

THIRTY

THE CRISIS OF AUTHORITY

Objectives

A thorough study of Chapter Thirty-Two should enable the student to understand:

1. The reasons for the rise of the New Left and the counterculture.
2. The problems of American Indians and Hispanics, and the nature of their protest movements.
3. The meaning of the New Feminism.
4. The Nixon-Kissinger policy for terminating the Vietnam War, and the subsequent Paris peace settlement.
5. The changes in American foreign policy necessitated by the new perception of the world as multipolar.
6. The ways in which the Supreme Court issued several liberal rulings and then in the Nixon years began a change to a more conservative posture.
7. The reasons for the decline in the American economy in the early 1970s and President Nixon's reaction to the decline.
8. The significance of Watergate as an indication of the abuse of executive power.

Main Themes

1. How movements by youth, ethnic minorities, and women challenged social norms.
2. How Richard Nixon gradually reduced the American ground forces in Vietnam but increased the air war as he and Henry Kissinger sought "peace with honor," which turned out to be nothing more than a way for the United States to leave the war with a decent interval before North Vietnam's victory.
3. That Nixon and Kissinger believed that stability in a "multipolar" world could be achieved only by having the United States forge a bold new relationship with China and, at the same time, seek a détente with the Soviet Union through grain sales and arms reductions.
4. That Nixon's efforts to build a policy of less federal dominance of the states and more respect for traditional values reaped more political gain than practical result.
5. That Nixon's inconsistent economic policies failed to solve "stagflation," which was as much international as domestic in origin.
6. How Nixon's fear of opposition and arrogant assumption that his own fortunes were identical to those of the nation led to his downfall (through the collection of scandals collectively known as Watergate).

Glossary

1. **iconoclasm:** The doctrine of those who attack cherished beliefs, traditions, or institutions. The term is derived from the Greek, referring to people who destroyed religious symbols (icons).
2. **hallucinogens:** Chemical substances (natural or synthetic drugs) that induce hallucinations. Hallucination is the repeated hearing, feeling, smelling, or seeing things that are not actually physically present.

Pertinent Questions

THE YOUTH CULTURE (860-865)

1. What forces led to the rise of the New Left and campus radicalism? How did the Civil Rights movement help give rise to the movement? How widespread was real radicalism?
2. Explain the ways that many young Americans went about resisting the draft. What eventually happened to the resisters?
3. In what ways did the counterculture exhibit its commitment to the idea of personal fulfillment through rejecting the inhibitions and conventions of middle-class culture?
4. How did rock music reflect the counterculture?

THE MOBILIZATION OF MINORITIES (865-871)

5. How did opposition to "termination" policy help inspire increasing Indian activism. What policy and attitude changes resulted from the Indian Civil Rights movement?
6. Describe the rapid increase in Hispanic population in the United States. What were the sources of growth and where did the immigrants tend to reside?
7. What were the political implications of the surge in Latino population?
8. What were the pros and cons of bilingualism in education?
9. How did Hispanics, blacks, Indians, and other ethnic groups challenge the "melting pot" ethic?
10. To what degree did the gay liberation movement change attitudes of the larger society toward homosexuality? How did it shape gays views of themselves?

THE NEW FEMINISM (871)

11. What was it about Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* that sparked a revival of the women's movement?
12. What were the goals of the National Organization for Women (NOW)? How did NOW and the women's movement evolve?
13. What gains did women make in education, the professions, politics, and sports in the 1970s and 1980s?
14. What happened to the Equal Rights Amendment? Why?

ENVIRONMENTALISM IN A TURBULENT SOCIETY (874-878)

15. What factors combined to give birth to the environmentalism movement?
16. What is ecology? How does it differ from traditional conservationism?
17. How did ecology lead to political and legal activism? How effective were ecological activists?
18. What specific examples of environmental degradation spurred public interest in ecological issues?

NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WAR (879-882)

19. How was Richard Nixon able to use Vietnamization and the draft lottery to defuse much of the opposition to the war?
20. Why did Nixon keep the bombing of Cambodia secret from Congress and the American people? What happened in the United States when the invasion of Cambodia was revealed?
21. What did the Pentagon Papers reveal about the true nature of the Vietnam War?
22. What did the bombings and negotiations from March 1972 to January 1973 accomplish? What was the main stumbling block to final agreement?
23. What were the main provisions of the Paris accords? Did they constitute "peace with honor"?
24. What were the costs of the war to Vietnam and the United States?

- NIXON, KISSINGER, AND THE WORLD (882-883)**
25. Why did Nixon and Henry Kissinger decide that the time had come for rapprochement with the People's Republic of China? What resulted from Nixon's visit and related initiatives?
 26. What was the basic thrust of the Nixon Doctrine? What were its implications in Chile?
 27. What dilemma of American Middle East policy did the Yom Kippur War make clear? What other lessons did the war teach?
- POLITICS AND ECONOMICS UNDER NIXON (883-887)**
28. To what constituency was Nixon trying to appeal with his attacks on liberal programs?
 29. What major decisions of the Warren Court most outraged conservatives?
 30. What successes and rebuffs did Nixon meet in his attempts to reshape the Supreme Court? Did the Court, with four Nixon appointees, perform as he had intended?
 31. What advantages did Nixon have going into the 1972 election? What were George McGovern's liabilities?
 32. What were the proximate and fundamental causes of the creeping inflation of the late 1960s and 1970s?
 33. What were the causes and consequences of America's deindustrialization?
 34. Describe the general outlines of Nixon's economic policy. Was it consistent? Was it effective?
- THE WATERGATE CRISIS (887-890)**
35. What aspects of Richard Nixon's personality and management style led to the Watergate scandal and the associated cover-up? How was Nixon's personal culpability discovered?
 36. Why did Spiro Agnew resign? How did his removal and the appointment of Gerald Ford as vice president actually increase the pressure on Nixon?
 37. On what charges would Nixon's probable impeachment and conviction have been based?
- PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE: ROCK MUSIC IN THE SIXTIES (862-863)**
38. Why was 1960s rock music called "simultaneously subversive and liberating"? What differing views of the counterculture emerge from the Woodstock and Altamont festivals?
- THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENT: SILENT SPRING (876-877)**
39. Why did Rachel Carson's book not only lead to the banning of DDT but also help propel environmentalism into the public consciousness?
- WHERE HISTORIANS DISAGREE: WATERGATE (888-889)**
40. Is the Watergate scandal best understood as a product of an increasingly imperial presidency, a real radical threat, or the nature of Richard Nixon's own personality?

Identification

Identify each of the following, and explain why it is important within the context of the chapter.

1. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
2. Berkeley "People's Park"
3. Weathermen
4. hippies
5. sexual revolution
6. Rolling Stones
7. Beatles
8. Woodstock
9. American Indian Movement (AIM)

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10. Wounded Knee
11. Chicano
12. United Farm Workers/César Chávez
13. "Stone-wall Riot"
14. Ms.
15. Sandra Day O'Connor
16. Geraldine Ferraro
17. Roe v. Wade
18. Lady Bird Johnson
19. smog
20. acid rain
21. Environmental Protection Agency
22. Henry Kissinger
23. draft lottery
24. My Lai massacre
25. Ho Chi Minh City
26. Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge
27. SALT I
28. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
29. Warren Burger
30. *Baker v. Board of Regents of California*
31. George Wallace
32. Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
33. "stagflation"

Document

Read the section of the text under the heading "The Watergate Crisis." All along, President Nixon had claimed that neither he nor any of his inner staff knew any of the details of the Watergate break-in. He also denied that he had been involved in any cover-up. Through July 1974, the evidence against Nixon was circumstantial or based on contradictory testimony. Although the pressure for his removal at that time was strong, the president still had many defenders. Then in August, Nixon was forced to release the tapes that are excerpted below. They cover conversations of June 23, 1972, only six days after the break-in. Read the excerpts, and consider these questions: Were these tapes necessary for Nixon's impeachment, or was there adequate evidence without them? What do the conversations reveal about the casual manner in which Nixon and Haldeeman used federal agencies for political purposes?

