

# Testing the Limits



**George Armistead Smathers  
and Cold War America**

BRIAN LEWIS CRISPELL

# Testing The Limits George Armistead Smathers And Cold War America

**James C. Clark**



## **Testing The Limits George Armistead Smathers And Cold War America:**

**Testing the Limits** Brian Lewis Crispell, 1999 A Floridian who served as a U S Senator from 1950 to 1968 George Armistead Smathers is generally regarded as a playboy politician who wasted his opportunities to achieve legal and political brilliance abandoning his constituency to represent business industry and other wealthy interests in Florida This detailed chronicle of Smathers s life and career reveals that his reputation was sensationalized and largely undeserved Brian Lewis Crispell incorporates lively anecdotes and personal descriptions in addition to details culled from research in newspapers interviews and the archives of Kennedy Johnson Truman and Smathers himself to bring the largely unstudied senator to life The work traces Smathers s political path from the forming of his statewide collection of loyal men a gathering of supporters from the University of Florida who formed his political base through his election to the House his successful 1950 Senate campaign against Claude Pepper and his Senatorial career during the beginning of the civil rights movement and the early Cold War Crispell highlights the senator s moderate civil rights record role in the 1960 presidential election and his internationalist position on aid to Latin America This thoroughly researched account presents Smathers as the quintessential Cold Warrior a man who significantly influenced his political world **Cold War in South Florida** Steve Hach, 2004

**Red Pepper and Gorgeous George** James C. Clark, 2011-10-09 For nearly a century in Florida and throughout the South election to the United States Senate virtually guaranteed a lifetime position especially if you were a Democrat Certainly no Republican candidate stood a chance in the general election and it was nearly unthinkable to imagine a serious challenger emerging in the primary Claude Red Pepper first ran for the U S Senate in 1934 Though unsuccessful despite allegations of voter fraud he won a special election two years later after both senators from Florida died in office Reelected to full terms in 1938 and 1944 as a vigorous supporter of the New Deal he had every reason to suspect the seat was his indefinitely or at least until he decided it was time to seek higher office Pepper saw himself as the national heir to Roosevelt s foreign policy he encouraged cooperation with the Soviet Union our World War II ally and actively worked to defeat Truman s presidential nomination in 1948 After nearly fourteen years in office Pepper had earned the enmity of the president alienated most of his colleagues in the senate and aligned himself with the ultra left wing politics of Henry Wallace Still in the entire history of the state no sitting Florida Senator had ever been voted out of office However the political world was changing and it was the right leaning Gorgeous George Smathers not Pepper who recognized and took advantage of this fact Smathers fought a vicious bare knuckled campaign employing ferocious and divisive attacks against Pepper He helped make liberal anathema to aspiring southern politics and was the first of a new breed of conservative politicians though not yet Republican to rise to power Eventually the era would be named for a junior senator from Wisconsin but it was Smathers who first successfully employed the strategies of McCarthyism to unseat an incumbent He was so successful in fact that before the general election Smathers had to reassure President Truman and other potential supporters that his loyalties did in fact lie

with the Democratic Party His resounding victory inspired others including Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater to adopt similar tactics in their senatorial campaigns It also helped set the stage for the complete reversal of the political power structure that had ruled the South since the end of Reconstruction Red Pepper and Gorgeous George is a fascinating look at the campaign that changed everything in Florida and the South It is also a shocking sobering reminder that despite introducing the phrase hanging chad to the national lexicon the 2000 presidential election was merely the second most important national election to take place in the state

**The Liberal State on Trial** Jonathan Bell, 2004-11-10 What was left in both senses of the word of liberalism after the death of Franklin Roosevelt This question has aroused considerable historical debate because it raises the question of why the United States during the Truman years developed a much less state centered orthodoxy than other comparable powerful liberal states What were the consequences of this fundamental choice that would shape the character and direction of American society during the second half of the twentieth century This book explores the role of the Cold War in shifting the center of gravity in American politics sharply to the right in the years immediately following World War II Jonathan Bell demonstrates that there was far more active and vibrant debate about the potential for liberal ideas before they become submerged in Cold War anti state rhetoric than has generally been recognized Using case studies from Senate and House races from 1946 to 1952 Bell shows how the anti statist imagery that defined the Cold War in political debate became the key weapon among right wing and business interest groups and their political representatives with which to discredit political figures who wanted to expand political liberalism beyond existing New Deal measures He depicts how this process implicitly endorsed socioeconomic inequality

