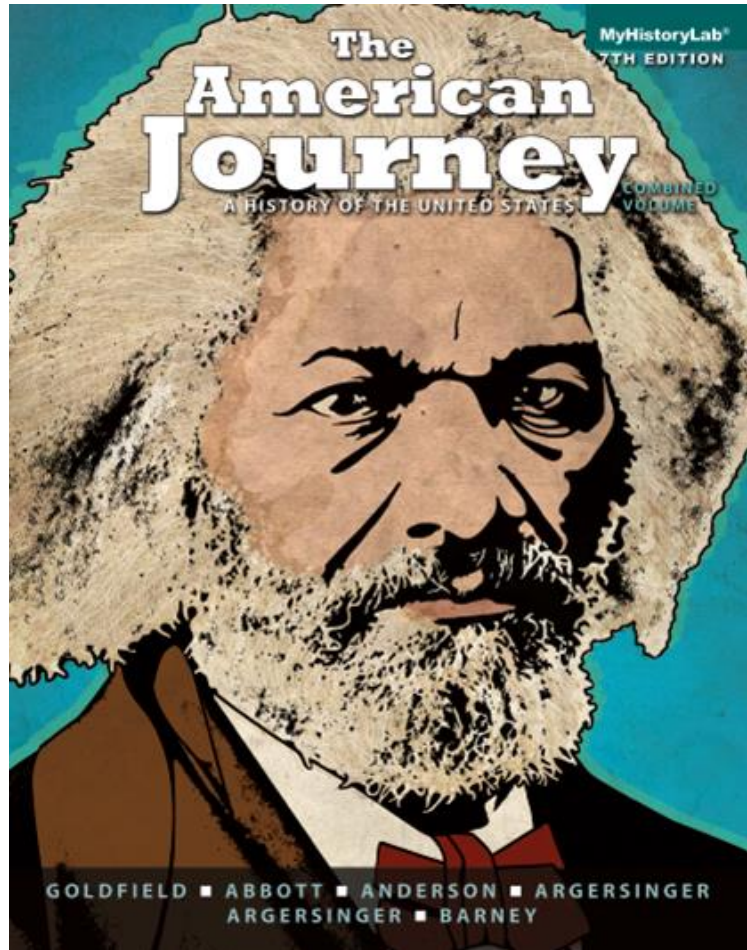


# The American Journey

*A History of the United States, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition*

By: Goldfield • Abbott • Anderson • Argersinger • Argersinger • Barney • Weir



## Chapter 29

- Shaken to the Roots
- 1965-1980

# Shaken to the Roots

## 1965-1980

The End of Consensus

Cities under Stress

The Year of the Gun, 1968

Nixon, Watergate and the Crisis of the Early 1970s

Jimmy Carter: Idealism and Frustration in the White House

Conclusion

# Learning Objectives

Why did the national consensus of the 1950s and early 1960s unravel?

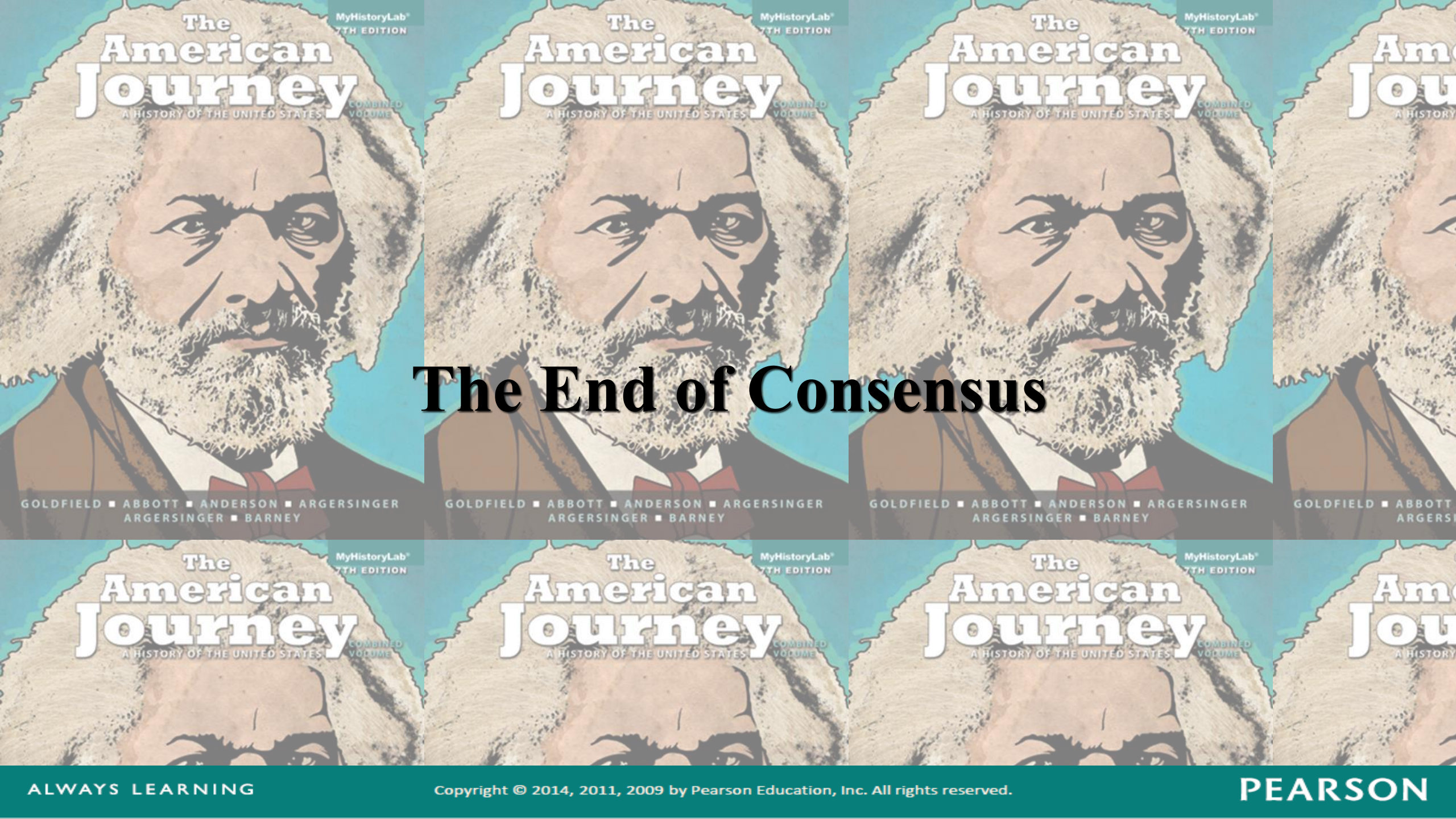
What challenges did cities face in the late 1960s and 1970s?

