I. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

- Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ):
  - Became president upon JFK's assassination
  - Sent to Congress in 1937 at age 29
  - FDR was his political "Daddy," Johnson claimed
    - LBJ strongly supported New Deal measures
    - When he lost a bid for Senate (1941), LBJ learned that liberal politics did not win elections in Texas
    - Won a Senate seat in 1948 by shifting his policies to right and by a questionable 87-vote margin—hence nickname "Landside Lyndon"

I. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency (cont.)

- In Senate, Johnson developed into master wheeler-dealer:
  - Became Democratic majority leader in 1954
    - Used what was called the "Johnson treatment"—intimidating display of backslapping, flesh-pressing, and arm-twisting that overbore friends and foes alike
    - His ego and vanity were legendary
    - As president, he shredded conservative coloration of his Senate years to reveal latent liberal underneath
I. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency (cont.)

- Congress passed Civil Rights Act of 1964:
  - Banned racial discrimination in most private facilities open to public
    - Including theaters, hospitals, restaurants
  - Strengthened federal government’s power to end segregation in schools and public places
  - Title VII barred employers from discriminating on race or national origin in hiring
  - Empowered Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce law

I. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency (cont.)

- Title VII passed with gender clause intact
  - Proved to be powerful instrument of federally-enforced gender equality
  - Johnson (1965) issued executive order requiring all federal contractors to take affirmative action against discrimination
  - Johnson also pushed through Congress:
    - Kennedy’s stalled tax bill
    - Proposals for billion-dollar “War on Poverty”

I. The LBJ Brand on the Presidency (cont.)

- Concerns about poverty raised by Michael Harrington’s The Other America (1962):
  - Revealed that 20% of population, and over 40% of black population, suffered poverty
- War on Poverty part of LBJ’s Great Society:
  - Sweeping New Deal-style domestic reforms
    - Targeted remaining pockets of poverty
    - Major new investments in education and arts
III. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

- **Election of 1964:**
  - Johnson’s nomination a foregone conclusion
    - Chosen by acclamation in Atlantic City
    - Democrats stood foursquare on most liberal platform since Truman’s Fair Deal days
  - Republicans
    - Met in San Francisco, nominated Senator Barry Goldwater, a rock-ribbed conservative
    - Stage set for historic clash of political principles

III. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964 (cont.)

- Goldwater’s forces trounced moderate “eastern establishment”
- Goldwater attacked:
  - Federal income tax, social security system, TVA
  - Civil rights legislation, nuclear test-ban treaty
  - Most loudly, the Great Society
- His nomination reflected growing conservative movement
  - Gathered strength in mushrooming middle-class suburbs of Sunbelt
  - Led by William F. Buckley and Young Americans for Freedom
  - Well-received by white southerners angry at Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Democrats’ attack on Goldwater:
  - Exploited image of Goldwater as trigger-happy cowboy
II. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964 (cont.)

- Johnson’s image as resolute statesman
  - Seized upon Tonkin Gulf episode in August 1964:
    - Covert U.S. help to South Vietnamese raids on N. Vietnam
    - LBJ publically called alleged attacks “unprovoked”
    - Ordered “limited” retaliatory air raid
    - Claimed he sought “no wider war”
    - Got Congress to pass all-purpose Tonkin Gulf Resolution:
      - Congress abdicated war-declaring powers
      - Handed president a blank check to use further force in Southeast Asia

II. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964 (cont.)

- Election results:
  - Voters flocked to Johnson because:
    - Fondness for Kennedy legacy
    - Faith in Great Society promises
    - Fear of Goldwater
  - Count:
    - Popular vote:
      - Johnson—43,129,566; Goldwater—27,178,188
    - Electoral count:
      - Johnson’s 486 to 52 for Goldwater (see Map 37.1)

Map 37-1 p886
II. Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964 (cont.)

- Goldwater:
  - Carried only his native Arizona and five states in South
  - South traditionally Democratic but now racially restless
- Johnson:
  - Record-breaking 61% of popular vote swept lopsided Democratic majorities into both houses of Congress

III. The Great Society Congress

- Johnson’s win temporarily smashed conservative congressional coalition of southern Democrats and northern Republicans
- Road open for Great Society reforms:
  - LBJ helped by growing economy
  - War on Poverty:
    - Doubled appropriation of Office of Economic Opportunity to $2 billion
    - Granted more than $1 billion to redevelop Appalachia
  - Created two new departments:
    - Department of Transportation
    - Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)

III. The Great Society Congress (cont.)

- Named first black cabinet secretary in nation’s history—respected economist Robert C. Weaver—to HUD
- Established National Endowments for the Arts and for the Humanities:
  - Designed to lift level of American cultural life
- Big Four legislative achievements crowned LBJ’s Great Society programs:
  - Aid to education
    - To avoid separation of church and state issue, LBJ awarded aid directly to students
    - Signed bill in humble one-room Texas schoolhouse he attended as a child
III. The Great Society Congress (cont.)