*The American South and the Vietnam War* Joseph A. Fry, 2015-06-19 To fully comprehend the Vietnam War it is essential to understand the central role that southerners played in the nation s commitment to the war in the conflict s duration and in the fighting itself President Lyndon B Johnson of Texas and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara

Dark Quadrant Jonathan Marshall, 2021-04-09 From Truman to Trump the deep corruption of our political leaders unveiled Many critiques of the Trump era contrast it with the latter half of the twentieth century when the United States seemed governed more by statesmen than by special interests Without denying the extraordinary vigor of President Trump s assault on traditional ethical and legal norms Jonathan Marshall challenges the myth of a golden age of American democracy Drawing on a host of original archival sources he tells a shocking story of how well protected criminals systematically organized the corruption of American national politics after World War II Marshall begins by tracing the extraordinary scandals of President Truman whose political career was launched by the murderous Pendergast machine in Missouri He goes on to highlight the role of organized crime in the rise of McCarthyism during the Cold War the near derailment of Vice President Johnson s political career by two mob related scandals and Nixon s career long association with underworld figures The book culminates with a discussion of Donald Trump s unique history of relations with the traditional American Mafia and newer transnational gangs like the Russian mafiya and how the latter led to

his historic impeachment by the House of Representatives      *Young Castro* Jonathan M. Hansen, 2019-06-18 An intimate revisionist portrait of the early years of Fidel Castro showing how an unlikely young Cuban led his country in revolution and transfixed the world This book will change how you think about Fidel Castro Until now biographers have treated Castro's life like prosecutors scouring his past for evidence to convict a person they don't like or don't understand This can make for bad history and unsatisfying biography *Young Castro* challenges readers to put aside the caricature of a bearded cigar munching anti American hot head to discover how Castro became the dictator who acted as a thorn in the side of US presidents for nearly half a century These pages show Fidel Castro getting his toughness from a father who survived Spain's nasty class system and colonial wars to become one of the most successful independent plantation owners in Cuba They show a boy running around that plantation more comfortable playing with the children of his father's laborers than his tony classmates at elite boarding schools in Santiago de Cuba and Havana They show a young man who writes flowery love letters from prison and contemplates the meaning of life a gregarious soul attentive to the needs of strangers but often indifferent to the needs of his own family These pages show a liberal democrat who admires FDR's New Deal policies and is skeptical of communism but is also hostile to American imperialism They show an audacious militant who stages a reckless attack on a military barracks but is canny about building an army of resisters In short *Young Castro* reveals a complex man The first American historian in a generation to gain access to the Castro archives in Havana Jonathan Hansen was able to secure cooperation from Castro's family and closest confidants gaining access to hundreds of never before seen letters and to interviews with people he was the first to ask for their impressions of the man The result is a nuanced and penetrating portrait of a figure who was determined to be a leader a man at once brilliant arrogant bold vulnerable and all too human A man who having grown up on an island that felt like a colonial cage was compelled to lead his country to independence

**Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America** Loren Collingwood, 2020-01-08 As the voting public continues to diversify across the United States political candidates and particularly white candidates increasingly recognize the importance of making appeals to voters who do not look like themselves As history has shown this has been accomplished with varying degrees of success During the 2016 election for example both Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders campaigned vociferously among Latino voters in Nevada's early primary where nineteen percent of the Democratic caucus consisted of Latinos Clinton released a campaign message to these voters stating that she was just like their abuela or grandmother The message widely panned came across as insincere and Clinton who otherwise performed well among Latinos nationally lost by a wide margin to Sanders On the other hand in 2013 Bill de Blasio campaigning for mayor of New York City appeared with his black son in a commercial aimed against stop and frisk policies His appeal came across as authentic and he received a high level of support among black voters In *Campaigning in a Racially Diversifying America* Loren Collingwood develops a theory of Cross Racial Electoral Mobilization CRM to explain why when and how candidates of one race or ethnicity act to

