

Chapter 28 – Uncivil War: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth, 1961-1972

Aim: What makes the 1960s & 70s so different than any other time in our history?

“If, when the chips are down, the world’s most powerful nation, the United States, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world.”

-Richard Nixon, Address to Nation, April 30th, 1970



Source: Selma to Montgomery march, 1965, Bruce Davidson/Magnum Photo/Library of Congress

4. Which of the following best explains the result of the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery?
- (A) The marchers, along with Dr. King, were jailed for civil disobedience
 - (B) Under pressure, Congress passed the most effective voting rights legislation since Reconstruction
 - (C) There was white backlash against blacks for demanding too much
 - (D) Race riots were sparked in cities across the nation
5. Which of the following best reflects the loss of faith by younger African Americans in the non-violent civil rights movement after the March to Montgomery?
- (A) The events that started the Watts Riot in Los Angeles
 - (B) The conversion of Malcolm X to the Black Muslims
 - (C) The shift in tactics of SNCC under Stokely Carmichael
 - (D) The reaction to the Kerner Commission's findings on racism

Lyndon B. Johnson

- New President, now that Kennedy is dead
- Presidency mostly marked by the Vietnam war.



- He also rages a “War on Poverty”
→ August 1964, Congress approves his **Economic Opportunity Act**, which gave \$1 billion to youth programs, anti-poverty measures, small business loans and job training.

