I. Vietnam: War

A. Story: Invasion and Response

1. Communist North Vietnam invading tiny

democracy of South Vietnam

2. Example: domino principle

3. US needs to intervene

a. stop the spread of communism

b. moral obligation to defend democracy

c. self-defense

i. 1964 they attacked us

ii. Gulf of Tonkin

4. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

5. Conventional Wisdom

6. Media

a. “going well”

b. body counts

c. “five o’clock follies”

d. Tet

B. Reality: Pentagon Papers

1. Daniel Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers 1970

2. Real reasons:

a. economic: rice, rubber, coal, iron

b. strategic: location

i. access to Indonesian wealth

ii. contain China

c. political: “rotten apple”

C. American War: US intervention

1. Atlantic Charter vs promise to French

2. Ho Chi Minh

a. ally during WWII

b. Declaration of Independence

c. Letters to Truman

3. French-IndoChina War

a. US support re-colonization

b. 1946 French bomb Haiphong

c. 1953: American Economic Mission

d. 1954 US paying cost of war

e. US offer

f. French lose

4. Geneva Peace Accords

a. temporary partition

b. elections to unify in 1956

c. Article 14 and 16

5. US response: PP

a. Ho will win

b. Puppet government Diem

c. PP: “South Vietnam was essentially a

construction of the US”

d. w/o U.S. support

6. Diem and US misgovern

a. land back to colonists

b. political repression of dissent

c. force: US weapons and training

d. corruption

7. Popular social movement

a. Vietcong or NLF 1958

b. PP: 1962 “Only Vietcong had any wide based popular support.”

8. US reaction

a. advisors

b. covert operations

D. Intervention: Pacification (b ‘61-62)

1. strategy: attrition

2. tactics:

a. deny insurgents support (“terror”)

i. destroy villages and food supplies

ii. kill animals

iii. defoliate jungle

iv. peasants to “strategic hamlets”

b. kill: body count

i. bombing/shelling

ii. napalming

iii. agent orange

iv. search and destroy

v. identifying the enemy/killing civilians

E. Resistance to Pacification

1. Buddhist monks

2. popular protest

3. support from North Vietnam

F. Intervention: David attacks Goliath

1. Gulf of Tonkin

2. Resolution

G. US Invasion: Winning their Hearts and Minds

1. 1968 500,000 troops

2. Saturation bombing of NV and SV B52s

a. 7 million tons

b. 90% on SV

c. + 4x WWII

d. one for everyone

3. Agent Orange

a. 11.2 million gallons

b. sprayed on our own men

4. napalm

5. Free fire zones

6. Search and Destroy

a. My Lai 4

b. Tiger Force

7. Operation Phoenix

H. McNaughton: Hearts and Minds II

I. Nixon: Vietnamization

1. Cambodia

2. Laos

3. North Vietnam

J. Lost but Maximum bleeding

1. LBJ: footprint on Vietnam

2. 2-4 million Vietnamese dead, millions more

maimed or poisoned

3. communities destroyed

4. land poisoned and destroyed

5. US imposed economic sanctions on Vietnam

a. tariffs

b. no water buffalo

K. The lessons of war

1. Those in power will always lie, hiding the true reasons for war.

a. claim: good vs evil

b. not economic, not power

2. Fear: Be scared

3. The enemy is less than human

a. gooks, camel jockeys

b. irrational and capable of anything

c. don’t respect human life like we do

3. War is sanitized for domestic consumption

a. human tragedy not covered

i. civilian deaths

ii. destruction of families and communities

iii. destruction of environment

iv. long term consequences

b. buzzwords

i. ordinance

ii. targets of opportunity

iii. collateral damage

iv. regime change

v. humanitarian aid

vi. strategic hamlets

4. The end of democracy

a. Espionage act

b. Smith Act

c. USA Patriot Act

d. COINTELPRO

II. Anti-Vietnam War Movement

A. Popular

1. end the war

2. popular support

a. working class

b. students

c. minority

d. soldiers

e. 1969 Moratorium Day 2 million Americans

3. variety of groups

a. civil rights groups (SNCC, SCLC)

MLK “Beyond Vietnam”

b. student groups (Students for a Democratic Society)

c. Church groups

d. Veterans groups

4. Purposeful collective action

B. Goal: social change

1. Change US policy in Vietnam

2. End the war and bring the soldiers home

C. Ideology

1. U.S. waging an “Aggressive War”

2. U.S. waging “Total War”

a. Crimes against humanity:

b. War crimes: public trials of US leaders

2. US violated own values: self-determination,

freedom, the value of human life.