mobilize voters of another race or ethnicity Specifically Collingwood examines how and when white candidates mobilize Latino voters and why some candidates are more successful than others He argues that candidates strategize by weighing the potential costs and benefits of conducting CRM based on the size of the minority electorate the benefit and the overall level of white racial hostility the cost Extensive cross racial mobilization is most likely to occur when elections are competitive institutional barriers to the vote are low candidates have previously developed a welcoming racial reputation with target voters whites attitudes are racially liberal and the Latino electorate is large and growing Moreover candidates who can demonstrate cultural competence and do so repeatedly are much more likely to be successful at making such appeals The book looks at CRM trends and case studies over the past seventy years to gauge how politics in various places have changed as the American electorate has diversified It draws on the author's research in over thirty archives in nine states candidate and survey data and experimental approaches to assess causality in voter responses to candidate behavior *Dixie Looks Abroad* Joseph A. Fry, 2002-01-01 As America's most self-conscious section the South has exercised an important and often decisive influence on U.S. foreign relations but the extent of this influence has been largely unexplored by historians In this groundbreaking study Joseph A. Fry provides a comprehensive overview of the South's role in U.S. international involvement from 1789 to 1973 revealing the enormous impact of southern pressure on broader national interests In a gracefully written and engaging narrative Fry chronicles the South's numerous foreign policy opinions over time including its opposition to closer relations with Great Britain and war with France in the 1790s its leadership in the War of 1812 its flawed diplomatic attempts during the years of the Confederacy and its fifty year protest against the increasingly assertive Republican dominated political agenda following the Civil War With the election of Woodrow Wilson Fry shows the South reversed its tendency toward isolationism and consistently supported Wilson's activist foreign policies The South sustained this interventionist mind set into the 1970s ardently supporting cold war containment policy Fry is careful to note that southerners seldom presented a completely united front on foreign affairs Yet even while disagreeing among themselves he argues they consistently viewed the world through a distinctly southern lens and acted on a variety of perceived common interests including a dedication to honor and patriotism a determination to protect slavery a proclivity for personal violence a commitment to partisan politics a concern for economics and a preoccupation with race Though the South's foreign policy opinions varied widely through the years Fry's extraordinary work affirms that Dixie has always held considerable clout on the world stage **Finding Florida** T. D. Allman, 2013-03-05 A National Book Award Nominee and a Kirkus Reviews Best Nonfiction Book of the Year Over the centuries Florida has been many things an unconquered realm protected by geography a wilderness that ruined Spanish conquistadors God's waiting room and a place to start over Depopulated after the extermination of its original native population today it's home to nineteen million The site of vicious racial violence including massacres slavery and the roll back of Reconstruction Florida is now one of our most diverse states a dynamic multicultural

place with an essential role in twenty first century America In *Finding Florida* T D Allman reclaims the remarkable history of Florida from the state s mythologizers apologists and boosters Allman traces the discovery exploration and settlement of Florida its transformation from a swamp to paradise Palm Beach Key West Miami Tampa and Orlando boomed fortunes were won and lost land was stolen and flipped and millions arrived The product of a decade of research and writing *Finding Florida* is the first modern comprehensive history of this fascinating place A take no prisoners account Extremely timely and relevant The New York Times Book Review The Seminole Wars the Civil War various massacres Reconstruction a second Reconstruction Disney World the Marielitos voter suppression it s all here and even Carl Hiaasen couldn t make it up Booklist starred review

**Covert City** Vince Houghton, Eric Driggs, 2024-04-23 Secret operations corruption crime and a city teeming with spies why Miami was as crucial to winning the Cold War as Washington DC or Moscow The Cuban Missile Crisis was perhaps the most dramatic and dangerous period of the Cold War What s less well known is that the city of Miami mere miles away was a pivotal though less well known part of Cold War history With its population of Communist exiles from Cuba its strategic value for military operations and its lax business laws Miami was an ideal environment for espionage *Covert City* tells the history of how the entire city of Miami was constructed in the image of the US Cuba rivalry From the Bay of Pigs invasion to the death of Fidel Castro the book shows how Miami is a hub for money and cocaine but also secrets and ideologies Cuban exiles built criminal and political organizations in the city leading Washington to set up a CIA station there codenamed JMWAVE It monitored gang activities plotted secret operations against Castro and became a base for surveilling Latin American neighbors The money and infrastructure built for the CIA was integral to the development of Miami *Covert City* is a sweeping and entertaining history full of stunning experimental operations and colorful characters a story of a place like no other

*The ^AColumnist* Donald A. Ritchie, 2021-05-01 Long before Wikileaks and social media the journalist Drew Pearson exposed to public view information that public officials tried not to reveal A self professed keyhole peeper Pearson devoted himself to determining what politicians were doing behind closed doors From 1932 to 1969 his daily Washington Merry Go Round column and weekly radio and TV commentary broke secrets revealed classified information and passed along rumors based on sources high and low in the federal government Intelligence agents searched fruitlessly for his sources yet rarely learned them Drawing on Pearson s extensive correspondence diaries and oral histories *The Columnist* reveals the mystery behind Pearson s leaks and the accuracy of his most controversial revelations

