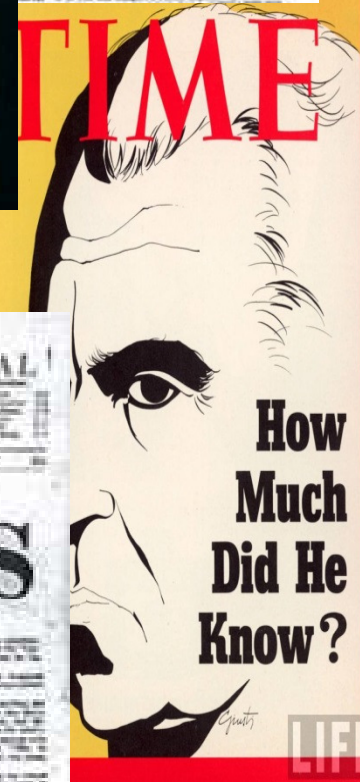
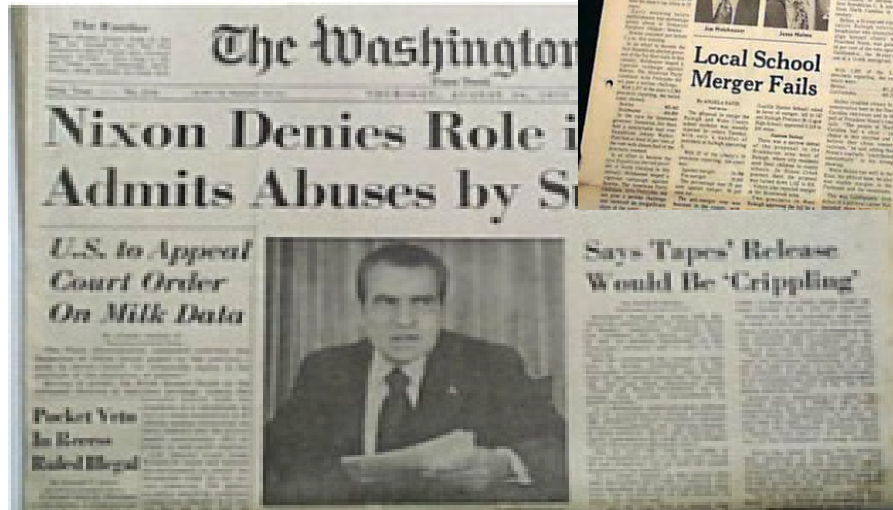


***The Elections of Our Youth:  
Presidential Elections 1960-72  
Fourth Lecture ( 10 & 11 Oct 2016) Election of  
1972***

***Greg Cleva, Phd  
George Mason University/OLLI  
Fall 2016***

# "The Solitary Man"



*The Washington Post* columnist David Broder commented on the failure of American politics in the 1960s: “In a real sense, Nixon is the symbol as well as the victim of our long period of political impasse. Our sense that we are trapped on a single spool of film, constantly being rerun on the projector of history, is heightened by the fact that every episode seems to end with Richard Nixon. No matter how many events or personalities intervene, it is always Nixon’s face that we see as the scene fades.”

*The Party’s Over, 1971*

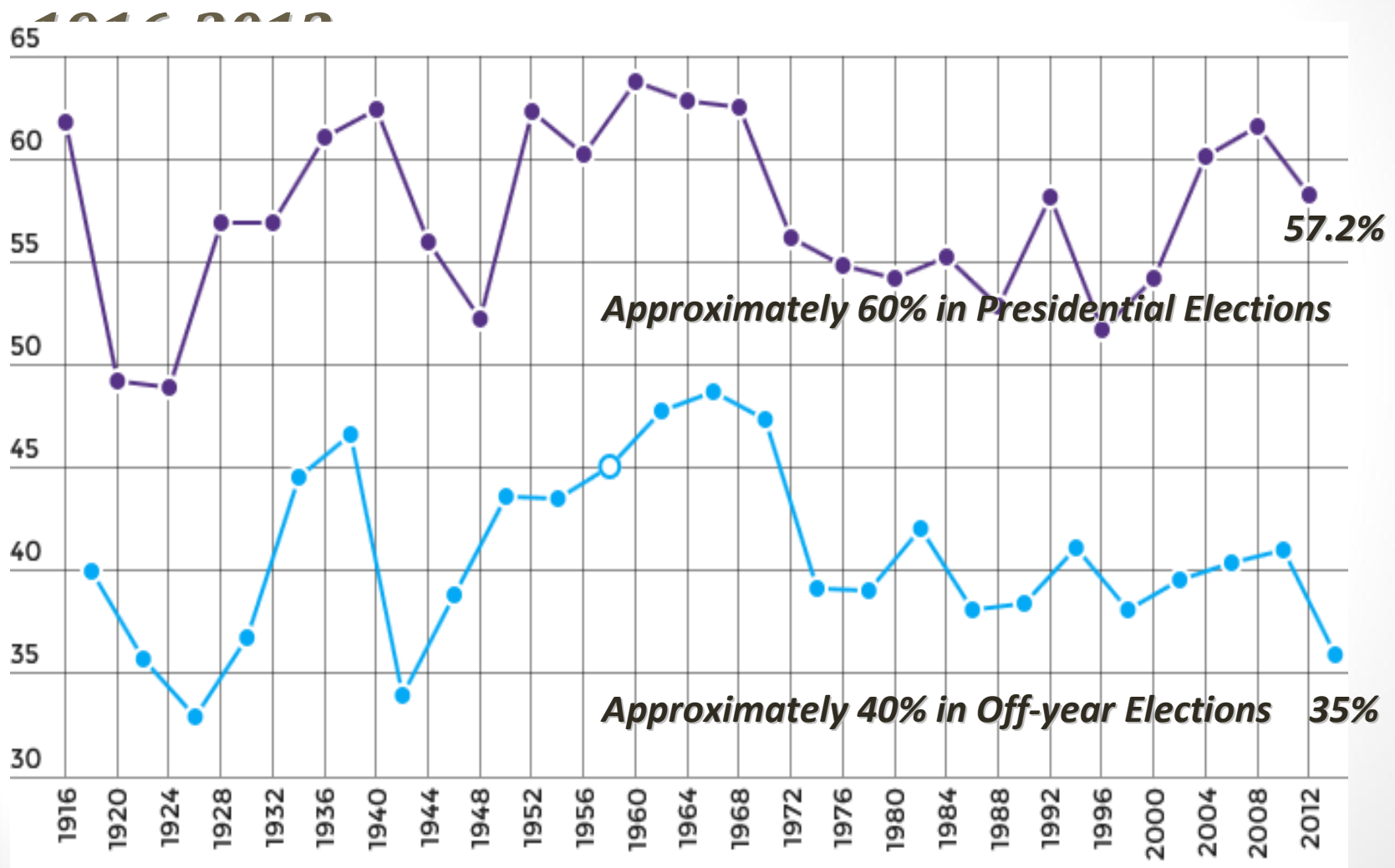
# *The Elections of Our Youth: Presidential Elections 1960-72*

*First Lecture ( 3&4 Oct 2016) Election of 1972*

- **Class Overview**
- **General Points**
- ***The 1972 Election***
  - *The Pre-Election Period*
  - *The Primaries/Caucuses*
  - *The Conventions*
  - *The Election*
- **Fact Sheets—such as Campaign Financing**
- **Portraits—Journalist/Historians/Influentials/  
Party Leaders/Pollsters**
- **Election 2016**
  - *The Post 2016 Political Realignment—Possible Scenarios*
- **Bibliography**

***General***

# *General Points: Voter Turnout Rates in American Elections*



## ***General Points: U.S Voter Turnout Relative to Other Countries (elections 2001-02)***

Country	% Turnout
Greece	89%
Italy	85%
Belgium	83%
Australia	82%
France	72%
Japan	59%
Canada	55%
<b>U.S.</b>	<b>51%</b>
Switzerland	35%

## *Post-Watergate/Vietnam “Democratization” of Presidential Candidate Selection*

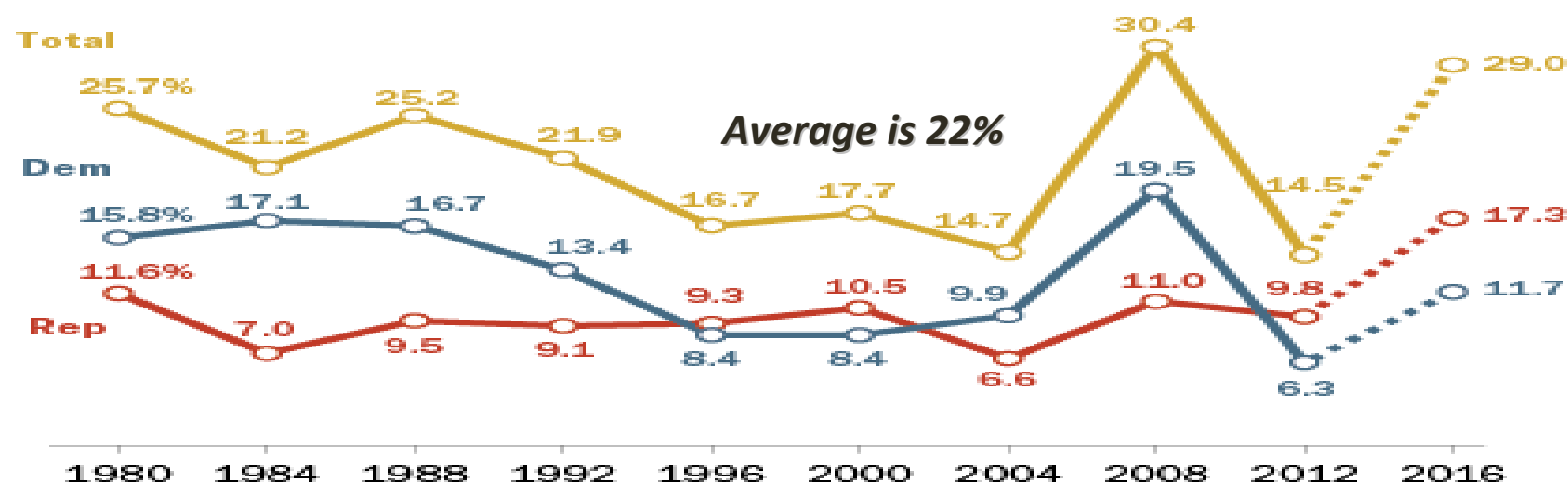
Year	Democratic Primaries	% of Delegates	Republican Primaries	% of Delegates
1960	16	38.3%	15	38.6%
1980	35	71.8%	42	82.7%
<b>2016</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>85% (approx.)</b>



# Voter Participation in Presidential Primaries

## After a long decline, primary turnout rebounds

*Votes cast in Democratic and Republican primaries as a share of eligible voters in primary states*

