**CHAPTER 27: AMERICA AT MIDCENTURY, 1952-1960**

THE EISENHOWER PRESIDENCY

* Eisenhower gave a nation weary of partisanship a sense of unity; he inspired confidence; and his moderate politics pleased most Americans.
* He neither expanded nor dismantled New Deal and Fair Deal policies and programs. He did little publicly to challenge Joseph McCarthy or to support the desegregation of public education, until events forced his hand.

### “Dynamic Conservatism”

* Eisenhower concentrated on “the big picture”, delegating authority while reconciling contending factions.
* He rarely intervened publicly in the legislative process.
* Determined to govern the nation on business principles, he staffed his administration with corporate executives.
* He initially worked with the Republicans to slash the federal budget. He promoted the private development of hydroelectric and nuclear power, and persuaded Congress to turn over coastal states the oil-rich “tidelands” that the SC had previously awarded the federal government.
* He wanted to reduce taxes, contain inflation, and govern efficiently.
* Eager to avoid a depression, Eisenhower relied heavily on the COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS (CEA) despite conservatives’ calls for its abolition.
* He followed the advice of CEA head Arthur Burns to act positively to fine-tune the economy.
* When recessions hit in 1953 and 1957, Eisenhower abandoned his balanced budgets and increased government spending to restore prosperity.
* He labeled his ideas “DYNAMIC CONSERVATISM” AND “MODERN REPUBLICANISM”. He went along with Congress when it extended social security benefits to more than 10 million Americans, he approved raising min. wage from .75 to 1.00, made 4 million more workers eligible for unemployment benefits, and increased federally financed public housing for low-income families.
* He also approved establishing a Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
* He supported constructing the St. Lawrence Seaway, linking the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean and building 40,000 m9iles of freeways to replace old, unsafe roads.
* He won the 1956 election by a landslide.

### The Downfall of Joseph McCarthy

* Eisenhower did not want to directly confront McCarthy so he tightened security requirements for government employees. That did not work. So he gave McCarthy plenty of rope, in hopes that he would hang himself.
* McCarthy did in 1954.
* Angry that one of his aides had not received a draft deferment, the senator accused the army of harboring communist spies. The army then charged McCarthy with using his influence to gain preferential treatment for the aide who had been drafted.
* A nationally televised Senate investigation followed in April of 1954 and it brought McCarthy down.
* People saw how unlikable McCarthy was.
* His popularity ratings plummeted.
* The Senate voted in December 1954 to censure McCarthy for contemptuous behavior. This demolished McCarthy as a political force.
* In 1957 he died a broken man, suffering from the effects of alcoholism. However, the fears he helped instill lasted.
* Congress established Loyalty Day in 1955 and annually funded the HUAC’s search for suspected radicals. State and local governments continued to require teachers to take loyalty oaths.
* JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY – this denounced Eisenhower as a conscious agent of the communist conspiracy, and equated liberalism with treason.
* Barry Goldwater, George Wallace, and Ronald Reagan, among others, used its anticommunist, antigovernment rhetoric to advantage. Stressing victory over communism, rather than its containment, the self-proclaimed ‘NEW CONSERVATIVES” or radical right, as their opponents called them, criticized the “creeping socialism” of Eisenhower, advocated a return to traditional moral standards, and condemned the liberal rulings of the Supreme Court.

*Jim Crow in Court*

* *JENCKS V. U.S. (1957)* – the court held that the accused had the right to inspect government files used by the prosecution.
* *YATES V*. U.S. (1957) – the justices overturned the convictions of Communist party officials under the Smith Act, emphasizing the distinction between unlawful concrete acts and the teaching of revolutionary ideology. It essentially ended further persecutions of communists, and right-wing opponents of the decision demanded limitations on the Court’s powers and plastered “Impeach Earl Warren” posters on highway billboards.
* *BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA (May 17, 1954).* – Argued by the NAACP’s Thurgood Marshall, *Brown* combined lawsuits from 4 states and the District of Columbia in which black plaintiffs claimed that segregated public education was unconstitutional.
* Chief Justice EARL WARREN, speaking for a unanimous Court reversed *Plessy*.
* They said that separating schoolchildren “solely because of their race generated a feeling of inferiority to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone, thus violating the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.
* “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”
* A year later in Brown II, the court ordered federal district judges to monitor compliance with it, requiring only that desegregation proceed “with all deliberate speed”.
* The border states complied.
* But in the South, politicians vowed resistance, and Eisenhower refused to press them to comply.
* Encouraged by the President’s silence, white resistance stiffened.
* White citizens Councils sprang up and the KKK revived.
* The south adopted a strategy of “massive resistance” to thwart compliance with the law.
* They denied state aid to local school systems that desegregated and even closed public schools ordered to desegregate.
* They also enacted pupil-placement laws that permitted school boards to assign black and white children to different schools.
* In 1956 more than a hundred members of Congress signed the SOUTHERN MANIFESTO – denouncing *Brown* as “a clear abuse of judicial power.”
* Segregationists restored to violence and economic reprisals against blacks to maintain all-white schools.
* At the end of 1956, not a single African-American attended school with whites in the Deep South and few did so in the Upper South.

### The Laws of the Land

* Southern resistance reached a climax in 1957. The Little Rock school board accepted a court order to desegregate Central High School. AK GOV. ORVAL E. FAUBUS mobilized the state’s National Guard to block 9 black students from entering. After another court ordered Faubus to withdraw the guardsmen, an angry mob of whites blocked the black students’ entry.
* The Cold War had made segregation in the US a national security liability. Eisenhower thought best to uphold federal law.
* Understanding that racism at home hampered efforts to gain support of nonwhite Third World nations, the president federalized the AK National Guard, and for the first time since Reconstruction, dispatched federal troops to protect blacks’ rights.
* The troops would patrol the high school for the rest of the year.
* In response, Gov. Faubus closed down the school for 2 years. At the end of the decade, fewer than 1% of African American students in the Deep South attended desegregated schools.
* Little Rock strengthened the determination of African-Americans for desegregation.
* TV also played a vital role in bringing the issues to the forefront.
* Most northern whites also favored legislation to enfranchise southern blacks, and during the 1956 campaign Eisenhower proposed a voting rights bill.
* The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957, the first since Reconstruction, established a permanent commission on civil rights with broad investigatory powers, but did little to guarantee the ballot to blacks.
* The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960 only slightly strengthened the first measure’s enforcement provisions.
* Neither act empowered federal officials to register African-Americans to vote.
* However, it signified a changing view of the federal government and encouraged blacks to fight for their rights.

THE COLD WAR CONTINUES

### Ike and Dulles

* Eisenhower wanted to quiet the GOP, so he chose as his secretary of state, JOHN FOSTER DULLES. He threatened “instant, massive retaliation” with nuclear weapons in response to Soviet aggression. He insisted on the necessity of “BRINKMANSHIP,” the art of never backing down in a crisis, even if it meant risking war.
* This pleased the Republicans, but Eisenhower preferred conciliation. In part, this was due to his fear of starting a nuclear war. So, he refused to put Dulles’ ideas into action.
* The US did nothing to check the Soviet interventions that crushed uprisings in East Germany (1953) and Hungary (1956).
* Eisenhower tried to reduce the probability of mutual annihilation, so he proposed an “ATOMS FOR PEACE” plan, whereby both superpowers would contribute fissionable materials to a new UN agency for use in industrial projects.
* In the absence of a positive Soviet response, the government began construction of the DISTANT EARLY WARNING LINE across the Aleutians and arctic Alaska, providing a 24 hour a day electronic air defense system if the US to an invasion by the “”over-the-pole” route. They also built the CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN OPERATIONS CENTER, a Rocky Mountain fortress, where behind 25-ton blast doors, military crews scanned radar and satellite signals of a Soviet attack.
* Work also began on commercial nuclear plants in the mid-1950s.
* Mounting fears over radioactive fallout from atmospheric atomic tests, heightened world concern about the nuclear-arms race.
* In 1955, Eisenhower and Soviet leaders met in Geneva, but they could not agree on a specific plan. But, Moscow suspended further atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons in March 1958, and the US followed suit.
* Dulles negotiated mutual-defense pacts with any nation that would join the US in opposing communism. The US committed to the defense of 43 nations.
* The “NEW LOOK” defense program promised “more bang for the buck” by emphasizing nuclear weapons and reducing conventional forces.
* Meanwhile, the focus of the Cold War shifted from Europe to the Third World.
* The two superpowers waged war by proxy, using local guerillas to battle each other.
* The CIA also fought covert wars against those deemed to imperil American interests.

### CIA Covert Actions

* To command the CIA, Eisenhower chose ALLEN DULLES, a veteran of wartime OSS cloak and dagger operations and the brother of the Sec. of State.
* The CIA was established in 1947 to conduct foreign intelligence; it became increasingly involved in secret operations to topple regimes friendly to communism.
* By 1957 its personnel and 80% of its budget were devoted to “covert action” – subverting governments, putting foreign leaders (like Hussein of Jordan) on its payroll, supporting foreign political parties (such as the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan), and subsidizing foreign newspapers and labor unions that hewed to a pro-American line.
* To woo influential foreign thinkers away from communism, the CIA sponsored intellectual conferences and jazz concerts. It took on a propaganda campaign to counteract those of the Soviets.
* Led by a grandson of Teddy Roosevelt, the CIA’s “OPERATION AJAX” orchestrated a coup to overthrow the government of Iran in 1953. They feared that the prime minister who had nationalized oil fields might open oil-rich Iran to the Soviet Union; the CIA replaced him with the pro-American Shah Reza Pahlavi. It provided on ally on the Soviet border and made oil available cheap to the US.
* This would later cause anti-US sentiment.
* In 1953, the CIA helped the anticommunist Ramon Magaysay become president of the Philippines. We also helped anti-communist forces take over in Guatemala.

### The Vietnam Domino

* The most extensive CIA covert operations took place in Indochina in the 1950s.
* Due to Mao’s victory and the outbreak of war in Korea helped to view Indochina as a key battleground.
* The Truman administration supported the French against the Vietminh who was led by Ho Chi Minh.
* By 1954 the US accounted for ¾ of French expenditures. But the French were near defeated they were trapped in the northern valley of Dien Bien Phu.
* The US refused to bail the French out, so they surrendered in May of 1954.
* An international conference in Geneva arranged a cease-fire and temporarily divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel, pending elections in 1956 to choose the government of the unified nation.
* Eisenhower would not take the US to war, but he would not permit it to become communist either.
* In what became known as the “DOMINO THEORY,” Eisenhower warned that if Vietnam fell to the communists, then Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, and ultimately all of Asia would fall like dominos.
* SO the US refused to sign the GENEVA PEACE ACCORDS, and in late 1954 created the SOUTHEAST TREATY ORGANIZATION (SEATO), a military alliance patterned on NATO.
* The CIA installed NGO DINH DIEM, a fiercely anticommunist Catholic, as premier and then president of an independent South Vietnam. They helped him train troops and secret police, eliminate political opposition, and block the 1956 election to reunify Vietnam, specified by the Geneva agreement.
* Vietnam became a test of the ability of the US to defeat communism in Asia with American dollars rather than American lives.
* Diem never got public support.
* His Catholicism alienated the mostly Buddhist population, and his refusal to institute land reform and to end corruption spurred opposition.
* In 1957 the former Vietminh launched attacks and in Dec. 1960 opposition to Diem coalesced in the NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF VIETNAM (NLF).
* This was backed by the North and became popular.
* The administration’s commitment to “sink or swim with Ngo Dinh Diem” had cost over $1 billion, and Diem was sinking.