• Medicare for elderly and Medicaid for poor:
  – Created "entitlements"
  » Rights for certain categories of Americans in perpetuity
  » Without need for repeated congressional approval
  – Part of spreading "rights revolution" that helped millions, but also
    created long-term financial problems for federal government

• Immigration reform:
  – Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolished "national-
    origins" quota system in place since 1921 (see Chap. 30)
  – Doubled number of immigrants allowed to enter annually to
    290,000
  – For first time, set limits on immigrants from Western Hemisphere
    (120,000)
  – Provided for admission of close relatives of U.S. citizens, outside
    numerical limits
    » 100,000 people per year took advantage of "family
      unification" provision in decades after 1965
  – Source of immigration shifted from Europe to Latin America and
    Asia
  – Great Society programs came in for political
    attacks in later years:
    • Conservatives charged billions spent for "social
      engineering" wasted
    • Yet poverty level declined in ensuring decade (see
      Figure 37.1)
III. The Great Society Congress (cont.)

• Medicare dramatically reduced poverty among elderly
• Project Head Start—sharply improved educational performance of underprivileged youth
• Great Society programs reduced infant mortality rates in minority communities

IV. Battling for Black Rights

• Voting Rights Act of 1965:
  – One of America’s most persistent evils—racial discrimination
• Civil Rights Act of 1964:
  – Gave federal government more muscle to enforce school-desegregation orders
  – And to prohibit racial discrimination in public accommodations and employment
• Problem of voting remained:
  – Mississippi: only 5% of eligible blacks registered to vote
  – Similar throughout South
IV. Battling for Black Rights (cont.)

- Ballot-denying devices: poll tax, literacy tests, barefaced intimidation
- Mississippi required names of prospective black registrants be published for two weeks in local newspapers—virtually guaranteed economic reprisals, or worse

- 1964: voting become chief goal of black movement
  - Twenty-fourth Amendment, ratified January 1964, abolished poll tax in federal elections (see Appendix)
  - Freedom Summer 1964: Blacks joined with whites in massive voter-registration drive in Mississippi
    » In June, one black and two white civil rights workers murdered
    » Mississippi officials refused to prosecute those responsible

IV. Battling for Black Rights (cont.)

- August: integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic party delegation denied seats at Democratic convention
- Early 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr., resumed voter-registration campaign in Selma, Alabama:
  » 50% of city’s population black, but only 1% of its voters
  » A Unitarian minister killed
  » Few days later, a white Detroit woman murdered by Klansmen

IV. Battling for Black Rights (cont.)

- Johnson shepherded through Congress landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965; signed into law August 6
  - Outlawed literacy tests
  - Sent federal voter registrars into several southern states
  - Overtime brought dramatic change to southern politics and businesses
  - Soon blacks began to migrate into South for first time since emancipation
V. Black Power

• Voting Rights Act of 1965:
  – Last major legislative victory of southern-focused, integrationist, nonviolent civil rights movement
  – Increased focus on struggles in urban North against discrimination and police brutality
    • Five days after LBJ signed Voting Rights Act, bloody riot erupted in Watts, a black ghetto in Los Angeles
      – 31 blacks and 3 whites killed; more than a thousand people injured; hundreds of buildings charred and gutted
    • Heralded shift to militancy, radicalism, and separatism

V. Black Power (cont.)

• Leadership of Malcolm X:
  – Born Malcolm Little, he was inspired by militant black nationalists in Nation of Islam
    • Like Nation’s founder—Elijah Muhammed (born Elijah Poole), Malcolm changed his surname to advertise lost African identity in white America
    • Malcolm X trumpeted black separatism
    • Later broke with Elijah Muhammed’s separatism; moved toward mainstream Islam
    • Early 1965, killed by Nation of Islam gunmen
V. Black Power (cont.)

