



**NIXON AND
THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY 68-74**

Cultural Upheaval and the New Left

By 1970 **half of the US population was under the age of 30**, and they started to demand recognition of their ideas, and not just their parent's. Not all young people were radical, but those that were had loud voices.

The New Left formed from students on campuses across the U.S. who wanted to challenge the political system.

Many members had been involved in the Civil Rights movement and had been shocked at the injustice; they will apply their ideas to other political ideas as well.



Port Huron Statement (1962) – formed the **SDS (Students for a Democratic Society)** and set out an agenda for societal reform that included student rights, economic justice, and anti-nuclear war views.

→ An offshoot of the SDS, the Weathermen will use violence and arson to push their agenda.



Free Speech Movement (1964) began at UC Berkeley by Mario Savio in protest of university policies spread to other universities as general student unease focused on anti-establishment sentiments.

An anti-war protest in 1968 at Columbia University led to students seizing the office of the president and occupying it until the police arrested them.

The organizations of the New Left will organize sweeping **anti-war protests** from 1967-69.

Their protests against the draft were just as widespread and militant.

The **burning draft card** became a common sight at anti-war rallies.



Those that refused to participate in the war could choose to serve terms in jail or would have to escape to other countries to evade the draft- **Draft dodgers**

These men were not legally allowed back into the U.S. until **Carter issues a general pardon in 1977.**

The radicalization of American students led them to challenge **Establishment** norms and laws (**the Counterculture**)

1. Youth culture was openly scornful of middle class values.
2. There was an increased and public use of hallucinogenic drugs.
3. Rise of hippies ("tune in, turn on, drop out") led to development of communes and other counterculture movements.



Music of the Counterculture

Music can change the culture, or reflect the existing culture.

Folk singers (like Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, etc) changed the culture of rebellion by expressing explicit radicalism and their lyrics challenged traditional mores.



Rock and folk music reflected iconoclastic views of the counter culture.

Groups such as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Doors expressed mystical approach that embraced drugs and Eastern religions as well as themes of anger, frustration, and rebelliousness.



Extending Civil Rights- Native Americans

New militancy among ethnic groups and feminists challenged values and laws.

Native Americans fought against **Eisenhower's 1953 "termination" program** that tried to fully assimilate American Indian nations into mainstream society by getting rid of tribal designations.

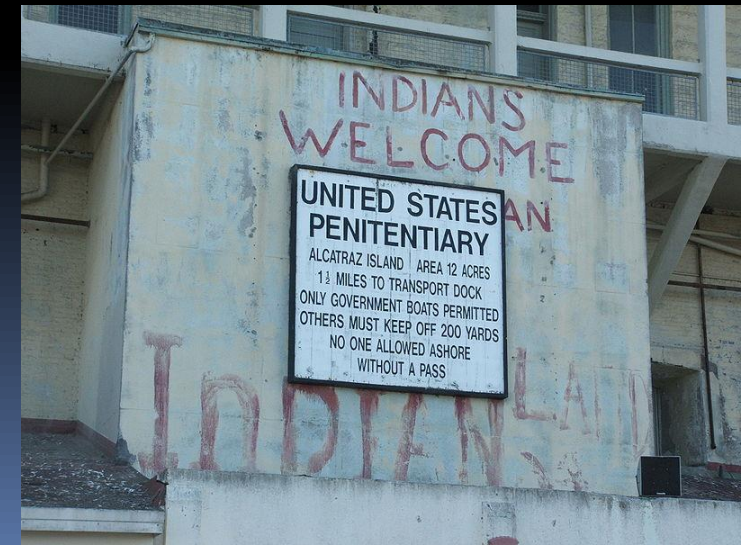


Tribal leaders will start to work together for **pan-Indian** recognition and rights.

In 1968, a group of young people will form the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**

Indians from several tribes will publicly protest gov't actions by **occupying Alcatraz Island** since it had been abandoned by the federal government.

Congress passed the **Indian Civil Rights Act** which granted all Indians civil rights whether they lived in cities on or on reservations.





The **1973 siege at Wounded Knee** will pit the AIM, who had seized the town, against federal forces and the natives will lose.

They will see victory in the courts through ***United States v. Wheeler*** and autonomous tribal status will be restored.

The movement continues today and works on key issues of upholding the **rights of Indigenous peoples** around the world.

They have also taken on the **explicit racism of schools, colleges and professional sports mascots.**

- **AMERICAN INDIANS ARE PEOPLE, NOT MASCOTS**



Extending Civil Rights- Latino Americans

Latinos, predominantly Mexican-American, will grow to become the largest minority in the United States by 2000, 16%.

Immigration accelerated during WW2 and since, but little cohesive organization or agitation for reform of conditions or immigrations laws resulted.

Cesar Chavez becomes one of the best organizers in the Latino community.

He will organize predominantly Latino farmhands into the **United Farm Workers union** to push for better wages and benefits.

The **boycotts of goods** will finally push growers to recognize the union and provide better wages.



Extending Civil Rights- Feminism

NOW- The **National Organization for Women** was founded in 1966 to eliminate discrimination against women. **Led by Betty Friedan** and others disappointed that women had been left out of important Civil Rights legislation again – **CR Act of 1964**.

In 1968 feminists targeted the Miss America Pageant for protest. They staged a theatrical demonstration that would have included burning their bras, but the permit was denied by the city.

The protest was one of the first media events to bring national attention to the emerging **Women's Liberation Movement**.



NO MORE MISS AMERICA!, by Robin Morgan

August 22, 1968

New York City

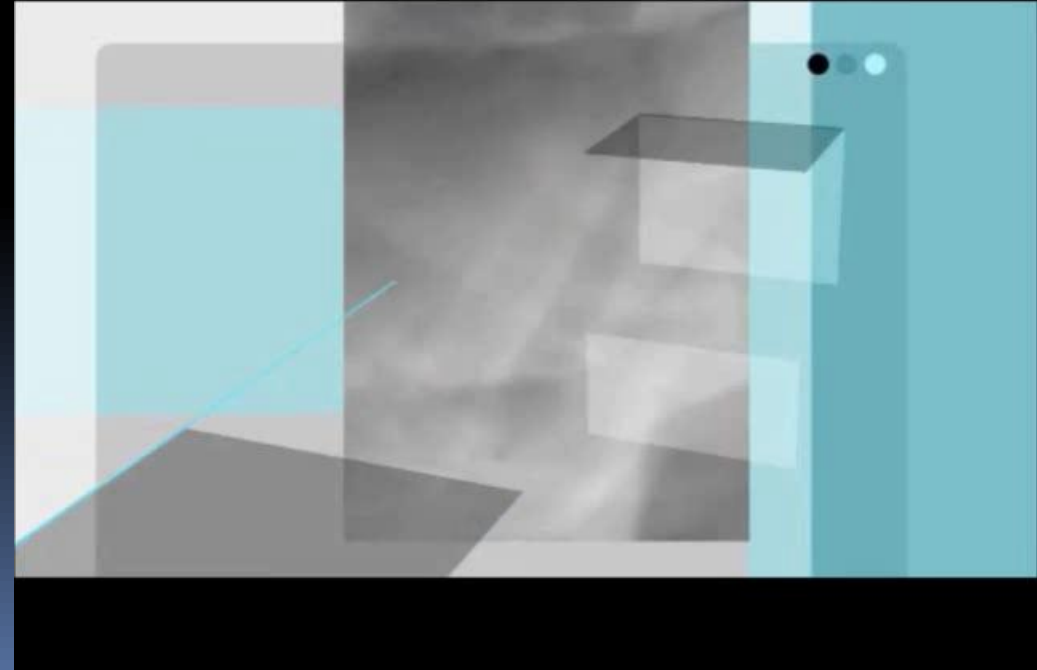
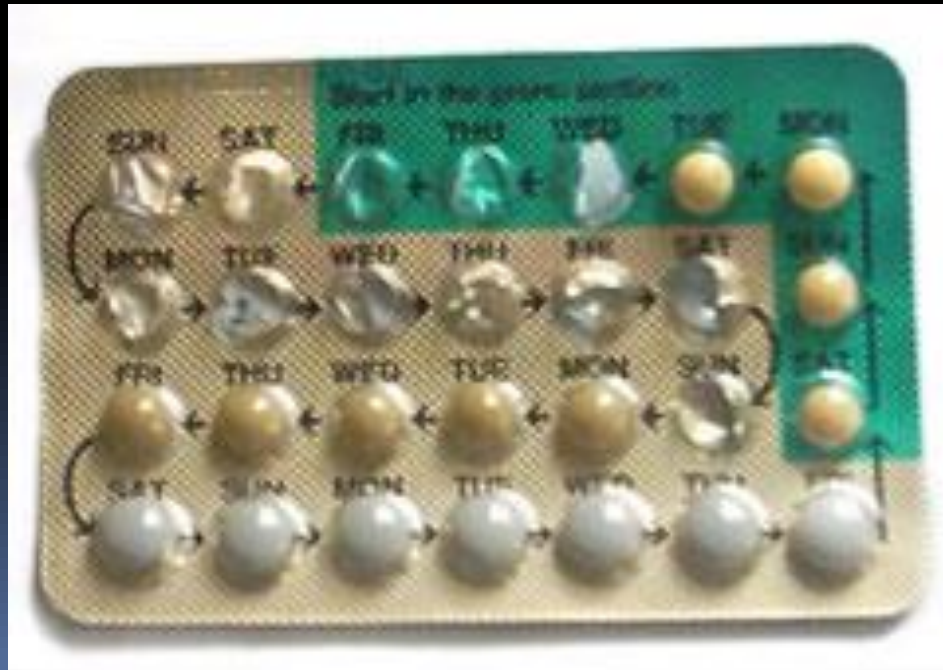
On September 7th in Atlantic City, the Annual Miss America Pageant will again crown "your ideal." But this year, reality will liberate the contest auction-block in the guise of "genyooine" de-plasticized, breathing women. We will protest the image of Miss America, an image that oppresses women in every area in which it purports to represent us. There will be: Picket Lines; Leafleting; Lobbying Visits to the contestants; a huge Freedom Trash Can (into which we will throw bras, girdles, curlers, false eyelashes, wigs, and representative issues of *Cosmopolitan*,

Ladies' Home Journal, *Family Circle*, etc.- bring any such woman-garbage you have around the house); It should be a groovy day on the Boardwalk in the sun with our sisters. In case of arrests, however, we plan to reject all male authority and demand to be busted by policewomen only. (In Atlantic City, women cops are not permitted to make arrests- dig that!)