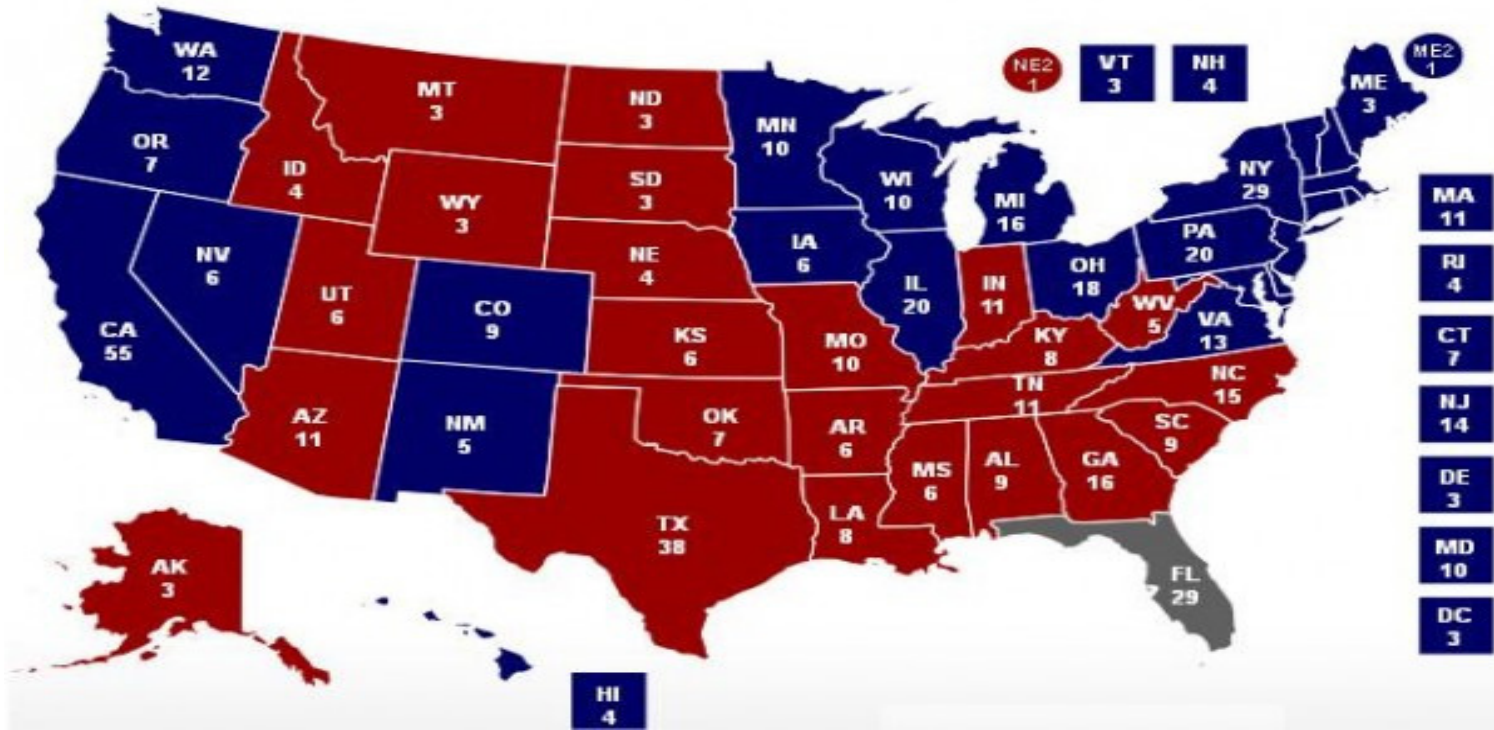


Note: The sum of turnout in Democratic and Republican primaries does not equal total turnout because not every state holding a presidential primary does so for both parties. Does not include primary data from U.S. territories. 2016 figures represent primaries held through March 6. Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 1980-2012 November and January 2016 Current Population Survey data for the share of eligible voters. 1980-2004 and 2012 data from "America Votes" (CQ Press); 2008 data from "Vital Statistics on American Politics, 2011-2012" (CQ Press). 2016 turnout data are from state elections offices, when available, or as reported by The New York Times.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Observing Elections : “Battleground States” 2016



OH	PA	NC	FL	GA	TX	AR	WI	MI	AZ	NV	MS	Tot
20	21	15	29	16	38	6	10	10	11	6	6	178 (66%)

# *Observing Elections*

## *Some Other Considerations*

- *Is there a dominant concern or group of concerns that can be described as the “Voter Issue?”*
- *Has this issue translated into a tide?*
- *Split-ticket-voting*
- *Framing the opponent*
- *The **ration actor model** of American politics versus repeated examples of its opposite*
- *The **mosaic** view of American politics versus the **jigsaw** view*

## ***Rule #1 in American Politics***

***“Always Run as a “Washington Outsider” even if your  
were born and lived your entire life in DC”***



***“Not bad for a Washington outsider.”***

## *Political News Programs*



***The 1972 Election***  
***The Pre-Election Period***

# *The 1960s: a Sociological Perspective*

## The 1960's & Social Upheaval

- “*The Outsiders* was published in 1967, a restless time in the United States when teenagers were outspoken and rebellious.
- They hated the Vietnam War and the establishment that caused it to continue.
- They resented the fact that young people from minorities and underprivileged backgrounds were not given opportunities to succeed.
- To voice their dissatisfaction, they had sit-ins and protests: many became hippies, and others turned to drugs.”

**Social Upheaval can often have the force of an epidemic**

**And like any force, it ultimately weakens and ceases**

**“It has spent its fury”**

**Just as often, the effect of people involved in such an upheaval is “immunological”**

ORIGINAL MOTION PICTURE SOUNDTRACK

# THE BIG CHILL

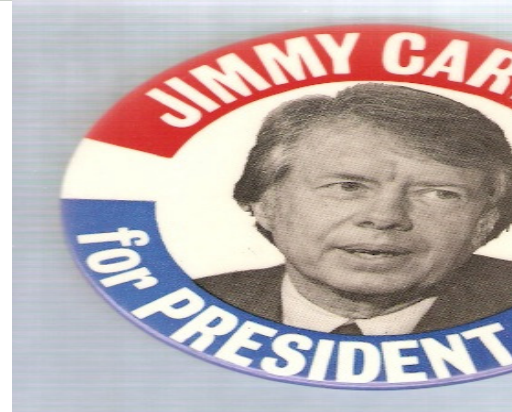
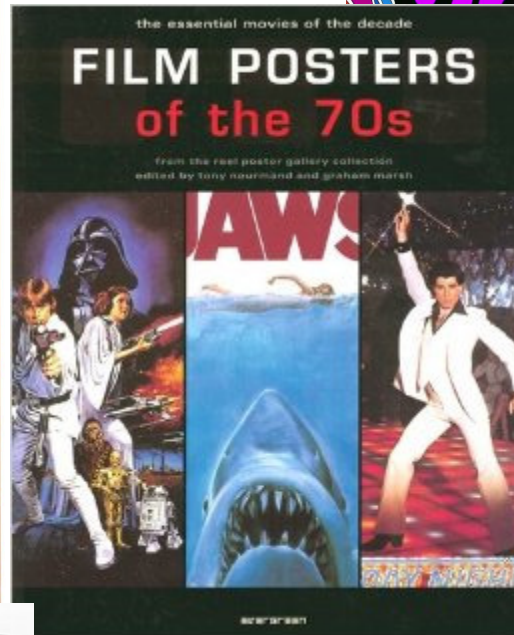
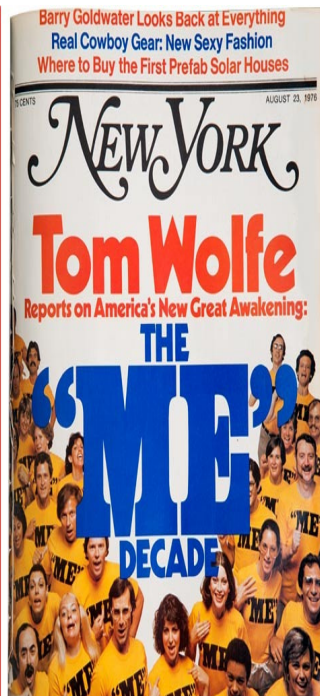
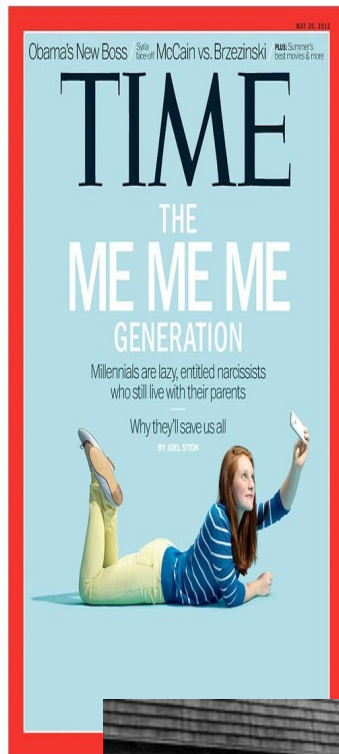


COMPACT  
**disc**  
DIGITAL AUDIO

Plus Additional Classics From The Era



# The 70s



# *The “Me Decade,” and the “Third Great Awakening”*

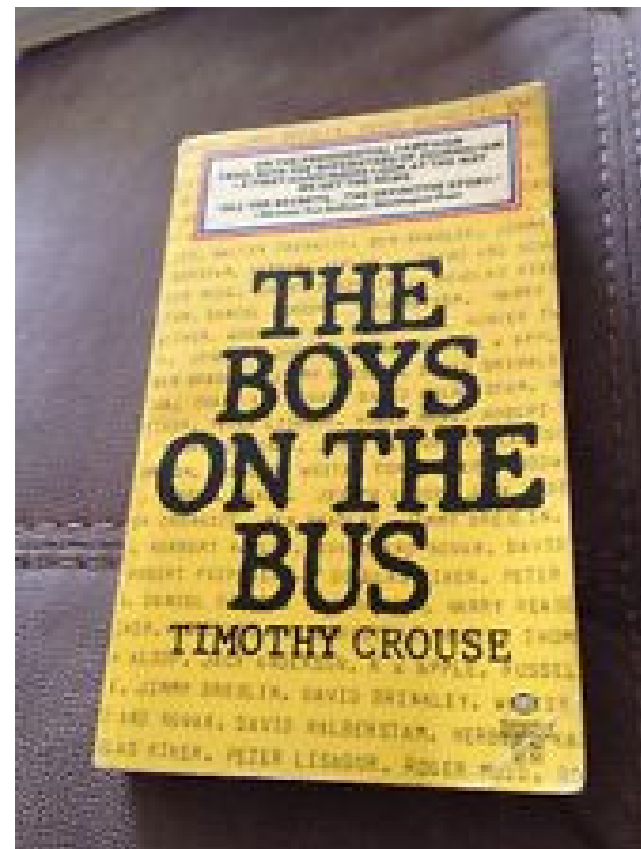
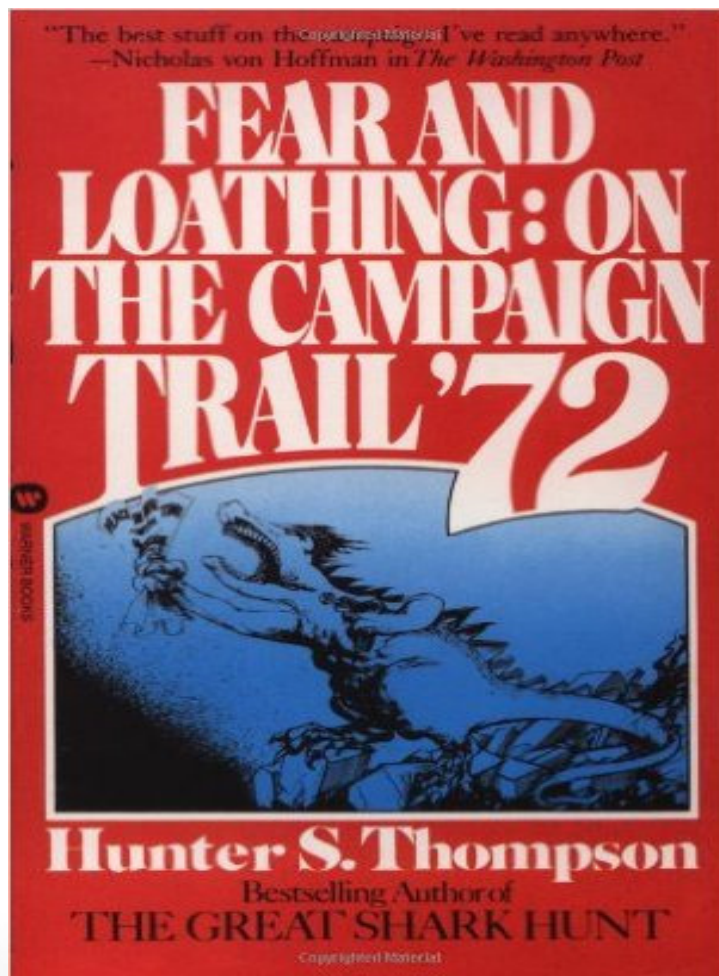
The term "'Me' Decade" describes a general new attitude of Americans in the 1970s, in the direction of atomized individualism and away from communitarianism, in clear contrast with social values prevalent in the United States during the 1960s.<sup>[3]</sup>