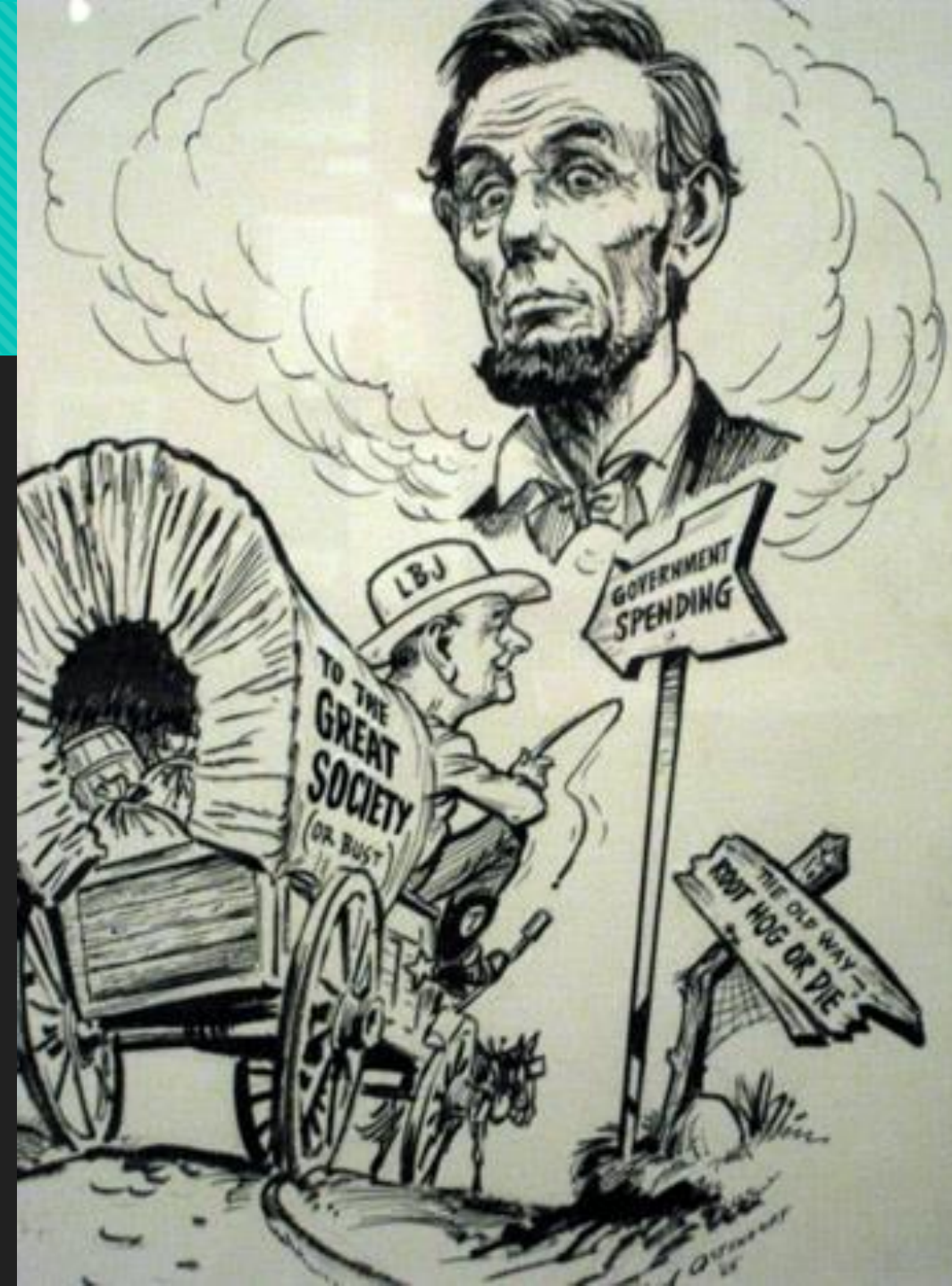
Lyndon Johnson

- **JFK assassinated** in Dallas on Nov 22 1963 by Lee Harvey Oswald
- **Lyndon Johnson** from Texas becomes the President
- As a New Deal Democrat, 30 year member of Congress LBJ wanted to expand the reforms of the New Deal
- Lyndon Johnson's domestic program "**The Great Society**" would dramatically increase the size and scope of the federal government
 - Unlike the New Deal, the Great Society will seek to advance the **cause of Civil Rights**
- Areas of Reform: 1) Immigration Reform 2) Civil Rights 3) Education funding 4) Medical help for elderly

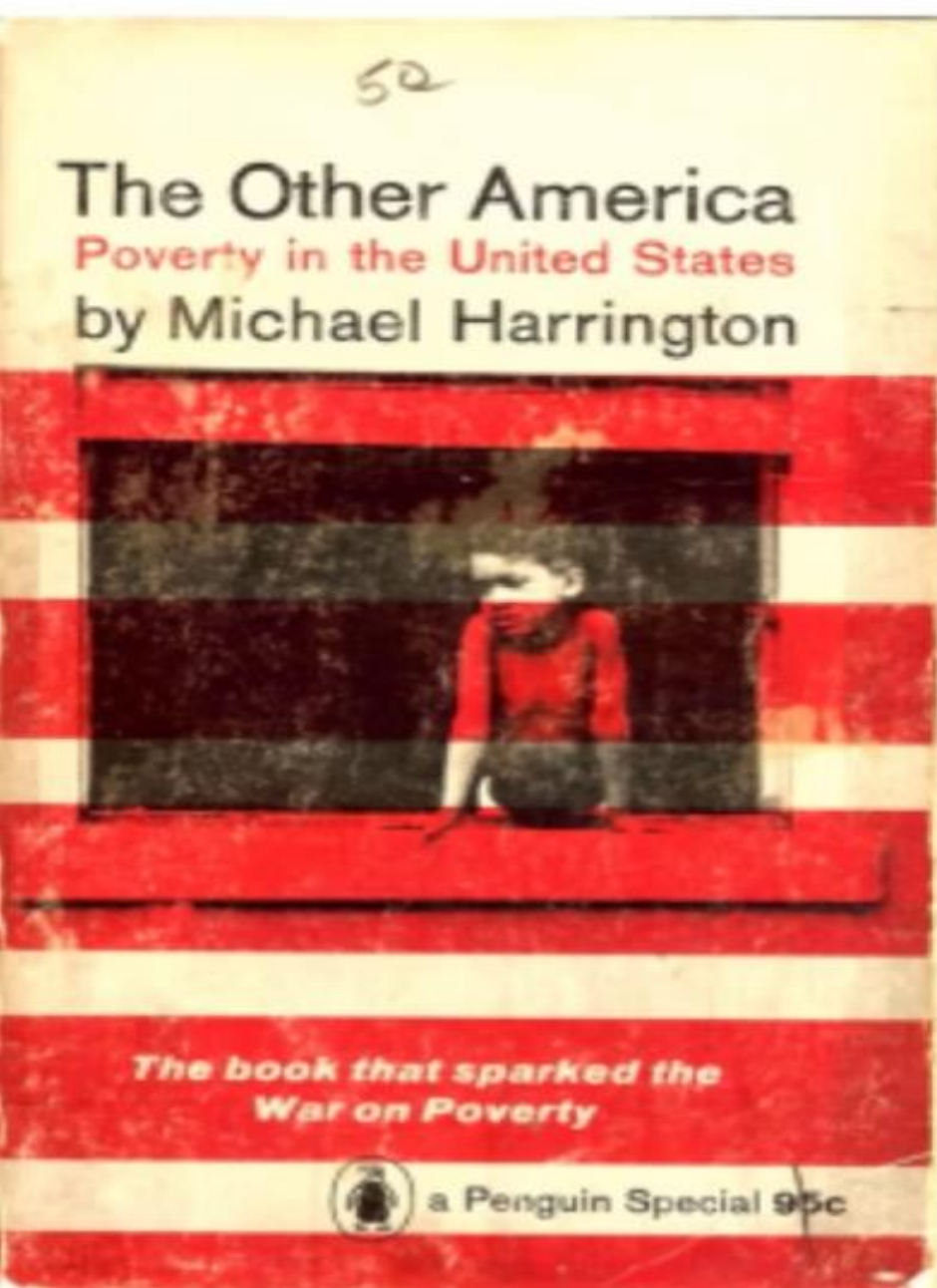


LBJ

- In 1964, he is elected to his first *real* in office.
- Biggest home policy is his Great Society → His vision of America, which would end poverty and racial injustice.



GREAT SOCIETY



- Michael Harrington's book "**The Other America**" turned the nations attention on the **40 million people living in poverty**
- Johnson declared an "unconditional war on poverty" and Congress created the **Office of Economic Opportunity** (anti-poverty agency)
 - Head Start program (preschool)
 - Job Corps (vocational education)
 - Literacy and legal programs
- **Immigration & Nationality Act of 1965** ended the quotas designed to restricted certain nationalities (new groups come to America)

Great Society

- Helped public schools by providing more than \$1 billion in **funding** for textbooks and library materials.
- Establishes Medicare and Medicaid
- Approves **funding** for 240,000 units of **low income housing**.
- Opens doors for **Immigrants** with the Immigration Act of 1965



ELECTION OF 1964

- Johnson ran in 1964 with a **clear liberal agenda**, intending to increase the welfare state
- Republicans turned to the **conservative Senator Barry Goldwater** (Arizona)
 - Wanted to end the welfare state and balance the budget
- LBJ wins in a landslide
 - But new conservative leaders emerge
 - They don't like programs of New Deal or Great Society
(**Conservative reaction** is coming!)
- Democrats had the Presidency and control of Congress



GREAT SOCIETY



- Great Society programs
- **Medicare**: health care for those over 65
- **Medicaid**: health care for poor & disabled
- Food stamps, fed \$ for arts, public housing, regulation of auto industry, etc.
- Rachel Carson's book "**Silent Spring**" exposed use of pesticides (1962) & helped lead to clean air & water acts
- Great Society expands **the welfare state** to provide assistance to those previously ignored (poor, disabled, elderly, & civil rights!)
- **Critics**: too costly, inefficient, too idealistic, create dependency, etc.

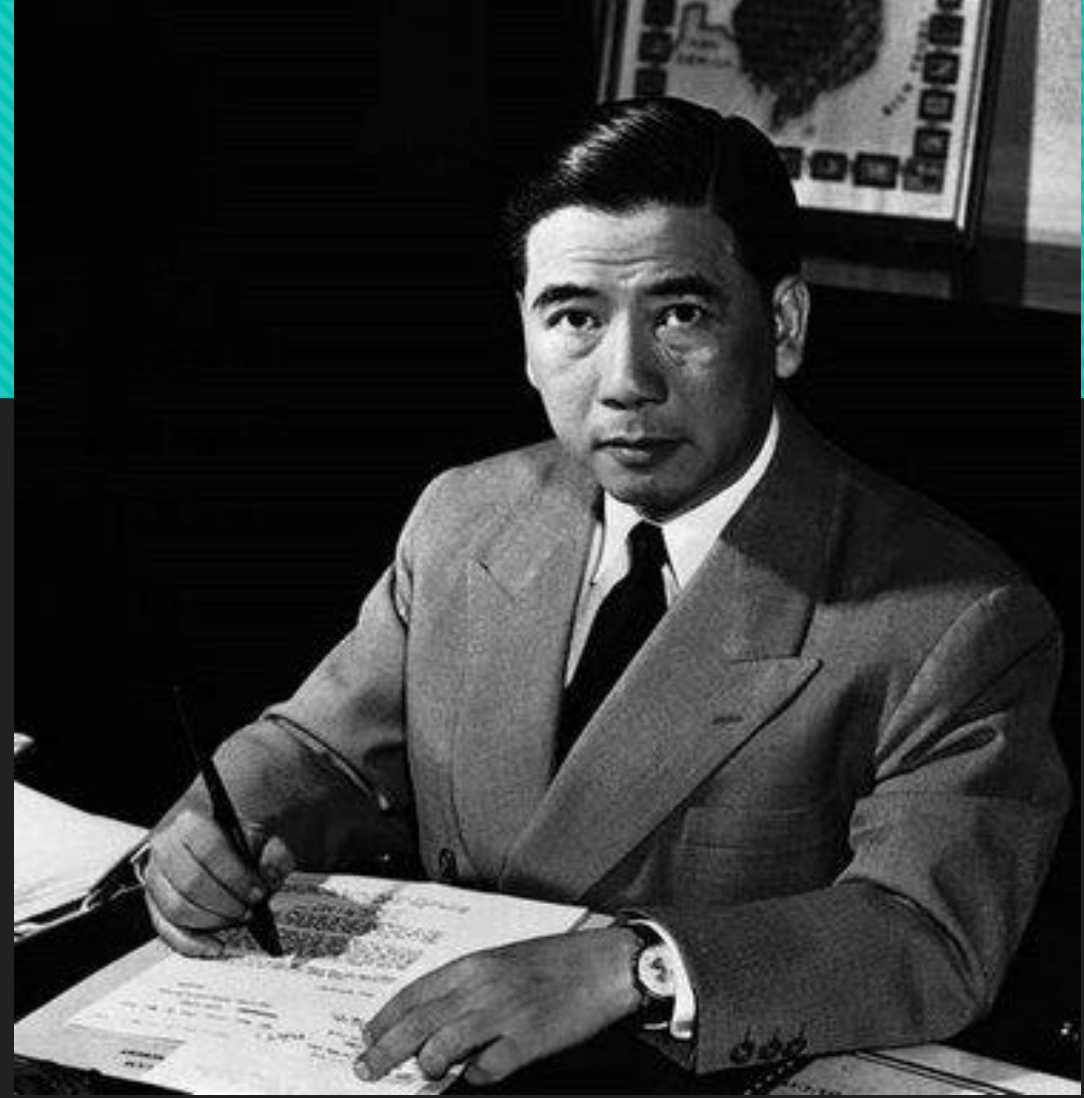
The Vietnam War

- Located in Southeast Asia
- Former French colony, called French Indochina (also Laos and Cambodia)
- After World War II, a **communist leader named Ho Chi Minh leads a war for independence** against the French Army
- Ho Chi Minh's army defeats the French army
- At a Geneva accords (peace conference), the French agree to leave Vietnam, but **Vietnam was to be divided into north and south Vietnam**
- **Ho Chi Minh was to rule the north under communist rule and Ngo Dinh Diem was to rule the south under democratic rule**



War for Independence

- Vietnam is divided. Ho Chi Minh wants a united Vietnam.
- **South Vietnam is ruled by corrupt leaders. Soon the people form a guerrilla army called the Vietcong.**
- **Guerrillas are fighters who use hit and run tactics. (Their goal = reunite Vietnam)**



UNITED STATES RESPONSE



- United States sees the conflict in Vietnam as the communist north trying to take over the democratic south. **According to the US this was the same situation as the Korean War.**
- United States believes that **if South Vietnam lost to the communist, then all of Southeast Asia will fall to the communist like a row of dominos.**
- **Domino theory → If one country falls to Communism, nearby nations will as well.**

Expansion of the war

- The Kennedy administration sent 16,000 U.S. personnel to S. Vietnam.
- LBJ will expand the conflict sending more troops each year he's in office.

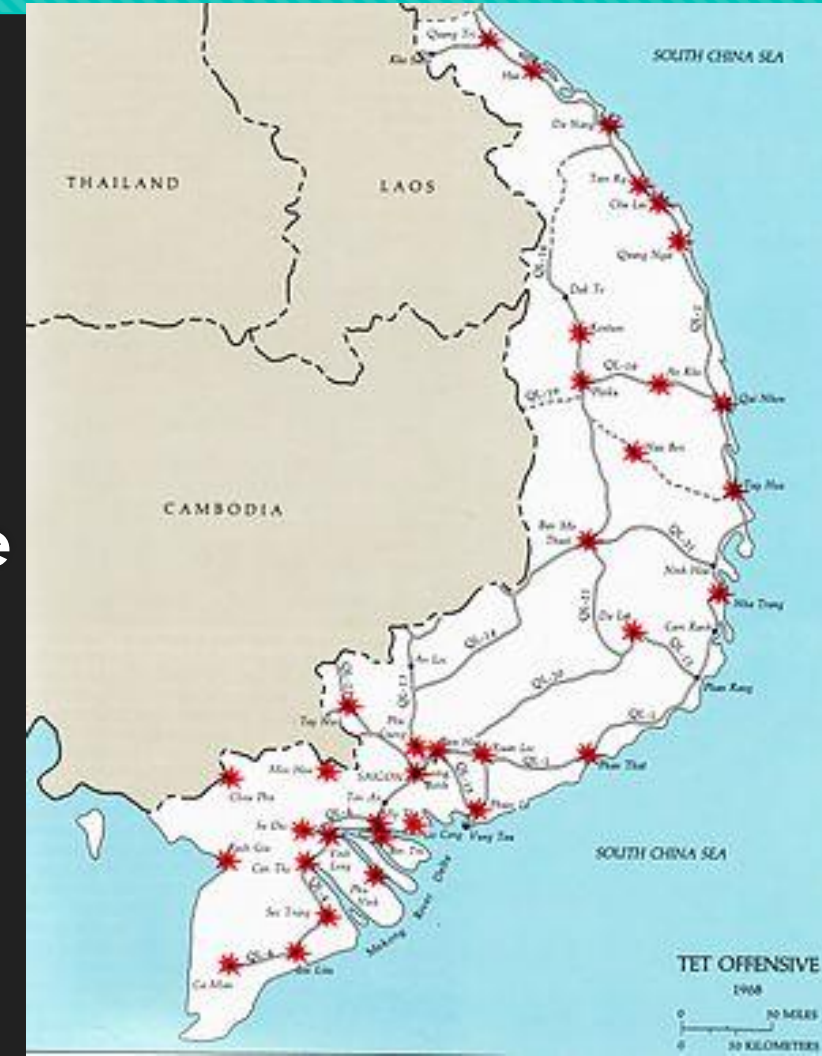
AMERICANS IN COMBAT

- **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**: US never formally declares war on Vietnam. In 1964, **North Vietnamese boats attack a U.S. boat in the Gulf of Tonkin.** North Vietnam claims that the US ship was spying.
- In the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, **Congress allows the President to take “all necessary measures to repel any armed attack or to prevent further aggression”** What does this mean? What has Congress done?



Turning point of the war

- Since 1964, the US escalates its involvement in the war
- Escalates means to expand
- Tet Offensive:
 - January 1968, Vietcong guerrillas launch a surprise attack on cities throughout Vietnam.
 - **The attack shows the world that even with 500,000 troops in Vietnam (U.S.), South Vietnam is not safe!**



VIETNAM

- 1954: France lost the battle at **Dien Bien Phu** & abandon Vietnam
- Increased U.S. involvement under Eisenhower
- U.S. supported unpopular leader of **South Vietnam** named **Diem**
- JFK increased military advisors & troops in Vietnam
- 1964: **Gulf of Tonkin Incident**: LBJ claimed U.S. ship attacked by North Vietnamese in Gulf of Tonkin
- Led to Congress issuing a "**blank check**" for LBJ to send **ground troops** into Vietnam
- **Tet Offensive** (1968): surprise attack by North Vietnam during the Vietnamese New Year
- **Anti-war opposition** intensifies in 1968



HAWKS VS. DOVES



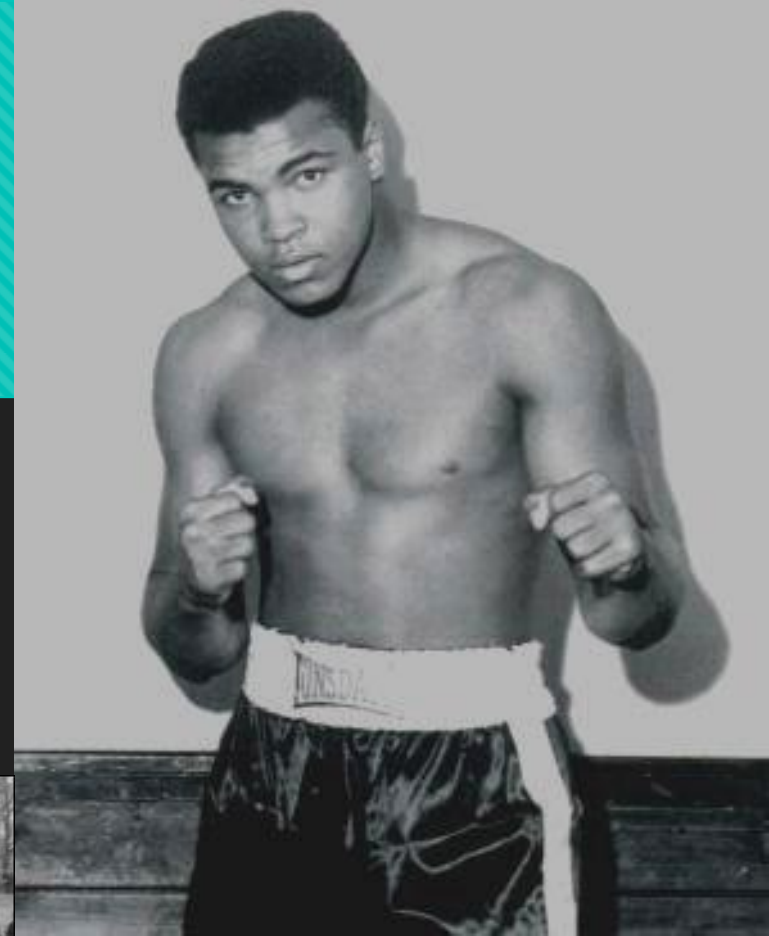
- In the United States, there were two groups of people.
- **Hawks favored the war.** They say that since the North Vietnamese attacked a US warship, the US must fight back until victory
- **Doves: oppose the war.** They see the war in Vietnam as a civil war

Protesters

- College Students → Kent State
- Muhammad Ali
- MLK Jr.

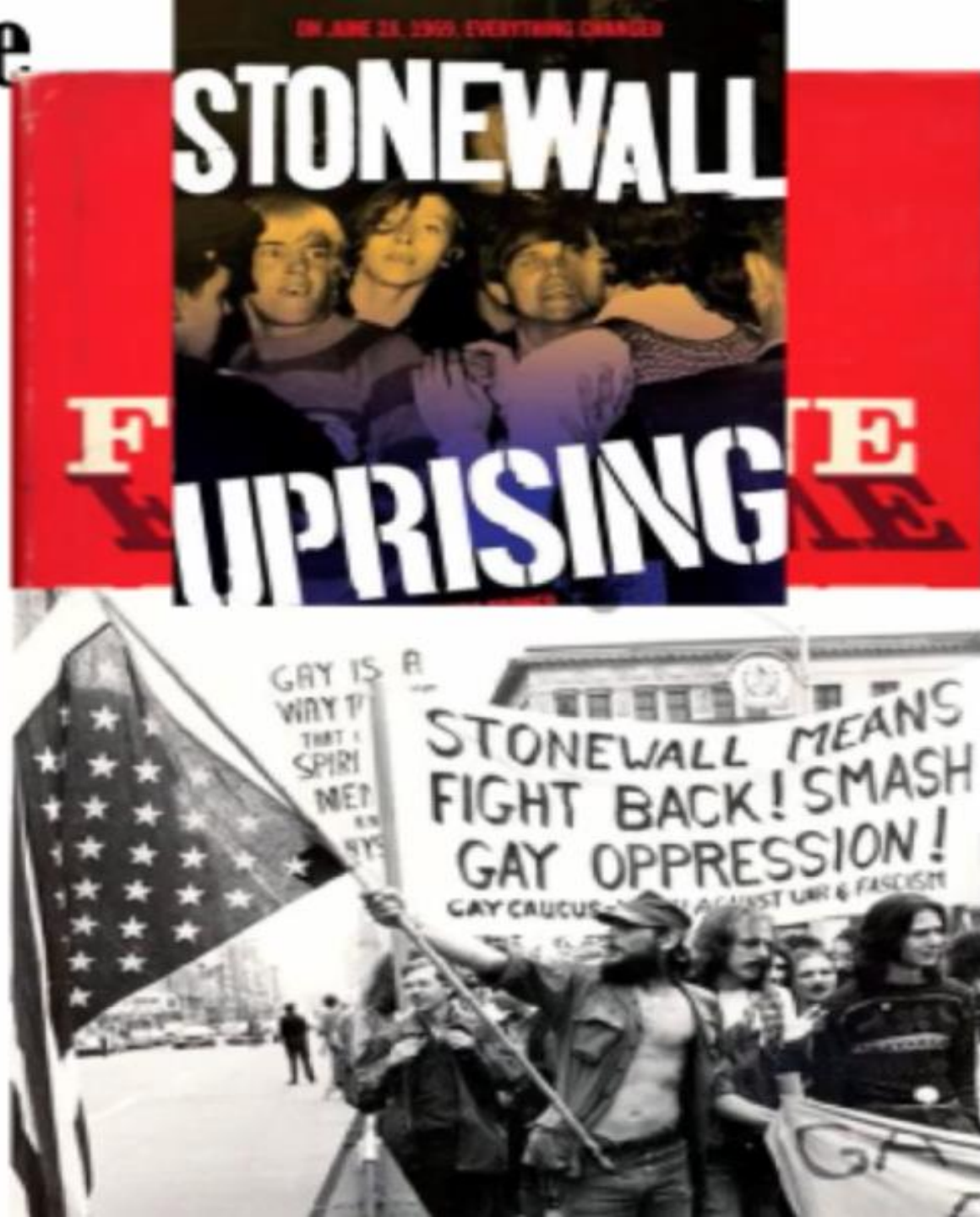


Photo © John Filo



Other Movements Emerge

- The Vietnam War deeply divided the nation between “**hawks**” (pro-war) & “**doves**” (anti-war)
- UC Berkeley **Free Speech Movement**, **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)** issued the Port Huron Statement, and other “**New Left**” movements spread across college campuses
- Betty Friedan created the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**. Campaigned for **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)**
- **Stonewall Riots (1969)** gave rise to the modern gay rights movement



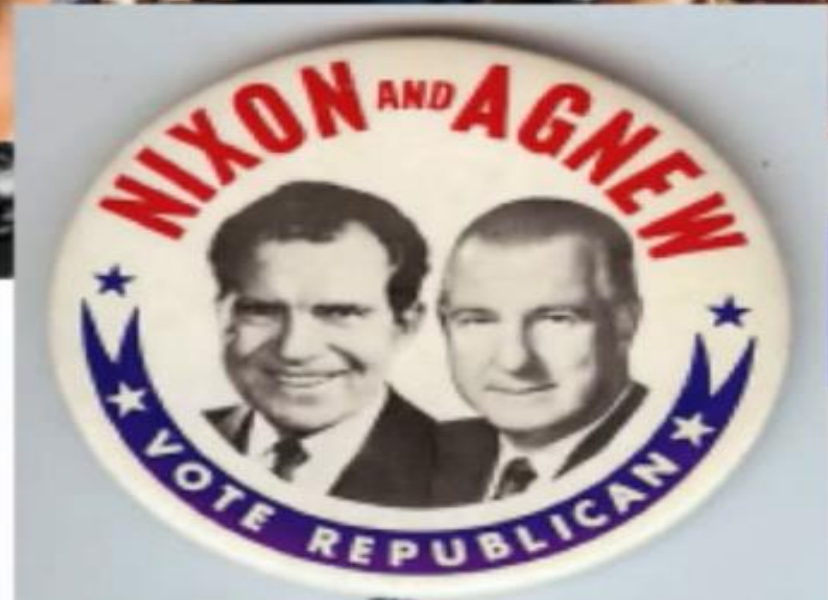
Affects of warfare

- Agent Orange → Leaf Killing toxic chemical
- Napalm → Gasoline based bomb, that sets fire to the jungle



