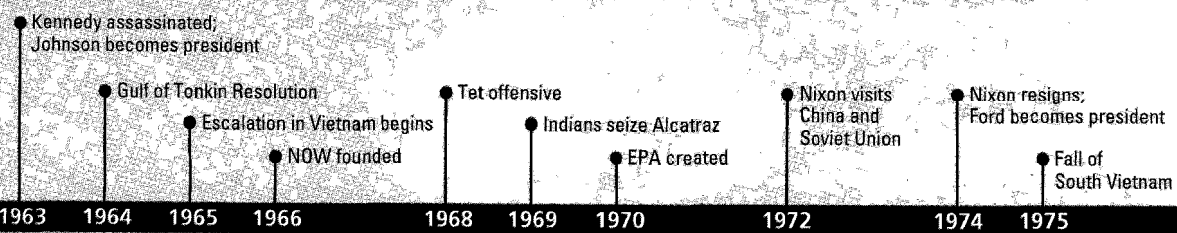
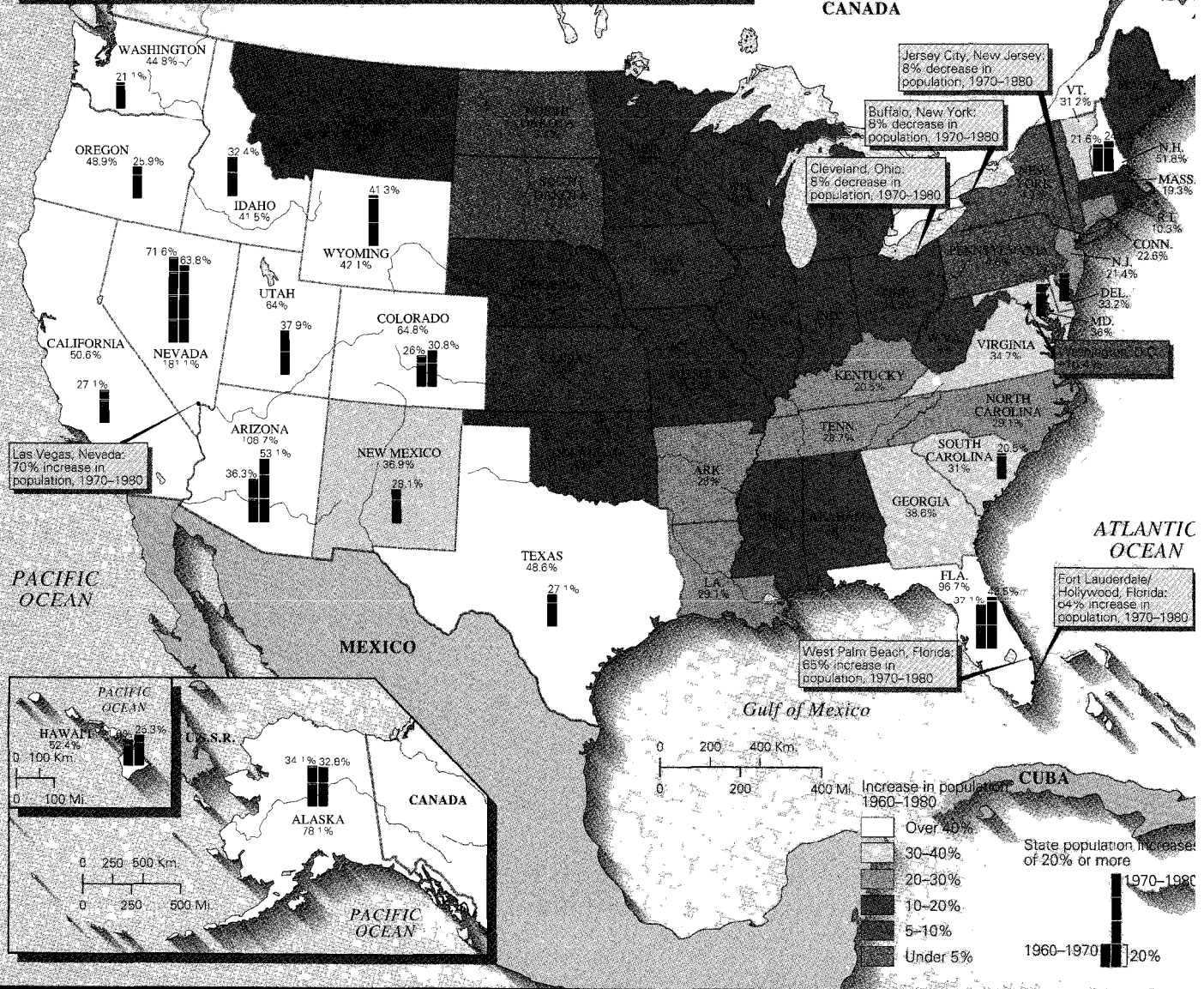


MOVING TO THE SUNBELT From the 1960s on, many Americans have moved to the Sunbelt—a region, shown in this map, stretching from Florida in a westward arc to the state of Washington. Pushed by harsh winters and declining economic opportunities in the North and East, thousands have sought warmer climates and jobs in states like California, Florida, and Arizona.



America Under Stress,

1963-1975

Johnson and the World

What expectations led Lyndon Johnson to choose the policy of escalating America's role in Vietnam?

- What were the political, social, and military outcomes of his decision?

Expanding the American Dream

What constraints did women, Latinos, and American Indians face in American society, and how did they organize to promote change?

Nixon and the Balance of Power

What choices did Richard Nixon make to achieve an "honorable" peace in Vietnam?

-
-

How did Nixon's choices in shaping Cold War policies differ from those favored by earlier administrations?

Nixon and Politics

- How did Nixon's choices in dealing with the economy and the environment reflect his pragmatic conservatism?

Why did Nixon achieve such a huge success in the 1972 election? What expectations and constraints led to Watergate?

INTRODUCTION

The Sixties began with a wave of optimism and confidence in the ability of the national government to improve society and promote American interests abroad. In 1963, those *expectations* provided the new president, Lyndon Johnson, an opportunity to create his Great Society. In foreign affairs, Johnson had less ambitious *expectations*. He seemed content to continue Kennedy's policies, especially in Vietnam. But he was determined that the United States not be beaten by the Communists of a "two-bit" nation like North Vietnam.

An array of *constraints* blocked any dramatic increase in the American military role in South Vietnam, which many regarded as necessary to defeat the Communists. Sudden escalation would be expensive, could weaken support for Johnson's domestic program, and might drive the Chinese and the Soviets to increase their support of North Vietnam. To the president, the best *choice* seemed to be a carefully controlled, gradual escalation of American force. The administration *expected* the North Vietnamese would then abandon their efforts to conquer South Vietnam.

That strategy failed miserably. North Vietnam *chose* to meet escalation with escalation, until many Americans turned against both the war and Johnson. In 1968, Johnson *chose* to start peace negotiations with North Vietnam. Unexpectedly, he also announced that he would not seek re-election.

The Republicans rallied behind Richard Nixon. He called for a restoration of national prestige and a reassertion of the values that had made the na-

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

tion strong. Nixon played on the uneasy *expectations* of a society that was fragmented by the Vietnam War and by sharp demands from an array of social groups, from feminists to American Indians, seeking political, economic, and social changes.

Despite their claims of wanting to bring the nation together, Nixon and the Republicans *chose* to inflame social divisions to ensure their victories in 1968 and 1972. They *expected* to construct a solid political base around the Silent Majority: suburban, middle-class, white Americans who were tired of social reform. Promising a new, pragmatic conservatism, Nixon's first administration achieved generally successful *outcomes*. He improved relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and gradually withdrew American forces from Vietnam. Domestically, his policy *choices* showed surprising flexibility.

Despite his successes, Nixon was not satisfied. His desire to destroy his political enemies contributed to the illegal activities surrounding the Watergate break-in. Watergate's *outcomes* included not only the unprecedented resignation of a president but a nationwide wave of disillusionment with politics and government.

Johnson and the World

Lyndon Baines Johnson saw the world in black-and-white terms: the free world on one side, the Communist world on the other. In 1964, Johnson perceived a growing Communist menace in Latin America and Vietnam.