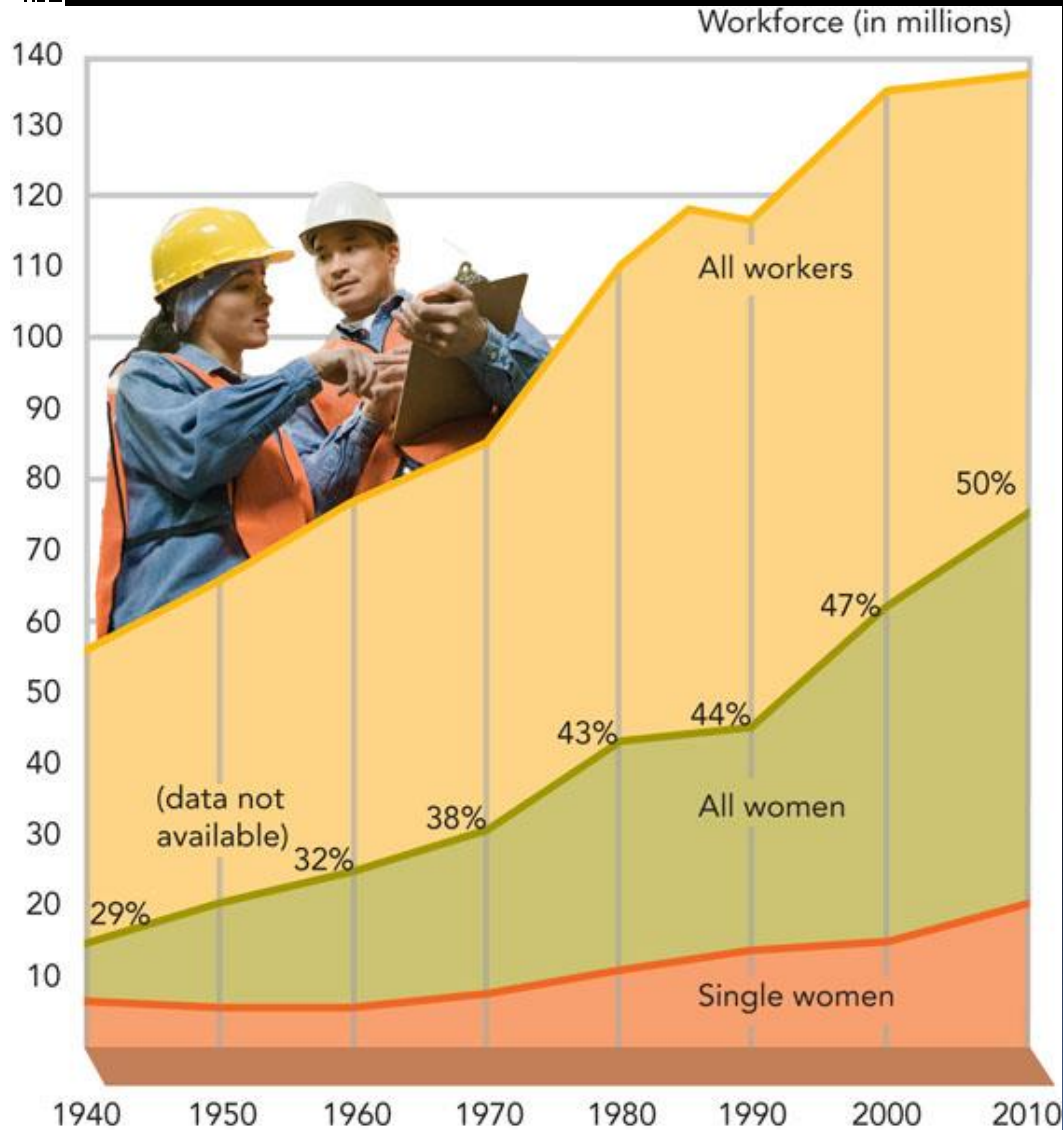


Starting in the 1960s there was a new, more permissive attitude towards sexual behavior, the beginnings of a sexual revolution that continued into the 70s.

This was probably more because of the introduction of the counterculture than the birth-control pill.



The New Feminism



The feminist fight in the 1970s was for equality in the workplace.

- Equal pay
- Access to daycare

And for control of Reproductive rights

Women in the Paid Workforce, 1940-2010

Feminist Victories and Defeats

During the 1970s, the feminist movement became energized and took a decidedly aggressive tone.

Title IX prohibited sex discrimination in any federally funded education program.

Its largest impact was seen in the emergence of girls' sports.



The Supreme Court's decisions challenged sex discrimination in legislation and employment.

The *Roe v. Wade* case legalized abortion, arguing that ending a pregnancy was protected under a **right to privacy**.



Even more ambitious was the proposed **ERA (Equal Rights Amendment)** to the Constitution. ERA sought to guarantee gender equality through words.

“In this Land of the Free, it is right, and by nature it ought to be, that all men and all women are equal before the law.”

The E.R.A. was widely supported by both men and women, but it was also widely condemned by both men and women.

Why?





Phyllis Schlafly led other women against ERA. Schlafly said ERA advocates were, "bitter women seeking a constitutional cure for their personal problems." She used the following arguments against the ERA amendment:

1. It would deprive a woman's right to be a wife.
2. It would require women to serve in combat.
3. It would legalize homosexual marriage.

ERA ended when it failed to get enough states to support the amendment. (received 35 and it needed 38)



Phyllis Schlafly
vs.
Gloria Steinem



Extending Civil Rights- Gay Rights

1969 - At the **Stonewall Inn** in NYC, patrons riot when the police attempt to raid the gay bar around 1am. Stonewall had been frequently raided by police officers trying to clean up the neighborhood of "sexual deviants." Angry gay youth clash with aggressive police officers in the streets, leading to a **3-day riot**.

1979- An estimated 75,000 people participate in the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.



Extending Civil Rights

Nixon forced integration of public schools with a **bussing system**.

The so-called **"Philadelphia Plan"** of **1969** required federal contractors to meet certain goals for the hiring of black employees by specific dates in order to combat union discrimination.

This plan changed **"affirmative action"** to mean preferable treatment for minorities.

However, whites protested "reverse discrimination".



Limiting Civil Rights-in Black and White

Race continued to be a burning issue, and in the 1974 *Milliken v. Bradley* case, the Supreme Court ruled that desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines. **This ended busing.**

This reinforced the “white flight” to the suburbs that pitted the poorest whites and blacks against each other, often with explosively violent results.

In the *Bakke v. Regents of CA* case of 1978, the Supreme Court ruled 5 to 4 that Allan Bakke (a white applicant claiming reverse discrimination) should be admitted to U.C.—Davis med school.

The decision was ambiguous - saying race could “a factor” in the admission policy.

The Supreme Court’s only black justice, Thurgood Marshall, warned that the denial of racial preferences might sweep away the progress gained by the civil rights movement.

A New Supreme Team

When Earl Warren was appointed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by Eisenhower, he headed many controversial but important decisions: *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) struck down a state law that banned the use of contraceptives, even by married couples, by creating a “right to privacy.”

Gideon v. Wainwright (1963) said that all criminals were entitled to legal counsel, even if they were too poor to afford it.



Escobedo v. Illinois (1964) and ***Miranda v. Arizona (1966)*** were two cases in which the Supreme Court ruled that accused criminals should be informed of their rights and provided lawyers.

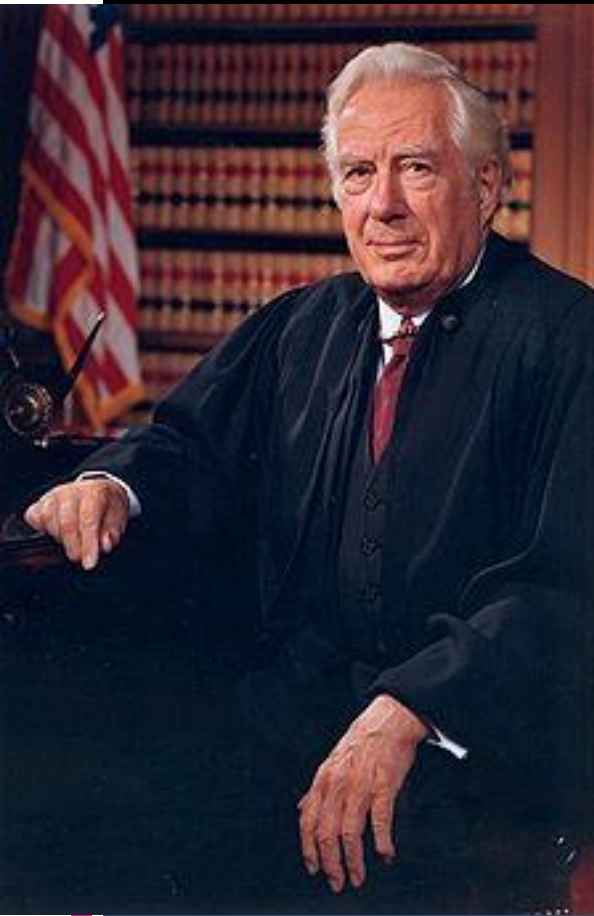


Engel v. Vitale (1962) and ***School District of Abington Township vs. Schempp (1963)*** were two cases that led to the Court ruling against required prayers and having the Bible in public schools, basing the judgment on the First Amendment, which was argued, separated church and state.

