown increasingly disappointed by the results of his extensive reforms, and investment in further social projects became impossible as money was diverted to the escalating conflict in Vietnam. For a short time, it seemed that Robert Kennedy would be the next Democratic candidate for President, but his assassination in June threw the Democratic Party into turmoil.

Eventually, at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, **Hubert Humphrey** was chosen to run in the presidential race. However, the Democrats' reputation suffered a blow the same day, after the police carried out attacks on anti-war protesters who were demonstrating outside the convention.

Hubert Humphrey (1911–1978):

Humphrey was a Democrat from Minnesota and a former mayor of Minneapolis. He was elected to the Senate in 1949, and served as Johnson's Vice-President from 1965 until Johnson left office in January 1969. During this period, Humphrey supported liberal and civil rights reforms. He was later re-elected as Minnesota senator, and held the position until his death.

Once again, Richard Nixon was the Republican candidate. Nixon was the son of a shopkeeper. He had studied law and later served in the navy, but in 1946 he was elected as a California congressman and began his political career. While serving in the House, Nixon played a leading role in the Alger Hiss case (see Section 2.2, Truman's second administration), proving Hiss was a spy.

In the Red Scare climate of the time, Nixon's overt anti-communism proved popular. He became a senator in 1950, and two years later Eisenhower chose him as his Vice-President. In fact, Eisenhower had little respect for Nixon. In 1960, when asked to name a contribution Nixon had made to his administration, Eisenhower replied, 'Give me a minute and I'll think of one'.

Nixon lost the presidential race against Kennedy in 1960, but he returned in 1968 and gained financial support from business contributors who were anxious not to see further extension of federal legislation. Throughout his campaign, Nixon gained popularity through his stand against such issues as urban rioting and the rise in city crime, and due to his open dislike of too much social legislation and welfare – programmes that were greatly resented by taxpayers. Nixon also supported the war in Vietnam, and appealed to what he later called

‘the silent majority’ – those who, like him, disapproved of the widespread anti-war campaigns. Nixon defeated Humphrey in the election by a 0.7% margin.

Nixon’s focus

Nixon’s friend Bryce Harlow said, ‘When Dick was finally elected President, he attained 80 per cent of all his goals in life. He has no idea of what he will do after he is sworn in.’ In fact, Nixon was full of anger at the many political opponents who had slighted him over the years, and it soon became clear that he relied on a close-knit staff more than his Cabinet. Many believed that he regarded the presidency not as the fulfilment of a life’s ambitions, but as a period in which constant political campaigning for the next election had to be done.

Although he had campaigned strongly on domestic issues, Nixon found domestic policy increasingly sidelined by foreign affairs, just as Kennedy and Johnson had. The Vietnam War split opinion across the USA, and by the time Nixon came to power it was clear that a US victory was unlikely. He expressed concern about a divided America, but he had no sympathy for social unrest and was angered by the ongoing anti-war demonstrations. When four students were killed by National Guardsmen during a protest at Kent State University in Ohio, the President demonstrated no regret. When shown photographs of the dead and injured, he seemed more concerned that the images portrayed the police in a bad light.

Nixon’s greatest political achievement was in foreign affairs. In 1972, he made a visit to China to re-establish diplomatic links with the communist regime there. Some were outraged that a Western leader should extend the hand of diplomacy to Mao Zedong, but it seems that Nixon’s strong anti-communist ideals were not as important as political advantage at this time.

At home, Nixon faced a rapidly changing USA. Generally, there was less respect for authority. The Supreme Court – which had championed the liberal cause in civil rights – also championed other causes, such as opposition to capital punishment. Some white radicals began taking direct action. Among these groups were the so-called Weathermen, a white terrorist group. In addition, Nixon faced continuing opposition to white economic and social domination from activists such as the Black Panthers.

Welfare reforms

The public mood of the time was for change, and Nixon’s political sense drove him towards a liberal domestic policy. In private, however, he was outspoken against liberals and

reformers. However, the Republicans were not the majority in Congress, and this was a limiting factor for Nixon when shaping his domestic programme.

The Family Assistance Plan

Nixon's most forward-looking proposal was a Family Assistance Plan (FAP). This was introduced to replace a programme called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which had been established as part of the New Deal in 1935 and extended in 1960. The FAP intended to equalise welfare benefits across the country, rather than vary these from state to state. The plan also directed federal aid to the poor without the intermediary services that had been established by the 'Great Society'. It provided for a minimum income of \$1600 a year for a family, plus \$800 of food stamps. One condition of receiving this assistance was that the applicant would actively seek work.

By introducing the FAP, Nixon not only hoped to help poorer families in states where benefits were low, but also to address criticisms that there was too much welfare bureaucracy and that welfare discouraged work. However, the plan met with controversy in Congress.

Conservatives felt that it encouraged dependency on the state and rewarded single parents for their 'irresponsibility'. It was also seen as far too bureaucratic and dependent on too many social workers. Ultimately, Nixon lacked the support in Congress to push the plan through. Unlike Johnson, Nixon made little attempt to bring Congress round to his way of thinking; nor did he use the press to spread his ideas to the US public in the way that Johnson had.

Other welfare plans

For all his talk of reducing dependency on the state, Nixon maintained high levels of welfare spending, and support for poorer families rose by \$50 per person in the period 1968–72. Democrats in Congress voted in favour of bills that would allow more money for those on Medicaid, food stamps and AFDC. In 1972, Congress also passed a Supplemental Security Income programme, which increased payments and linked them to inflation. Social insurance spending increased from \$27 billion in 1969 to more than \$64 billion in 1973. Nixon disapproved of these measures, but took no official stand against them in case it damaged his popularity with the people.

New Federalism

Not to be outdone by his predecessors in terms of a domestic slogan, Nixon followed the Fair Deal, the New Frontier and the 'Great Society' with what he called 'New Federalism' – indicating a change in the way that the federal government spent taxpayers' money. As part of this, Nixon proposed a 'revenue-sharing' scheme, in which grants were allocated to states and local areas to spend as they wished. This would have resulted in a more equal balance of power between the federal and local governments, but the Watergate scandal and Nixon's resignation (see Section 4.2) meant it was never properly implemented.

The environment

Nixon also was aware of a growing interest in environmental issues in the USA, and although he felt indifferent towards such concerns himself, he supported environmental legislation to win popularity.

The National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 required all contractors engaged in federal projects to provide an estimate of their environmental impact. Reforms begun during the 'Great Society' were continued, including those to improve health and safety at work and to prevent pollution, including the Clean Air Act (1970) and the Water Pollution Control Act (1972). Legislation was also passed to protect the natural world, in the form of the Endangered Species Act (1973). Some of these measures seemed to put economic growth at risk, and several regulations made by the Environmental Protection Agency were contested by big business.

Native rights and affirmative action

In the area of Native American rights, Nixon made several concessions. For example, the Blue Lake in New Mexico was returned to the local Native Americans who regarded the lake as sacred. An Indian Education Act gave federal support for Native American education programmes. Many of these measures lacked any fundamental significance, but Native Americans were encouraged by the symbolism of these gestures.

Civil rights legislation already banned discrimination in employment, but there was no mechanism to help disadvantaged groups gain jobs. Nixon's labor secretary, George Schulz, therefore showed a progressive impulse in his Philadelphia Plan of 1969, which made federal contracts dependent on firms taking on a quota of African American apprentices. This initiative led to a policy known as 'affirmative action', and goals and timetables for the hiring

and training of more African American workers were established using the economic leverage of lucrative federal contracts.



Figure 4.1: Nixon signs a bill returning the Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo people in December 1970.

Congress was not keen on the Philadelphia Plan, and unions and employers disliked affirmative action. However, Nixon and his government were supported by the Supreme Court, which made illegal any tests for new employees that discriminated against African Americans. Such an emphasis on jobs for black Americans marked a change in federal government thinking.

Desegregation and integration

While the reforms outlined above all seemed to look to the future, internal politics was still entangled with issues from the past and, as Nixon's presidency progressed, civil rights once more emerged as a problem.

Education in the South was still not desegregated, and the Supreme Court ruled that southern school boards should not delay integration any longer. However, Nixon did not openly support this ruling. He used his power as President to block measures to stop continued federal funding to schools that were still segregated, but this measure was not regarded as determined enough. The President's apparent lack of support for speedy integration caused an outcry from the NAACP, and resulted in several legal cases.

In *Alexander v. Holmes Board of Education*, the Supreme Court demanded 'unitary schools, now and hereafter'. To continue its offensive, the Supreme Court next ordered that school children should be bussed to different schools to forcibly end segregation. This radical policy ran counter to the whole idea of neighbourhood schools and upset many white families. It was also unpopular among African Americans, who objected to what they saw as 'social engineering'.

Behind the scenes, Nixon discouraged officials from enforcing the bussing law. He also expressed his disapproval publicly, stating that he would 'hold bussing to the minimum required by law'. In 1973, proposals to merge certain school districts to ensure a balance between races were rejected, reinforcing local control over education.

QUESTION

To what extent was there continuity between Johnson's and Nixon's domestic achievements?

The New Economic Policy

Despite his populist measures, the mid-term elections held in 1970 were not a success for Nixon. Unemployment had risen by 33% and prices by 11%, combining the worst features of stagnation and inflation – called, from as early as 1968, 'stagflation' in the press. Nixon again responded to the public mood by introducing his New Economic Policy in August 1971.

Abandoning orthodox economic principles, he imposed a freeze on wages and prices, introduced a 10% tariff on imported goods, and accepted a devaluation of the dollar to boost exports. These sudden and dramatic changes were intended to demonstrate Nixon's willingness to be both daring and forceful in his domestic policy.

Nixon's ability to respond flexibly to such problems earned him respect from the public. As his first four years in office came to an end, many looked back on his genuine achievements and felt that this was a president who still had more to offer the country. His foreign policy had also proved successful. These factors combined to win Nixon re-election in 1972.

4.2 What was the significance of the Watergate affair and Nixon's possible impeachment?

The Watergate scandal

Nixon was not the first President to be concerned with the activities of his political opponents and to misuse his power. Phone tapping of opposition members had occurred under both Kennedy and Johnson, who had approved the bugging of Barry Goldwater's campaign offices in 1964. However, Nixon seemed especially concerned that his political enemies were plotting and that there might be security leaks.

In 1972 he set up the 'special investigations' unit to find out if there were any leaks of confidential material about himself and his administration. These special agents were nicknamed 'the plumbers'.

In 1972, telephones in the Democrat headquarters in the Watergate hotel in Washington were bugged. Shortly after, agents were caught breaking in to fix bugs that were not working and possibly to find incriminating material to smear the reputation of the Democrat candidate for President, George McGovern.

The break ins were led by G. Gordon Liddy and possibly approved by members of Nixon's White House staff, and Nixon's counsel, John Dean. An investigation was launched, and by 1973 the connection to Nixon's campaign had been discovered.

Nixon was persuaded that national security was at stake and not merely political dirty tricks and he took the fatal step of trying to block an investigation. Nixon got rid of Dean from his staff and refused to allow the FBI to look at his files and records.

He hoped that getting rid of advisers who had known about the surveillance – John Erlichmann, Bob Haldeman and Richard Kleindienst – would show that he did not approve and distance himself from any illegality. However, a tenacious special prosecutor, Archibald Cox, was appointed by Congress to investigate Nixon.

Attempts by Nixon to sack Cox ended with the resignation of both the Attorney General and his deputy who refused to cooperate.

Nixon had ordered the CIA to block the police investigation into the affair, but two reporters from the *Washington Post* found an FBI agent who was willing to tell them what happened.

As the investigation continued, the authorities discovered that Nixon had been tape-recording meetings in the White House, and he was ordered to hand over these recordings. They revealed a president who regularly used bad language and appeared cynical.

The investigation went into the hands of a Grand Jury who indicted those close to Nixon. Nixon lost the support of Congress, the media and his own administration. There was now talk of impeachment – that is of Congress putting the President on trial. A zealous young lawyer Hillary Rodham investigated the legal possibilities of doing this and suggesting that Nixon was open to prosecution for various ‘high crimes and misdemeanours’. The decision to impeach was in the hands of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee. Here 21 out of 38 members were Democrats who were determined on Nixon’s impeachment.

The Vice-President, Spiro Agnew, resigned in October 1973 after he was accused of corruption. Nixon replaced him with the highly respectable Gerald Ford. As further evidence of the President’s involvement in the cover-up emerged, Republican leaders and close advisors encouraged Nixon to resign. Key Republican senators told Nixon they would vote for his impeachment. To avoid this, Nixon stepped down on 9 August 1974.

QUESTION

What different messages are given in these Source 4.1 and Figure 4.2 about the effects of Watergate on public life?

SOURCE 4.1

Some people, quite properly appalled at the abuses that occurred, will say that Watergate demonstrates the bankruptcy of the American political system. I believe precisely the opposite is true. Watergate represented a series of illegal acts and bad judgments by a number of individuals. It was the system that has brought the facts to light and that will bring those guilty to justice—a system that in this case has included a determined grand jury, honest prosecutors, a courageous judge, John Sirica, and a vigorous free press.

From speech by Nixon 30 April 1973 on Watergate, broadcast on TV.



Figure 4.2: Cartoon from the *New York Post*, May 1973.

A timeline of Watergate

| | | |
|------|---------|---|
| 1972 | 28 May: | First break in at Democratic national headquarters in the Watergate hotel, Washington DC |
| | 17 Jun: | Second break in. The burglars are arrested |
| 1973 | Jan: | Trial and conviction of James McCord and Gordon Liddy for burglary |
| | Feb: | Senate Committee of investigation on the campaign activities of the President |
| | Mar: | McCord accuses White House officials of covering up their involvement in Watergate burglary |
| | Jun: | White House counsel John Dean reveals involvement of Nixon's staff in Watergate cover up |
| | Oct: | Vice-President Agnew resigns. Resignation of attorney general and assistant attorney general. Special Prosecutor Cox fired. |
| 1974 | Mar: | Grand Jury indicts White House aides for conspiracy |
| | Jul: | Nixon ordered by Supreme Court to hand over White House tapes |
| | Aug: | House of Representatives' Judicial Committee begins impeachment of Nixon |
| | 9 Aug: | Nixon steps down |

Table 4.1: summary of the Watergate timeline.

These long and complex affairs took place against a background of economic difficulties and problems associated with foreign policy and the Arab-Israeli war. It allowed all those who had opposed Nixon's foreign policy and aspects of his domestic policy to extend their attacks against him and made his administration lose credibility. It was a reaction against the increasing 'imperial' presidency and asserted Congressional control over the executive.

The culture of presidential power, secrecy and large sums being spent on elections was challenged. Individual contributions to campaign funds were restricted in 1974. Government was made more open by the Privacy Act of 1974 which allowed individuals to see any information on them in federal files. The Ethics in Government legislation of 1978 forced all senior officials to be open about their finances. Thus, Watergate increased public scrutiny of government and showed the power of the press and Congress to bring government to account.

The presidential style of Nixon's immediate successors was very different. Nixon's bad language and cynicism, revealed when the White House tapes were made public, shocked many Americans and higher personal standards were required.

SOURCE 4.2

We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John F Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King. We respected the Presidency as a place of honour until the shock of Watergate. We remember when the phrase 'sound as a dollar' was an expression of absolute dependability, until ten years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed our nation's resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil...

Jimmy Carter, 1979 quoted by Hugh Brogan, The Penguin History of the USA. London, Penguin, p 669

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Significance: How serious a problem for the USA was the Watergate affair?

Theory of Knowledge

History and judgement

How far is it a historian's job to condemn corruption and illegality by those in power? Is it possible to disregard Nixon's improper use of power and offer a balanced judgement on his policies?

Nixon: an assessment

It transpired that Nixon had authorised surveillance of people he considered his enemies long before Watergate, and it was also discovered that he had used the CIA and FBI for political purposes. These facts, and his taped private conversations, diminished his reputation. Nixon has also been criticised for his domestic policies, which many believed reacted to the public mood rather than offering a coherent programme of reform.

His ideas were sometimes liberal and progressive and sometimes conservative, and some of his most original plans were never implemented. During his first term, Nixon gained a great deal of support. After this, however, as corruption and impropriety were revealed, it became impossible for anyone to stand by him.

In recent years, several historians have revisited Nixon's presidency and started to review it in a different light. In *The Nixon Presidency*, Michael Genovese argues that he 'presided over an expansion of the welfare state, but his interest in domestic policy was sporadic and his achievement limited'.

Iwan Morgan suggests that 'Nixon's achievements in the domestic sphere were greater than he was wont to brag. Only Roosevelt and Johnson could claim a superior record of reform.'

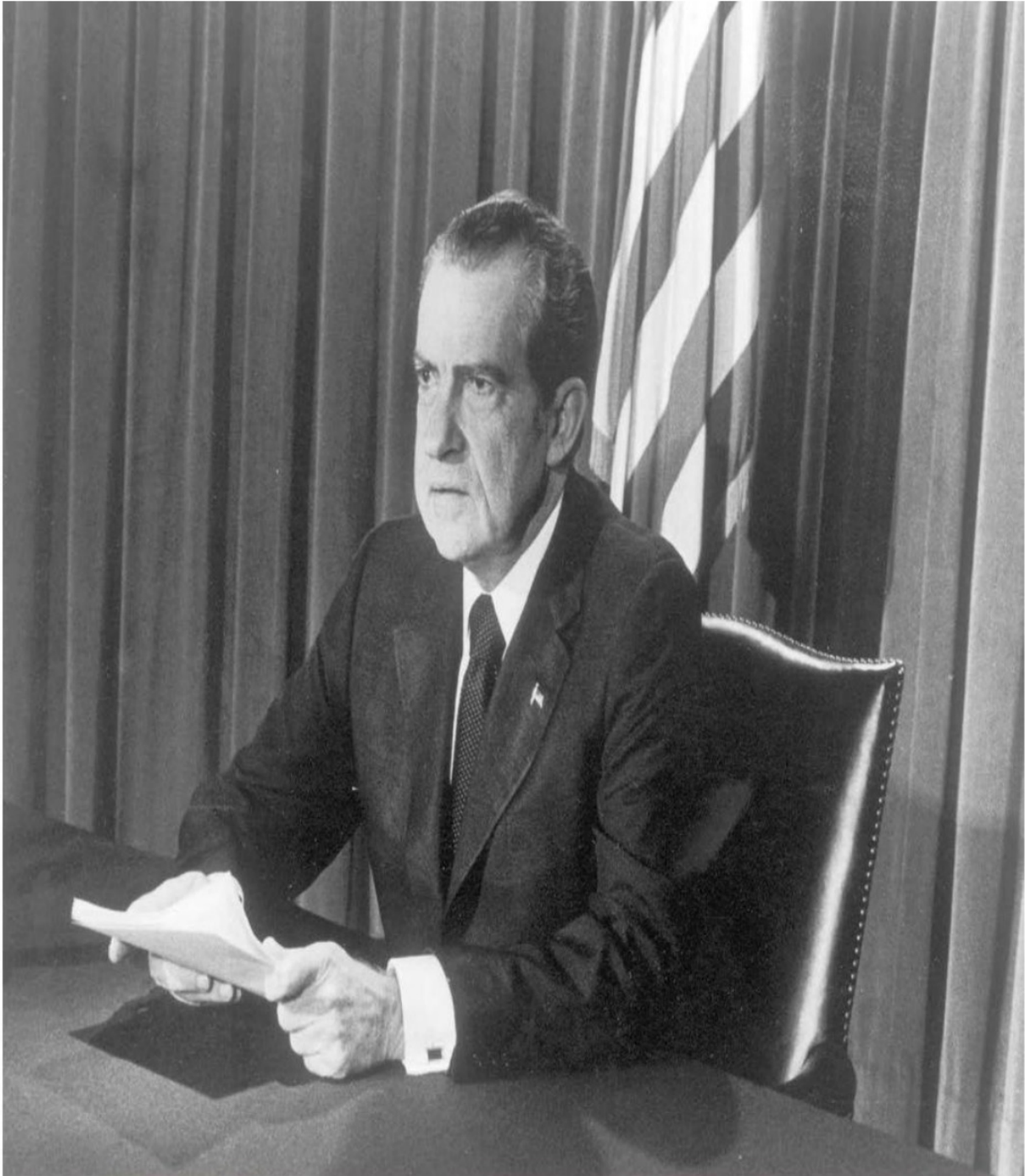


Figure 4.3: Nixon announcing his resignation to the nation on 8 August 1974.

ACTIVITY

Consider these two views:

View A: Whatever Nixon achieved at home was irrelevant because the shame of Watergate was too great for his reputation to be anything but a bad President.

View B: Though Watergate blemished his career, he should be given credit for his domestic achievements and not be seen as a total failure as President.

In groups find material to support both these views and then debate them and consider what view should be taken of Nixon as a president.

4.3 What was the importance of Ford's pardon of Nixon?

The presidency of Gerald Ford

Gerald Ford (1913–2006):

Ford was born in Nebraska in 1913 and grew up in Michigan. He studied law at university and was an accomplished football player. He had a distinguished war record in the navy and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1948 as a Republican. He had moderate conservative views and was a popular figure in his party, becoming minority leader in 1965. He had a personal friendship with Nixon and both had opposed Johnson's 'Great Society' and supported the war in Vietnam. However, he was not a close member of Nixon's team, which helped in 1973 when Nixon needed a Vice-President with a sound reputation after the resignation of Spiro Agnew.

Loyal to Nixon, he nevertheless was a different type of politician and his quiet if somewhat solid manner made him popular when he took over from Nixon as President after the latter's resignation in August 1974.

Early on Ford was forced into a highly controversial decision which ended the 'honeymoon period' and the goodwill that he had gained by being totally different from the more calculating and untrustworthy Nixon. In September, very soon into his presidency, he used his powers to pardon Nixon. The wording was ambiguous. Though a pardon suggested that Nixon was guilty of crimes, the pardon absolved him of 'all offences committed' or those which 'may have been committed'. There was a case for ending the divisions that Watergate had caused and moving on to address pressing social and economic problems.