3. Violated conventional wisdom: benevolent nation

D. Strategy

1. Stop the machinery of war

2. Make violence of war public knowledge

E. Tactics

1. Draft resistance

a. burn or turn in draft cards

b. evasion ( by ’69 34,000 delinquent)

c. destroying draft records

d. blocking troop trains

e. blocking induction centers

f. underground railway

2. student protests

a. interrupt recruitment ROTC

b. interrupt DOW chemical recruiting

c. occupy buildings

c. Kent State May 4, 1970

3. GI protest

a. Search and Avoid

b. Fragging

c. Peace Symbols

d. base anti-war newspapers/coffee shops

4. Universities: teach-ins

5. Mass rallies, marches, demonstrations: 1968 Democratic convention

6. Judges dismissing and juries voting their conscience

7. civil disobedience (1971 14,000 arrested in one day)

8. cultural protest: movies

a. MASH

b. anti-heroes vs violent society

F. Repression: COINTELPRO

a. “intent”: intelligence on communist agents

b. reality

i. infiltrate and disrupt social movements

ii. “dirty tricks”

iii. misuse criminal justice system

iv. violence

F. Success

1. Nixon: had to limit bombing

2. LBJ: left our footprint on Vietnam

G. Failure

1. Vietnam

a. millions killed

b. birth defects and cancers

c. largest dioxin contamination in the world

2. Cambodia

a. destabilization

b. Khmer Rouge

3. War Crimes

a. US leaders

b. My Lai, Tiger Force

4. Legitimation crisis

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.

I. Vietnam: overture

A. “The Story”: need to go to war

1. Armed troops from a communist country have

invaded the tiny republic of S. V.

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

move unchecked through SE Asia to Australia-

the domino theory

a. communism is monolithic

b totalitarian

c. bent on world conquest

d. against our way of life - the evil empire

3. moral imperative: US obligation to defend democracy

4. attacked us: N. Vietnam attacked our ship that was

in neutral waters minding its own business

B. Confirmed our conventional wisdom

1. communism was evil and threat

2. US was force for good in the world

C. Another story

1. Pentagon Papers published by NYTimes in summer 1971( available now)

a. Daniel Ellsberg

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

II. U S involvement

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 US listing their 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

6. US Covert intervention 1953

a. “Third Force”

b. Undermine communism

D. Geneva Peace Accords

1. Temporary settlement of the Vietnam into North and

South in 1954

a. divide country at 17 parallel

b.

2. All parties agree

a. National elections to reunify in 1956 (Art 14)

b. No new troops (Article 16)

c. No new bases (Article 18)

3. US realizes that Ho would win

a. Joint chiefs of staff, US Congressman

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

4. US decides on policy to undermine Peace Accords

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

b. set up puppet government in 1954

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

5. Diem

a. oppression of peasants economically

b. maintaining colonial land distribution , actually

reversed land reform returned 1,500,000 acres to

French land owners

c. repression of dissent through military with US

support: 60,000 political prisoners

d. cancelled the elections

E. Resistance

1. 1958 guerilla activity started

2.in 1960 the National Liberation Front was organized,

or Viet Cong

a. mass based political-social organization in over

2500 villages

b. Pentagon Papers 1962: Only the Viet Cong had

any wide based popular support

3. 1959 US advisors who organized and directed

violence towards SV peasants, limit 685

4. 1961 Kennedy picked up also okaying covert operations in the North, upped "advisors" to 16,000

which violated Peace Accords

5. Bright Shining Lie

III. The American War

A. Pacification (early 60s)

1. US military strategy to defeat the Viet Cong: two part

a. Gen. Greene: kill them

i. not battles, but attrition

ii. body count becomes all important

iii. if they are dead they are VC

iv. RW: ‘someone counted the arms and legs

and divided by four’

b. deny them support

c. BSL: “Terrorize the peasants out of supporting

the Viet Cong”

d. RW: “After dark, they are Viet Cong.”

2. Method:

a. rules of engagement: shoot anyone that runs

b. 1961-62 US began bombing, napalming, and defoliating with Agent Orange (cancer causing agent - dioxin)

3. Goal:

a. destroy villages

b. destroy crops and animals

c. destroy jungle cover

d. force peasants to relocation camps aka "concentration camps" “strategic hamlets”

e. Colin Powell: this is what we did, films of it

“Hearts and Minds”

4. “Unintended consequences”: “Bright Shining Lie”

a. Vann: “the bombing kills many many more civilians than it ever does VC and as a result makes new VC” (111BSl)

b. Porter: “it was not a question of killing some

noncombatants, it was a question of killing

mostly noncombatants.”