Eyeing Castro's presence in Cuba, Johnson resolved that there would be no further erosion of

American power in Latin America. Reversing Kennedy's policy, the State Department informed Latin American leaders that social and political reforms were no longer prerequisites for American aid. Johnson wanted order, stability, and pro-American governments. American military equipment and advisers were provided to regimes trying to suppress "Communist" elements. The new policy led to direct military intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. There, supporters of

From Camelot to Watergate

- 1962 Cesar Chavez forms National Farm Workers Association
- 1963 Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*
La Reza Unida formed in Texas
Kennedy assassinated; Johnson becomes president
16,000 U.S. advisers in South Vietnam
- 1964 Johnson elected president Civil Rights Act
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
- 1965** Voting Rights Act
U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam begin
American combat troops arrive in South Vietnam
Anti-Vietnam "teach-ins" begin
Dominican Republic intervention
National campaign for farm workers
- 1966 National Organization for Women founded 1967
Antiwar march on Washington
- 1968** Tet offensive
My Lai massacre
Peace talks begin in Paris
Johnson withdraws from presidential race Robert Kennedy assassinated
Nixon elected president
American Indian Movement founded
- 1969 American Indians occupy Alcatraz Anti-Vietnam march on Washington First American troop withdrawals from Vietnam Secret bombing of Cambodia
Vine Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins*
Alexander v. Holmes
Warren Burger appointed to Supreme Court
- 1970 Cambodian invasion
Kent State and Jackson State killings
- Clean Air and Water acts
Earth Day observed nationally Environmental Protection Agency created Strike-for-Equality Parade
Harry Blackmun appointed to Supreme Court
- 1971 *Pentagon Papers*
Nixon enacts price and wage controls *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* William Rehnquist and Lewis Powell appointed to Supreme Court
- 1972 Revenue Sharing Act
Watergate break-in
Nixon reelected
Nixon visits China and Soviet Union
SALT I treaty
Bombing of North Vietnam resumes
- 1973 Watergate hearings
Paris Peace Accords
War Powers Act
"Second battle of Wounded Knee"
- 1974 Nixon resigns
Gerald Ford becomes president
Jerry Apodaca elected governor of New Mexico
Raul Castro elected governor of Arizona
- 1975 South Vietnamese government falls to North Vietnamese

deposed President Juan Bosch rebelled against a repressive, pro-American regime. Johnson decided that the pro-Bosch coalition was Communist dominated and sent in twenty-two thousand American troops to restore order. The troops left in mid-1966, after Joaquin Balaguer, a conservative, pro-American candidate, was elected president. Johnson claimed to have saved a free nation from communism, but many Latin Americans saw only an example of Yankee arrogance.

The Americanization of Vietnam

Latin America was not the only region where Johnson believed that American interests were threatened by communism. Although the United States had stationed sixteen thousand advisers in South Vietnam by the end of 1963, the Viet Cong, supported by North Vietnam, appeared to be winning the war. American advisers saw little hope for improvement unless American combat troops were committed to the contest. Johnson agreed, but concluded that sending troops to Vietnam in an election year was politically unwise. He decided to delay escalation at least until after the presidential election. Nevertheless, planning began immediately.

The plan that emerged relied heavily on American air power. It would be used against industrial and commercial targets in North Vietnam. Johnson's advisers believed that North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh would end support for the Viet Cong rather than watch his nation's economic future go up in smoke. Without support from the North, the Viet Cong could be defeated by the South Vietnamese army (ARVN). The need for large numbers of American ground forces would consequently be limited. **General William Westmoreland**, commander of American forces in Vietnam, disagreed with that assessment. American ground forces were necessary, he argued, because the ARVN was inept. But Johnson chose not to follow this advice in an election year.

The administration did begin preparing the public for a larger American role in South Vietnam. The White House and the **Pentagon** encouraged newspapers and magazines to stress the Communist threat to South Vietnam and Southeast Asia. The White House waited for an opportunity to ask

Congress for permission to use whatever force was necessary to defend South Vietnam.

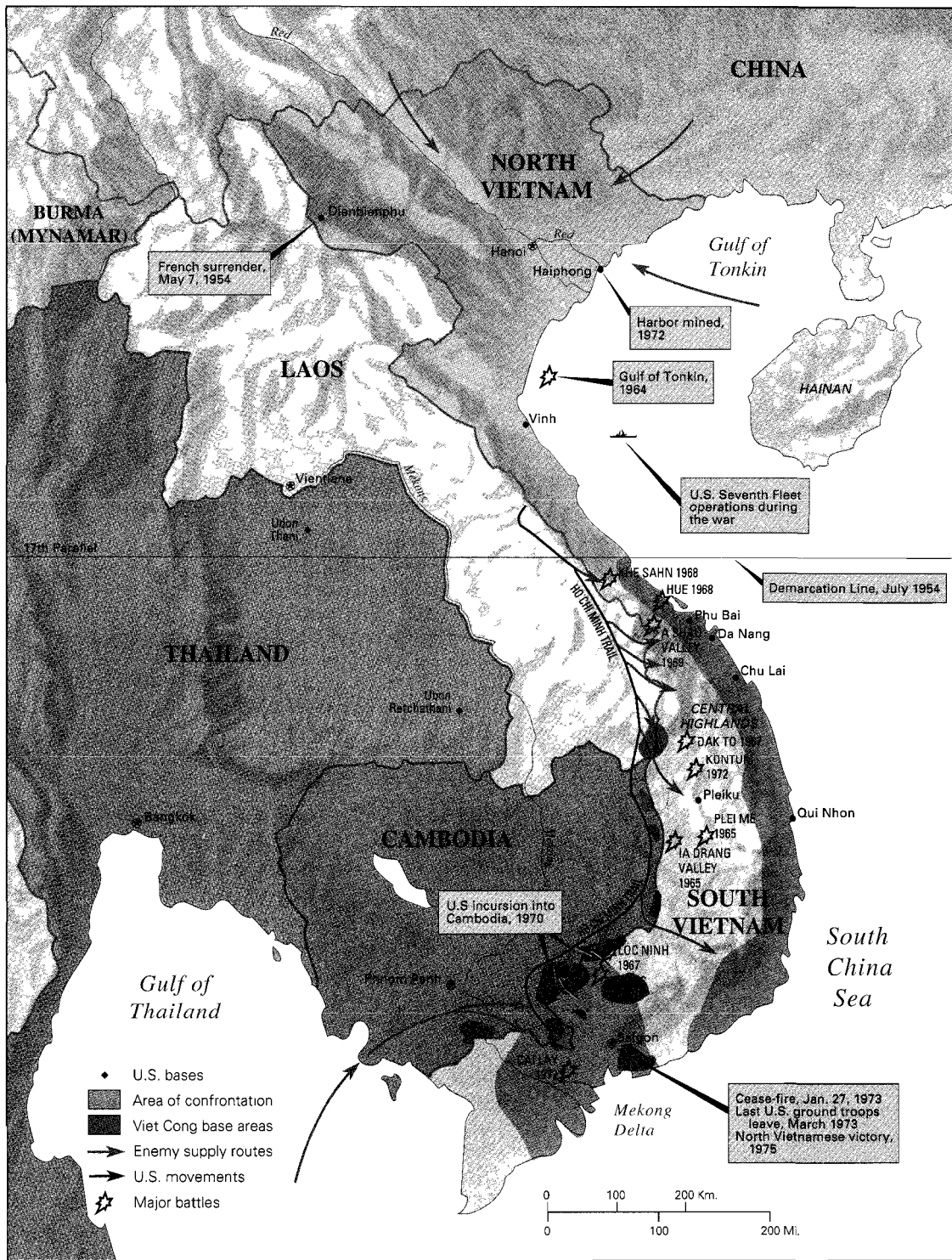
That chance came in August 1964 off the coast of North Vietnam. On August 1, North Vietnamese torpedo boats skirmished with the American destroyer *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin (see Map 30.1). On August 4, experiencing rough seas and poor visibility, radar operators on the *Maddox* and another destroyer concluded that the patrol boats were making another attack. Confusion followed. Both ships fired wildly at targets shown only on radar screens. Officers on both ships soon concluded that the radar blips had not been attacking vessels. Johnson joked privately that the sailors had probably been shooting at flying fish. Still, he told the nation that the Communists were guilty of "open aggression on the high seas" against the United States. On August 7, he submitted to Congress a resolution asking approval "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force," to aid South Vietnam. An overwhelming majority of Congress approved the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**; only two senators opposed it.

The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution gave Johnson the freedom to take whatever measures he wanted in Vietnam. Before committing American forces, however, he wanted to wait until after the 1964 election and for another enemy provocation. Johnson got his provocation when the Viet Cong attacked the American base at Pleiku in February 1965, killing eight Americans. Operation Rolling Thunder, the air assault on North Vietnam, began on March 2, 1965. On March 8, the 3rd Marine Division arrived to take up positions around the American base at Da Nang. By July, American planes were flying over nine hundred missions a week and a hundred

General William Westmoreland Commander of all American troops in Vietnam from 1964 to 1968.