How did the Tet Offensive change American public opinion about the war in Vietnam?

What was the legacy of Richard Nixon's presidency?

# Learning Objectives (cont'd)

What factors limited Jimmy Carter's effectiveness as president?



# The End of Consensus

# Deeper into Vietnam

Lyndon Johnson had limited options in Vietnam. Rolling Thunder put the U.S. on the road to increased involvement.

Johnson's bombing campaigns followed by a pause and offer of U.S. aid yielded no results and led to increased ground troops.

# Deeper into Vietnam (cont'd)

The search and destroy strategy worked well against North Vietnamese troops and large Viet Cong units but not against guerillas.

The massive air strikes killed thousands of Vietnamese and made millions refugees.

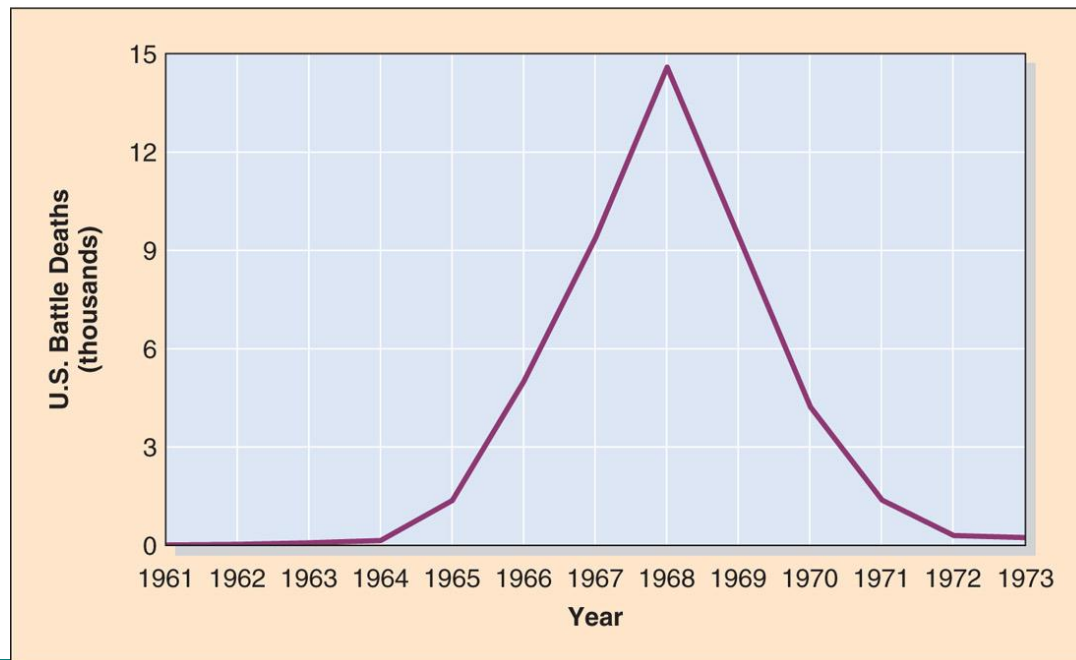
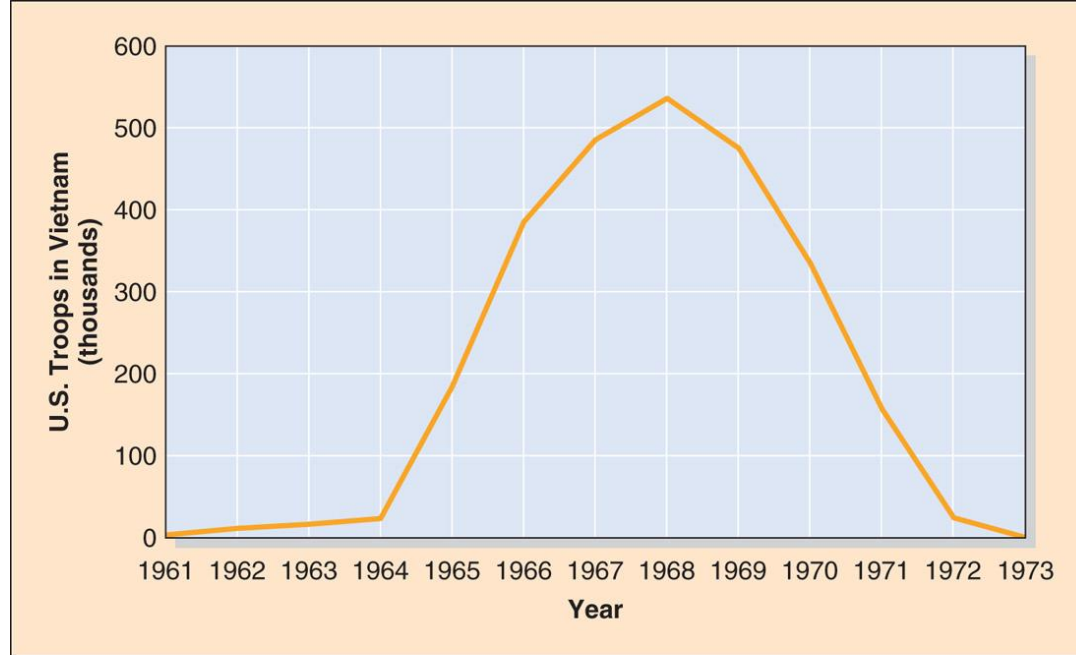
# Deeper into Vietnam (cont'd)

## **Search and destroy**

U.S. military tactic in South Vietnam, using small detachments to locate enemy units and then massive air, artillery, and ground forces to destroy them.