B. 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

C. Losing but . . . 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

c. covert operation to infiltrate the North

3. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

a. gave president power to wage war

b. without declaration of war,

c. Supreme Court was supremely silent

D. "Hearts and Minds"

1. US increased bombing of SV

2. US began saturation bombing of NV

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

3. massive bombing of SV began,

a. 7,000,000 tons (90% in South)

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. napalm

a. jellied gasoline

b. Fallbrook

5. Agent Orange and Operation Ranch Hand

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

i. destroy jungle as cover

ii. and poison rise criops

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

i. 270,000 exposed (cancers: Hodgkins disease, prostate, resiratory)

ii. 20,000 awarded $180 million in class action

iii. 6000 compensation from government

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

5. Free fire zones -- anyone or anything 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. refugee 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 women and children --

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

b. one area: 167 villages 130 destroyed

c. Bob Kerry

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: Oran Henderson Colin Powell

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

d. Kerry plus 150 honorably discharged and

highly decorated

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

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 women 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

E. 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 superpower killing or seriously injuring 1000 non-combatants a week, while trying to pound a tiny backward nation into submission , on an issue 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

F. 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. napalmed children

e. My Lai

f. Saigon police chief shooting unarmed bound

civilian in the head

2. Michael Herr “Dispatches”

3. Neil Sheehan “Bright Shining Lie”

4. David Halberstam “The Best and the Brightest”

G. Tet 1968

H. 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

d. Operation Duck Hook

I. Maximum bleeding

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

IV. Anti-war movement

A. 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

4. SCLC

B. SDS (Students for Democratic Society)

C. 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

I. Free Speech Movement

A. Situation

1. Students at Berkeley became active in the Civil

Rights Movement

2. Hundreds joined local civil rights groups in a direct

action

a. targeted the discriminatory hiring practices

of the local hotel industry

b. types of actions:

i. boycott

ii. sit-in at Sheraton Palace

3. Successful: ended hiring practices

4. Student organizations began advocating more

direct actions

5. Business community pressured university to limit

student activity

6. University banned all political groups from their traditional place on campus

7. Real goal: those advocating civil disobedience

8. Large number of students and wide range of groups felt that this was a violation of right to free speech

B. Student response/ University response

1. stay on campus/suspend leaders

2. mass protest/ agree to negotiate

3. negotiate/don’t negotiate in good faith, tougher rules, punish those first arrested

4. mass protest of administration building/mass arrests

C. University

1. organizes campus meeting, no students allowed to speak

a. can’t have this behavior from these few students

b. arrest Savio for trying to speak, drag him away

2. Faculty Senate votes to support students

3. Students win

4. Savio: claims University is Fordism applied to education

a. don’t want you to think

b. University is already politicized

i. corporate research

ii. weapons of mass destruction

I. Civil Rights Movement (1954-68)

A. Directed at de jure segregation in south

1. legal and formal segregation

2. de facto segregation

B. de jure segregation

1. political disenfranchisement

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 land: Plessy vs Ferguson

2. state and local laws

3. municipal ordinances

4. 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

policitical 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 unsympatheti:

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

2. non-violenct civil disobedience or direct action

a. if laws and policies and institutions reflect social

injustice all have moral obligation to change them

b. 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

4. goal is not to take power, but to restore social justice

5. win over your enemy, who is also a victim of the

system which dehumanizes him

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. Selma to Montgomery - Bloody Sunday 1965

a. long lines for hours, come back next day

b. no food or water

3. 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

1. mass arrests and violence

a. Birgmingham 63

b. Albany, Georgia 61-62

2. leaders killed, King, Medgar Evers

H. how did US institutions respond

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 estabishments 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. never really financed

3. 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 - do it for ourselves

1. exercised the right to bear arms guaranteed in

California constitution

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

rights of blacks

3. programs for feeding poor

4. demonized in press

5. Panthers and supporters targeted by police and

FBI

D. preconditions

1. massive and increasing unemployment and poverty

2. police violence and harrassment, 90% of juveniles

arrested no charges

3. violence against property of slumlords, and price

gouging -symbols of authority against property

4. violence against persons, police and national guard

45 deaths in Detroit, 44 by police

5. National Advisory Committee on Urban Violence

concluded the causes were "pervasive discrimination,

and segregation in employment, education, and housing

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. 1960s: Social Change

1. Causes
   1. War: WWII
      1. Domestically
         1. ended depression
         2. economic boom
         3. heightened expecations
      2. Globally
         1. US superpower
         2. End of colonialism
   2. