Global Power and Violence: Vietnam

"The myth of the good empire"

I. US Empire

A. prior to WWII the globe had been organized in a

system of oppression, exploitation, and violence

called colonialism

1. 75% of the globe was under the domination of

western Europe and the U.s.

a. resources, labor, markets

b. force to genocide

2. During WWII European countries were unable

to maintain their dominance

B. Allies had signed the Atlantic Charter during WWII guaranteeing self determination

1. goal: former colonies would side with allies during

the war

2. It was a lie, US had already promised the French that

it could have its colonies in Indochina back

3. This promise to the French marked the extended

involvement of the US in Vietnam

4. this marked the beginning of what is called neo- colonialism or economic imperialism

II. Neo-colonialism

A. Goal: organize the Third world for continued exploitation but now through economic means

1. Foreign Aid

a. Truman Doctrine

b. Marshall Plan

2. global financial institutions IMF and World Bank

a. were controlled by US

b. would control "development"

3. propaganda "modernization" theory

B. Third World would play service role

1. natural resources, cheap labor, markets, investments

2. US and global financial institutios would aid those

governments and elites that were going to guaratee

the above.

C. Grand Area - each area had a role

1. Latin America and Middle East to US

a. England had controlled ME after WWI

b. created the countries out of Ottoman Empire

c. England conceded to US and US oil companies

2. Africa to rebuild Europe

3. Asia to rebuild Japan and for vital minerals for

First world

D. Imperial challenges

1. Wars of national liberation

a. countries wanting to determine their own

course - self-determination

b. conflict between former colonial power and

colony seeking independence

c. conflicts within countries between different

factions

2. US defined these as Communist aggression

a. Definition of communism for public consumption

1. global conspiracy to conquer world

2. totalitarian

i. thought

ii. behavior

b. domino theory

3. realpolitik terms I

a. govs that are responsive to popular pressures

for immediate improvement in the low living

standards of the masses

b. development resources for domestic needs

(NSC 5432/1) "These tendencies conflict with the demand for a "political and economic climate conducive to private investment and protection of *our* raw materials.

c. Rotten Apples

i. threat to Grand Area and US empire was any country that pursued an independent path

ii. bad example or rotten apples

iii. US would use economic, political, and military power to undermine or destabilize govs

\* Mossadegh regime in Iran

\* Guatemala

\* Greece

4. Real Politik II

a. Our attempt to control other countries reach a "wall" in Vietnam

b.

IV. Vietnam

A. Second most divisive time in American history next to the

Civil War

1. 1969 one day 2 million people took to the streets

throughout the country to protest

2. draft card burnings, turn-ins

3. draft evasions by 1969 almost 34,000 delinquent

a. underground

b. Canada

4. invasion of draft offices and the burning and destruction of records

5. protests at University

a. occupation of buildings

b. Dow Chemical recruiting

c. ROTC

d. Students shot by national guard May 4,1970

6. GIs

a. Vietnam Veterans Against the WAr

b. fragging

c. Search and Avoid

d. base anti-war newspapers and coffee houses

7. Body counts and blood on TV

a. Combat

b. nightly body count

B. propaganda

1. Armed troops from a communist country have

invaded the tiny republic of S. V.

2. S.V. has chosen the path of democracy

3. If the U.S. lets this happen then communism will

move unchecked through SE Asia to Australia-

the domino theory

a. communism is totalitarian

b. bent on world conquest

c. against our way of life - the evil empire

4. Our role as world moral leader means we have moral

obligation to defend democracy

5. Gulf of Tonkin, they provoked us into war by,

attacking an American destroyer in international

waters

B. then there was reality - US as evil empire

1. Pentagon Papers

a. Daniel Elsberg

b. Nixon's plumbers

2. 1953 Congressional study: wealth in rice, rubber,

coal, and iron

3. strategically located for military access to Asia

and other wealth there Indonesia

4. rotten apple, wanted to pursue a course of independence, didn't want to play their service role

V. U S involvement -- Pentagon Papers -- US own history

A. Atlantic Charter 1941, assurances to the French,

in Pentagon Papers "Top Secret - Sensitive"

Roosevelt's representative to French " It is thoroughly understood that French sovereignty will be re-established as soon as possible throughout all the territory, metropolitan or colonial, over which flew the French flag in 1939."

