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REBELLION AND REACTION IN THE 1960s AND 1970s

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After you finish reading and studying this chapter, you should be able to

1. Account for the rise and decline of New Left protests.
2. Describe the counterculture and its impact.
3. Trace the reform movements for women, Hispanics, Indians, and the environment.
4. Explain Nixon's aims in Vietnam.
5. Assess the impact of the Vietnam War on U.S. society, military morale, and later foreign policy.
6. Explain Nixon's goals in domestic policy and account for his limited accomplishment.
7. Understand the problems plaguing the United States economy in the decade of the 1970s, and describe the various cures Nixon tried.
8. Describe Nixon's foreign policy triumphs in China and the Soviet Union, and explain their significance.
9. Discuss the Watergate cover-up and account for the difficulty in unraveling it.
10. Assess the brief presidency of Gerald Ford.
11. Assess the Carter administration's foreign and domestic policies.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. Youth revolt
 - A. Sources
 1. Baby boomers as young adults
 2. Sit-ins and end of apathy
 - B. New Left
 1. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
 - a. Port Huron Statement
 - b. Participatory democracy
 2. Free Speech movement
 - a. Berkeley
 - b. Quality of campus life
 3. Antiwar protests
 - a. The draft
 - b. Teach-ins and protests
 4. Growing militancy
 5. 1968
 - a. Columbia University uprising
 - b. Democratic convention in Chicago
 - c. Fracturing of SDS
 - C. Counterculture
 1. Descendants of the Beats
 2. Contrasted with New Left
 3. Drugs, communes, hedonism
 4. Rock music
 - a. Woodstock
 - b. Altamont
 5. Cooptation and failure
- II. The rights of women and minorities
 - A. Feminism
 1. Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*
 2. National Organization for Women
 3. Federal actions
 - a. Affirmative action
 - b. *Roe v. Wade*
 - c. Equal Rights Amendment
 4. Divisions and reactions
 - B. Sexual revolution and the pill
 1. Age of permissiveness
 - a. "Make love, not war"
 - b. Virtual end of censorship
 - i. *Oh! Calcutta!*
 - ii. *Sex and the Single Girl*

- c. Oral contraceptive
 - i. Greg Pincus
 - ii. 1960 approval
 - iii. Popularity
 - iv. Effects
- C. Hispanics
 - 1. United Farm Workers
 - 2. Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans
 - 3. Political power
- D. Native Americans
 - 1. Emergence of Native American rights
 - 2. American Indian Movement
 - 3. Legal actions
- E. Gays and lesbians
 - 1. Raid on Stonewall Inn
 - 2. Gay Liberation Front
 - 3. Christian fundamentalist reaction
- III. Nixon and Vietnam
 - A. Reaction in the 1970s
 - 1. Election of 1968
 - 2. The "Silent Majority"
 - B. Policy of withdrawal
 - 1. Insistence on Communist withdrawal from South Vietnam
 - 2. Efforts to undercut unrest in the United States
 - a. Troop reductions
 - b. Lottery and volunteer army
 - 3. Expanded air war
 - C. Impact of the war on military morale
 - 1. Military disobedience
 - 2. Fraggings
 - 3. Drug problems
 - D. Occasions for public outcry against the war
 - 1. My Lai massacre
 - 2. Cambodian "incursion"
 - a. Campus riots
 - b. Public reaction
 - 3. *Pentagon Papers*
 - a. Method of disclosure
 - b. Revelations of the papers
 - c. Supreme Court ruling
 - E. U.S. withdrawal
 - 1. Kissinger's efforts before the 1972 election
 - 2. Christmas bombings
 - 3. Final acceptance of peace
 - 4. U.S. withdrawal in March 1973