Wolfe asserts the disappearance of the socioeconomic class he calls the "proletariat", in parallel with the concurrent appearance of an American "lower middle class". He cites the economic boom of postwar America as affording the average American a new sense of self-determination and individuation associated with the widespread economic prosperity. Wolfe describes the resulting abandoning of communal, progressive, and New Deal-style politics as "taking the money and running". He traces the preoccupation with self and self-development back to the aristocratic European gentry. Wolfe states that the "chivalric tradition" and the philosophy behind "the finishing school" are inherently dedicated to the building and forming of personal character and conduct.<sup>[1]</sup>

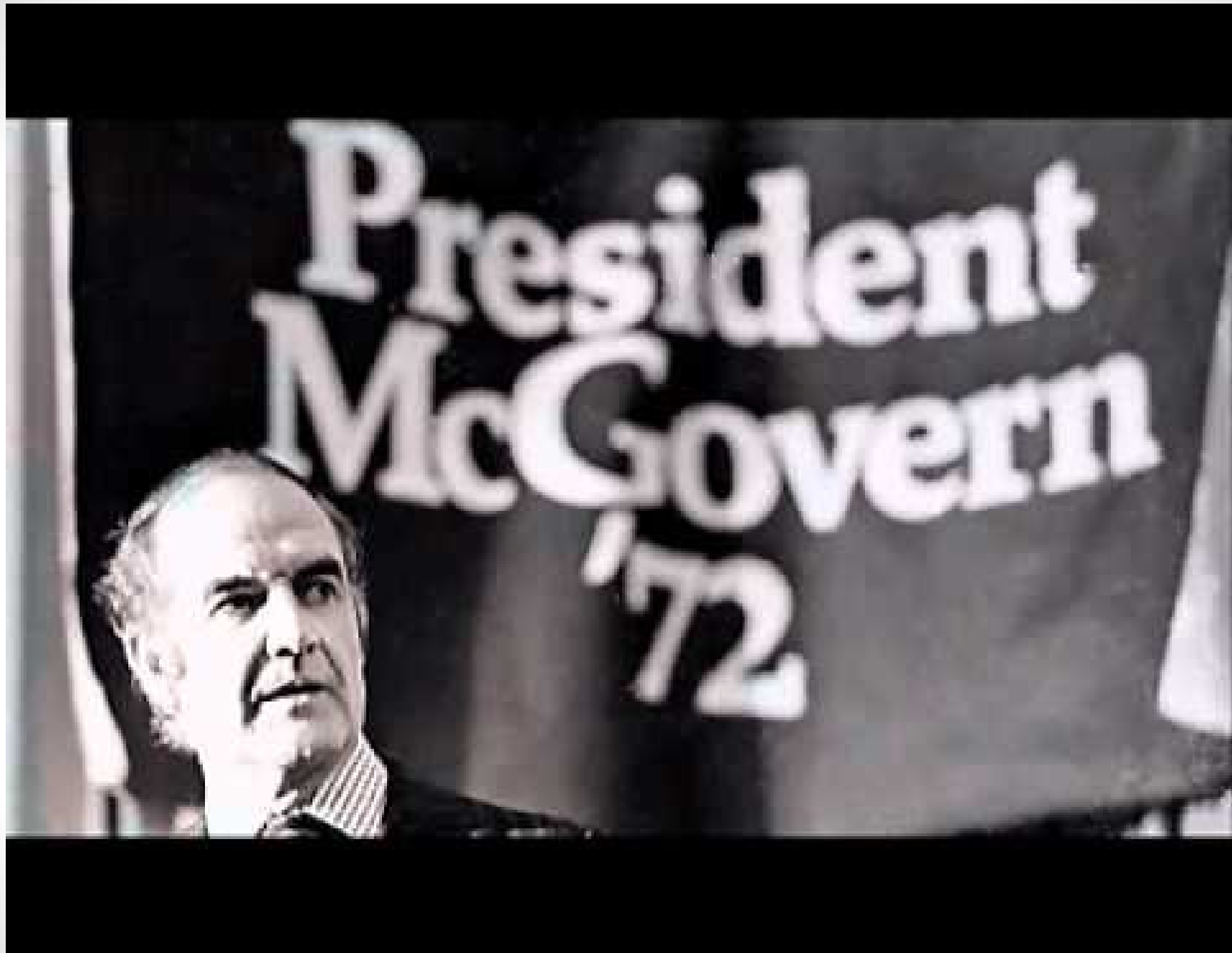
Wolfe believes that the counterculture of the 1960s and the New Left school of thought promoted a recovery of the self in a flawed and corrupt America, a philosophy extended in the 1970s with a spreading idea that use of the drug LSD, commonly known as "acid", would unveil a true and real self. He describes the revelatory experience of hallucinogens as similar to, even competitive with, religious ecstasy, transforming the religious climate in America. Wolfe chronicles the American periods of Christian revival known as the First and Second Great Awakenings, to which he analogizes the 1970s and their dominant social trends. He argues that the "Me" Decade of the 1970s is a "Third Great Awakening".<sup>[1]</sup>

***The 1972 Election***  
***The Primaries/Caucuses***

# *The New Genre in Campaign Reporting*



## ***The Democratic Candidates***





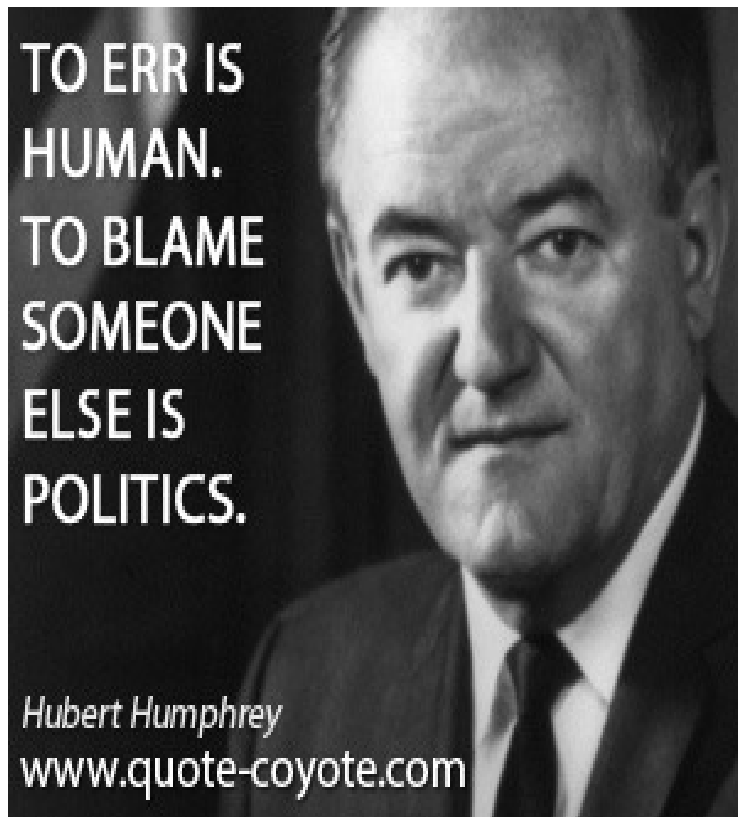
# George McGovern

George Stanley McGovern (July 19, 1922 – October 21, 2012) was an American historian, author, [U.S. Representative](#), [U.S. Senator](#), and the [Democratic Party](#) presidential nominee in the [1972 presidential election](#).

McGovern grew up in [Mitchell, South Dakota](#), where he was a renowned debater. He volunteered for the [U.S. Army Air Forces](#) upon the country's entry into [World War II](#) and as a [B-24 Liberator](#) pilot flew 35 missions over [German-occupied Europe](#). Among the medals bestowed upon him was a [Distinguished Flying Cross](#) for making a hazardous emergency landing of his damaged plane and saving his crew. After the war he gained degrees from [Dakota Wesleyan University](#) and [Northwestern University](#), culminating in a [PhD](#), and was a history professor. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1956 and re-elected in 1958. After a failed bid for the U.S. Senate in 1960, he was a successful candidate in 1962.

As a senator, McGovern was an exemplar of [modern American liberalism](#). He became most known for his outspoken opposition to the growing U.S. involvement in the [Vietnam War](#). He staged a brief nomination run in the [1968 presidential election](#) as a stand-in for the assassinated [Robert F. Kennedy](#). The subsequent [McGovern–Fraser Commission](#) fundamentally altered the presidential nominating process, by greatly increasing the number of [caucuses](#) and [primaries](#) and reducing the influence of party insiders. The [McGovern–Hatfield Amendment](#) sought to end the Vietnam War by legislative means but was defeated in 1970 and 1971. McGovern's long-shot, grassroots-based [1972 presidential campaign](#) found triumph in gaining the Democratic nomination but left the party badly split ideologically, and the failed vice-presidential pick of [Thomas Eagleton](#) undermined McGovern's credibility. In the general election McGovern lost to incumbent [Richard Nixon](#) in one of the biggest [landslides](#) in American electoral history. Re-elected Senator in 1968 and 1974, McGovern was defeated in a bid for a fourth term in 1980.

# *Hubert Humphrey*



Hubert Humphrey made another run at the nomination, in an era when previous nominees were considered legitimate contenders even after losing a general election (Adlai Stevenson had been successful at being re-nominated by Democrats in 1956, and Nixon by the GOP in 1968). He fell just short in delegates, despite winning the popular vote, and his bid to contest the results of the California winner-take-all primary failed. Humphrey, like Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, was considered the favorite of the party establishment after Muskie's withdrawal.