# Voices of Dissent

Protest against the war quickly followed the deployment of American troops.

In 1966 and 1967, antiwar activity changed from respectful protest to direct confrontation.

Protesters directed their ire at the draft.

College and medical deferments focused the draft on small-town and working-class youth.

# Voices of Dissent (cont'd)

Military service widened the gap between white and black as African Americans served way beyond the percentage of the population.

Draft resistance and popular media were vehicle of protest.

# Voices of Dissent (cont'd)

## **Selective Service System**

Federal agency that coordinated military conscription before and during the Vietnam War.

# New Left and Community Activism

The antiwar movement was part of a growing grass-roots activism among young people and took much of its tone from the Students for a Democratic Society.

The SDS issued the Port Huron Statement in 1962 that called for grass roots action and participatory democracy.

# New Left and Community Activism (cont'd)

The Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley also mobilized student activism.

The federal government launched the Model Cities Program in 1966 to mobilize residents of poor neighborhoods to improve housing, education, health services, and job opportunities.

# New Left and Community Activism (cont'd)

## **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)**

The leading student organization of the New Left of the early and mid-1960s.

## **Free Speech Movement (FSM)**

Student movement at the University of California, Berkeley, formed in 1964 to protest limitations on political activities on campus.



# New Left and Community Activism (cont'd)

## **Model Cities Program**

Effort to target federal funds to upgrade public services and economic opportunity in specifically defined urban neighborhoods between 1966 and 1974.

# Youth Culture and Counterculture

The counterculture was an expression of youth culture based on drug experimentation and rejection of middle-class values.

The mecca of the counterculture was San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district. It became the center of hippie culture during the 1967 "Summer of Love."

# Youth Culture and Counterculture (cont'd)

The counterculture had its consumer aspects as was shown by fashion, music, and the Woodstock festival.

## **Counterculture**

Various alternatives to mainstream values and behaviors that became popular in the 1960s, including experimentation with psychedelic drugs, communal living, a return to the land, Asian religions, and experimental art.

# The Sounds of Change

The counterculture was shaped mostly by music.

The abrupt shift from the complacent rock-and-roll of the early 1960s to the provocative rock of the mid-decade reflected the sharp changes in American society.

# The Sounds of Change (cont'd)

Music became a vehicle of protest and experimentation. Social criticism and class consciousness were major themes of music in the late 1960s.

# Communes and Cults

Some counterculture members founded communes to practice individual freedom and cooperative living.  
Religious cults also grew.

## Why Were We in South Vietnam?

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U.S. leaders offered a number of justifications for U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. Here are some of the key arguments, with points that supported or questioned the explanation.

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To Prop Up a Domino:	Communist success in South Vietnam would undermine pro-American regimes in adjacent nations, which would topple like a row of dominoes. <i>Pro</i> The firm U.S. stand contributed to an anti-Communist coup in Indonesia in 1965 and encouraged pro-American interests in Thailand and the Philippines. <i>Con</i> Detailed knowledge of each nation in Southeast Asia shows that their own histories and internal issues were far more important in determining their futures than was U.S. action in Vietnam.
To Contain China:	China's Communist regime wanted to expand its control throughout Asia. <i>Pro</i> The People's Republic of China was hostile to the United States, as shown in the Korean War, and had a long history of trying to control Vietnam. <i>Con</i> North Vietnam had closer ties to the Soviet Union than to China and played the two Communist nations against each other to preserve its independence from China.
To Defeat Aggression:	South Vietnam was an independent nation threatened by invasion. <i>Pro</i> The major military threat to South Vietnam after 1965 came from the growing presence of the North Vietnamese army, and U.S. military intervention was necessary to counter that invasion. <i>Con</i> The conflict in South Vietnam originated as a civil war within South Vietnam. Moreover, South and North Vietnam were a single nation, artificially divided in 1954, so that North Vietnam was trying to reunify rather than invade South Vietnam.
To Protect Democracy:	South Vietnam was a democratic nation that deserved U.S. support. <i>Pro</i> South Vietnam had an emerging middle class and an opportunity to develop democratic institutions. <i>Con</i> South Vietnam was never a true democracy, ruled first by civilian dictator Ngo Dinh Diem and then a series of military strongmen.

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# The Feminist Critique

The revival of the women's rights movement was helped by Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, the inclusion of gender as one of the categories protected in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the founding of the National Organization of Women in 1965.

Mainstream feminism focused on unequal job opportunities.



# The Feminist Critique (cont'd)

More reliable methods of contraception gave women more control over childbearing.

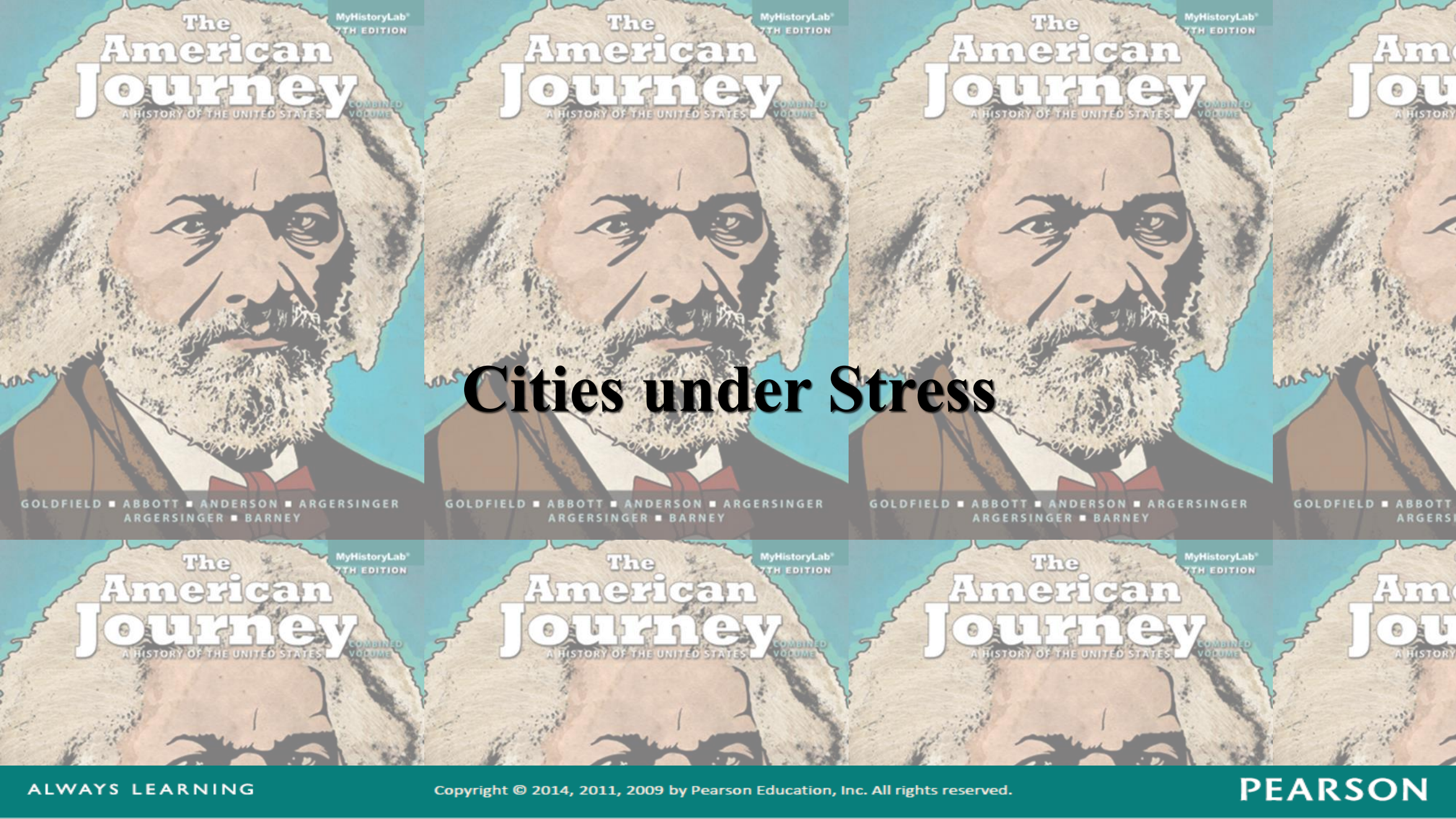
Women's liberation took off as a social and political movement in 1970 and 1971.

# Coming Out

The new militancy among gay men and lesbians drew on several of the social changes of the late 1960s and 1970s, as gay activism spread across America.

## **Stonewall Rebellion**

On June 27, 1969, patrons fought back when police raided the gay Stonewall Inn in New York; the name refers to that event and to the increase in militancy by gay Americans that it symbolizes.



# Cities under Stress

# Diagnosing an Urban Crisis

Popular entertainment reflected Americans' growing discomfort with their cities and the belief that racial violence, crime, and unemployment were sinking the cities.

Many urban problems were associated with the “second ghettos” created by the African American migration of the 1950s and 1960s.

# Diagnosing an Urban Crisis (cont'd)

Race relations had limited access to decent housing the best schools, and to many unionized jobs. Residential ghettos trapped African Americans who tried to follow the expectations of mainstream society.

Central cities also faced problems related to aging infrastructure and the decay of utility and transportation systems.

# Conflict in the Streets

The Watts riots of 1965 scared many whites but also were seen as protests against the problems of ghetto life and the mounting anger of its residents.

In 1966, scores of cities suffered riots. The following year also witnessed violence with the worst incidents being in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit.

# Conflict in the Streets (cont'd)

Politicians were reluctant to admit African Americans and Hispanics had serious grievances and blamed lawbreakers and riff-raff. Most rioters were neighborhood residents who were frustrated by unemployment and police treatment.

# Minority Self-Determination

“Black Power” summed up the new separatist attitude of controlling one’s own community politically, celebrating African American heritage, and creating a parallel society that shunned white institutions. The Nation of Islam and the Black Panthers were prominent separatist groups.



# Minority Self-Determination (cont'd)

Latinos in the Southwest developed the “Brown Power” movement in the late 1960s. There were three thrusts. Hispanics in rural New Mexico demanded the return of lands lost to Anglo-Americans. In Denver, the Crusade for Justice stressed cultural traditions, and community control of schools. Cesar Chavez focused on organizing workers.

# Minority Self-Determination (cont'd)

Through the Native American Movement and other organizations, Native Americans fought for equal access to American society and to preserve their culture and traditions.

# Minority Self-Determination (cont'd)

## **Black Power**

Philosophy emerging after 1965 that real economic and political gains for African-Americans could come only through self-help, self-determination, and organizing for direct political influence. Latinos and Native Americans developed their own versions as Brown Power and Red Power, respectively.

# Minority Self-Determination (cont'd)

## **Nation of Islam**

Religious movement among black Americans that emphasizes self-sufficiency, self-help, and separation from white society.

## **Black Panthers**

Political and social movement among black Americans, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 and emphasizing black economic and political power.

# Minority Self-Determination (cont'd)

## **American Indian Movement (AIM)**

Group of Native American political activists who used confrontations with the federal government to publicize their case for Indian rights.

# Suburban Independence: The Outer City

In the mid-1960s, the United States became a suburban nation. The suburbs captured the most new jobs leaving the urban poor with fewer job opportunities.

The construction of airports on the edge of cities stimulated development of a fringe of hotels, office parks, and corporate offices.

# Suburban Independence: The Outer City (cont'd)

Suburban rings gained a growing share of public facilities intended to serve the entire metropolitan area.

Suburbs also gained greater political power especially after the Supreme Court ruled that legislative seats be apportioned by population.

# Suburban Independence: The Outer City (cont'd)

Court mandated school integration instituted cross-town busing that aroused protests.

## ***Baker v. Carr***

U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1962 that allowed federal courts to review the apportionment of state legislative districts and established the principle that such districts should have roughly equal populations (“one person, one vote”).



# Suburban Independence: The Outer City (cont'd)

## ***Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education***

U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1971 that upheld cross-city busing to achieve the racial integration of public schools.



# The Year of the Gun 1968

# The Tet Offensive

The Tet Offensive undermined the American public's pride in the Vietnam War.

The military attacks failed but television coverage showed the brutality of the war, lowering civilian morale.

The request for 200,000 more troops led to a reevaluation that advised Johnson to disengage.

# LBJ's Exit

Senator Eugene McCarthy's strong showing in New Hampshire and the entry of Robert Kennedy in the race combined with the unraveling war led LBJ to announce he would not seek reelection.

# Violence and Politics: King, Kennedy, and Chicago

On April 4, 1968, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis. Fires devastated the West Side of Chicago and Washington, D.C.

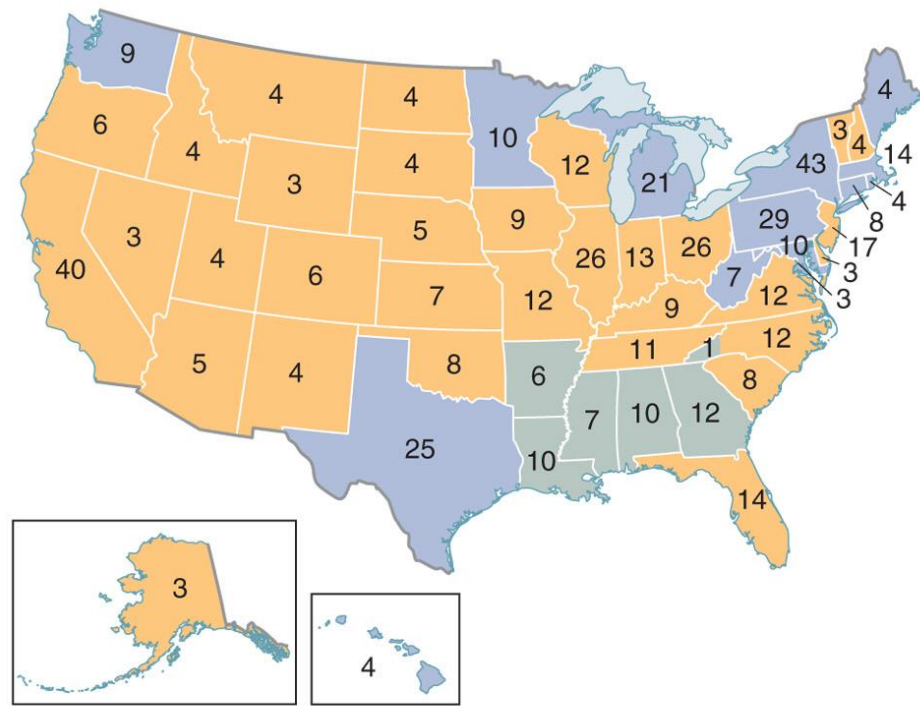
On June 5, 1968, Robert Kennedy was assassinated.

# Violence and Politics: King, Kennedy, and Chicago (cont'd)

Kennedy's death ensured that Hubert Humphrey would be the Democratic nominee. He faced Republican candidate Richard Nixon and George Wallace.