### Troubles in the Third World

* Eisenhower faced his greatest crisis in the Middle East.
* In 1954 GAMAL ABDEL NASSER came to power in Egypt, determined to modernize his nation.
* To woo him, the US offered to finance a dam at Aswan to harness the Nile River.
* Nasser purchased arms for Czechoslovakia and recognized the People’s Republic of China, Dulles cancelled the loan. Nasser than nationalize the British-owned Suez canal.
* The British viewed the canal as the lifeline of its empire, and planned to take it back by force.
* GB, France, and Israel coordinated an attack on Egypt in October 1956 without consulting Eisenhower.
* Ike thought that the military action would drive the Arab world and its precious oil to the Russians. When Moscow threatened to intervene, Eisenhower forced his allies to withdraw their troops.
* This crisis had major consequences
  + It swelled antiwestern sentiment in the Third World
  + The US replaced GB and France as the protector of western interests in the Middle East.
* Determined to keep Arab oil flowing to the West, the president announced the EISENHOWER DOCTRINE, a proclamation that the US would send military aid and, if necessary, troops to any Middle Eastern nation threatened by “Communist aggression.”
* To back up his words he ordered 14,000 marines into Lebanon in July 1958 to quell a threatened Muslim revolt against the Christian-dominated, pro-western regime.
* May 1, 1960 – the Soviets shot down a US spy plane far inside their border.
* Khrushchev displayed to the world the captured CIA pilot and the photos he had taken of Soviet missile sites.
* Eisenhower refused to apologize.
* The summit to limit nuclear testing collapsed, and both sides resumed atmospheric tests in 1961.

### The Eisenhower Legacy

* Before Eisenhower left office, he warned the American public about the demands of national security and the potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power.
* Ike was able to stay out of war but he warned that lasting peace was not in sight.
* He pleased neither the left nor the right.
* But, he gave Americans what they most wanted – prosperity, reassurance, and a breathing spell in which to relish the comforts of life.

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

### The New Industrial Society

* Federal spending constituted a major source of economic growth; it nearly doubled in the 50s. to $180 billion.
* They built roads and airports, financed home mortgages, supported farm prices, and provided stipends for education.
* More than half went to defense industries.
* Continued superpower rivalry and the space race kept the federal government the nation’s main financier of scientific and technological research and development.
* Much of the defense activity was held in the Western United States.
* Government spending transformed the mythic west into a West of bureaucrats, manufacturers, and scientists.
* Science became a ward of the state.
* As chemical fertilizers and pesticides contaminated ground water supplies, and as the use of plastics for consumer products reduced landfill space, American – unaware of the hidden perils – marveled at the new technologies.
* Electronics became the 5th largest American industry. Consumption of electricity tripled in the 1950s.
* Oil replaced coal as the nation’s main energy source.
* Plentiful, cheap gasoline fed the growth of the automobile and aircraft industries.
* There was also an increase of labor saving machinery.

### The Age of Computers

* The computer was a major key to the technological revolution.
* In 1944 INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES (IBM), cooperating with Harvard scientists, had produced the Mark I calculator to decipher secret Axis codes. It was slow, cumbersome, and large.
* Two years later, to improve military accuracy, the US army developed ENIAC, the first electronic computer. Soon came the development of operating instructions, or programs, that could be stored inside the computer’s memory; the substitution of printed circuits for wired ones.
* The computer vastly changed American society and economy greatly.
* By the mid-60s more than 30,000 mainframe computers were used by banks, hospitals, and universities. Further developments led to the first integrated circuits and to what would ultimately become the Internet, fundamentally changing the nature of work.
* The development of the high-technology complex known as SILICON VALLEY began with the opening of the Stanford Industrial Park in 1951.

### The Costs of Bigness

* Corporations formed “CONGLOMERATES” by merging companies in unrelated industries: INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH (ITT) owned hotel chains, insurance businesses, and car-rental companies.
* The Rockefellers owned more corporate stock than all the nation’s wage earners combined.
* Growth and consolidation brought further bureaucratization.
* Success required conformity, not creativity, teamwork, or individuality.
* Changes in agricultural paralleled those in history.
* Farming grew increasingly scientific and mechanized.
* It took less time to harvest/grow crops because of technology, also, well-capitalized farm businesses, running “factories in the field,” prospered by using more and more machines and chemicals.
* Until the publication of RACHEL CARSON’S *SILENT SPRING* in 1962, few Americans understood the extent to which fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides poisoned the environment.
* She dramatized the problems caused by DDT and its spread throughout the food chain.
* It led to many states and eventually the federal government to ban its use.
* But the need to farm more land led to the killing of fish and wildlife and taking Indian tribal lands.

### Blue-Collar Blues

* In 1955 the merger of the AFL and CIO brought 85% of union members into a single federation.
* AFL-CIO leadership promised aggressive unionism, but it fell victim to its own success.
* The benefits gained allowed for complacency to take place. Higher wages, shorter workweeks, paid vacations, health-care coverage, and automatic wage hikes led union leaders to view themselves as middle class, not the proletariat.
* A decrease in the number of blue-collar workers further sapped organized labor.
* Most of the new jobs were in the service sector and in public employment, which banned collective bargaining by labor unions.
* In 1956, white-collar workers outnumbered blue-collar workers, leading some to believe that the US became a post-industrial nation.
* However, manual labor and office work was still monotonous. Few unions sought to gain white-collar workers.
* The percentage of the unionized labor force dropped from a high of 36% in 1953 to 31% in 1960.

*Prosperity and the Suburbs*

* As real income rose, Americans spent more money on luxuries.
* Installment buying, home mortgages, and auto loans tripled Americans’ total private indebtedness in the 1950s.
* Business spent more on advertising each year that the nation spent on public education.
* 58 million new cars were sold during the 1950s. Seat belts remained an extra cost and the consequences were increases in highway deaths, air pollution, oil consumption, and clogged urban arteries.
* Cars allowed suburbs to grow and flourish. The income tax code stimulated home sales by allowing deductions for home-mortgage interest payments and for property taxes.
* Both the FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (FHA) and VETERANS ADMINISTRATION (VA) offered low-interest loans; and neither promoted housing desegregation, despite the Supreme Court’s 1948 ruling that state courts could not enforce restrictive covenants. In 1960 suburbia was 98% white.
* Many considered suburbia the embodiment of the American Dream. People wanted single-family homes of their own, good schools, a safe environment for the children, fresh air, and friendly neighbors just like themselves.
* ALFRED AND WILLIAM LEVITT – pioneered suburbia with regulations for their communities.
* In the greatest internal migration in its history, some 20 million Americans moved to the suburbs in the 1950s – doubling the numbers and making the suburban population equal to that of the central cities.
* By 1960 over 60% of American families owned their homes – the symbol of an affluent society.
* Industry also headed south and West. They were drawn by low taxes; low energy costs, and anti-union right-to-work laws, industrialists transferred their conservative politics along with their plants and corporate headquarters.
* The political power of the Republican Party rose with the rise of the Sun Belt.

CONSENSUS AND CONSERVATISM

### Togetherness and the Baby Boom

* People were getting married earlier and having more children.
* Science came up with a polio vaccine and American life expectancy went up. It brought a 19% increase in the US population during the 1950s.
* The size of the baby boom (76 million Americans born between 1946-1964) guaranteed its historical significance.
  + 1940s – increase in baby carriages
  + 1950s – school construction boomed.
  + 1960s – college enrollment soared
  + 1970s – home construction sales peaked (they were having families)
  + 1980s and 1990s – surge in retirement investments that sent the stock market soaring.
* The 1950s also made child rearing a huge concern and emphasized the psychological importance of early childhood.
* DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK – emphasized children’s need for the love and care of full-time mothers.
* He also advocated less scolding and spanking to more “democratic” family discussions. In some homes his “permissive” approach produced homes where children ruled the roost.

### Domesticity

* The 1950s glorified marriage and parenthood more than ever before.
* TV depicted women as at home mothers.
* Overwhelmingly women agreed with this stance.
* Education helped to reinforce these notions.
* More girls graduated from HS, but more men graduated from college.
* Girls were taught typing and cooking, boys were taught carpentry and courses leading to professional careers.
* From 1947 on, despite domesticity’s holding sway, increasing numbers of women entered the work force.
* By 1952, 2 million more women worked outside the home than during the war; and by 1960uated from HS, but more men graduated from college.
* Girls were taught typing and cooking, boys were taught carpentry and courses leading to professional careers.
* From 1947 on, despite domesticity’s holding sway, increasing numbers of women entered the work force.
* By 1952, 2 million more women worked outside the home than during the war; and by 1960, twice as many did as in 1940.
* Forced back into low-paying, gender-segregated jobs, most women worked to add to the family income, not to challenge stereotypes.
* White women did mostly clerical jobs, where African American women were in service jobs. It did help to develop a heightened sense of expectations and empowerment as a result of employment.
* This would lead to a feminine resurgence in the late 1960s.

### Religion and Education

* Domestic anxieties and Cold War fears catalyzed a surge of religious activity.
* Evangelist BILLY GRAHAM, Roman Catholic Bishop FULTON J. SHEEN, and Protestant minister NORMAN VINCENT PEALE all had syndicated newspaper columns, best-selling books, and radio and television programs.
* Billy Graham was the most popular. He peddled a potent mixture of religious salvation and aggressive anticommunism. He lashed out against homosexuals and working wives.
* Songs and movies were made with religious themes.
* Congress also added “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance and required “IN GOD WE TRUST” to be put on all US currency.
* Most Americans thought people should have a religious faith.
* While increasing numbers of Americans identified with some denomination, the intensity of religious faith diminished for many.
* Education flourished in the 1950s yet seemed shallower than in earlier decades.
* “Progressive” educators promoted sociability and self-expression over science, math, and history. The “well-rounded” student became more prized than one who was highly skilled or knowledgeable.
* CA opened a new school every week throughout the decade and still faced a classroom shortage.
* Administrators ran universities like businesses, faculty focused on the cultural and psychological aspects of American society. Few challenged the economic structure or ideology of the US, or addressed the problems of minorities and the poor. Many historians downplayed past class conflicts, instead they highlighted the pragmatic ideas and values shared by most Americans, differentiating the American experience from that of Europe.

### The Culture of the Fifties

* People began spending more on entertainment. People began visiting the national parks more.
* Spectator sports boomed, new symphony halls opened, and book sales doubled.
* Southern, African-American, and Jewish-American writers turned out the decade’s most vital fiction.
* Films portrayed Americans as one happy white, middle-class family. Minorities and the poor remained invisible, and “dumb blondes” and cute helpmates replaced the independent career women of films of the 1940s.
* Movie attendance dropped as TV viewing soared. TV grew astoundingly.

### The Message of the Medium

* TV became huge. ABC, CBS, and NBC the three main radio networks gobble dup most every TV station in the country and sold advertising to fund their businesses. Advertising incomes rose greatly.
* TV quickly became the vital center of the consumer culture.

### The TV Culture

* Early on TV showcased creativity and talent. Later, in part because of McCarthyism, it focused on consumerism and conformity.
* It allowed people to see what they should strive for. It made Americans ever name brand conscious.
* It reinforced gender and racial stereotypes. Minorities were usually not shown, and if they were they were portrayed in servile roles or in prisons.
* It ended network radio and returned radio to a music format.
* It promoted football and baseball.
* It also decreased the audience of motion picture theaters and of general interest magazines.
* It also changed the political life of the nation. We could now watch politics unfold in the comfort of our own homes.
* It increased the cost of political campaigning while decreasing the content level of political discussion.

THE OTHER AMERICA

### Poverty and Urban Blight

* In 1960, 35 million Americans remained below the “poverty line.”
* Many lived in depressed rural areas.
* The bulk of the poor huddled in decaying inner-city slums.
* Displaced southern blacks and Appalachian whites, Native Americans forced off reservations, and newly arrived Hispanics strained cities’ inadequate facilities.
* As described by Michael Harrington in *The Other America: Poverty in the United States (1962)*, the poor were trapped in a vicious cycle of want and a culture of deprivation.
* They could not afford good housing, a nutritious diet, and doctors.
* They lost wages and could not find steady jobs; they could not pay for decent housing, good food, or doctors.
* Children began school disadvantaged, quickly fell behind, and lacking encouragement and expectation of success, dropped out.
* Living with neither hope nor the necessary skills to get out, they were not able to escape the cycle, nor were their children.
* The pressing need for low-cost housing went unanswered.
* In 1955 fewer than 200,000 of the 810,000 public-housing units called for in the HOUSING ACT OF 1949 had been built. A decade later only 320,000 had been built.
* “Slum clearance” generally meant “Negro Clearance,” and “URBAN RENEWAL” meant “poor removal,” as developers destroyed low-income neighborhoods to construct parking garages and expensive housing.
* At the same time, landlords, realtors, and bankers deliberately excluded nonwhites from decent housing.