# Edmund Muskie



But then prior to the New Hampshire primary, the "[Canuck Letter](#)" was published in the [Manchester Union-Leader](#). The letter, later revealed to have been a forgery produced as part of the "dirty tricks" campaign by Richard Nixon's staff members, [\[citation needed\]](#) claimed that Muskie had made disparaging remarks about [French-Canadians](#). Subsequently, the paper published an attack on the character of Muskie's wife [Jane](#), reporting that she drank and used off-color language. Muskie made an emotional defense of his wife in a speech outside the newspaper's offices during a snowstorm. Though Muskie later stated that what had appeared to the press as tears were actually melted snowflakes, the press reported that Muskie broke down and cried.<sup>[3]</sup> Muskie did worse than expected in the primary, while McGovern came in a surprisingly close second. McGovern now had the momentum, which was well orchestrated by his campaign manager, [Gary Hart](#).

## Henry “Scoop” Jackson

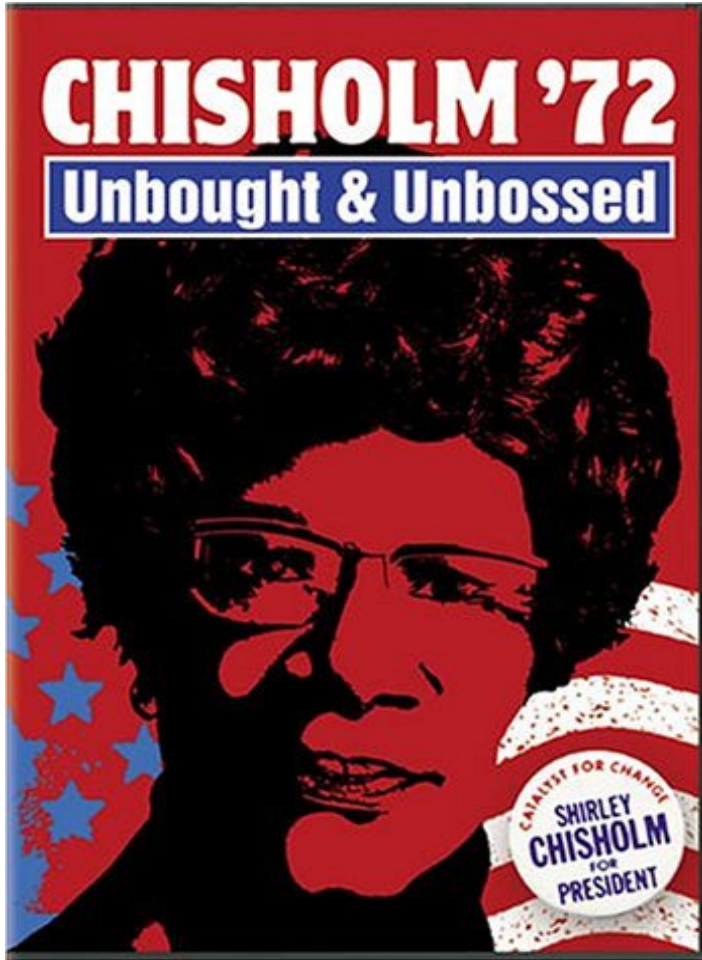


Washington Senator Scoop Jackson was little known nationally when he first ran for President in 1972. McGovern accused Jackson of racism for his opposition to busing. Jackson's high point in the campaign was a distant third in the early Florida primary, but he failed to stand out of the pack of better-known rivals, and only made real news later in the campaign as part of the "Anybody but McGovern" coalition, that raised what would be known as the "Acid, Amnesty and Abortion" questions about McGovern. Jackson suspended active campaigning in May after a weak showing in the Ohio primary and after finishing well behind McGovern, Muskie, George Wallace, and Hubert Humphrey in early primaries. Jackson did re-emerge at the August Democratic convention after runner-up Humphrey dropped out of the race. Jackson's name was placed in nomination by Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, and he finished second in the delegate roll call, well behind nominee McGovern.<sup>[4][5]</sup>

# George Wallace



## *Other Candidates of Note*



*John Lindsay*





# *R. Sargent Shriver*



- Robert Sargent "Sarge" Shriver Jr.<sup>[4]</sup> ([/'sɑ:rdʒənt 'fraɪvər/](#); November 9, 1915 – January 18, 2011) was an American politician and activist. As the husband of [Eunice Kennedy Shriver](#), he was part of the [Kennedy family](#), serving in the [Kennedy](#) and [Johnson](#) administrations. Shriver was the driving force behind the creation of the [Peace Corps](#), founded the [Job Corps](#), [Head Start](#) and other programs as the "architect" of Johnson's "[War on Poverty](#)" and served as the [U.S. Ambassador to France](#).<sup>[4]</sup>
- During the [1972 U.S. presidential election](#), he was [George McGovern](#)'s running mate as the [Democratic Party](#)'s nominee for Vice President, replacing [Thomas Eagleton](#), who had resigned from the ticket.

# *The Salinger Incident*



**Was he or was he not McGovern's choice for Deputy Chairman of the Democratic Party in 1972?**

**Was he or was he not McGovern's special envoy to the North Vietnamese representatives in Paris?**

## ***The Republican Candidates***





# *Nixon-Agnew*

## *"Four More Years"*

Four more years." Of what? Germaine Greer claims Arthur Miller gave her the answer in Miami: "If this man wins another term, the Supreme Court will be castrated, and The New York Times will be a single mimeographed page." Almost this Miller makes me a hardhat. He would no doubt have said the same kind of thing before the 1968 election; yet there is the same old Times, still very fat, like the rest of us. The apocalypse has better taste than to associate itself with American elections. Our party processes mash the candidates in toward the middle -- a law best proved by those who try to defy it, like Senator McGovern. After denouncing the "regulars" in primaries and the convention, he was reduced to shameless capitulation by the end of his campaign; and even then he has been ineffectual. He started too far out from the perceived middle of things. But, we are warned, electoral pressures no longer apply when a President is entering his final term. To re-elect Nixon is, in Sargent Shriver's lurid phrase, to "unleash" him. No longer controlled by the prospect of defeat at the polls, he can at last go bonkers for real. Another "unleashing" theory, which Daniel Patrick Moynihan applies to Nixon sycophantically, is that the President -- quit of the task (and, for him, the temptation) of running for the office one more time -- can look not to the history books. His deferred aspirations, held in abeyance during all those years of scrounging for votes, can at last be realized.

Both these approaches assume there is a "real" Nixon -- an ogre barely restrained, or closet egghead -- kept under wraps for years because the sight of him would scare off voters. A third view exists: that there is no "real" Nixon, just a campaigner, trimming his sails and steering toward the next election date; and such a man will not know *what* to do when there is no campaign left for him. Each of these theories is based on a deeper assumption -- that to go for re-election and to go for the history books are two different things. But a President who cannot carry the electorate with his program is going to be in trouble with the historians

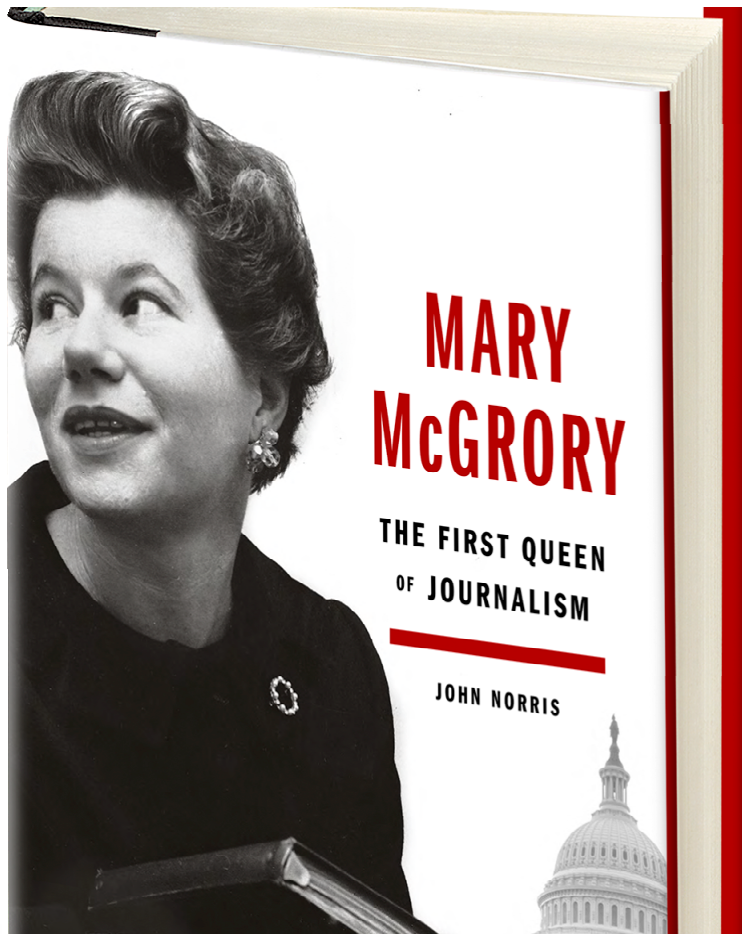
# ***The Liberalism of Richard Nixon***

- ***The President and the Professor***
  - Nixon and the Influence of Daniel Patrick Moynihan
- ***Domestic Politics***
  - Guaranteed Annual Income
  - Wages and Price Controls
  - Keynesian Economics
- ***International Affairs***
  - Opening to China
  - Détente with the Soviet Union
  - End of the Gold Standard

Never forget, the press is  
the enemy. The  
establishment is the  
enemy. The professors are  
the enemy. Professors are  
the enemy. Write that on a  
blackboard 100 times and  
never forget it.

Richard M. Nixon

# Mary McGrory



Mary McGrory (August 22, 1918 – April 20, 2004) was an American journalist and columnist. She specialized in American politics, and was noted for her detailed coverage of political maneuverings. She wrote over 8,000 columns, but no books, and made very few media or lecture appearances.<sup>[1]</sup> She was a fierce opponent of the Vietnam War and was on Richard Nixon's enemies list. One reviewer said:

McGrory is what you get when proximity to power, keen observation skills, painstaking reporting, a judgmental streak and passionate liberalism coalesce in a singularly talented writer — one whose abilities are matched by the times.<sup>[2]</sup>

## ***The Primaries***

## *The Democrats Primaries*

### *“A Party in Search of Its identity”*

- Edmund Muskie—the odds-on favorite to be the 1972 Democratic nominee—falters in the New Hampshire primary—winning 46% of the vote to McGovern’s 37%
- Next up—Wallace wins in Florida
- On to Wisconsin, where McGovern wins—Lindsay withdraws at this point —Wallace finishes second and Humphrey third
- McGovern wins in Massachusetts and Nebraska and Humphrey in Pennsylvania
- It is now June: Wallace leads in the popular voting, but McGovern has a commanding lead in delegates—California with 271 delegates is the big prize
- Muskie, Jackson and Chisolm are pretty much out of the race at this point
- Wallace is eliminated by an assassination attempt
- McGovern wins in California and effectively win the nomination

## ***The Conventions/the Elections***



# *The Liberal Hour*

- *The “liberal hour” lasted only a few years, from 1963 to 1966, from the final days of John F. Kennedy’s presidency through the first three years of Lyndon B. Johnson’s, but in that brief period of time came:*
  - two civil rights acts that remade politics not only in the South but also across the entire country;
  - the unassailable edifices of Medicare and Medicaid;
  - pioneering environmental laws;
  - education and immigration bills;
  - stronger protections for consumers;
  - a host of antipoverty programs, including food stamps and Head Start;
  - new federal departments of transportation and housing and urban development;
- (If it was poverty and want that drove the New Deal, it was prosperity that provided the momentum for the '60s, and with it the confidence to take on any challenge.)*

# ***From the Liberal Hour to the “Liberal Orthodoxy”***

- **McGovern-Fraser Reforms**
  - Participatory Democracy Without Limits
- **Quotas**
- **School Busing to Achieve Racial Balancing**
- **Government Unto Itself**
- **Welfare on Demand (New York City under Mayor Lindsay)**

# *McGovern's Army*

- Campaign Leadership

Gary Hart

Frank Mankiewicz

Rick Stearns

- During his primary victories, McGovern used an approach that stressed grassroots-level organization while bypassing conventional campaign techniques and traditional party power centers.<sup>[8][173]</sup> He capitalized on support from anti-war activists and reform liberals;<sup>[169]</sup> thousands of students engaged in door-to-door campaigning for him.<sup>[183]</sup> He benefited by the eight primaries he won being those the press focused on the most; he showed electoral weakness in the South and industrial Midwest, and actually received fewer primary votes overall than Humphrey and had only a modest edge over Wallace.<sup>[184]</sup>

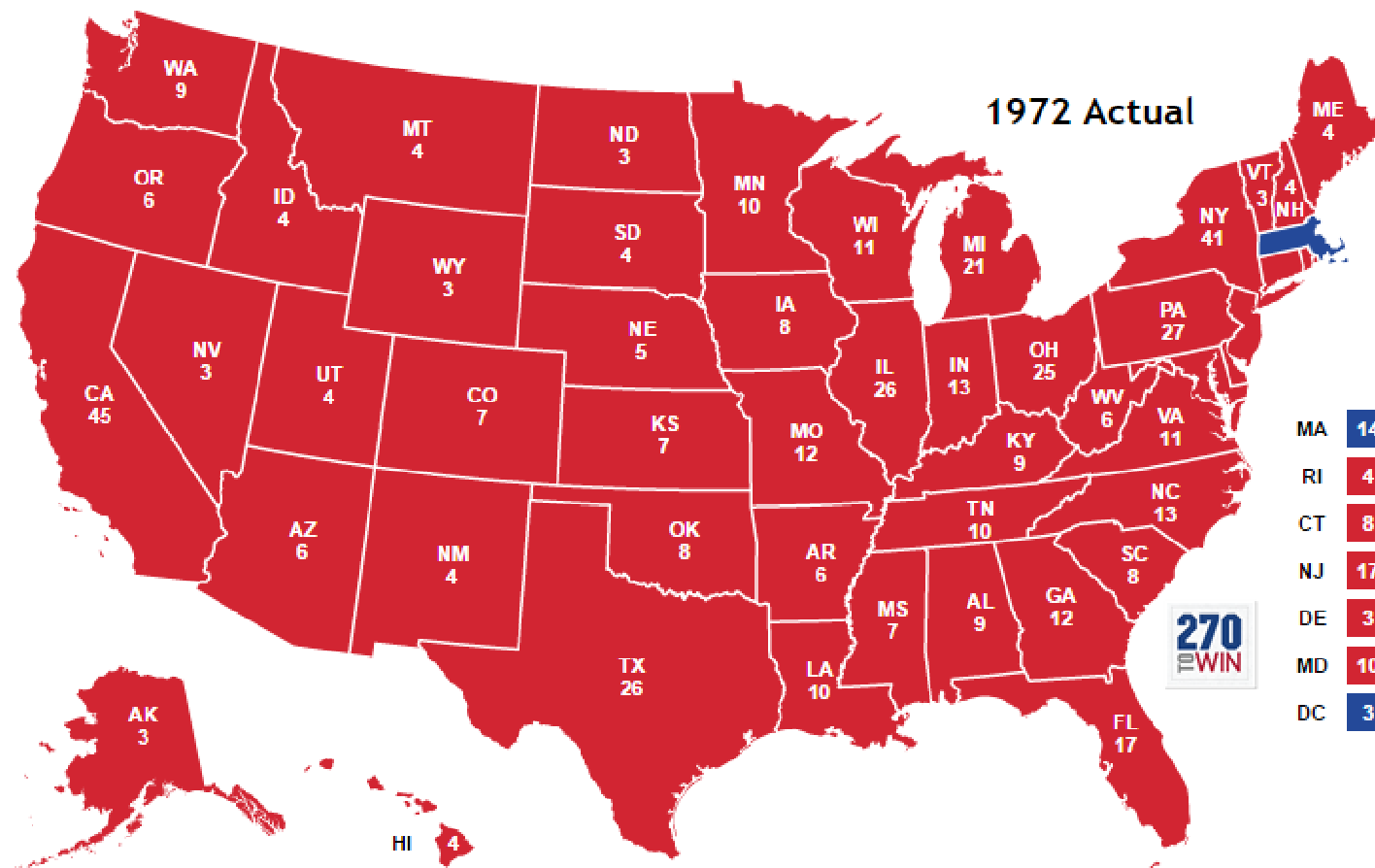
# ***Election Strategy***

**Republicans**

**Democrats**

- 1972: RE-ELECTION CAMPAIGN
- SOUTHERNERS UNHAPPY WITH DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- WHY? GROWING LIBERALISM W/IN PARTY
- NIXON WANTS TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS
- BEGINS "**SOUTHERN STRATEGY**"
- DEFINE:
  - ATTEMPT TO SLOW NATION'S DESEGREGATION EFFORTS
  - EX.:
    - ORDERED DELAYED SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN MS., SC.
    - OPPOSED EXTENSION OF VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF '65
    - OPPOSED SUPREME COURT DECISION IN **SWANN V. CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG BD. OF EDUCATION**
    - WHY? OPPOSED SCHOOL BUSING
- SUPREME COURT: NIXON MAKES IT MORE CONSERVATIVE
- HOW? APPOINTS CONSERVATIVE JUDGES
- EXAMPLES?
  - WARREN BURGER, CHIEF JUSTICE
  - WILLIAM REHNQUIST

# The 1972 Electoral Map



★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ 1972 Presidential General Election Results ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

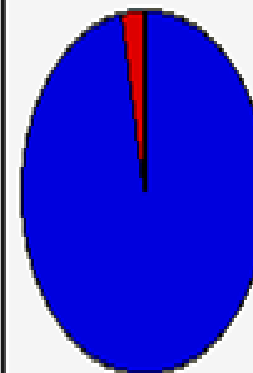
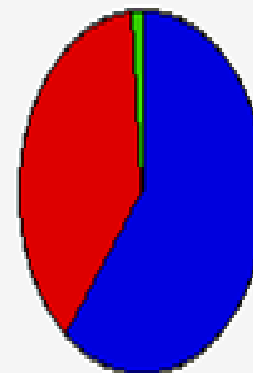
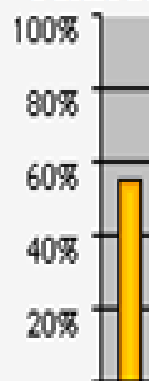
	Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular Vote		Electoral Vote	
■	Richard Nixon	Spiro Agnew	Republican	47,168,710	60.67%	520	96.7%
■	George McGovern	R. Sargent Shriver	Democratic	29,173,222	37.52%	17	3.2%
■	John Hospers	Theodora Nathan	Libertarian	3,674	0.00%	1	0.2%
■	John Schmitz	Thomas Anderson	American	1,100,868	1.42%	0	0.0%
■	Other (+)	-	-	297,553	0.38%	0	0.0%