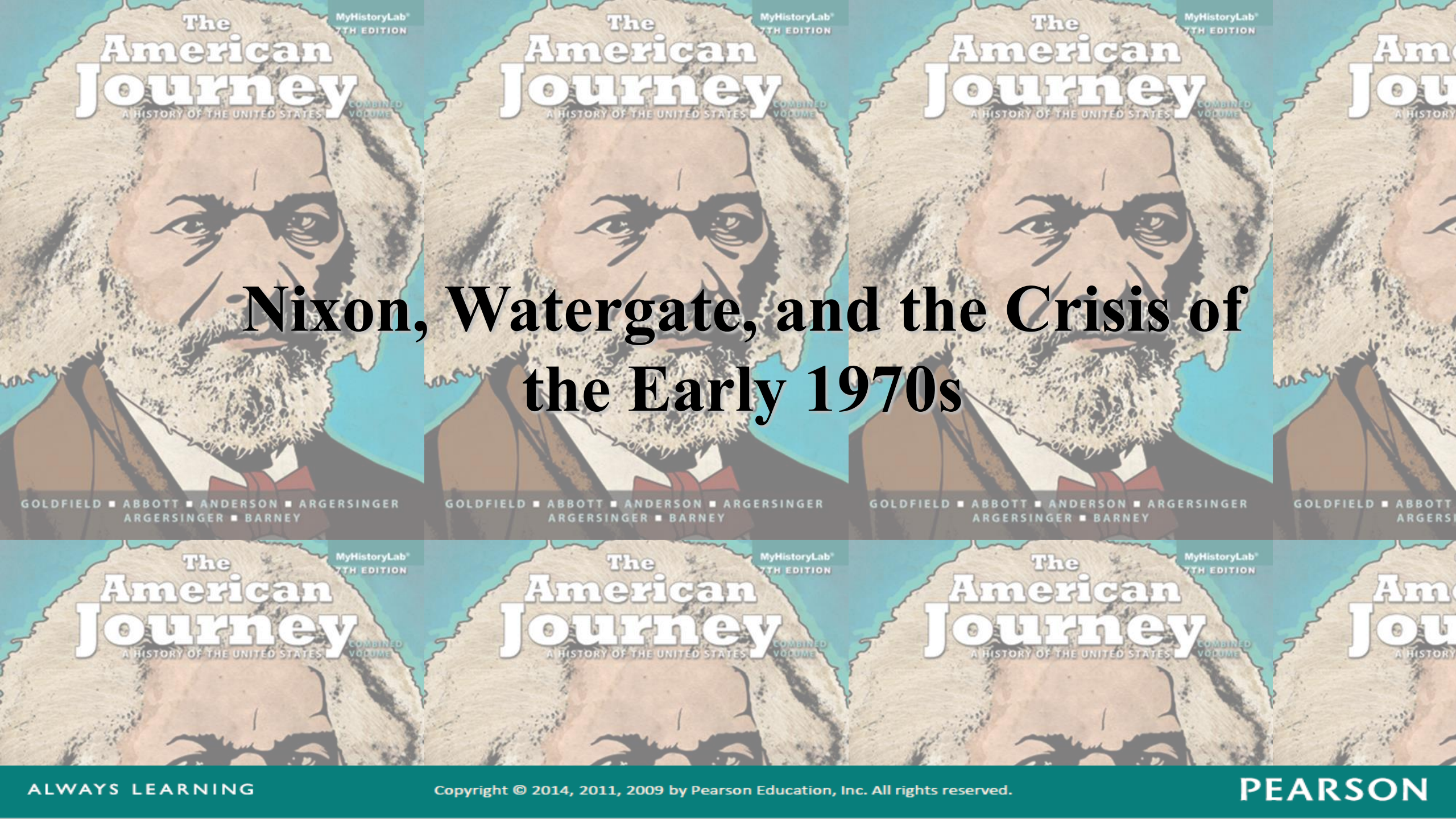
The Democratic convention in Chicago attracted antiwar protesters who were attacked by police.

In a close election, Nixon won the presidency.



	Electoral Vote (%)	Popular Vote (%)
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<b>RICHARD M. NIXON (Republican)</b>	<b>301 (56)</b>	<b>31,785,480 (43.4)</b>
Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat)	191 (36)	31,275,165 (42.7)
George C. Wallace (American Independent)	46 (8)	9,906,473 (13.5)
Other candidates (Dick Gregory, Socialist Labor; Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers; Eugene McCarthy, Peace and Freedom; E. Harold Munn and Rolland E. Fisher, Prohibition)	—	221,134 (.3)



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# Nixon, Watergate, and the Crisis of the Early 1970s

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# Getting Out of Vietnam, 1969–1975

Nixon had no secret plan to end the Vietnam War. Protests culminated with Vietnam Moratorium on October 15, 1969 when two million people participated in protests.

The New Left had split into factions. The Weather Underground adopted a more aggressive, violent stance.

Nixon's war plan was Vietnamization.

# Getting Out of Vietnam, 1969–1975 (cont'd)

Nixon launched a secret war against Cambodia that stimulated student protests that shut down universities and led to the deaths of six students.

Negotiation began in 1972 and led to a cease fire in 1973.  
The United States withdrew its troops.

In 1975, South Vietnam collapsed.

# Getting Out of Vietnam, 1969–1975 (cont'd)

## **Nixon Doctrine**

In July, 1969, President Nixon described a new American policy toward Asia, in which the United States would honor treaty commitments but would gradually disengage and expect Asian nations to handle military defense on their own.

# Nixon and the Wider World

Nixon opened relations with China and that helped to improve relations with the Soviet Union.

The United States and the Soviet Union signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty in 1972.

# Nixon and the Wider World (cont'd)

Nixon's policy was called détente and implied that the United States and China recognized mutual interests in Asia and that the Soviet Union was an equal in world affairs.

## **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)**

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty signed in 1972 by the United States and the Soviet Union to slow the nuclear arms race.

# Nixon and the Wider World (cont'd)

## ***Détente***

A lessening of tension, applied to improved American relations with the Soviet Union and China in the mid-1970s.

# Courting Middle America

Nixon's domestic policy was geared to solidify his support of Middle America.

Nixon ignored troubled big cities and tilted spending toward the suburbs.

Nixon's New Federalism policy was centered on General Revenue Sharing that passed federal funds directly to local governments with no limits on use.

# Courting Middle America (cont'd)

## **New Federalism**

President Richard Nixon's policy to shift responsibilities for government programs from the federal level to the states.



# Oil, OPEC, and Stagflation

In the late 1960s, inflation became an issue and continued to affect the American economy into the 1970s.

After the Arab-Israeli War of 1973, Arab nations imposed an embargo on oil exports. Long lines at the gas pump, rising prices, and hurried rationing systems panicked Americans who depended on their cars.

# Oil, OPEC, and Stagflation (cont'd)

Rising energy prices forced Americans to watch their energy consumption—turning down thermostats and switching off lights.

The underlying problems of the American economy went untreated and America's economic dominance declined.

OPEC had demonstrated its power with the oil embargo while the economies of Japan and Germany surged.

# Oil, OPEC, and Stagflation (cont'd)

## **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**

Cartel of oil-producing nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that gained substantial power over the world economy in the mid- to late-1970s by controlling the production and price of oil.

# Americans as Environmentalists

In the 1970s, most Americans agreed on environmental issues.

Resource conservation grew into a multi-faceted environmental movement.

Pollution became a national issue after the publication of *Silent Spring* in 1962.