- Socialist **Black Panther party** used “citizens’ patrols” to resist police brutality
- In 1966, Stokely Carmichael, SNCC leader:
  - Began to preach doctrine of **Black Power**
  - Like Garvey of 1920s (see Chap. 30), Carmichael breathed separatist meaning into concept of Black Power
    - Emphasized African American distinctiveness
    - Promoted “Afro” hairstyles and dress
    - Shed “white” names for new African identities
    - Demanded black studies programs in education

V. Black Power (cont.)

- 1967: more riots in black urban ghettos
  - Newark, New Jersey (killed 25 people)
  - Detroit, Michigan (killed 43 people)
    - As in Watts (1965), rioters torched neighborhoods
    - Attacked police officers and even firefighters
  - Riots angered many white Americans, who threatened to retaliate
  - Riots baffled northerners who considered racial problems a “southern” question
V. Black Power (cont.)

- Blacks moved north over 1900s
- Faced residential discrimination, white outmigration to suburbs, and deindustrialization
  - Black unemployment nearly double that of whites
- Despair deepened when Martin Luther King, Jr., murdered on April 4, 1968
  - Triggered more riots
- Rioters made news, but thousands of other blacks quietly made history
  - Black voter registration in South shot upward

V. Black Power (cont.)

- By late 1960s, several hundred blacks held elected office in Old South
- Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Indiana elected black mayors
- By 1972, nearly half of southern black children in integrated schools
  - More schools integrated in South than North
- About a third of blacks had risen into middle class
- King left shining legacy of racial progress, but he was cut down when job far from done

VI. Vietnam Vexations

- Viet Cong (guerillas loyal to North Vietnamese communists) attacked U.S. air base at Pleiku, South Vietnam, February 1965
- Johnson ordered retaliatory bombing raids against military installations in North Vietnam
- For first time, ordered U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam
  - By mid-March, “Operation Rolling Thunder” in full swing—regular bombing against North Vietnam
  - Before 1965 ended, 184,000 American troops involved
VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

• Johnson had taken slippery path toward “escalation” of U.S. troops to drive enemy to defeat
• Guerrilla enemy matched every American increase
• South Vietnamese became spectators as war became Americanized
• Corrupt and collapsible governments in Saigon succeeded each other
• Yet U.S.A. claimed to be defending a democratic ally
• “Hawks” defended war as necessary to show U.S. “commitment” to fulfill numerous treaty pledges to resist communist encroachment

• Johnson steadily raised military stakes in Vietnam
  – By 1968, a half million troops there and annual bill for war exceeded $30 billion
  – Still end nowhere in sight
• U.S.A. could not defeat enemy in Vietnam, but it seemed to be bringing defeat upon itself
  – World reactions:
    • Several nations expelled Peace Corps volunteers
    • de Gaulle withdrew France from NATO in 1966
      – Ordered all American troops out of France
VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

– Over commitment tied America’s hands elsewhere
– In Six-Day War (1967), Israel:
  • Defeated Egypt, Jordan, and Syria
  • Gained territories in Sinai Peninsula, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and West Bank of Jordan River, including Jerusalem (see Map 39.2)
  • Victory brought one million resentful Palestinian Arabs under direct Israeli control
  • Another 350,000 Palestinian refugees fled to neighboring Jordan

VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

• Israel later agreed to withdraw from Sinai after signing a peace treaty with Egypt
• Israel refused to relinquish other areas without a treaty
• Began moving Jewish settlers into heavily Arab district of West Bank
• Six-Day War intensified problems of volatile Middle East
  • Intractable standoff between Israelis and Palestinians

VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

– Domestic discontent festered over Vietnam:
  • Campus “teach-ins” in 1965
  • Gradually protests grew to tidal-wave proportions
  • Draft claimed more and more young men
  • Thousands of draft registrants fled to Canada
  • Others publicly burned draft cards
  • Hundreds of thousands marched in protest
  • Many Americans felt pangs of conscience at burning peasant huts and using destructive weapons
VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

– Congress’s opposition to Vietnam:
  • Centered in Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, headed by Senator William Fulbright
    – Held series of televised hearings in 1966 and 1967
    – Public came to feel they had been deceived about causes and “winnability” of war
  • “Credibility gap” opened between government and public
– Within administration itself:
  • Doubts deepened about wisdom of war in Vietnam
    – When Defense Secretary McNamara expressed misgivings about war, he was eased out of office

VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

• By 1968, brutal and futile struggle had become longest and most unpopular foreign war to date for U.S.A.
• Casualties (killed and wounded) already exceeded 100,000
• More bombs dropped on Vietnam, than on all enemy territory in WWII
• Government utterly failed to explain to the people what was supposed to be at stake in Vietnam

VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

• Johnson:
  • Ordered CIA, in clear violation of its charter, to spy on domestic antiwar activists
  • Encouraged FBI to turn its counterintelligence program, “Cointelpro,” against peace movement
    – “Cointelpro” falsely labeled leading “doves” as communist sympathizers
    – Tactics made FBI look like totalitarian state’s secret police rather than guardian of American democracy
VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

- Evidence mounted that USA trapped in a civil war (motivated rebels vs. brutal government)
  - Yet LBJ clung to strategy of ratcheting up pressure bit by bit
  - Stubbornly assured Americans that he could see “the light at the end of the tunnel”
  - To growing numbers of Americans, it seemed LBJ bent on “saving” Vietnam by destroying it

VII. Vietnam Topples Johnson

- January 1968, communist offensive launched on Tet, Vietnamese New Year
  - Viet Cong attacked 27 South Vietnamese cities, including capital Saigon
  - Showed Johnson’s strategy of continual escalation not working
  - Tet offensive ended in military defeat but political victory for Viet Cong
    - U.S. public opinion increasingly demanded end to war
VI. Vietnam Topples Johnson (cont.)

– American military leaders responded to Tet with request for 200,000 more troops
  • Request staggered many policymakers

– LBJ challenged within his own party:
  • Eugene McCarthy received 41.4% of vote in New Hampshire primary on March 12, 1968
  • Johnson’s star fell further four days later when Robert F. Kennedy entered race for nomination
    • Kennedy stirred passionate response among workers, African Americans, Latinos, and young people

VI. Vietnam Topples Johnson (cont.)

– Mar. 31: Johnson announced he would freeze troops levels and scale back bombing
  • Declared he would not be a candidate in 1968 election

– Johnson’s “abdication” had effect of preserving military status quo
  • He held “hawks” in check, while offering himself as a sacrifice to militant “doves”
  • U.S.A. could maintain maximum acceptable level of military activity in Vietnam, while trying to negotiate a settlement
VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

– 1968 one of hottest political seasons in U.S. history

  • Vice president Hubert H. Humphrey was LBJ’s heir apparent for Democratic nomination
  • Meanwhile McCarthy and Kennedy dueled in primaries
    – On June 5, 1968, Kennedy killed by Arab immigrant resentful of RFK’s pro-Israel views
  • Antiwar groups converged on Democratic convention in Chicago, August 1968
  • Exasperated by some militant demonstrators, police broke into a “police riot” on guilty and innocent alike
  • Humphrey gained nomination on first ballot because process privileged party officials over primary results

– Republican convention, Miami Beach

  • Richard M. Nixon became candidate acceptable to Goldwater conservatives as well as party moderates
  • Tapped Maryland’s Governor Spiro T. Agnew as running mate to appeal to white southerners
    – Agnew tough on dissidents and black militants
  • Platform called for victory in Vietnam and strong anticrime policy
  • “Spoiler” third party ticket—American Independent party—headed by George C. Wallace
    – Gained fame with his opposition to Civil Rights Movement
VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968 (cont.)

Between positions of Republicans and Democrats on Vietnam, there was little choice:

- Both candidates committed to continue war until enemy settled for “honorable peace” (i.e., U.S. win)
- Millions of “doves” had no place to roost
  - Many refused to vote at all
- Humphrey, scorched by LBJ brand, went down to defeat as loyal prisoner of his chief’s policies

VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968 (cont.)

Nixon won:

- 301 electoral votes, 43.4% of popular tally (31,785,480)
- Humphrey: 191 electoral votes, 42.7% of popular votes (31,275,166) (see Map 37.2)
- However Nixon
  - Faced Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress
  - Carried not a single major city
  - Received no clear mandate to do anything
  - A minority president who owed his election to divisions over war and protest against unfair draft, crime, and rioting

Map 37.2
VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968 (cont.)

- Wallace:
  - Won impressive 9,906,473 popular votes
  - 46 electoral votes, all from five states of Deep South
    - four of which Goldwater had carried in 1964
  - Wallace amassed largest third-party popular vote in U.S. history to that point
  - Last third-party candidate to win any electoral votes
    - Ross Perot in 1992 enjoyed a greater popular vote margin but won no states (see Map 40.1)
  - Wallace demonstrated continuing power of "populist" politics—appeal to voters' fears and resentments

VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968 (cont.)

- Johnson returned to Texas in January 1969, only to die four years later:
  - Had significant achievements in civil rights and help to poor
  - By 1966 LBJ sinking into Vietnam quicksand
  - Soaring war costs consumed tax dollars
  - War on Poverty met resistance and would eventually go down in defeat

VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968 (cont.)

- Johnson crucified himself on cross of Vietnam
- Chose to defend U.S. foothold and enlarge conflict rather than withdraw
- Decision not to escalate fighting further in 1968 offended "hawks," and his refusal to back off altogether antagonized "doves"
IX. The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

— Struggles of 1960s against racism, poverty, and war in Vietnam had momentous cultural consequences:
  — Negative attitudes toward all kinds of authority took hold
  — Many young people lost traditional moral rudders
  — Conventional wisdom and inherited ideas came under fire

— Mainline Protestant denominations weakened
  • Weekly churchgoing declined from 48% in late 1950s to 41% in 1970s
  • Liberal Protestant churches suffered most
    — Increasingly ceded religious authority to conservative evangelicals
    — While surrendering cultural authority to secular professionals and academic social scientists

IX. The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s (cont.)

• As educated Americans became increasingly secular, less educated became more religious
• Religious upheaval occurred in tradition-bound Roman Catholic Church after second Vatican Council
• Skepticism about authority had deep historical roots in American culture, including in 1950s:
  — “Beat” movement rejected culture and politics of decade
  — Movies like Rebel Without a Cause (1955) with young actor James Dean expressed restless frustration of many young people

IX. The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s (cont.)

— Disaffection of young crescendoed in 1960s as Baby Boom reached college age:
  • 1 of first protests against authority broke out at University of California at Berkeley in 1964
    — Free Speech Movement—students objected to administrative ban on use of campus space for political debate
  • Protests blossomed over Vietnam and soon saw rise of self-conscious “counterculture” opposed to traditional ways
  • Social upheaval far from American-only phenomenon
    — Across globe, youth-driven political and social conflict roiled
    — Helped by global reach of youth pop culture, especially music
IX. The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s (cont.)

• 1960s witnessed "sexual revolution":
  – Introduction of birth control pill (1960) made pregnancies easier to avoid and sexual appetites easier to satisfy
  – Mattachine Society, founded in Los Angeles in 1951, a pioneering society advocating gay rights
  – Stonewall Rebellion at New York City’s Stonewall Inn (1969) proved turning point as victims of police brutality fought back
  – In 1980s, worries about sexually transmitted diseases like genital herpes and AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome) slowed, but did not reverse, sexual revolution

• Launched in youthful idealism, many of decade’s "revolutions" sputtered out in violence and cynicism
  – Students for a Democratic Society (SDS):
    – Once at forefront of antipoverty and antiwar campaigns
    – Spawned underground terrorist group called Weathermen
  – Peaceful civil rights demonstrations gave way to urban riots
  – Experiments with marijuana and LSD spawned underworld of drug lords and addicts
  – Critics denounced self-indulgent romanticism of "flower children"
IX. The Culture Upheaval of the 1960s (cont.)

– Supporters hailed “greening” of America
  • Materialism and imperialism replaced by new consciousness of human values
– Upheavals of 1960s can be attributed to three P’s:
  • Youthful population bulge
  • Protests against racism and Vietnam War
  • Prosperity that seemed permanent fixture of postwar era
– “Counterculture” may not have replaced older values, but it weakened their grip, perhaps permanently

X. Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

– Inaugurated on Jan. 20, 1969, Nixon was:
  • An unlikely conciliator of clashing forces ripping American society apart
    – Solitary and suspicious
    – brittle and testy in face of opposition
    – Bitterly resented “liberal establishment”
  • Yet, he brought one huge valuable asset to White House:
    – Broad knowledge and thoughtful expertise in foreign affairs
    – Applied himself to put America’s foreign policy in order
  • First goal: quiet uproar over Vietnam

X. Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War (cont.)

• Vietnamization policy:
  • Withdraw the 540,000 troops in South Vietnam over an extended period
  • Southern Vietnamese—with U.S. money, weapons, training, and advice—would gradually take over war

• Nixon Doctrine thus evolved:
  • Proclaimed U.S.A. would honor its existing defense commitments
  • In future, allies would have to fight their own wars without support of large bodies of U.S. troops
X. Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War (cont.)

• Nixon sought to win Vietnam war by other means
  – Without further spilling American blood
• Advocating immediate withdrawal, antiwar protesters staged big national Vietnam moratorium in Oct. 1969
• Nixon launched counteroffensive by appealing to silent majority who presumably supported war
  – His appeal deeply divisive
  – VP Agnew attacked “nattering nabobs of negativism” who demanded quick end to war
  – In 1970, Nixon sneered at student protesters as “bums”

X. Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War (cont.)

– By Jan. 1970, Vietnam had became very unpopular, even among U.S. troops in field
– Armed forces in Vietnam largely composed of least privileged young Americans
– Early in war, African Americans:
  • Disproportionately represented in army
  • Accounted for highest share of combat fatalities

X. Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War (cont.)

– U.S. soldiers:
  • Fought Vietnamese as well as booby-trapped swamps and steaming jungles
  • Unable to tell friend from foe among peasants
  • Drug abuse, mutiny, and sabotage dulled fighting edge
  • Morale plummeted further with rumors that soldiers “fragged” their officers—murdered them with fragmentation grenades
  • Revelations in 1970 about 1968 slaughter in My Lai deepened domestic disgust with war
XI. Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

- On Apr. 29, 1970 Nixon, without consulting Congress, ordered U.S. troops to clean out enemy sanctuaries in officially neutral Cambodia

- Massive campus riots over this newest escalation:
  - At Kent State University in Ohio, jumpy National Guard fired into noisy crowd, killing four and wounding many more
  - At historically black Jackson State College, Mississippi, highway patrol discharged volleys, killing two students
XI. Cambodianizing the Vietnam War (cont.)

– Nixon withdrew troops from Cambodia on June 29, 1970, after only two months
– Results of Cambodian invasion:
  • Amplified bitterness between “hawks” and “doves”
  • Disillusionment with “whitey’s war” increased among African Americans in armed forces
  • Senate (but not House) repealed Gulf of Tonkin blank check that Congress gave Johnson in 1964
  • Youth only slightly mollified when government reduced draft calls and shortened period of draftability
    – On a lottery basis, from eight years to one year

XI. Cambodianizing the Vietnam War (cont.)

• Youth pleased, though not pacified, in 1971 when 26th Amendment lowered voting age to 18 (see Appendix)
• New combustibles fueled fires of antiwar discontent in June 1971:
  – Former Pentagon official leaked to New York Times the Pentagon Papers, a top-secret Pentagon study
  – Documented war’s blunders and deceptions, especially provoking of 1964 North Vietnamese attack in Gulf of Tonkin
XII. Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

- Dramatic initiatives in Beijing and Moscow:
  - Two major Communist powers clashed over interpretation of Marxism as well as border between them
  - Nixon realized Chinese-Soviet tension afforded U.S.A. opportunity to play one antagonist against the other
  - And enlist aid of both in pressuring North Vietnam into peace
  - Henry Kissinger had been meeting secretly with North Vietnamese officials in Paris to negotiate end to war
  - He was meanwhile preparing president's path to Beijing and Moscow

XII. Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow (cont.)

- July 1971: Nixon announced he had accepted invitation to visit Communist China the following year
- Made his historic journey in February 1972
- Capped visit with Shanghai Communiqué:
  - In which two nations agreed to "normal" relationship
  - Important part of accord was America's acceptance of "one-China" policy
  - Implied lessened American commitment to independence of Taiwan

XII. Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow (cont.)

- Nixon next traveled to Moscow in May 1972:
  - To play "China card" in game of high-stakes diplomacy with Kremlin
  - Soviets ready to deal with United States
- Nixon's visit ushered in era of détente:
  - Relaxed tension—with major communist powers
- And produced several significant agreements in 1972
  - Most important, USA and USSR agreed to anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty and to series of arms-reduction negotiations known as SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks)
  - Aimed at freezing numbers of long-range missiles for five years
XII. Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow (cont.)

- ABM and SALT accords a first step toward slowing arms race
- Yet both forged ahead with development of "MIRVs" (multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles)
  - Put a number of warheads on a single missile
- Nixon's détente diplomacy did, to some extent, de-ice Cold War

- Nixon remained staunchly anticommunist
- Opposed election of Marxist Salvador Allende to presidency of Chile in 1970
- Allende died during an army attack on his headquarters in 1973
- Nixon warmly embraced Allende’s successor, military dictator General Augusto Pinochet
XIII. A New Team on the Supreme Bench

• Nixon and Supreme Court
  • In 1968, Nixon lashed out against “permissiveness” and “judicial activism” of Warren Court
  • Warren Court affected sexual freedom, criminal rights, practice of religion, civil rights, and representation
  • *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965): Court voided state law that banned use of contraceptives, even among married couples, because of “right of privacy”
  • *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963): Court held that all criminal defendants entitled to legal counsel, even if too poor to afford it

XIII. A New Term on the Supreme Bench (cont.)

• Escobedo (1964) and *Miranda* (1966) ensured right of accused to remain silent and enjoy protections
• *Miranda warning* – police must read to suspects
  – Rulings sought to prevent abusive police tactics
    • To conservatives seemed to coddle criminals and subvert law and order
    • Conservatives also objected to Court’s views on religion:

XIII. A New Term on the Supreme Bench (cont.)

  • Justices argued First Amendment’s separation of church and state meant public schools could not require prayer or Bible reading
  • Social conservatives raised a new battle cry “Impeach Earl Warren” (see Chap. 36)
– From 1954, Court came under relentless criticism, bitterness since New Deal days
  • Grappled with problems legislatures failed to address
XIII. A New Term on the Supreme Bench (cont.)

- Fulfilling campaign promise, Nixon tried to change Court's philosophical complexion:
  - Sought appointees who would:
    - Strictly interpret Constitution
    - Cease "meddling" in social and political questions
    - Not coddle radicals or criminals
  - Appointed Warren E. Burger to succeed Earl Warren
  - Before end of 1971, Nixon had appointed four conservatives to Court

- Nixon learned that once seated, justices decide according to conscience, not according to president's expectations
- Burger Court proved reluctant to dismantle "liberal" rulings of Warren Court
  - Controversial and momentous Roe v. Wade (1973) which legalized abortion (see Chap. 38)
XIV. Nixon on the Home Front

• Oversaw big expansion of welfare programs that conservative Republicans denounced:
  • Increased appropriations for Food Stamps, Medicaid, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
  • Added new program: Supplemental Security Income (SSI) to assist indigent, aged, blind, and disabled
  • Automatic Social Security cost-of-living increases
  • Implemented so-called Philadelphia Plan (1969):
    – Required trade unions to establish “goals and time-tables” for hiring black apprentices

XIV. Nixon on the Home Front (cont.)

• Philadelphia Plan:
  • Required 1,000s of employers to meet hiring quotas or establish “set-asides” for minority subcontractors
  • Altered meaning of “affirmative action”
    – From protect individuals against discrimination
    – To program that conferred privileges on certain groups
  • Supreme Court went along with Nixon’s approach
    – Griggs v. Duke Power Co. (1971): Court banned intelligence tests or other devices that had effect of excluding minorities or women from certain jobs

XIV. Nixon on the Home Front (cont.)

• Only sure protection against charge of discrimination was to hire minorities or admit minority students
  – In proportion to their presence in population
• Nixon and Court opened new employment and educational opportunities for minorities and women
• Critics protested changes as “reverse discrimination”
  – Another Nixon legacy:
  • 1970 creation of Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
  • Rachel Carson’s Silent Spring (1962) exposed poisonous effects of pesticides
XIV. Nixon on the Home Front (cont.)

• April 22, 1970, millions around world celebrated first Earth Day:
  – To raise awareness and to encourage leaders to act
  – Congress passed Clean Air Act (1970) and Endangered Species Act (1973)
  – EPA made progress in reducing automobile emissions and cleaning up befouled waterways and toxic waste sites
• Federal government expanded regulatory reach on behalf of workers and consumers
  – 1970 Nixon signed Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) into law

XIV. Nixon on the Home Front (cont.)

– Created agency dedicated to improving working conditions
  » Prevent work-related accidents and death
  » Issue safety standards.
• Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC):
  – Held companies accountable for selling dangerous products
• Business critics decried “nanny state”
• 1971: Nixon imposed 90-day wage and price freeze
• He then took U.S.A. off gold standard and devalued dollar
  – Two actions ended “Bretton Woods” system of international currency stabilization that had functioned since end of WWII (see Chap. 35)
XIV. Nixon on the Home Front (cont.)