Election of 1968: Nixon Returns

- **1968 was a political mess:** 1) Tet offensive, 2) LBJ is out, 3) MLK killed, 4) RFK killed, 5) riots spread
- **Democratic convention in Chicago (1968) were plagued by riots**
 - **VP Hubert Humphrey gets the nomination**
- **George Wallace runs as the American independent party candidate**
 - **Opposed to federal desegregation, antiwar protests, and Great Society. Conservative candidate**
- **Republicans nominated Richard Nixon**
- **Nixon wins the Presidency in 1968 as many Americans turned away from New Deal liberalism in favor of conservative candidates**



Vietnamization

- Nixon introduces this idea to withdraw troops from South Vietnam in order to allow those troops to take a more active role.



Nixon & Vietnam.



Nixon & Henry Kissinger had promised to end the war in Vietnam: **“Peace with Honor”**

- Appeals to the **“Silent Majority”** (claim majority of Americans supported the war)
- Since the Tet Offensive in 1968 the debate over the Vietnam War intensified
- News of the **My Lai Massacre (1968)** surfaces in 1970.
 - U.S. troops killed women and children
- **Nixon Doctrine:** U.S. would continue to honor its commitments, but countries in Asia would not be able to always rely on U.S. ground troops

Vietnam War: Ending & Escalating

- Nixon's policy of "**Vietnamization**" called the U.S. **to gradually withdraw U.S. troops** from Vietnam (Nixon Doctrine)
 - The South Vietnamese would **slowly over the fighting** & the challenge of defending South Vietnam
- Nixon also began **secret bombing of ne Cambodia** and in April 1970 U.S. troops **invaded** in an effort to destroy Vietnamese communist bases in Cambodia
- In response to the bombing of Cambodia **protests** erupted across the country on **college campuses**
 - 4 students killed **at Kent State** in Ohio
 - 2 students killed at **Jackson State** in Miss.
- Henry Kissinger held **secret negotiations with North Vietnam**
- 1972 Nixon orders **massive bombing of North Vietnam** when negotiations stalled



Affects at home

- Not all Americans were on board with the war.
- Much of America's youth was torn over the war and the Civil Right's Movement.
- They searched for a simple way of life, explored the use of drugs, resisted the draft and protested their growing dissent with the government → **Hippies**



Distrust in the Government Grows

- Tet Offensive, My Lai Massacre, bombing of Cambodia, etc. led to further **distrust of the government**
- **Pentagon Papers** revealed that the U.S. government from JFK onward deliberately **deceived the American** people about the Vietnam War
 - **Daniel Ellsberg** “leaked” the information
- **War Powers Act** passed by Congress that sought to **reduce war powers** of the president
 - President must tell Congress within 48 hours of sending troops into conflict
 - Congress would have to approve any military mission that lasted longer than 60 days



The War in Vietnam Ends

- Nixon's strategy of 1) Vietnamization 2) Widening the war 3) Secret negotiations between Kissinger/Le Duc Tho
- **Paris Accords**: cease fire signed Jan. 1973
 - U.S. troops withdrawn
 - Free elections were suppose to take place
- Cease fire did not permanently end the fighting between North and South Vietnam
- April 1975 the U.S. supported government of South Vietnam fell to Communist rule- **Vietnam became a united communist country**



End of the Vietnam war

- War lasts from 1957-1975

“Peace with Honor”