B. Ho Chi Minh the nationalist leader of Vietnam

1. US ally in WWII - Vietminh

2. Declaration of Independence based on US and French

3. Eight letters to the French listing the grievances and

asking to be recognized

a. injustice

b. massive starvation

4. US ignored Hos request for recognition, literally

C. US support of French

1. persuaded Chang Kai Shek in North and British

to turn over Vietnam to French

2. 1946 French bombed Haiphong in attempt to retake

Vietnam

3. eight year war against the French for independence

4. French lost and by the end of the war US was

paying 80% of cost of war, inclu 300,000 weapons

5. 1954 during battle of Dienbenphu

a. French trapped

b. US offers two atomic bombs to French, the offer

is rejected

c. US considers using atomic weapons itself seeks

support from British - no

D. Geneva Peace Accords

1. Temporary settlement of the Vietnam into North and

South in 1954

a. no south and north vietnam until 54

2. all parties agree on National elections to reunify in 1956

3. US realizes that Ho would win

a. Joint chiefs of staff,

b. Ho would win election, imperial powers would lose Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand

4. US decides on policy to undermine peace accords

a. set up puppet government

i. US put Diem a catholic from New Jersey in charge of a Buddhist country

ii. no popular support

iii. only support from U.S. and the colonial elite

b. Pentagon Papers: "South Vietnam was essentially a construction of the United States."

5. Diem

a. oppression of peasants economically maintaining colonial land distributionand

b. repression of dissent through military with US

support

6. increasing popular resistance in the south

7. 1958 guerilla activity started, and in 1960 the

National Liberation Front was organized

a. mass based political-social organization in over

2500 villages

b. Pentagon Papers 1962: Only the Viet Cong had

any wide based popular support

8. 1959 US advisors who organized and directed

violence towards SV peasants, limit 685

9. 1961 Kennedy picked up also okaying covert operations in the North, upped "advisors" to 16,000

which violated Peace Accords

E. Pacification

1. US military strategy to defeat the Viet Cong

2. 1961-62 US began bombing, napalming, and defoliating

with Agent Orange (cancer causing agent - dioxin)

3. Goal:

a. destroy villages

b. force peasants to relocation camps aka "concentration camps"

c. deny Viet Cong of their popular support

F. Resistance to Diem and Pacification

1. Buddhist monks protesting in Hue 1963

2. Buddhist monks immolating themselves

3. increased resistance from Viet Cong and aid from

north

G. Amazing- David attacks Goliath - Gulf of Tonkin

August of 1964

1. torpedo boats unprovoked attack

2. PP it was a lie, no attack, not international waters

a. destroyer was in Vietnamese territorial waters

b. spy mission

3. US Congress okays full-scale war against whom?

4. Gulf of Tonkin gave president power to wage war

a. without declaration of war,

b. Supreme court was supremely silent

F. US invasion - "Hearts and Minds"

1. US began saturation bombing of NV

2. troop build up 1965 200,000, by 1968 there were 550,000

3. massive bombing of SV began,

a. 7,000,000 tons left

b. 20 million bomb craters

c. more than 2x the number of bombs dropped in

WWII (Europe and Asia)

d. one 500lb for every person in south where

e. 90% of the bombs were dropped on SV

f. reparations $87 per rubber tree and $34 per

civilian

4. Agent Orange and chemical warfare

a. 20 million gallons of herbicide incl11.2 million gallons of Agent Orange a defoliate meant to

i. destroy jungle as cover

ii. and rice fields as food

b. In Vietnam 400,000 deaths and 500,000 birth defects

c. also cancers, immune-deficiency diseases

d. dioxin still in environment - fish, plants, animals,

e. produced, sold, and profited - Dow Chemical

f. sprayed it on our own men

il. 20,000 awarde $180 million in class action

ii. 6000 compensation from government

g. "The largest contamination of dioxin in the world . . ."