Damaging headlines arising from a trial would be avoided. It was argued that Nixon had suffered enough in losing his reputation and being forced to make a humiliating public apology and also that his health would be damaged by a trial. However, polls had shown that a majority of Americans did think that Nixon should be tried and the very quick decision suggested that a corrupt deal had been made and that politics had not really changed. In seeking to rid himself of pressure of questions about what he was going to do about Nixon, Ford had brought about accusations about his lack of judgement in acting so quickly while public outrage was still strong.

His poll ratings fell rapidly and he felt obliged to go before a Congressional Committee to explain his actions – the first President since Lincoln to do this. This boosted the standing of Congress and reduced that of the President and rumours of a secret deal that Nixon would resign with the promise of a pardon persisted.

4.4 How successful were Ford's domestic policies?

The domestic problems facing Ford

The reputation of the presidency was at a low point in 1974 and Congress was determined that the personal power of the office should be reduced and that the actions of future presidents should be more controlled. The public were disillusioned with politics and US society seemed very divided. There were demands for greater rights for women, concerns about the progress of African American civil rights and disagreements over social issues such as abortion.

Immediately there was the problem of what to do about Nixon, who had been under threat of impeachment. Many people thought that he had acted in a criminal manner and should be put on trial. However, this would highlight the shortcomings of the whole presidential system and possibly damage America's reputation further.

There was also the problem of whether to keep Nixon's administrative team or start afresh, losing much valuable experience and possibly dividing the party.

In broader terms, the US was facing considerable economic difficulties. The expectations of decades of relative prosperity and international economic influence were coming to an end as the US faced both inflation and rising unemployment on a level not seen since 1945. The problems were made worse by external factors which raised the price of oil.

The US relied heavily on cheap oil but heavy consumption in the 1960s had meant that a third of its oil came from overseas. Middle Eastern supplies had been cut off in protest at Nixon's support for Israel during the Yom Kippur war with its Arab neighbours in 1973. The shortage raised prices, and when the overseas supplies were restored, prices went up.

Americans again faced paying double for their gasoline and further rising costs were accompanied by greater foreign competition and the effects of post-war population increase which put pressure on jobs. With a large low-wage service sector, domestic demand for US products was falling, but this did not lead to falling prices.

The free market was not working as expected and instead there was a mixture of rising prices – inflation with economic stagnation – falling sales and falling employment. This was known as 'stagflation'.

In addition to inherited economic problems, Ford faced problems with race. Despite the progress made during the Johnson era, there was still some lack of progress in desegregation, especially in schools, and attempts to solve it by 'bussing' caused resentments and racial conflict. The issue of how far the Federal government should intervene and use its authority to ensure that local areas did carry out desegregation was a difficult one for a conservative president.

QUESTION

Identify and explain the issues indicated in Figure 4.4. What message does this cover give about Ford?

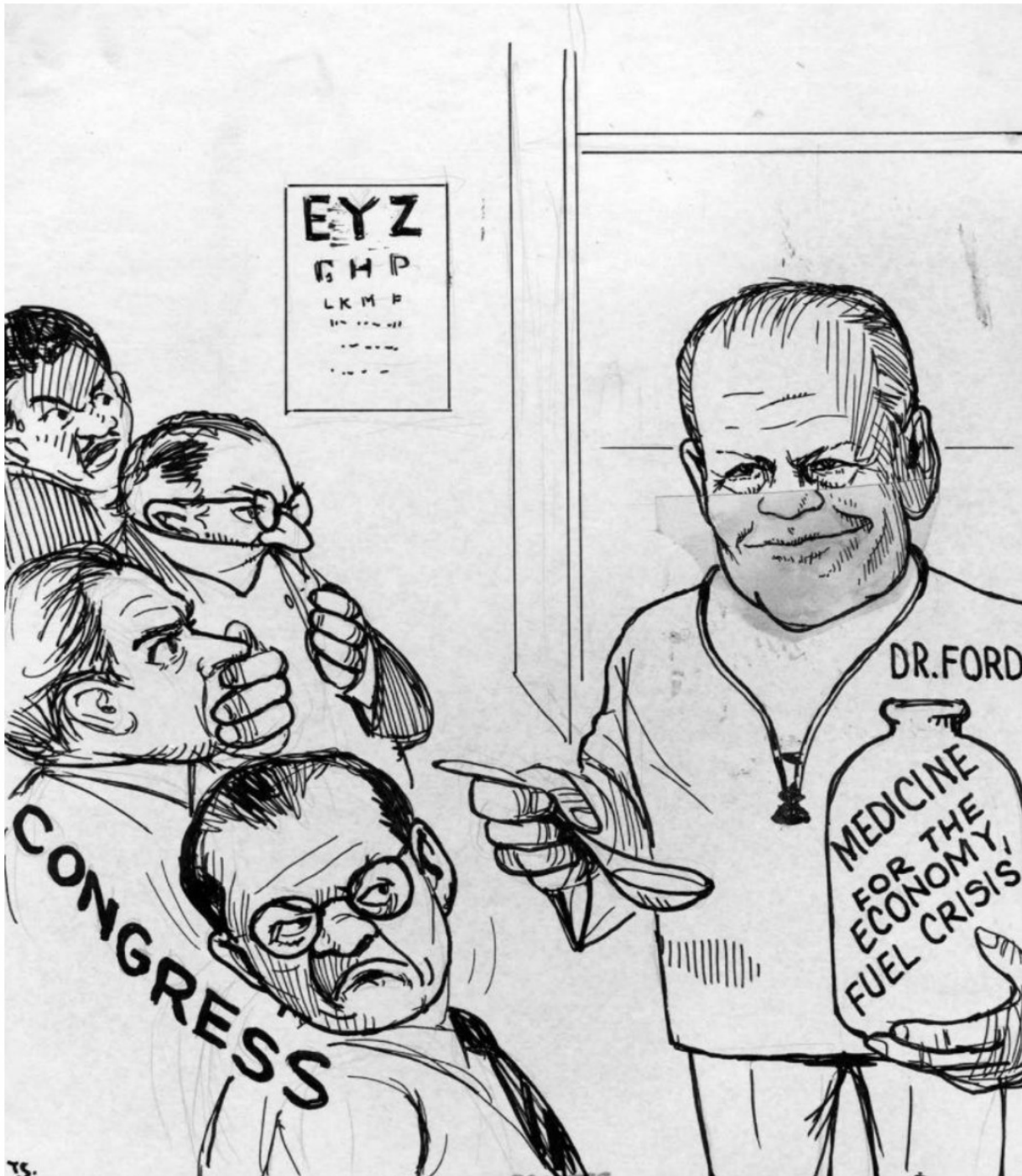


Figure 4.4: A cartoon depicting President Gerald Ford dressed as a doctor, holding a spoon and about to feed disgusted members of Congress medicine from a bottle labelled 'Medicine for the Economy, Fuel Crisis', 1975.

Ford's obvious honesty and lack of pretension was in contrast to the 'imperial presidency' of Nixon. His style was less tense and more akin to 'middle America'. He and his wife Betty were shown living a normal family life in the White House and Ford's image was one of

honesty and sincerity. However, there was a downside in that he appeared to be clumsy and inarticulate and was the butt of much satire and cruel humour. He also had to contend with a Congress that was determined to assert its power, and was not a dynamic or persuasive leader like Roosevelt, for example.

Ford's new team

Ford was faced with the problem of whether to make a clean sweep and break with the past. He kept Alexander Haig, Nixon's Chief of Staff on for six weeks before bringing in his own ally, Donald Rumsfeld, as 'staff coordinator'; some of Nixon's appointees were kept, but a major new addition was the appointment of Nelson Rockefeller as Vice-President.

Rockefeller was a moderate Republican but did not work well with Rumsfeld and was not liked by many in the party. As well as divisions in the White House, Ford also faced problems with the 1974 mid-term elections, which gave the Democrats a majority in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. The mission of many new entrants was to make changes to the whole way the presidency acted, so Ford faced disagreements both within his own administration and also within Congress.

Economic policy

Facing high unemployment, economic stagnation and rising fuel costs would have challenged an able and charismatic leader with a united administration and a congressional majority. Ford struggled to prioritise, and decided to address inflation, which was of course damaging to America's industries and threatened social stability.

As a conservative free market supporter, Ford disliked direct economic controls and focused on taking money out of the economy on the assumption that high government spending increases both the amount of money in the economy and its circulation and prices rise to meet this. Thus, he proposed tax rises and cuts in federal spending. This somewhat severe solution was accompanied by an inspirational campaign called 'WIN' – Whip Inflation Now'.

The policy ran into problems. First, there was little public enthusiasm for the campaign and fears that tax rises and cuts would make unemployment worse. Jobless totals were rising steadily and forecast to be 7% by 1975. It was also clear that the Democrats who commanded Congress would not agree. Somewhat surprisingly Ford did a U-turn and in January 1975 proposed tax cuts but kept to his original idea of cuts in spending.

In a sense given the dual problems of stagnation and inflation, this seemed logical, but it pleased no one. Congress instead insisted on both tax cuts and increased public spending.

Ford was forced to agree but made it clear that there would be no further increases in federal budgets and vetoed further increases proposed by Congress.

Thus it seemed that policy lacked coherence. Ford tried to address the underlying problem of high energy prices by reducing dependence on foreign supply. He wanted import duties on imported oil and an end to restrictions on the prices of domestic oil to encourage greater production and therefore lower prices. However, given Democratic power in Congress and also public opinion he also introduced a tax on US oil companies. Thus again policy seemed contradictory.

It took until December 1975 for a policy to be agreed. Ford had to sacrifice his free market ideas and impose a reduction on domestic oil prices in the short term but a longer-term deregulation. Changes in the world economy did lead to some relief by 1976 with a fall in both unemployment and prices, but the President's policies did not seem very consistent or effective.

The bussing issue

The major problem was focused on Boston where riots had broken out against accelerated bussing of African American children into white schools. The issue was whether Ford should intervene, as his only black cabinet member urged. Ford was reluctant to involve federal power in a local issue. Boston did not contest desegregation but had been slow to implement it. Thus, there was not a fundamental issue of a local area disobeying the law as there had been in the case of Little Rock under Eisenhower (see Section 2.4, Civil rights in the Eisenhower presidency).

The decision caused controversy and gave the impression that Ford was more conservative and opposed to integration than was really the case. From his legal and conservative background, it was more an issue of the rights of the federal government to interfere in local affairs than a matter of natural justice and racial equality. Thus, by 1976, Ford had been highly criticised for a number of poor judgements and for inconsistency of policy.

He came under challenge from the Republican right who put up Ronald Reagan as an alternative candidate. There were not only concerns about image and domestic policy, as Ford's foreign policy of better relations with the USSR was also criticised.

Ford only gained the Republican candidature by a slight lead and lost the general election to Jimmy Carter. Ford had benefited initially from being a contrast to the Nixon style of

president, but there was still feeling against mainstream politics and Carter seemed to be an even cleaner break.

Carter capitalised on being an outsider to the Washington privileged élite and also offered more economic change. Even so, the result was not overwhelming and Carter gained 297 electoral votes to Ford's 240. A low turnout election was not a damning verdict on Ford.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Change and continuity: Copy and complete the chart below showing the differences and similarities between the policies and style of Ford and Nixon.

| Differences | Similarities |
|-------------|--------------|
| | |
| | |
| | |

4.5 How successful were Carter's domestic policies?

The presidency of Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter (1924–):

James Earl Carter was born in Georgia in 1924. His parents owned a peanut farm and his mother was a nurse. He studied at Annapolis Naval Academy in 1942 and served in the submarine service where he worked as part of a nuclear research team but moved back to the family farm in 1953. He was a Georgia state senator and in 1970 was elected as state governor, with much support from segregationist rural white voters. However, once established as Governor he pursued progressive policies. Carter began his bid for the presidency by becoming involved with the Democratic National Committee. He was not a well-known figure, but this may have been an advantage at a time when professional politicians were mistrusted. He was not a skilled publicist, though ambitious, and his strong Baptist beliefs made him seem rather sanctimonious and an over-candid interview in *Playboy* where he admitted feelings of sexual lust lost him some support. However, his ability to link up Southern support with an appeal to the industrial working class vote in the North and the progressive liberal vote was effective, if not overwhelming. Faced with two rather uninspiring candidates, many voters stayed at home.

What problems and issues did Carter face?

Given Ford's pardoning of Nixon and the residue of distrust of over powerful presidents, Carter needed to restore faith in the institution and impose his own style on the post. He also came with a progressive agenda which he felt the need to fulfil and make a break from the conservatism of his predecessors to resume the momentum of change and reform. However, like Truman, Kennedy and Johnson, Carter needed to reconcile different opinions within the Democrats in Congress. He also had to live up to his promise that he would never lie to the American people. The underlying economic problems of sluggish economic performance, inflation and energy needs, which had plagued Ford, were still there. The problem was that Carter did not have a huge amount of public sympathy and support to rely on because he had not won the 1976 election overwhelmingly.

Relations with Congress

Carter's rather high moral tone did not please all and he was not good at establishing working relations with Congress or informal negotiations and goodwill. He proposed a consumer protection bill and reform of labour relations, which were rejected by Congress. He in turn, in 1978, vetoed a package of public works measures, which would have benefited many of the constituents of Congressmen because of fears of increasing inflation.

There were some successes: minimum wages were raised, transportation costs were lowered by deregulating transport industries and creating more competition and a fund was created to clean up toxic waste sites.

Energy policy

By 1976 the US was a heavy importer of oil. Imports had risen considerably since 1973 and these expensive imports were not used well. America's energy usage was over twice that of other industrial countries like Japan or Germany. The Emergency Natural Gas Act allowed the federal government to allocate interstate natural gas. A new Department of Energy regulated energy suppliers and funded research on new sources such as wind and solar power.

A new US Synthetic Fuels Corporation gave money to investigate, in partnership with private industry, new artificial fuels to avoid dependence on traditional fossil fuels. Oil and natural gas prices were deregulated to encourage investment and higher production to increase domestic supplies and reduce imports. There were efforts to control the use of fuel, for example by reducing industrial fuel usage and controlling the use of fuel in automobile construction.

Carter played a leading part in nuclear policy. He blocked breeder reactors and insisted on light-water reactors. He got his way in the siting of a new oil pipeline in Alaska and blocked the Clinch River Breeder reactor because of its plutonium usage. He also developed the stockpiling of oil to counteract future price increases.

Carter did succeed in imposing a windfall tax on crude oil profits in 1980, but Congress overrode his veto on the repeal of an import duty tax on imported oil and also stopped the creation of a new body to develop alternative sources of energy.

Did Carter's approach work?

- Imports fell from 48.7% to 40%.
- Greater oil exploration meant lower prices as domestic production increased in the five years after he left office in 1980.
- Carter was concerned about the continuation of 'stagflation' and proposed job creation schemes in 1976 worth \$30 billion. Congress passed these. Carter also considered tax cuts to help business growth but when the economy did start to grow, his main fear was inflation and he abandoned this policy and cut back on job creation and welfare. The escalation of inflation in 1978 made it a priority for him. He rejected direct federal price and wage controls and urged both employers and unions to exercise restraint. He tried to do this by personal influence in discussions with business and union leaders – 'jawboning'. However, the US was very dependent on expensive imports of oil and so inflation rose sharply in 1979–80. Carter tried to deal with this by raising interest rates and reducing money supply. There was thus a lack of consistency in the solutions, which affected business confidence.

- Carter faced criticisms within his own party, especially from Edward Kennedy for seemingly following Republican policies. His attempts to restrict federal spending met with angry criticism from groups affected, for example farmers who objected to attempted cuts in subsidies and the abandonment of water projects.
- African American groups were disappointed with the results of Carter's support for affirmative action, for example in the Bakke case, and felt that unemployment and restrictions in expenditure fell heavily on the less well paid African American workers.

The Bakke case

In a legal case, *University of California v. Bakke* (1978), a white medical applicant, rejected for medical school, had challenged the legality of the reservation of 16/100 places by the university for ethnic minorities as discriminating against whites under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the constitution. The Supreme Court ruled that the quota was unconstitutional though race could be considered, so more general affirmative action to promote more equality of opportunity for African Americans could continue, but the actions were restricted as other factors had to be taken into consideration and there had to be a consideration of individual cases. Bakke won his place and there was some feeling that African Americans and other ethnic groups had lost some of their earlier gains.

Undermined by circumstances?

Carter had tried to deal with the major source of inflationary pressure and he had an energetic energy policy, but it was undermined by circumstances – the rise in prices following the Iranian revolution and the fear caused by a nuclear reactor accident.



Figure 4.5: Carter personally visited the damaged nuclear reactor at Three Mile Island to allay fears that it would lead to a catastrophe. March 1979.

On 28 March 1978 there was an accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power generating station in Pennsylvania. Failure to act quickly enough led to a partial meltdown and the release of radioactive gasses. The anxiety caused led to a curtailing of the nuclear power

programme which had been going on since 1963 and over fifty proposed new nuclear power plants were cancelled. This led to pressure on other energy sources and increased the energy problems facing the USA.

Though supportive of civil rights and affirmative action, the economic problems undermined the position of African Americans. Carter's lack of a single policy repeated some of the mistakes of Ford's presidency of moving from attempting to deal with economic stagnation to prioritizing dealing with inflation and so opening him to the charge of inconsistency.

However, because of the complexity of the measures and the rise in prices following the Iranian Revolution in 1979 Carter got little credit. By 1980 he seemed to be losing his hold on America. He had made a speech blaming American attitudes and a 'malaise' in the country for not having confidence in him. He sacked four cabinet members and a number of middle-ranking officials. Even though his own party had a majority in Congress Carter had a mixed record of getting measures through and there were obvious clashes. A number of scandals and accusations of corruption affected members of his administration, and his brother Billy was accused of taking money from the Libyan dictator.

By 1980 his attempts to shift the blame to the US people, his over-reliance on personal influence and some key failures of judgement – for example a failed attempt to rescue US hostages in Iran – seemed to indicate an overall weakness and lack of both efficiency and vision. The confident and dynamic appeal of the Republican Ronald Reagan, together with Carter's shortcomings resulted in a decisive defeat in 1980. The candidate of choice for the new right took office.

SOURCE 4.3

Our energy program will emphasise conservation. The amount of energy being wasted, which could be saved, is greater than the total energy that we are importing from foreign countries; we will emphasise research on solar energy and other renewable energy sources; and we will maintain strict safeguards on necessary atomic energy production.

We must face the fact that the energy shortage is permanent. There is no way we can solve it quickly. But if we all cooperate and make modest sacrifices, if we learn to live thriftily and remember the importance of helping our neighbors, then we can find ways to adjust and to make our society more efficient and our own lives more enjoyable and productive.

Carter's report to the American people on energy February 1977, From Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, millercenter.org

QUESTION

What does Source 4.3 suggest about Carter's approach to the energy issue and his political style?

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Causation: Copy and complete the table, listing the reasons (such as energy problems) why Carter lost the election of 1980, and award them a mark out of 6 (1=low importance, 6= high). Explain their importance.

| Reason | Explanation of importance and mark |
|--------|------------------------------------|
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

Economic and social problems

Carter was not the only statesman to face inflation in the 1970s. The historian Hugh Brogan has pointed out that there were a large numbers of theories about how to tackle it. Some wanted to cut federal spending; some wage controls. There were concerns also about immigration and rising taxes. Inflation had pushed more and more people into higher tax brackets. The state of California led the protest against higher taxes, cutting property taxes and passing a law (proposition 13) that tax increases had to command a 2/3 majority in the state legislature. This led to demands for federal tax cuts.

Carter wanted to maintain federal spending to help consumer demand, but much of this went on imports. Carter had not delivered much. Though unemployment had fallen marginally to 7% by 1979 inflation kept rising and with it very high interest rates that had reached 20% by 1980.

Recession, high interest rates, the threat of petrol rationing and unemployment all caused concern. However, there were social issues causing worrying middle America and caused a move towards the more conservative Republican policies.

Many middle-class Americans were concerned about social change with more equality for women, gay rights and affirmative action to support minority groups. There was a considerable debate about the legality of abortion. Carter personally opposed abortion but accepted that it was legal.

The 1980 election turned into a landslide for the Republicans and Ronald Reagan. Foreign policy issues were important. Many had criticised Carter's ending of the American rights in Panama. He had condemned the Iranian Revolution and a military attempt to rescue US

hostages held there was bungled. By putting an embargo on Iranian oil imports, fuel prices rose sharply and inflation took a sharp upturn. There was also a budget deficit.

SOURCE 4.4

Carter had many failings as a leader – failing to build close relations with Congress. He had the misfortune to become victim of a new surge to the right as Americans became disenchanted with what they considered to be their country’s moral corrosion and international decline.

Reynolds, D. 2009. America: Empire of Liberty. London. Allen Lane. p.506.

QUESTION

How does the author explain Carter’s defeat in 1980? How much do you think Carter was personally to blame?

4.6 What impact did changing composition and internal conflicts within the Democratic and Republican Parties have on elections?

SOURCE 4.5

It is the job of centralised government (in peacetime) to protect its citizens' lives, liberty and property. All other activities of government tend to diminish freedom and hamper progress. The growth of government (the dominant social feature of this century) must be fought relentlessly. In this great social conflict of the era, we are, without reservations, on the libertarian side.

*William Buckley Jr., a leading conservative theorist in the first issue of his **National Review** magazine in 1955.*

QUESTION

What is the message of this source about the role of the state and the role of the individual?

The 1960s and 1970s saw changes within both parties. Before 1960 the parties were essentially coalitions of interests who fought elections, rather than tightly knit organisations with distinct political philosophies. This made it difficult for presidents to maintain support within their own Congressmen. Truman had faced opposition from the South (see Section 2.1, Civil rights) over civil rights.

Kennedy knew that Southern Democrats would oppose a Civil Rights Act. Republican presidents, for their part, knew that sections of their parties were deeply opposed to government intervention and any progressive reforms. Moves to enforce Civil Rights judgements in the Supreme Court by Eisenhower were unpopular within Republican ranks and tax increases were met with suspicion.

In the 1960s and 1970s the parties had increasingly active and ideologically committed activists who tended to increase divisions with the parties about key issues.

The Republicans had a core of highly conservative supporters who opposed the role of the federal government beyond basic protection of the lives of citizens. In 1964 these conservatives found a voice in Senator Barry Goldwater from Arizona who was a presidential candidate. His views were considerably more radical than those of moderate Republicans and Eisenhower.

They failed to win national approval and Johnson won decisively, but Goldwater's supporters continued to be active within the party. On the Democratic side, the rift between southern conservative Democrats and more radical liberal Democrats increased. The party

was divided over civil rights and the Vietnam War and the 1968 party convention was divided between the liberal Eugene McCarthy and the more cautious Hubert Humphrey.

Many Democrats felt that the real will of the party had been betrayed by the nomination of Humphrey and the method of choosing a presidential candidate was changed by an internal commission called the McGovern-Fraser Commission who opened up the selection process far more. Humphrey and the divided party lost the election and the swing to the left was confirmed by the selection of Senator McGovern in 1972.

The Democrat activists supported a variety of liberal causes like gay rights, more rights for women, greater government intervention in economic affairs and more active enforcement of desegregation, which alienated the Southern Democrats. More and more conservative Southerners who had traditionally voted Democrat shifted towards the Republicans who had never been strong in the South.

In 1968 George Wallace, the right wing governor of Alabama, stood as a third candidate. Most of the Southern members of the Electoral College voted either for Wallace or Nixon. Thus the mainstream of the Republicans moved to the right while the mainstream of the Democrats moved towards the left but there were considerable divisions within the parties. The divisions in the Democrats helped to secure the victory of Nixon in 1968 and again in 1972.

Nixon's poor reputation and Ford's pardon of him led to a reversal of the trend in 1976 and the South once again swung behind the Democrats, but by 1980 the new Republican right had found a champion. Ronald Reagan had been associated with the new right. As opposed to the relatively moderate Republican leadership and Ford, the new right was more demanding about opposing government intervention, opposing affirmative action and welfare and being firm in standing up to communism abroad.

Reagan brought the new right in line with the mainstream leadership when he ran as Republican candidate in 1980. Goldwater had not had the charm and appeal to win over those not committed to ideological conservatism, but Reagan did not emerge as a dedicated ideologue but rather a warm and appealing figure opposed to an indecisive Democratic president who had not dealt with major problems and whose party was divided. The so-called 'Reagan democrats' swung behind the Republicans with the result that Reagan got a landslide victory.

The subsequent development of the parties confirmed the changes of the 1960s and 1970s. Both became more organised and both developed clearer ideological differences. The

Republicans were firmly established in the South and the Dixiecrat element of the Democrats fell away. More African American voters changed the nature of the Democrats from an uneasy coalition to a more consistent progressive party.

Theory of Knowledge

History and perspective

How important is sense of perspective to a historian?

That is, looking at aspects of a longer period rather than just at a series of individual topics? Would it help to look at the parties over an even longer period, say going back to the 1860s?

DISCUSSION POINT

How far is it correct to state that the greatest change in politics between 1945 and 1980 was that differences within the two parties became more important than differences between them? To help you form your opinion, look back at Chapters 1 and 2 to gather material.

Next, with a partner, consider the following questions. Then, write your opinion.

- Was there continuity between the domestic policies of the two parties? Find examples and explain them.
- Were there differences within the parties? Find examples and explain them.
- Were there differences between the parties? Find examples and explain them.
- Were there aspects of agreement within the parties on certain key issues? Find examples and explain them.

Paper 3 exam practice

Question

Compare and contrast the success of the domestic policies of Ford and Carter [15 marks]

Skill

Writing an introductory paragraph

Examiner's tips

Once you have planned your answer to a question (as described in Chapter 3), you should be able to begin writing a clear introductory paragraph. This needs to set out your main line of argument and to outline **briefly** the key points you intend to make (and support with relevant and precise own knowledge) in the main body of your essay. Remember – ‘*To what extent...?*’ and ‘*How far...?*’ questions clearly require analysis of opposing arguments – and a judgement. If, after writing your plan, you think you are able to make a clear final judgement, it is a good idea to state in your introductory paragraph what overall line of argument/judgement you intend to make.

Depending on the wording of the question, you may also find it useful to define in your introductory paragraph what you understand by key terms. This can include words like ‘success’. You should try and establish some ways of assessing success – success in dealing with problems or success in carrying forward their broader aims. This may vary. Kennedy had clear ideals as set out in the New Frontier speech. Ford and Carter, however, faced the problem of a devalued presidency and considerable economic problems. You must also remember the exact terms of the question. It is not asking you, in this case, to compare the policies themselves, but their success.

For this question you should:

- define the terms of the question
- identify the issues and the criteria for assessing how successfully they were dealt with
- offer your view of the similarities and differences.

Setting out the approach in your introductory paragraph will help you keep the demands of the question in mind. Remember to refer back to your introduction (which is really a significant opening statement) after every couple of paragraphs in your main answer.

Common mistakes

A common mistake (one that might suggest to an examiner a candidate who has not thought deeply about what is required) is to fail to write an introductory paragraph at all. This is often done by candidates who rush into writing **before** analysing the question and doing a plan. The result may well be that they focus on the word 'policies' and start to describe them without considering the key element of how to judge their success and why the degree of success may be different or similar. Even if the answer gives a thorough description of key elements in the policies it will not be answering the question and will not score highly.

Sample student introductory paragraph

Both Ford and Carter faced similar problems. They both came to office in the aftermath of Watergate and inherited a presidency that was affected by the growth in power of Congress and a suspicion of presidents who were too personally powerful. They both faced considerable problems in the economy with stagflation and also rising costs of energy. They also faced problems of changes in society and demands for change. Neither president was very successful in solving the economic issues. Both men were faced with difficult decisions about whether to prioritise the problem of inflation or unemployment and economic stagnation. Neither produced consistent policies which dealt with either very effectively. Carter had longer to work on underlying problems of energy and his background helped him to have more understanding of this vital issue than Ford. Carter did pursue a more focused and forward looking policy to deal with the central issue of dealing with US energy demands than Ford. However, both men faced a difficult international situation. In terms of restoring the prestige and authority of the office, there is little to choose. Ford was criticised for pardoning Nixon and not dealing with his illegalities but may have been wise to end a long period of uncertainty. Carter offered a more principled approach than Nixon but was often led to attempt too much personal government and some poor judgements eroded confidence in the presidency.

Activity

In this chapter, the focus is on writing a useful introductory paragraph. Using the information from the chapter, and any other sources of information available to you, write introductory paragraphs for **at least two** of the following Paper 3 practice answers.

Remember to refer to the simplified Paper 3 mark scheme in Chapter 7.

Paper 3 practice questions

1. Evaluate the significance of the Watergate scandal for the USA.
2. To what extent did Nixon's domestic policies deal with the problems which the USA faced after 1968?
3. 'Ford's greatest political failure was his decision to pardon Nixon.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
4. Discuss the view that energy was the greatest problem facing Carter as President.
5. Evaluate the success that the presidents between 1968 and 1980 had in dealing with the economic problems of the USA.
6. Examine the importance of developments within the political parties in the 1960s and 1970s.

5 Canadian domestic policy, 1945–82

Introduction

This chapter considers the domestic policies of the prime ministers who governed Canada between 1945 and 1980. It explains how Canada emerged economically and politically from the Second World War. The chapter evaluates the premiership of Mackenzie King and goes on to consider why his successor St. Laurent was defeated only a few years later, thus ending Liberal dominance. It considers how, despite a landslide victory in 1958, the Progressive Conservatives were removed from power five years later. The chapter also investigates why the Liberals were able to dominate the period from 1963, assessing the success of their economic and social policies. The chapter concludes by explaining why the Conservative ministry of 1979 was so short-lived, and discusses the subsequent Liberal return to power.

TIMELINE

| | |
|------|---|
| 1946 | Jun: Citizenship Act |
| 1948 | Nov: Mackenzie King retires and is replaced by Louis St. Laurent |
| 1949 | Mar: Newfoundland joins Canada |
| | Apr: Canada joins NATO |
| | Supreme Court of Canada is made the final court of appeal |
| | Construction of Trans-Canada Highway starts |
| 1951 | Indian Act |
| 1954 | St Lawrence Seaway started |
| 1956 | The pipeline debate |
| 1957 | Jun: Progressive Conservatives win election, ending 22 years of Liberal rule |
| 1958 | Mar: Progressive Conservatives win landslide election victory |

Agricultural Stabilization Act introduced

- 1959 **Feb:** Avro Arrow contract cancelled
- 1960 **Jun:** Liberals replace Union Nationale as governing party in Quebec
 Aug: Canadian Bill of Human Rights passed
- 1962 **Jun:** Diefenbaker wins election but as minority government
- 1963 **Jan:** NATO commander insists Canada honour its commitment to NATO
 Apr: Liberals win election but fail to gain overall majority
- 1965 **Feb:** Canadian flag adopted
 Nov: Second Liberal electoral victory without overall majority
- 1967 Canadian centenary
- 1968 **Apr:** Pearson retires as Prime Minister; replaced by Pierre Trudeau
- 1969 **Sep:** Official Languages Act passed
- 1970 **Oct:** October Crisis
- 1971 Multiculturalism Act passed
- 1974 **Jul:** Bill 22 makes French only official language in Quebec
- 1976 **Nov:** Parti Québécois defeats Liberals and takes power in Quebec
- 1977 **Aug:** Bill 101 – ‘A Charter of the French Language’
- 1979 **May:** Trudeau defeated; Clark takes office with minority Conservative government
- 1980 **Feb:** Trudeau returns to power
- 1982 **Apr:** Constitution Act

KEY QUESTIONS

- How did Canada emerge from the Second World War?
- How successful was Mackenzie King as Prime Minister?
- Why did the Liberals fall from power in 1957?
- Why was the period of Progressive Conservative rule in Canada so short-lived?
- How successful was the Pearson administration?
- Why was Trudeau able to remain in power for so long?

Overview

- Canada emerged from the Second World War stronger economically and militarily than it had been in the period before the war.
- The Liberal government of Mackenzie King, which had won the 1935 election, also won the 1940 and 1945 elections. He was able to hand over power to Louis St. Laurent when he retired in 1948.
- St Laurent's premiership witnessed a continued period of economic growth. This allowed the financing of social welfare legislation and a number of large-scale transport projects.
- John Diefenbaker's election victory in 1957 ended a Liberal dominance that dated back to 1935. The Prime Minister secured the largest government majority in the 1958 election, but a series of errors in handling policy, particularly over defence, and Diefenbaker's abrasive personality brought down the government in 1963.
- The Liberal leader Lester Pearson remained in power until 1968, despite never having a majority government.
- Pearson's administration passed significant welfare reforms, oversaw economic growth and helped to bring greater unity to the country, symbolised by the new flag.
- Although Trudeau fell from power in 1979, the Conservative government under Joe Clark lasted only nine months and Trudeau was re-elected in 1980.



Figure 5.1: Canada showing its provinces and main cities.

5.1 How did Canada emerge from the Second World War?

Canada before the Second World War

Canada was hit badly by the Depression and economic downturn of the 1930s. Government policies did not solve the problem of high unemployment, which was only reduced by an upturn in the trade cycle in the late 1930s and the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Despite the economic problems the Liberal government of **Mackenzie King** continued to dominate politics and won the 1940 election.

William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874–1950):

Mackenzie King is the longest serving Canadian Prime Minister. He trained in law and social work, a background that was reflected in his motto, 'Help those who cannot help themselves'. He led Canada throughout most of the 1920s to the 1940s, with a period of four years out of office following his defeat in the 1930 election. This domination of Canadian politics is surprising, as he lacked charisma and public-speaking skills and did not shine in radio or newsreel broadcasts. Many contemporaries saw him as cold and tactless, but he understood the Canadian temperament, and as a moderniser and compromiser he was able to guide Canada through difficult periods.

The economic situation

The Second World War made Canada the second richest nation behind the United States. GNP had more than doubled from \$5.6 billion in 1939 to \$11.8 billion in 1945. However, the war had also left Britain devastated and this meant that Canadian links with the USA, which had become closer during the war, developed even further causing some to express concern that the country was becoming too reliant on their neighbour, with the historian Donald Creighton claiming that King acted 'like a puppet on a string' and with his minister of economic reconstruction, C. D. Howe actively courting US investment.

The period immediately after the war saw continued economic growth and prosperity. This prosperity was seen most clearly in Alberta where the discovery of oil in the Leduc Valley brought unprecedented wealth to the province, so that by 1959 it was able to spend more per capita on health care and education than any other province. However, the period also witnessed union unrest as the number of strikes increased to its highest since 1919 and union membership grew.

The economy was given a further boost by the growing population, which rose by 50% in the years from 1946 to 1961. The development of suburbia and the commuter lifestyle, with its

emphasis on consumption, also encouraged economic growth. The public had enjoyed a period of prosperity during the war, with personal expenditure rising from \$10.6 billion in 1938 to \$14.1 billion in 1944.

This was given a further stimulus by the Keynesian approach to economics adopted by the government. The British economist John Maynard Keynes believed that the government should play a role in preventing the continuous economic cycle of 'boom and bust'. He believed that the government should spend money during bad times instead of cutting back on projects, even if it meant borrowing more money.

This would prevent the economy going into depression and help to maintain levels of employment. He also suggested that government spending could be reduced during good times. Critics challenged his view and argued that this approach served only to make the bad times even worse.

However, determined to prevent a return to Depression the government continued, as Keynes argued, to invest and spend money, creating further demand. The government supported companies who converted their facilities to peacetime production, but with a growing economy these companies were soon paying full taxes on their new plants. Moreover, funds were available for further capital expansion.

The military situation

Canada had certainly played its part in the Second World War, with troops heavily involved in the invasion of Italy and in Northern Europe. At the end of the war it had the third largest navy and fourth largest air force. It was therefore a major player on the international scene.

During the war it had become more closely tied militarily to the USA, signing the Ogdensburg Agreement in 1940, which established a joint board to integrate North American defences and linked the US and Canadian military for the first time, and the Hyde Park Declaration in 1941, which coordinated the work of the two countries in terms of production.

However, these closer military ties were something of a contradiction for Mackenzie King who was an isolationist, but as events developed he would discover that such a position, with the development of the Cold War, was no longer possible.

The political situation

The Liberals had dominated the political scene since Mackenzie King had been leader of the party, with only four years between 1930 and 1935 in opposition. In 1940 Mackenzie King had called a snap election and won a huge majority on the promise that his party would not introduce conscription. However, in 1942 he called a plebiscite on the possibility of conscription, asking the Canadian people whether they would release the government from its earlier promise. Despite winning a large majority, it was not until 1944 that it was introduced, with most considering that King had done his best to keep his promise.

He had been able to keep the country united through the war and, in 1945 won another majority. The Liberals had also been able to introduce Family Allowances in 1944, by which the federal treasury paid up to \$8 per month for each dependent child. They also promised a Keynesian approach to economics with public works, financial assistance for training and employment as well as economic planning. In the social field they promised to implement hospital insurance, housing programmes and support for farmers.

With the Conservatives re-branded as the Progressive Conservatives under a new leader, **John Bracken**, also offering similar policies there was little for the electorate to choose between and therefore it is perhaps hardly surprising that they went for the experience of the Liberals.

John Bracken (1883–1969):

Bracken began his career as a university professor in animal husbandry, but after the victory of the United Farmers in the Manitoba provincial election of 1922 he became leader of the party and served as Manitoba's leader for over twenty years. He formed an alliance with the Manitoba Liberals in 1931 and the parties eventually merged. In 1942 he was urged to take over the leadership of the national Conservative party, but he agreed only on the condition that they changed their name to the Progressive Conservative Party. Although leader, he did not take a seat in the Commons until 1945, but in 1948 he was pushed to resign and lost his seat in the 1949 election.

ACTIVITY

Make a copy of the following chart and use the information in this section to help you complete the strengths and weaknesses of Canada after the war:

| Factor | Strengths | Weaknesses |
|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Economy | | |
| Military | | |
| Political | | |

5.2 How successful was Mackenzie King as Prime Minister?

Mackenzie King remained as Prime Minister until 1948 when he retired. During his last years as premier he oversaw a period of substantial economic growth, with GNP rising 25% in the period from 1945 to 1948. Although unemployment rose after the war, by 1948 levels had returned to those of the war years and with wages rising there was a general feel-good factor. However, underneath this apparent picture of success were some problems.

The most notable issue was the unfavourable balance of trade with America. As a result, there was such a drain on American dollars that imports from the US had to be cut and credit made available. However, by the summer of 1948 the problem had been resolved.

This period also saw the introduction of the 1946 Citizenship Act, which became law on the 1 January 1947. The act made Canadians citizens of their own country, rather than British, further eroding links with the former mother country. However, he also took a firm line about political and economic refugees after the war, and fearing the threat that they might cause to social stability introduced strict immigration laws, which discouraged many non-white and Christian groups from applying to enter the country. Despite this approach, it should be remembered that it reflected the mood of many Canadians who were fearful of a flood of refugees.

Many of King's achievements were in the pre-war and wartime period, although he did oversee the start of the post-war boom. He had brought in old age pensions in 1936, unemployment insurance in 1940 and family allowance in 1944. Moreover, he had kept Canada united during the war. However, many of his achievements were in the field of administration and therefore he is often portrayed as dull and grey, despite the fact that he has been championed as Canada's best Prime Minister by university professors. It is true that he was a great manager and an astute politician, but perhaps his greatest achievement was his longevity.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Significance: Using the evidence from this section, find evidence to support or challenge the following statements made about King. In light of the evidence, which do you think best describes King. Explain your answer.

- 'the greatest ever Canadian leader'
- 'a very capable administrator'

- 'divided Canadians the least'

5.3 Why did the Liberals fall from power in 1957?

The Liberal Party was the dominant force in Canadian politics for most of the early 20th century, broken only by the short-lived Conservative government of Richard Bennett from 1931 to 1935. In an attempt to change their image and win support, the Conservatives joined forces with the Progressive Party in 1942, but this had little impact on their popularity with the Canadian people. By 1957, the Liberals had enjoyed an uninterrupted 22 years in power and the Conservatives had lost five elections in a row.

Louis St Laurent was fortunate in that he ruled Canada during some of the most prosperous times. The surplus revenues allowed him to expand Canada's social welfare provision with the expansion of family allowances, pensions, the funding of education and hospital insurance.

The measures included:

- 1951: the provision of
 - universal old-age pensions for all Canadians over 70
 - assistance for those aged over 65 and in need
 - allowances for the blind
- 1954: the provision of allowances for the disabled
- 1956: unemployed assistance for those on welfare or who did not qualify for unemployment insurance benefits.

The administration also brought in several large-scale projects:

- 1949: Trans-Canada Highway, which was completed in 1962.
- 1951: TransCanada PipeLines (natural gas) which was completed in 1959.
- 1954: St Lawrence Seaway, which was finished in 1959. This opened up the interior to ocean-going ships, but did cause problems with the Mohawks as it cut through their territory and with the loss of their land cut them off from the river that had featured in their history.

The administration also did much to extend Canada's independence at home. The practice of appealing Canadian cases to the Judicial Committee of Great Britain was ended in 1949. The Supreme Court of Canada became the final court of appeal and replaced the British Privy Council. In the same year St Laurent also negotiated the British North America Act (Number 2), which gave the Canadian parliament the power to change parts of the constitution.

Louis St Laurent (1882–1973):

St Laurent was Prime Minister from November 1948 to June 1957. He had begun work as a lawyer and became one of Quebec's leading lawyers and was offered a place in government in 1926, but it was not until 1941 that he finally entered politics. He was appointed Minister of Justice and was persuaded to carry on in politics after the war, becoming Minister of External Affairs. It was Mackenzie King who persuaded his senior ministers to support St Laurent's selection as his successor. He was popularly known as 'Uncle Louis', due to his carefully managed image, but he ran the country with a business-like efficiency and his legendary temper. Having been Minister of External Affairs, it is perhaps not surprising that many of his achievements were in the field of foreign affairs, taking Canada from the isolationism favoured by King to an active middle power. Under his leadership Canada was a founding member of NATO, sent troops to Korea and was at the forefront, with his Secretary of External Affairs, Lester Pearson, of solving the 1956 Suez crisis.



Figure 5.2: Louis St Laurent with King, from whom he took over as Prime Minister in November 1948.

In 1949 Newfoundland became Canada's newest province, although it was a close-run thing. During the Second World War it had become clear that the island had considerable strategic importance due to it jutting out into the North Atlantic, but with the development of intercontinental bombers this significance increased.

The US, Canada and Britain had all established a military presence and the island was put under increasing pressure about its future. A referendum was held, but the result was inconclusive, so a second was held and due largely to the work of **Joey Smallwood**, a former pig-farmer turned politician, it voted 52% to 48% to join Canada.

Joey Smallwood (1900–1991):

Smallwood started work at a newspaper, edited *The Book of Newfoundland* and hosted a radio programme. However, in 1943 he established a pig farm. He had been involved in politics in the late 1920s and 1930s, criticising British rule of Newfoundland. He was elected a member of the Convention to make recommendations about Newfoundland's future. He argued that they should join Canada as it would increase prosperity. After victory in the referendum he was a member of the delegation that negotiated terms to join the Union with Canada. Following acceptance of the Union, Smallwood, as leader of the Liberal party became premier of the province until 1972.