Trying to end this liberalism, Nixon chose four new members of the court.

Warren E. Burger replaced the retiring Earl Warren in 1969

This “conservative” court wasn’t what Nixon hoped for and made liberal decisions like *Roe v. Wade* allowing abortion and *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971) which used forced busing to achieve racial balance in public schools.



The Stalemated Seventies

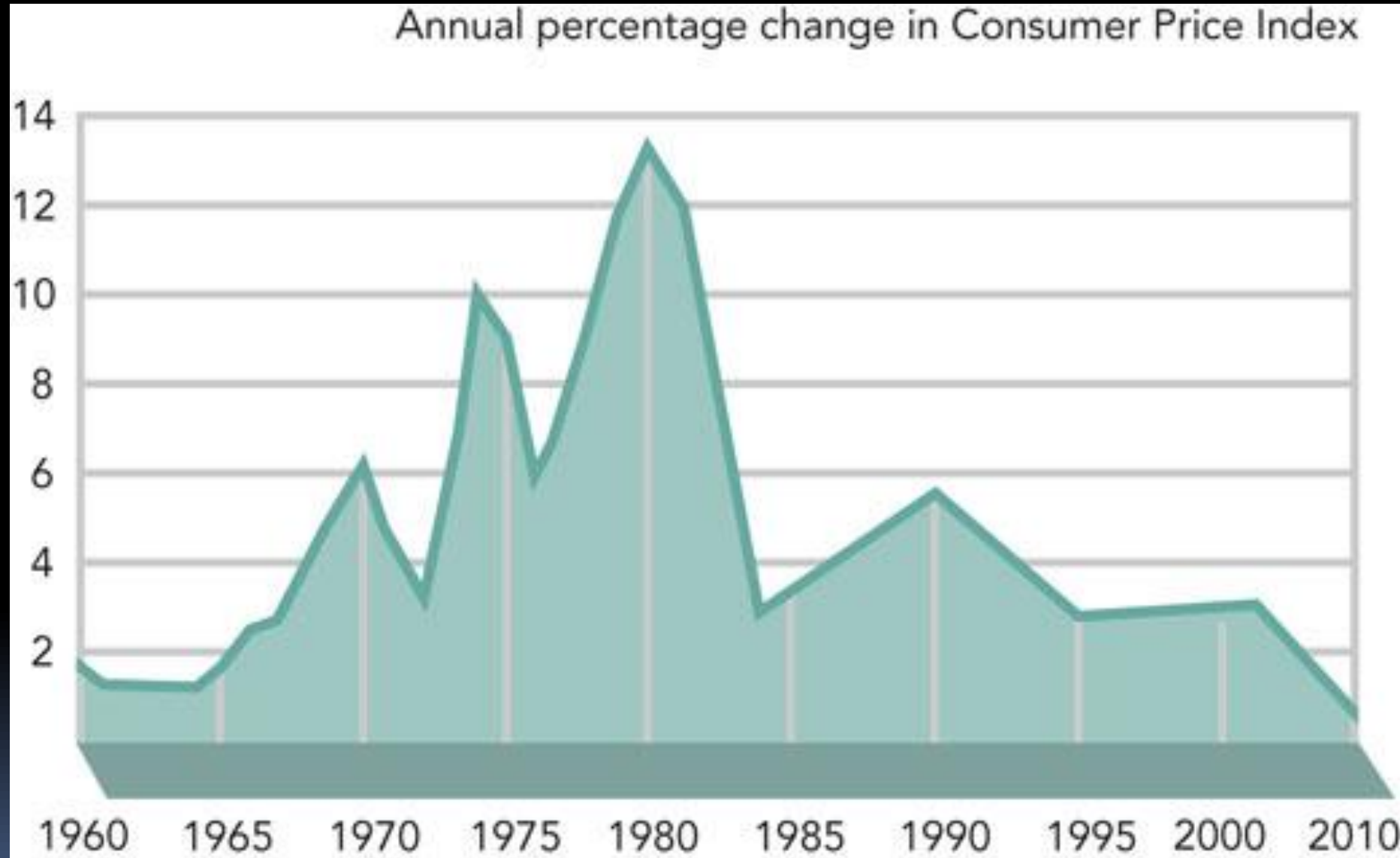
After the economic growth in the 50s and 60s, the U.S. economy **stagnated** in the 1970s.

More women and teens were in the work force and typically made less money than men

LBJ's spending as president on Vietnam and his Great Society depleted the U.S. treasury and increased debt.

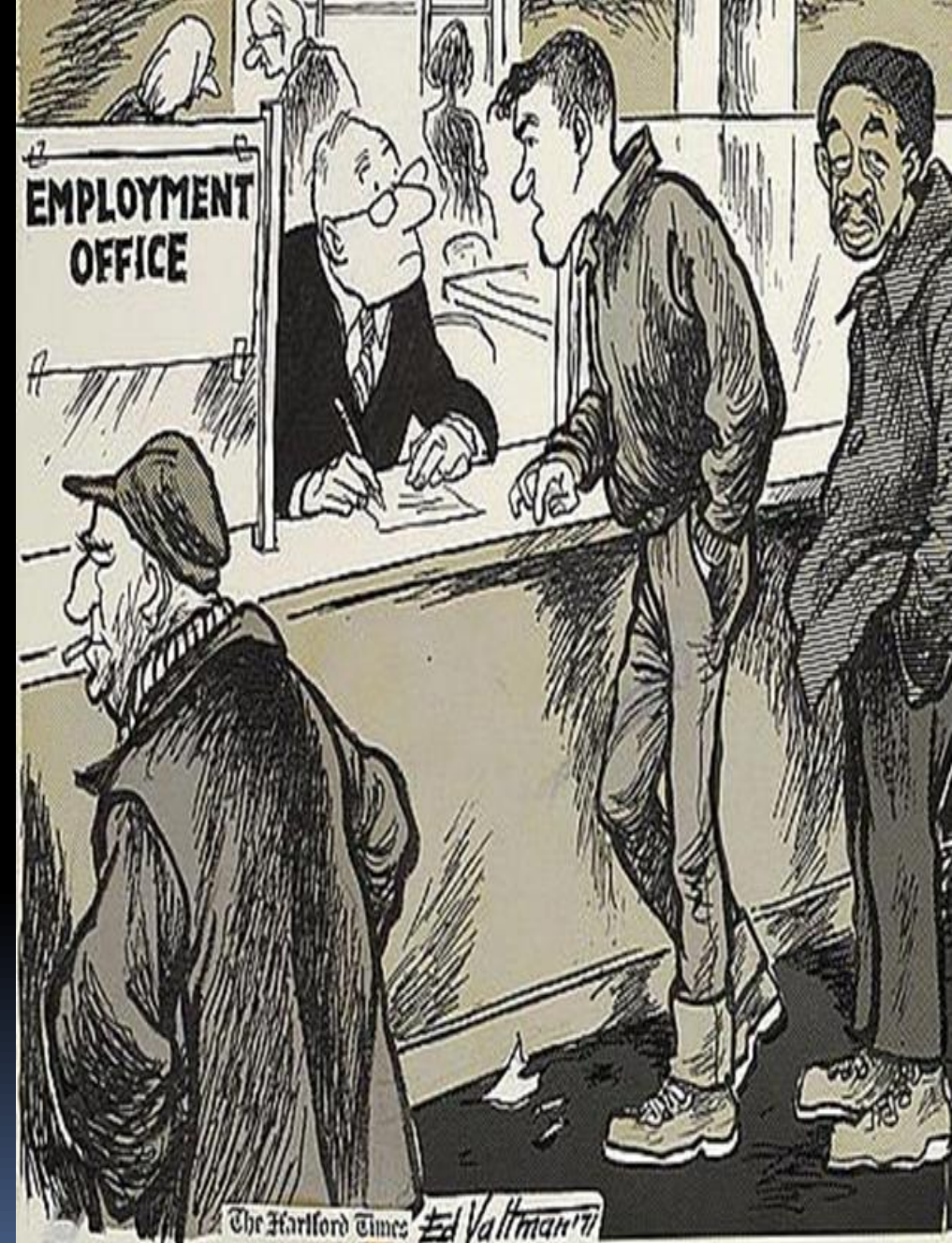


A major cause of the 1970s economic woes was the upward spiral of **inflation**.



Inflation, 1960-2010

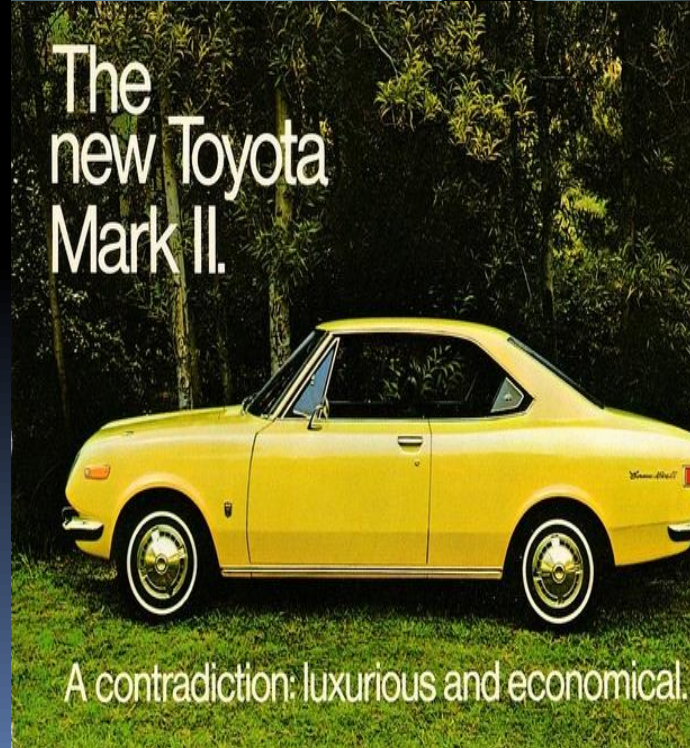
Worried about inflation, Nixon also imposed a **90-day wage freeze** and then **took the nation off the gold standard**, thus ending the “Bretton Woods” system of international currency stabilization, which had functioned for more than a quarter of a century after WWII.