Map Key

> 40%	-	-
> 50%	■	■
> 60%	-	■
> 70%	■	■

Turnout





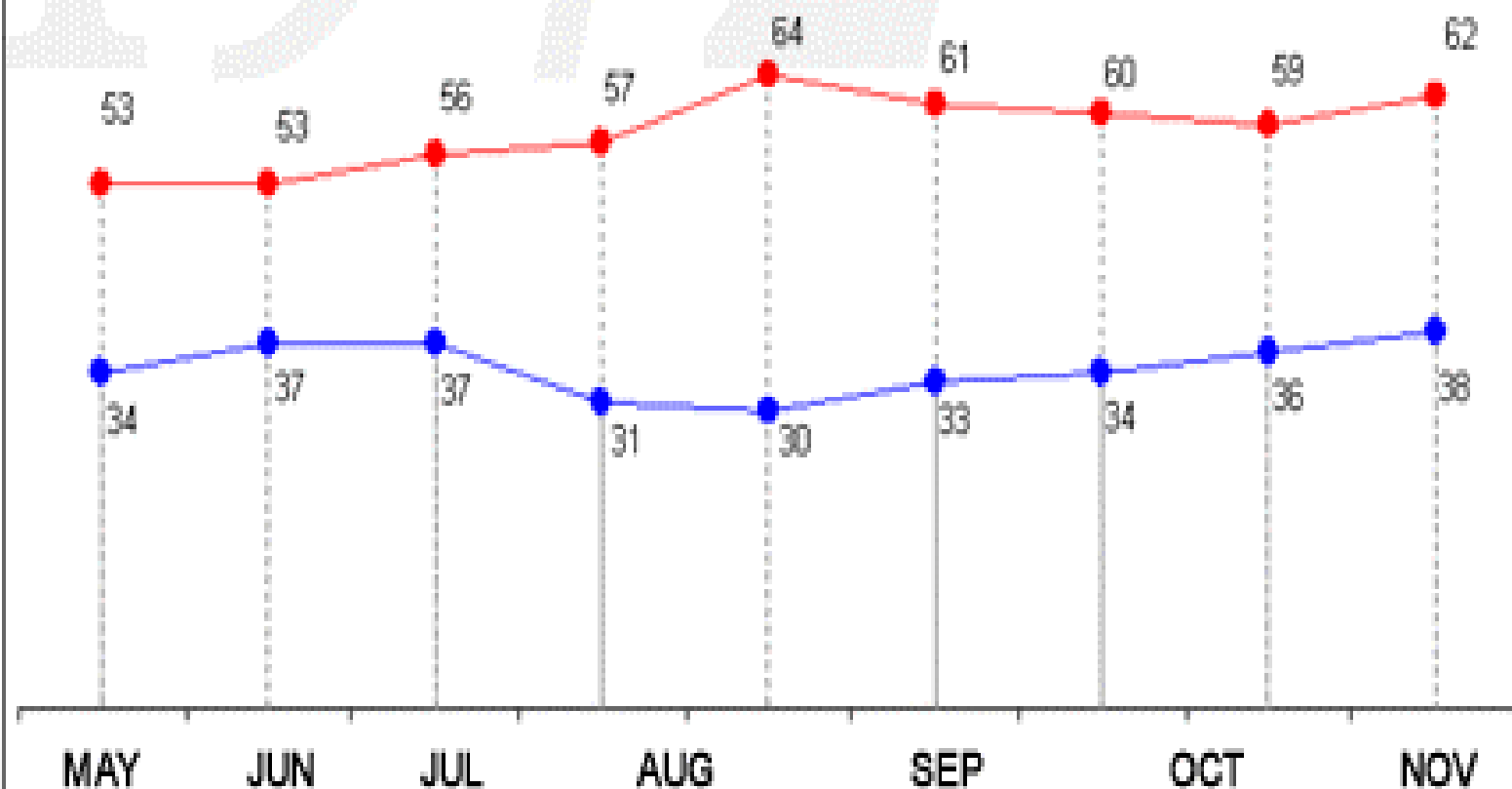
1972

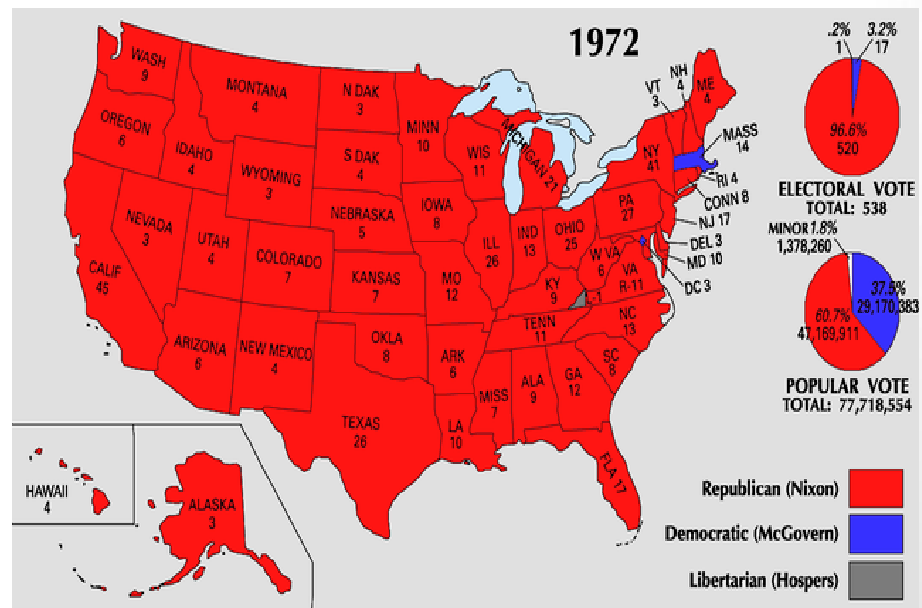
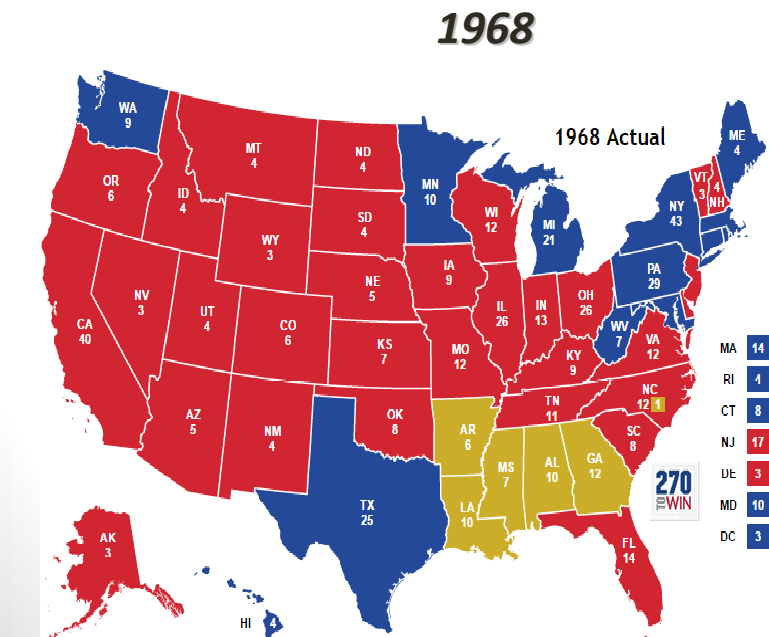
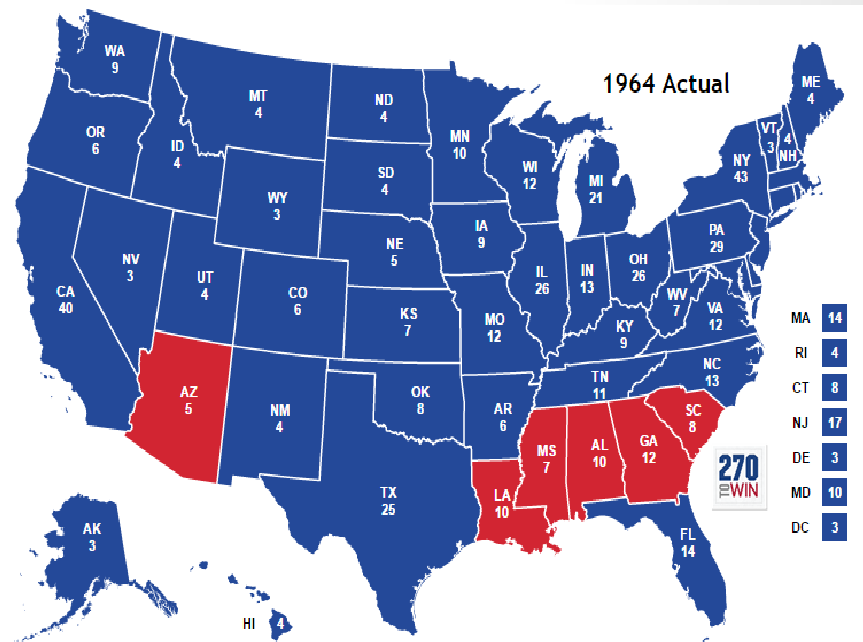
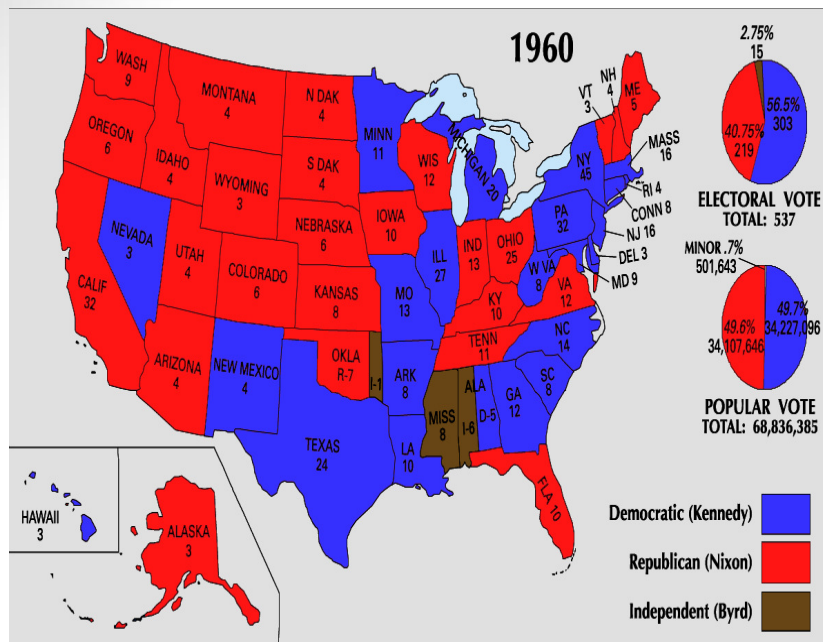
McGovern  
Nixon

Winning  
Candidate  
**Nixon**

Final  
Gallup Survey  
**62.0%**

Election  
Result  
**61.8%**





# Withdrawal from Vietnam

- promising peace was at hand right before the election, Nixon won re-election in 1972 in a landslide
- U.S. and S. Vietnam signed a peace agreement with N. Vietnam and the Viet Cong that ended the war in January, 1973
- civil war between Vietcong and South Vietnam's govt. continued shortly after US troops left
- in 1975 N. Vietnam invaded and conquered S. Vietnam unifying the nation under communism



*U.S. National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger (right) shaking hands with North Vietnam's Le Duc Tho in Paris after their agreement on the cease-fire terms of the Vietnam War, 1973.*



# The Watergate Break-in

- When initial polls showed Nixon's support starting to slide in the Election of 1972, the Plumbers turned their activities to political espionage.
- On 17 June 1972, 5 men were arrested while attempting to bug the headquarters of the Democratic Party inside the Watergate building in Washington D.C.
- One of the men arrested, James McCord, was the head of security for the Republican Party.
- The Nixon campaign denied any involvement.



# *Nixon Resignation*



- The year 1973 saw an Arab oil embargo, gasoline rationing, and a continuing series of revelations about the Watergate scandal. The scandal escalated, costing Nixon much of his political support, and on August 9, 1974, he resigned in the face of almost certain impeachment and removal from office. After his resignation, he was issued a pardon by his successor, Gerald Ford. In retirement, Nixon's work writing several books and undertaking of many foreign trips helped to rehabilitate his image. He suffered a debilitating stroke on April 18, 1994, and died four days later at the age of 81.

## **Gerald Ford**

**Vice President Spiro T. Agnew resigned after being charged with cheating on his taxes and taking payments in return for political favors.**

**Nixon choose Gerald R. Ford to replace Agnew.**

**Ford was the Republican leader in the House of Representatives.**

**When Nixon resigned, Ford became president.**

**He was the first person ever to become president without having been elected either president or vice-president.**







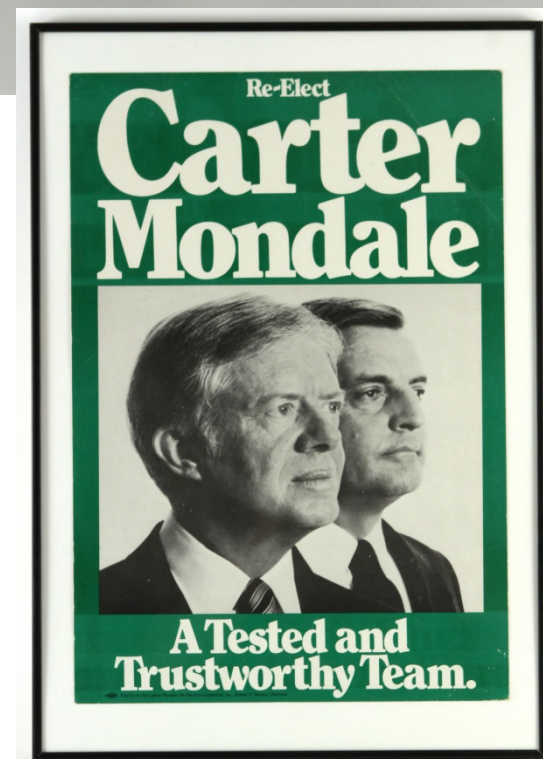
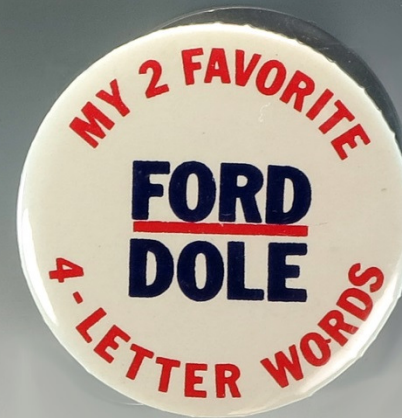
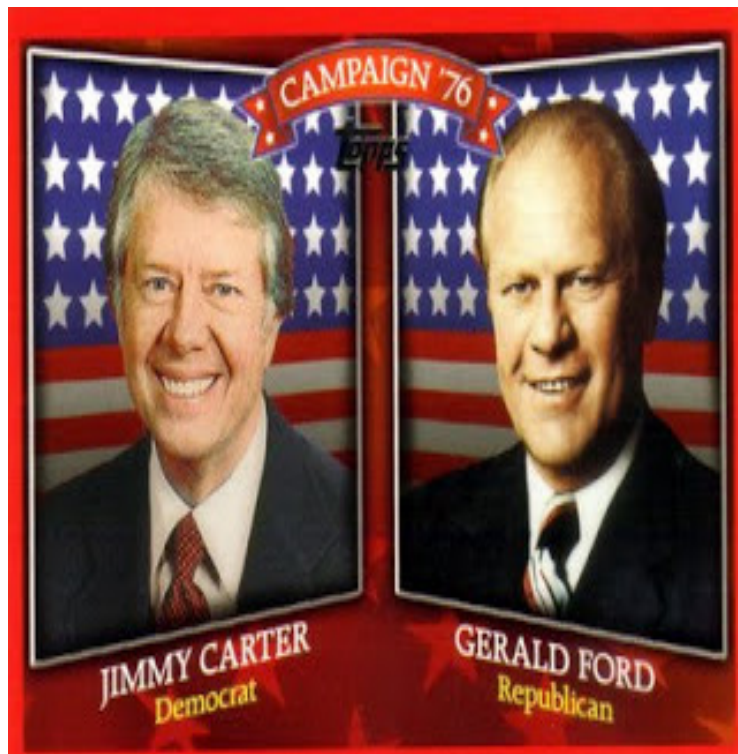
# ► Order of Succession