### Blacks’ Struggle for Justice

* They utilized nonviolent direct-action protest to engage large numbers of blacks in their own freedom struggle and to arouse white America’s conscience.
* On Dec. 1, 1955, ROSA PARKS refused to get up so that a white man could sit. She was arrested. Montgomery’s black leaders organized a boycott of the buses to protest. It lasted a year and included 50,000 black passengers. When the city leaders would not budge, the blacks challenged the constitutionality of bus segregation. In November 1956 the US Supreme Court affirmed a lower-court decision outlawing segregation on the buses.
* It demonstrated strength and determination. It dispelled a myth that blacks favored segregation and affirmed the possibility of social change. It launched DR. KING into the national spotlight.
* King’s philosophy of civil disobedience fused the spirit of Christianity with the strategy of nonviolent resistance.
* His emphasis on direct action gave every African American an opportunity to demonstrate the moral evil of racial discrimination.
* In 1957 King and a group of black ministers formed the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) “to carry on nonviolent crusades against the evils of second class citizenship.”
* It depended on thousands of ordinary people who marched, rallied, and demonstrated.

### Latinos and Latinas

* Hispanic-Americans initially made less headway in ending discrimination.
* High unemployment on the Caribbean Island and cheap airfares to NYC brought a steady stream of Puerto Ricans, who as US citizens could enter, the mainland without restriction.
* El Barrio in NYCs East Harlem had a larger Puerto Rican population and more bodegas than San Juan by the late 1960s.
* In NY they suffered from inadequate schools and police harassment, and were denied decent jobs and political recognition.
* More than half lived in inadequate housing. Puerto Ricans gained greater personal freedom in the US while losing the security of a strong cultural tradition.
* It caused friction between families. Children learned English and got jobs that there parents could not get. Relationship between husbands and wives became strained because women could get jobs easier.
* Some wanted to earn money and then return home, but most stayed. Yet, no matter how many of them that wanted to live the American Dream they were usually stopped because of their skin color and Spanish language.
* Mexican-Americans suffered the same indignity.
* Most were underpaid, overcharged, and segregated from the mainstream. The presence of counties “undocumented aliens” compounded their woes.
* After WWII farmers in the SW wanted cheap Mexican labor.
* In 1951, to stem the resulting tide of illegal Mexican immigrants, Congress reintroduced the wartime “temporary worker” program that brought in seasonal farm laborers called braceros. They were supposed to return, but most stayed.
* During the 1953-1955 recession, the Eisenhower administration’s “OPERATION WETBACK” (wetback was a term of derision for illegal Mexican immigrants who supposedly swam across the Rio Grande to enter the US) deported some 3 million allegedly undocumented entrants.
* It was hard to enforce and many more entered the country illegally.
* The bracero program peaked in 1959, admitting 450,000 workers. Neither the Asociacion Nacional Mexico-Americana (founded in 1950) nor the League of United Latin America Citizens (LULAC) could stop their exploitation or the widespread violations of the rights of Mexican-American citizens.
* Many more began living in urban areas.
* In 1954 the Supreme Court banned the exclusion of Mexican-Americans from Texas jury lists. There were some famous Mexican Americans, but the existence of millions of undocumented aliens and the continuation of the bracero program stigmatized all people of Spanish decent and depressed their wages. The median income of Hispanics was less than 2/3 that of Anglos. At least a third lived in poverty.

### Native Americans

* Native Americans remained the poorest minority, with a death rate three times the national average.
* Unemployment rates were very high on reservations.
* After WWII, Congress veered away from JOHN COLLIER’S efforts to reassert Indian sovereignty and cultural autonomy and had moved toward the goal of ASSIMILATION. This meant terminating treaty relationships with tribes, ending the federal trusteeship of Indians. Some favored it as a move toward self-sufficiency; others desired an end to the communal culture of Indians; still others wanted access to Indian lands and mineral resources.
* Between 1954 and 1962 Congress passed a dozen termination bills, withdrawing financial support from 61 reservations.
* It proved disastrous. It further impoverished the Indians whom it affected, the law transferred more than 500 thousand acres of Native American lands to non-Indians.
* TO lure Indians off the reservations and into urban areas, and to speed the sale of Indian lands, the government established the VOLUNTARY RELOCATION PROGRAM. This provided Native Americans with moving costs, assistance in finding housing and jobs, and living expenses until they obtained work.
* By the end of the decade about 60,000 reservation Indians had been relocated to cities. Some became assimilated into middle-class America. Most could not find work and ended up on state welfare rolls living in rundown shantytowns. 1/3 returned to the reservations
* The NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS vigorously opposed termination, and most tribal politicians advocated Indian sovereignty, treaty rights, federal trusteeship, and the special status of Indians.

SEEDS OF DISQUIET

### Sputnik

* On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched the first artificial satellite, *SPUTNIK* (“Little Traveler”).
* Sputnik dashed the myth of American technological superiority; and when Sputnik II went into space with a dog, critics charged that Eisenhower had allowed a “technological Pearl Harbor.” Democrats warned of a missile gap between the US and the USSR.
* The Eisenhower administration publicly disparaged the Soviet achievement.
* The US tried to launch a missile on the Vanguard missile and it exploded after 6 feet.
* In response, Eisenhower doubled the funds for missile development to $4.3 billion in 1958 and $5.3 billion in 1959.
* He established the SCIENCE ADVISORY COMMITTEE, whose recommendations led to the creation of the NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION (NASA) in July 1958. By the end of the decade, the US had launched several space probes and successfully tested the Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM).
* Sputnik provided the impetus for a crash program to improve American education.
* Political barriers to federal aid for education crumbled. Funds from Washington built new classrooms and laboratories, raised teachers’ salaries, and installed instructional television systems in schools.
* In 1958 Congress passed the NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT, providing loans to students, funds for teacher training, and money to develop instructional materials in the sciences, mathematics, and foreign languages.
* College enrollment increased, as did spending on education. Some dubbed it the “military-industrial-educational complex.” – In part because they often worked on defense projects.

### A Different Beat

* Despite talk of family togetherness, fathers were often too busy to pay much attention to their children, and mothers sometimes spent more time chauffeuring their teenagers around than listening to them.
* Accounts of juvenile delinquency abounded. News stories had portrayed youth as hoodlums.
* In reality, teenage crime had barely increased.
* Kids embraced rock-n-roll.
* Many kids were dancing to black artists or rhythm-and-blues.
* White performers transformed rhythm-and-blues into “Top Ten” rock-n-roll.
* BILL HALEY AND THE COMETS transformed “shake-rattle-and-roll” into a hit. When he performed “Rock Around the Clock” in *The Blackboard Jungle*, a film about teenage delinquency, parents began associating rock-n-roll with disobedience and crime.
* Red-hunters saw it as a communist plot to attract youth.
* Segregationists saw it as a ploy to mix the races.
* Psychiatrists feared it was a communicable disease.
* Some churches condemned it as the “devil’s music”.
* ELVIS PRESLEY reinforced these ideas.
* The more the music was condemned the more the kids loved it.
* American Bandstand became TV’s biggest hit.

### Portents of Change

* Kids made movie stars famous, they delighted in Mad Magazine, which ridiculed the pretentious middle-class America, and they customized their cars to reject Detroit’s standards. These were all signs of their variance from the adult world, of their own culture.
* The BEATS expressed a more fundamental revolt against middle-class society. They scorned conformity and materialism. They were against respectability and glorified sexuality and spontaneity in the search for “it,” the ultimate authentic experience, foreshadowing the counterculture to come.
* The mass media scorned them. Some students like their message.
* Students protested capital punishment and demonstrated against the continuing investigations of HUAC. Others decried the nuclear arms race, and some participated in marches to end desegregation.

CONCLUSION

* Many Americans felt uneasiness as the Cold War continued and boom times brought unsettling changes.
* While tilting to the right in favoring private corporations, the Eisenhower administration left New Deal reforms in place, expanded existing social welfare benefits, employed Keynesian deficit spending to curtail economic recessions, made not effort to hamper labor unionization, and proposed construction of a vast interstate highway system – the largest domestic spending program in the nation’s history.
* The size and scope of the federal government continued to expand.
* He continued to fight communism. He and Dulles often gained short-term victories in local conflicts by clandestine means, ignoring the nationalistic yearnings and socioeconomic deprivations of the local peoples, and increasingly allying the US with reactionary, repressive regimes.
* It was characterized by unparalleled and sustained material prosperity for many Americans.
* There were high levels of government spending on new technologies.
* There was much conservatism and conformity
* There was creativity in the arts, music, and literature.
* Many young people defined a new culture for themselves and entered a period of rebellion from their parents.
* The African-American struggle to end white supremacy, to arouse the nation’s conscience, quickened its pace.
* Most middle-class whites, however, ignored the inequities in American society and turned out the voices of discontent.
* They rejected radicalism, extolled religion, and idealized their gender roles, domesticity, and togetherness.
* Busy working and spending, those able to do so left for a future decade the festering problems of poverty, urban decay, and racial injustice, and the explosive consequences of a younger generation rejecting their parents conformity and conservatism.

**CHAPTER 28: THE LIBERAL ERA, 1960-1968**

* GREENSBORO SIT-INS – 4 young men started the sit-ins at a lunch counter in Greensboro, SC (Woolworth’s). Many joined them and six months later after prolonged sit-ins, boycotts, and demonstrations, and violent white resistance, Greensboro’s white civic leaders grudgingly allowed blacks to sit down at restaurants and be served.
* By September 1961 some 70,000 students had sat to desegregate eating facilities, as well as “kneeled in” in churches, “slept in” in motel lobbies, “waded in” on restricted beaches, “read in” at public libraries, “played in” at city parks, and “watched in” at segregated movie theaters.
* The determination of the students transformed the struggle. It allowed other students to act and emboldened black adults to express their dissatisfaction.
* The sit-ins helped redefine liberalism.
* In their concern for civil liberties and civil rights, liberals sought to expand individual freedoms and to free African Americans from the shackles of racial discrimination and segregation.
* RALPH NADER – sounded the consumer alarm that many automobiles were unsafe at any speed.
* BETTY FRIEDAN – writing the *Feminine Mystique* to denounce the “housewife trap” that caused educated women to subordinate their own aspirations to the needs of men, and students protesting against what they saw as an immoral war.
* Both Kennedy and Johnson had liberal administrations that advocated an active federal government, particularly an activist presidency, to attack domestic and international problems and to achieve economic and social justice.
* Both relied on expanding economic growth to increase the social-welfare responsibilities of the government and give greater government benefits to the disadvantaged.
* Both pursued an aggressive foreign policy.

THE KENNEDY PRESIDENCY, 1960-1963

### A New Beginning

* Nixon and Kennedy went head to head in televised debates.
* Kennedy had a better presence and after the debates he shot up in the polls, and Nixon never regained his lead.
* Kennedy benefited from an economic recession and for choosing Johnson as his running mate; Johnson was a southern Protestant.
* The election was the closest since 1884, only 120,000 votes separated them.
* Kennedy surrounded himself with liberal intellectuals.
* He selected his brother for attorney general ROBERT KENNEDY.
* He was portrayed as a vibrant leader and adoring husband. The public knew nothing of his fragile health, frequent use of mood altering drugs to alleviate pain, and extramarital affairs.