'MY LAST EMPLOYMENT? — VIETNAM'

America faced **deindustrialization** with deteriorating machinery and tight U.S. regulations on trade.

Since the U.S. was not advancing, Americans were caught by the **Japanese and the Germans** in industries that the U.S. had once dominated: steel, automobiles, and consumer electronics.



The new Toyota Mark II.

A contradiction: luxurious and economical.

Introducing the 1973 Beetle:



Re-introducing the 1972 price:



...of our new Beetle will...
...the Volkswagen Beetle is a...
...even before...
...ing, for instance, than you get...
...small car. Twice more, 24...
...miles.**
...to specific details than...
...quite a lot. More than...
...mechanically, structurally more...
...than 3,000 parts. Some two or three times...
...For us, it's not enough to get it right, we...
...want it perfect...
...Volkswagen also has the most advanced...
...automotive service system in the world. A...
...brand new computer is, or soon will be...
...working in your VW dealer's service area...
...We simply plug it in to your VW, and it...
...checks, via sensors and cables, vital service...
...parts and spells out the results...
...lib. That's service...
...Maybe all of this explains why...
...have gotten more resale dollars...
...or four years than the owners of...
...comparable car!
...So, it's not only the...
...73 Beetle that reminds...
...good old days. It's also...

Few things in life work as well as a Volkswagen.

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October 27, 1974



'FIRST OF ALL . . . MERRY CHRISTMAS!'

Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

Nixon plan to cope with the Vietnam dilemma was called
“Vietnamization”

-500K American troops would be pulled out.

The South Vietnamese would fight their own war, and the U.S.
would only supply arms and money but not American troops;
this was called the
“Nixon Doctrine.”



The war was fought generally by **underprivileged Americans**, since college students and critically skilled civilians were exempt, and this showed as dissension in the army.

Soldiers became paranoid and bitter toward a government they didn't trust, a war that was not going well, and a frustrating enemy.



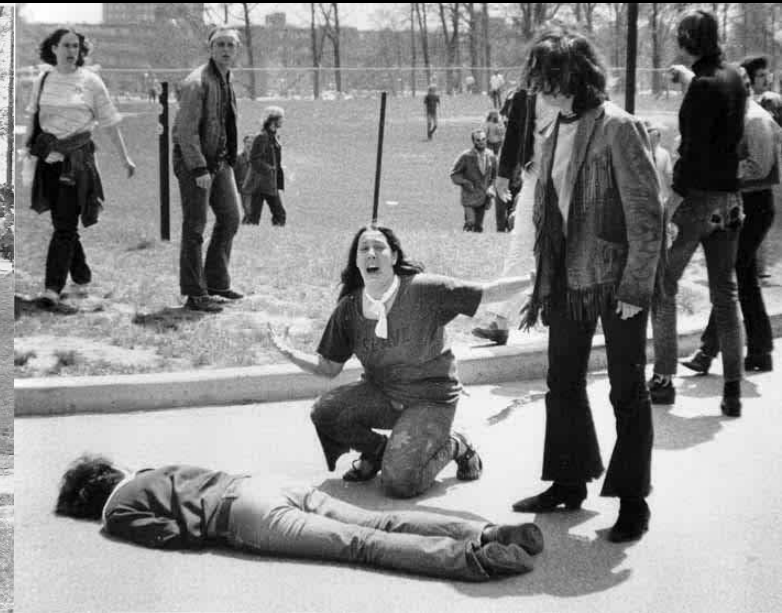


In 1970, Nixon ordered an attack on Cambodia, Vietnam's neighbor. The N. Vietnamese had been using Cambodia as a backdoor into S. Vietnam for troops and arms along the **Ho Chi Minh Trail**, and on April 29, 1970, Nixon suddenly ordered U.S. troops to bomb Cambodia to stop this.

This led to widespread protests that the war was being expanded.



Riots occurred at over 300 universities, like **Kent State University** (where the National Guard opened fire and killed 4 people). Around 75 universities closed their doors for the rest of the school year to quell the riots.



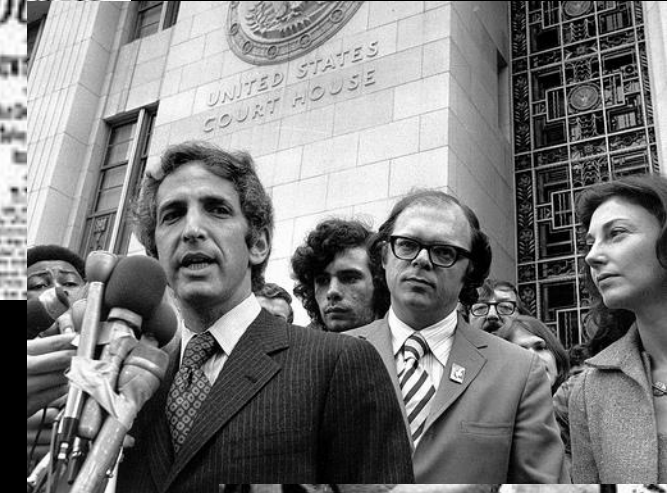
Two months later, Nixon withdrew U.S. troops from Cambodia, but continued bombing.

The Cambodian incident split even wider the gap between the “hawks” and the “doves.”

In 1971 the Senate **repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** and passed the **26th Amendment** lowered the voting age to 18.



In June 1971, The NY Times published a top-secret Pentagon study of America's involvement in the Vietnam War.



They were leaked by Daniel Ellsberg, a former Pentagon official—these **"Pentagon Papers"** exposed the deceit used by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations regarding Vietnam. People saw a **"credibility gap"** between what the government said and the reality.



In 1972, the N. Vietnamese attacked again and Nixon ordered massive air attacks, which ground the Vietnamese offense to a stop.

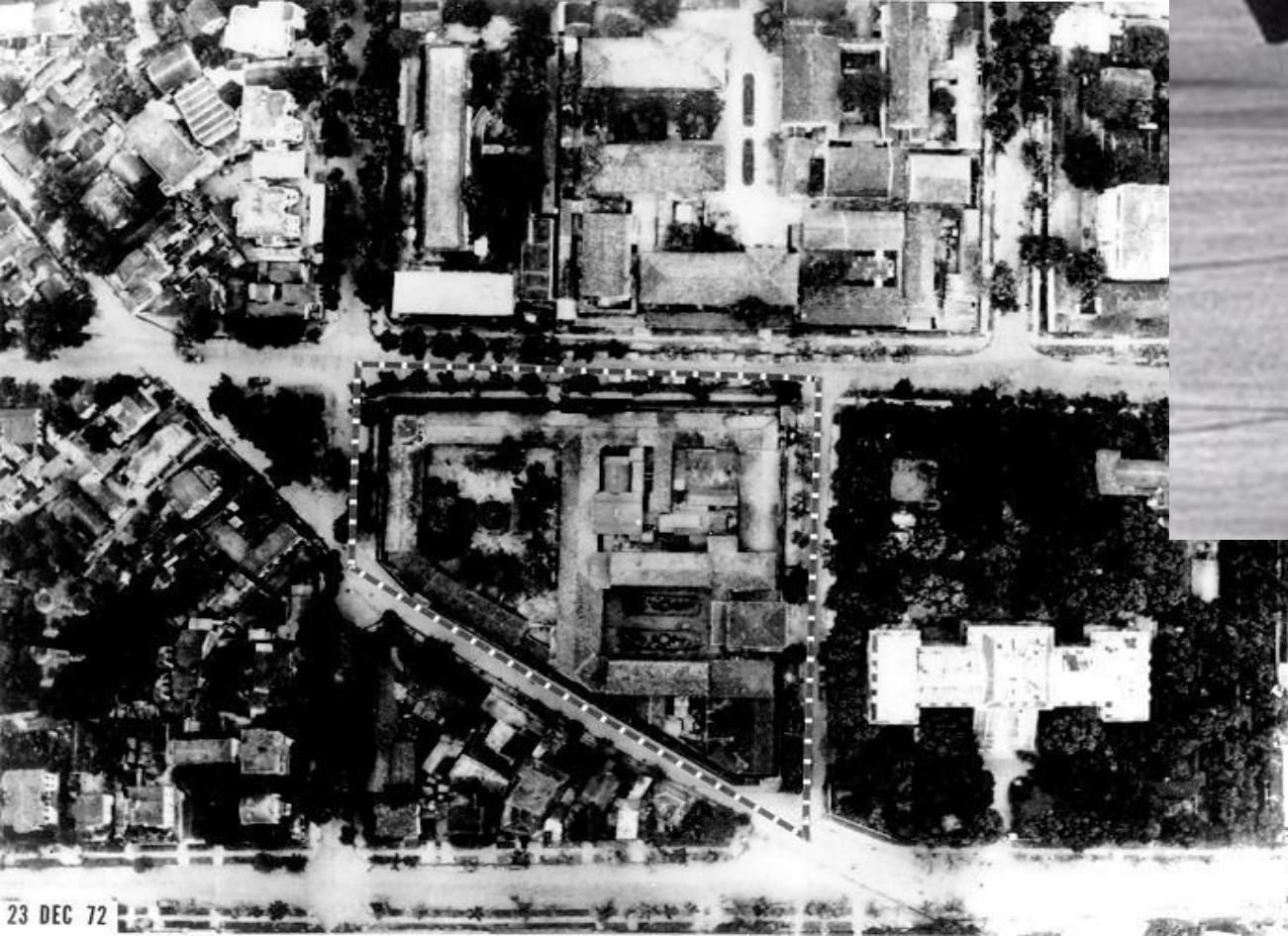
Despite Kissinger's promise of peace being near, N. Vietnam will be extensively bombed until they agree to a **cease-fire**, the **Paris Accords**, signed January 23, 1973



This peace was little more than a thinly-disguised **American retreat**.