HALDEEMAN: Now, on the investigation, you know the Democratic break-in thing, we're back in the problem area because the FBI is not under control because Gray [Patrick Gray, acting director of the FBI] doesn't exactly know how to control it and they have—their investigation is now leading into some productive areas—because they've been able to trace the money—not through the money itself—but through the bank sources—the banker. And it goes in some directions we don't want it to go. . . . That the way to handle this now is for us to have Walters [General Vernon Walters, deputy director of the CIA] call Pat Gray and just say, "Stay the hell out of this—this is ah, business here we don't want you to go any further on it." That's not an unusual development, and ah, that would take care of it. . . .

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NIXON: Well, what the hell, did Mitchell [John Mitchell, former attorney general and head of the president's campaign] know about this?

HALDEMAN: I think so. I don't think he knew the details, but I think he knew.

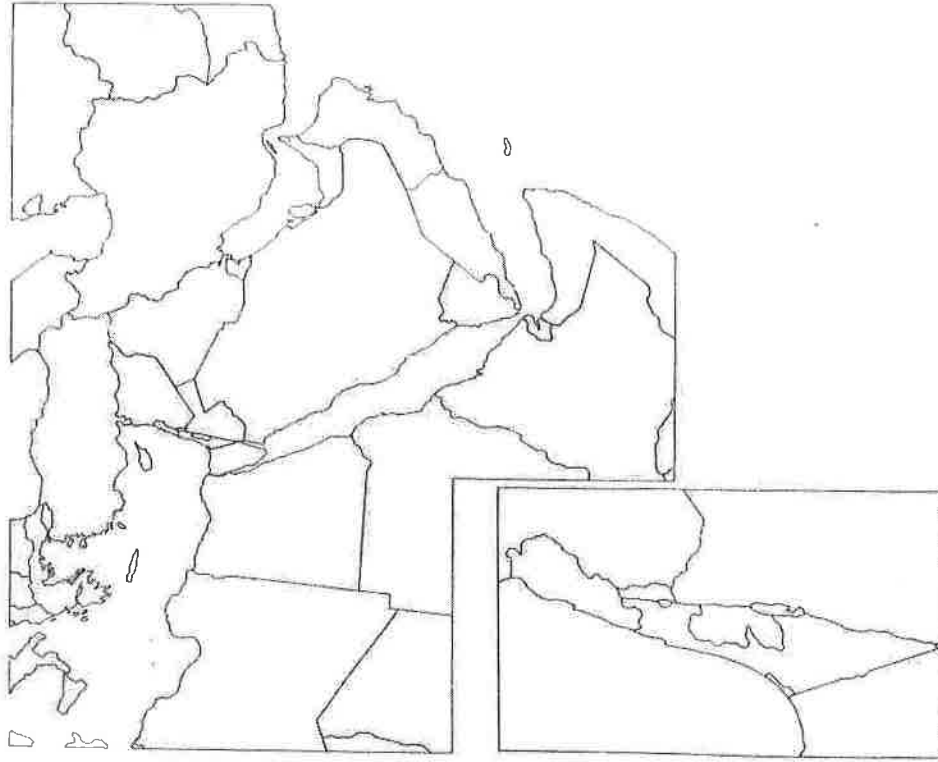
HALDEMAN (about three hours later): Well, it was kind of interesting. Walters made the point and I didn't mention Hunt [E. Howard Hunt, ex-CIA agent and White House consultant who was convicted in the Watergate conspiracy]. I just said that the thing was leading into directions that were going to create potential problems because they were exploring leads that led back into areas that would be harmful to the CIA and harmful to the government. . . .

Recorded presidential conversation submitted by Richard Nixon to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, April 30, 1974.

Map Exercise

Fill in or identify the following on the blank map provided. Use the map in the text as your source.

1. Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, Libya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.
2. Beirut, Jerusalem, Cairo, Teheran, and Mecca.
3. Territory occupied by Israel after the 1967 war and the part of that territory returned to Egypt.
4. Persian Gulf, Straits of Hormuz, and Suez Canal.
5. Major oil-producing area.



Interpretative Questions

Based on what you have filled in, answer the following. On some of the questions you will need to consult the narrative in your text for information or explanation.

1. What commitments did the United States have in the Middle East, and why was the area of such importance to the nation?
2. What were the geographic, military, and diplomatic results of the Six-Day War of 1967?
3. Describe the Yom Kippur War of 1973. What lessons did it hold for American foreign policy in the Middle East in particular and for other parts of the world in general?

Summary

Opposition to the war in Vietnam became the centerpiece of a wide-ranging political and cultural challenge to traditional American society. During this turbulent era, blacks, women, Hispanics, and Indians organized to assert their rights. Richard Nixon inherited the war in Vietnam, and he did bring it to an end. The cost of Nixon's four years of war was thousands of American lives and many more thousands of Asian lives, plus continued social unrest at home and an enduring strain on the economy. The end of American involvement did not mean that the goal of an independent, noncommunist South Vietnam had been secured. Nixon was more successful in his other foreign policy initiatives, opening meaningful contacts with China and somewhat easing tensions with the Soviet Union. He managed to stave out a solid constituency of conservative voters with his attacks on liberal programs and ideas. However, he never quite decided how to deal with a troubled economy that faced the unusual dual problems of slowed growth and rapidly rising prices. Less than two years after his overwhelming reelection in 1972, Nixon resigned from office under fire from a nation horrified by the Watergate affair and his arrogant misuse of presidential power for personal political purposes.

Review Questions

These questions are to be answered with essays. This will allow you to explore relationships between individuals, events, and attitudes of the period under review.

1. Chronicle the several cultural and ethnic movements that arose in the 1960s and early 1970s to challenge traditional white, male-dominated society. How did more conservative forces respond? How extensive and lasting were the changes?
2. What was accomplished during the four years that the Nixon administration carried on the war in Vietnam? Did the U.S. achieve "peace and honor"? Could the war have been concluded in a better manner at less human cost?
3. What were the several assumptions reflected in Nixon and Kissinger's rapprochement with the Soviet Union and China? Were the assumptions valid and the actions wise?
4. Was Watergate truly unprecedented, or was it merely a case of a president getting caught performing politics as usual? What was the lasting damage of the crisis? Did any good come from it?

Chapter Self Test

After you have read the chapter in the text and done the exercises in the Study Guide, take the following self test to see if you understand the material you have covered. Answers appear at the end of the Study Guide.

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. The "free speech movement" and the "peoples park" issue of the so-called New Left were centered in:
 - a. New York City around Greenwich Village.
 - b. Chicago under the "loop."
 - c. Boston near Harvard and MIT.
 - d. Berkeley around the University of California.
2. In 1967-1968 the issue that most unified the various people loosely known as the New Left was:
 - a. support for environmental legislation
 - b. opposition to the war in Vietnam.
 - c. concern about nuclear power.
 - d. rejection of capitalism.
3. Which of the following was *not* generally associated with the so-called counterculture?
 - a. marijuana smoking
 - b. long hair and nontraditional clothing
 - c. rejection of the existence of a supreme being
 - d. relaxed and open attitude about sexuality
4. Although the philosophy of the counterculture seemed to favor all of the following, the characteristic that most defined the movement was:
 - a. rejecting the inhibitions and conventions of middle-class culture and concentrating on pleasure and fulfillment.
 - b. striving for racial and social justice for all peoples.
 - c. breaking the power of corrupt elites who controlled American corporations and governments.
 - d. demanding an end to international wars and conflicts and substituting peaceful resolution.
5. The "termination" approach to federal Indian policy called for the end of:
 - a. all economic aid to individual Indians.
 - b. official recognition of tribes as legal entities.
 - c. efforts to assimilate Indians into urban society.
 - d. the movement to organize all tribes into a national Indian organization.