- F. Ultimate victory of the North, March–April 1975
- G. Assessment of the war
 - 1. Communist control
 - 2. Failure to transfer democracy
 - 3. Erosion of respect for the military
 - 4. Drastic division of the U.S. people
 - 5. Impact on future foreign policy
- IV. Nixon and Middle America
 - A. Reflection of Middle American values
 - B. Domestic affairs
 - 1. Status of Nixon in domestic legislation
 - 2. Continuance of civil rights progress
 - a. Voting Rights Act continued over a veto
 - b. Supreme Court upheld integration
 - i. In Mississippi
 - ii. Support for busing
 - c. Congress refused to end busing
 - d. Limitation on busing in Detroit
 - e. *Bakke* decision
 - 3. Revenue sharing
 - 4. Other domestic legislation
 - C. Economic malaise
 - 1. Development of stagflation
 - 2. Causes
 - 3. Nixon's efforts to improve the economy
 - a. Reducing the federal deficit
 - b. Reducing the money supply
 - c. Imposing wage and price controls
 - D. Environmental movement
 - 1. Recognition of the limits of growth
 - 2. Impact of the energy crisis
 - 3. Competition with vested interests
 - 4. Reasons for opposition to environmental reform
 - a. Cost
 - b. Loss of faith in governmental efforts
 - c. Refusal to accept lesser standard of living
 - V. Nixon's foreign triumphs
 - A. Rapprochement with China
 - 1. Background to the visit
 - 2. Benefits of the Nixon visit
 - B. Détente with the Soviet Union
 - 1. Visit to Moscow
 - 2. SALT agreement
 - 3. Trade agreements
 - C. Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East

- VI. Election of 1972
 - A. Removal of the Wallace threat
 - B. McGovern candidacy
 - C. Results of the election
- VII. Watergate
 - A. Judge Sirica's role
 - B. Unraveling the cover-up
 - 1. Nixon's personal role
 - 2. Development of illegal tactics
 - 3. April resignations
 - 4. Discovery of the tapes
 - 5. Saturday Night Massacre
 - 6. Supreme Court decided against the president
 - 7. Articles of impeachment
 - 8. Resignation
 - C. Aftermath of Watergate
 - 1. Ford's selection
 - 2. Nixon pardon
 - 3. Distrust of leaders and institutions
 - 4. Shock at the crudity of leaders
 - 5. Resiliency of U.S. institutions
 - 6. War Powers Act
 - 7. Campaign financing legislation
 - 8. Freedom of Information Act
- VIII. Ford presidency
 - A. Drift at the end of the Nixon administration
 - B. Ford's battle with the economy
 - C. Foreign policy accomplishments
 - D. Election of 1976
 - 1. Ford's nomination
 - 2. Reasons for the Carter rise
 - 3. Carter's victory
- IX. Carter presidency
 - A. Carter style and his challenges
 - B. Early domestic moves
 - 1. Appointments
 - 2. Amnesty for draft dodgers
 - 3. Administrative reorganization
 - 4. Environmental legislation
 - 5. Deregulation of the oil industry
 - 6. Crisis of confidence
 - C. Foreign policy initiatives
 - 1. Human rights focus
 - 2. Panama Canal treaties

- 3. Diplomatic relations with China
- 4. Camp David Accords
 - D. Failure to manage the economy
 - 1. Emphasis on reducing unemployment
 - 2. Reversal: the reduction of government deficits
 - E. SALT II negotiations
 - F. Reactions to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
 - G. Iranian crisis
 - 1. Background to the seizure
 - 2. Carter's efforts to help the hostages
 - 3. Crisis ended

KEY ITEMS OF CHRONOLOGY

Students for a Democratic Society started	1960
The pill approved by the Food and Drug Administration	1960
Rachel Carson's <i>Silent Spring</i>	1962
United Farm Workers formed	1962
Betty Friedan's <i>The Feminine Mystique</i>	1963
American Indian Movement started	1963
Free Speech Movement began at Berkeley	1964
National Organization for Women founded	1966
Disruption of Columbia University	spring 1968
Democratic national convention at Chicago	1968
My Lai massacre	1968
Draft lottery established	1969
<i>Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education</i>	1969
Riot at Stonewall Inn	June 1969
Neil Armstrong walked on the moon	July 1969
Woodstock Music Festival	August 1969
Altamont Music Festival	December 1969
Incursion into Cambodia	April 1970
Protests and shooting at Kent State	May 1970
<i>Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education</i>	1971
<i>New York Times</i> published <i>The Pentagon Papers</i>	June 1971
Twenty-Sixth Amendment ratified	1971
George C. Wallace shot	May 1972
Watergate burglary	June 1972
Richard Nixon reelected	1972
<i>Roe v. Wade</i>	1973
Conflict at Wounded Knee, South Dakota	1973
Last American combat troops left Vietnam	March 29, 1973
War Powers Act passed	1973

Supreme Court ruled on Nixon tapes
 Nixon resigned
 Ford pardoned Nixon
 North Vietnamese took Saigon
 Jimmy Carter elected
Bakke v. Board of Regents of California
 American embassy in Teheran seized

July 24, 1974
 August 9, 1974
 September 8, 1974
 April 30, 1975
 1976
 1978
 November 1979

TERMS TO MASTER

Listed below are some important people or terms with which you should be familiar after your study of this chapter. Identify each name or term.