### Kennedy’s Domestic Record

* His presidency was dubbed the “New Frontier”
* The Kennedy years saw little significant social legislation.
* JFK made economic growth the key to his liberal agenda.
* To stimulate the economy, he combined higher defense expenditures with investment incentives for private enterprise.
* He expanded America’s nuclear stockpile, strengthened the military’s conventional forces, and established the Special Forces (“Green Berets”) to engage in guerilla warfare.
* He also persuaded Congress to fund a “race to the moon.” He landed NEIL ARMSTRONG AND BUZZ WALDRON on the moon in 1969 at the cost of $25 billion.
* Most importantly, to pay for the federal aid to education, medical care for the elderly, and urban renewal that he proposed, Kennedy accepted his liberal advisers’ KEYNESIAN APPROACH to economic growth. He called for a huge cut in corporate taxes that would greatly increase the deficit but would presumably provide capital for business to invest inlays that would stimulate the economy and thus increase tax revenues.
* When his presidency ended in 1963, the proposed tax cut got bottled up in Congress. Military spending, continued technological innovation, heightened productivity, and low-cost energy, had already doubled the 1960 rate of economic growth., decrease unemployment, and held increases in inflation to 1.3% a year. The US was in the midst of its longest uninterrupted boom ever.
* This boom would cause further ecological damage and provide the affluence that enabled Americans to care about the environment.
* Kennedy appointed an advisory committee that warned against widespread pesticide use.
* In 1963 Congress passed a CLEAN AIR ACT, regulating automotive and industrial emissions.
* Washington hesitatingly began to deal with environmental problems

*Cold War Activism*

* Kennedy beefed up defense because he believed security depended on superior force and the willingness to use it.
* At the same time, he gained congressional backing for liberal programs of economic assistance to Third World countries to counter the appeal of communism.
* The PEACE CORPS, created in 1961, exemplified the New Frontier’s liberal anticommunism.
* In early 1961 a crisis flared in Laos. We backed one group and Pathet Lao rebels seemed headed toward communism. We negotiated to install a neutralist government but left communist forces dominant in the countryside. This stiffened Kennedy’s resolve not to allow further communist gains.
* Spring 1961 brought Kennedy’s first major policy crisis. He approved a CIA plan, drawn up by the Eisenhower administration, for anti-Castro exiles “la Brigada”, to invade Cuba. This is known as the BAY OF PIGS INCIDENT. In mid-April 1500 exiles stormed Cuba’s Bay of Pigs, assuming that their arrival would trigger a general uprising to overthrow Fidel. It was a fiasco. They had no air cover and were destroyed by Castro’s superior forces. Kennedy accepted blame for the failure, but he never apologized nor ceased attempting to topple Castro.
* In July 1961 Kennedy met with NIKITA KHRUSCHEV in Vienna to try to resolve a peace treaty with Germany. Khrushchev threatened a war unless the West retreated.
* Kennedy returned to Washington and declared the defense of West Berlin essential to the Free World. He doubled draft cards, mobilized 150,000 reservists, and requested an additional $3 billion in defense spending.
* The threat of nuclear war escalated until mid-August when the Soviets constructed a wall to seal off East Berlin from West Berlin. The BERLIN WALL became a symbol of communism’s denial of personal freedom until it fell in 1989.

### To the Brink of Nuclear War

* In mid-October 1962 aerial photographs revealed that the Soviet Union had built bases for intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) in Cuba, which could reach US targets as far as 2,200 miles away.
* Kennedy responded forcefully. He addressed the nation and demanded that the missiles be removed. The US, he said, would “quarantine” Cuba – impose a naval blockade – to prevent delivery of more missiles and would dismantle by force the missiles already in Cuba if the Soviets did not do so. This was known as the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.
* The two nations seemed destined for nuclear war. The Soviets tried to complete missile launch pads and sent ships carrying missiles.
* The US had 180 US naval ships in the Caribbean prepared to confront the Soviet ships. B-52s with nuclear bombs took to the air, and a quarter million troops assembled in Florida to invade Cuba.
* The Cuba bound ship stopped in the water. Khrushchev promised to remove missiles if the US promised not to invade Cuba.
* As Kennedy prepared to respond a second message came insisting that the US remove missiles from Turkey.
* Hours later a U-2 reconnaissance plane was shot down over Cuba. Kennedy accepted Khrushchev’s first offer and he agreed. Kennedy subsequently removed US missiles from Turkey, less publicly of course.
* The full dimension of the crisis was not known until after the crisis. The Soviets had 36 nuclear warheads as well as 9 tactical nuclear weapons for battlefield use. Soviet field commanders had independent authority to use these weapons. Kennedy also had not known that the Soviets had the capability to launch a nuclear strike from Cuba.
* They agreed to install a KREMILIN-WHITE HOUSE “HOT LINE” – so that the two sides could communicate instantly in future crises.
* In June 1963 JFK advocated a relaxation of superpowers tensions, and two months later the two nations agreed to a treaty outlawing atmospheric and undersea nuclear testing. These efforts signaled a new phase of the Cold War called DÉTENTE, in which the superpowers moved from confrontation to negotiation.
* The Cuban Missile Crisis also accelerated the nuclear arms race for another 25 years.

### The Thousand-Day Presidency

* November 22, 1963 – Kennedy was killed in Dallas, Texas.
* LBJ was sworn in on Air Force One.
* TV made Kennedy the king of Camelot in life and death.
* Kennedy’s rhetoric expressed the new liberalism, but he rarely made liberal ideas a reality. Economic expansion came from the space race and defense on spending, not on social welfare and human needs.
* Kennedy frequently compromised with conservative and segregationist congressional leaders. JFK allowed the FBI unprecedented authority to infringe on civil liberties, mostly because he had to keep his infidelities under wrap.
* The New Frontier barely existed for slowing corporate consolidation, or for women.
* Internationally, he left a mixed record. He signed the world’s first NUCLEAR-TEST-BAN TREATY, yet also initiated a massive nuclear-arms build-up. He compromised on Laos but deepened involvement in Vietnam.
* He insisted on maintaining US global superiority and halting the spread of international communism. He did this by increasing the powers of the executive branch. As never before, a small group of aides, personally loyal to the president, secretly dominated politics.
* He fired the energies and imaginations of millions of Americans. He helped to stimulate a flowering of social criticism and political activism. He left LBJ a liberal agenda as well as soaring expectations at home and a deteriorating entanglement in Vietnam. In part because of his death, leading an increasing number of Americans to lose confidence in their government and their future.

LIBERALISM ASCENDANT, 1963-1968

* LBJ excelled in wooing allies, neutralizing opponents, building coalitions, and achieving results.
* His first three years as president demonstrated his determination to prove himself to liberals.
* He won a landslide victory in 1964, and guided Congress through the greatest array of liberal legislation in US history, fulfilling and suppressing the New Deal liberal agenda of the 1930s.
* LBJ sought consensus and affection; Johnson would divide the nation and leave office repudiated.

### Johnson Takes Over

* Calling for a quick passage of the tax-cut and civil-rights bills as a memorial to his slain predecessor, Johnson used his skills to win passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a $10 billion tax-reduction bill, which produced a surge in capital investment and personal consumption that spurred economic growth and shrank the budget deficit.
* He also declared “unconditional war on poverty.”
* 40 million people lived in substandard housing and subsisted on inadequate diets.
* They lacked education, health care, and employment opportunities that most Americans took for granted.
* LBJ proposed an array of training programs and support services to bring these people into the mainstream.
* The ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT (1964) established the OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY to wage “unconditional war on poverty.”
* Its antipoverty programs included: the Job Corps to train young people in marketable skills; a domestic peace corps, VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America); Project Head Start to provide free compensatory education for preschoolers from disadvantaged families; the Community Action Program to encourage the “maximum feasible participation” of the poor in decisions that affected them and public-works and training programs.
* His vision was called the GREAT SOCIETY where overall people would be “more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.”

### The 1964 Election

* Johnson’s Great Society horrified the “new conservatism” and BARRY GOLDWATER led the way in opposition.
* Johnson’s racial liberalism frightened southern segregationists and blue-collar workers in northern cities who dreaded the integration of their communities, schools, and workplaces.
* Conservatives took control of the GOP in 1964. They nominated Barry Goldwater. He voiced his opposition to the Civil Rights Act and the censure of McCarthy. He denounced the War on Poverty in Appalachia, called for the sale of the TVA to private interests in TN, opposed high price supports for farmers in the Midwest, and advocated scrapping social security in FL, a major retirement community.
* He appealed to those angered by the Cold War stalemate, the erosion of traditional moral values, and the increasing militancy of African Americans.
* LBJ was able to attract the liberal and moderate vote because Goldwater was pinned as being the right extremist.
* LBJ won convincingly and the GOP lost 38 seats in the House, 2 in the Senate, and 500 in state legislatures.
* The Goldwater candidacy launched modern conservative movement in politics. It transformed the Republicans from a moderate, Eastern dominated party to one decidedly conservative, southern, and western.
* They built a base of financial support of conservative candidates; mobilized future leaders of the party, and led to the Republican “southern strategy” that would bring the election of Republican presidents in subsequent campaigns.

### Triumphant Liberalism

* The 89th Congress “The Congress of Fulfillment.” To LBJ, and Johnson’s “Hip Pocket Congress” to his opponents – enlarged the war on poverty and passed another milestone civil-rights act.
* It enacted a Medicare program and a Medicaid health plan for the poor.
* By 1975 the two programs would be serving 47 million people at a cost of $28 billion, a quarter of the nation’s total health care expenditures.
* The legislators gave funds for public education and housing, for redevelopment aid to Appalachia, and for revitalizing inner-city neighborhoods. They also created new departments of transportation and of housing and urban development and the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities.
* Congress enacted a new immigration law, abolishing the national-origins quotas of the 1920s.
* Legal immigration would increase from a quarter of a million a year before the act to well over a million annually, and the vast majority would come from Asia and Latin America.
* This helped to expand the nation’s culinary, linguistic, musical, and religious spectrum.
* In 1964 Congress passed the NATIONAL WILDERNESS PRESERVATION ACT, setting aside 9.1 million acres of wilderness. It then established the Redwood National Park and defeated efforts to dame the Colorado River and flood the lower Grand Canyon; strengthened the Clean Water and Clean Air Acts; protected endangered species; preserved scenic rivers; and lessened the number of junkyards and billboards.
* Congress also set the first federal safety standards for automobiles (National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act) and required states to establish highway safety programs (Highway Safety Act).
* The Great Society increased opportunity and improved the lives of millions. Poor dropped from 22% in 1960 to 13% in 1969; infant mortality declined by a third; Head Start reached more than 2 million poor children; African-American family income rose from 54% TO 61% of white family income.
* For many it remained more a dream than a reality.
* In 1966 LBJ spent 20 times more to wage war in Vietnam than to fight poverty in the US.
* Yet the programs were perceived and liberal programs and the “ungratefulness” of rioting blacks alienated many middle and working class whites.
* Others resented liberal regulation of business and federal involvement in public education.
* Many feared the growing intrusiveness of the liberal state in managing their daily lives.
* The loss of 47 House seats in 1966 sealed liberalism’s fate.

### The Warren Court in the Sixties

* No branch of government did more to support and promote the liberal agenda than the Supreme Court. They were led by chief justice EARL WARREN, he with the courts help acted to expand individual rights to a greater extent than ever before in American history.
* In a series of landmark cases the Court prohibited Bible reading and prayer in public schools, limited local power to censor books and films, and overturned state bans on contraceptives.
* *BAKER V. CARR* and related decisions, ruled that “one person, one vote” must prevail, which ended rural overrepresentation.
* The Court also upheld the rights of the accused in criminal cases, at a time when of soaring crime rates, which made some American mad.
* Criticism of the Supreme Court reached a climax in 1966 when it ruled in *Miranda v. Arizona* that police must warn all suspects that anything they say can be used against them in a court and that it could be used against them.
* In 1968 both Nixon and George Wallace would win favor by promising to appoint judges who emphasized “law and Order” over individual liberties.

THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK EQUALITY, 1961-1968

* JFK initially straddled the race issue.
* He balanced his appointment of an unprecedented number of African-Americans to federal jobs with the nomination of white racists to judgeships. He stalled 2 years before issuing the weakest possible executive order banning discrimination in federally financed housing.
* Pressure made him change his mind.