- The Presidential Succession Act of 1947
  - Sets the order of succession after the Vice President
- The presiding officers of Congress, then
- Heads of the cabinet departments
  - In the order they were created

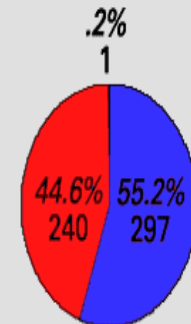
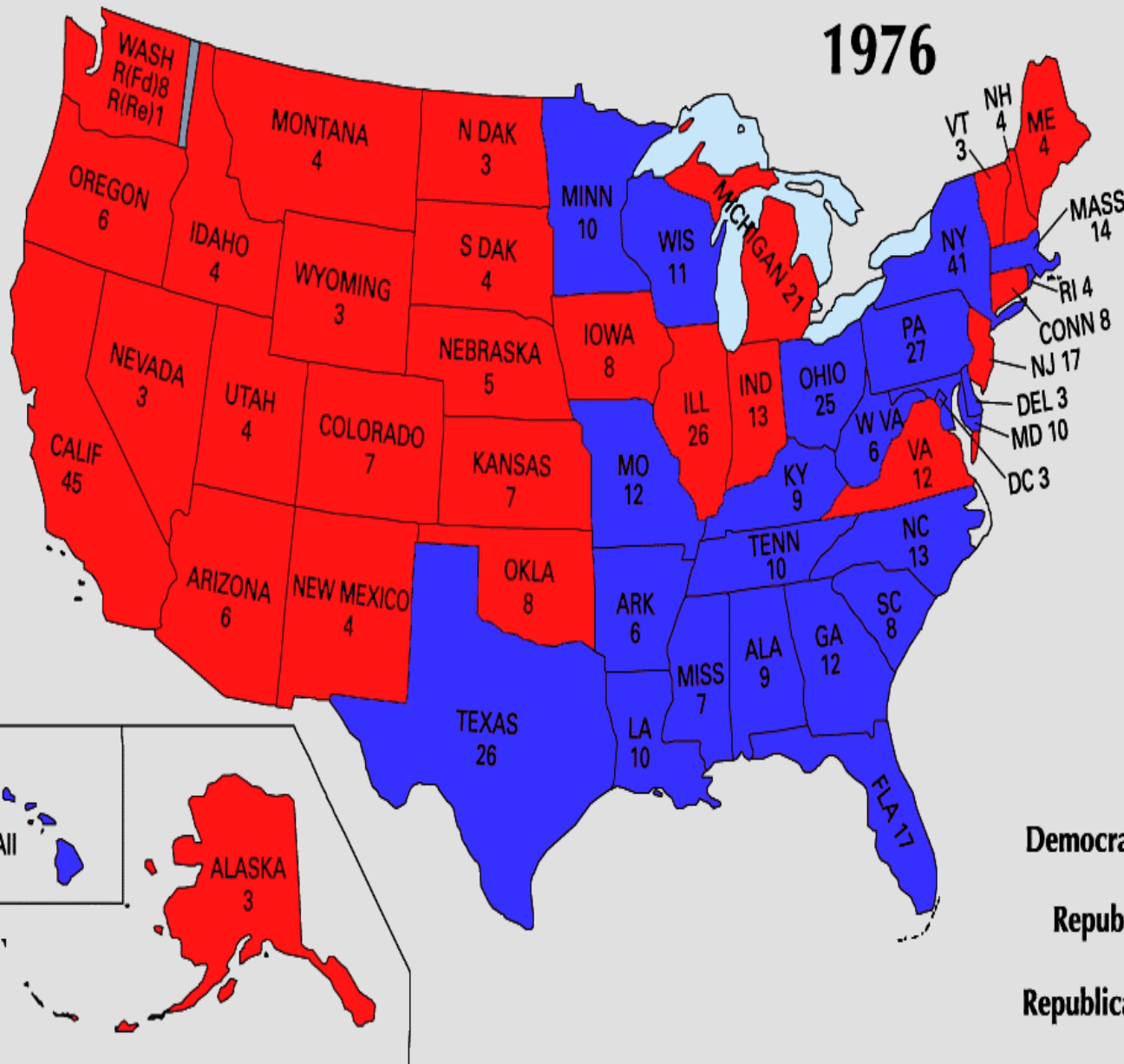
## The List of Succession

1. Vice President
2. Speaker of the House
3. President pro tempore of the Senate
4. Secretary of State
5. Secretary of the Treasury
6. Secretary of Defense
7. Attorney General
8. Secretary of the Interior
9. Secretary of Agriculture
10. Secretary of Commerce
11. Secretary of Labor
12. Secretary of Health and Human Services
13. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
14. Secretary of Transportation
15. Secretary of Energy
16. Secretary of Education
17. Secretary of Veterans Affairs
18. Secretary of Homeland Security

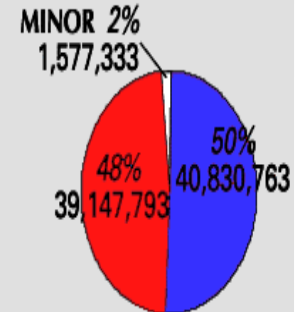
## *Ford vs. Carter, 1976*



# 1976



**ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL: 538**



**POPULAR VOTE TOTAL: 81,555,889**

Democratic (Carter)



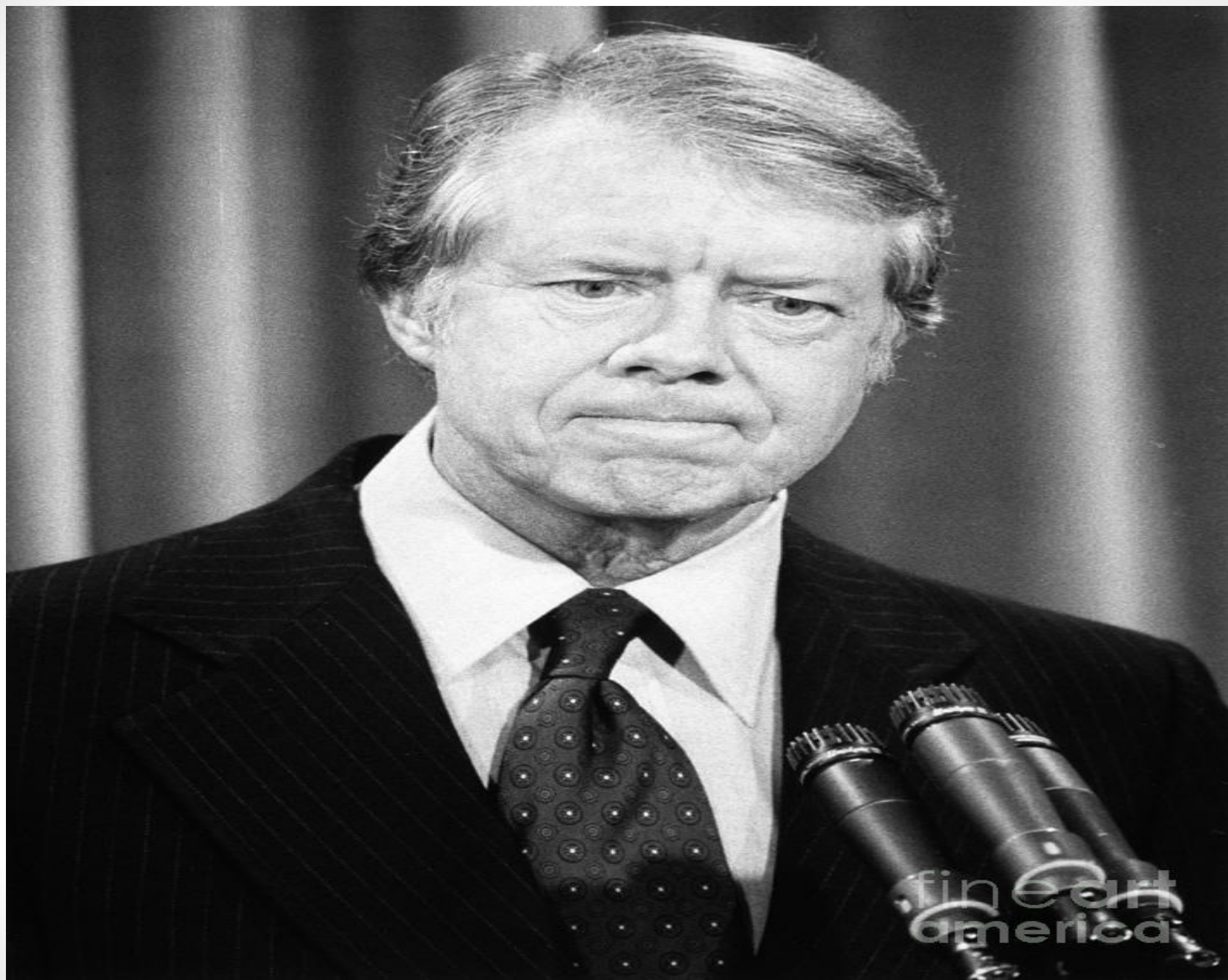
Republican (Ford)



Republican (Reagan)







# Jimmy Carter

- James Earl "Jimmy" Carter Jr. (born October 1, 1924) is an American politician and author who served as the 39th President of the United States from 1977 to 1981. In 2002, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work with the Carter Center.
- Carter, a Democrat raised in rural Georgia, was a peanut farmer who served two terms as a Georgia State Senator, from 1963 to 1967, and one as the Governor of Georgia, from 1971 to 1975. He was elected President in 1976, defeating incumbent President Gerald Ford in a relatively close election; the Electoral College margin of 57 votes was the closest at that time since 1916.
- On his second day in office, Carter pardoned all evaders of the Vietnam War drafts. During Carter's term as President, two new cabinet-level departments, the Department of Energy and the Department of Education were established. He established a national energy policy that included conservation, price control, and new technology. In foreign affairs, Carter pursued the Camp David Accords, the Panama Canal Treaties, the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II), and the return of the Panama Canal Zone to Panama. On the economic front he confronted persistent "stagflation", a combination of high inflation, high unemployment and slow growth. The end of his presidential tenure was marked by the 1979–1981 Iran hostage crisis, the 1979 energy crisis, the Three Mile Island nuclear accident, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In response to the Soviet move he ended détente, escalated the Cold War, and led the international boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. By 1980, Carter's popularity had eroded such that, running for re-election that year, he was challenged by Senator Ted Kennedy in the Democratic Party's primaries for the presidential nomination, marking the most recent Democratic primary in which an incumbent faced serious opposition. Carter won the 1980 primary with 51.13% of the vote (all incumbent candidates since have won at least 72.8% of their party's primary votes) but lost the general election in an electoral landslide to Republican nominee Ronald Reagan, who won 44 of 50 states.