1. New Left
2. Students for a Democratic Society
3. participatory democracy
4. Free Speech movement
5. Yippies
6. Weathermen
7. counterculture
8. hippies
9. Woodstock Music Festival
10. Altamont
11. Betty Friedan
12. *The Feminine Mystique*
13. National Organization for Women
14. Title IX
15. Equal Rights Amendment
16. *Roe v. Wade*
17. sexual revolution
18. "make love, not war"
19. *Oh! Calcutta!*
20. Greg Pincus
21. chicano
22. United Farm Workers
23. Cesar Chavez
24. American Indian Movement
25. Stonewall riot
26. Gay Liberation Front
27. silent majority
28. Henry Kissinger
29. Vietnamization
30. draft lottery
31. Cambodian incursion
32. Kent State University
33. The Pentagon Papers
34. Christmas bombings
35. Neil Armstrong
36. *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*
37. *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*
38. *Bakke v. Board of Regents of California*
39. New Federalism
40. Twenty-Sixth Amendment
41. stagflation
42. OPEC
43. *Silent Spring*
44. Environmental Protection Agency
45. détente
46. shuttle diplomacy
47. George C. Wallace
48. George S. McGovern
49. John J. Sirica
50. Samuel J. Ervin
51. Saturday Night Massacre
52. Gerald Ford
53. War Powers Act
54. Jimmy Carter
55. Camp David Accords
56. SALT
57. Ayatollah Khomeini

VOCABULARY BUILDING

Listed below are some words or phrases used in this chapter. Look in the dictionary for the meaning of each term you do not know.

elusive	discreet
fissure	pejorative
manifesto	connotation
dissident	recalcitrant
volatile	fast (v.)
seethe	awry
cadre	fractious
nihilistic	incursion
tantalize	complicity
credo	ignoble
utopian	sap (v.)
panhandle (v.)	preempt
karma	lamentation
incense	deploy
pervasive	carp (v.)
bastion	interregnum
stagnate	sovereignty
stymie	malaise
animate	moot
flout	epitomize

EXERCISES FOR UNDERSTANDING

When you have finished reading the chapter, answer each of the following questions. If you have difficulty, go back and reread the section of the chapter related to the question.

Multiple-Choice Questions

Select the letter of the choice that best completes the statement.

1. The Free Speech Movement attacked
 - A. the modern university.
 - B. congressional support for the Vietnam war.
 - C. movie and book censorship.
 - D. Nixon's dishonesty over Watergate.
2. At the 1968 national Democratic convention,
 - A. Hubert Humphrey won the nomination for president.
 - B. Yippies provoked anarchy in the streets.

- C. 12,000 police clashed with demonstrators.
D. all of the above
3. By 1971 the New Left had declined because
A. Nixon had ended the war in Vietnam.
B. it had abandoned its democratic and pacifist principles.
C. most of its leaders had died in the rioting on campuses.
D. the Yippies had taken over the SDS.
4. Timothy Leary's credo of "Tune in, turn on, drop out" appealed to the
A. antiwar movement.
B. counterculture.
C. feminists and gay rights advocates.
D. student radicals of the New Left.
5. Betty Friedan was a leading advocate of
A. the counterculture.
B. Native American rights.
C. feminism.
D. Vietnamization of the war in Vietnam.
6. The developer of the birth control pill was
A. Henry Kissinger.
B. Claire Boothe Luce.
C. Betty Friedan.
D. Greg Pincus.
7. In *Roe v. Wade* the Supreme Court ruled that
A. busing for school integration was unconstitutional.
B. Native Americans were to receive four million acres in Wyoming.
C. abortion in the first three months of pregnancy was legal.
D. the Watergate cover-up was sufficient to impeach Nixon.
8. Nixon's new Vietnam policy involved
A. peace negotiations in Paris.
B. Vietnamization of the war.
C. expansion of the air war.
D. all of the above
9. The Nixon administration's most innovative domestic proposal was
A. school busing.
B. the Family Assistance Plan.
C. revenue sharing with the states.
D. the Environmental Protection Agency.
10. Causes of the economic malaise of the 1970s included
A. major tax increases under LBJ to finance the Great Society.
B. competition in international markets.

