

Chapter 37

The Stormy Sixties, 1963–1973

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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

II. 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

II. 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)



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 school-house 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)

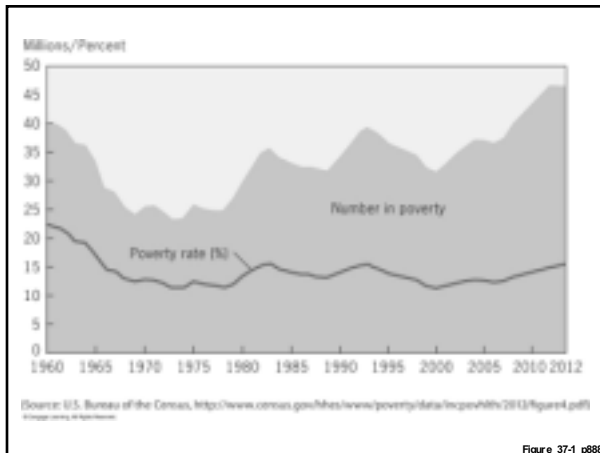
III. The Great Society Congress (cont.)

- 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 ensuing 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

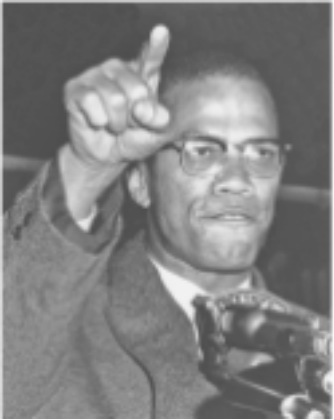


V. Black Power

- 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



VI. Vietnam Vexations (cont.)

- 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

VII. 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

VII. 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 dueling 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



VIII. The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968 (cont.)

– 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



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



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

- 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 become 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 (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 “normalize” 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

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

- 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.)

- In *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) and *School District of Abington Township v. Schempp* (1963):
 - 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, bitterest 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

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

- 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 hollow 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

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

- 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

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

- 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

CHRONOLOGY	
1963	Kennedy assassinated; Johnson assumes presidency
1964	Twenty-fourth Amendment (eliminating poll tax in federal elections) ratified "Freedom Summer" voter registration in South Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Johnson defeats Goldwater for presidency War on Poverty begins Civil Rights Act
1965	Great Society legislation Voting Rights Act
1965-1968	Race riots in U.S. cities
1966	France withdraws from NATO
1967	Six-Day War between Israel and Egypt
1968	North Vietnamese army launches Tet offensive in South Vietnam Tet holiday protests Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy assassinated Peace Spring crushed by Soviet army Nixon debates Humphrey and Wallace for presidency
1969	Kennedy runs for New York City Johnson's last on moon
1970	Nixon orders invasion of Cambodia Kent State and Jackson State incidents Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) created Clean Air Act
1971	Portuguese papers published Twenty-sixth Amendment (lowering voting age to eighteen) passed
1972	Nixon visits China and Soviet Union Shanghai Communiqué begins "normalization" of U.S.-Chinese relations ABT and SALT I treaties signed Nixon defeats McGovern for presidency
1973	Treaty of Paris ends conflict in Vietnam and U.S. withdrawal War Powers Act Yom Kippur War OPEC oil embargo Endangered Species Act Chilean president Salvador Allende killed in CIA-backed coup Roe v. Wade
1974	OPEC ends embargo, increases oil prices International Energy Agency formed

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