The U.S. would withdraw its remaining 27,000 troops and get back 560 prisoners of war.

Hanoi Hilton- North Vietnamese POW camp



POW Lt. Colonel Stim comes home after 5 years in a North Vietnamese prisoner camp.

War Powers Act of November

1973

- Required the president to report all commitments of U.S. troops to Congress within 48 hours
- Set a 60 day limit on those activities.

There was a new attitude about foreign affairs, a **"New Isolationism"** that discouraged the use of U.S. troops in other countries.

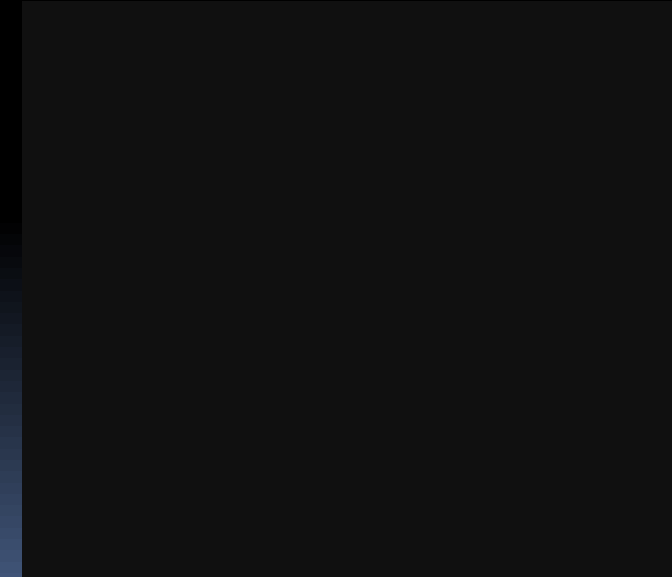


Nixon's **Détente** with Beijing and Moscow

Meanwhile, China and the Soviet Union were clashing over their own interpretations of Marxism, and Nixon seized this as a chance for the U.S. to relax tensions and establish "**détente.**"

He first sent national security adviser Henry Kissinger to China to encourage better relations and then traveled there himself.

He met with Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai.



The Soviets, wanted to open up trade and were alarmed at the thought of a U.S.—China alliance against the U.S.S.R. and invited Nixon to Moscow in May of 1972.

The negotiations resulted in:

- A joint venture in space exploration known as **APOLLO-SOYUZ**
- The **SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks)** which simply **reduced some types of missiles**, we built new ones: the MIRV (Multiple Independently-targeted Reentry Vehicles) missiles, which could overcome any defense by overwhelming it with a plethora of missiles. (The U.S.S.R. did the same.)
- The ABM Treaty to limit anti-missile defense systems.
- Trade deals where the U.S. would sell the Soviets at least \$750 million worth of food.
- **Détente!**



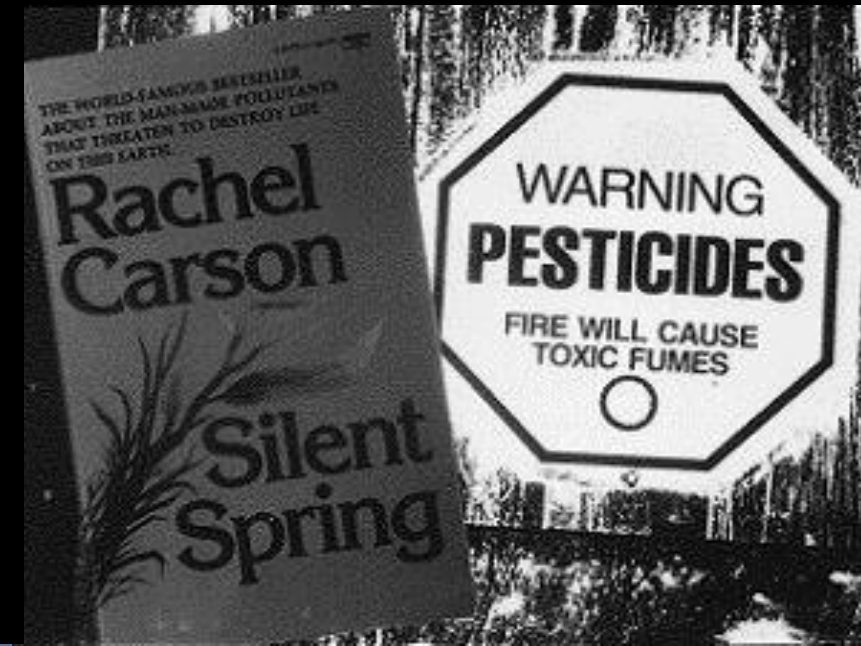
Nixon on the Home Front

Nixon also expanded some Great Society programs by increasing appropriations for Medicare and Medicaid, as well as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and he increased Social Security.



In 1962, **Rachel Carson** boosted the environmental movement with her book **Silent Spring**, which exposed the disastrous effects of pesticides (namely, **DDT**)

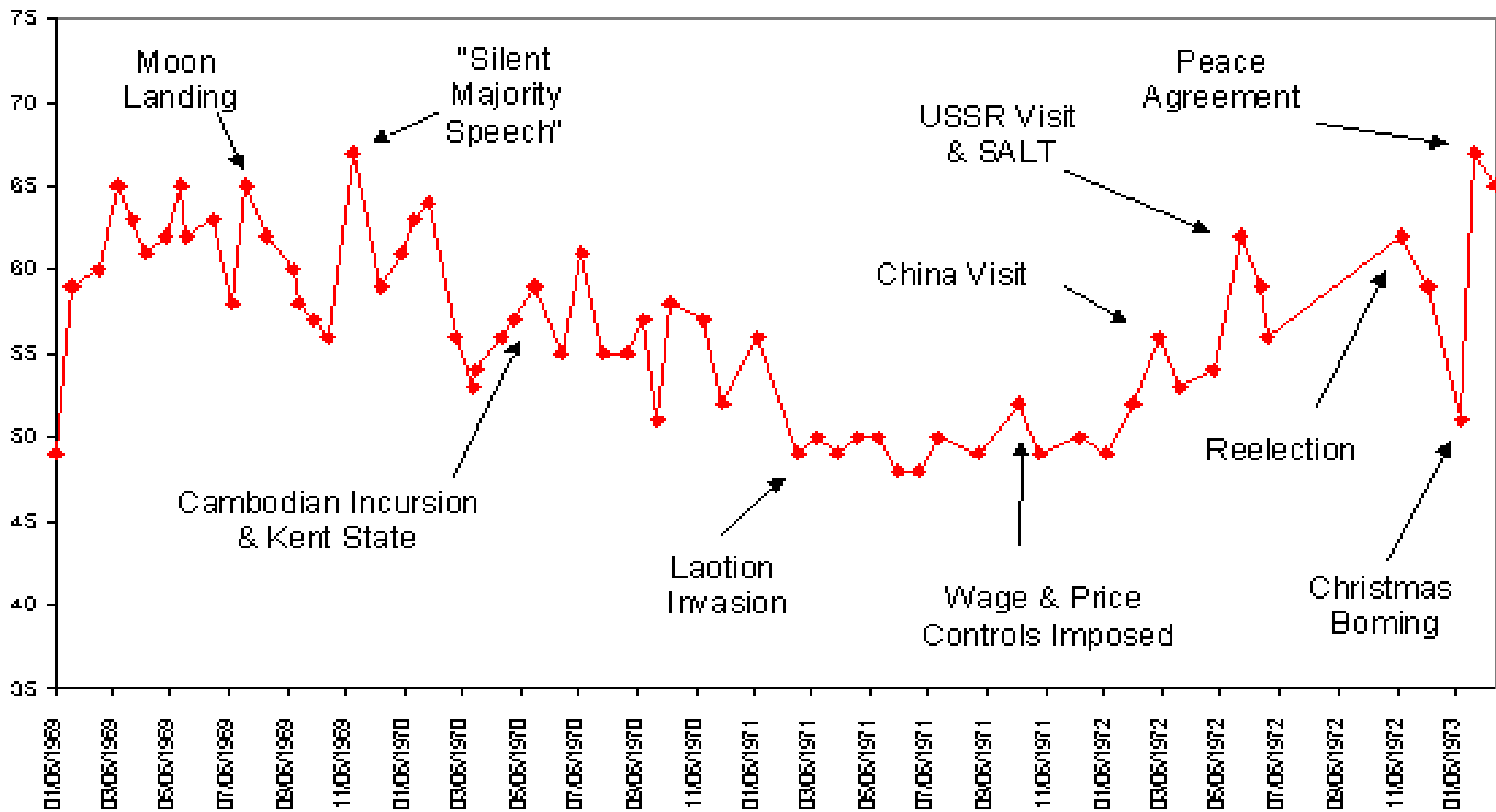
The **Clean Air Act of 1970** and the **Endangered Species Act of 1973** both aimed to protect and preserve the environment and animals.