The government also passed the Indian Act of 1951. For the first time, they involved indigenous people in the discussions and although the changes were not dramatic, it did give them more control over their finances. However, they were still not allowed to vote and their movements outside their reserves were still limited. Moreover, the aim of the act was to bring about the assimilation and disappearance of native cultures. Although it is difficult to see the act in positive terms, the actual involvement of native groups in discussions was a breakthrough.

Despite the achievements of the St Laurent administration, the Liberal government's reputation was declining. It was increasingly regarded as autocratic, and lost a great deal of support in 1956 after failing to back Britain during the Suez Crisis. More significantly, the Pipeline Debate the same year further damaged the Liberals' prestige.

This controversial incident began when the minister of trade and commerce, C. D. Howe, organised a deal with US investors to build a gas pipeline from western Canada to Montreal. A lengthy debate over the issue began in parliament. The Progressive Conservatives, who opposed the pipeline, used delaying tactics in the hope that the Liberals would miss the deadline for signing the agreement with the US.

Frustrated by the slow progress, the Liberals overruled traditional parliamentary procedure to push through the necessary legislation to secure the pipeline. The government actions were widely perceived as an overreaction by the Canadian people, many of whom had reservations about the pipeline and were concerned about the amount of influence the USA already had in their country.

The Conservatives were outraged, and in the wake of the Pipeline Debate they turned nationalist sentiment to their own advantage. Under the leadership of the populist **John**

Diefenbaker, the Progressive Conservative Party was returned as a minority government with the largest single party with 112 seats compared to the Liberals 105 in the 1957 elections.

John Diefenbaker (1895–1979):

Diefenbaker grew up in Saskatchewan and interrupted his training as a lawyer to fight in the First World War. He later sought election to parliament a number of times before winning a seat in 1940. He also made several attempts to secure the leadership of the Conservative Party, and was finally successful in 1956. Diefenbaker became the only Progressive Conservative Prime Minister to win three elections, although not all with an overall majority. He built a reputation on his skill for public speaking, and his style prompted the *Toronto Star* to describe him as ‘humbug and flapdoodle served up with an evangelistic flourish’.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Significance: For each of the reforms introduced by the St Laurent government, assess their importance in changing Canada and Canadian society.

5.4 Why was the period of Progressive Conservative rule in Canada so short-lived?

The Progressive Conservatives were a minority government, and the new Liberal leader Lester Pearson called on John Diefenbaker to hand power back to the more experienced Liberals, but instead Diefenbaker took up Pearson's challenge and called a snap election.

Diefenbaker's personality

Diefenbaker built his election campaign around smart slogans, and he inspired many Canadians with his talk of 'A new Canada! A Canada of the north!' Historian Donald Creighton states that Diefenbaker seemed to 'combine the inspiring vision of the prophet, the burning sincerity of the evangelist, and the annihilating attack of a prosecuting counsel determined on the conviction of a monstrous criminal'. However, the new Prime Minister soon proved 'less an alternative to the Liberals than an epilogue', according to historian Robert Bothwell.

DISCUSSION POINT

What do you think Bothwell meant when he referred to Diefenbaker as an 'epilogue' to the Liberals?

The election of 1958 was a personal triumph for Diefenbaker. The Progressive Conservatives won 208 seats, compared to the Liberals 48. He was helped by the electoral change in Quebec, which instead of supporting the Liberals as it had done in the past backed the Progressives. Meanwhile, a collapse in support for the Social Credit Party which lost all of its 19 seats aided Diefenbaker as many of its traditional supporters turned to the Progressives.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Causation: Make a list of the reasons why Diefenbaker was able to win such a large majority in 1958. For each of the reasons you have identified assess its significance in the election victory.

Known as 'the Chief', Diefenbaker tried to run both his party and his government with iron discipline, but according to critics he was 'all heart and no brains'. After his landslide victory in 1958 – the greatest in Canadian history – it became clear that he and his government lacked the experience necessary to deal with the issues Canada faced. Their policies appeared confused and impractical. In the face of economic decline and other domestic troubles, Diefenbaker's early rhetoric seemed empty, and the public lost faith in his ability to push through reforms of any substance.

Economic problems

Diefenbaker was unfortunate to come to power just as the post-war boom ended and Canada entered an economic downturn that lasted until 1961. Unemployment remained high, at 6–7% throughout the period 1958–61. Diefenbaker attempted to alleviate some of the problems by increasing unemployment benefits from 16 to 52 weeks, and by expanding seasonal unemployment benefits for people who worked in industries that only operated at certain times of year. However, these efforts did not tackle the cause of the problem, and many Canadians continued to suffer in the poor economic climate.



Figure 5.3: Protestors in April 1961 complain about rising unemployment.

Diefenbaker also made a significant blunder as a result of his desire to make Canada less economically dependent upon the USA. He publicly announced that Canada would move 15% of its trade from the USA to Britain; this amounted to \$625 million a year, almost double the previous British import figure. More importantly, Diefenbaker's pledge was impossible to

fulfil, as it was contrary to the conditions of the 1947 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which prevented favourable terms being given to a particular country.

The government made some attempts to stimulate the economy. It introduced tax cuts and new spending schemes – notably a programme to build road and rail links in northern Canada. It also expanded funding for education through grants to universities and technical and vocational schools.

Agricultural stabilization

Diefenbaker recognised the need to protect Canada's valuable agricultural industry during the economic downturn, and he introduced the Agricultural Stabilization Act in 1958.

This established a minimum price for certain goods regardless of their market value, and offered credit and insurance to farmers. In 1961, the same act was extended to consolidate small farms, modernise farm housing and improve farming techniques. It also provided for trees and pasture to be grown on land that was no longer fertile enough for crops.

Ultimately, though, it was external events that saved Canadian agriculture. A drought in China, coupled with the USA's refusal to trade with the communist country, offered Canada a lifeline. As a result of Canadian grain sales to China, prices rose from \$1.60 to \$2.19 a bushel and net farm income in Canada went up threefold in three years.

The exchange crisis

Diefenbaker faced opposition to his plans for stimulating the economy from several quarters, but few were more outspoken than the Liberal governor of the Bank of Canada, James Coyne. Coyne made several speeches in which he encouraged Canadians to spend less and live within their means. He wanted to raise taxes, cut imports, and establish a fixed exchange rate between the Canadian and US dollars. These ideas all went against Diefenbaker's desire to increase spending to reverse the economic downturn, and Coyne's remarks caused a drop in confidence among businesses and consumers. This decline triggered an outflow of funds that eventually caused an exchange crisis.

Diefenbaker's government attempted to solve the exchange problem in the budget of June 1961. In the budget, the Conservatives proposed that the Canadian dollar be devalued (allowed to drop in value against the US dollar), and the rate was fixed at 92.5 US cents per Canadian dollar in May 1962. However, there was a general feeling that this rate would not be maintained and that the Canadian dollar was still over-valued. Investors withdrew their money and either swapped their dollars for gold – which drained the country's gold reserves – or invested in US dollars, which they believed were more stable.

By June 1962, the exchange crisis was so severe that the government had to embark on a policy of austerity and ask for foreign help to make the Canadian dollar more secure. Diefenbaker's political opponents accused the government of incompetence, and fake 'Diefendollars' with a picture of the Prime Minister in place of the queen were circulated, further undermining the government's credibility.

Theory of Knowledge

History and the individual

John Diefenbaker dominated both his party and the period. It can be difficult for historians to separate key personalities from the events that occurred around them. The 19th-century British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli said: *'There is properly no history, only biography.'* How far does your study of history support this view?

The Arrow crisis

Diefenbaker's premiership coincided with the height of the Cold War, and his handling of issues related to the conflict played a critical role in his eventual downfall. In particular, the 'Arrow crisis' highlighted the government's failure to deal appropriately with difficult decisions.

The Arrow was a state-of-the-art fighter plane designed to intercept Soviet aircraft over the Arctic. Although the Arrow was considered essential for Canadian security in the Cold War climate, it was nonetheless a costly project. As expenses mounted, the government formally announced that it was stopping further development of the Arrow in February 1959.

Although privately the Liberals were also preparing to abandon the scheme if they came to power, it did not prevent them criticising the Conservative government's decision. The Liberals argued that the abandonment of the Arrow project marked the end of Canadian sovereignty, as the country's air defence would now have to rely on US equipment. The cancellation of the Arrow also resulted in the loss of 14 000 jobs for skilled workers, many of whom left Canada to seek work abroad.

It was Diefenbaker's management of the situation, however, that drew the most criticism. Firstly, he incorrectly pronounced that the plane was outdated anyway due to the more developed technology of long-range missiles that was now available. He also declared that Canada was a nuclear-free zone, but promptly allowed the US to place two squadrons of Bomarc anti-aircraft missiles – which were to be armed with nuclear warheads – on Canadian soil.

The defence minister resigned in disgust at Diefenbaker's ignorance and contradictory policies, and the government was left open to further accusations of incompetence. Historian Desmond Morton summed up the situation: 'The Arrow cancellation was the right choice made the wrong way... Diefenbaker had taken one hard look at the costs of technological independence and fled.'

Failed policies and the recovery of the opposition

Even some of Diefenbaker's apparently successful policies seem hollow on closer scrutiny. The clearest example of this was the 1960 Bill of Rights, which guaranteed equality in terms of race, religion and beliefs. Such a bill was widely popular, especially among minority groups, but in reality the Bill of Rights was little more than an attempt to win popularity. Without being enshrined in the Canadian constitution it was difficult to enforce its terms. As Canada was a federal state, the bill also lacked authority in provincial courts. Ultimately, very few people would benefit practically from it.

As Diefenbaker's lofty ideals came crashing down, the opposition parties gained ground. The political allegiances of different sections of society began to change. The Conservatives' economic errors lost them the backing of the business community, and they came to rely instead on support from rural areas and the agricultural communities for whom their policies had been more successful. At the same time, Diefenbaker's 'One Canada' policy – seeking equality for and unity among all Canadians, whether French- or English-speaking – offered no concessions to the province of Quebec. There, the French Canadian majority began to support the Liberals.

The Social Credit Party also enjoyed a revival at this time. This conservative-populist group supported a theory of monetary reform called social credit, in which economic power was returned to citizens through an even distribution of wealth. This would be provided in the form of cash vouchers to boost spending, and thus stimulate the economy. The Social Credit Party increased its presence in parliament from 19 seats in 1957 to 30 seats in the 1962 election.

By the time of the 1962 election, Conservative support had dropped dramatically. Although they won the largest number of seats, they had to continue ruling without an overall majority, as Table 5.1 shows:

| Party | Seats |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Progressive Conservative Party | 116 |
| Liberal Party | 100 |
| Social Credit Party | 38 |
| New Democratic Party | 19 |

Table 5.1: The 1962 election results.

Source: <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register>

Nuclear policy

After the Arrow crisis, it was clear to many that Diefenbaker had no coherent policy on nuclear weapons. The fact that he had allowed US surface-to-air missiles on to Canadian soil was a matter of grave concern, not only to those who objected to nuclear weapons, but also to those who felt that US influence in Canada was already too strong. Such concerns had arisen earlier in Diefenbaker's premiership, when he signed the North American Air Defense Agreement (NORAD) with the USA. This established an integrated air-defence system under the joint control of both nations. However, at that time Diefenbaker refused to allow nuclear weapons into Canada; he also denied tactical nuclear weapons to Canadian troops serving under NATO in Europe.

In January 1963, the NATO commander told Diefenbaker that Canada was failing to honour its agreement with NATO by refusing to accept nuclear weapons. Sensing an opportunity, the opposition changed tack, and the Liberal leader Lester Pearson announced that the Conservative government should honour its pledge to NATO.

As support ebbed away, the Conservatives tried to win the backing of the Social Credit Party. However, before committing their support, members of Social Credit wanted the Conservatives to give a clear and decisive explanation of their defence policy. Dissatisfied with the answer it received, the Social Credit Party joined forces with the Liberals and the New Democratic Party to bring a vote of no-confidence against the government. At a critical moment in the Cold War, Diefenbaker's inability to reassure his political opponents and the Canadian public about defence of their country ensured his downfall. In the 1963 election, the Liberals took power once more.

DISCUSSION POINT

How far does your study of Diefenbaker's administration support the view that it is impossible to fully understand the history of a country without considering foreign policy?

ACTIVITY

Copy and complete the following chart to show evidence of Diefenbaker's successes and failures. In the last column, make a judgement about how successful Diefenbaker was in that area by awarding a mark out of six – the greater the success, the higher the mark.

| Issue | Evidence of success | Evidence of failure | Judgement 1–6 |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Electoral performance | | | |
| Economic performance | | | |
| Social policy | | | |
| The Arrow crisis | | | |
| Nuclear policy | | | |

Explain the marks you have awarded. When you have completed the chart, write a paragraph that reaches an overall judgement about Diefenbaker's administration.

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Change: Diefenbaker won the largest majority in Canadian history in 1958. However, by 1963 the Progressive Conservatives were out of office. What had changed since 1958 to impact on their electoral performance? What do you think was the most important reason? Explain your answer.

5.5 How successful was the Pearson administration?

Liberal electoral successes

Despite the failings of Diefenbaker's government and the Liberals' promise of '60 Days of Decision' – during which they would make plans to revive the Canadian economy and the country's credibility in foreign affairs – the party was unable to win an overall majority in either the 1963 or the 1965 elections (see Table 5.2). It gained support from the business community, the professional classes, the army and the civil service. However, in 1963 Diefenbaker led a surprisingly energetic campaign against his challengers, and to many people he still seemed preferable to the comparably unexciting Lester Pearson.

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Causation: Why do you think that Pearson was unable to win an overall majority in either the 1963 or the 1965 elections?

| Election results | 1963 | 1965 |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|
| Party | Seats | Seats |
| Liberal Party | 128 | 131 |
| Progressive Conservatives | 95 | 97 |
| Social Credit Party | 24 | 21 |
| New Democratic Party | 17 | 5 |

Table 5.2: Election results from 1963 and 1965. Source: <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register>

Economic policy

Pearson's administration got off to a bad start with the budget. The finance minister, Walter Gordon, was an ardent economic nationalist, and he immediately introduced plans to block the foreign takeover of Canadian industry. His programme was unpopular with the business community – which relied on foreign interests – and Gordon was soon forced to revise his plans.

Despite this, Pearson presided over the start of a 20-year period of almost unbroken prosperity in Canada, and the economic upturn naturally reflected well on the Prime

Minister. By 1966, unemployment was relatively low, at 3.4%, and the purchasing power of incomes began to rise significantly. However, this prosperity was regional and several areas continued to suffer economic problems, including Newfoundland, central Ontario and rural Quebec.

Development areas

In order to tackle the issues in poorer regions, Pearson introduced a fund for rural economic development, which provided grants for schools, adult education and land purchase. Elderly farmers who left the land were also offered guaranteed minimum incomes. Development areas were established in places where unemployment was high. The Liberals also allocated more money to the Atlantic Development Board (which had been established by the Conservatives) and set up the Area Development Agency, which offered grants to companies that settled in the development areas. Gradually, the number of regions covered by the scheme was extended so that even more Canadians benefited.

The Auto Pact 1965

Perhaps the most important scheme Pearson introduced was the 1965 Auto Pact. This agreement removed the duties (import taxes) on trucks, cars and vehicle parts moving between Canada and the USA, creating a 'one-industry' free-trade area. The pact helped to guarantee levels of production and investment in the Canadian automobile industry, which was also nationalised. With the rise in exports came a resulting rise in the numbers employed in the car industry. As a result, by 1970 Canadian automobile production was showing a small profit.

The rise of the unions

The economic picture was not all success under Pearson. Throughout the 1960s, strikes increased as union membership grew and the right to strike was extended to civil servants. Typically, strikes were rare as they could take place only after a period of negotiation between unions and employers, often with compulsory arbitration by an independent body. However, the rise in union membership gave the workers greater influence during these negotiations, which led to more frequent cases of stalemate. During Pearson's premiership, strikes occurred over wages, working conditions and benefits – an indication that the unions were trying to use the improved economic climate to regain living standards eroded previously.

Despite the rise in the number of strikes and a series of trade crises, Pearson's time in office is remembered as one of economic growth, rising exports and domestic investments. Visual evidence of the boom could be seen across the country in the form of the steel mills constructed in Quebec, the expansion of the Montreal and Toronto subways and the Nova Scotia heavy-water plant for atomic energy, among many examples.

Theory of Knowledge

History and economics

How far do you agree with the view that the study of economic history requires different skills to that of any other field of historical study?



Figure 5.4: Prime Minister Lester Pearson, with the premiers of Ontario and Quebec – John Roberts (left) and Jean Lesage (right).

QUESTION

What is the image of Pearson in the cartoon in Figure 5.5?
Use your own knowledge to assess how accurate this view of Pearson is.

Social policy

Very little social legislation was introduced in Canada in the 1950s, but this changed in the following decade. In the five years of Pearson's premiership – and remarkably without the Liberals having a majority in parliament – widespread reforms were passed. In part, this was a direct result of the improved economic situation, which allowed investment in other areas. There was also pressure from the media to increase social provision, and Pearson knew it would secure his continued popularity with the people.

Throughout Pearson's time in office, the state took on more and more social responsibilities, and became increasingly interventionist and paternalistic. Some critics accused the government of pursuing socialist policies, but it continued to rely heavily on the private sector and there were far fewer objections in Canada to federal intervention than there were in the USA in the 1960s. The scope of Pearson's social policies was wide, and included a War on Poverty like that in the USA (see Section 3.3, Kennedy's failed plans), heavier investment in welfare programmes and a widening of the social safety net in the form of insurance schemes.

Tom Kent, Pearson's main policy advisor, regarded the changes to health care as 'the most important of all the social reforms introduced by the Pearson administration'. Moves towards a national health insurance scheme began in 1957, but the Liberals extended the programme from acute hospital stays and diagnostic treatments to include doctor services. There were four principles behind the act:

- universality of coverage
- a comprehensive definition of services to be provided by doctors
- the transfer of benefits between provinces
- public administration of the scheme.

The healthcare proposals caused some debate in Conservative provinces, but ultimately the scheme was approved and the costs were divided between the federal and provincial governments.

The Canadian Pension Plan was also a major step in improving the lives of many Canadians. This established a mandatory investment fund, which pooled the money deducted from wages to provide a minimum standard of living. Not only was the scheme contributory, it was also universal and portable, meaning it could be carried from one province to another if an individual moved out of his or her native province. The federal government also agreed to

increase the share of personal income tax that the provinces received, which allowed provincial governments to further expand their social service provision.

Pearson was acutely aware that one of the greatest limits on economic advancement – for individuals and the nation as a whole – was the lack of educational facilities in some of the less affluent provinces. His government therefore placed a great deal of emphasis on providing funds to improve a range of education services in these areas, in the hope of benefiting the population in the longer term (see the section on economic policy above).

There were other attempts to introduce social modernisation to Canada. Capital punishment was temporarily suspended (it was formally abolished in 1976), and amendments were made to the criminal code dealing with both divorce and sexual morality. The position of women also improved, largely as a result of the establishment in 1966 of the Committee for the Equality of Women in Canada, which forced the government to launch a Royal Commission to investigate their status.

National unity

The greatest challenge Pearson's government faced was the problem of Quebec. This is covered in detail in Chapter 6, but the situation there highlighted a larger problem in Canada as a whole: the country's cultural and linguistic diversity meant that there was no strong sense of national unity.

The federal structure of government gave the provinces a great deal of power, and this led to concerns that certain regions would soon want greater independence – and perhaps even to break from Canada altogether. To bridge the divide between French-speaking and English-speaking parts of Canada, the Liberals launched campaigns promoting bilingualism and encouraging a greater understanding of the different cultures within the country.

Perhaps the most enduring legacy of the moves towards increased unity came with the retirement of the British Union flag and the introduction of the distinctive Canadian Maple Leaf flag in February 1965. The Canadian MP John Matheson remarked that 'the search for a flag was really a search for a country'. Even this decision faced opposition, however – notably from former Prime Minister Diefenbaker, who called the new flag the 'Pearson Pennant'. In the end, the issue was only decided after the government ruled an end to the debate and forced a vote.



Figure 5.5: The problem of the national flag was not the only problem facing Pearson's government as this cartoon shows. The new flag provided a symbol around which the nation could unite – an issue that became increasingly important as Canada approached its centenary in 1967. However, when Pearson retired in 1968 there were still many questions to answer about Canada's future and, most significantly, that of Quebec.

DISCUSSION POINT

In light of the assessments you have made of Diefenbaker and Pearson, who was the more successful Prime Minister?



Figure 5.6: The new Canadian flag is raised for the first time at Canada House in London on 15 February 1965.



Figure 5.7: Cartoon of Pearson sewing the new Canadian flag.

QUESTION

What is the message of the cartoon in Figure 5.7? Use your own knowledge and the source to explain the problems Pearson faced in uniting the country.

ACTIVITY

In section 5.4, you copied and completed a chart on the success and failures of the Diefenbaker administration.

| Issue | Evidence of success | Evidence of failure | Judgement 1–6 |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Electoral success | | | |
| Economic policy | | | |
| Social reform | | | |
| National unity | | | |
| Quebec | | | |
| Other | | | |

Now copy and complete the following chart to carry out the same exercise for Pearson's administration.

Using the information in the chart, write a paragraph that reaches an overall judgement about the success of the Pearson government.

5.6 Why was Trudeau able to remain in power for so long?

Trudeau's image

Pierre Trudeau succeeded Lester Pearson as Liberal Prime Minister of Canada in 1968. His personality soon won him many admirers. His young and suave image appeared to capture the spirit of a new era, and he was greeted with a wave of hysteria as 'Trudeaumania' swept across Canada. The historian Desmond Morton reflected that 'for a few warm spring months in 1968 Pierre Elliott Trudeau synthesised the dreams, achievements and illusions of the liberation era'.