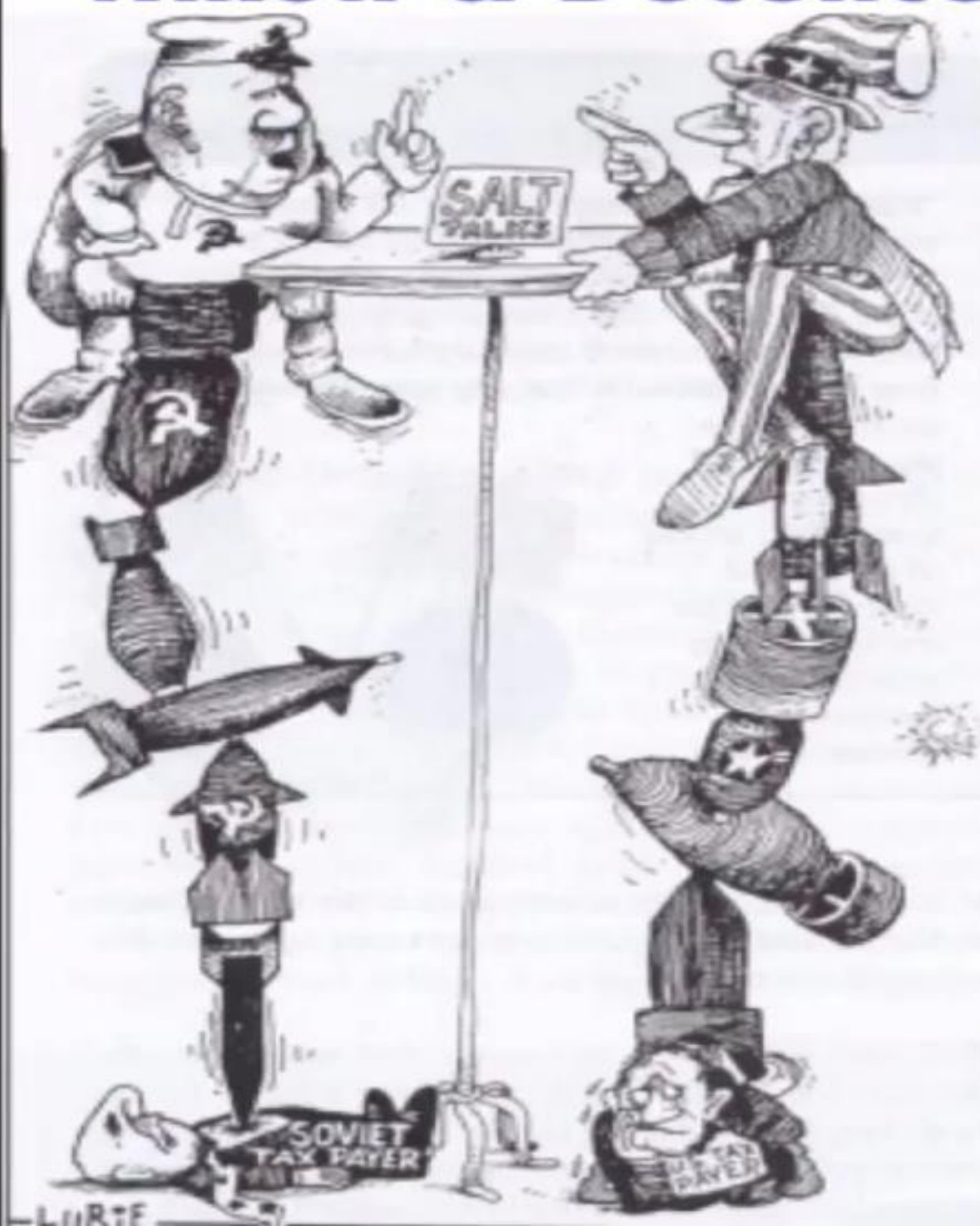
- 58,000 US soldiers are dead
- Approximately 1,000,000 Vietnamese soldier dead
- Approximately 500,000 civilians dead
- US pulls all of its troops out of Vietnam → Under newly elected Nixon.
- **Once the US is gone, the North quickly takes over the South = Saigon falls**



Legacy?

Nixon & Détente:

relaxing of tensions during the Cold War



- Nixon & Kissinger sought to take advantage of the **distrust & rivalry** between China and the Soviet Union (**Sino-Soviet** split)
- Nixon with a reputation as a anti-communist figure could negotiate without being accused of being “soft on communism”
- **Nixon visits China** February 1972 to met with Mao
 - Formal diplomatic relations 1979
- Relationship with China put pressure on the Soviets
- Treaty signed between the U.S. & Soviets **limiting antiballistic missiles (ABMs)**
- **Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT)** limited nuclear weapons
- Nixon was able to reduce the arms race and Cold War tensions (**détente**)

Detente

- Détente - **a policy of lessening Cold War tensions.**
- As a result of trying to spread Communism globally and keeping up with the U.S. in the arms and space race, the U.S.S.R. was being torn apart **financially**.
- People everywhere were getting fed up with the constant threat of **global nuclear destruction** as well.

Nixon in USSR!?

1. First pres to ever visit Soviet Union
2. SALT Treaty : (Strategic Arms Limitations Talks) - 5 year agreement to destroy and limit the number of nuclear weapons each could have.
 - a. reduces threat of global nuclear war



WARREN COURT: 1953-1969



- **Liberal ideals** such as expanding democracy and individual freedoms were realized in the decisions of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren
- **Yates v. U.S. (1957):** 1st amendment protects radical / revolutionary speech
- **Mapp v. Ohio (1961):** Illegally seized evidence cant be used in court
- **Engel v. Vitale (1962):** cant require prayer in public schools (violated 1st amendment)
- **Griswold v. Connecticut (1965):** citizen has right to privacy, thus birth control cannot be prohibited
- **Miranda v. Arizona (1966):** right to remain silent & speak with attorney
- **Critics:** Many conservatives did not like these decisions and favored a “strict” interpretation of the Constitution