*Rabble Rousers* Clive Webb, 2011-08-15 The decade following the 1954 Brown v Board of Education decision saw white southerners mobilize in massive resistance to racial integration Most segregationists conceded that ultimately they could only postpone the demise of Jim Crow Some militant whites however believed it possible to win the civil rights struggle Histories of the black freedom struggle when they mention these racist zealots at all confine them to the margin of the story These extremist whites are caricatured as ineffectual members of the lunatic fringe Civil rights activists however saw them for what they really were

calculating dangerous opponents prepared to use terrorism in their stand against reform To dismiss white militants is to underestimate the challenge they posed to the movement and in turn the magnitude of civil rights activists accomplishments The extremists helped turn massive resistance into a powerful political phenomenon While white southern elites struggled to mobilize mass opposition to racial reform the militants led entire communities in revolt Rabble Rousers turns traditional top down models of massive resistance on their head by telling the story of five far right activists Bryant Bowles John Kasper Rear Admiral John Crommelin Major General Edwin Walker and J B Stoner who led grassroots rebellions It casts new light on such contentious issues as the role of white churches in defending segregation the influence of anti-Semitism in southern racial politics and the divisive impact of class on white unity The flame of the far right burned brilliantly but briefly In the final analysis violent extremism weakened the cause of white southerners Tactical and ideological tensions among massive resisters as well as the strength and unity of civil rights activists accelerated the destruction of Jim Crow Millard Fillmore

Caldwell Gary R. Mormino, 2020-08-24 Once considered one of the greatest Floridians of his generation Millard Fillmore Caldwell is known today for his inability to adjust to the racial progress of the modern world Leading Florida historian Gary Mormino tackles the difficult question of how to remember yesterday's heroes who are now known to have had serious flaws

Bobby Kennedy Larry Tye, 2017-05-09 A multilayered inspiring portrait of RFK the most in depth look at an extraordinary figure whose transformational story shaped America Joe Scarborough The Washington Post NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER Soon to be a Hulu original series starring Chris Pine Larry Tye appears on CNN's American Dynasties The Kennedys We are in Larry Tye's debt for bringing back to life the young presidential candidate who almost half a century ago instilled hope for the future in angry fearful Americans David Nasaw The New York Times Book Review Bare knuckle operative cynical White House insider romantic visionary Robert F Kennedy was all of these things at one time or another and each of these aspects of his personality emerges in the pages of this powerful and perceptive biography History remembers RFK as a racial healer a tribune for the poor and the last progressive knight of a bygone era of American politics But Kennedy's enshrinement in the liberal pantheon was actually the final stage of a journey that began with his service as counsel to the red baiting senator Joseph McCarthy In Bobby Kennedy Larry Tye peels away layers of myth and misconception to capture the full arc of his subject's life Tye draws on unpublished memoirs unreleased government files and fifty eight boxes of papers that had been under lock and key for forty years He conducted hundreds of interviews with RFK intimates many of whom have never spoken publicly including Bobby's widow Ethel and his sister Jean Tye's determination to sift through the tangle of often contradictory opinions means that Bobby Kennedy will stand as the definitive biography about the most complex and controversial member of the Kennedy family Praise for Bobby Kennedy A compelling story of how idealism can be cultivated and liberalism learned Tye does an exemplary job of capturing not just the chronology of Bobby's life but also the sense of him as a person Los Angeles Review of Books Captures RFK's rise and fall with straightforward prose bolstered by