Pierre Trudeau (1919–2000):

Born of French Canadian parents, Trudeau dominated Canadian politics from 1968 to 1984. An intellectual who had been a professor of law before entering politics in the 1960s, he became secretary to Pearson and then minister of justice. Despite acquiring a playboy image, his personal motto of 'reason before passion' reflected his workaholic temperament. Trudeau was adored by supporters for his intelligence and efforts towards the preservation of Canadian unity, but criticised by opponents for his mismanagement of the economy. He remains a controversial figure in Canadian politics to this day.

During the 1968 campaign, Trudeau seemed less a political leader than a film star. His enthusiasm and energy inspired the same in a whole new generation of supporters, and contrasted significantly with the withdrawn personality of the Conservative candidate Robert Stanfield. Even before he came to power, therefore, Trudeau's populist appeal and playboy image overshadowed his real inclinations as a strong reformer and a determined politician, undeterred by extreme circumstances.

This more serious side to his personality was notably revealed during the October Crisis (see Chapter 6), but glimpses of it could be seen during the campaign. The day before the election, Trudeau attended the annual St Jean Baptiste Day celebrations in Montreal. While sitting in the bandstand with other dignitaries, Quebec separatist agitators forced their way forward and began throwing missiles and stones. Everyone except Trudeau fled. The future Prime Minister waved away his bodyguard and despite being nearly hit, he refused to move or flinch. The mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau, returned to Trudeau's side and together they faced down the demonstrators. If any single act won Trudeau the respect of the Canadian people it was this, and it undoubtedly played a part in securing his electoral victory.



Figure 5.8: A jubilant Pierre Trudeau at the 1968 Liberal convention.

Trudeau fought the 1968 election campaign under the slogan ‘the Just Society’, and during his time in power he set out to establish a participatory democracy, expanding the welfare state through his defence of the healthcare programme, and implementing many reforms designed to help parliament run more smoothly. For example, the Criminal Code was

amended to safeguard individual rights, and family allowance was raised. In 1971, unemployment insurance was expanded and the ceiling was removed so that its provision became universal.

A multicultural Canada

The greatest social changes came in the field of multiculturalism. Trudeau followed up the findings of a Royal Commission established by Lester Pearson, and introduced a range of measures that adopted a 'multicultural policy within a bilingual framework'.

Trudeau's first notable reform in this regard was the Official Languages Act of 1969. This ensured that Canadians – whether French- or English-speaking – had access to federal services in their own language. It was followed by regulations that required bilingual labelling on all commercial products. In 1971, Trudeau introduced the Multiculturalism Act, which guaranteed equality for all cultural and ethnic groups within a bilingual nation. Funding was provided for ethnic organisations and second-language instruction. This represented a considerable shift in attitude, as multiculturalism was now federally supported. Despite concerns at the time that multiculturalism would be a dividing force in society, it did not lead to the collapse of national unity or chaos. Trudeau's policies were largely successful, and they played a significant role in defeating the separatist claims of Quebec.

In the same way that Trudeau tried to reduce cultural tensions, he also aimed to limit regional inequalities. In 1969, he established the Department of Regional Economic Expansion. He protected the farming community through tariffs, and established import quotas and provincial marketing boards. These policies effectively nationalised the economy.

Native Canadian affairs

One notable failure in Trudeau's social policies were those regarding Native Canadians. In 1969, the government published a White Paper on Indian Affairs. This recommended the abolition of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Indian Act (which gave the federal government control over Indian issues), the transfer of responsibility for Native rights to the provinces, the elimination of reservations, and the ending of the special status for Native Canadians.

Putting these recommendations into practice would bring Native Canadians into mainstream society and encourage equality through assimilation. The proposals divided Canadian

society. The Native Canadian senator James Gladstone supported the measures and argued that the goal of absolute equality outweighed the short-term losses. However, most Indian groups opposed the changes. Some argued that Native Canadians had a prior legal and historic claim to the land that could not be changed by an Act of Parliament. Native rights became a major political issue, and Trudeau was forced to back down. The government withdrew its proposals in 1971 and established an Office of Native Claims to deal with outstanding land issues.

Economic policy

Much like Diefenbaker, Trudeau grew increasingly concerned about the growing US domination of the Canadian economy. To combat this, he initiated a policy of economic nationalisation.

In 1973, Trudeau introduced the Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA). The agency was to screen foreign business takeovers and decide if they benefited Canada, but in practice it did little more than discourage investment and growth.

The establishment of the national oil company Petro Canada in 1975 helped to ‘Canadianise’ the petroleum industry, which had been dominated by foreign interests up to this time. Trudeau also launched a National Energy Policy in the 1980s, which increased Canadian ownership of the oil industry, forced the western provinces to give the central government a larger share of the revenue, and helped to make Canada more self-sufficient in energy. However, these policies angered both the USA and western Canada, which saw them as an assault on provincial resources.

The success of Trudeau’s economic policies remains a matter of debate today. The rise in oil prices that characterised the latter part of the 1970s were largely the result of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) controlling supply, but Trudeau’s erratic economic policies did not help.

QUESTION

What is the message of the cartoon in Figure 5.9? How useful to a historian studying the premiership of Trudeau is the cartoon?



Figure 5.9: A Cartoon comparing Pierre Trudeau to the absolute king of France Louis XIV, with the caption 'The State, it is me'.

Policy changes from 1972

Trudeau failed to win a majority in the 1972 election, and remained in power at the head of a minority government that relied on the support of the New Democratic Party, which held the balance of power. This forced Trudeau into a move to the left. The 1973 budget revealed a drop in personal income tax, increased pensions and amendments to social-economic legislation, as the government adopted a more economic nationalist policy. When the 1974 budget was unveiled, however, political opposition to its plans ended in a no-confidence motion in parliament.

In the ensuing election campaign, the Conservative leader Stanfield proposed government-sanctioned wage and price controls to tackle the problem of inflation. Trudeau criticised the scheme and ran his own campaign on the slogan 'Zap! You're frozen' to deride Stanfield's policies. Trudeau won the election, but almost immediately introduced a similar policy. This allowed wages to rise at the rate of inflation plus 2%, and prices to rise only when a cost rise could be demonstrated. The policy failed and was aborted in 1978. Such events highlighted the confusion that surrounded many of Trudeau's economic strategies, and by 1979 the Prime Minister faced a country in the grip of a declining population and rising national debt.

The fall and rise of Trudeau

Much of Trudeau's time in office was spent dealing with issues in Quebec, and this allowed the Conservative Party to gain ground in more national issues. In addition, Trudeau alienated the western provinces with his oil policy, and many people felt that federal government control had extended too far. The economy was struggling, inflation was rising, and many were weary of Trudeau's arrogance. He delayed the next election for as long as possible, but it was eventually held in 1979. The Liberals took only one seat west of Winnipeg and lost much of urban Ontario. Trudeau resigned as leader of the Liberal Party, but his time in Canadian politics was not over yet.

The result of the election brought Progressive Conservative leader **Joe Clark** into power at the head of a minority government. Clark's political rise had been rapid – so much so that after his election victory one newspaper ran the headline 'Joe Who?'

His inexperience soon became clear. He pledged to move the location of the Canadian embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem; he privatised Petro Canada, causing a rise in the price of petrol; he delayed calling parliament; and he lacked support in Quebec. When parliament did meet, it passed one bill – a minor amendment to old-age pensions – but when

the government tried to introduce a tough budget to tackle the economic crisis, it was defeated. After just nine months in power, Clark faced another election.

The Liberals pleaded with Trudeau to return, to which he readily agreed. In February 1980, he was reinstated as Prime Minister with a majority government, quoting the poet Robert Frost: 'I have promises to keep, and miles to go before I sleep.'

Joe Clark (1939-):

A statesman, businessman, university professor and journalist, Joe Clark's rise to political prominence was dramatic. He entered parliament in 1972, but became leader of the Progressive Conservatives in 1976 and was sworn in as Prime Minister on the day before his 40th birthday in 1979. Although his premiership did not last long, he returned to government in 1984, serving in Brian Mulroney's cabinet.

ACTIVITY

You have now considered the three Canadian prime ministers from 1957 to 1980. Copy and complete the following chart to summarise their achievements and reach a judgement about their relative successes.

| Issue | Diefenbaker | Pearson | Trudeau |
|-------------------|-------------|---------|---------|
| Electoral success | | | |
| Economic policy | | | |
| Social policy | | | |
| Handling crises | | | |
| Other | | | |

Trudeau remained as Prime Minister until his retirement in 1984. During his second period in office his ministry was dominated by two issues:

- the 1980 referendum in Quebec (see Section 6.7)
- The Constitution Act of 1982 and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

When Trudeau returned to office in 1980 Canada was still not fully independent. The British North America Act meant that any changes to the constitution had to be approved by Britain. Although this was a formality, there were still issues to be resolved.

There had been previous attempts to bring Canada's constitution home, most recently in 1964, but this had failed following the election of the *Union Nationale* in Quebec and again in 1971.

However, during the referendum campaign of 1980 Trudeau promised that he would 'renew the constitution.' His aim was to bring the constitution home and ensure that provisions were put in place to allow future change. Alongside this he also wanted to add a Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This Charter was to be part of the constitution and would therefore give it greater standing. These developments were opposed by the Conservatives and debates in parliament resulted in ugly scenes, with the Conservatives accusing Trudeau of being totalitarian.

The struggle raised many issues such as language rights, resources, oil and exports. With progress appearing impossible, Trudeau issued an ultimatum to the province's premiers, either they agreed a compromise or he would act alone to bring the constitution home. The issue was taken to the Supreme Court, where it was agreed that this was legal. Aware that Quebec would not agree to a deal, Trudeau then worked with the other provinces to reach a settlement.

Trudeau was able to get his Charter, but he was forced to make a significant compromise, which has been called the 'notwithstanding clause.' This allowed provinces to override areas of the Charter if they believe they conflict with their own laws. Despite this, Quebec still objected and claimed that they had been betrayed. Similarly, Native groups complained that they had been ignored in the first draft of the legislation. However, Section 35 of the final bill recognises 'existing aboriginal rights' and entrenches them in Canadian society.

The Act became law on April 17, 1982. The Canadian constitution was no longer under British control. Moreover, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms recognised four basic freedoms in Canadian society:

- freedom of conscience and religion
- freedom of expression, including the press
- freedom of peaceful assembly
- freedom of association.

The Charter was another step in unifying the country, both morally and legally. However, critics have argued that the Charter undermined democracy as courts, rather than elected representatives have the final say. In practice there has been little evidence of this concern. The passing of these acts were a personal triumph for Trudeau and it might have been

beneficial for his legacy if he had stood down then, but he continued in office until his retirement in 1984, by which time much of the gloss of these achievements had worn off due to the worsening economic situation.

The passing of the Constitution and Charter have caused divisions among historians, with some seeing Trudeau as a democrat, while others portray him as an autocrat. However, there is little doubt that these acts and others had a serious impact on Canadian society.

Those who look at his achievements and see his period in office as positive point to the reshaping of what it was to be Canadian, with the establishment of a bilingual and multicultural country. He defeated separatism and terrorism in Quebec and brought the constitution home. However, others argue that his legacy was far from positive as national debt grew from \$16 billion in 1968 to \$154 billion in 1984.

Many government programmes failed, as did economic nationalism and the attempt to break away from the shackles of the USA. Critics argue that a judgement can only be reached by looking at the situation in 1984 when unemployment was high and the dollar was in free fall. They contrast the youthful hope that was seen in his election victory of 1968 with his arrogance that characterised later years. Yet, despite this, Trudeau was third longest serving Prime Minister in Canadian history.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Significance: Draw a set of scales. On one side list all the achievements of the Trudeau administration and on the other side the failings. Which side do you think is the heaviest and should be Trudeau's lasting legacy? Why? Write a paragraph explaining your answer.

Paper 3 exam practice

Question 1

‘The autocratic nature of the Liberal government was the main reason for the election victories of the Progressive Conservatives in 1957 and 1958.’ To what extent do you agree with this statement? [15 marks]

Skill

Avoiding irrelevance

Examiner’s tip

Do not waste valuable time writing irrelevant material. If it’s irrelevant, it won’t gain you **any** marks. Writing irrelevant information can happen because:

- The candidate does not look carefully enough at the wording of the question (see Chapter 2).
- The candidate ignores the fact that the questions require selection of information, an analytical approach and a final judgement; instead the candidate just writes down all they know about a topic (relevant or not), and hopes that the examiner will do the analysis and make the judgement.
- The candidate has unwisely restricted their revision; for example, if a question crops up on the Liberal defeat in 1957, a candidate may include extensive information about the policies of Diefenbaker because this is an area that they have revised.

Whatever the reason, such responses rarely address any of the demands of the question.

For this question you will need to:

- identify the reasons for the Liberals’ defeat in 1957, and the role played by the autocratic nature of the government in its defeat
- describe the nature and scale of their defeat
- explain the role played by a range of factors in the Liberals’ defeat, considering both Liberal mistakes but also the strengths of the Progressive Conservatives
- explain the role played by Liberal policies in the period before the election in their defeat
- explain what the Progressive Conservatives and Diefenbaker were offering the electorate and the role that played in the outcome of the election
- compare the importance of the ‘autocratic nature’ of the Liberal party with other factors in order to weigh up the importance of the given factor and reach a balanced judgement about its importance.

Common mistakes

One common error with questions like this is for candidates to write about material they know well, rather than material directly related to the question. Another mistake is to present too much general information, instead of material specific to the person, period and command terms. Finally, candidates often elaborate too much on events outside the dates given in the question.

Sample paragraph of irrelevant focus/material

Diefenbaker was unfortunate that the Progressive Conservative victory came just as the post-war boom was ending. It meant that they were in office when there was a downturn in the economy, rising unemployment, which reached some 7%. His failure to tackle the causes of these problems meant that his government soon lost much of the popularity that had brought it to power in 1957. He did not help the economic situation by his desire to make the Canadian economy more independent of the USA, an aim he was unable to fulfil and therefore gave the impression of showing little understanding of the economy. This approach was typical of his approach to politics, he lacked both the brains and experience to deal with the problems the country now faced and his impractical policy towards the USA was typical of many he pursued. As one critic commented he was 'all heart and no brains'. Therefore, having won a landslide victory in 1958 the party was soon in trouble and unable to build on its success.

EXAMINER'S COMMENTS

This is an example of a **weak answer**. Although there is a brief comment about the popularity of the Progressive Party in 1957 and their landslide victory in 1958, the focus is on the economic situation after Diefenbaker and the Progressive Conservatives came to power and some of the mistakes that they made once in office. Although some of the material about the booming economy after the war and its slow down at the end of the period of Liberal rule could have been made relevant if used to explain why the Liberals had been dominant until 1957, instead the answer looks at the Progressive Conservative's problems once in office. The material **highlighted in blue** is irrelevant and will not score any marks. In addition, the candidate is using up valuable writing time, which should have been spent on providing relevant points and supporting knowledge.

Activity

In this section, the focus is on avoiding writing answers that contain, to a greater or lesser extent, irrelevant material. Using the information from this chapter and any other sources available to you, write an answer to **one** of the Paper 3 practice questions that appears at the end of this chapter. You should keep your answer fully focused on the question.

Remember – writing a plan **first** can help you maintain this focus.

Question 2

‘Trudeau’s greatest achievement as Prime Minister was the establishment of a welfare state.’ To what extent do you agree with this statement? [15 marks]

Skill

Avoiding a narrative-based answer

Examiner’s tips

Even once you have read the question carefully (and so avoided the temptation of including irrelevant material), produced your plan and written your introductory paragraph, it is **still** possible to go wrong.

By writing a ‘narrative answer’, history examiners mean providing supporting knowledge that is relevant (and may well be very precise and accurate) **but** which is not clearly linked to the question. Instead of answering the question, it merely **describes** what happened.

The main body of your essay/argument needs to be **analytical**. It must not simply be an ‘answer’ in which you just tell the story. Your essay must **address the demands/key words of the question** – ideally, this should be done consistently throughout your essay, by linking each paragraph to the previous one, in order to produce a clear ‘joined-up’ answer.

You are especially likely to lapse into a narrative answer when answering your final question – and even more so if you are getting short of time. The error here is that, despite all your good work at the start of the exam, you will lose sight of the question, and just produce an *account* rather than an analysis. Even if you are short of time, try to write several analytical paragraphs in your answer.

A question that asks you how important a particular factor is, or the extent to which you agree with a statement, expects you to come to a judgement about success/failure or the relative importance of the named factor or individual, or the accuracy of the statement. You need to provide a judgement on the views expressed in the statement. Very often, such questions give you the opportunity to refer to different historians’ views.

A good way of avoiding a narrative approach is to refer back continually to the question, and even to mention it now and again in your answer. That should help you produce an answer that is focused on the specific aspects of the question, rather than just giving information about the broad topic or period.

For this question, you will need to cover different aspects of Trudeau's time in power and the policies he followed. Firstly, you should consider the importance of the welfare reforms and the areas that were tackled:

- family allowance
- defence of healthcare provision
- unemployment insurance and the removal of the ceiling so it was universal
- 'The Just Society'.

Then you should consider other factors, as the question does not invite simply an explanation of the named factor:

- the establishment of multiculturalism
- the treatment of Native groups and their issues
- the handling of the October Crisis in Quebec (see Chapter 6)
- economic nationalism and the economy
- the Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

You will then need to make a judgement in your concluding paragraph.

Common mistakes

Every year, even candidates who have clearly revised well, and therefore have a good knowledge of the topic and of any historical debate surrounding it, still end up producing a mainly narrative-based or descriptive answer. Very often, this is the result of not having drawn up a proper plan. The extracts of the following student's answer show an approach that essentially just describes the policies of Trudeau's period in office

Sample paragraphs of narrative-based approach

Many Canadians were concerned that America was dominating the Canadian economy. A 1972 study outlined the options for Canada. Diefenbaker had tried to break the dependence before by his 15% promise, but instead Trudeau decided to use government policy and introduced a series of measures which can be described as economic nationalism. He established the Foreign Investment Review Agency to check whether foreign business takeovers would bring any benefit to Canada. He also established Petro-Canada which established Canada's own national oil company and introduced the National Energy Policy to increase Canadian ownership in the oil industry. As a result of this last policy the Western provinces of Canada, notably Alberta, had to give the federal government more of the income from oil. Trudeau thought the provinces

were keeping their wealth at the expense of the country. He also introduced wage and price controls after his victory in the 1974 election.

[The rest of the essay continues in the same way – there are plenty of accurate/relevant facts about Canada, Trudeau and his policies, but there is no attempt to answer the question by addressing the relative importance of various factors.]

EXAMINER'S COMMENTS

This example shows what examiners mean by a narrative answer – it is **not** something you should copy!

Activity

In this section, the focus is on avoiding writing narrative-based answers. Using the information from this chapter, and any other sources of information available to you, try to answer **one** of the following Paper 3 practice questions in a way that avoids simply describing what happened.

Remember to refer to the simplified Paper 3 mark scheme in Chapter 7.

Paper 3 practice questions

1. Compare and contrast King and St Laurent as prime ministers of Canada.
2. Examine the reasons why, after a landslide victory in 1958, the Conservatives lost power in 1963.
3. Evaluate Diefenbaker's success as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party?
4. 'Despite their failure to achieve an overall majority, Pearson's Liberal governments were the most successful in bringing about social and welfare change in Canada in the period 1957–80.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?
5. Discuss the reasons why Pierre Trudeau was able to remain in power for so long.

6 Quebec: The Quiet Revolution and Nationalism

Introduction

This chapter examines the far-reaching changes that took place in Quebec in the period from 1960 to 1980 and considers both the long- and short-term causes of those changes. The situation in Quebec at the start of the period is considered and how it was transformed from a backward province into a modern state through the 'Quiet Revolution' is assessed. The social, cultural, industrial and political changes that took place in the province are analysed. It explains how the issues of terrorism and separatism developed in the province and considers the impact of the October Crisis of 1970. It concludes with an analysis of why and how these challenges were defeated by the end of the period.

TIMELINE

| | |
|------|---|
| 1959 | Death of Maurice Duplessis |
| 1960 | Liberal government of Jean Lesage comes to power Publication of <i>Les insolences du Frere Untel</i> by Jean-Paul Desbiens |
| 1962 | Liberals increase their majority |
| 1963 | Quebec introduces its own pension plan |
| 1964 | Labour code and Civil Code Ministry of Education established |
| 1967 | De Gaulle's 'Vive le Quebec libre' speech |
| 1968 | Creation of Parti Quebecois |
| 1970 | October Crisis |
| 1974 | Jul: Bill 22 makes French only official language in Quebec |
| 1976 | Nov: Sovereignist Parti Québécois defeats Liberals and takes power in Quebec |

1977

Bill 101 – ‘A Charter of the French Language’

1980

Sovereignty referendum

KEY QUESTIONS

- What was the situation in Quebec under Maurice Duplessis?
- What were the causes of the Silent Revolution?
- What is meant by the term the ‘Silent’ or ‘Quiet Revolution’?
- What were the consequences of the Silent Revolution?
- Why did demands for further political change grow?
- What were the causes of the October Crisis of 1970?
- Why did Separatism fail?

Overview

- Quebec had not benefited to the same extent as other Canadian provinces from the economic boom of the war and post-war period.
- Quebec was dominated by the conservative party of Duplessis until 1960, during which little change took place and has led to the period being called the 'Great Darkness'. The period witnessed the dominant influence of the Catholic Church and foreign investors who exploited the province's natural resources.
- Under the Liberal, Jean Lesage, major changes took place, which have been called the 'Quiet' or 'Silent Revolution', during which time the province was modernised economically and socially and caught up, and even overtook, the rest of Canada.
- Unrest in Quebec troubled the federal government in Canada, and although the 1960s witnessed the modernisation of the province, terrorism developed throughout the decade at the hands of the separatist *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ).
- The problems in Quebec reached a peak with the October Crisis of 1970, which was subsequently defeated by the success of both provincial and federal reforms.
- The growth of separatist feeling in Quebec was finally defeated in the 1980 referendum, but there is still a view among many in Quebec that the province is different from the rest of the country.

6.1 What was the situation in Quebec under Maurice Duplessis?

The period of the Second World War and its aftermath saw the growth of the Canadian economy and a resultant rise in living standards and modernisation. However, in Quebec this progress was much slower and most industrial workers lived below the poverty line.

Quebec was also unlike other areas of Canada in one other respect; the population was predominantly French and Catholic and as a result many of its inhabitants resented the dominance of British and American culture. However, it was not just in terms of culture that Quebec was dominated by foreign influences, but also its economy, with the majority of its abundant resources not only under foreign control, but they brought little actual benefit to the region. Iron ore extraction was under the control of the US-based Iron Ore company of Canada, and it was little different in other areas.

Politics was dominated by the conservative, **Maurice Duplessis** – the leader of the Union Nationale (formed in 1936) – who was Prime Minister of the province between 1936 and 1939 and again between 1944–1959.

Maurice Duplessis (1890–1959):

Duplessis was the founder of the *Union Nationale* party. He rose to power through exposing the misconduct and patronage of the Liberals. However, his period in office was little better and became known as the 'Great Darkness' because of the corruption and scandal that characterised it. Duplessis favoured the rural areas of Quebec over the urban, upheld the provincial rights of Quebec against the federal government, and made little investment in social services in the province. As a result, Quebec fell behind other parts of Canada in development and modernisation.

While in office, Duplessis protected Quebec from the powers of government in Ottawa. He had the support of much of the Church, particularly among the small towns and rural areas. A popular slogan among them was '*Le ciel est bleu, l'enfer est rouge* (the sky is blue, hell is red), a reference to the colours of the *Union Nationale* party (blue) and the Liberals (red), the latter of which were even accused of being communist sympathisers. Although many conservatives saw this period as a period of pure religion and culture, others described it as the *Grande Noirceur*, or Great Darkness. Opponents accused Duplessis of creating an illiberal industrial feudalism, based on American capital and the exploitation of labour, due to a lack of union rights. This led, in 1956, to an attack on the system by two priests at Laval University who called for reform arguing that:

An electoral period like that through which we have just passed becomes an instrument of demoralisation and dechristianisation. That which makes a country Christian is not first and foremost, the number of churches, the pious declarations of politicians, the apparent temporal or political influence of the church, or the 'good relations' between Church and State. It is primarily the respect for truth, the cult of justice, integrity of consciences, the respect for liberty. The existing electoral proceedings are a frontal attack on all these values.

From **The Pelican History of Canada**, K. McNaught, p. 273.

QUESTION

Explain the view put forward by the two priests in Source 5.1.

In what ways was the electoral system an attack on justice, conscience and liberty?

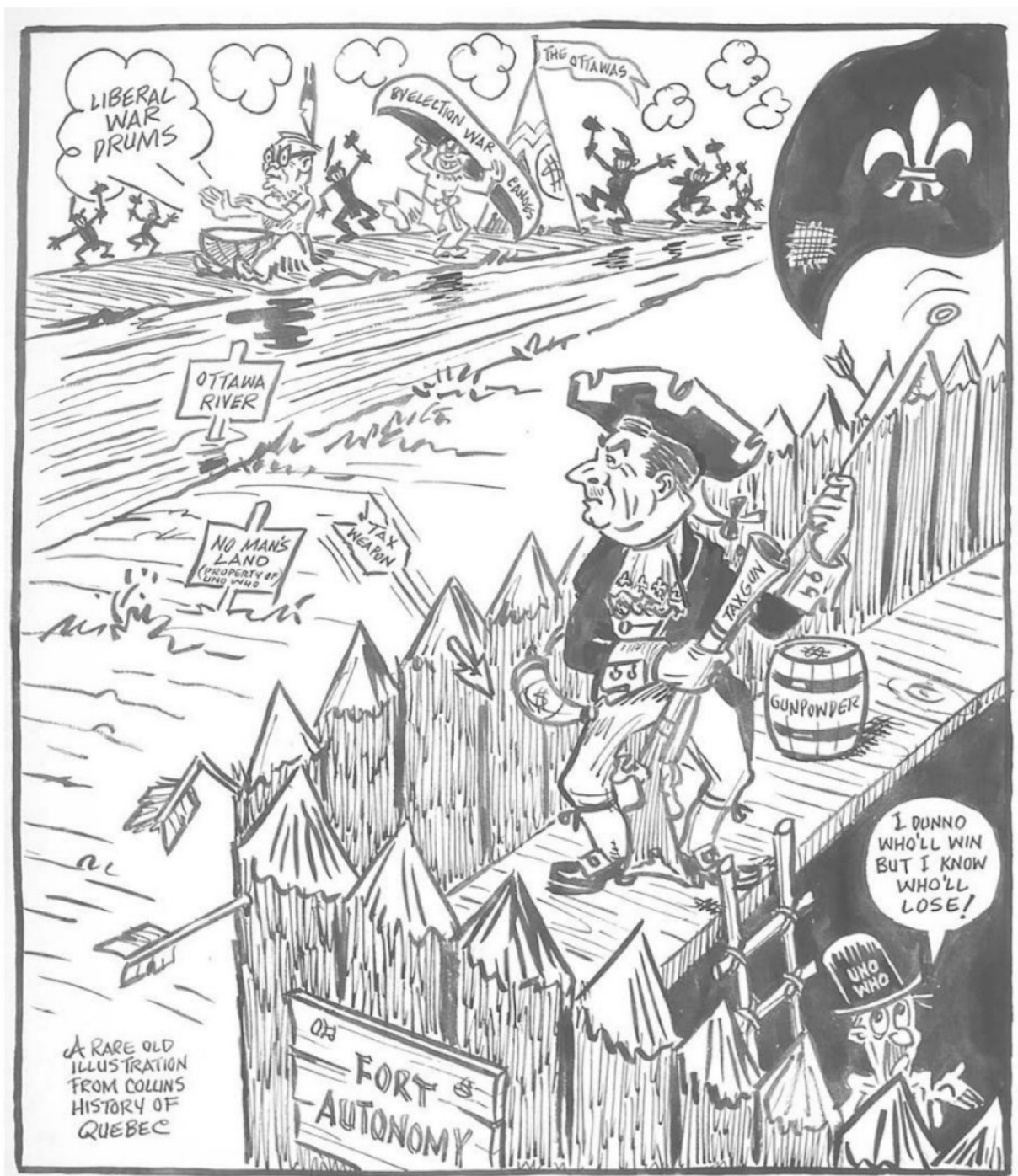


Figure 6.1: A cartoon portraying Quebec under Duplessis.

QUESTION

Use Figure 6.1 and your own knowledge to explain the message of the source.

How valid is the view of Duplessis as portrayed?

Although the period of Duplessis' rule has been portrayed by many as the Great Darkness, it is also possible to argue that, albeit unintentionally, he did set the scene for the great changes that followed his period in office. It was during his administration that the power of the Catholic Church was broken and moved to the office of Prime Minister. He also instilled a sense of pride among the inhabitants of Quebec, which would later be exploited by Quebec nationalists and those who simply wanted to ensure that Quebec's large natural resources were used for its own benefit. Duplessis also left behind a large financial or budgetary surplus, which could be used to fund many of the projects that were introduced in the 1960s.

There were also wider changes taking place that began to influence developments in Quebec. The position and influence of the Catholic Church was changing. The new freedoms available to society in the post-war world made religion seem less important to many people than it had before. In 1962, the Council of the Catholic Church (known as Vatican II) convened to discuss how to respond to this new world. The decisions made by this council led to greater liberalisation of the Church after decades of conservatism. Meanwhile, industrial changes and their social consequences, which had been evolving since the Industrial Revolution, were also challenging traditional values.

Nonetheless, the Catholic Church remained influential in Quebec. It had significant control over education in the province but failed to administer this properly. Higher education was only available to a minority of French Canadians. In the early 1960s, only 63% of French Canadians reached Grade 7 and 13% finished Grade 11, compared with 36% of English-speaking Canadians. French Canadians were growing increasingly dissatisfied with this situation, believing it was preventing their social advancement.

Duplessis also exploited the concept of *nationalisme* to remain in power and he used a traditional fear among many Catholics of Anglicanisation. Although his nationalism was confined to defending provincial rights against federal interference, there were cultural and political changes in the wider world taking place in the 1940s and 1950s which altered the situation in Quebec. After the Second World War, old empires collapsed and there was a growing campaign for decolonisation in many parts of the world. In 1962, the French colony of Algeria was granted its independence – an event that encouraged French Canadians in their desire for greater freedom from central government control.

It was the death of Duplessis in 1959, followed soon after by the death of his successor, that opened the way for a Liberal victory in the June 1960 election when the *Union Nationale* was defeated. This was more than just a symbolic change in the provincial government of

Quebec. It marked the start of a major transformation of the social, cultural, industrial and political landscape of the province.

This period has been called the Quiet (or Silent) Revolution, because Quebec's transformation from an 'anachronism in North America', as one commentator described it, to a modern and energetic society was expected to take place rapidly but largely passively.

6.2 What were the causes of the Silent Revolution?

The government in Quebec had been controlled by Duplessis and his *Union Nationale* party since 1944, and despite accusations of corruption, Duplessis enjoyed widespread support. He spoke scathingly of the Liberals, accusing them of being left-wing and even pro-communist. He argued that foreign companies and investments were denying Canadians the benefits from natural resources such as iron ore, which was being exploited by US-based firms at the expense of local businesses. This, Duplessis said, was the reason so many French workers lived below the poverty line.

The Catholic Church was powerful in Quebec, but it worked quite harmoniously with Duplessis, who claimed that ‘the bishops eat out of my hand’. This began to change in the 1960s. A book called *Les Insolences du Frère Untel* (‘The Impertinences of Brother Anonymous’), written by the Catholic Jean-Paul Desbiens, was an open attack on the existing system of public education in the province. Desbiens also criticised the poor quality of the French language in Quebec, which he referred to as *joual* (a dialect associated with the working classes of Montreal). He called for wide-reaching reform in all aspects of education. The book quickly sold 100 000 copies and caused many to question the influence of the Catholic Church in Quebec.

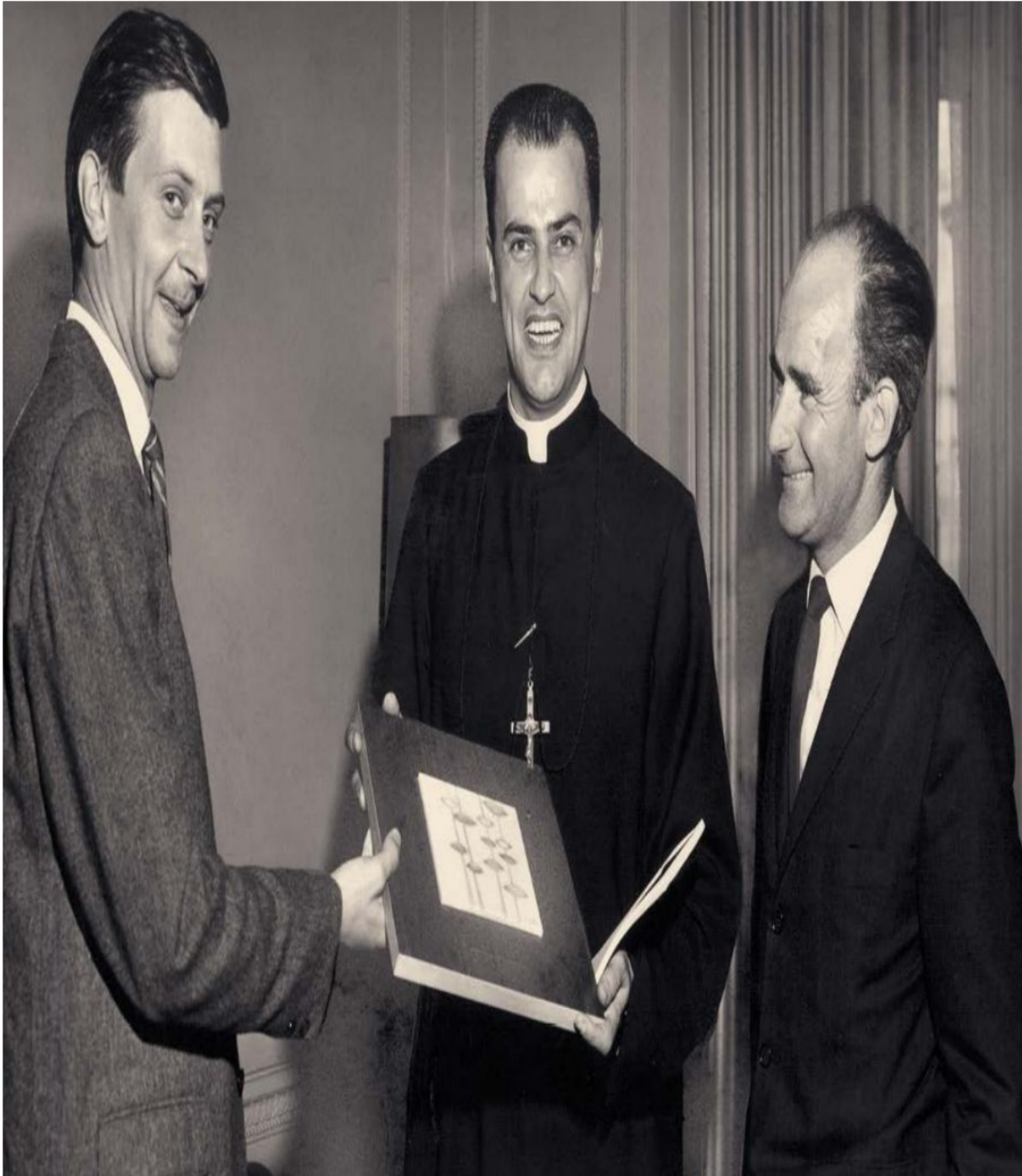


Figure 6.2: Jean-Paul Desbiens receives an award from the magazine, *Liberté*, for his work.

However, it was Duplessis' death in 1959, followed by that of his successor, Paul Sauvé, that really opened the way for a new political regime. Duplessis had given the people of Quebec pride in themselves. He had begun to break the power of the Catholic Church and, most

importantly, he left a budgetary surplus that would be used to fund the developments and reforms of the 1960s.

The loss of strong leadership in the *Union Nationale* gave the Liberals their opportunity. Campaigning under the slogans *Il faut que ça change* ('Things have to change') and *Maîtres chez nous* ('Masters in our own house'), **Jean Lesage** swept to power in Quebec in 1960. Described by Diefenbaker as 'the only person I know who can strut sitting down', Lesage introduced widespread reforms that transformed Quebec from a 'sleepy, priest-ridden society to a modern entity'.

Jean Lesage (1912–1980):

Born in Montreal and educated in Quebec, Lesage graduated with a law degree, and later served in the Canadian army reserve. He became leader of the Liberal Party in Quebec in 1958 and is generally regarded as the 'father of the Quiet Revolution', holding the office of premier of Quebec from 1960 to 1966. During his period in office, he oversaw the ending of the dominance of English-speaking Canadians and the Catholic Church in Quebec. These were replaced by an increased role for the government, which modernised much of Quebec society and economy.



Figure 6.3: The Liberal leader, Jean Lesage, at a party meeting during the 1960 election campaign, which led to the party being swept to power.

KEY CONCEPTS ACTIVITY

Cause: Construct a spider diagram to show the causes of the Quiet Revolution. Mark the long-term causes in one colour and the short-term causes in another.

Significance: Draw a chart with two columns. In the first column list the causes and in the second explain the significance of the cause. Which factor do you think was the most important in bringing about the Quiet Revolution? Why?



Figure 6.4: Jean Lesage, portraying himself as the 'working man premier' promises a 'better Quebec'.

QUESTION

Use the details of Figure 6.4 to explain its view about the Liberal election victory of 1960.

6.3 What is meant by the term the ‘Silent’ or ‘Quiet Revolution’?

In order to understand the developments that took place in Quebec during the 1960s it is essential to understand the situation in the province before this period. The term ‘Silent’ or ‘Quiet Revolution’ is used to describe a series of developments that began with the election of a Liberal government in 1960 and is usually seen to have ended by the October crisis of 1970. During this period there were dramatic social and economic developments within the province. The term therefore refers to a period during which Quebec became modernised and the Roman Catholic church, which was very influential in Quebec society, lost its dominant role as a policy of secularisation was introduced. The reduction in the influence of the Catholic Church saw the creation of a welfare state, as the Church lost its control over many areas of life and the government took on responsibility for the provision of both healthcare and education. Public services were dramatically expanded, while the provinces infrastructure was also considerably developed. Quebec began to take control of its own resources and economy, often following a programme of nationalisation. This provided the province with considerable revenue to implement many of the social measures. At the same time, workers were given rights and the period witnessed the development of unionisation. However, there were also political developments as politics became realigned and new parties, such as the *Parti Quebecois* emerged.

During Lesage’s time in office he opted out of 29 federal-provincial cost sharing projects, asserting the provincial rights of Quebec. Although Lesage regularly clashed with the government in Ottawa, he was not a separatist. However, there was within his party growing frustration with his federalist position – sometimes known as cooperative federalism – particularly among ministers, such as René Lévesque, which paved the way for the development of a separatist party.



Figure 6.5: A cartoon showing the divisions within Lesage's cabinet over his policy of cooperative federalism.

In the 1966 election Lesage was beaten and replaced by the *Union Nationale* leader, Daniel Johnson. However, this did not bring an end to the Silent Revolution or the reforms that it had started. With his slogan of 'Equality or Independence', Johnson took many of the demands for provincial powers even further, foreshadowing many of the events of the

1970s. This led to frequent conflicts with Pierre Trudeau, then the Minister of Justice, and worried many anglophiles as he obviously wanted a very special status for Quebec. The Liberals were returned to power in Quebec in 1970 with a massive swing away from the *Union Nationale*, which saw Robert Bourassa elected premier.

These developments have prompted historians such as Jacques Rouillard to argue that the Quiet Revolution may in fact have accelerated the natural evolution of an anti-French society, rather than turn it on its head. Rouillard believes that, although the Quiet Revolution was a period of great innovation, it grew out of the revolutionary social and political civil rights and women's movements that developed in North America after the Second World War.

The idea that the Quiet Revolution was a continuation of earlier developments has some validity. Significant progress was made in Quebec while Sir Wilfrid Laurier was prime minister (1896–1911) and under the premiership of Adélard Godbout (1939–44), who nationalised the electricity industry in Montreal and introduced both universal suffrage and compulsory schooling until the age of 14. This interpretation was also supported by Donald Creighton, who argued that 'in reality, it differed from its predecessors only where its scope and intensity had been increased by the special circumstances of the past quarter century'. Provincial developments were not unique to Quebec. Under the premiership of Louis Robichaud (1960–70), New Brunswick also enjoyed a period of rapid modernisation, adding further weight to the view that the changes in Quebec were part of a wider movement.

DISCUSSION POINT

Was the Quiet Revolution the result of events in Quebec or wider changes affecting North American society as a whole?

ACTIVITY

Use the internet to find out more about the changes that took place in New Brunswick in the 1960s. How similar were the reforms there to those introduced in Quebec?

Theory of Knowledge

History and inevitability

It might be suggested that the changes that took place in Quebec were inevitable. However, can historians talk about inevitability as a concept? Can situations ever develop in which there is really so little alternative to what actually happened, or is there always an alternative? Is the job of the historian therefore simply to explain the events themselves and why the alternatives did not occur?

6.4 What were the consequences of the Silent Revolution?

It was an English Canadian journalist who coined the term ‘Quiet Revolution’, suggesting that the changes would be both limited and conservative. As it happened, this was not entirely the case, and many new initiatives were less manageable than the Liberals envisaged. The changes encompassed economic, social, cultural and political aspects of life. The moderniser Lesage was fortunate that his cabinet supported many of his ideas. Among these cabinet members were the minister of education, Paul Gérin-Lajoie, who campaigned to increase Quebec’s provincial jurisdiction, and the minister of natural resources, René Lévesque, who pushed for nationalisation of resources and an end to English and American dominance in industry. The federal government recognised this desire for change and supported the new reforming premier of Quebec.

SOURCE 5.2

It is now clear to all of us, I think, that French-speaking Canadians are determined to become directors of their economic and cultural destiny in their own changed and changing society... they also ask for equal and full opportunities to participate in all federal government services.

Prime Minister Lester Pearson, speaking in December 1962.

QUESTION

Explain in your own words what Pearson is saying in Source 5.2. How valid was his view?

Economic developments

Lesage wanted Quebec to have its own economic policy, and Lévesque agreed – proclaiming that the ‘nation’ of Quebec should have its own industries like other countries. Such ideas were widely popular with the people of Quebec, and in the 1962 provincial elections the Liberals were returned to power with an increased majority. Their promise to nationalise the electric company was fulfilled within six months and led to the provincial government taking over 11 private power companies to form Hydro-Quebec. Not only did this show the strength of the government, it also marked the start of a series of major projects. These included the further development of hydro-electric power and the establishment of a range of public companies, such as SIDBEC for iron and steel, SOQUEM for mining, REXFOR for forests and SOQUIP for petroleum.



Figure 6.6: The establishment of a state-owned hydro-electric power system was one of Levesque's dreams.