### Nonviolence and Violence

* In spring 1961 CORE organized a “FREEDOM RIDE” through the Deep South. The riders were violently attacked at their stops.
* Kennedy finally stepped in at Montgomery, fearful that the violence would undermine American prestige abroad so he dispatched federal marshals to end the violence. Not until many more freedom rides and the arrest of over 300 protestors did the president press the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce the Supreme Court’s ruling.
* Only crisis forced him to act.
* Many of the freedom riders were part of the STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) formed in April 1960 by participants in the sit-ins.
* They stressed non-violence and grass-root activism.
* Fall 1963 an angry mob rioted at the University of Mississippi to enroll James Meredith, a black air force veteran. People attacked federal marshals who escorted Meredith to “Ole Miss.”
* It left 2 dead, hundreds injured, the campus in tear gas, and Federal troops upholding the right of a black American to attend a university.

### The African-American Revolution

* Activists believed that the only practical remedy would be comprehensive national legislation, backed by the power of the federal government, guaranteeing full citizenship for African-Americans.
* King and his advisers chose Birmingham as their next big city to target.
* In April 1963 MLK, Jr. initiated a series of marches, sit-ins, and pray-ins that violated local laws and filled the jails with protestors.
* He wrote the letter from the Birmingham Jail.
* In May, thousands of schoolchildren joined the crusade.
* EUGENE “BULL” CONNOR (Police commissioner) unleashed his men who were armed with electric cattle prods, high-pressure water hoses, and snarling attack dogs – on the nonviolent demonstrators.
* This helped Kennedy to arrange a settlement that ended the demonstrations in return for the desegregation of Birmingham’s stores and the upgrading of black workers.
* The protests increased. Kennedy believed that if the federal government did not lead the way toward “peaceful and constructive” changes in race relations, blacks would turn to violent leaders and methods.
* Kennedy proposed the most comprehensive civil-rights measure in American history, outlawing segregation in public facilities and authorizing the federal government to withhold funds from programs that discriminated.
* Congress did not heed the president’s plea. To compel Congress to act, African Americans gathered in force in the Capitol.

### The March on Washington, 1963

* 250,000 people, including some 50,000 whites, converged on Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963. It was the largest political assembly to date.
* King turned a political rally into a historic event by giving one of the most famous speeches ever.

### The Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts

* Kennedy died.
* Johnson worked hard to pass a tougher Civil Rights Act
* The CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 banned racial discrimination and segregation in public accommodations. It also outlawed bias in federally funded programs; granted the federal government new power to fight school segregation; and forbade discrimination in employment, creating the EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION (EEOC) to enforce the ban on job discrimination by race, religion, national origin, or sex.
* It did not address the right to vote in state and local elections.
* So, CORE and SNCC took on a campaign to register black voters in the South.
* They organized the MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER PROJECT of 1964 to focus on the most racially divided state in the Union.
* They were harassed by MS law enforcement and the KKK; they endured the firebombing of black churches and civil-rights headquarters, as well as arrests.
* They only registered 1,200 voters, but they enrolled nearly 60,000 disfranchised blacks in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) they tried to get seats at the Democratic National Convention saying they were the only freely elected party in the state. LBJ gave them 2 seats and barred any delegated not having free elections from future conventions.
* Within SNCC, the failure of the liberals to support seating the MFDP delegates proved to be a turning point in their disillusionment with eh Democratic Party and liberals.
* MLK, Jr. and others still supported the Democrats and over 90% cast their ballots that way in the 1964 election.
* SCLC and others sought to march from Selma to Montgomery, to petition Gov. George Wallace, and were clubbed and tear-gassed by lawmen did they provoke national outrage. LBJ addressed the nation and urged Congress to pass a voting-rights bill.
* The President signed THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 in 1965. This invalidated the use of any test or device to deny the vote and authorized federal examiners to register voters in states that had disfranchised blacks. This law dramatically expanded black suffrage, boosting the number of registered black voters in the South from 1 million in 1964 to 3.1 million in 1968.
* Getting blacks in politics helped bring jobs, contracts for black business, and improvements in facilities and services in black neighborhoods.

### Fire in the Streets

* The civil-rights movement changed, but did not revolutionize, race relations. It ended legal segregation by race, broke the monopoly on political power in the South held by whites, and galvanized a new black sense of self and of dignity.
* It helped raise hopes for the possibility of change, legitimated protest, pointed the way of change, legitimated protest, pointed the way Americans could redress grievances.
* Its inability to transform equality of opportunity into equality of results underscored the limitations of liberal change, especially in the urban ghetto.
* WATTS RIOT – On Aug. 11, 1965 a confrontation between white police and young blacks in Watts, the largest black district in Los Angeles ignited the most destructive race riot in decades.
* For 6 days blacks looted shops, firebombed white-owned businesses, and sniped at police officers and fire fighters. At the end, 34 were dead, 900 were injured, and 4,000 arrested.
* Blacks in Chicago and Springfield, Mass. Took to the streets and did the same thing.
* In the summer of 1966 many ghetto outbreaks occurred in northern cities. The Civil Rights movement failed to address brutal behavior of the police and the condition of the slums.
* The following summer, black rage at oppressive conditions and impatience with liberal change erupted in 150 racial skirmishes and 40 riots – the most intense and destructive period of racial violence in US history.
* There was a bad riot in Detroit.
* The assassination of MLK, Jr. spurred more violent action.
* In the time period between 1964-1968 the riot toll would include some 200 dead, 7,000 injured, 40,000 arrested, at least $500 million in property destroyed, and King’s dreams diminishing.
* Militant blacks explained their actions as revolutionary violence to overthrow a racist, reactionary society.
* The administration’s NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS (known as the KERNER COMMISSION) indicted “white racism” for fostering an “explosive mixture” of poverty, slum housing, poor education, and police brutality in American’s cities.
* It said that our society was moving toward two societies, one black and one white, separate and unequal.
* It recommended increases in federal expenditures to assist urban blacks
* Johnson ignored the advice.

### “Black Power”

* The demand for BLACK POWER sounded in 1966 and it expressed the eagerness of younger activists for confrontation and rapid social change.
* It owed much to the teachings of MALCOLM X. He was jailed in 1946 for being a pimp and selling drugs. In jail he converted to the NATION OF ISLAM (NOI), the Black Muslim group founded by WALLACE FARD and led by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD.
* Malcolm X became the Black Muslim’s most dynamic street orator and recruiter.
* The message was built on separatist and nationalist impulses long present in the black community – racial solidarity and uplift, self-sufficiency and self-help.
* He wanted blacks to proud of themselves. They advocated violence if used against you first.
* He did not want desegregation; he wanted blacks to build up their own institutions.
* In February 1965, after he broke with the NOI, three gunmen affiliated with the NOI assassinated him.
* However, he was not silenced, his account of his beliefs and his life became the main text of the rising Black Power movement.
* 2 days after winning the world heavyweight championship in 1964, Cassius Clay announced his conversion to the NOI and his new name, Muhammad Ali. He refused to go to the armed forces for religious grounds and found guilty of draft evasions. He was stripped of his title and banned from boxing for 3 ½ years.
* In 1966 CORE and SNCC changed from interracial organizations committed to achieving integration nonviolently to all-black groups advocating racial separatism and Black Power “by any means necessary.”
* BLACK PANTHER PARTY – founded in Oakland, CA in 1966. HUEY P. NEWTON and BOBBY SEALE founded it and urged black men to become “panthers – smiling, cunning, scientific, striking by night and sparing no one.”
* They founded schools and engaged in peaceful community activism, but they were best known for their shootouts with the police. Many of its members died in confrontations with police or were put in jail, this destroyed the organizations and, together with the riots, galvanizing white opposition.
* Black Power helped organize scores of community self-help groups and institutions that did not depend on whites.
* It was used to establish black studies programs, to mobilize black voters, to elect black candidates, and to encourage greater racial pride and self-esteem.

VOICES OF PROTEST

### Native American Activism

* In 1961 representatives of 67 tribes drew up a DECLARATION OF PURPOSES criticizing the termination policy of the 1950s.
* In 1964 they lobbied Washington to be included on the War on Poverty.
* They suffered the worst poverty, the most inadequate housing, the highest disease and death rates, and the least access to education of any group in the US.
* Johnson responded by establishing the NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY in 1965. It put more federal funds to reservations than any previous program. He also appointed the first Native American to head the BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS (BIA) since 1870. He rejected the termination policy and advocated Indian self-determination, insisting in a special message to Congress in 1968 on “the right of the First Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans.”
* By 1968 younger Indians were calling for “RED POWER” – they voiced dissatisfaction with the accomodationist approach of their elders, the lack of protection for Indian land and water rights, the desecration of Indian graves and sacred sites, and legal prohibitions against certain Indian religious practices.
* They established reservation cultural programs to reawaken spiritual beliefs and teach Native languages. They tried to get fishing rights, stop strip-mining, and get sacred places preserved.
* The most militant group, the AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM), was founded in 1968 by Chippewa’s, Sioux, and Ojibwa from the northern Plains.
* Its goals were to protect the traditional ways of Native Americans, prevent police harassment of Indians in urban “red ghettos,” and establish “survival schools” to teach Indian history and values.
* In late 1969 they executed a sustained protest, occupying Alcatraz. They were there for 19months.
* It helped to have other Indians be proud of their heritage.

### Hispanic-Americans Organize

* They had a median wage half the poverty level, with 40% of Mexican-American adults functionally illiterate, and with de facto segregation common throughout the SW, Latinos like CESAR CHAVEZ turned to the more militant tactics and strategies of the civil-rights movement.
* He worked to gain union recognition and improved working conditions for the mostly Mexican-American farm laborers in CA.
* He used religion and nonviolent resistance to fight for social change; he led his followers in the Delano vineyards of the San Joaquin Valley to strike in 1965.
* Chavez and UNITED FARM WORKER (UFW) cofounder Dolores Huerta organized consumer boycotts of table grapes to dramatize the farm workers’ struggle.
* The made *LA CAUSA* part of the common struggle of the entire Mexican-American community and part of the larger national movement for civil rights and social justice
* They were able to unionize to secure better wages.
* Also in the mid 1960s young Hispanic activists began using the formerly pejorative terms *Chicano* and *Chicana* to express a militant sense of collective identity and solidarity for all those of Mexican and Latin American descent.
* Rejecting assimilation, Chicano student organizations came together in *EL MOVIMIENTO ESTUDIANTIL CHICANO DE AZTLAN (MEChA)* – in 1967. They led students in Denver, LA, and San Antonio in boycotts of classes in 1968 to demand bilingual education and more Latino teachers, and demonstrated a their own colleges to obtain Chicano Studies program and Chicana-only organizations.
* Students from the Far East also campaigned for special education programs and for the election of Asian Americans to office.
* Formed at the University of California in 1968, the ASIAN AMERICAN POLITICAL ALLIANCE encouraged Asian-American students to claim their own cultural identity and to protest the war in Vietnam.
* None of the movements for ethnic pride and power could sustain the fervent activism and media attention that they attracted in the late sixties.
* But, by elevating the consciousness and nurturing the confidence of the younger generation, each contributed to the cultural pride of its respective group, and to the politics of identity that would continue to grow n importance.

### A Second Feminist Wave

* John Kennedy established the PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN. Its 1963 report documented occupational inequities suffered by women that were similar to those endured by minorities. They received less pay than men for comparable work, had less chance to move into professional or managerial careers. Women who served on the commission urged that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibit gender-based as well as racial discrimination in employment.
* Dismayed bye the EEOC’s reluctance to enforce the ban on sex discrimination – BETTY FRIEDAN, BELLA AZBUG, AILEEN HERNANDEZ, and others formed the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW) in 1966. They sought liberal change through he political system. They lobbied for equal opportunity, filed lawsuits against gender discrimination, and mobilized public opinion against the sexism then pervasive in America.
* It’s prominence owed a lot to Betty Freidan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). It deplored the narrow view that women should seek fulfillment solely as wives and mothers.
* Younger women helped the movement along. In 1965 civil-rights activists Mary King and Casey Hayden drew a parallel “between treatment of Negroes and treatment of women in our society as a whole.”