6. César Chávez is significant to American labor history as an organizer of what group of predominantly Hispanic workers?
- janitors
 - cigar makers
 - agricultural laborers
 - longshoremen
7. By the 1980s, Hispanic Americans had:
- become the fastest-growing large minority group in the nation.
 - yet to make any efforts to organize themselves politically.
 - consistently opposed the concept of bilingualism in education.
 - uniformly championed the ideal of the "melting pot."
8. The "Stonewall Riot" is associated with:
- Puerto Rican anger at poor services in their neighborhoods.
 - homosexual outrage at harassment by police and others.
 - college students demanding legalization of drug use.
 - African American clashes with new immigrants from Southeast Asia.
9. In *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), Betty Friedan:
- praised the ideal of women living happy, fulfilled lives in purely domestic roles.
 - urged women to search for greater personal fulfillment.
 - called for women to band together to assault the male power structure.
 - rejected the whole notion of marriage, family, and even heterosexual intercourse.
10. The leading reason that the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) failed to gain ratification was because of:
- public apathy and indifference.
 - lack of time for proper organization of support groups.
 - fears by many it would create a major disruption of traditional social patterns.
 - inadequate evidence of sexual discrimination.
11. The largest and most influential feminist organization from the 1960s through the 1980s was the:
- Female Liberation League.
 - American Women's Caucus.
 - National Organization for Women.
 - Gender Equity Society.
12. The first woman on the national ticket of one of the two major political parties was the 1984 Democratic vice presidential nominee:
- Sandra Day O'Connor.
 - Bella Abzug.
 - Kate Millet.
 - Geraldine Ferraro.
13. The science of ecology stresses
- the interplay among ethnic groups
 - the biological basis for human traits such as homosexuality and motherhood
 - the economic structure of social problems
 - the inter-relatedness of the natural world
14. The term "Vietnamization" referred to the policy of:
- using propaganda to develop public support for the war.
 - training United States troops to understand Vietnamese social customs.
 - shifting the emphasis of the United States military from traditional to guerrilla warfare.
 - shifting the burden of actual combat to the South Vietnamese army
15. The invasion of Cambodia by U.S. and South Vietnamese forces in the spring of 1970:
- resulted in a crushing defeat of the U.S. forces.
 - revived the domestic antiwar movement in the United States and led to large demonstrations.
 - was the last major encounter of the war involving U.S. troops.
 - led to Chinese intervention on the side of the North Vietnamese
16. The Paris accords of January 1973 on Vietnam provided for three of the following. Which is the exception?
- an immediate cease-fire
 - the return of American prisoners of war
 - the Thieu regime to remain in power in South Vietnam
 - North Vietnamese troops to be withdrawn from the southern part of Vietnam
17. Nixon and Kissinger's approach to foreign policy was based on the assumption that the world configuration of power had become:
- unipolar.
 - bipolar.
 - multipolar.
 - nonpolar.
18. Richard Nixon's approach to China was to:
- isolate the mainland government because of its support for the north in the Vietnam War.
 - open up contact for the first time since 1949 by visiting China and beginning diplomatic relations short of full recognition.
 - pressure the nationalist government of Taiwan to seek reunification with the mainland.
 - try to stir up Soviet-Chinese border conflict so that both nations would be preoccupied with each other and reduce tensions with the United States.
19. An important effect of America's support for Israel in the Yom Kippur War (1973) was:
- a reduction in unemployment.
 - the strengthening of the dollar in international trade.
 - the cancellation of the wheat deal with the Soviet Union.
 - an Arab embargo on oil exports to the United States.

20. George McGovern, the Democratic candidate for president in 1972, could be most accurately described as:
- the most hawkish of the leading Democrats.
 - an advanced liberal and outspoken critic of the Vietnam War.
 - a conservative who appealed to the southern wing of the party.
 - a savvy politician who took no clear-cut stand on any major controversial issues.

TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements "T" and false statements "F."