5. Free fire zones -- anyone in the area were considered

enemies

a. notify villagers in advance by loudspeaker

from helicopter or leaflets

b. no warning if troops had received fire

c. once civilians move out 'free fire zone'

d. rule ineffective, ignored, civilians didn't understand

e. refugge camps full, no more refugees, but

continue search and destroy

6. Search and destroy -- villages that were suspected of

sympathy were destroyed, people killed, including womenand children --

a. "Kill them all and let God sort them out."

7. My Lai 4, in Quang Nai Province, Operation County Fair

a. killed 450 to 500 mostly women, children, and aged, raped and sodomized

b. cover up - truth / every unit of brigade size

has its My Lai

c. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Sen John Kerry re: war crimes

d. Kerry plus 150 honorably discharched and

highly decorated

e. American troops: 'raped, cut off ears, cut off heads, taped wires to genitals, cut off limbs, blown

up bodies, randomly shot civilians,razed villages

like Germans in Russia, shot cattle, livestock, dogs

for fun, poisoned food stocks,

f. MLK: We have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village.

We have destroyed their land and their crops . . .

We have corrupted their wome and children and

killed their men."

8. Operation Phoenix 25,000 civilians were executed by

CIA without trial and 40,000 to concentration camps

a. Pro-administration analyst, we undoubtedly killed many innocent civilians

b. one village several hundred names, killed several

hundred but no one on the list

9. American Red Cross found systematic brutality in prisoner camps with Us soldiers participating in the brutality

L. This doesn't look good, I have a better idea

1.Viet Cong in congressional report 1967, they are redistrubuting land to peasants -- hearts and minds

2. McNaughton: "There may be a limit beyond which many Americans and much of the world will not permit the US to go. the picture of the world's greatest superpowe killing or seriously injuring 1000 non-combataants a week, while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission , on an issure whose merits are hotly disputed, is not a pretty one. It could conceivably produce a costly distortion in the American national consciousness.

3. A Great Idea - John McNaughton - flood the rice fields

cause massive starvation and then provide relief,

Asst Sec of Defense

M. And this is all on TV

1. journalists with tv camerman in the fighting

a. soldiers killed over 50,000 and 200,000 +

injured

b.body bags

c. US soldiers burning villages and food

d. naplamed children

e. My Lai

f. Saigon police chief shooting unarmed bound

civilian in the head

N. Nixon and Vietnamization

1. already illegally bombed Laos - 75,000 tons of bombs 1964-68, basically destroyed the Plain of Jars and its society

2. Nixon elected to withdraw with honor

3. Vietnamization

a. war over to Sv and leave, only ground war

b. then in 1970 US invaded Cambodia and secret

massive bombing from congress and people

c. 1971 massive bombing of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam 800,000 tons of bombs

O. End

1. 1973 one last attempt at massive bombing of

NV civilian targets

2. 1975 Vietnamese forces take over country

3. LBJ: "I wanted to leave the footprints of America there."

4. maximum bleeding

a. 2-3 million killed

b. destroyed environment

c. destroyed villages and agricultural infrastructure

d. "no water buffalo"

5. Carter: no reparations, the destruction was mutual

I. Vietnam and Iraq II

A. Vietnam

1. Gov: concealed are involvement with and support of

French colonialism

2. Gov: lied about the real reason for post-colonial involvement with Vietnam

3. Gov: lied about provocation for going to war

4. US set up “puppet government” and claimed that it

represented the people

5. Gov: lied about resistance to our liberation was external, North Vietnamese

6. Gov: concealed the nature of military operations and the consequences for US soldiers and Vietnamese civilians

7. Gov: attempted to conceal the use of napalm and cancer causing

B. Iraq

1. Gov: concealed the extent of our previous involvement with Saddam Hussein

2. Gov: lied about real reason for involvement

a. Cheney Energy Report

b.