- C. labor shortages caused by the Vietnam War.
D. all of the above
11. During the Watergate crisis, Nixon was *not* accused of
A. obstructing justice through paying witnesses to remain silent.
B. defying Congress by withholding the tapes.
C. using federal agencies to deprive citizens of their rights.
D. stealing funds from the reelection campaign.
12. Perhaps Gerald Ford's most memorable act as president was
A. preventing the fall of South Vietnam.
B. pardoning Richard Nixon.
C. achieving peace in the Middle East.
D. rescuing U.S. hostages in Nicaragua.
13. Jimmy Carter's 1976 victory can be attributed to
A. his strong support among southern African Americans.
B. the traditional Democratic sweep of the West.
C. his long career as a national politician.
D. the large voter turnout in the election.
14. Carter's most significant accomplishment in foreign policy was
A. retaining complete control over the Panama Canal.
B. an agreement with OPEC on oil prices.
C. opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
D. a treaty between Israel and Egypt.
15. The United States boycotted the 1980 Olympics because of
A. the seizure of the *Mayaguez*.
B. the presidential election.
C. the taking of U.S. hostages in Teheran.
D. the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

True-False Questions

Indicate whether each statement is true or false.

- The campus protests reached a climax in 1968 at Berkeley.
- Polarization in American society reached a climax in 1968 at the Republican national convention in Chicago.
- The most violent political protests of the 1960s occurred at Woodstock in 1969.
- Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act dealt with affirmative action for women.
- Of all minorities in the 1960s, Native Americans were the most desperate.
- The founder of the United Farm Workers was Cesar Chavez.

7. The second largest minority group (after African Americans) is made up of Hispanics.
8. The Cambodian “incursion” led to widespread rioting on U.S. college campuses.
9. Two years after the Vietnam War ended, North Vietnam took control of the South.
10. As Nixon had hoped, the Burger Court opposed further school integration.
11. In *Bakke v. Board of Regents of California*, the Supreme Court approved the use of racial quotas in college admissions.
12. Nixon successfully fought stagflation by raising taxes and cutting the budget.
13. The War Powers Act requires a president to withdraw troops sent abroad after sixty days unless specifically authorized by Congress for a longer stay.
14. Gerald Ford called the fight against inflation “the moral equivalent of war.”
15. Jimmy Carter succeeded in negotiating a treaty to return the Panama Canal to Panama.

Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast the New Left and the counterculture
2. How did the women’s movement resemble the reform efforts by Chicanos, Native Americans, and homosexuals?
3. What was Nixon’s secret plan to end the Vietnam War and did it work?
4. How did the Nixon administration deal with “stagflation”?
5. How did Nixon try to appeal to the “Silent Majority” with his domestic policies? Did he succeed?
6. Were Nixon’s accomplishments in domestic policy more important than his foreign policy achievements?
7. What effects did Watergate have on Americans and their political institutions?
8. How do Nixon, Ford, and Carter rate as presidents?

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE-CHOICE AND TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Multiple-Choice Questions

1-A, 2-D, 3-B, 4-B, 5-C, 6-D, 7-C, 8-D, 9-B, 10-B, 11-D, 12-B, 13-A, 14-D, 15-D

True-False Questions

1-F, 2-F, 3-F, 4-T, 5-T, 6-T, 7-T, 8-T, 9-F, 10-F, 11-F, 12-F, 13-T, 14-F, 15-T

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A CONSERVATIVE INSURGENCY

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After you finish reading and studying this chapter, you should be able to

1. Evaluate the economic policies of the Reagan and Bush administrations.
2. Discuss the U.S. role in Central America in the 1980s and its connections to the Middle East.
3. Understand the causes and results of the Gulf War.
4. Explain Ronald Reagan’s political success and the failure of George Bush.
5. Trace the development of the modern computer.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. Reagan Revolution
 - A. Carter to Reagan
 1. Carter’s crisis of confidence
 2. Reagan’s message
 - a. Optimism
 - b. Pride and prosperity
 - c. Old-time morality
 - d. Public speaking skill
 - B. Background of Reagan
 1. Hollywood
 2. Liberal to conservative
 3. Governor of California
 - C. Rise to the presidency