Pentagon The U.S. military establishment, so named because its central offices are located in a five-sided building in Arlington, Virginia, called the Pentagon.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Resolution passed by Congress in 1964 authorizing the president to take any measures necessary to repel attacks against U.S. forces in Vietnam.



◆ **MAP 30.1 The Vietnam War, 1954-1975** Following the French defeat at Dienbienphu in 1954, the United States became increasingly committed to defending South Vietnam. This map shows some of the major battle sites of the Vietnam War from 1954 to the fall of Saigon and the defeat of the South Vietnamese government in 1975.

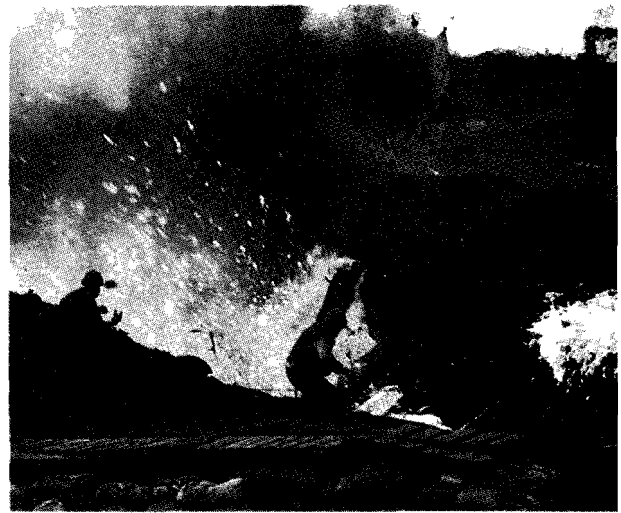
thousand American ground forces had reached Vietnam. Johnson's strategy soon showed its flaws. As the United States escalated the war, so did the enemy. General William Westmoreland now insisted that victory required even more American soldiers. Reluctantly, Johnson gave the green light. Vietnam had become an American war.

Westmoreland planned to use overwhelming numbers and firepower to destroy the enemy. In the first major American offensive, a large-scale sweep of the Ia Drang Valley in November 1965, the 1st Air Cavalry forced North Vietnamese units to retreat into Cambodia. The brutal hand-to-hand fighting left three hundred Americans and an estimated three thousand enemy soldiers dead. Westmoreland and Johnson were pleased. *Time* named Westmoreland "Man of the Year" for 1965.

Throughout 1966 and 1967, both sides continued to escalate. The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese suffered heavy losses of men and supplies, but their determination to continue the struggle remained unbroken. American aircraft rained bombs on North Vietnam and supply routes south, especially the **Ho Chi Minh Trail**, but arms and provisions still moved. In the fall of 1967, Westmoreland informed Washington that half of the enemy's forces were no longer capable of combat. At the same time, he asked to increase the American presence in Vietnam to 542,000.

Unknown to Westmoreland, North Vietnamese leaders were planning an immense offensive for the Vietnamese new year holiday of Tet in January 1968. The Viet Cong struck forty-one cities throughout South Vietnam, including Saigon. In some of the bloodiest fighting of the war, American and South Vietnamese forces recaptured the lost cities and villages.

The **Tet offensive** was a military defeat for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. It provoked no popular uprising against the South Vietnamese government, the Communists gained no cities or provincial capitals, and they suffered staggering losses. Over forty thousand Viet Cong were killed. Tet was nonetheless a "victory" for the North Vietnamese in that it seriously weakened American support for the war. Coming amid official pronouncements of "victory just around the corner," Tet destroyed the administration's credibility and intensified a growing antiwar movement.



◆ Unlike previous American wars, Vietnam was a war without fixed frontlines. At the isolated outpost of Khe Sahn, fewer than six thousand American marines fought to hold back thirty thousand to forty thousand North Vietnamese regulars for seventy-seven days, killing or wounding more than ten thousand of the enemy. Within weeks after the siege, the United States withdrew from the area. *Robert Ellison/Black Star.*

The Antiwar Movement

Throughout 1964, there was widespread support for an American role in Vietnam. Most Americans accepted the domino theory, which held that a Communist success in one country would lead to the toppling of other "free" governments. A year later, little had changed except that the largely college-based opposition to the war was more outspoken. The University of Michigan held the first Vietnam "teach-in" to mobilize opposition to the war on March 24, 1965. In April, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organized a protest march of about fifteen thousand in front of the White House.

Ho Chi Minh Trail Main infiltration route for North Vietnamese soldiers into South Vietnam; it ran through Laos and Cambodia.

Tet offensive Viet Cong and North Vietnamese offensive against South Vietnamese cities in January 1968; a military defeat for North Vietnam, it nevertheless undermined U.S. support for the war.

Those opposing the war fell into two major categories. Pacifists and radical liberals opposed the war for moral and ideological reasons. Others opposed the war for pragmatic reasons: the draft, the loss of lives and money, and the inability of the United States to defeat the enemy. In 1966, high school students hardly mentioned Vietnam or the draft as a problem facing their lives. Three years later, 75 percent of those polled listed both as major worries. By 1967, the possibility of being sent to Vietnam was becoming a concern of many college students. A University of Michigan student complained that if he were drafted and spent two years in the army, he would lose over \$16,000 in income. Yet college students were not the most likely to be drafted. Far more often, those who were drafted and sent to Vietnam were poorly educated, low-income whites and minorities.

Nonetheless, it was America's middle class, especially college students, who swelled the antiwar movement and participated in the "Stop-the-Draft Week" in October 1967. That week, over 10,000 demonstrators blocked the entrance to an induction center in Oakland, California, while over 200,000 people staged a massive protest march in Washington against "Lyndon's War."

Until 1967, Johnson displayed little concern about the antiwar movement. Press and television coverage continued to emphasize American successes. Public opinion polls found that the nation stood behind Johnson's efforts to save South Vietnam. But as antiwar numbers increased and as opposition to the war spread beyond students and radicals in 1967, Johnson responded by having federal agents infiltrate, spy on, and try to discredit antiwar groups.

The Tet offensive broadened and intensified antiwar sentiments. The highly respected CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite had supported the war, but Tet changed his mind. Unable to match the administration's claims of impending victory with the fierce Communist offensive, he went on a personal fact-finding tour of Vietnam. On his return, Cronkite announced that there would be no victory in Vietnam. "If I have lost Walter Cronkite, then it's over. I have lost Mr. Average Citizen," Johnson lamented.

Johnson's own circle of advisers began opposing American policy in Vietnam. Secretary of War

Robert McNamara left the administration over its policy. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and new Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford argued that military victory was impossible. Clifford concluded that after four years of "enormous casualties" and "massive destruction from our bombing," there was no lessening of "the will of the enemy." Thus, following Tet, when Westmoreland called for more troops, most of Johnson's "wise men" urged sending fewer troops and seeking instead a diplomatic end to the war.

The 1968 Presidential Campaign

As Johnson prepared for the 1968 presidential race, rumors circulated that 200,000 more Americans were being sent to Vietnam. In the New Hampshire primary, Minnesota senator **Eugene McCarthy** challenged Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination by opposing the Vietnam War. Hundreds of student volunteers knocked on doors and distributed flyers for McCarthy.

Expecting no real challenge to his renomination, Johnson had not entered the New Hampshire primary. But with the furor over Tet, Johnson's political advisers quickly organized a **write-in campaign** for Johnson in New Hampshire. The president beat McCarthy, but by only 6 percent of the vote. Political commentators called McCarthy the real winner of the contest. New York senator **Robert Kennedy** added to Johnson's worries when he proclaimed his candidacy for the presidency and opposition to the war.

On March 31, 1968, a haggard-looking president announced on television that the United States

Eugene McCarthy Senator who opposed the Vietnam War and who made an unsuccessful bid for the 1968 Democratic nomination for president.

write-in campaign An attempt to elect a candidate not registered or listed on the ballot; voters are urged to write in the candidate's name on the ballot themselves.

Robert Kennedy Attorney general during the presidency of his brother John F. Kennedy; he was elected to the Senate in 1964 and was campaigning for the presidency when he was assassinated in 1968.

would negotiate with the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. The escalation of the ground war was over, and the South Vietnamese would assume a larger role. The bombing of North Vietnam above the 20th parallel would end. Johnson ended his speech with this bombshell: "I have concluded that I should not permit the presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. . . . Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as president." Listeners were shocked. Lyndon B. Johnson had thrown in the towel. Nearly everyone agrees that the war ended Johnson's political career.