3. Gov: lied about provocation

4. US set up:

a. puppet government

b. rewrote Iraqi banking and finance laws

c. opened Iraq to privatization

5. Gov: lying about resistance

a. soldiers there refer to it as guerilla war

b. 17-50 attacks a day

c. Pentagon: “The Battle of Algiers”

6. Gov: concealed

V. Popular Resistance

A. Brutality and violence of the war seen on TV every

night

B. by 1968 40,000 Americans, perhaps 1 million SE Asians

C. Resistance in the civil rights movement

1. 1965 in Miss, why fight for the people that are

oppressing us, protest march, sign "in memory of the

burned children of Vietnam

2. SNCC US is pursuing a policy of aggression in violation

of international law

3. SNCC invaded an induction center in Atlanta

D. Resistance spread to others

1. draft card burnings and turn ins, evasions

2. by 1969 33,960 delinquent

3. Norman Morrison burned himself at Pentagon

4. Rally in 1969 2 million people nationwide protest

5. mass rallies in Washington after 1970 of hundreds

of thousands

6. Washington 1971 massive civil disobedience, fourteen

thousand arrested, largest mass arrest

7. Fr. Philip Berrigan and Daniel Berrigan raided draft

offices, destroyed records, sentenced to long prison terms

8. judges dismissing or informing the jury of the right

to vote your conscience or jury nullification

9. small or no sentences - Camden 28

10. protests at university's

a. military research

b. Dow chemical recruiting

c. ROTC

11. GIs

a. search and avoid

b. refusal to fight

c. AWOL

d. fragging

e. black arm bands on moratorium day

f. peace symbols on uniforms

g. base anti-war newspapers

h. off base anti-war coffee shops

E. Kent State - killing students - may 4, 1970

1. National Guardsman fired into student demonstrators,

students at 400 colleges went on strike as protest

2. 1969-70 1785 student demonstrations including 313

buildings occupied

3. protests against ROTC caused the ,canceling of many of

those programs, supplied half the officers could not

fill quoata

F. Who resisted?

1. people of lower socio-economic status and low

education levels

2. higher status, newspaper readers, the young supported

3. polls consistently underestmated resistance

VI. Social movements and social change

A. ended war

1. Nixon's memoirs -- yes change his plans for even

more massive bombing. 2 - 3 million killed

2. limits on manpower and will

B. legitimation crisis

1. institutions abused their power, used force, deception,

for questionable ends

2. no confidence in government, military, big business

3. no interventions, no arms sales to dictators

C. Social movements

1. environmental movement

a. EPA

b. Clean Air and Water Acts

c. Earth DAy

2. women's rights movement

3. Workers health and safety - OSHA

4. AIM and Chicano movement

D. Reaction of powerful

1. don't show reality of war on TV

2. conceal from people that the poor and minority's fight the wars

a. blacks disporportionate in front line

b. wealthy education or medical deferrment

c. number of Ivy Leaguers killed in war

i. by 1970 2 killed from Harvard, Princeton,

and Yale

ii. more were killed from my high school

graduating class

3. High School history text books

a. war broke out

b. one book 2 sentences on why Vietnam and 4 pages on why War of 1812

4. global and foreign policy

a. reorganize global power arrangements

i. Tri-lateral commission

ii. Gatt and the WTO

b. continue intervention to support US empires

interests but lower key

i. arm and train

ii. supply weapons

iii. proxy forces or covert

\*Indonesia

\*Chile

\*Nicaragua or Guatemala

iv. paramilitary

5. domestically

a. disempower worker

1. globalization

2. downsizing

3. automation

b. more money to military-industrial complex

c. deregulation

1.monopolies

2. disempower regulatory agencies

d. de-politicize the university

6. culture wars

a. anti-affirmative action

b. anti-gay

c. anti-women

d. label movements for social justice guarateed in

D of I as "political correctness"

e. attack universities as breeding grounds for

"political correctness"