The **EPA**, **Environmental Protection Agency**, was created to protect nature, as well as **OSHA**, or the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, to enforce a safe workplace.

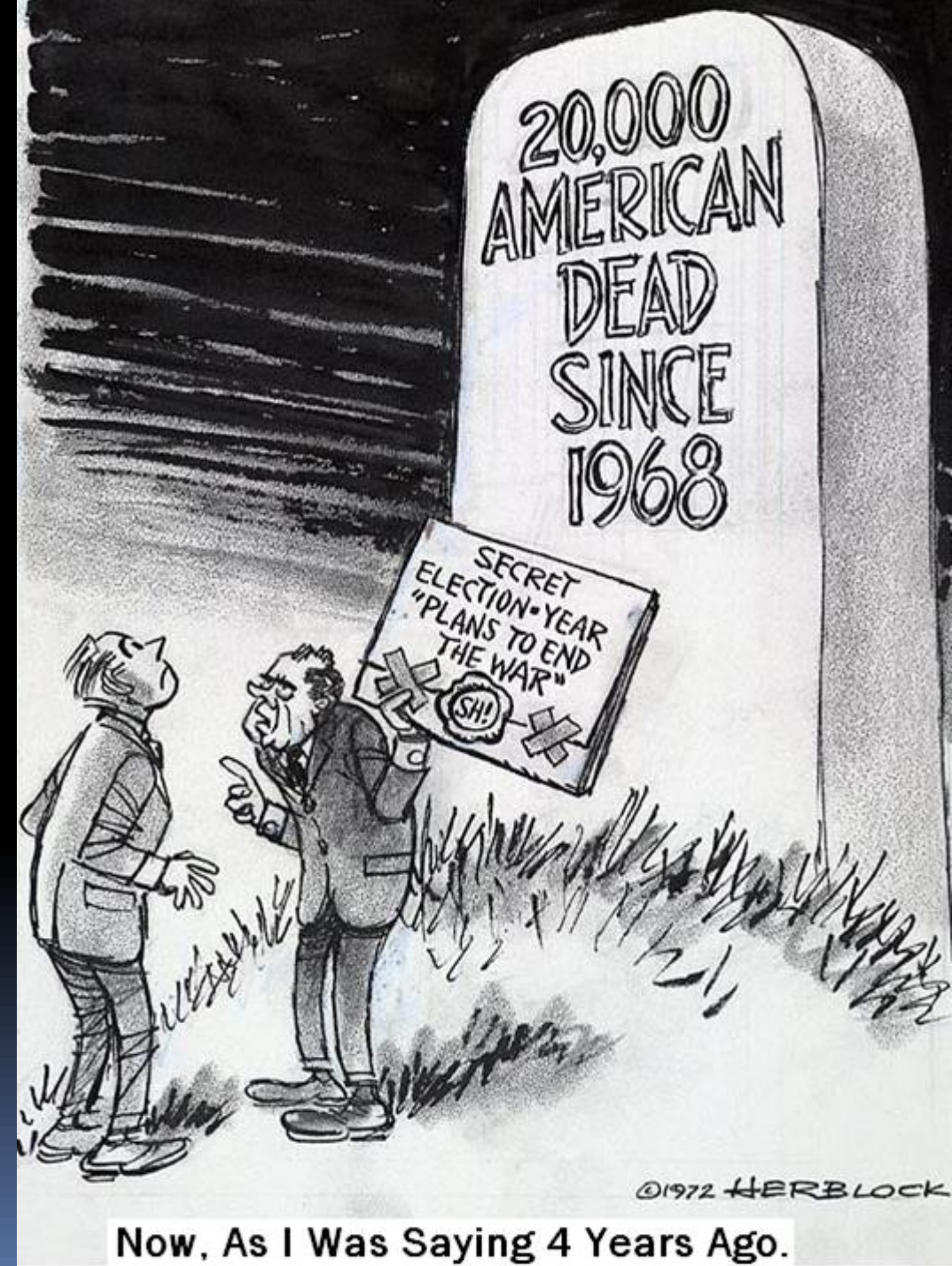
Public Support for President Richard Nixon January 1969 - January 1973



The Nixon Landslide of 1972

In '72 Nixon makes the same election promises as before:

- In the 1968 Presidential campaign, he stated that "**new leadership will end the war**" in Vietnam.
- In 1972, Nixon also promised "**Peace with Honor**"
- He also promised to improve the economy again.



George McGovern promised to end the war within 90 days after the election and also appealed to teens and women.

McGovern's 1972 election- what was his party platform?

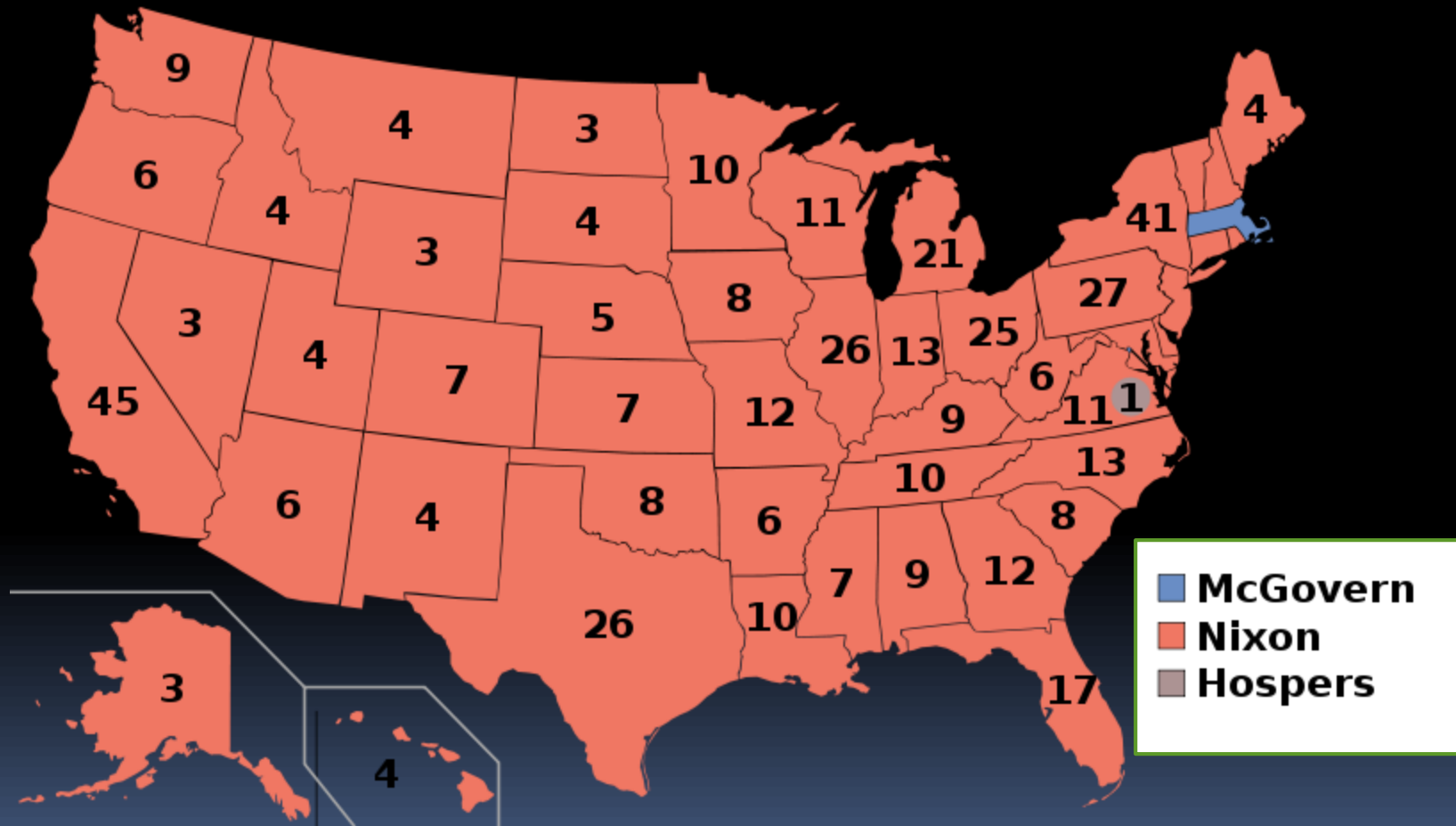
His running mate, Thomas Eagleton was discredited when the press found out he had been under psychiatric care before. The campaign had alienated many Democrats and he simply didn't have the public appeal and support.

Nixon won in a landslide.



THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA

520 to 17
60.7% to 37.5%

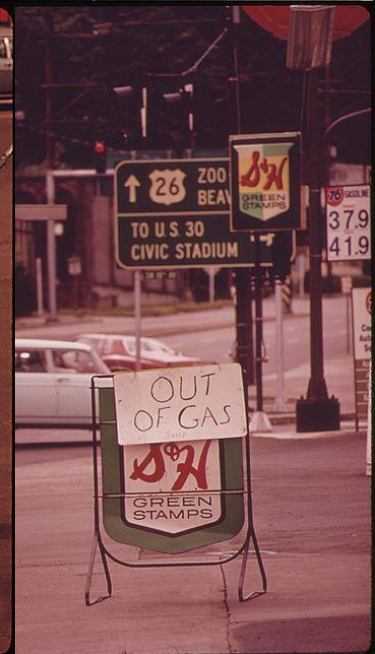


The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

After the U.S. backed Israel in the **Yom Kippur War** against Syria and Egypt, the Arab nations imposed an oil embargo, which strictly limited oil in the U.S. and caused a fuel crisis.

Since 1948, the U.S. had been importing more oil than it exported, and oil production had gone down since 1970; thus, this **marked the end of the era of cheap energy.**

OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) lifted the embargo in 1974, and then quadrupled the price of oil by decade's end.