On April 22, 1970, the first Earth Day gained a grass roots following across the country.

# Americans as Environmentalists (cont'd)

In 1970, Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act and created the Environmental Protection Agency.

## **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)**

Federal agency created in 1970 to oversee environmental monitoring and cleanup programs.

# From Dirty Tricks to Watergate

The chain of events that undermined Richard Nixon's presidency began with the publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971.

In response, the White House compiled a list of journalists and politicians who opposed Nixon. Nixon set up a special investigative unit to prevent information leaks.

# From Dirty Tricks to Watergate (cont'd)

Five burglars hired by the Committee to Re-Elect the President were caught breaking into the Democratic National Committee Office in the Watergate apartment building.

# From Dirty Tricks to Watergate (cont'd)

The attempt to cover up the burglary came apart and eventually led to the resignation of Nixon.

## **Watergate**

A complex scandal involving attempts to cover up illegal actions taken by administration officials and leading to the resignation of President Richard Nixon in 1974.



# From Dirty Tricks to Watergate (cont'd)

## **Pentagon Papers**

Classified Defense Department documents on the history of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, prepared in 1968 and leaked to the press in 1971.

## The Environmental Decades

Administration	Focus of Concern	Legislation
Johnson	Wilderness and wildlife	Wilderness Act (1964)
		National Wildlife Refuge System (1966)
		Wild and Scenic Rivers Act (1968)
Nixon	Pollution control and endangered environments	National Environmental Policy Act (1969)
		Environmental Protection Agency (1970)
		Clean Air Act (1970)
		Occupational Safety and Health Act (1970)
		Water Pollution Control Act (1972)
		Pesticide Control Act (1972)
		Coastal Zone Management Act (1972)
Ford	Energy and hazardous materials	Endangered Species Act (1973)
		Toxic Substances Control Act (1976)
Carter	Energy and hazardous materials	Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (1976)
		Energy Policy and Conservation Act (1978)
	Parks and wilderness	Comprehensive Emergency Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (Superfund) (1980)
		Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (1980)

# The Ford Footnote

- Gerald Ford was appointed Vice President after Spiro Agnew resigned after pleading no contest to charges of bribery and income tax evasion.
- Ford succeeded Nixon as president and his first act was to pardon Nixon arousing much criticism. Ford also offered clemency to thousands of draft resisters.

# The Ford Footnote (cont'd)

The United States joined the Soviet Union and 35 other nations signed the Helsinki Accords.

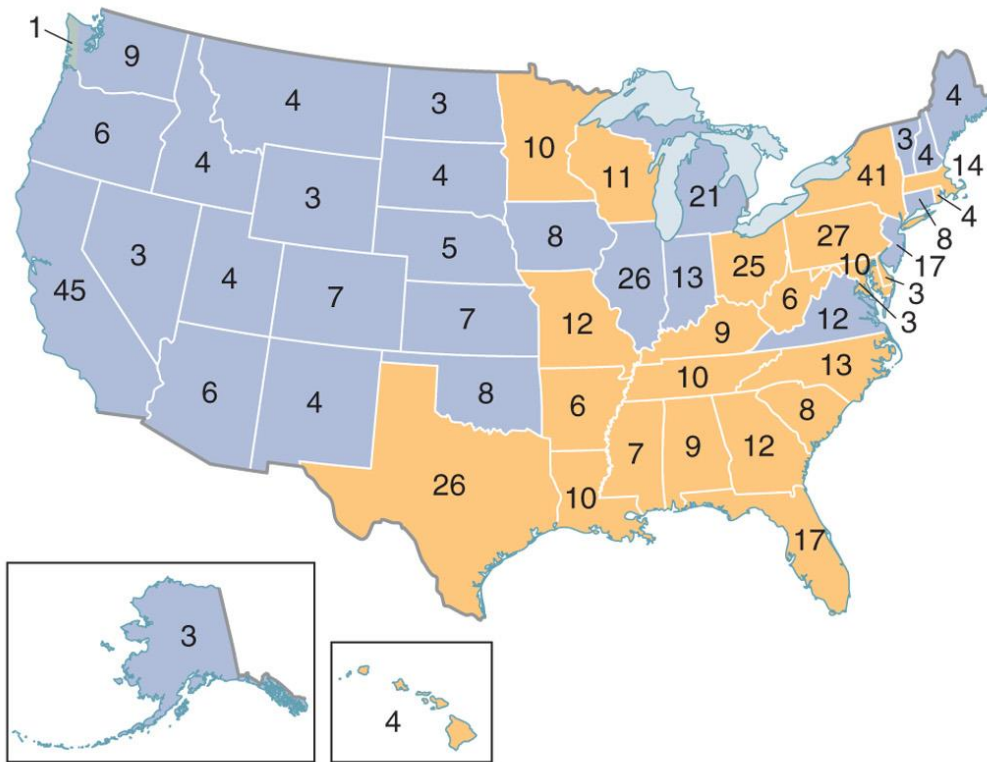
During Ford's tenure, the economy slid into recession and inflation worsened.

Ford lost the 1976 election to Jimmy Carter.

# The Ford Footnote (cont'd)

## **Helsinki Accords**

Agreement in 1975 among NATO and Warsaw Pact members that recognized European national boundaries as set after World War II and included guarantees of human rights.



	Electoral Vote (%)	Popular Vote (%)
<b>JIMMY CARTER (Democrat)</b>	<b>297 (55)</b>	<b>40,828,929 (50.1)</b>
Gerald R. Ford (Republican)	240 (45)	39,148,940 (47.9)
Ronald Reagan	1	–
Other candidates (McCarthy, Independent; Libertarian)	–	1,575,459 (2.1)



# Jimmy Carter: Idealism and Frustration in the White House

# Carter, Energy, and the Economy

Carter's biggest domestic problem was the economy, which slid into another recession in 1978. A jump in oil prices in 1978 and 1979 caused the worst inflation in the postwar era. Interest rates rose to more than 20 percent.