The profits generated by these companies gave the province a certain amount of financial autonomy, and they were used to fund many of Lesage's social policies. At the same time as establishing large companies, the Quebec government also created the *Société Générale de*

Financement to encourage Quebec's inhabitants to invest in and increase the profits of small companies.

Such economic development caused a profound change in the employment structure of the province. The service sector grew dramatically in both size and importance, increasing from 37.2% of those employed in 1946 to 59.7% by 1966. Economic growth also had an impact on population distribution, as more French-speaking Canadians moved to the cities. At first, very few were able to access higher-level jobs and there were hardly any French speakers among the economic *élite* in the boardrooms. However, nationalisation changed this, opening up jobs to French speakers and allowing a new middle class to gain greater wealth and power.

Social and cultural changes

The need for change in education had been a main cause of the Quiet Revolution, and it was one of the first areas addressed by Lesage's new policies. In 1961, a Parent Committee was established to investigate the present system and make recommendations for change. It was this committee that pushed for control of education to be taken out of the Church's hands. In 1964, the Ministry of Education was established; Catholic and Protestant schools were allowed to continue operating, but they were brought under secular control. The ministry also raised the compulsory school-leaving age from 14 to 16, which gave greater educational opportunities to all. At the same time, school was made free of charge for all children up to Grade 11 (age 16 or 17), school boards were reorganised and the curriculum was standardised.

Education was not the only area to see major changes. In 1963, Quebec introduced its own pension plan and in 1964 a new Labour Code was agreed. This made it easier for workers to form unions and gave public employees the right to strike. The government also took on responsibility for healthcare and, as with education, created a ministry. Public services were expanded as a genuine welfare state was created.

The greatest cultural consequence of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec was the rise in status of the French language. In 1969, the Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau introduced the Official Languages Act (see Section 2.6, A multicultural Canada), and in 1974 Canada became bilingual on a federal level. At the same time, however, the Liberal premier of Quebec, Robert Bourassa, passed a bill adopting French as the only official language of the province. Businesses that operated in English, or even in both languages, faced restrictions. Children

who wanted to attend English-speaking schools had to pass language tests to prove their English-language skills.

René Lévesque (1922–87):

Lévesque was a former television news reporter and a Liberal politician. He founded the *Parti Québécois* in 1968, and was premier of Quebec from 1976 to 1985. During his period in office, Lévesque attempted to win separation from Canada for Quebec. A referendum was held in 1980, in which 60% voted against the move.



Figure 6.7: René Lévesque following the victory of his Parti Québécois in the 1976 election.

6.5 Why did demands for further political change grow?

This was a bold and deliberate statement about Quebec's desire to have an increased say in its own affairs, but in fact the bill was resented by both sides of the divide. English speakers felt that it went too far, while Quebec nationalists argued that it did not go far enough. As a result, the Liberals lost support and were defeated in the 1976 election by the *Parti Québécois* (PQ), led by the former Liberal minister **René Lévesque**. This brought to power the province's first separatist government and meant that independence was no longer just a fringe movement.

Despite his earlier role in the Liberal ministry, Lévesque believed that the Liberal government had provided too little too late, and vowed to take reforms in Quebec further. Once in power, the PQ continued with pro-French policies, and in 1977 it passed Bill 101 – the Charter of the French Language. This banned English on commercial signs and further restricted access to English education. French was the only recognised language of the National Assembly and courts. In passing this bill, the Quebec government aimed to preserve French cultural identity, which it believed was threatened by the free-market economy and demographic changes.

Bill 101 represented the culmination of the struggle between individual rights and collective survival as French Canadians attempted to reconquer Quebec, and the policy caused much debate. The author Daniel Poliquin, an ardent anti-separatist, argued: 'For many Anglophone citizens, language belongs to the private domain, and state intervention was seen as an unspeakable violation of privacy on the part of the government. A mistaken assessment that I can understand, but that in no way lessens my high regard for this just and victorious struggle.'

However, this view should be contrasted with Montreal's Mordecai Richler, who wrote: 'The most vibrant original culture in Canada is French Canadian. But at the same time, it's so fragile that the mere sight of a bilingual street sign is sufficient to propel it into the nearest intensive care unit.'

KEY CONCEPTS QUESTION

Significance: Which do you think had the greater impact on Quebec, economic or social and cultural changes?

6.6 What were the causes of the October Crisis of 1970?

The political changes that occurred in Quebec during the Quiet Revolution were far less 'quiet' than the social and economic developments, and had an impact beyond the borders of the province. During Lesage's period of leadership (1960–66), Quebec had opted out of a number of federal-provincial schemes in order to exert its independence from federal control. However, Lesage did not want Quebec to become independent, and during his ministry Lévesque grew increasingly impatient with what he regarded as insufficient reform under the Liberals. As a result, he formed his own party, the *Parti Québécois*, to challenge the Liberal government. He eventually succeeded in removing the Liberals from power in 1976, but the separatist movement in Quebec had been gathering pace for more than a decade before this. A number of factors had encouraged this development.

On a visit to Montreal for Expo '67 – a World's Fair celebrating Canada's centenary – the French President Charles de Gaulle remarked that Quebec reminded him of an occupied country, and he closed a speech at the exposition with the words '*Vive le Québec libre!*' ('Long live free Quebec!'), a statement that legitimised the radical wing of Quebec nationalism and became the rallying cry for the separatist movement. The Canadian Prime Minister Lester Pearson denounced de Gaulle's comments and declared: 'Canadians do not need to be liberated. Indeed, many thousands of Canadians gave their lives in two world wars in the liberation of France.'

De Gaulle's speech encouraged an already-radical anti-American separatist group called the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ). This loose coalition of Marxists and revolutionaries had been conducting a terror campaign since 1963, which included bombings and armed robberies. In March 1969, the FLQ issued a sinister announcement that stated: 'In a little while the English, the federalists, the exploiters, the toadies of the occupiers, the lackeys of imperialism – all those who betray the workers and the Quebec nation – will fear for their lives.'

On 5 October 1970, it seemed that this threat had been carried out. A group of armed FLQ terrorists burst into the home of the British trade commissioner, James Cross, and took him prisoner. As part of the negotiations for his release they demanded that the FLQ manifesto be read on national television and published in newspapers, claiming that 'We live in a

society of terrorised slaves.’ They also demanded a ransom of \$500 000 in gold bullion and the release of 23 FLQ prisoners.

The manifesto was broadcast on 8 October, but on 10 October, the FLQ also kidnapped Quebec’s labour minister, Pierre Laporte. In response, the Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau ordered the army into Ottawa to protect the government. Confronted by a journalist who asked how far he was willing to take this armed response, Trudeau responded ‘Just watch me’. He went on to state: ‘Democracy first must preserve itself. Within Canada there is ample room for opposition and dissent, but none for intimidation and terror.’

On 15 October, the Quebec premier, Robert Bourassa, asked for federal intervention in the crisis. Trudeau responded by invoking the War Measures Act, which gave the government virtually dictatorial powers in the province. Canada was placed under martial law, civil liberties were suspended, the FLQ was banned and the police were given the power to arrest and detain anyone without explanation or trial. This was the first time that the War Measures Act had been used during peacetime, but it caused little dissent in parliament, with only the New Democratic Party opposed. Tommy Douglas, its leader, argued that Trudeau was using a ‘sledgehammer to crack a peanut’.



Figure 6.8: The *Ottawa Journal* announces the introduction of war measures to combat the threat from the FLQ, 16 October, 1970.

The response from the FLQ was almost immediate – the next day Laporte was murdered. By December, the police had surrounded the hideout where Cross was being held. He was

released by the terrorists in return for their free passage to Cuba, but within a few weeks the police had captured those responsible for Laporte's death.

The FLQ had been crushed, but whether the actions of the government were justified has been a matter of debate. However, there was certainly no further resurgence of political terrorism in Quebec after 1970 and as Gerard Pelletier, Secretary of State for War, the person responsible for signing the War Measures Act, commented, 'Anyone can play Monday morning quarterback. What would have happened without the special measures, no one will ever know. In history, the past conditional tense explains nothing.'

ACTIVITY

Find out more about the FLQ, its aims and beliefs. How much sympathy was there for the FLQ in Quebec? Did it represent mainstream opinion in the province or was its appeal only marginal? Why do you think this was the case?

DISCUSSION POINT

How serious was the FLQ threat and how effectively did the government deal with it? You should consider what makes a terrorist organisation a threat and whether the FLQ fulfils those criteria.

6.7 Why did Separatism fail?

The October Crisis was a turning point in attempts to bring about separatism, but the measures introduced by the Parti Québécois (PQ) did not end with Bill 101. In 1980, Lévesque organised a referendum over whether the government could start to negotiate for 'sovereignty association', by which Quebec would be a separate country but allowed to enjoy the economic benefits of confederation.

The 1980 referendum was somewhat confusing as the PQ was asking for permission to begin talks with the government in Ottawa on a proposal for 'sovereignty association', not independence. Their proposal to the people of Quebec was for a second poll before any deal was agreed.

With public feeling generally in favour of separatism, it seemed the PQ could not fail. However, the campaign for the referendum was badly managed. This was seen most clearly at a PQ rally where the broadcaster, Lise Payette poured scorn on women who were thinking of voting 'No' in the referendum. She described women who expressed uncertainty about separatism as 'Yvettes' – a term of derision implying a stereotypical Canadian housewife. Such bullying encouraged many women to vote against the proposal on principle. In trying to play the feminist card the PQ had lost. The Language Laws also undermined the appeal of separatism, as Quebec already appeared to be master of its own destiny and there was therefore little advantage in separation.

Opposition to the campaign was led by Pierre Trudeau and a former newspaper editor, Claude Ryan. The result of this was a resounding defeat for Lévesque's proposal as on 20 May 1980 60% voted 'Non' to sovereignty association and Quebec remained united with Canada, with the result that Trudeau declared 'Separatism is dead.' Not only that, but the debate had also had a considerable impact on the economy of the province. The uncertainty generated by the referendum had resulted in a significant number of businesses leaving Montreal, with 150 corporate offices moving to Toronto, which became the new economic powerhouse of Canada.

DISCUSSION POINT

Why do you think that separatism ultimately had such little appeal to the people of Quebec?

Although the issue of separatism was over, at least in the short term, there was one final struggle between Quebec and Ottawa over the Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The main issues concerning the acts were discussed in the previous chapter,

but the struggles over it show clearly that the battles over provincial and federal rights were not over. Quebec argued that language laws should be solely a provincial right, and with the 'notwithstanding clause' (see Section 5.6, The fall and rise of Trudeau) it would allow them to override the rights of the English in Quebec. Moreover, the passing of the Act caused great bitterness in Quebec.

Lévesque was ignored in the final negotiations and was therefore bitter and refused to endorse it, arguing that Quebec had been betrayed. This has become the accepted interpretation of events, however, it could also be argued that Trudeau had no choice; if he was to get the act passed he had to cut out Quebec from the negotiations, but it has not stopped historians, such as Laurier La Pierre describing it as 'The Night of the Long Knives.'

Paper 3 exam practice

Question

‘The Quiet Revolution was due more to long-term changes affecting American society and not the particular conditions of Quebec.’ To what extent do you agree with this statement?
[15 marks]

Skill

Using your own knowledge analytically and combining it with awareness of historical debate

Examiner’s tips

Always remember that historical knowledge and analysis should be the core of your answer – aspects of historical debate are desirable extras. However, where it is relevant, the integration of relevant knowledge about historical debates/interpretations, with reference to individual historians, will help push your answer up into the higher bands.

Assuming that you have read the question carefully, drawn up a plan, worked out your line of argument/approach, and written your introductory paragraph, you should be able to avoid both irrelevant material and simple narrative. Your task now is to follow your plan by writing a series of linked paragraphs that contain detailed analysis, precise supporting own knowledge and, where relevant, brief references to historical interpretations.

For this question, you will need to:

- consider the causes of the Quiet Revolution, discussing both the long-term changes taking place in American society and the wider-world, as well as the short-term causes and the situation in Quebec
- supply a brief explanation of the historical context in which the Quiet Revolution took place (i.e. the situation under Duplessis and the impact of his death)
- outline what actually happened in the years 1959–60 (What were the consequences of the death of Maurice Duplessis and the defeat of the *Union Nationale* and their replacement by the Liberals?)
- provide a consistently analytical examination of the reasons for the Quiet Revolution and reach a judgement about the question.

Such a topic, which has been the subject of much discussion, will give you the chance to refer to different historians’ views.

Common mistakes

Some students, aware of an existing historical debate – and that extra marks can be gained by showing this – sometimes simply write things like: ‘Historian X says... and historian Y says...’. However, they make no attempt to **evaluate** the different views (for example, has one historian had access to more/better information than another, perhaps because he/she was writing at a later date?); nor is this information **integrated** into their answer by being pinned to the question. Another weak use of historical debate is to write things like: ‘Historian X is biased because she is American.’ Such comments will not be given credit.

Sample paragraphs containing analysis and historical debate

There is certainly some validity to the argument that the Quiet Revolution was the result of long-term changes affecting America. Quebec was not the only province to witness change, suggesting it was not just the peculiar circumstances of the heavily French and Catholic province that resulted in these developments. New Brunswick also witnessed far-reaching social and labour reforms, as well as language changes, at the same time as changes were being introduced in Quebec.

Moreover, the changes in Quebec, as historians such as Jacques Rouillard and Donald Creighton have argued were not confined to the period of the Quiet Revolution, but were continuous for much of the century, suggesting that they were a response to the far-reaching developments emanating from developments, such as industrialisation, which were affecting society. Their views are given greater credence by the reforms of the Quebec Prime Minister during the Second World War, Adélard Godbout, who nationalised the electricity industry in Montreal and introduced universal suffrage and compulsory schooling. However, also Creighton correctly acknowledges that the speed of reform increased during the 1960s, with the wide-ranging economic changes in Quebec, such as HEP developments, and therefore although the long-term changes affecting society in America were important, the short-term factors, such as the Liberals' election victory had a dramatic impact on the speed of change.

Overall examiner comments

This is a good example of how to use historians' views. The main focus of the answer is properly concerned with using precise own knowledge to address the demands of the question. However, the candidate has also provided some relevant knowledge of historical debate which is smoothly integrated into the answer.

Activity

In this chapter, the focus is on writing an answer that is analytical and well-supported by precise own knowledge, as well as one which – where relevant – refers to historical interpretations/debates. Using the information from this chapter, and any other sources of information available to you, try to answer **one** of the following Paper 3 practice questions using these skills.

Remember to refer to the simplified Paper 3 mark scheme in Chapter 7.

Skill

Writing a conclusion to your essay

Examiner's tips

Provided you have carried out all the steps recommended so far, it should be relatively easy to write one or two concluding paragraphs.

For this question, you will need to cover the following possible issues:

- the role of long-term changes in American society, such as the growing social and political civil rights and women's movements that developed after the Second World War
- the importance of industrial changes that had taken place, which were challenging traditional values
- the growing independence movements that had developed since the Second World War, which encouraged Canadians in their desire for greater freedom from central government
- the importance of the changes made by Vatican II and the greater liberalisation of the Church
- the death of the *Union Nationale* leader, Maurice Duplessis and the 1960 provincial election
- the significance of the publication of Desbiens' *Les Insolences du Frere Untel*.

With questions like this, you should try and avoid too much generalisation, and support points you make with examples from a range of issues. Also, such a question, which is asking for an analysis of several reasons, implicitly expects you to come to some kind of **judgement** about 'how far' you agree. What did cause the Quiet Revolution and how important were the different elements that you are going to write about?

Common mistakes

Sometimes, candidates simply re-hash in their conclusion what they have written earlier – making the examiner read the same thing twice. Generally, concluding paragraphs should be relatively short: the aim should be to come to a judgement/conclusion that is clearly based

on what you have already written. If possible, a short but relevant quotation is a good way to round off an argument.

Sample student conclusion

There is little doubt that the wider changes affecting American society played a role in the Quiet Revolution. These changes challenged traditional values, particularly in societies such as Quebec, where modernisation had been limited due to the influence of the Catholic Church. The increased liberalisation of the Church, which had resulted from Vatican II, further encouraged and supported change. In particular, independence movements in countries such as Algeria encouraged many in Quebec to demand greater independence from the federal government. However, it was not just the post-war changes that brought about a change in Quebec, there had already been change during the ministries of Laurier and Godbout, suggesting as Creighton has argued that ‘in reality, it (the Quiet Revolution) differed from its predecessors only where its scope and intensity had been increased by the special circumstances of the past quarter century’, suggesting that the Revolution should be seen as part of an even longer period of change.

Despite this argument, however, it is unlikely that without the deaths of Duplessis and his successor, which resulted in the Union Nationale’s defeat and the victory of the Liberals in the 1960 provincial election that the wide-ranging changes that characterise the Quiet Revolution would have taken place. It was Lesage who introduced the wide-ranging reforms that modernised and transformed Quebec’s society and economy. Although Duplessis’ changes had created the financial surplus that funded the changes, it was Lesage who ensured that ‘Things have to change’.

EXAMINER’S COMMENT

This is a good conclusion, as it briefly pulls together the main threads of the argument (without simply repeating/summarising them), and then also makes a clear judgement. In addition, there is an intelligent final comment that rounds off the whole conclusion – and no doubt the core of the essay – in a memorable way.

Activity

In this chapter, the focus is on writing a useful conclusion. Using the information from this chapter, and any other sources of information available to you, write concluding paragraphs for **at least two** of the following Paper 3 practice questions. Remember – to do this, you will need to do full plans for the questions you choose.

Remember to refer to the simplified Paper 3 mark scheme in Chapter 7.

Paper 3 practice questions

1. To what extent was the Quiet Revolution revolutionary?
2. Discuss the view that the federal and provincial governments in Canada dealt with the problem of Quebec effectively.
3. Evaluate the results of the Quiet Revolution.
4. Examine the reasons for the rise of extreme nationalism and terrorism in Quebec.
5. Compare and contrast Duplessis' and Lesage's rule of Quebec.

7 Exam practice

Introduction

You have now completed your study of the main events and political developments in the Americas in the period 1945–1980s. You have also had the chance to examine the various historical debates and differing historical interpretations that surround some of these developments.

In the earlier chapters, you have encountered examples of Paper 3-type essay questions, with examiner’s tips. You have also had some basic practice in answering such questions. In this chapter, these tips and skills will be developed in more depth. Longer examples of possible student answers are provided, accompanied by examiner’s comments that should increase your understanding of what examiners are looking for when they mark your essays. Following each question and answer, you will find tasks to give you further practice in the skills needed to gain the higher marks in this exam.

IB History Paper 3 exam questions and skills

Those of you following Route 2, HL Option 2 – *History of the Americas* – will have studied in depth **three** of the 18 sections available for this HL Option. *Political Developments in the United States (1945–1980) and Canada (1945–1982)* is one of those sections. For Paper 3, two questions are set from each of the 18 sections, giving 36 questions in total; and you have to answer **three** of these.

Each question has a specific mark scheme. However, the ‘generic’ mark scheme in the *IB History Guide* gives you a good general idea of what examiners are looking for in order to be able to put answers into the higher bands. In particular, you will need to acquire reasonably precise historical knowledge so that you can address issues such as cause and effect, and change and continuity, and so that you can explain historical developments in a clear, coherent, well-supported and relevant way. You will also need to understand relevant historical debates and interpretations, and be able to refer to these and critically evaluate them.

Essay planning

Make sure you read each question *carefully*, noting all the important key or ‘command’ words. You might find it useful to highlight them on your question paper. You can then produce a rough plan (for example, a spider diagram) of *each* of the three essays you intend to attempt, *before* you start to write your answers. That way, you will soon know whether you have enough own knowledge to answer them adequately. Next, refer back to the wording of each question – this will help you see whether or not you are responding to *all* its various demands/aspects. In addition, if you run short of time towards the end of your exam, you will at least be able to write some brief condensed sentences to show the key issues/points and arguments you would have presented. It is therefore far better to do the planning at the *start* of the exam; that is, **before** you panic if you suddenly realise you haven’t time to finish your last essay.

Relevance to the question

Remember, too, to keep your answers relevant and focused on the question. Don’t go outside the dates mentioned in the question, or write answers on subjects not identified in that question. Also, don’t just describe the events or developments. Sometimes students simply focus on one key word, date or individual, and then write down everything they know about it. Instead, select your own knowledge carefully, and pin the relevant information to the key features raised by the question. Finally, if the question asks for ‘causes/reasons’ and ‘results’, ‘continuity and change’, ‘successes and failures’, or ‘nature and development’, make sure you deal with **all** the parts of the question. Otherwise, you will limit yourself to half marks at best.

Examiner’s tips

For Paper 3 answers, examiners are looking for well-structured arguments that:

- are consistently relevant/linked to the question
- offer clear/precise analysis
- are supported by the use of accurate, precise and relevant own knowledge
- offer a balanced judgement
- refer to different historical debates/interpretations or to relevant historians and, where relevant, offer some critical evaluation of these.