### Women’s Liberation

* Militant feminists in 1968 adopted the technique of “CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING” as a recruitment device and a means of transforming women’s perceptions of themselves and society. They came to understand the power dynamics in marriage, the family, and the workplace. This new consciousness begot a commitment to end sexism and a sense that “sisterhood is powerful.”
* Liberation groups sprang up across the country. They established health collectives, shelters for abused women, created day care centers, rape crisis centers, founded abortion counseling services and women’s studies programs, they demanded equality in education and the workplace, and protested the negative portrayals of women in the media and advertising.
* In 1970 was the largest women’s rights demonstration ever. By then, the women’s movement pressured for equal pay, credit in their own names, listing employment under one heading, not male and female.
* In 1960 “The Pill” came on the market, giving women greater freedom to be sexually active without the risk of pregnancy. Many women aware of the dangers of abortion, pushed for their legalization.

THE LIBERAL CRUSADE IN VIETNAM, 1961-1968

### Kennedy and Vietnam

* He ordered massive shipments of weaponry to South Vietnam and increased the number of American forces stationed there from less than 700 in 1960 to more than 16,000 by the end of 1963.
* He did not want Vietnam to go communist.
* He believed that letting “aggression” go unchecked would lead to wider wars and that the communist takeover of one nation would mean that others in the region would soon fall as well.
* The US uprooted Vietnamese peasants and moved them into fortified villages, or “strategic hamlets.” But Pres. Diem crushed demonstrations by students and Buddhists. By mid-1963 Buddhist monks were setting themselves on fire to protest Diem’s repression, and his own general were plotting a coup against him.
* Frustrated American policy makers concluded that only a new government could prevent a Vietcong victory. They secretly backed the efforts of Vietnamese army officers planning Diem’s overthrow.
* Nov. 1, they staged their coup, captured Diem and his brother, and shot them.
* The US immediately recognized the new government, which was the first of 9 South Vietnamese regimes in the next 5 years. But it too made little progress. He had two options, increase deployment or pull out and negotiate a settlement.
* Less than a month after Diem’s death, Kennedy was killed. Many think that he was favoring withdrawal.

### Escalation of the War

* LBJ now had to decide, he feared that an all-out military effort might provoke Chinese or Soviet entry and lead to WWIII. Yet, he did not want the US to appear weak. He had no intention of allowing the charge that he was soft on communism to be used to destroy him or his liberal programs.
* Trapped between unacceptable alternatives, Johnson widened the war, hoping the US firepower would force Ho Chi Minh to the bargaining table. But they thought they could gain more by outlasting the US than by negotiating, so the ground war went on.
* In 1964 he prepared for air strikes against North Vietnam. In May his advisors drafted a congressional resolution authorizing an escalation of American military action. In July the president appointed Gen. Maxwell Taylor, a proponent of greater American involvement in the war, as ambassador to Saigon.
* In early August North Vietnamese patrol boats allegedly clashed with two American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. Evidence was unclear, but Johnson declared that we were victims of aggression. He condemned them as unprovoked, never admitting that US ships had been aiding the South Vietnamese in secret raids against North Vietnam.
* GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION – It authorized Johnson to “take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.” It was passed 88 to 2, and the House 416 to 0, assured by the president that this meant no “extension of the present conflict.”
* He considered it a mandate to commit US forces as he saw fit.
* The resolution created an eventual credibility problem for Johnson, allowing opponents of the war to charge that he had misled Congress and lied to the American people. Thus, at the height of his popularity, his downfall began.

### The Endless War

* Early in 1965, Johnson cashed his blank check and authorized “OPERATION ROLLING THUNDER”, which was the sustained bombing of North Vietnam.
* It accomplished none of its purpose: to inflict enough damage to make Hanoi negotiate, to boost the morale of the Saigon government, and to stop the flow of soldiers and supplies coming from North Vietnam via the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail.
* Unable to turn the tide by bombing, he committed combat troops. They tried to pursue an attrition strategy, trying to force them to the table by inflicting great losses. They had 485,000 Americans there by 1967.
* But superiority in weapons did not defeat them because of the terrain and their sheer determination.

### Doves Versus Hawks

* Students began to question the purpose of the war.
* In 1966 large-scale campus protests against the war erupted. They demonstrated against the draft and university research for the Pentagon.
* Intellectuals and clergy voiced their opinions against the war as well. Hundred of thousands joined in anti-war protests.
* Critics also noted that the war’s toll fell most heavily on the poor. Owing to college deferments, the use of influence, and a military assignment system that shunted the better educated to desk jobs, lower-class youths were twice as likely to be drafted and, when drafted, twice as likely to see combat duty as middle-class youths. About 80% enlisted came from poor and working-class families.
* TV coverage of the war further eroded support.
* They saw American troops, supposedly winning the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese, burn their villages and desecrate their burial grounds.
* Yet, most supported the war or remained undecided.
* LBJ was seen as a warmonger and a child killer.

CONCLUSION

* Kennedy did more to stimulate hope than to change the realities of life.
* Not until Johnson became president did the liberal ideal of an activist government promoting a fairer and better life for all Americans come closer to a reality.
* He pushed Congress to enact his Great Society legislation promoting health, education, voting rights, urban renewal, immigration reform, federal support for the arts and humanities, protection of the environment, and a war against poverty.
* The landmark Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, ending the legality of racial discrimination and black disfranchisement, provided greater equality of opportunity for African Americans and nurtured the self-esteem of blacks.
* It did not help urban ghettos, there,
* rioting ensued, which undermined support of the liberal agenda. Not poverty, but the poor seemed the enemy.
* Other minorities fought for racial justice.
* The Vietnam War destroyed the liberal consensus as well as the Johnson presidency.
* LBJ chose to escalate, unable to win in the manner in which he wanted to fight and unwilling to admit failure, Johnson sank deeper into the Vietnam quagmire, polarizing the country and fragmenting the Democratic Party.

**CHAPTER 29: A TIME OF UPHEAVAL, 1968-1974**

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

* More people started going to college
* Most baby boomers followed conventional paths in the 1960s. They drank beer, played football, and prepared themselves for the job market. They weren’t protestors, for the most part.
* There were students on both sides – the New Right and the New Left.

### Toward a New Left

* In the 1960s a liberal-minded minority welcomed the idealism of the civil-rights movement.
* 60 students adopted the PORT HURON STATEMENT in June 1962. It proclaimed a “new left” and gave birth to the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS). Inspired by young black activists, SDS envisioned a nonviolent youth movement transforming the US into a “participatory democracy” in which individuals would directly control the decisions that affected their lives. They thought that such a system would value love and creativity and would end materialism, militarism, and racism.
* Most never joined the SDS but associated with “the movement” or the “New Left.”
* Unlike the leftists of the 1930s they rejected Marxist ideology; emulated SNCC’s rhetoric and style; and were radicalized by the rigidity of campus administrators and mainstream liberalism’s inability to achieve swift, fundamental change.

### From Protest to Resistance

* MARIO SAVIO and the BERKELY FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT (FSM), he tried to solicit funds and recruit volunteers for political activists. The university banned this. So, the FSM was formed and students joined to demand the right to campus political activity. Savio claimed that the university served the interests of corporate American and treated students as interchangeable machine parts.
* This call for students to protest reverberated on campuses nationwide. They protested all kinds of things from the ROTC to fewer required courses.
* The escalation of the war in Vietnam, and the abolition of automatic student deferments from the draft in Jan. 1966, turned the Movement into a mass movement.
* They popularized the slogan “Make Love – Not War,” SDS organized teach-ins, sponsored antiwar marches and rallies, and harassed campus recruiters for the military and Dow Chemical Company, the chief producer of napalm and Agent Orange.
* They supported draft resistance and civil disobedience in selective service centers, and clashed with federal marshals.
* By 1968 SDS claimed 100,000 members on 300 campus charters.
* That spring saw at least 40,000 students on 100 campuses demonstrate against war and racism. Most stayed peaceful.
* In April they protested so much at Columbia University that they ended the term early.
* The highpoint of Movement activism came in mid-1969 with the NEW MOBILIZATION, a series of huge antiwar demonstrations culminating in mid-November with a March Against Death.
* 300,000 protestors went to Washington, D.C., to march.
* Students of the 1960s saw themselves as a political force, able to influence what affected their own lives.

### Kent State – Jackson State

* A storm of violence in the spring of 1970 marked the effective end of the student movement as a political force.
* On April 30, 1970 Nixon announced that he ordered troops to Cambodia.
* Nixon had previously decided that he was going to get the US out of Vietnam by “VIETNAMIZING” the ground fighting (that is, using South Vietnamese troops instead of Americans).
* Students felt betrayed.
* At KENT STATE UNIVERSITY in Ohio, students broke windows and tried to firebomb the ROTC building.
* Nixon called them bums. Ohio governor James Rhodes slapped martial law on the university. 3,000 were sent.
* The day after the arrival, 600 students demonstrated against the Cambodian invasion. The police asked them to disperse, they did not and some threw stones. With bayonets fixed, the guardsmen moved toward the rally and laid down a blanket of tear gas.
* Hundred began to run. Guardsmen in Troop G, poorly trained in crowd control, raised their rifles and fired a volley into the retreating crowd. When the shooting stopped, 4 students were dead, two of them women merely passing by on their way to lunch.
* 10 days later, MS state patrolmen fired into a women’s dormitory at JACKSON STATE COLLEGE, killing 2 black students. Nationwide students exploded in protest. A wave of strikes closed down 400 colleges, many of which had seen no previous unrest.
* Hundred of thousands of once moderate students now identified themselves as “radical or far Left.”
* This polarized the US.
* Both class resentment of privileged college students and a fear of social chaos animated working-class people’s condemnation of protestors.

### Legacy of Student Frenzy

* When a bomb planted by three antiwar radicals destroyed a science building at the University of Wisconsin in summer 1970, killing a graduate student, most young people condemned the tactic.
* When they returned in the fall, the students were much more mellow.
* Antiwar activists turned to other causes. Some became involved in the women’s and ecology movements. Others sought refuge in mystic cults and rural communes. Many settled into careers and parenthood.
* A handful of radicals went underground, committing terrorist acts that resulted in government repression of what remained of the antiwar movement.
* The New Left was finished, a victim of government harassment, its own internal contradictions, and Nixon’s winding down of the Vietnam War.
* Religious fundamentalists, southern segregationists, and blue-collar workers united in a conservative resurgence. This helped to propel people like Ronald Reagan to prominence.
* In 1966 he won CA’s governorship by denouncing Berkeley demonstrators and Watts rioters. He won reelection by denouncing radicals.
* The New Left had helped mobilize public opposition to the Vietnam War.
* They helped to make campus life and university governance less authoritarian. Dress codes and curfews virtually disappeared; ROTC went from a requirement to an elective, minority recruitment increased, and students assisted in shaping their education.
* Only a few made a long-term commitment to radical politics.
* The generation that the New Left had hoped to organize as the vanguard of radical change preferred pot to politics, and rock to revolution.

THE COUNTERCULTURE

### Hippies and Drugs

* There were two view of pot. One that it was harmful, and two that it was a relaxer.
* LSD was also a popular drug of this time period.
* The counterculture sought a world in which magic and mysticism replaced science and reason, and where competitive individuals became caring and loving.

### Musical Revolution

* Early in the 1960s folk music was the vogue on college campuses.
* Songs protested war and racism.
* Beatle mania swept the country.
* In August 1969, 400,000 young people gathered for the Woodstock festival in New York’s Catskill Mountains to celebrate their vision of freedom and harmony. It lasted 3 days and nights. The counterculture heralded the festival as the dawning of an era of love and sharing, the Age of Aquarius.
* It did help to bring in a train of rapists and dope peddlers. In December 1969 Charles Manson and his “family” of runaways ritually murdered a pregnant movie actress and 4 of her friends.
* In 1970, the Beatles disbanded.
* Advertisers awoke to the economic potential of the youth culture, using “rebellion” and “revolution” to sell cars, cigarettes, and jeans.
* Most youths moved into conventional jobs and conventional lifestyles.