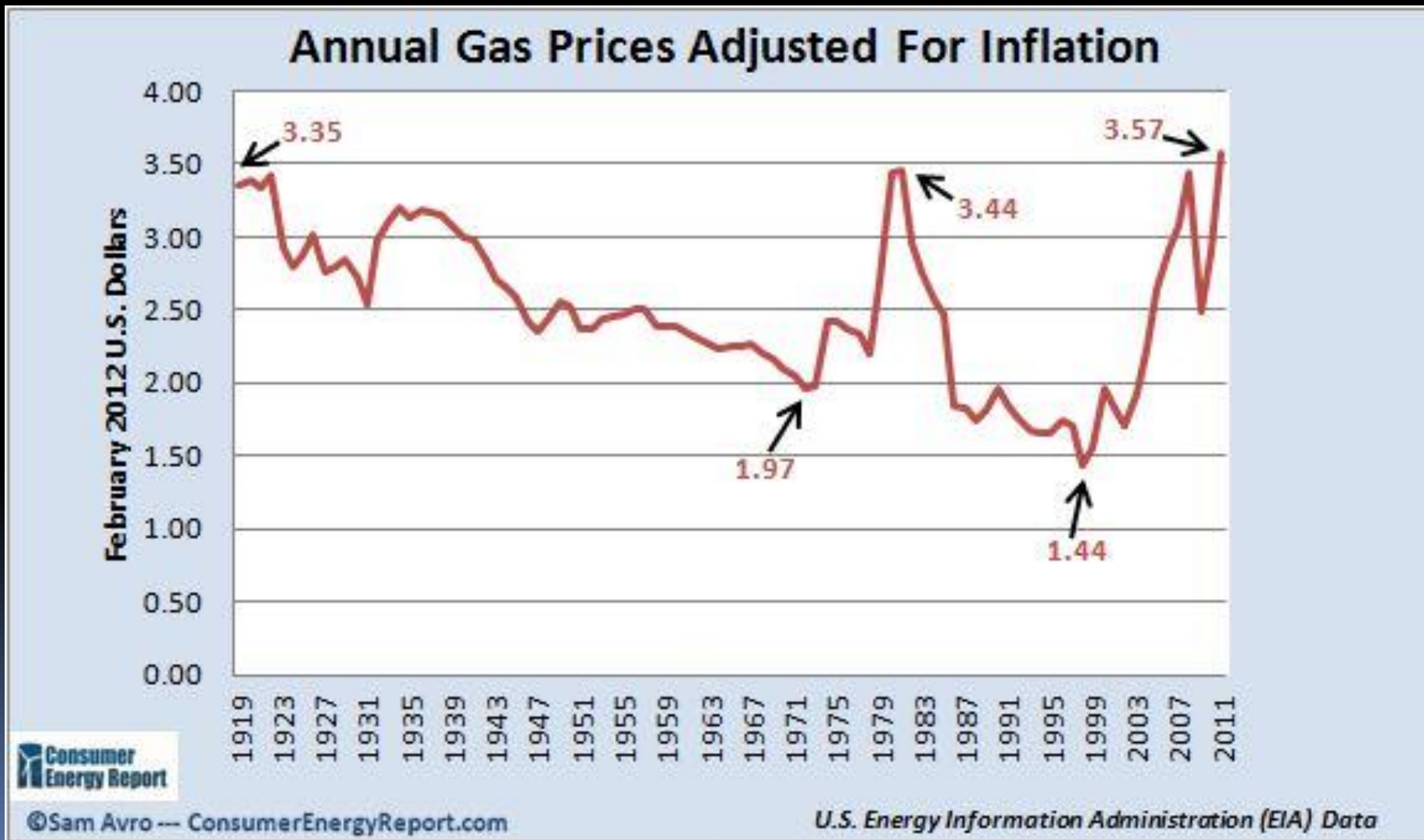


If gas cost the equivalent of \$4 a gallon which car would you drive?

**“For the money, it’s the most fun
you can have
sitting down.”**
... Hot Rod, Sept. 1973



Oil Prices 1919-2011



A speed limit of 55 MPH was imposed
The oil pipeline in Alaska was approved in 1974 despite environmentalists' cries, and other types of energy were pursued.



... BUT FIRST, LET'S HEAR YOUR POSITION ON THE ALASKA PIPELINE AND INDEPENDENT GAS DISTRIBUTORS!

Watergate

"STRANGE --- THEY ALL SEEM TO HAVE SOME CONNECTION WITH THIS PLACE"



On June 17, 1972, five men working for the **CRP- later CREEP, Committee for the RE-Election of the President** were caught breaking into an office in the Watergate Complex and planting some bugs in the room.

What followed was a huge scandal in which many prominent administrators resigned.

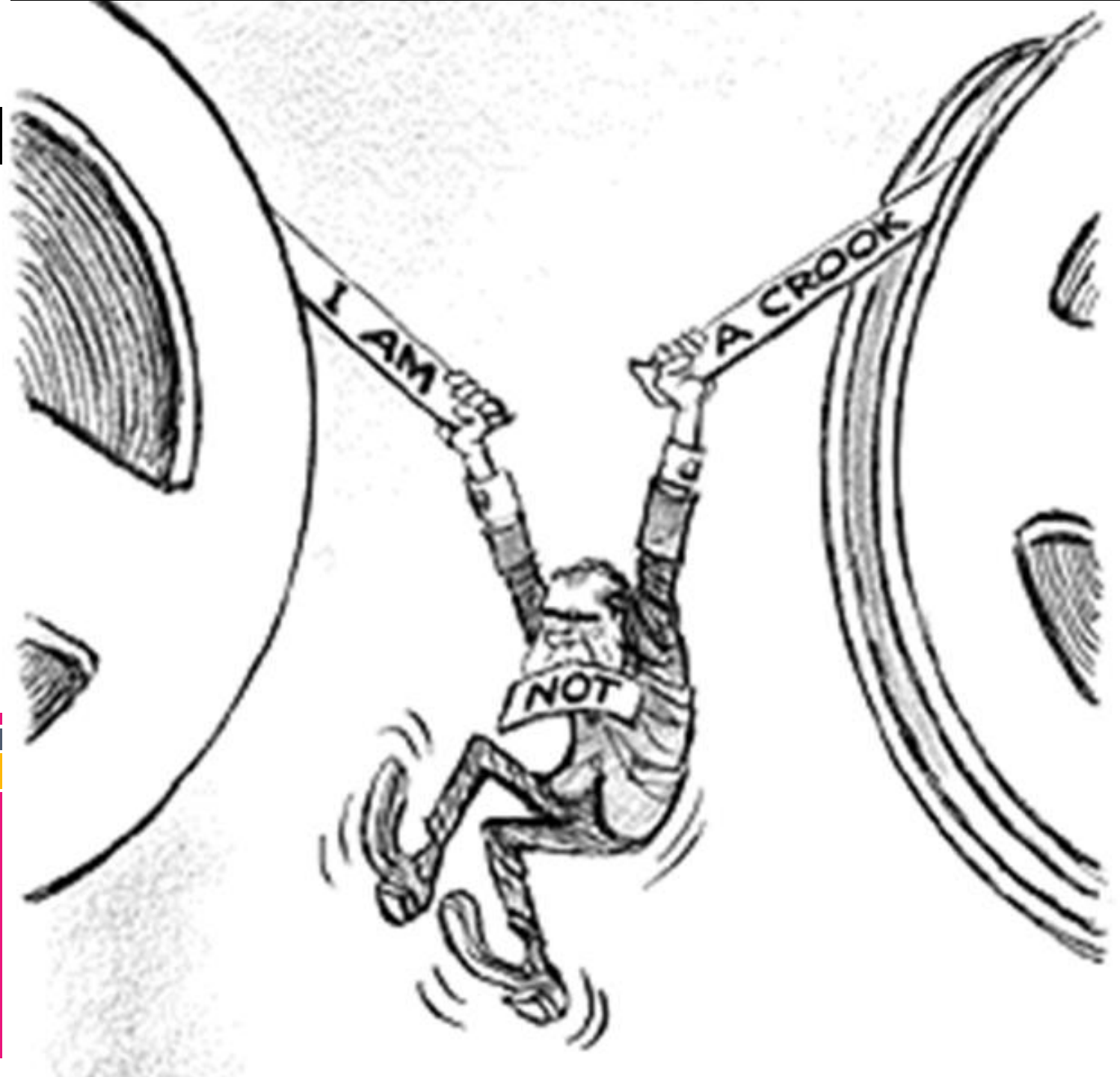
It also involved the improper or illegal use of the FBI and the CIA.

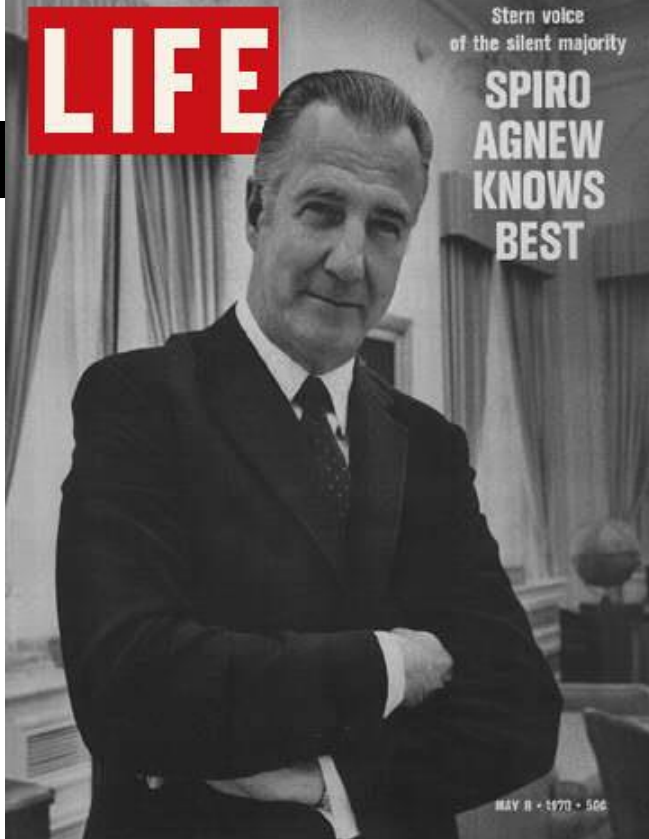
Lengthy hearings proceeded, and **John Dean** testified about all the corruption, illegal activities, and scandal that took place.