Resistance to the 50s: Protest of the 60s

I. 60s as a reaction to the contradictions, hypocrisy, and conformity of the 50s

A. Sumarrizing the 50s

1. Why we look at it

a. frequently put forth as mode, the way we should

be

b. nostalgia trap / the way we never were

c. 50s reshaped our society, institutions, values

norms which we have inherited

2. Institutions

a. new power arrangements

i. large corporations - military - government

ii. power of mass media to

- shape dreams and desires through

advertising

- shape political discourse through

advertising

b. roles and statuses

i. foundation class society on racial and

gender grounds

ii. new and narrow social roles for men

and women

3. new values and norms and ideas

a. American dream is norm - prescription for normal behavior

b. materialism and concumption became way

of life

c. unthinking acceptance of American ideology-

freedom, equality

d. effeciency, speed, standardization

B. Contradictions in several ways - not just that we didn't live up to our values, system is contradictory

1. inequality -- segregation

2. we are the good guys -- Vietnam

3. conformity women -- feminism

4. conformity to material values vs life values - hippies

B. Berkeley in the 60s- students

1. a privileged sector of society became aware of

social injustice

2. joined with civil rights groups to protest discrimination

3. on campus organization advocate civil disobedience

4. Goal: educate students, force Americans to

live up to their ideals

B. University

1. disenfranchise graduate students

2. get off campus

3. define situation: protests hackneyed, small group

C. Students

1. large popular protests as students see themselves as

victims of power structure

- think what we want you to think

2. free speech is guaranteed in the Constitution

3. institution is politicized already

- govt research for corps, weapons of mass destruction

- corporate model - students as raw material

D. University

1. stop this nonsense we will negotiate - time

2. punish the first eight people

E. Students

1. occupy Sprawl Hall and force mass arrests

2. Faculty votes to support students

I. Civil Rights Movement (1954-68)

A. Power structure

1. political

a. 15th amendment 1870

b. methods

i. poll tax

ii. literacy test

iii. grandfather clause

iv. exclusionary primaries

v. voter registration

2. segregation of public and private space and facilities

a. public space

i. parks

ii. swimming pools

iii. restrooms and water fountains

b. public facilities

i. libraries,

ii. schools,

iii. hospitals

iv. Churches

c. private businesses

i. lunch counters

ii. stores

iii. theaters

iv. hotels

3. segregation of economic sphere/work

a. blacks in low wage sector

b. "whites only" in classified

4. segregation in housing

a. all white and all black areas

b. redlining

5. low status behavior

C. Enforcement

1. law of the nation

2. state and local laws

3. municipal ordinances

4. police and legal/judicial authorities

5. Violence

a. police

b. ritual of lynching

c. "sundown towns"

d. white riots Tulsa

D. Lack of justice

1. 1870-1965 the government ignored the fact of

political disenfranchisement

a. no president

b. no Congress

c. no Supreme Court

2. Lynching was not a crime

3. Woodrow Wilson

4. Warren G. Harding

5. Truman's Civil Rights Commission

II. Movement

A. 1954 Supreme Court Brown vs Board of Education

1. strikes down Plessy

a. "separate but equal" is "unequal"

b. "all delibeate speed"

2. How?

a. May 1955

b. "prompt and reasonable compliance"