Negotiations with North Vietnam began in Paris in May and went nowhere. The war remained the critical issue within the Democratic political race, which now included Vice President **Hubert H. Humphrey**. McCarthy campaigned against the war and the "imperial presidency." Kennedy opposed the war and called on the government to meet the needs of the poor and minorities. Standing by Johnson's peace efforts, Humphrey relied on party regulars and White House clout to win the nomination. While Kennedy and McCarthy battled for primary victories, Humphrey concentrated on the nonprimary delegations.

By June, Kennedy was winning the primary race. In the critical California primary, he gained a narrow victory over McCarthy, 46 to 41 percent. As Kennedy left his election headquarters, he was shot in the head by Sirhan Sirhan, a Jordanian immigrant. He died the next day.

Kennedy's assassination ensured Humphrey's nomination. McCarthy continued his campaign but was unable to generate much support. By the time of the national convention in Chicago in August, Humphrey had enough pledged votes to ensure his nomination. The convention was nevertheless dramatic. Antiwar and antiestablishment groups demonstrated for McCarthy, peace in Vietnam, and social justice. In the streets of Chicago, radical factions within the SDS promised physical confrontation. The so-called Yippies (Youth International party), led by Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, threatened to contaminate the water supply with drugs. Chicago's mayor, Richard Daley, was determined to maintain order. Inside the convention, delegates argued and screamed support for

their positions. Outside, protesters threw eggs, bottles, rocks, and balloons filled with water, ink, and urine at the police, who responded with tear gas and nightsticks. On August 28, the police went berserk before television cameras, viciously attacking protesters and bystanders alike. The violence in Chicago's streets overshadowed Humphrey's nomination.

Many Americans were disgusted by the chaos in Chicago. **George Wallace**, the Democratic governor of Alabama, appealed to this sentiment when he left the Democratic party and ran for president as the American Independent party's candidate. The conservative Wallace, who had opposed federal civil rights legislation, took a dim view of antiwar protesters. He aimed his campaign at southern whites, blue-collar workers, and lower-income white Americans. On the campaign trail, Wallace took special glee in attacking the counterculture and the "rich-kid" war protesters, who avoided serving in Vietnam while the sons of working-class Americans died there. Wallace agreed with his vice-presidential candidate, General Curtis Lemay, that the United States should bomb North Vietnam "back to the Stone Age." Two months before the election, Wallace commanded 21 percent of the vote according to opinion polls.

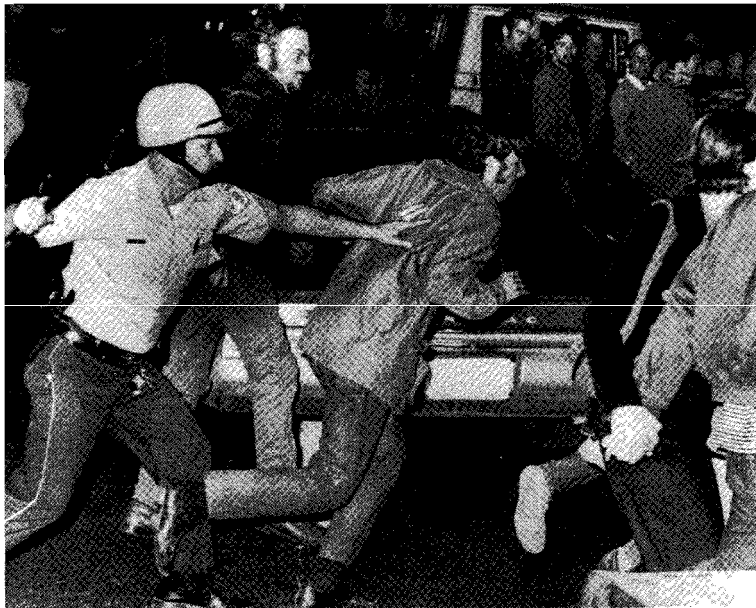
The Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, also intended to tap this general dissatisfaction. He and Spiro Agnew, his vice-presidential running mate, campaigned on the need for law and order while denouncing pot, pornography, protesters, and permissiveness. He announced that he would "end the war and win the peace" but refused to specify how.

On election day, Nixon won a comfortable margin in the Electoral College, although he received

Hubert H. Humphrey Vice president under Lyndon Johnson who won the Democratic nomination for president in 1968 but lost the election to Richard Nixon.

Yippies Counterculture group that inflamed the protests that disrupted the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968.

George Wallace Conservative Alabama governor who opposed desegregation in the 1960s and ran unsuccessfully for the presidency as an independent in 1968 and 1972.



- ◆ Violence erupted during the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Using nightsticks, police attacked antiwar and anti-establishment protesters who surrounded the convention hotel. The violent confrontations in Chicago did little to quell similar protests, unify the Democratic party, or help Hubert Humphrey's chances for election. *Wide World Photos.*

only 43.4 percent of the popular vote. Conservatives were pleased. Combined, Nixon and Wallace attracted almost 57 percent of the vote, which conservatives said indicated wide public support for an end to liberal social programs and a return to "traditional values." They believed that a major political realignment was taking shape.

Expanding the American Dream

The explosion of the civil rights movement during the 1960s spread African-American activism to all parts of the country. It also contributed to the growth of other groups, such as women, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans, demanding equal rights and access to the American dream.

The Women's Rights Movement

Popular social images during the 1950s showed women happiest at home raising children and running the household. Although this scenario held true for many women, a growing number were dissatisfied with their lives. As the 1960s began, more women were entering the work force, having

fewer children, and getting divorced. Many women complained that they were denied access to profitable careers. A 1963 report documented that women worked for less pay (on average, 40 percent that of a man), were more likely to be fired or laid off, and had little success in reaching top career positions. Nor was it just in the workplace that women faced discrimination. Throughout the country, divorce, credit, and property laws generally favored men.

To some women, the role of housewife itself symbolized oppression. Betty Friedan was one who concluded that the chores of the housewife amounted to a form of servitude. As a young woman, she had dropped out of a psychology doctoral program to get married, bear children, and keep a suburban home. In her 1963 bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique*, she pondered why she was not satisfied. After reviewing the responsibilities of the housewife (making beds, grocery shopping, driving children everywhere, preparing meals and

Betty Friedan Feminist who wrote *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and helped found the National Organization for Women in 1966.

snacks, and pleasing her husband), she asked: "Is this all?" She concluded that it was not enough. Women needed to overcome the "feminine mystique" that promised them fulfillment through the domestic arts. She called on women to set their own goals and seek careers outside the home. Her book contributed to a renewed women's movement.

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act also produced more activism. Title VII prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, religion, creed, national origin, or sex. Many women and liberals hoped that Title VII would commit the government to gender equality. But when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) showed little interest in dealing with gender discrimination, proponents organized to press the government to enforce Title VII. Experienced civil rights activists like Mary King and Casey Hayden of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee were anxious to push for women's rights. In "the black movement," one woman wrote, "I had been fighting for someone else's oppression and now there was a way I could fight for my own freedom and I was going to be much stronger than I ever was."

The most prominent women's organization to emerge was the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**, formed in 1966 and headed by Betty Friedan. NOW launched an aggressive campaign to draw attention to sex discrimination. It sued the EEOC for not upholding the law and thirteen hundred corporations for gender discrimination. It demanded an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution and pushed for easier access to birth-control devices and the right to have an abortion.

NOW's membership grew rapidly, from about 300 in 1966 to 175,000 in 1968. But the movement was larger than NOW's membership. Women in droves attended consciousness-raising sessions and other grassroots gatherings to promote women's issues. Calls arose for new social and sexual codes for women. Some women rejected high heels, bras, and other trappings associated with a male-defined image of feminine sexuality. NOW's 1970 Strike-for-Equality Parade demonstrated the growing mass appeal of the women's movement when fifty thousand supporters marched down New York City's Fifth Avenue.

As within the African-American civil rights movement, divisions developed. Many women

who supported equal opportunities and rights rejected the feminist label and what they believed was the movement's bias toward career and working women. At the other extreme, some called for a complete redefinition of the traditional institutions of family and marriage. Marriage was "slavery," "legalized rape," and "unpaid labor," according to radical feminist Ti-Grace Atkinson. Still, by the end of the Seventies, a general feminist critique of American society had succeeded in convincing many Americans that women should pursue goals and aspirations beyond the traditional roles of wife, mother, and homemaker.