### The Sexual Revolution

* Liberalized sexual mores were more publicly accepted than ever before.
* Many people linked the increases in sexual permissiveness to waning fears of wanted to pregnancy due to the availability of birth control.
* Also, abortion became legalized in *ROE V. WADE* (1973) – women were granted the right to an abortion during the first trimester (three months) of pregnancy.
* The Supreme Court also upheld the right of people to view pornography in their own homes.
* TV taboos tumbled as network censors allowed blatantly sexual jokes and frank discussion of previously forbidden subjects
* Attitudinal changes brought behavioral changes and vice versa. Things like divorce became more acceptable.

### Gay Liberation

* Gay liberation emerged publicly in late June 1969. During a routine raid by NYC police, the homosexual patrons of the Stonewall INN, a gay bar in Greenwich Village, fought back. The furor triggered a surge of “gay pride,” a new sense of identity and self-acceptance, and widespread activism.
* Supporters of the GAY LIBERATION FRONT came primarily from the gay subcultures found in the larges cities. By 1973 some 800 openly gay groups were fighting for equal rights for homosexuals, for incorporating lesbianism into the women’s movement, and for removing the stigma of immorality and depravity attached to being gay. They succeeded in getting the American Psychiatric Association to rescind its official view of homosexuality as a mental disorder, and to reclassify it as a normal sexual orientation.
* Many states included “sexual orientation” as a protected status.

1968: THE POLITICS OF UPHEAVAL

### The Tet Offensive in Vietnam

* January 31 – the first day of Tet, the Vietnamese New Year – America’s hopes for victory in Vietnam exploded, mortally wounding LBJ’s reelection plans. TET OFFENSIVE.
* National Liberation Front (NLF) and North Vietnamese forces mounted a huge offensive, attacking more than a100 South Vietnamese cities and towns and even the US embassy in Saigon. US troops repulsed the offensive after a month of fierce fighting. It killed 37,00 enemy forces and inflicted a major military defeat on the communists.
* The media portrayed the growing number of US casualties and the daring scope of the Tet Offensive.
* Many Americans felt that all of Vietnam was susceptible to North Vietnamese attack and no place was safe. Many doubted that the US could win the war at any acceptable cost.
* Johnson’s approval ratings dropped and less people claimed themselves “hawks” and more claimed themselves “doves”.

### A Shaken President

* Nearly 5,000 students campaigned for EUGENE MCCARTHY in the NH primary. He won nearly half the popular vote as well as 20 of the 24 nominating-convention delegates in a state usually regarded as conservative.
* After this upset, twice as many students went to WI to canvass its more liberal Democratic voters.
* Senator Robert Kennedy also joined the race for the Democrats taking an anti-war stance.
* On March 31, Johnson surprised a TV audience by announcing a halt to the bombing in North Vietnam. He also announced that he would not seek another term or nomination from his party.
* McCarthy than trounced the president in the WI primary.
* Ignored and often forgotten in retirement, LBJ would die of a heart attack on the same day in Jan. 1973 that the US signed the PARIS PEACE ACCORDS that ended America’s direct combat role in the Vietnam War.

### Assassinations and Turmoil

* On April 4, 3 days after the WI primary, MLK, Jr. was killed in Memphis, where he had gone to support striking sanitation workers. The assassin was James Earl Ray, an escaped convict and white racist.
* He would confess, be found guilty, and then recant, leaving aspects of his death unclear. Some believed other conspirators were involved.
* As the news spread, 125 ghettoes burst into violence. Police were ordered to shoot to kill suspected arsonists in Chicago. The rioting left 46 dead, 3,000 injured, and nearly 27,000 in jail.
* Entering the race as the favorite of the party bosses and labor chieftains, LBJ’s vice president, HUBERT HUMPHREY, turned the Democratic contest for the presidential nomination into a three-cornered scramble.
* McCarthy ran as the candidate of the “new politics”, a moral crusade against the war directed mainly to affluent, educated liberals.
* Kennedy campaigned as the tribune of the less privileged, he appealed to white ethnics and the minority poor.
* On June 5, 1968, after his victory in the CA primary, the brother of the murdered president was himself assassinated by a Palestinian refugee, Sirhan Sirhan, who loathed Kennedy’s pro-Israeli views.
* Their deaths further estranged activists, convinced many people that nonviolent strategies were futile, and made it more difficult for the Democrats to unite against the Republicans.
* Some Democrats turned to third-party candidate GEORGE WALLACE’s thinly veiled appeal for white supremacy or to the GOP nominee Richard M. Nixon.
* The Republican appealed to those disgusted with inner-city riots and antiwar demonstrations. He promised to end the war “honorably” and to restore “law and order.”
* Nixon appealed the tax paying, law-abiding citizen.
* In August 1968 violence outside the Democratic National Convention in Chicago reinforced the appeal of both Wallace and Nixon.
* Mayor Daley okayed an attack on “hippies, the Yippies, and the flippies.”
* The savagery of the Chicago police fulfilled the radicals’ desire for mass disorder.
* Daley’s police randomly clubbed demonstrators, casual bystanders, and television crews filming the melee. The brutality on the streets overshadowed Humphrey’s nomination and tore the Democrats farther apart, fixing Americans’ image of them as the party of dissent and disorder.

*Conservative Resurgence*

* Nixon portrayed himself as the candidate for the silent majority.
* He criticized the Supreme Court for safeguarding the rights of criminals and radicals, promised to appoint tough “law and order” judges, vowed to get people off welfare and on pay-rolls, and asserted that “our schools are for education – not integration.”
* Wallace had a similar message.
* Wallace got a small portion of the vote, Nixon and Humphrey almost split the rest – Nixon had 43.4% of the popular vote and only 301 electoral votes. Humphrey received just 38% of the white vote and not even close to ½ of the labor vote, the long dominated New Deal coalition was shattered. The 1968 election brought both the inauguration of a new president and the end of the liberal era.
* The Republicans attracted a new majority who lived in the suburbs, the West, and the Sunbelt. The GOP appealed to those most concerned with traditional values, most upset by high taxes, and most opposed to racial integration and special efforts to assist minorities and people on welfare.

NIXON AND WORLD POLITICS

* Nixon was elected in 1968.
* Nixon focused mainly on foreign affairs. Considering himself a master of REALPOLITIK – a pragmatic approach stressing national interest rather than ethical goals – he sought to check Soviet expansion and to reduce superpower conflict, to limit the nuclear-arms race and to enhance America’s economic well-being. He wanted to get the US out of Vietnam and an easing of tensions with the communist world.

### Vietnamization

* He announced the NIXON DOCTRINE in August 1969. He redefined the role in the Third World as that of a helpful partner rather than a military protector. Nations facing communist subversion could count on US support, but they would have to defend themselves.
* Johnson’s decision to negotiate rather than escalate had left American troops with the sense that little mattered except survival. Morale plummeted. Discipline collapsed. Army desertions rocketed, and AWOL rates rose even higher.
* Racial conflict became common. Drug use soared; the Pentagon estimated that 2 out of 3 soldiers in Vietnam were smoking marijuana and that one in three had tried heroin.
* The army reported hundreds of cases of “FRAGGING”, the assassination of officers and noncommissioned officers by their own troops.
* MY LAI MASSACRE – In March 1968, an army unit led by Lieutenant William Calley massacred several hundred South Vietnamese. They gang-raped girls, lined up women and children and shot them, and burned the village. Events like this undercut the already diminished support for the war.
* Nixon wanting to keep US prestige, sought “peace and honor”, to achieve this he acted on 3 fronts:
  + First, “VIETNAMIZATION,” replacing American troops with South Vietnamese. By 1972 the US forces has been reduced to 30,000, down more than half a million when Nixon took the presidency in 1969, and the policy had not worked.
  + Second, bypassing South Vietnamese leaders who feared that nay accord with the communists would doom them, Nixon sent Kissinger to secretly negotiate with North Vietnam’s foreign minister, Le Duc Tho.
  + Third, to force the communists to compromise despite the withdrawal of US combat troops, Nixon escalated the bombing of North Vietnam and secretly ordered air strikes on their supply lines in Cambodia and Laos.

### LBJ’s War Becomes Nixon’s War

* The bombing of Cambodia did nothing to hurt the North Vietnamese.
* Instead, it undermined the stability of that tiny republic and precipitated a civil war between pro-American and communist factions.
* In early 1970 North Vietnam increased its infiltration of troops into Cambodia both to aid the Khmer Rouge (communists) and to escalate its war in South Vietnam.
* Nixon ordered a joint US – South Vietnamese incursion into Cambodia at the end of April 1970.
* The invasion ended Cambodia’s neutrality, widened the war throughout Indochina, and provoked massive American protests against the war, culminating in the student deaths at Kent State and Jackson State Universities.
* The invaded Laos, the South Vietnamese lost.
* Then the North mounted a major campaign in 1972 called the Easter Offensive, and then Nixon retaliated by dropping bombs on Major cities in the North.

### America’s Longest War Ends

* In late October, just days before the 1972 presidential election, Kissinger announced that “peace is at hand.” The cease-fire agreement he had secretly negotiated with Le Duc Tho required the withdrawal of US troops, provided for the return of American POW’s, and allowed North Vietnamese troops to remain in South Vietnam.
* This sealed Nixon’s reelection, but South Vietnam’s President Thieu refused to sign a cease-fire permitting North Vietnamese troops to remain in the South.
* Le Duc Tho pressed Kissinger for more concessions.
* Nixon resorted to massive bombing raids.
* The 1972 Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, the most destructive of the war, roused fierce opposition in Congress and the UN, but broke the deadlock.
* Nixon’s secret reassurance to Thieu that the US would “respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam” ended Saigon’s recalcitrance.
* The PARIS ACCORDS, signed in late Jan. 1973, essentially restated the terms of the October truce.
* The war continued between the North and the South.
* The Nation paid little heed to its Vietnam veterans, many of whom were suffering from psychological difficulties.
* Most Americans just wanted to forget.

### Détente

* Disengagement from Vietnam helped Nixon to achieve a turnabout in Chinese-American relations and détente with the communist powers.
* China wanted to end its isolationism; the US wanted to play one communist power off against the other; and both wanted to thwart USSR expansionism in Asia.
* In fall 1970 Nixon opened what Kissinger called “THE THREE DIMENSIONAL GAME” by calling China the People’s Republic instead of Red China.
* Kissinger began secret negotiations and in mid-1971 Nixon said he would go to China to normalize relations.
* He went in 1972; it didn’t do much but opened the door of communications. Official diplomatic relations did not occur until 1979.
* Equally significant, Nixon went to Moscow in May 1972 to sign agreements with eh Soviets on trade, technological cooperation, and the limitation of nuclear weapons.
* The STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS (SALT I), ratified by the Senate in Oct. 1972, limited each nation to 2 antiballistic missile systems, froze each side’s offensive nuclear missiles for 5 years, and committed both countries to strategic equality rather than nuclear superiority. It reflected the belief that the fear of destruction offered the surest guarantee against nuclear war and that mutual fear could be maintained only if neither side built nationwide missile-defense systems. It reduced Soviet0-American tension and, in an election year, enhanced Nixon’s status.