Simplified mark scheme

| Band | | Marks |
|------|---|-------|
| 1 | Consistently clear understanding of and focus on the question, with all main aspects addressed. Answer is fully analytical, balanced and well-structured/organised. Own knowledge is detailed, accurate and relevant , with events placed in their historical context. There is developed critical analysis , and sound understanding of historical concepts. Examples used are relevant , and used effectively to support analysis/evaluation. The answer also integrates evaluation of different historical debates/perspectives. All/almost all of the main points are substantiated , and the answer reaches a clear/reasoned/consistent judgement/conclusion. | 13–15 |
| 2 | Clear understanding of the question , and most of its main aspects are addressed. Answer is mostly well-structured and developed , though, with some repetition/lack of clarity in places. Supporting own knowledge mostly relevant/accurate , and events are placed in their historical context. The answer is mainly analytical , with relevant examples used to support critical analysis/evaluation. There is some understanding/evaluation of historical concepts and debates/perspectives. Most of the main points are substantiated , and the answer offers a consistent conclusion. | 10–12 |
| 3 | Demands of the question are understood – but some aspects not fully developed/addressed. Mostly relevant/accurate supporting own knowledge , and events generally placed in their historical context. Some attempts at analysis/evaluation but these are limited/not sustained/inconsistent. | 7–9 |
| 4 | Some understanding of the question. Some relevant own knowledge , with some factors identified – but with limited explanation. Some attempts at analysis , but answer lacks clarity/coherence , and is mainly description/narrative. | 4–6 |
| 5 | Limited understanding of/focus on the question. Short/generalised answer, with very little accurate/relevant own knowledge. Some unsupported assertions , with no real analysis. | 0–3 |

Student answers

The following student answers have brief examiner's comments at some points, and a longer overall comment at the end. Those parts of student answers that are particularly strong and well-focused (such as demonstrations of precise and relevant own knowledge, or examination of historical interpretations) will be **highlighted in red**.

Errors/confusions/irrelevance/loss of focus will be **highlighted in blue**. In this way, students should find it easier to follow why marks were awarded or withheld.

Question 1

Evaluate the success of Richard Nixon's domestic policies. [15 marks]

Skills

- factual knowledge and understanding
- structured, analytical and balanced argument
- awareness/understanding/evaluation of historical interpretations
- clear and balanced judgement.

Examiner's tip

Look carefully at the wording of this question which asks you to consider how successful Nixon's policies were. This is different from asking you to describe the policies and explain why some were successes and some were not. It requires a balanced analysis of the policies and a judgement.

Student answer

Nixon appealed to the 'silent majority' and was a conservative politician who disapproved of social reforms and had not been in favour of the type of federal intervention in the domestic sphere that Johnson's 'Great Society' had promoted. He did not favour reforms in private so he was quite hypocritical in supporting them in public, because he thought that was what the public wanted. Also his policy of spying on his political opponents brought the presidency into disrepute. Thus Nixon's policies were not very successful because he did not really believe in them and because he showed that he was corrupt and supported illegal activities such as the Watergate break ins.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

Though this has some analytical comment on Nixon it is not very strongly focused on the question. The reference to success is not very convincing – success depends on outcome or dealing with problems not motive. The point about Watergate is not strongly linked to success. There is little about the aims or the problems that he was trying to deal with. This is not a well-focused introduction.

Nixon had ideas for some valuable reforms, though. The Family Assistance Plan tried to help the poorest families and made welfare more standardised through the USA instead of being on a state basis. It set down a minimum income for a family and supported the poor by food stamps. This was a success because it helped the poor but it did not pass Congress.

Nixon did not believe in helping the poor directly but as economic problems got worse he had to accept increased spending and he approved congressional bills to increase Medicaid, food stamps for the poor and the aid to children. Nixon wanted to change the balance between spending by the federal government and by the states and tried to introduce a revenue sharing scheme, which divided the money spent on the poor between local and federal authorities.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

The first of these two paragraphs has some explanation of success but it is quite basic. The second is just descriptive and does not attempt to explain how successful the policy was.

Nixon also knew that concern for the environment was growing and was successful in trying to meet this by the National Environment Policy Act in 1970. The federal government was a big employer for building work and all contracts now had to have details of any impact on the environment that changes would have. There was legislation that made various environmental measures legal and there was work done to improve air quality and water pollution. These were successes because they met public demands and offered improvements

Nixon knew that there was a demand to extend the civil rights initiatives and supported forms of affirmative action to help African Americans. He used a traditional means of federal contracts to insist that employers who gained money from the government took on a certain number of African Americans. *This was called the Pittsburg Plan.*

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

Again there is some relevant comment on success in the first paragraph but the second paragraph is just description and the reference to the Pittsburg Plan is wrong – it should be the Philadelphia Plan. The explanation should be more developed and there should be more balanced assessment.

Nixon was suspicious, however of greater moves to integrate schools in the South. He was conscious of the need to get support from southern conservatives and tried to discourage the policy of bussing to end segregation in schools following Supreme Court rulings that there should not be segregation. He made it clear that bussing would be restricted to the legal minimum and opposed merging school districts to ensure greater integration.

Nixon faced a darkening economic context with the growth of both inflation and unemployment that threatened the levels of prosperity enjoyed by the US since the Second World War. He was very concerned with taking measures which his voters would see as decisive. He attempted to control inflation with a wage freeze and passed federal legislation to control prices. To protect US workers from competition from cheaper imported goods he introduced a rise in tariffs and more controversially devalued the dollar. This meant that the dollar was cheaper and so US goods were cheaper for foreigners to buy.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

These are quite descriptive and the judgements about the success of the policies that the answer needs are not there. The factual information is reasonable but there is limited attempt to link it to the question.

Nixon did not have a grand theme like those of Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's 'Great Society'. The nearest attempts were his so called New Economic Policy and his New Federalism but neither became really popular. Much of the attention of the president was on foreign policy. He had little understanding of the concerns about his foreign policy. Obsessed with the feeling that he had enemies he bugged his own office and tried to find out what his opponents were doing and this led him to accept illegal acts which discredited everything he had done at home and meant that his policies were really a failure. He had some successes in trying to pass some reforms and tried to respond to problems of poverty by accepting more welfare spending and in the economy by a number of measures to protect jobs and to control inflation. So he was successful in that he tried to do new policies and was not always bound by his conservative principles in accepting more government controls. However, the economic problems were outside his control and 'stagflation' instead of being cured continued to plague his successors. Tariffs were not a long-term solution and led to retaliation while price controls were hard to enforce.

Overall examiner's comments

There is material here for the candidate to build on – why did Nixon's campaigns not have the appeal and resonance of Kennedy's and Johnson's slogans? What showed that Nixon neglected domestic for foreign policy? There is a good possible point at the end showing that he was successful in adopting a flexible policy towards domestic policy. At the very end there is more judgement than has appeared in the answer so far and shows the candidate could have written much more directly and analytically. The focus is on the correct aspect; there are some attempts at judgement but not very balanced. This has some reasonable knowledge but the analysis is not developed and is Band 3 and would have gained 9 marks given the conclusion.

ACTIVITY

Look again at the simplified mark scheme and the student answer above. Now try to see where the student could have added more explanation relevant to the answer. Draw up a plan where the paragraphs start with a statement about the success of the policy to be considered and then support that statement with knowledge, rather than just, as this answer does, rely on imparting knowledge. Make your line of argument clear at the start and at the end show what you have argued, so the whole answer is linked to the question. Now try writing the essay in such a way that you are arguing and not simply describing.

Question 2

‘The “Great Society” was more significant for Americans than the New Frontier.’ How far do you agree with this statement? [15 marks]

Skills

- factual knowledge and understanding
- structured, analytical and balanced argument
- awareness/understanding/evaluation of historical interpretation
- clear and balanced judgement.

Examiner’s tip

Look carefully at the wording of this question, which asks you to compare the significance of two periods. Questions like this show how important it is to study *all* the bullet points in the sections you study. If you select only part of the period for detailed study, you could seriously limit your options in the examination. To answer questions such as this in the most effective way, it is best to structure your answer so that the comparisons/contrasts are brought out explicitly. In other words, draw up a rough plan with headings for themes and the significance of reforms and changes in both periods – then have a final column where you can jot down which of the periods was of more significance. Remember: don’t just describe what their policies were: what is needed is explicit focus on the significance of the two periods.

Student answer

The domestic agendas of both Kennedy’s new Frontier and Johnson’s ‘Great Society’ were similar and both were aimed at improvements in reducing poverty, increasing rights for African Americas and improving health care. The differences were in their ability to institute change. Kennedy offered background changes, which helped to prepare the ground for greater change, for example in civil rights. Kennedy was conscious of the wider context of his vision – meeting the challenge from Communism and winning the space race. Johnson was more focused, as a New Dealer, on domestic change but distracted by the costs of an inherited war in Vietnam. Both relied on the expansion of federal government to put their reforms into practice, but Kennedy did less than Johnson because of restrictions from Congress and because of a less detailed plan for change over a wide area. However, without the groundwork and without the

surge of support for change after Kennedy's death to ensure that his vision was not lost, the 'Great Society' would probably not have been put into place. Both policies had flaws and met with opposition. Kennedy did not press home with civil rights in the way that Johnson did while Johnson pushed the power of federal government beyond what many Americans felt to be acceptable. In the end Kennedy laid the basis for more change than he was willing or able to pursue and without his death and his move away from the Republican era the 'Great Society' may well not have happened. However, in terms of the range and the depth of domestic change the 'Great Society' was more significant.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

This is a well-focused introduction with plenty of comparison and which sets out some alternative interpretations. It is not afraid to state a position. It is balance and analytical.

Kennedy seemed to do less than Johnson on the key issue of civil rights. The Civil Rights Act passed by Johnson may have been built on measures taken by Kennedy but was more comprehensive and significant. Many of Kennedy's policies were little more than continuations of Republican policies, for example the appointment of African Americans to senior positions such as Thurgood Marshall at the Court of Appeal. Also some changes were negated by the southern states. Thus while the Poll Tax qualification was abolished as a voting qualification, the South maintained a minimum income tax requirement. There were reforms, like the Commission on Equal Opportunity Employment but these were not sweeping. Kennedy did not enter office with a radical programme and reacted to the growth of extremism in the South and the growing Civil Rights movement to announce in June 1963 a Civil Rights Act. There is a debate about whether a cautious president was driven by developments outside his control to announce sweeping legislation as Robert Dallek thinks or whether civil rights was a major element in Kennedy's thinking from the start but he was restricted by the Democrats from the South in Congress as Schlesinger believed. Kennedy's speeches were heartfelt on the issue but his actions rather less impressive. Johnson's 1964 and 1965 Acts went much further. The Act of 1964 enforced the constitutional right to vote, made racial discrimination in public illegal and forbade discrimination in public facilities and education. The restrictions on voting in the South were made illegal in 1965. In scope, the 'Great Society' did more, but there are two points to be made. First, neither engaged with economic and social inequality and both were more focused on constitutional rights. Secondly, the chances for Kennedy to pass civil rights were not high in 1963 and only in the emotionally charged atmosphere after his death was a comprehensive political measure adopted. Johnson's determination and vision played a part but the ground work done by Kennedy in establishing key points – that the presidency supported civil rights and that the USA's whole reputation depended on changing discrimination were key to future

success, so it may be that the true measure is not the actual legislation but the ground breaking rhetoric and appeal for change of Kennedy.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

As civil rights is a key issue, the candidate is not afraid to start with it and sustains a discussion about which of these programmes did more. Here the argument shifts more to Kennedy being more significant. There is analysis but the view in the opening is not being supported here.

The ambitious expansion of federal power in the 'Great Society' has no parallel in Kennedy's New Frontier, which was much more a statement of intent and a philosophical position regarding the need for citizens to commit to a positive support for a free society. The actual details of the New Frontier were not very precise. However, the 'Great Society' was closer to the New Deal's varied and extensive programme to increase federal powers and responsibilities. It dealt with some of the same areas as Kennedy's changes – education, health, poverty but produced much more detailed and invasive legislation. There was a considerable expansion of bureaucracy that Kennedy, anxious to promote growth by tax cuts did not envisage. The OEC had funding of over \$3 million from 1964–6 and a large staff. The scope of the legislation included federal aid to railways, controls over pollution and preservation of parks and areas of natural beauty; scholarships for poorer students; major new health improvement schemes in Medicaid and Medicare. An interesting comparison can be made between Kennedy's Peace Corps, more directed abroad and more to promote US ideology and Johnson's Job Corps more concerned with the practicalities of finding employment for the young. Kennedy looked to influence foreign countries while Johnson increased immigration into the USA by abolishing immigration quotas.

That element of outward looking spread of US values under Kennedy was replaced by a concern for the health, welfare and environment of those within the USA. Kennedy's idealistic vision may have been more significant in changing the outlook of Americans because the sheer pace of domestic reforms under LBJ did mean that there was quite uneven performance and delivery and some expectations were disappointed. By 1966 Johnson was beginning to lose enthusiasm for change and the limitations of the much-publicised reforms were beginning to become apparent. For all the medical care changes, the USA had fewer of its citizens covered by health insurance than any other industrial country. The talk of a war on poverty was not matched by its eradication. As Reagan put it 'They declared war on poverty and lost'. By 1976 over a fifth of Americans were living below the poverty line. However, in many ways the much more extensive series of policies did achieve more than Kennedy could or perhaps even aimed for. Kennedy's war on poverty was not extensively funded and did not receive the attention from the president that Johnson's continuation of that war did. Schlesinger's estimation of a mass of far

reaching reforms carried out in the Hundred Days might seem impressive but the president was more concerned to reduce spending than embark on massive public projects and the historian James Patterson points to the President's lack of commitment to domestic change and his failure, unlike Johnson, to mobilise Congress to back big projects. There were achievements but they were relatively limited. There was farm legislation, some increase in housing, tax reforms but not the wider programmed on environmental protection, for instance that characterised the Johnson era.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

Given that there is not time to compare every aspect of the policies and the 'Great Society' is a very extensive programme, the candidate has attempted to summarise and makes some interesting comparisons. It is a bit general about Kennedy's New Frontier policies and could use more precise evidence to support the points, but is analytical and it does reach a judgement.

In the end it is Johnson's 'Great Society' which must be seen as the more significant break from the Republican past and which instituted a new era in federal responsibility and the scope of government. Had it not been for the distractions and costs of Vietnam this might have produced the revolution in domestic policy which was promised but not delivered. A lot did depend on Kennedy setting out a vision and agenda for change. However, *the failure to win round Congress and a lack of real urgency in the president's support, for it meant that in domestic policy the impact of the New Frontier was somewhat limited. Johnson's initiatives suffered from economic problems discouraging development of federal support for the poorest and most needy elements in US society as well as Republican successors adopting different policies, but for all Kennedy's rhetoric it is the 'Great Society' that is more significant.*

Overall examiner's comments

The candidate comes back to the opening view but modifies it by expressing doubts as to whether either delivered everything promised. The judgement on Civil Rights, which rather contradicts this, is not brought into this conclusion, and so the argument could be tightened. However, the approach is argued and generally supported. There is some good detail but some unevenness in supporting evidence. Different views are considered and there is a reference to different historians. There is little narrative for its own sake. This is well structured and focuses on the question. The knowledge is used and the examples are relevant. There is some engagement with different views and the answer is generally consistent though there are areas which need development. It is level 1 and would gain 13 marks.

ACTIVITY

Look at the simplified mark scheme and the essay above. This was a good essay. There is one element which could be improved and look to see how the argument at the start could reflect the conclusions about Kennedy and Civil Rights more. Now plan an answer to a similar comparison question. ‘The domestic policy of Nixon was more significant for Americans than that of Ford and Carter.’ How far do you agree? Look to see what the essay has done and how the question has been approached. Draw up a plan for the new essay that would make consistent comparisons and judgements and then try to write the essay.

Question 3

Evaluate the causes of the Quiet Revolution [15 marks]

Skills

- factual knowledge and understanding
- structured, analytical and balanced argument
- awareness/understanding/evaluation of historical interpretation
- clear and balanced judgement.

Examiner's tip

Look carefully at the wording of this question, which asks you to weigh up the relative importance of the causes of the 'Quiet Revolution'. This is different from simply listing reasons for the Quiet Revolution as you need to explain the importance of each factor you discuss in bringing about the 'Revolution' and reach a balanced judgement as to which was the most important factor. You will need to consider a range of reasons and don't simply describe the reasons or the events that brought it about, analyse their role. You should try and weigh up the importance of each factor as you discuss it, at least in the final sentence of each paragraph, but if you are unable to do that make sure that your concluding paragraph reaches a supported judgement as to the relative importance of the factors you have considered.

Student answer

The Quiet Revolution that began with the election of Lesage's Liberal government in Quebec in June 1960 was completed by the October Crisis of 1970. The revolution witnessed changes particularly to the social, cultural and economic life of Quebec and dramatically altered the position of French Canadians. *Although the immediate trigger for the revolution was the death of the Union Nationale leader Maurice Duplessis, and the resultant ending of the party's political dominance, there were both long-term and short-term developments that made the revolution possible. The Quiet Revolution was, at least in part, a response to changes that were taking place within a wider society with increased industrialization and secularization also prompting changes in New Brunswick, and throughout North American society as a whole.* Quebec nationalism had been growing for some time, but with events such as Algerian independence, the process that started the revolution can be traced back even further.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

This is a good introduction, as it shows a clear understanding of the topic and sets out a logical plan clearly focused on the demands of the question. It demonstrates a sound appreciation that to assess the causes, it is necessary to explain what is meant by the term 'Quiet Revolution', and it explicitly demonstrates to the examiner what aspects the candidate intends to address. This indicates that the answer – if it remains analytical and well supported – is likely to be a high scoring one.

Since 1944 the conservative Union Nationale party, led by Maurice Duplessis had been in power, but they had failed to modernise the province and it had not benefited from the post-war boom that had affected most of the rest of the country. The Catholic church was also powerful in Quebec and they controlled education and also provided many of the welfare services that were often provided by the state. They had no desire to lose their position of influence. Duplessis portrayed the Liberals as a left-wing party, even suggesting that they had communist sympathies and this helped to maintain his position in power, as did his close relationship with the Catholic church, saying that 'the bishops eat out of my hand.' However, the dominance of the two groups ensured that there was very little reform, although Duplessis had given the Quebec people pride in themselves and resisted attempts from the government in Ottawa to interfere in many of their affairs, preserving the provinces rights.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

Although the material in this paragraph is relevant, the answer does not directly link it to the question and any attempt at an argument is largely implied. The opening sentence of the paragraph would be better and help to keep the answer focused on the actual question if it introduced an idea that directly addressed the question; for example: Quebec was in need of change because it had not benefited from the post-war boom and its industry and social provision needed modernizing. The paragraph explains why Quebec was lagging behind without explaining how this helped to bring about the Silent Revolution.

The situation under Duplessis can be contrasted with developments elsewhere. The period after the Second World War had seen the collapse of old empires and the ending of colonization in much of the world. In 1962 Algeria had gained independence from France and events such as this encouraged the French Canadians in Quebec to demand a greater say in their affairs. There were also changes within the Catholic church, which was seen by many to be less important. The Catholic church responded to these developments at Vatican II in 1962 and this resulted in the greater liberalization of the Church. Although this was true, the Catholic Church in Quebec still controlled education and higher level education was available only to a few French Canadians, who were becoming more dissatisfied with the situation. There were other changes that were taking place as well, with industrial and social developments resulting in changes in society which challenged the traditional views and values of many people.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

This is very similar to the previous paragraph. The information provided is relevant, but is not well linked to the actual question and the examiner is left to work out the argument. The argument needs to be much clearer, and once again a

better opening sentence which introduces the idea that post war changes, not just in Canada, were creating a desire for change throughout the world, would offer one line of argument. The candidate does display knowledge about the position of the Catholic Church, but again this needs to be linked more clearly to how it brought about the Quiet Revolution.

The changes were reflected in the elections in Quebec. The death of Duplessis in 1959 was closely followed by that of his successor so that in the election of 1960 the Liberals, under Jean Lesage, were able to win power. Lesage campaigned under the slogan 'Things have to change.' It would only be fair to suggest that there had been some developments under Duplessis as he had been able to build up a financial surplus, which would provide Lesage with the money for many of his schemes. The money allowed him to bring about changes in both the economic, but also the social position of Quebec. The Liberal government wanted Quebec to have its own economic policy, and very quickly this was seen with the nationalization of HEP. This was followed by the establishment of other public companies to control areas such as iron and steel and petroleum. This resulted in economic growth which was then used to fund social policies. Education was taken out of the control of the church with the establishment of a Ministry of Education. Labour codes were established to protect workers and the government also took on responsibility for health care, creating a welfare state.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

The response becomes much more narrative or descriptive in its approach. There is a hint as to why the Revolution could come about, with mention of the financial surplus to fund it, but much of the paragraph simply describes the economic and social measures that make up the Revolution. The answer has lost any focus on why it took place and has begun to look at the nature of the revolution.

The government also introduced measures to improve the status of the French language so that by the end of the period French was the only official language of the province. Restrictions were placed on businesses that operated in English, or even both languages. There were also similar developments in education and the use of French.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

This paragraph continues in a similar vein to the previous and describes the linguistic changes that followed from the Revolution with no focus on why there was a revolution.

As a result, the Quiet Revolution brought about many changes to Quebec and made it a prosperous province. There were many reasons for the changes, some were long term, others were short term. As the reforms only really came about after the death of Duplessis and the arrival in power of the Liberals that was obviously a very important factor. However, some long term changes, not just in France also helped to bring about the desire for change.

EXAMINER'S COMMENT

The answer does make some attempt to come back to the actual question, although the opening sentence is a clear sign that the focus has been lost. The answer is aware that there were many reasons, but if these had been the basis for

previous paragraphs it is likely that there would have been a stronger and more focused answer. The conclusion does not really make a judgement about the importance of the factors that caused the Revolution, but this is difficult as the focus has not been fully on the actual causes.

Overall examiner's comments

Although the response starts with clear focus on the question and introduces some important concepts, the remaining paragraphs are unable to sustain this. The argument is, at best, implied, and the examiner is left having to do the work. The answer also drifts from the causes to the nature of the Revolution, so that by the end the examiner is left wondering what the reasons were for the Revolution. At best, there is some answer to the question, so would be placed in Level 3 at 7.

ACTIVITY

Look again at the simplified mark scheme, and the student answer above. Now, using the opening paragraph of the essay write a plan that focuses on the causes of the Quiet Revolution and then re-write paragraph 2,3 and 4 so that they answer the question by linking the actual material to the questions of the causes of the Quiet Revolution. You should also try and bring in the views of different historians as this will help you get into the higher levels.

Further reading

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