The Emergence of Chicano Power

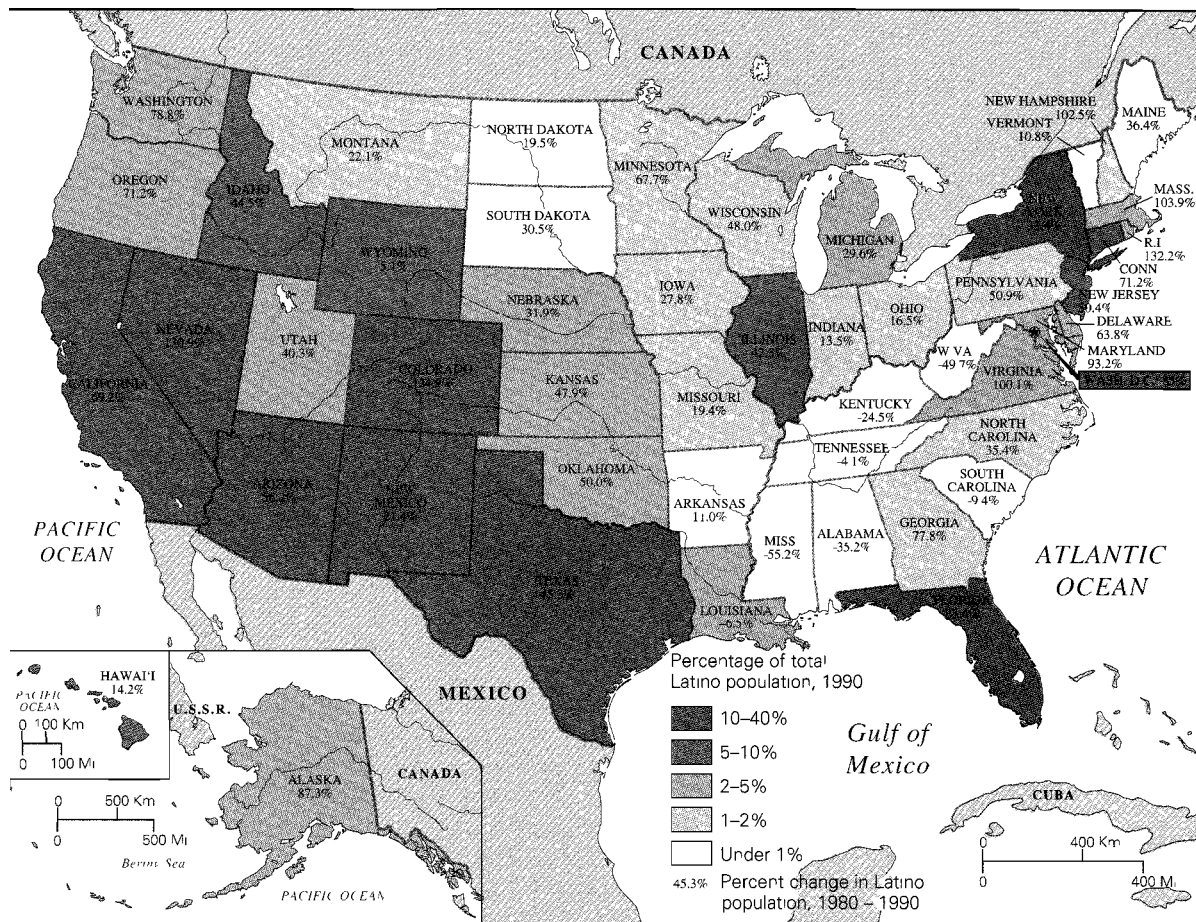
Mexican Americans also organized to assert their social and political rights. As the 1960s began, Mexican Americans were largely an invisible minority (see Map 30.2). Outside the Southwest, few Americans were aware of them. Prevailing stereotypes portrayed them as docile, if not lazy, and ridiculed them as poorly educated, unskilled people who spoke English badly. Statistically, Mexican Americans were near society's lowest levels of income and education.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, organizations like the League of Latin American Citizens and the G.I. Forum had made minor gains against legal segregation, but little had changed for most Mexican Americans. The New Frontier and the Great Society had revived hope, as organizations began to pressure American society to recognize the needs of the Latino population. In 1963, the Mexican-American majority in Crystal City, Texas,

Title VII Provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that guaranteed women legal protection against discrimination.

National Organization for Women Women's rights organization founded in 1966 to improve educational, employment, and political opportunities for women and to fight for equal pay for equal work.

consciousness-raising Related to achieving greater awareness of the nature of a political or social issue through group therapy or group interaction.



◆ **MAP 30.2 Changing Latino Population** At one time, the great majority of Latinos were Mexican Americans located in the Southwest. In the 1990s, Latinos resided in nearly every major city and included Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and others from throughout the Caribbean and Central and South America. Growing rapidly, the Latino population was projected to become the largest minority in the country by the year 2000, perhaps 12 percent of the total population.

stunned the region by electing an all-Mexican American slate to the city council. The Crystal City vote was, for many Mexican Americans, a revolutionary act. Across south Texas, Mexican Americans banded together to form El Partido Raza Unida (the United People party) to spread the political "revolution" throughout Texas. The passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and Johnson's War on Poverty added more impetus. Throughout the Southwest, the activism of Mexican Americans

frightened those supporting the status quo. Texas governor Dolph Briscoe typified conservative sentiment

when he denounced the La Raza Unida movement as Communist inspired.

Briscoe was wrong. The Mexican-American movement was a local one, born of poverty and oppressive segregation. Reflecting the grassroots character of the movement was the important role that youths played. Many Mexican-American teenagers and young adults adopted the term

Chicano to stress their unwillingness to accept the dictates of Anglo society. Although many Mexican Americans disapproved, the term "Chicano" was soon applied to Mexican Americans who promoted their heritage and rights. In schools, Chicanos demanded better teachers, integration, and Mexican-American (Latino) studies programs.

Under pressure from the Mexican-American community, school districts, including Los Angeles, implemented Mexican-American studies and bilingual programs, hired more Mexican-American teachers and counselors, and adopted programs to meet the special needs of migrant farm worker children. By the 1970s, calls for bilingual education had become an important educational reform focus for the Latino community.

During the 1960s, nearly one-third of all Mexican Americans worked at **stoop labor** in the fields, picking onions, carrots, grapes, and other perishable crops for less than the minimum wage. Unskilled and uneducated farm laborers were trapped at the bottom of the occupation ladder. They were not covered under minimum wage or labor laws. Established unions made no effort to organize agricultural labor. Finally, in 1962, **Cesar Chavez** created the **National Farm Workers Association (NFWA)**. When Chavez called a strike against the grape growers of central California in 1965, the NFWA had reached seventeen hundred members. He demanded a wage of \$1.40 an hour and asked the public to support the farm workers by buying only union-picked grapes. With varying degrees of success, the boycott and strike continued for five years until most of the major growers accepted unionization.

As Mexican Americans and other Latinos became more vocal in their demands for a fairer share of the American dream, both political parties began to reach out to moderate Mexican-American leaders. New Mexico's Manuel Lujan, a Republican, was elected to Congress, joining several Mexican-American Democrats in the House of Representatives. In 1974, Democrats Jerry Apodaca and Raul Castro were elected governors of New Mexico and Arizona.

Despite such success stories, the majority of Mexican Americans have not achieved social or economic equality. Economically, the Mexican-American population remains one of the poorest minorities in the United States. Lack of economic success has left few incentives for Latino children to stay in high school.

The Latino dropout rate was 45 percent nationwide in 1990, exceeding rates for blacks and whites.

American Indian Activism

American Indians also began to assert their rights with new vigor in the 1960s. The 1950s had been oppressive years for Indians. Although the federal government actually eliminated few reservations or tribal units, federal policies encouraged more than thirty-five thousand American Indians to leave their reservations and move to urban areas. Few urban Indians found anything but discrimination, poverty, and disease.

American Indians on and off reservations called for changes in federal and state policies. Increasingly militant Indian leaders demanded the protection and restoration of their ancient burial grounds, along with fishing and timber rights. They asked museums to return the remains of dead Indians on display. The National Indian Youth Council called for Indians to resist further loss of Indian lands, rights, and traditions. Vine Deloria's popular *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) informed readers that Indians asked "only to be freed of cultural oppression." "The white does not understand the Indian," he wrote, "and the Indian does not wish to understand the white." The central issue was not equality and assimilation, Deloria explained, but Indian self-determination. Indians wanted economic prosperity and opportunity,

Chicano Term adopted by many Mexican Americans during the late 1960s to describe their ethnic identity; it was associated with the promotion of Mexican-American heritage and rights.

stoop labor Field labor that involves constant bending, usually to pick fruits and vegetables.

Cesar Chavez Labor organizer who founded the National Farm Workers Association; he believed in nonviolence and used marches, boycotts, and fasts to bring moral and economic pressure to bear on growers.

National Farm Workers Association Migrant workers' union organized by Cesar Chavez in 1962 that used a series of boycotts to force California growers to recognize the union and improve wages and working conditions.

but on terms that would ensure their continued tribal existence.