c. excluded segregated suburbs

2. "souther manifesto" 101 congressmen 1956

3. White Citizens Councils to fight for de jure segregation in south

4. 1957-60 only 49 schools attempted integration

B. 1955 Rosa Parks and Montgomery Bus Boycott

1. Boycotters walked to work

a. early limited demands

i. courtesy

ii. black drivers in black neighborhoods

iii. easing of segregation but not end

b. later full integration

2. Govt unsympathetic:

a. injunction

b. boycott/injunction

3. federal government - absent

a. civil rights movement threatened democratic

party

b. afraid to lose Southern Democrats or Dixiecrats

4. Nov 1956 won US supreme court and integrated

5. External pressure

a. cold war

b. winning the hearts and minds of Third World

C. 1957 desegregate Central High School in Little Rock, Ark

1. harass one lonely girl, Ike force to bring in paratroopers

2. Faubus closed schools for rest of year

3. power of television

4. US Constitution

D. Sit- ins at segregated lunch counters

1. 4 students in 1960 at Greensboro, NC

2. harassed by whites, verbal and physical abuse

3. by end of year 70,000

E. Emergence of civil rights groups with broad popular base

1. CORE, SNCC, SCLC: social injustice of segregation

2. method: non-violent civil disobedience or direct action

a. if laws and policies and institutions reflect social

injustice all have moral obligation to change them

b. direct action: force a confrontation to make injustice visible

i. mass violation of laws and codes

ii. boycotts, demonstrations, marches

iii. mass voter registrations

iv. freedom rides

c. to show it is so important one is willing to go to

jail

d. disrupt the system so that it has difficult functioning

e. goal:

i. win over population

ii. win over enemy who is victim of system

that dehumanizes

iii. establish just order

E. Freedom Rides- CORE

1. make sure govt was upholding integration laws

on interstate travel

2. Black and white college students required whites

to ride Alabama 1961

F. Voter registration

1. extremely dangerous

2. threats and intimidation and violence

3. long lines, no food or water

4. Selma to Montgomery - Bloody Sunday 1965

5. Freedom Summer 1964 -Mississippi Burning

a. James Chaney

b. Andrew Goodman

c. Michael Schwerner

d. beaten by police and KKK

e. FBI

G. Marches, demonstrations, picketing

a. March on Washington

b. Birmingham

H. how did US leaders and institutions respond to a social

Movement for equality

1. mass arrests

2. violence: police dogs and water hoses

1. Ike and Kennedy, resisted helping

2. COINTELPRO

a. target King

b. help KKK

III. Success:? Johnson and the Great Society

A. Civil Rights Act of 1964,

1. Based on Congresses power to regulate commerce

2. equal access to restaurants, bars, theaters, hotels,

gasoline stations, and similar establishments serving the

public

3. bars discrimination in the hiring, promotion and wages of employees of medium size and large firms

a. no "whites only" adds

b. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

4. excludes

a. owner operator of small business

b. religious school can take into account religion of

teacher

B. Civil Rights Act of 1968

1. prohibits discrimination in housing because of race,

religion, ethnicity, or sex (covers 3/4)

2. outlaws redlining and blockbusting

3. increased penalties for those depriving people of their

civil rights esp by violience ( but)

a. excluded law enforcement, national guard, or

Armed Services who are suppressing

b. riot or civil disturbance

4. included a section

a. 5 years in prison for anyone crossing state

line to incite riot (def: violence of 3 or more)

b. first prosecuted SNCC H. Rap Brown for speech

c. later the Chicago 8

C.Voting Rights Act of 1965

1. Forbids discrimination in voting and registration.

2. federal agents to register voter

3. oversee participation in elections

4. eliminated literacy tests

5. In Miss 1965-70 up 900%

6. Act needs to be renewed, 1970,1975,1982 until 2002

a. requires state and localities to clear with federal

officials any change that would reduce voting

power of minority group

b. congressional districts are redrawn can be

challenged if they are redrawn to keep blacks

and Hispanics from having a majority

IV. Movement goes north

A. Eeconomic rights

"what good does it do to be able to sit at a lunch counter if a person can't afford a hamburger."