# Carter's "Malaise" Speech, July 1979

Thirty years ago, on July 15, 1979, President Jimmy Carter went on national television and gave a shocking speech. He looked straight at the American people and said: "Too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns." He decried a "growing disrespect for government" and "fragmentation and self-interest" that prevented Americans from tackling the energy crisis they confronted – the result of their over-reliance upon fossil fuels. Americans, he warned, now faced a "crisis of confidence." Why does the speech matter today and warrant revisiting? Well first off, and strange as it might sound, the speech was a glowing success for the president. Many would think that being tough on the American people would have resulted in bad stuff for the president. But that's not the case. Carter's poll numbers shot up 11% in the wake of the speech, something that rarely happened during his presidency. Americans wrote him letters in copious amounts, almost all of them positive. Many pledged that they would join him in fighting the energy crisis facing America (for instance, walking or biking to work). And somehow, just somehow, the American people appeared fine with hearing that the country – *meaning: themselves* – had grown selfish, corrupt, and soft. They wanted a leader who confronted truths about the country's state of being and who tried to confront the energy crisis as a deeper moral and civic crisis.

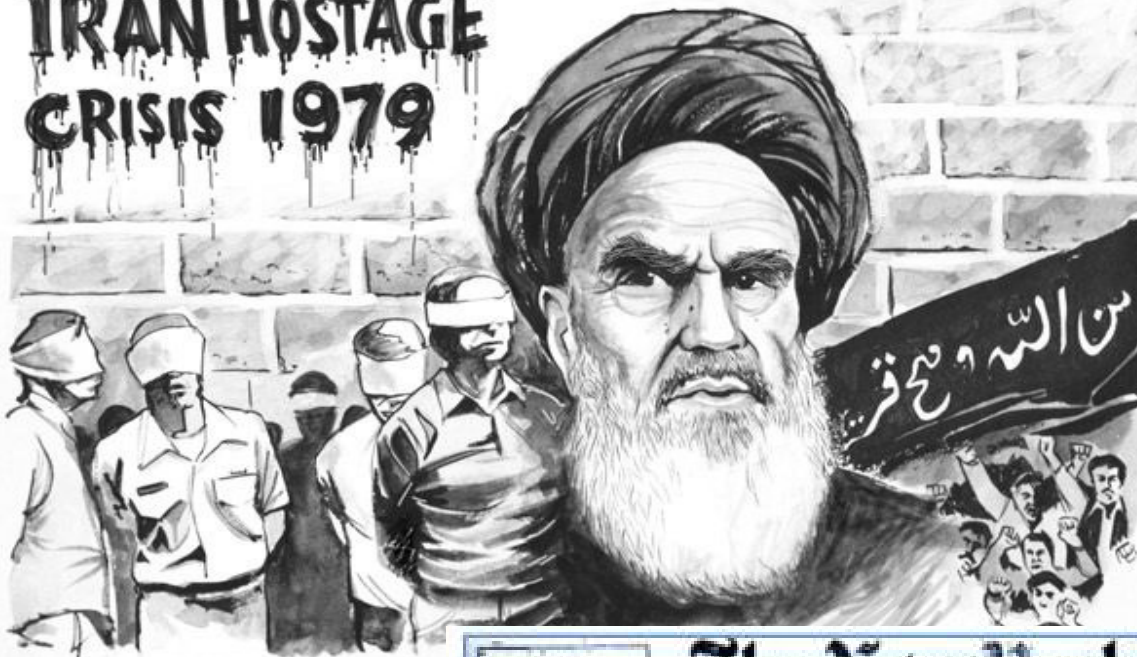
What's this say about America and our political culture today, now that we look back after thirty years?

To state the obvious: That Americans are happy to scrutinize their value system and think critically about the limits of individualism and consumerism. That a presidential leader should ask questions of and place demands on citizens. And thinking about *today*: That a call to conserve, if grounded in a language of the common good, might help us gird ourselves for the coming battles ahead over climate change. One of the most provocative lines in Carter's speech was: "Every act of energy conservation... is more than just common sense – I tell you it is an act of patriotism."

Carter used the speech to articulate a style of leadership that was realist in spirit, charged with the warnings of his favorite theologian Reinhold Niebuhr about "limits" and "humility." He shared responsibility with his fellow citizens by confessing his own faults (he opened the speech with a long list of complaints lodged at him by citizens he had met with over the last few days). His own track record, he admitted, was of "mixed success." He recognized the wounds left over from Watergate, Vietnam, and the assassinations of the sixties. At one point, even though he didn't have to, he said, "This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning." And he did all of this in expectation of the result – Americans sharing their doubts about individualism and self-centeredness with him and their desire for a leader who spoke the truth about the country's foibles.



# IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS 1979



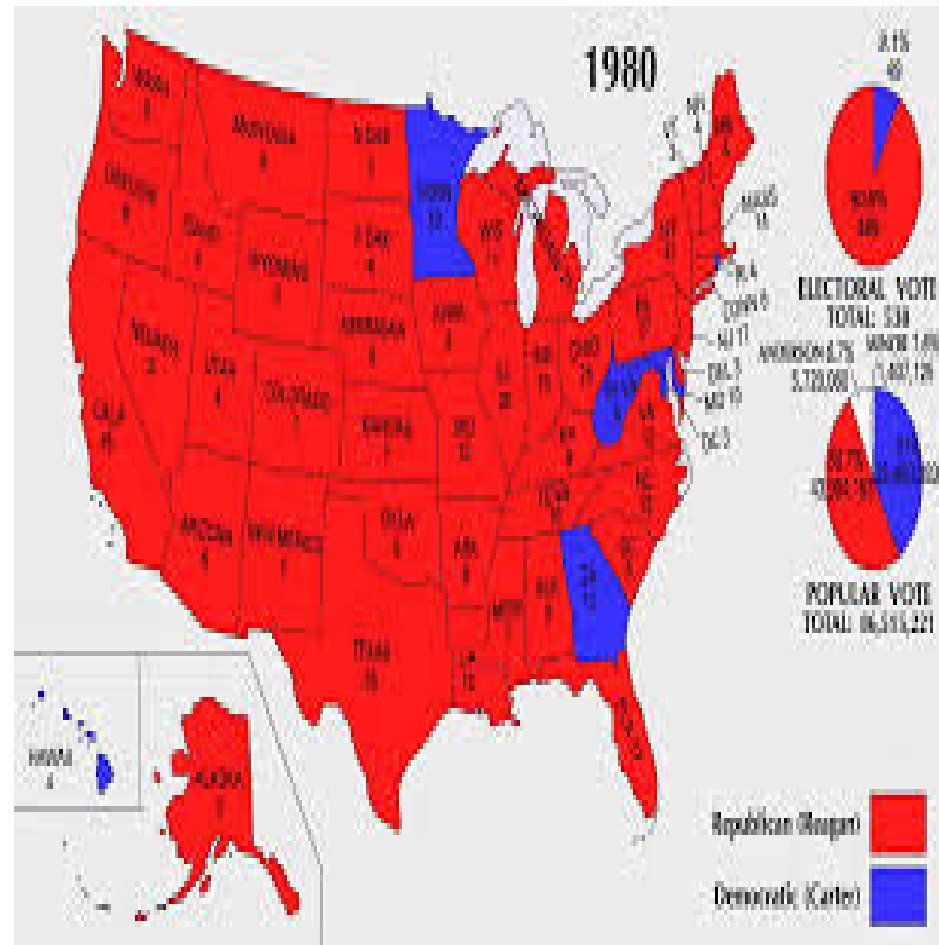
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 Captives Taken to Algiers and Then Germany — Final Part Complex

**FREED SET ON WINGS**  
 Californian Stressor: Need to Restrict Government and Boost Economy

# *Carter vs Reagan, 1980*



# ***2016 Electoral Realignment***

## ***A Possible Scenario***

- ***The Republican Party 2016***

- Gone: conservative publications such as *National Review*, *the Weekly Standard*, *Commentary*
- Gone: regularly conservative newspapers such as *The Arizona Republic*,
- Gone: conservative pundits such as George Will, Michael Gerson, Bret Stephens, David Brooks, Bill Kristol
- Gone: major financial supporters and numerous PACs and super PACs
- Gone: many former high-ranking State, Defense and Intelligence Community Republicans
- Gone many rank-and-file Republicans
- Gone: endorsements from two recent Republican presidents and most recent Republican presidential nominee
- Questionable: the Wall Street financial community
- Questionable: suburban white women
- Remaining: Republican leadership in the House and Senate; rank-and-file Republicans and Tea Party Republicans

- ***Possible Scenario***

- **The Republican Party splits into two parties:**
  - (1) the traditional Republican party of loyalists and Tea Party Republicans
  - (2) an American Conservative Party (ACP), encompassing all of those groups alienated by the Trump episode, who no longer wish to return to the Republican Party because they claim the Party was stolen from them
  - (3) the ACP claims the “mantle of Lincoln-Reagan” and emerges as the majority party opposing the Democrats in the election of 2020
  - (4) the ACP’s main concern is party leadership at the national level
  - (5) the Republican Party becomes a minority party in 2020 and ceases as a factor in American politics by 2024

# ***2016 Electoral Realignment***

## ***A Possible Scenario (cont.)***

- All or part of the above scenario plays out
- As a response, Sanders' supporters in the Democratic party call for the party to move further to the left—towards a society resembling the social democracies of Sweden and Denmark
- The Democrats are now split:
  - Centrists
  - Social Democrats
- ***American politics becomes decidedly more ideological—resembling that of Europe***
- ***How this is accommodated in a presidential system—vice a parliamentary system—creates novel coalitions and patterns of governing***

# ***The Two Roads of Politics***

## ***The Politics of Hope***

It clearly recognizes that society has problems, but they can be dealt with and may even be opportunities for positive change

A key is that there be some sense of solidarity and a willingness to work together

Fear is the great disabler—it paralyzes the most constructive energies a society may have

We have the ability to shape our future in ways that continue social and economic progress

There is much to be proud of in our society's accomplishments and these need to be noted

The person that would lead us is the one most capable of marshalling the positive and creative energies of our nation

That person is also focused on healing the divisions in our society, rather than exploiting them for short term gain

## ***The Politics of Fear***

Appeals to the emotions, particularly fear, and often the worst instincts that men may have

Paints a bleak position of our current society and sees its problems as intractable—in short, the system is corrupted beyond repair—"bust it up"

It looks to the past--previous eras were much better and some people/ forces in our society have undermined these conditions—they must be punished

The situation calls for strength and a would-be leader that personifies this strength

*Who will fill this void? Is it not the person or party that makes your feel afraid?*

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