In the 1960s, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson provided some change, ending the termination program. President Nixon continued the process by placing Indians in top-level positions within the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1974, Congress passed the **Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act**, which gave tribes control of many federal programs on their reservations. On the issue of lost land, American Indians pressed their claims, with little prospect of success. Still, some Indian victories have occurred. In 1972, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot tribes in Maine sued to have over 12.5 million acres, which they claimed had been illegally seized by the state, returned to them. They settled in 1980 for 300,000 acres and the establishment of a \$27 million trust fund for the tribes. Also in 1980, the Supreme Court decided that the federal government owed over \$106 million to the Sioux for taking the Black Hills of South Dakota in the 1870s.

Although some American Indian leaders turned to Washington and the courts to assert Indian rights, others took more direct action. In 1968, the Chippewas organized the **American Indian Movement (AIM)** to dramatize police brutality toward Indians in Minneapolis. In 1969, a group of San Francisco Indian activists seized Alcatraz Island, offering to buy the federally owned island for \$24, the same amount that Dutch settlers had paid for Manhattan Island in 1626. They held the island until 1971, when federal authorities, without bloodshed, retook control. In 1973, AIM leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks organized the armed occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the site of the 1890 massacre of the Sioux by the army. AIM militants controlled the town for seventy-one days before surrendering to federal authorities. Although the "second battle of Wounded Knee" failed to change federal policy, it did publicize Indian grievances and problems.

Nixon and the Balance of Power

In foreign affairs, Nixon expected to achieve an honorable peace in Vietnam and to reestablish American leadership in world affairs. To realize these goals, he turned to Harvard professor Henry Kissinger, his

national security adviser and foreign policy expert. Nixon and Kissinger wanted to restructure Cold War policies, particularly with regard to the Soviet Union. They believed that America's military advantage over the Soviets was narrowing rapidly. Because there was little chance that Congress would support efforts to regain clear military superiority, they concluded that it was necessary to improve relations with the Soviet Union. Nixon and Kissinger recognized that the widening split between China and the Soviet Union, which had developed in the 1960s, offered promising possibilities for changing the balance of Cold War power.

Vietnamization

Nixon and Kissinger also knew that Vietnam was the most immediate problem. It dominated and shaped nearly all other issues: the budget, public and congressional opinion, foreign policy, and domestic stability. The Republicans needed a solution to Vietnam before moving ahead on other issues. The central problem was to find a means to protect South Vietnam, to encourage the North Vietnamese to negotiate, and to allow the gradual withdrawal of American forces. Nixon's solution was **Vietnamization**: reducing the American role while strengthening

Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act

Law passed in 1974 giving Indian tribes control over federal programs carried out on their reservations and increasing their control of reservation schools.

American Indian Movement Militant Indian movement organized to demand social justice for urban Indians.

Alcatraz Island Rocky island in San Francisco Bay that was occupied from 1969 to 1971 by Native American activists who demanded that it be made available as a cultural center.

Henry Kissinger German-born American diplomat who was national security adviser and secretary of state under President Nixon; he helped negotiate the cease-fire in Vietnam.

Vietnamization Policy announced by Nixon in which the United States scaled back its involvement in Vietnam, returning to its earlier role of helping Vietnamese forces fight their own war.

South Vietnam's military capability. Nixon believed that large-scale opposition to the war would fade once American soldiers started coming home.

Vietnamization began in the spring of 1969. By the end of the year, American forces in Vietnam had declined by over 110,000. The withdrawal of American troops reflected a broader strategy that became known as the **Nixon Doctrine**. This doctrine stipulated that countries confronting communism would have to bear the brunt of the military burden, and that the United States would provide those countries with only economic and political support.

Vietnamization was only a part of Nixon's strategy for ending the conflict in Vietnam. The other element in the "peace plan" was to increase the economic, diplomatic, and military pressure on North Vietnam to end the war. This, Nixon hoped, would be done in two ways: by getting the Soviets and the Chinese to reduce their support for North Vietnam and by bombing enemy bases across the South Vietnamese border in Cambodia and Laos. In March 1969, Nixon ordered the heavy bombardment of Communist sanctuaries inside Cambodia. Fearful of public and political reactions, the administration tried to keep the operation a secret. When Operation MENU ended in 1973, over 383,800 tons of bombs had been dropped on Cambodia. The intense assault was also part of a "madman strategy" Nixon designed to convince the North Vietnamese to negotiate. Nixon said that he wanted Hanoi "to believe that I've reached the point where I might do anything to stop the war."

The strategy did not work. The North Vietnamese appeared unconcerned about Nixon's "madness," the increased bombing, and decreasing support from China and the Soviet Union. They still believed that victory was only a matter of waiting patiently until America was unwilling to continue the war. Consequently, talks between Kissinger and the North Vietnamese in Paris were unproductive.

Nor did American opposition to the war fade away. In November 1969, over 250,000 antiwar protesters paraded past the White House calling for an end to the conflict. News of American atrocities at My Lai, which came to light in 1970, added fuel to the antiwar cause. In March 1968, Lieutenant William Calley's platoon had "wasted" the small village, killing more than two hundred men, women, and children. The massacre seemed to of

fer incontestable proof that the Vietnam War was immoral. The publication of the *Pentagon Papers*, a collection of official documents showing government officials had deceived the American public about Vietnam from the 1950s on, furthered public disillusionment with the war.

Still, Nixon refused to change course. In 1970, he ordered American troops to cross the border into Cambodia and destroy North Vietnamese and Viet Cong headquarters and supply areas. He told the public that the incursion was not to widen the war but to hasten its end. The Cambodian invasion, which involved nearly eighty thousand American and South Vietnamese troops, did destroy large amounts of supplies. But it failed to defeat the enemy or to stop the flow of supplies from North Vietnam. It also generated loud protests on college campuses. At Kent State University on May 4, 1970, the Ohio National Guard fired on protesters, killing four and wounding eleven. At Jackson State University in Mississippi, police killed two students during another demonstration. Outraged students responded by shutting down over a hundred campuses. An angry Senate repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and forbade the further use of American troops in Laos and Cambodia.

By the end of 1971, Kissinger and Nixon were frustrated. They knew that Vietnamization was not progressing well and that there seemed no sign of a settlement in Paris. The North Vietnamese refused to consider any settlement that did not replace South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu and his government with a coalition that included the Communist National Liberation Front. That condition was unacceptable to the United States. Then, in

Nixon Doctrine Nixon's policy of requiring countries threatened by communism to shoulder the bulk of the military burden, with the United States offering mainly political and economic support.

My Lai Site of a massacre of more than two hundred South Vietnamese villagers by U.S. infantrymen in 1969, an event that added to antiwar sentiment in the United States.

Pentagon Papers Classified government documents on the policy decisions that led to U.S. involvement in Vietnam, which were leaked to the *New York Times* in 1971.



◆ Together, Richard Nixon (*left*) and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (*right*) sought to refocus American foreign policy by ending the war in Vietnam and improving relations with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. *John Dominis, LIFE Magazine © Time Warner.*

March 1972, Communist forces drove toward Saigon as South Vietnamese forces tottered on the brink of collapse. Livid at the Communist offensive, Nixon ordered massive bombing raids against North Vietnam and Communist forces in South Vietnam. By mid-June 1972, American airpower had stalled the offensive and enabled ARVN forces to regroup and drive back the North Vietnamese. With their cities under almost continuous air attacks, the North Vietnamese became more flexible in negotiations. By October, a peace settlement was ready. "Peace is at hand," Kissinger announced.

Thieu, however, rejected the plan. Reluctantly, Nixon supported Thieu and ordered the Christmas bombing of North Vietnam. Nixon hoped to put additional pressure on Hanoi and to convince Thieu that the United States would protect South Vietnam. After eleven days, Nixon stopped the bombings and advised Thieu that if he did not accept the next peace settlement, the United States would leave him to fend for himself. Thieu thereupon accepted a peace settlement similar to the one offered in October. Following the signing of the Paris Peace Accords in 1973, Nixon and Kissinger proclaimed peace with honor. Kissinger shared the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize with his North Vietnamese counterpart, Le Duc Tho.

The peace accords imposed a cease-fire, required the removal of all American troops (only twenty-four thousand now remained in South Vietnam) but not North Vietnamese troops, and promised the return of American prisoners of war. The peace terms permitted the United States to complete its military and political withdrawal,

but the pact did little to ensure the continued existence of South Vietnam. The cease-fire, everyone expected, would be temporary. Kissinger confided privately that the South Vietnamese government might "hold out for a year and a half."