# Carter, Energy, and the Economy (cont'd)

Carter proposed a comprehensive energy policy. Congress created the Department of Energy but refused to raise gas and oil taxes.

- The Energy Policy and Conservation Act encouraged alternative sources.

# Closed Factories and Failed Farms

Ford and Carter faced massive problems connected to economic transition that undercut efforts to to develop effective government programs.

# Closed Factories and Failed Farms (cont'd)

Deindustrialization severely affected industrial cities causing plant closures and unemployment that had a ripple effect through other local businesses. Automation reduced labor needs, exacerbating the deteriorating conditions.

# Closed Factories and Failed Farms (cont'd)

The decline of heavy industry was paralleled by the continuing transformation of agriculture from small, family enterprises to corporate agribusiness.

# Closed Factories and Failed Farms (cont'd)

## **Deindustrialization**

The process of economic change involving the disappearance of outmoded industries and the transfer of factories to new low-wage locations, with devastating effects in the Northeast and Middle West, especially in the 1970s and 1980s.

# Building a Cooperative World

Carter's moral convictions were responsible for a new concern for human rights worldwide.

Carter's greatest foreign policy triumph was the signing of the Camp David Agreement.

## **Camp David Agreement**

Agreement to reduce points of conflict between Israel and Egypt, hammered out in 1977 with the help of U.S. president Jimmy Carter.

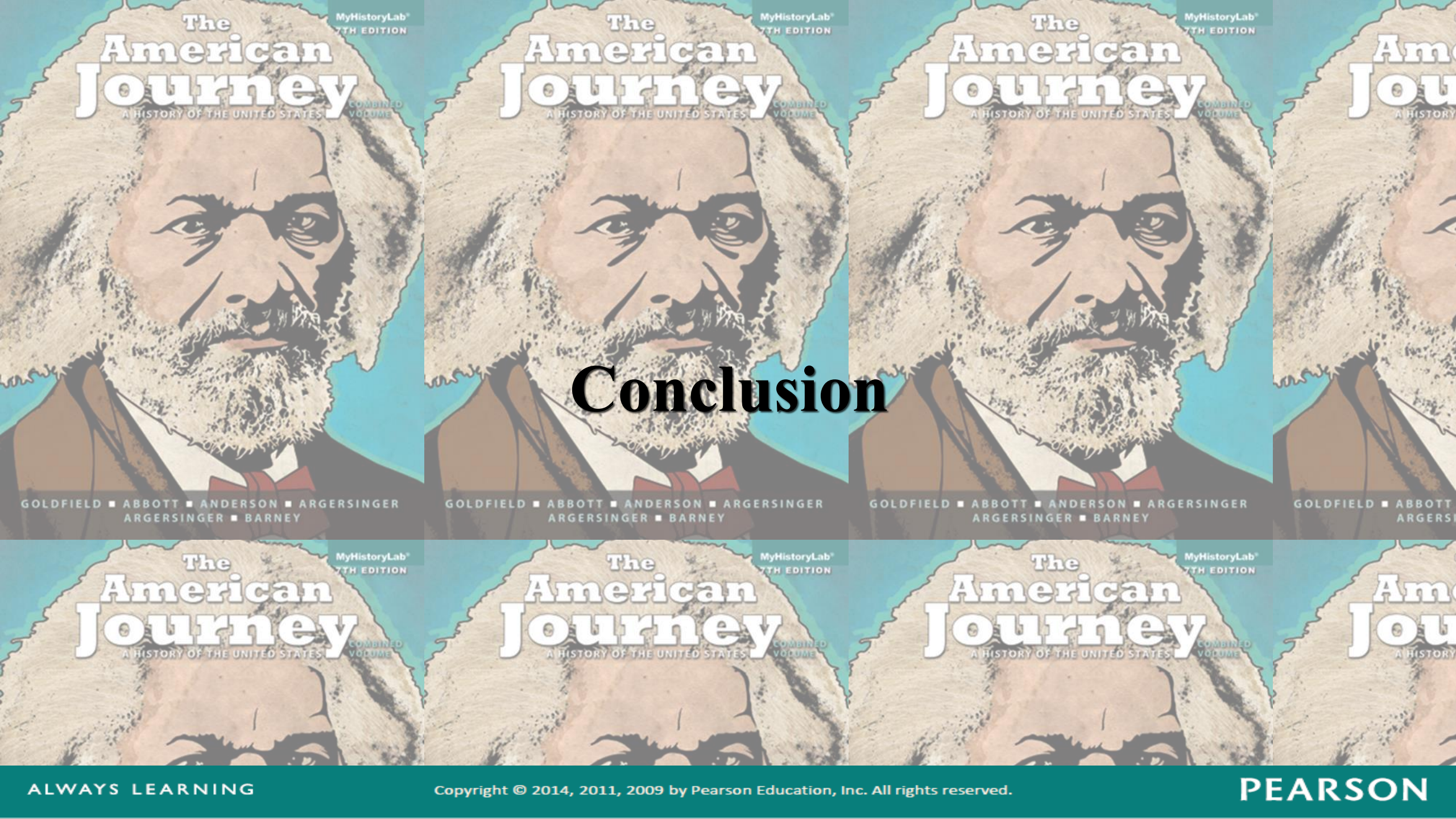
# New Crises Abroad

Carter inherited negotiation for SALT II but its adoption was stopped by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan that led Carter to pull the United States out of the Olympics in 1980.

# New Crises Abroad (cont'd)

The revolution of 1979 toppled the Shah of Iran and when the Shah came to the United States for medical treatment, Iranians stormed the American embassy and took over 60 American hostages.





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# Conclusion

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# Conclusion

In the mid-1970s, Americans encountered real limits on national capacity. Americans had reconsider the goal of economic expansion.

Events also showed that the United States could not run the world.

At the same time, deep economic changes were occurring.