- The New Left movement drew strength from the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War mood of many Americans.
- Marijuana use, freer attitudes toward sex, and other attributes of the counter-culture were confined to the movement and had no influence on the broader society.
- In their later period, the Beatles moved away from the soft romantic songs that had led to their initial popularity, then recording music that reflected an interest in drugs and mysticism.
- Woodstock, California, was the most successful and long-lasting of the several free-love communes established by the counterculture.
- The avowed goal of the American Indian Movement was to break down tribal allegiance and encourage Native Americans to assimilate into the mainstream of middle-class values.
- Wounded Knee was, symbolically, an important place for a 1970s Indian protest because it had been the site of a massacre of Sioux Indians by federal troops some eighty years earlier.
- The term "Chicano" came to be used with pride by many Hispanics in referring to themselves in the 1970s, even though it had previously been a term of derision.
- The concept of "multiculturalism" or "cultural pluralism" challenged the "melting pot" vision often advanced by those who favored ethnic assimilation into America's dominant Anglo-European culture.
- A major objective of the gay liberation movement was to get homosexuals to be more willing to make their sexual preference known publicly and unapologetically.
- Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* helped energize the women's liberation movement by showing that many college-educated women were frustrated by their limited opportunities.
- The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) became part of the U.S. Constitution in 1972 when Georgia became the thirty-eighth state to ratify it.
- According to "Where Historians Disagree," historians have reached a consensus that Richard Nixon's paranoid and mean personality was the root cause of the Watergate scandal.
- The *Roe v. Wade* decision of the U.S. Supreme Court used the "right to privacy" as the basis for ruling that states could not ban all abortions.
- Conservative ecologists effectively demonstrated that the acid rain scare was a hoax perpetrated by companies wanting to sell protective coatings to consumers.
- Although Henry Kissinger was officially President Nixon's principal foreign policy adviser, Secretary of State William Rogers and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird actually had more influence in setting the direction of American policy.
- The Department of Defense documents released as the so-called Pentagon Papers revealed that the U.S. government had been considerably less than fully honest in reporting to the American people about the military progress of the war in Vietnam.
- The SALT I agreement called for freezing nuclear missile forces at present levels.

TERMS, CONCEPTS, NAMES

The New Left	Sandra Day O'Connor
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	Geraldine Ferraro
Port Huron Statement	The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
Free Speech Movement	<i>Roe v. Wade</i>
"Vietnam Moratorium"	<i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i>
Counterculture	Henry Kissinger
Martellus	"Vietnamization"
Operation Wetback	Cambodian Invasion
Cesar Chavez	"Sexual Revolution"
"Chicanos"	"Woodstock Nation"
<i>La raza unida</i>	<i>The Greening of America</i> by Charles Reich
Bilingualism	"Beatlemania"
"Melting pot"	"Termination"
"Multiculturalism"	Declaration of Indian Purpose
"Stonewall Riot"	American Indian Movement
New Feminism	(AMA)
<i>The Feminine Mystique</i> by Betty Friedman	Indian Civil Rights Act
National Organization of Women (NOW)	Wounded Knee
<i>Sexual Politics</i> by Kate Millet	"Pan-Indians"
	Ken State University
	Daniel Ellsberg
	The Pentagon Papers
	Spiro Agnew
	"Peace is at hand"
	"The Christmas bombing"
	Ho Chi Minh City
	"Multipolar"
	"Balance of power"
	The Nixon Doctrine
	"The Burger Court"
	George McGovern
	OPEC
	"Starvation"
	Committee to Re-elect the President (CRREP)
	"Cover-up"
	"What did the president know, and when did he know it?"
	"Executive privilege"
	Saturday Night Massacre
	"Smoking gun"

To prepare students for Guiding Question 5 on Vietnam, have them complete Grid 32.1:

Grid 32.1

Presidents	Objectives	Policies	Outcomes
John F. Kennedy			
Lyndon B. Johnson			
Richard M. Nixon			
Gerald Ford			

DEBATE AND CONTROVERSY

- Resolved:** The youth rebellion brought permanent, positive changes to America.
- Resolved:** The Vietnam War was lost on the college campuses of America.
- Resolved:** The "Melting Pot" idea is no longer relevant.