B. The urban ghetto

1. Blacks were making 55% of whites, and

2. 20% unemployment

3. businesses and jobs were fleeing to the suburbs

4. the urban ghetto was becoming more impoverished

a. fewer social resources

b. fewer life chances

C. massive riots in norther cities in the late 60s

1. Watts, Newark, Chicago, Detroit, Hartford

2. eight major uprisings, 33 serious, 123 minor,

83 died almost all black

3. 45 deaths in Detroit, 44 by police

3. violence against property

a. slum lords

b. price gouging merchants

D. National Advisory Committee on Urban Disorders

1. causes "white racism"

a. police violence against blacks

b. de facto segregation

i. steering

ii. redlining

iii. schools

2. conditions of the urban ghetto

"Pervasive discrimination and segregation in employment, education, and housing . . .growing concentrations of impoversished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs . . ."

E. War on Poverty

1. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

a. education and train the poor

b. Job corps, community action programs, Work

Experience, and Head Start

2. Welfare and Medi-caid

3. never really financed

4. financial support to Vietnam War

V. Transformation of social movement

A. Society is organized violence, depriving people of the

necessities of life because of color is violence

B. Black Power as ideology

1. Huxley, "Rights are taken not given"

2. Independence, no paternalism

3. in some cases separation

4. violence can be justified

C. Black Panthers : “Power to the People”

1. exercised the right to bear arms guaranteed in

Constitution

2. followed police to make sure they didn't violate

rights of blacks

3. Weapons in homes and BP office

3. programs for feeding poor FBI memo “nefarious”

4. demonized in press

5. Panthers and supporters targeted by police and

FBI

a. manufactured evidence

b. false testimony

c. infiltration

F. FBI

1. Ignored pleas to defend the constitutional rights of

blacks and prevent violence

2. however, 1956-71 COINTELPRO massive counterintelligence

a. harrassing and breaking up militant black

groups,

b. 295 actions against black groups 1956-1971

3. Senate report in 1976 FBI tried to destroy MLK

a. treated him like an enemy agent

4. Dec 4, 1969 FBI killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark

as they slept

G. NY Times 1978

1. Places which experience urban riots have changed

very little by late 1970s

2. wages were still 60%, disease, hunger, poor health and

health care, inadequate schools

Feminist Movement of the Sixties

I. Women in Colonial America

A. Women were second class

1. made up most of indenture servants

B. In marriage no separate identity

1. no rights

2. no legal identity

3. property and couldn't own property

4. couldn't vote or sit on jury

5. in marriage expected to produce child after

child for labor

6. could be beaten

"I look upon my family as a patriarchal sovereingty of which I am myself both king and priest."

B. Early America

1. In 1776 Abigail Adams wrote to John at the Second

Continental Congress

"If particualr care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we hav no voice or representation.

2. Same as colonial period

C. Early Resistance

1. Mary Wollstonecraft A Vindication of the Rights of

Women

2. Women's Rights Convention 1848 emerged out of

anti-slavery movement in which women were in

forefront

a. "A Declaration of Women's Rights"

b. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, Sojourner Truth, Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony

c. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all

men and women are created equal; tha they are

endowed with certain inalienable rights . . ."

d. facts of "tyranny"

i. no vote

ii. no voice in laws

iii. no legal rights of married women

iv. no rights to property

v. job segregation and wage discrimmination

vi. excluded from institutions

vii. Church

viii. moral double standard

ix. self-respect

D. Early enfranchisement

1. New Jersey

2. Wyoming

E. Nineteenth Amenment 1920

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex

1. does the vote change anything

2. 1920s Middletown study, men spoke of women

a. women as emotional, impractical, unstable,

hurt easily

b. can't face facts and incapable of hard thinking

3. 1930s "beauty"

a. twelve hot oil treatments

b. 52 facials

c. 26 eyebrow plucks

II. Feminism had its earliest spokesperson in the 50s

A. Betty Friedan and her book The Feminine Mystique

B. Friedan

1. housewife, mother, and happy homemaker

2. wrote really posivite articles about how great

the life of the women of the fifties was

3. She wrote for those same magazines Redbook,

Ladies Home Journal, Cosmo, that were defining

the social roles for women

4. wanted to do an article on female artist

a. can only do it if it is centered around her

accepted social role

b. can't define her master status as artist, her

central role

B. The Feminine Mystique

1. she went to reunion at Smith College

2. talked to other alumni

3. many felt sense of entrapment, social roles and

expectations to narrow

4. many didn't mind being mothers, but wanted to be

more

5. put together an article project and submitted it

6. no one would accept, "only a neurotic woman would

identify with this"