As expected, the cease-fire soon collapsed. North Vietnam continued to funnel men and supplies to the south, but substantial American air and naval support for South Vietnam never arrived. Neither Congress nor the public was anxious to help Thieu's government. Instead, Congress cut aid to South Vietnam. In March 1975, North Vietnam began its final campaign to unify the country, and a month later, its troops entered Saigon. The few remaining Americans and some South Vietnamese were evacuated by helicopter, some from the roof of the American embassy. The Vietnam War ended as it had started, with Vietnamese fighting Vietnamese.

Congress drew one immediate conclusion in the aftermath of American involvement in Vietnam: that

limits should be placed on the president's powers to commit American troops to foreign conflicts. The **War Powers Act**, passed in November 1973, required the president to inform Congress within forty-eight hours of deploying troops overseas and to withdraw those troops within sixty days if Congress failed to authorize the action.

Modifying the Cold War

Ending the Vietnam War was essential to Nixon's goal of redefining the Cold War. Nixon hoped that an "era of confrontation" would give way to an "era of negotiation." To this end, he pursued *détente*, a policy intended to reduce tensions with the two Communist superpowers. China was the key to the Nixon-Kissinger strategy. Several bloody border clashes between the Chinese and the Soviets made the Chinese receptive to better relations with the United States. Nixon hoped that American friendship with the Chinese would in turn encourage the Soviets to improve their relations with the United States. Following a secret visit by Kissinger, Nixon flew to Beijing in February 1972 to meet with Communist party chairman Mao Zedong. Suddenly, the "Red Chinese" were no longer the enemy but "hard-working, intelligent and practical" friends. The Cold War was thawing in the East.

Nixon's China policy contributed to improved relations with the Soviet Union. Kissinger followed his secret visit to China with one to Moscow, where he discussed improving relations with President **Leonid Brezhnev**. Nixon flew to Moscow in May 1972 and told Brezhnev that he believed that the two nations should "live together and work together." Needing to reduce military spending, develop the Soviet domestic economy, and increase American trade, Brezhnev agreed. The meeting was a success. Brezhnev obtained increased trade with the West, including shipments of American grain, and the superpowers announced an agreement on the **Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I)**, which established a maximum number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) for each side. It seemed as if *détente* had arrived.

Nixon and Politics

In his foreign policy, Nixon followed new paths in dealing with the Chinese and Soviets that did not reflect traditional Republican views. This was also true of his domestic programs. Nixon believed that Republicans needed to develop a pragmatic and socially responsible conservatism.

Pragmatic Conservatism

Nixon's brand of conservatism, the New **Federalism**, embraced federal power while proposing to make programs more responsive to state and local government. His **Revenue Sharing Act**, passed in October 1972, reflected the new approach. The government would continue to raise revenue through its broad tax base, but it would release more of the money to state and local governments and reduce federal controls on how they spent it.

War Powers Act Law passed in 1973 that set a sixty-day limit on presidential commitment of U.S. troops to hostilities abroad unless Congress authorized continued action.

détente Relaxing of tensions between the superpowers in the early 1970s, which included increased diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contact.

Leonid Brezhnev President of the Soviet Union from 1977 until his death in 1982, who worked to foster *détente* with the United States during the Nixon era.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks agreement Agreement between the United States and the USSR in 1972 to limit both offensive nuclear weapons and the anti-ballistic missile systems that protected against them.

intercontinental ballistic missiles Missiles that can travel from one continent to another.

New Federalism Nixon's policy of accepting the existence of government social programs but seeking to trim waste and increase the power of state and local governments.

Revenue Sharing Act Five-year program established in 1972 to distribute large amounts of federal tax revenues to state and local governments to use as they saw fit.

Before the program ended in 1986, state and local governments had received over \$83 billion in revenue sharing funds.

Nixon also wanted to redirect the flow of money and responsibility in the welfare system. Unlike many staunch conservatives, Nixon was not opposed to welfare, but he believed that the existing welfare system robbed people of their self-esteem, contributed to the breakup of nuclear families, and punished people for working. His proposal for welfare reform, the Family Assistance Plan (FAP), sought to balance work and welfare but was attacked by conservatives and liberals alike. The Senate defeated it in 1969 and 1971. After its second defeat, Nixon lost interest.

But Nixon did not abandon what he saw as the need for federal social responsibility. Under his administration, food stamps became more accessible; the elderly and the disabled received direct federal support; and Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid payments were increased. Nixon also supported subsidized housing and expanded the Job Corps. He signed the **Twenty-sixth Amendment** giving 18-year-olds the right to vote, and his administration oversaw the formation of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the **Environmental Protection Agency** (EPA).

Nixon believed that the Republican party could not afford to ignore social needs and public concerns in the name of conservatism. The environmental issue was a case in point. When Nixon took office in 1969, the environment was not a major issue. Almost overnight, however, it became one. The ever-present Los Angeles smog, an oil slick off Santa Barbara, California, and the declaration that Lake Erie was ecologically dead provided graphic reminders of the ecological dangers facing the nation. During the second celebration of Earth Day in April 1970, nearly every community in the nation hosted some type of Earth Day activity.

Nixon was not an environmentalist, but he recognized an opportunity. Two days after Earth Day, 1970, he proposed the creation of the EPA. He also signed the Clean Air and Clean Water acts, which limited the amount of pollutants that business and industry could dump into the air and water.

Nixon proved to be flexible in economic matters as well. When he took office, the nation was experiencing a climbing rate of inflation. Nixon's initial response was to cut spending, increase interest rates, and balance the budget. He succeeded in balancing the budget in 1969, but inflation continued to rise even as economic growth slowed, a phenomenon soon dubbed **stagflation**. By 1971, the economy was in its first recession since 1958 and inflation was still climbing. Fearing that the economy would erode Republican support, Nixon radically shifted his approach. "I am now a Keynesian,"

he announced in April 1971. He asked for increased federal spending to boost recovery and wage and price controls to stall advancing inflation.

Nixon's battle with inflation, however, was a losing one, in part because of economic events over which he had no control. A global drought pushed up farm prices. Following the October 1973 Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur War, Arab nations instituted an oil boycott of the United States for its support of Israel. Gasoline prices nearly doubled. Many Americans were forced to wait in long gas lines. Some areas of the country even instituted fuel oil and gasoline rationing. Increases in food and oil prices pushed the 1974 inflation rate over 10 percent.

Law and Order and Southern Politics

During the 1968 campaign, Nixon had presented himself as the law-and-order candidate, who would use the power of government to combat crime. Once in office, however, Nixon seemed more interested in using the law-and-order theme for political purposes than for attacking street crime. Throughout Nixon's first term, administration officials had waged war against student, antiwar, and

Twenty-sixth Amendment Amendment to the Constitution in 1971 lowering the voting age from 21 to 18.

Environmental Protection Agency Agency created in 1970 to consolidate all major government programs combating pollution.

stagflation Persistent inflation combined with stagnant consumer demand and relatively high unemployment.

civil rights activists. Vice President **Spiro Agnew** denounced antiwar protesters for aiding the enemy. He called for the Silent Majority to reject "the nattering nabobs of negativism" and for authorities to take back the campuses. The White House also employed more direct tactics. The Justice Department, often acting illegally, used wiretaps and preventive detention against opponents and infiltrated groups viewed as the administration's enemies.

As part of Nixon's efforts to lock up the once solidly Democratic South for Republicans, the administration worked to slow integration. In response to Mississippi's request in 1969 to postpone the court-ordered integration of several school systems, Attorney General John Mitchell petitioned the Supreme Court for a delay. At the same time, the administration lobbied Congress to pass a weaker version of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Neither effort was successful. Congress rejected changes to the Voting Rights Act, and in October the Supreme Court unanimously decreed in *Alexander v. Holmes* that it was "the obligation of every school district to terminate dual school systems at once." The White House suffered another loss in 1971 when the Court reaffirmed the use of busing to achieve integration in a North Carolina

case, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*. The Nixon administration criticized the decisions but agreed to "carry out the law." By 1973, most African-American children in the South attended integrated public schools. Nixon was unable to slow integration, but he did win political support from white southerners.

A second part of Nixon's southern strategy was to alter the ideological composition of the Supreme Court. He wanted a more conservative Court that would interpret the Constitution more narrowly. His first opportunity came in 1969 when Chief Justice Earl Warren retired. Nixon nominated federal judge Warren Burger, a respected conservative who was easily confirmed by the Senate.