– Devised plan—called *southern strategy*—to gain reelection in 1972
  – Appointed conservative Supreme Court justices
  – Soft-pedaled civil rights
  – Opposed school busing to achieve racial balance
– Goal: convert disillusioned white southern Democrats to Republicans
– Set in motion sweeping political realignment that eventually transformed party system

XV. The Nixon Landslide of 1972

• Four years since Nixon promised to end Vietnam war and “win” peace
  • 1972: when North Vietnam burst through demilitarized zone separating two Vietnams, Nixon launched massive bombing attacks
  • Continuing Vietnam conflict spurred rise of South Dakota senator George McGovern to 1972 Democratic nomination
• Helped by changes in nomination system that increased importance of primary elections
  – New system emphasized media politicking and activist base

XV. The Nixon Landslide of 1972 (cont.)

• McGovern used new populist process
  – Promised to pull remaining troops out of Vietnam in ninety days:
    • Earned him backing of large antiwar element in party
    • His appeal to racial minorities, feminists, leftists, and youth alienated traditional working-class Democrats
• Nixon emphasized he had wound down “Democratic war” in Vietnam
  – From 540,000 to about 30,000 troops
XV. The Nixon Landslide of 1972 (cont.)

- His candidacy received added boost twelve days before election when Kissinger announced
  - “Peace is at hand” and an agreement would be reached in a few days

- Nixon won landslide:
  - Won every state except Massachusetts and nonstate District of Columbia (see Appendix)
  - Received 520 electoral votes to 17 for McGovern
  - Popular majority of 47,169,911 to 29,170,383 votes

- McGovern counted on young vote, but less than half 18-20 age group even bothered to register to vote

XVI. The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- Dove of peace “at hand” just before balloting, took flight after election:
  - Nixon launched furious two-week bombing
  - North Vietnam agreed to cease-fire in Treaty of Paris (Jan. 23, 1973) nearly three months after peace prematurely proclaimed
  - Nixon hailed cease-fire as “peace with honor,” but boast rang hallow as “peace” little more than U.S. retreat
    - United States would withdraw its remaining 27,000 troops and reclaim 560 American prisoners of war
    - North Vietnam allowed to keep 145,000 troops in South Vietnam
XVI. The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act (cont.)

- Constitutionality of U.S. war in Cambodia:
  - July 1973: public learned Air Force had secretly bombed Cambodia 3,500 times since Mar. 1969
  - While forays going on, U.S. officials, including Nixon, had sworn Cambodian neutrality being respected
  - Defiance followed secretiveness:
    - Nixon continued bombing Cambodia even after Vietnam cease-fire
    - Repeatedly vetoed congressional efforts to stop bombing

- Years of bombing wounded Cambodia:
  - Blasted its people
  - Shredded its economy
  - Revolutionized its politics
  - Cambodians suffered sadistic heel of Pol Pot:
    - Two million died
    - Pot forced from office by 1978 Vietnamese invasion

- 1973 War Powers Act over Nixon’s veto:
  - Required president report to Congress within 48 hours after committing troops to foreign conflict or “substantially” enlarging combat units abroad
  - Such a limited authorization would end within 60 days unless extended by Congress for 30 days
  - Act manifestation of “New Isolationism,” mood of caution and restraint abroad
  - Draft ended in January 1973
    - Future members of armed forces would be volunteers
XVII. The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

- Yom Kippur War erupted October 1973
  - Syria and Egypt attacked Israel to regain land lost during Six-Day War (1967)
  - Kissinger flew to Moscow to restrain Soviets who were arming attackers
  - Nixon placed nuclear forces on alert and ordered airlift of $2 billion in war materials to Israel
  - Israelis turned tide and threatened Cairo before U.S.A. brokered uneasy cease-fire

XVII. The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis (cont.)

- U.S. policy of backing Israel against its oil-rich neighbors exacted heavy penalty:
  - Oct. 1973, OPEC announced oil embargo to U.S.A. and those European allies supporting Israel
  - Oil-rich Arab states also cut oil production
  - Oil shortage triggered major economic recession, not only in United States, but also France and Britain
  - In increasingly globalized, interconnected world, all nations felt crunch of “energy crisis”
XVII. The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis (cont.)

- Five months of embargo ended era of cheap and abundant energy
- Since 1948, U.S.A. had been net oil importer
  - U.S. oil production peaked in 1970, then declined
  - Yet Americans tripled their oil usage since WWII
  - Automobiles increased 250% between 1949 and 1972
  - By 1974, America oil-addicted and vulnerable to any interruption in supplies
  - Middle East attained new importance to U.S. interests

IVII. The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis (cont.)

- OPEC quadrupled price for crude oil after lifting embargo in 1974
  - Results:
    - Huge oil bills disrupted U.S. balance of international trade and further fueled raging fire of inflation
    - U.S. took lead to form International Energy Agency in 1974 as counterweight to OPEC
    - Various sectors of U.S. economy, including autos, began to adjust to dawning age of energy dependency
    - E.g., national speed limit (55) to conserve fuel