7. finally sold and became an instant best seller "mystique"

a. spoke of women living as a function of husband,

children

b. giving up own dreams

8. also by end of 50s all magazines referring to women

as entraped - Redbook 60,000 replies

C. This reveals deep dissatisfaction of women with social roles,

norms, expectations

D. Feminism emerged in the 60s along with civil rights movement and the anti-war movment

1.leaders of feminist movement from civil rights

movement

a. no leadership roles

b. office work and 1964 Freedom House, cook and

make beds while men organized

c. Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruby Doris Smith, Ella Baker

2. mass media portrayed feminists crazed lesbians

burning their bras

3. many women who share goals of feminism won't

identify with it because of its image

E. Issues

1. housework is not considered work in capitalist system

2. job segregation in subordinate jobs

a. pink collar - looks

b. nurses rather than doctors

3. scientific management

4. the problem of children not considered by employers,

take care of it yourself and don't let it interfere with

typing

5. abortion became central issue

a. one million a year, ten thousand legal

b. a third mostly poor hospitalized, thousands died

6. rape and violenece

7. women's possibilities limited by body

a. young a sexual object

b. bearer of children

c. middle age no longer attractive

d. older women ignored

F. Resistance

1. 1968 Torchlight march to Arlington to bury

traditional womenhood

2. 1968 Radical Women protest Miss America

and the Freedom Trash Can

3. Community organization

a. Atlanta Vine City

b. thrift shop, nursery, clinic, family suppers

4. National Domestic Workers Union 1968

5. Women's tennis

6. magazines Ms. and newspapers Off Our Backs

7. 1973 Roe v Wade

8. welfare rights, child care centers

9. Susan Brownmiller Against Our Will

F. Changes

1. Laws against discrimmination

a. federal hiring

b. govt supported educational programs

2. women included under jurisdiction of Equal Opportunity Employment Act

3. Roe v Wade 1973

4. Affirmative Action

5. Welfare Rights

G. Not one feminism but several, liberal feminism, marxist

feminism, socialist feminism, radical feminism

1. liberal feminism

a. accept basic social arrangements but

b. equality of opportunity for women

i. equal pay

ii. non-discrimmination in hiring

iii. non-discrimmination in promotion

c. consideration for childbearing

i. shouldn't lose their job

ii. be deprived of opportunity

d. sexual harrassment, demeaning treatment

2. three others have several themes in common

a. inequality goes much deeper in society than

just inequality of opportunity in the work

place

b. women are a second sex in all social arrangements and most cultural ideologies

c. violence toward women, abuse, sexual assault,

and rape are forms of social control

d. society is patriarchal throughout all of its

institutions, roles, values, norms, ideas

I. Social Movements

A. Def: Movement for social change

1. ideology around which they are

organized, i. e. social justice

2. directed at:

a. institutions

b. policies

c. social order or status quo

3. popular or "grassroots"

a. large number

b. purposeful

c. organized

d. not just collective action

e. driven from the Bottom up, by "the people"

B. 1960s

1. Wide range of social movements

a. civil rights e. AIM

b. anti-war f. Feminism

c. New Left g. Gay Rights

d. UFW h. Environment

e. AIM i. Welfare Rights

f. Feminism j. Consumer Rights

g. Gay Rights k. Occupational Health

h. Environment and Safety

2. Reaction to hypocrisy and contradictions of 50s

a. segregation

b. poverty

c. June Cleaver role

d. treatment of NA and Farm Workers

e. abuse of environment

f. Ford and GM

3. Powerful and the 60s

a. drugs and sex

b. amnesia about success of popular movements