Liberal Justice Abe Fortas's resignation soon after gave Nixon a second chance to alter the Court. For political reasons, he wanted to appoint a southerner. Nixon selected Clement Haynesworth of South Carolina to replace Fortas. Haynesworth's record on labor and civil rights raised predictable opposition in the Senate. Democrats and several Republicans joined forces to deny his confirma-

tion. The rejection incensed Nixon, who was determined to force a southerner down the Senate's throat. His second choice was worse than the first. Not only was G. Harrold Carswell of Florida opposed to civil rights and labor, but he was a mediocre judge. A coalition of Republicans and Democrats rejected Carswell. On his third try, Nixon stopped looking for a southerner and selected Harry Blackmun, a conservative from Minnesota, who was confirmed easily. In 1971, Nixon appointed two more justices, Lewis Powell of Virginia (finally a southerner) and William Rehnquist of Arizona, creating a more conservative Supreme Court.

An Embattled President

By the end of Nixon's first term, the Republicans had every reason to gloat. Nearly 60 percent of those polled approved of Nixon's record. Nixon's southern strategy had ensured growing support in what had once been the "solid Democratic South." The law-and-order campaign had proven attractive to Middle America, while protesters and activists were losing strength. The economy, though still a worry, seemed under control. Diplomatically, Nixon had scored major successes in opening relations with China, establishing détente with the Soviets, and reducing American forces in Vietnam.

The continued disarray of the Democratic party only added to Republican confidence. The Democrats nominated **George McGovern** of South Dakota, but he was too liberal for much of the party. George Wallace again bolted the party to

Spiro Agnew Vice president under Richard Nixon, who resigned in 1973 amid charges of illegal financial dealings during his governorship of Maryland. wiretap Concealed listening or recording device used to monitor communications.

John Mitchell Nixon's attorney general, who eventually served four years in prison for his part in the Watergate scandal.

George McGovern South Dakota senator who opposed the Vietnam War and was the Democratic candidate for president in 1972 defeated by Nixon.

run as a third-party candidate on the American Independent ticket. Wallace's candidacy ended on May 15, 1972, when Arthur Bremer shot and paralyzed him.

Despite almost certain victory, Nixon was plagued by a siege mentality. He was convinced that he was surrounded by enemies: Democrats, social activists, liberals, and much of the press. Repeatedly, he spoke about "screwing" his domestic enemies before they got him. He used the FBI, the Internal Revenue Service, and other government organizations to intimidate and punish his "enemies."

Throughout the campaign, Nixon was obsessed with humiliating the Democrats. To achieve this objective, Nixon's staff and the Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP), directed by John Mitchell, were willing to step outside the normal bounds of election behavior. They turned to a Special Investigations Unit, the "Plumbers," to disrupt the Democrats. The Plumbers had used illegal surveillance and even burglary to investigate sources of suspected leaks of sensitive materials, like the *Pentagon Papers*. Ex-FBI agent G. Gordon Liddy and former CIA operative E. Howard Hunt conducted "dirty tricks" against the Democrats. CREEP approved sending burglars into the Democratic National Headquarters office in the Watergate building to copy documents and tap phones.

There on June 17, 1972, a security guard detected the burglars and notified the police, who arrested five men carrying "bugging" equipment. Officials soon determined that they worked for Hunt and Liddy. CREEP and the White House denied any connection to the burglars. As Nixon "categorically" denied that anyone in the White House was involved, Mitchell and White House staffers destroyed incriminating documents and arranged payments to those arrested in return for their silence. The FBI was encouraged to limit its investigation. The furor passed, and the Watergate break-in had little apparent effect on the election. Nixon buried McGovern in an electoral avalanche, winning every state except Massachusetts.

Nixon began his second term by claiming a clear mandate for his policies. From the outside, it appeared that the Nixon administration had a clear field to promote its agenda. But within the White

House, concern simmered over the approaching trial of the Watergate burglars. If the truth about Watergate were discovered, the Nixon administration might disintegrate. Although not directly involved in the covert actions against the Democrats, Nixon knew soon after the Watergate break-in that White House officials were implicated and approved of efforts to hide their involvement. "Cover it up," he told. John Mitchell.

As the trial approached, the cover-up began to unravel. Before being sentenced, James McCord, who led the burglary team, informed Judge John J. Sirica that key Republicans had been involved in planning the operation and that the burglars had been paid to keep quiet. *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein found a trail of suspicious payments that led to the White House, John Mitchell, and CREEP. Amid growing suspicions of White House involvement, the Senate convened a special committee in 1973 to investigate the break-in, chaired by a Democrat, Senator Sam Ervin, Jr., of North Carolina. White House staffer John Dean testified before Sirica and Ervin's committee that top White House officials, including Nixon, were involved in the cover-up. By May 1973, Nixon had fired Dean and watched Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman resign.

The cover-up further unraveled with testimony that Nixon had secretly recorded Oval Office conversations, including those with Dean. Responding to public pressure, Nixon appointed Harvard professor Archibald Cox as special Justice Department prosecutor to investigate Watergate. When Cox demanded the Oval Office tapes, Nixon had him fired in October 1973. Calls for Nixon's resignation or impeachment intensified. Adding to Nixon's troubles were accusations that he had improperly taken tax deductions. "I am not a crook," Nixon asserted. Nevertheless, the Internal

Watergate Washington apartment complex that housed the Democratic party's national headquarters; it gave its name to the scandal over the Nixon administration's involvement in a break-in at those headquarters and the president's part in the cover-up that followed.

Revenue Service concluded that Nixon had made errors in his deductions and owed the government half a million dollars. Meanwhile, Vice President Agnew was convicted of income-tax evasion and influence peddling and forced to resign. Nixon named Congressman Gerald R. Ford of Michigan to replace Agnew.

In March 1974, the grand jury investigating the Watergate break-in indicted Mitchell, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman and named Nixon as an "unindicted co-conspirator." Under tremendous pressure, Nixon released transcripts of selected tapes to the House Judiciary Committee. The outcome was devastating. Not only did the transcripts contradict some official testimony, but Nixon's profanity and apparent lack of moral values shocked many Americans. By August, the House Judiciary Committee had charged Nixon with three impeachable crimes: obstructing justice, abuse of power, and denying subpoenas. Once-loyal Republicans told him that he could either resign or face impeachment. Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974, making Ford president. Eventually, twenty-nine people connected to the White House were convicted of crimes related to Watergate and the 1972 campaign.

S U M M A R Y

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

President Johnson *chose* to continue President Kennedy's commitment to save South Vietnam from communism. The *outcome* was an Americanized war in Vietnam. The *expectation* that American superiority would defeat Ho Chi Minh's Communists proved disastrous for the nation.

Vietnam cost Johnson his presidency and divided the nation.

It was not just the debate over the war that split the nation. By 1968, the country was aflame with riots in urban centers, and an increasing number of groups was seeking better social, economic, and political *choices*. Those advocating social reforms encountered growing *constraints* generated by a resurgence of conservatism. In

1968, Nixon *chose* to emphasize dissatisfaction with Johnson's war and the Great Society to win the presidency.

As president, Nixon *chose* to escape the quagmire of Vietnam by implementing Vietnamization. He *chose* to promote détente by working to improve relations with the Soviet Union and China. At home, Nixon *chose* an uneven course, switching between maintaining governmental activism and reducing the power of government. Politically, he sought a broader base for the Republican party by pursuing a southern strategy that diminished federal support for civil rights. Despite Nixon's domestic and foreign policy successes, however, his desire to crush opposition eventually led to the Watergate scandal. *Expecting* impeachment, the president *chose* to resign. The *outcome* of the Johnson years and Watergate was a nation with low *expectations* for politics and government, caught in a feeling of drift, disillusionment, and disunity.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Ambrose, Stephen. *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician, 1962-1972* (1989).

An excellent examination of Nixon and his politics.

Caputo, Philip. *A Rumor of War* (1986).

An excellent personal account of one person's changing perspectives on the war in Vietnam. From his experiences as a young marine officer in Vietnam to an experienced journalist covering the final days in Saigon, Caputo frequently reflected the views of the American public.

Deloria, Vine, Jr. *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974).

An examination of U.S. government policies toward Native Americans by a leading Indian activist.

Echols, Alice. *Daring to Be Bad* (1989).

An insightful and interesting account of the radical dimension of the women's movement.

Kutler, Stanley. *The Wars of Watergate* (1990).

A detailed account of the events surrounding the Watergate break-in and the hearings that led to the resignation of Nixon.

McQuaid, Kim. *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era* (1989).

A brief and solid overview of the 1960s.

Roberts, Robert. *Where the Dominoes Fell* (1990).

A brief, well-written history of America's role in Vietnam.

Films

There are many excellent films about the American experience in Vietnam, from the PBS series on Vietnam to feature films like *Platoon*, *Apocalypse Now*, and *The Deer Hunter*.