### Shuttle Diplomacy

* The Middle East remained an area of conflict.
* The Palestinian-Israeli conflict had just saw the Six-Day War of 1967. Palestinians, many of them refugees, turned increasingly to the militant Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), which demanded Israel’s destruction.
* War exploded again in Oct. 1973 when Egypt and Syria launched surprise attacks against Israel on Yom Kippur, the most sacred Jewish hold day.
* Only supplies from the US helped to stop the attack.
* In retaliation, the Arab states lunched their biggest weapon, cutting off oil shipments to the US and its allies.
* The 5-month embargo showed US dependence on foreign energy sources. It spawned acute fuel shortages, which spurred coal production in Montana and WY, triggered an oil boom on Alaska’s North Slope, and provided the impetus for constructing more nuclear-power plants. It also sharpened inflation because crude oil went from 3 to 12 dollars a barrel.
* The dual shock of the energy crisis and rising Soviet influence in the Arab world spurred Kissinger to engage in “SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY.” Flying from one Middle East capital to another for 2 years, he negotiated a cease-fire, pressed Israel to cede captured Arab territory, and persuaded the Arabs to end the oil embargo. It left the situation festering, but it excluded the Soviets from Middle Eastern affairs.
* To counter Soviet influence, the Nixon administration also supplied arms and assistance to the shah of Iran, the white supremacist regime of South Africa, and President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines. They based American aid on a nation’s willingness to oppose the Soviet Union, not on the nature of its government.
* Thus, they gave aid to antidemocratic regimes in Argentina, Brazil, Nigeria, and South Korea, as well as Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola.
* When Chileans elected a Marxist president, Nixon funded $10 million to aid the CIA in funding opponents of this regime. After an overthrow of the government, Nixon returned aid to Chile, even though it was a dictatorship.
* His administration improved relations with the Soviets and Chinese, improved the US position in the Middle East, and ended American involvement in Vietnam.
* He built his reputation as a hard-line Cold Warrior, but he issued in a new era of détente.

DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AND DIVISIONS

### Richard Nixon: Man and Politician

* Nixon the politician was highly intelligent, yet also displayed the rigid self-control of a man monitoring his own every move.
* Largely hidden was the insecure Nixon, suspicious and filled with anger. He thought enemies lurked everywhere and it verged on paranoia.
* Accordingly, he sought to annihilate his partisan enemies, particularly the “eastern liberal establishment” that had long opposed him.
* He spoke of national reconciliation, took bold initiatives internationally, and dealt with domestic problems responsibly. But the darker side ultimately prevailed and drove him from office in disgrace.

### The Nixon Presidency

* July 21, 1969 the APOLLO 11 lunar module, named *Eagle*, descended on the Sea of Tranquility. NEIL ARMSTRONG, the first human to set foot on the moon. Buzz Aldrin and Neil Armstrong put a fag up on the moon.
* In 1975 the US and Soviets met in space and conducted joint research, the space race essentially ended, superceded by cooperative international efforts to explore the rest of the universe.
* His party controlled neither houses of Congress.
* So, he couldn’t pursue an always conservative course.
* He instituted wage and price controls, inaugurated affirmative action policies, and approved the vote for 18 year olds.
* He also responded to environmental concerns, reluctantly
* New laws were brought limiting pesticide use, further protecting endangered species and marine animals, safeguarding coastal lands, and controlling strip-mining.
* Further legislation regulated consumer product safety and the transportation of hazardous materials, established maximum levels for the emissions of pollutants into the air, created the OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH ADMINISTRATION (OSHA) to enforce health and safety standards in the workplace, and required federal agencies to prepare an environmental impact analysis of all proposed projects. Overseeing all these regulations and restriction was the newly established ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY (EPA).
* April 1970 – the first Earth day.
* Conservative grumbled as government grew larger and more intrusive.
* Race-conscious employment regulations for all federal contractors (including quotas to increase minority access to skilled jobs) displeased them even more.
* They grew angrier when he unveiled the FAMILY ASSISTANCE PLAN (FAP) in 1969. It was a bold effort to overhaul the welfare system; it proposed a guaranteed minimum annual income for all Americans. It died in the Senate

### A Troubled Economy

* Nixon faced a budget deficit of $25 billion in 1969 and an inflation rate of 5%.
* Nixon cut government spending and encouraged the Federal Reserve Board to raise interest rates. The result was the first recession since Eisenhower plus inflation, a combination economists called “stagflation” and Democrats termed “Nixonomics”
* Accelerating inflation wiped out some families savings and lowered the standard of living for many more.
* It sparked a wave of strikes to increase wages, so people could keep up with the cost of living.
* It encouraged the wealthy to invest in art and real estate rather than in technology in factories.
* That meant more plant shutdowns, fewer industrial jobs, and millions of displaced workers whose savings were depleted, mortgages foreclosed, and health and pension benefits lost.
* He switched from policy to policy in 1971 to curb inflation and cure the recession. He increased deficit spending to stimulate the private sector. It resulted in the largest budget deficit and imposing a 90-day freeze on wages, prices, and rents. This “BAND-AID” gave the economy a shot in the arm that worked until after the 1972 election.
* In 1974, safely reelected, he again replaced wage-and-price ceilings with: voluntary restraints” and “guidelines”. Inflation zoomed to 9%, and then to 12% as the ORGANZIATION OF PETROLEUM EXPORTING COUTNRIES (OPEC) boycott quadrupled the price of crude oil.
* Inflation and sluggish growth would dog the US economy throughout the decade.

### Law and Order

* To get reelected, Nixon opposed court-ordered busing and took a tough stand against criminals, drug users, and radicals.
* The President used the full resources of the White House against militants. They were audited, denied loans, illegally wiretapped, immobilized the Black Panthers, and compiled dossiers on thousand of citizens, they were prosecuted.
* In 1970 Nixon widened his offensive against the antiwar movement by approving the HUSTON PLAN. It called for extensive wiretapping and infiltrating of radical organizations by White House operatives, as well as their breaking into the homes and offices of militants to gather or plant evidence. Hoover, head of the FBI, opposed this.
* Blocked, Nixon created his own operation to discredit his opposition and to ensure executive secrecy. Nicknamed “THE PLUMBERS” Because of their assignment to plug government leaks, the team was headed by former FBI agent Gordon Liddy and former CIA operative E. Howard Hunt.
* They first targeted DANIEL ELLSBERG, a former Defense Department analyst who had given the press the PENTAGON PAPERS, a secret documentary history of US involvement in Vietnam. On June 13 the *New York Times* began publishing the Pentagon Papers, revealing a long history of White House lies to Congress, foreign leaders, and the American people.
* They did not contain anything damaging about Nixon’s administration, he feared that they would undermine trust in government and establish a precedent for publishing classified material, sought to bar the publication.
* The Supreme Court ruled that it was protected by the 1st amendment.
* Angry, Nixon directed the Justice department to indict Ellsberg for theft and ordered the plumbers to break into the office of his psychiatrist in search of information to discredit the man who had become a hero to the antiwar movement.

### The Southern Strategy

* Nixon especially courted whites that were upset by the drive for racial equality. The administration opposed the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, pleaded for the postponement of desegregation in Mississippi’s schools, and filed suits to prohibit busing schoolchildren in order to desegregate public schools.
* *SWANN V. CHARLOTTE MECKLENBURG BOARD OF EDUCATION* (1971) the Supreme Court upheld busing as a constitutional and necessary tactic to integrate.
* Nixon condemned the ruling and asked Congress to enact a moratorium on busing. This pleased parents who were opposed to integration.
* Busing to desegregate education, combined with conflicts between whites and African Americans over jobs and housing, had made working-class ethnic white voters in metropolitan areas an inviting target for the GOP.
* The strategy of wooing white southerners also dictate Nixon’s Supreme Court nominations.
* In 1969 he appointed WARREN BURGER as chief justice, by 1973 the president appointed 3 additional justices to the Supreme Court in a decidedly more moderate direction.
* Although ruling liberally in cases involving abortion, desegregation, and the death penalty, the Burger court shifted to the right on civil liberties, community censorship, and police power.

THE CRISIS OF THE PRESIDENCY

### The Election of 1972

* George McGovern was the democratic nominee. He favored income redistribution; immediate withdrawal from Vietnam, a $30 billion defense-budget cut, and pardons for those who had fled the US to avoid the draft exposed him to GOP ridicule as the candidate of the radical fringe.
* Nixon appointed his Attorney General, JOHN MITCHELL, to head the COMMITTEE TO RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT (CREEP). Millions of dollars in campaign contributions financed “dirty tricks” to create dissension in Democratic ranks and an espionage unit to spy on the opposition. Led by Liddy Hunt of the White House plumbers, the Republican undercover team received Mitchell’s approval to wiretap phones at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate apartment office complex in Washington. Early on morning in June 1972, a security guard foiled the break-in to install the bugs. Arrested were James McCord, the security coordinator of CREEP, and several other Liddy and Hunt associates.
* A White House cover-up began immediately.
* Nixon said no one had any involvement.
* He then ordered staff members to expunge Hunt’s name from the White House telephone directory.
* TO buy the silence of those arrested, he approved $400,000 of hush money and hints of a presidential pardon.
* On the pretext that an inquiry would damage national security, the President directed the CIA to halt the FBI’s investigation of the Watergate break-in.
* With this scandal seemingly contained, Nixon won overwhelmingly.
* The GOP gained 12 seats in the House, and lost 2 in the Senate, this demonstrated the growing difficult to unseat incumbents, the rise in ticket-splitting, and the decline of both party loyalty and voter turnout.

*The Watergate Upheaval*

* WATERGATE SCANDAL - After the election, federal judge “MAXIMUM JOHN” SIRICA, known for his tough treatment of criminals, refused to accept the defendants’ claim that they had acted on their own. He threatened sever prison sentences, and coerced James McCord of CREEP into confessing that White House aides had known in advance of the break-in and that the defendants had committed perjury during the trial. Two *Washington Post* reporters, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, following these clues furnished by a secret informant named “DEEP THROAT” wrote a succession of front-page stories tying the break-in to illegal contributions and “dirty tricks” by CREEP.
* In February 1973 the Senate established the SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITES to investigate.
* Nixon fired his special counsel, and announced the resignations of his two principal aides, he appointed Sec. Of Defense as his new Attorney General, and instructed him to appoint a special Watergate prosecutor with broad powers of investigation to get to the bottom of it.
* In May the special Senate committee began a televised investigation.
* The hearings revealed a White House “enemies list,” the president’s use of government agencies to harass opponents, and administration favoritism in return for illegal campaign donations. Most damaging was that it exposed the White House’s active involvement in the Watergate cover-up.
* But the Senate still lacked concrete evidence of the president’s criminality, the “smoking gun” that would prove Nixon’s guilt.
* It was he said, he said, so Nixon expected to survive.
* Then another presidential aide dropped a bombshell by revealing that Nixon had installed a secret tapping system that recorded all conversations in the Oval Office.
* As Nixon kept firing people and they started quitting because they didn’t want to take part in being forced to hide the tapes. Nixon’s approval rating dropped. As Nixon named a new special prosecutor, the House Judiciary Committee began impeachment proceedings.

### A President Disgraced

* Adding to Nixon’s woes that October, VP Agnew, charged with income-tax invasion and accepting bribes, pleaded no contest. Popular House Minority Leader GERALD R. FORD of Michigan replaced Agnew.
* In March 1974 Jaworski subpoenaed the president for the tape recordings, Nixon released them filled with gaps and the phrase “expletive deleted.”
* The House Judiciary Committee and Jaworski pushed for unedited tapes. The SC ruled that Nixon had to produce the unedited tapes.
* In late July the House Judiciary Committee adopted 3 articles of impeachment, accusing Nixon of obstruction of justice for impeding the Watergate investigation, abuse of power for his partisan use of the FBI and IRS, and contempt for Congress for refusing to obey a congressional subpoena for the tapes.
* On August 5, 1974 Nixon admitted he had withheld relevant evidence. He then surrendered the tapes, which proved that the president ordered the cover-up, obstructed justice, subverted one government agency to prevent another from investigating a crime, and lied about his role for more than 2 years.
* Impeachment and conviction were now certain.
* On August 9, 1974, he became the first president to resign, and Gerald Ford took office as the nation’s first chief executive who had not been elected as either a pres. Or vice pres.

CONCLUSION

* Vietnam escalated, many students took to protest.
* Some became radical and violent.
* Ultimately the youth movement helped prod the US into becoming a more tolerant, diverse, and open society, and end America’s longest war.
* Nixon withdrew most troops from Vietnam and lessened hostilities with China and the Soviet Union. He used a “southern strategy” and emphasized law and order.
* In1972 his secret schemes began to unravel. Watergate led to the indictment of nearly 50 Nixon administration officials, and the jailing of a score of the president’s associates, including his attorney general. Nixon resigned.