impressive research USA Today Tye has a keen gift for narrative storytelling and an ability to depict his subject with almost novelistic emotional detail Michiko Kakutani The New York Times Nuanced and thorough RFK's vision echoes through the decades The Economist     **The Most Exclusive Club** Lewis L Gould, 2009-04-20 The Senate was originally conceived by the Founding Fathers as an anti democratic counterweight to the more volatile House of Representatives but in the twentieth century it has often acted as an impediment to needed reforms A hundred years ago senators were still chosen by state legislatures rather than by direct elections Now in the wake of the 2004 elections and the consolidation of Republican control the Senate is likely to become a crucible of power shifts that will have enormous impact on American politics in the twenty first century In The Most Exclusive Club acclaimed political historian Lewis Gould puts the debates about the Senate's future into the context of its history from the Progressive Era to the war in Iraq From charges of corruption to the occasional attempt at reform Gould highlights the major players issues and debates including the League of Nations the McCarthy hearings and the Iran Contra affair that have shaped the institution Beyond the usual outsized figures such as Lyndon Johnson Strom Thurmond and Barry Goldwater Gould also tells the story of the lesser known Senate leaders who have played a vital role in America's upper house Filled with colorful anecdotes this is a long awaited history of one of the most powerful political bodies in the world written by a master Gould's sweeping narrative combines deft storytelling with a fresh look at the crucible of contemporary political debate and decision making     **The Eisenhower Years** Michael S. Mayer, 2009 The 34th U S president to hold office Dwight D Eisenhower won America over with his irresistible I like Ike slogan Bringing to the presidency his prestige as a commanding general during World War II he worked incessantly during his two terms to ease the tensions of the cold war Pursuing the moderate policies of Modern Republicanism he left a legacy of a stronger and more powerful nation From his crucial role in support of Brown v Board of Education to the National Defense Education Act The Eisenhower Years provides a well balanced study of these politically charged years Biographical entries on key figures of the Eisenhower era such as Allen W Dulles Joseph R McCarthy and Rosa Parks combine with speeches such as the Military Industrial Complex speech the Open Skies proposal the disturbance at Little Rock address Eisenhower Doctrine and his speech after the Soviet launch of Sputnik to give an in depth look at the executive actions of this administration     The White House Looks South William E. Leuchtenburg, 2005-10-01 Perhaps not southerners in the usual sense Franklin D Roosevelt Harry S Truman and Lyndon B Johnson each demonstrated a political style and philosophy that helped them influence the South and unite the country in ways that few other presidents have Combining vivid biography and political insight William E Leuchtenburg offers an engaging account of relations between these three presidents and the South while also tracing how the region came to embrace a national perspective without losing its distinctive sense of place According to Leuchtenburg each man had one foot below the Mason Dixon Line one foot above Roosevelt a New Yorker spent much of the last twenty five years of his life in Warm Springs Georgia where he built a Little White House Truman a Missourian grew up

in a pro Confederate town but one that also looked West because of its history as the entrep t for the Oregon Trail Johnson who hailed from the former Confederate state of Texas was a westerner as much as a southerner Their intimate associations with the South gave these three presidents an empathy toward and acceptance in the region In urging southerners to jettison outworn folkways Roosevelt could speak as a neighbor and adopted son Truman as a borderstater who had been taught to revere the Lost Cause and Johnson as a native who had been scorned by Yankees Leuchtenburg explores in fascinating detail how their unique attachment to place helped them to adopt shifting identities which proved useful in healing rifts between North and South in altering behavior in regard to race and in fostering southern economic growth The White House Looks South is the monumental work of a master historian At a time when race class and gender dominate historical writing Leuchtenburg argues that place is no less significant In a period when America is said to be homogenized he shows that sectional distinctions persist And in an era when political history is devalued he demonstrates that government can profoundly affect people s lives and that presidents can be change makers

*From Jim Crow to Civil Rights* Michael J. Klarman, 2004-02-05 A monumental investigation of the Supreme Court s rulings on race From Jim Crow To Civil Rights spells out in compelling detail the political and social context within which the Supreme Court Justices operate and the consequences of their decisions for American race relations In a highly provocative interpretation of the decision s connection to the civil rights movement Klarman argues that Brown was more important for mobilizing southern white opposition to racial change than for encouraging direct action protest Brown unquestioningly had a significant impact it brought race issues to public attention and it mobilized supporters of the ruling It also however energized the opposition In this authoritative account of constitutional law concerning race Michael Klarman details in the richest and most thorough discussion to date how and whether Supreme Court decisions do in fact matter

**Land of Sunshine, State of Dreams** Gary R Mormino, 2008-09-01 Florida is a story of astonishing growth a state swelling from 500 000 residents at the outset of the 20th century to some 16 million at the end As recently as mid century on the eve of Pearl Harbor Florida was the smallest state in the South At the dawn of the millennium it is the fourth largest in the country a megastate that was among those introducing new words into the American vernacular space coast climate control growth management retirement community theme park edge cities shopping mall boomburbs beach renourishment Interstate and Internet Land of Sunshine State of Dreams attempts to understand the firestorm of change that erupted into modern Florida by examining the great social cultural and economic forces driving its transformation Gary Mormino ranges far and wide across the landscape and boundaries of a place that is at once America s southernmost state and the northernmost outpost of the Caribbean From the capital Tallahassee a day s walk from the Georgia border to Miami a city distant but tantalizingly close to Cuba and Haiti Mormino traces the themes of Florida s transformation the echoes of old Dixie and a vanishing Florida land booms and tourist empires revolutions in agriculture technology and demographics the seductions of the beach and the dynamics of a

graying population and the enduring but changing meanings of a dreamstate Beneath the iconography of popular culture is revealed a complex and complicated social framework that reflects a dizzying passage from New Spain to Old South New South to Sunbelt

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