Then, it was discovered that there were **tapes** that had recorded conversations that could solve all the mysteries in this case.

But Nixon, who had explicitly denied participation in this Watergate Scandal earlier to the American people, refused to hand over the tapes to Congress.







Vice President Spiro **Agnew** was forced to **resign** in 1973 due to a bribery scandal.

Thus, in accordance with the new 25th Amendment, Nixon submitted a name to Congress to approve as the new VP—Gerald Ford.



On May 22, 1973, President Richard Nixon admitted that he had concealed aspects of the case involving the break-in at Democratic headquarters in the Watergate Hotel in Washington.

He did so, he said, to protect national security "operations"

Nixon affirmed his innocence and said he would stay in office!



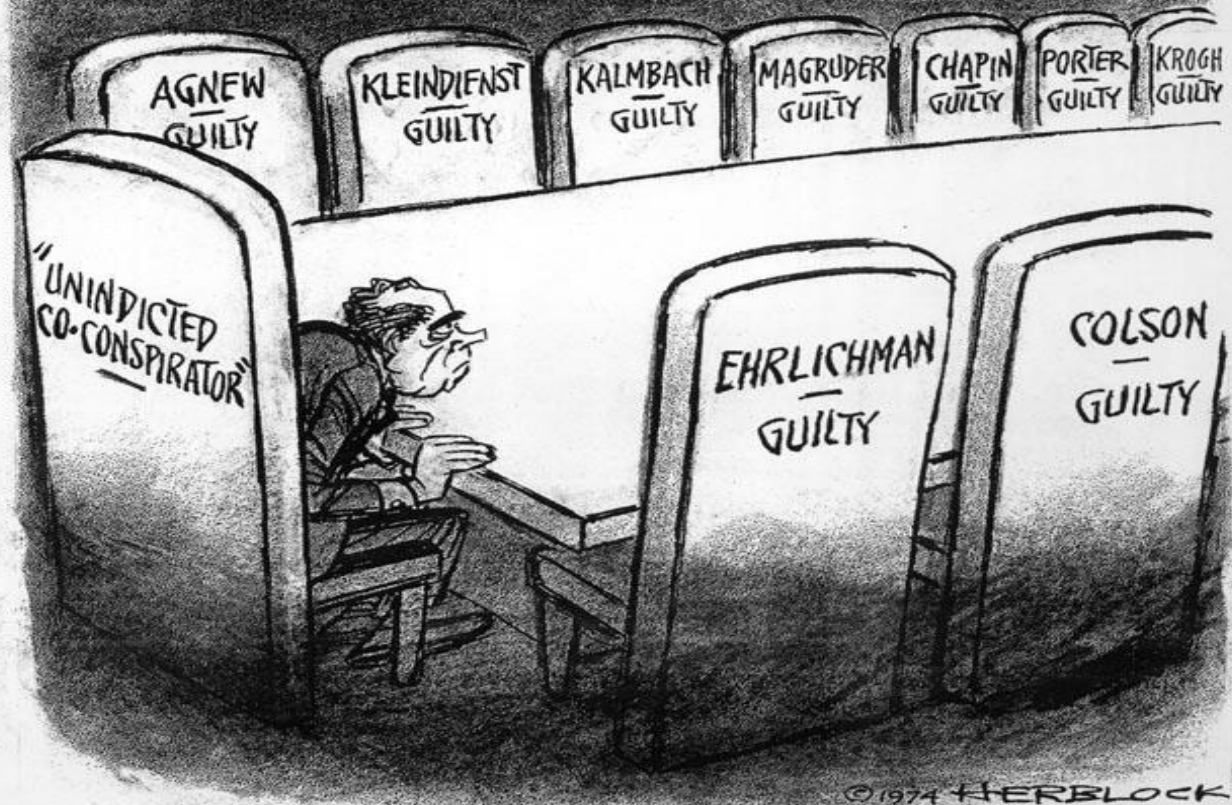
"National Security" Blanket

Then came the “**Saturday Night Massacre**” (Oct. 20, 1973), in which Archibald Cox, special prosecutor of the case who had issued a subpoena of the tapes, was fired and the attorney general and deputy general resigned because they didn’t want to fire Cox.

Nixon’s presidency was coming unraveled.

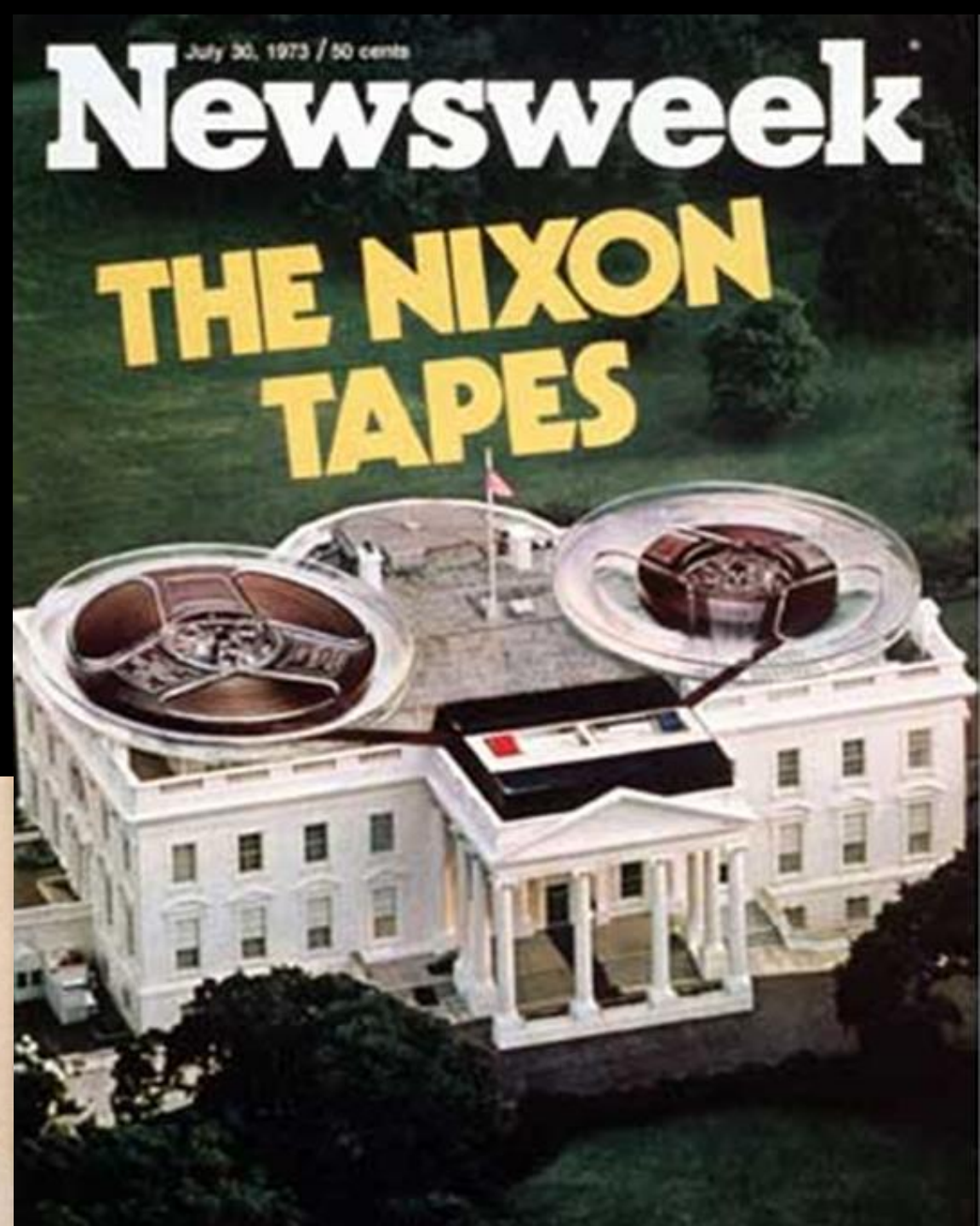


July 14, 1974



On July 24, 1974, the Supreme Court ruled that Nixon had to give all of his tapes to Congress.

The tapes that had already been handed over showed Nixon cursing and swearing—poor behavior for our president.



Late in July 1974, the House approved its first article of impeachment for **obstruction of justice**.

On August 5, 1974, Nixon finally released the three tapes that held the most damaging information—the same three tapes that had been “missing.” The tapes showed **Nixon had indeed ordered a cover-up** of the Watergate situation.

Impeachment Proceedings

*Consideration of Articles of Impeachment
Against the President of the United States
in the House of Representatives*

93d CONGRESS

ADMIT BEARER TO THE VISITOR'S GALLERY

GOOD ONLY FOR AUGUST 19, 1974

Carl Albert

Speaker of the House of Representatives

House of
Representatives
GOOD ONLY FOR
AUGUST 19, 1974



Three days later, on August 8th, he **resigned**, realizing that he would be convicted if impeached, and with resignation, at least he could still keep the privileges of a former president.

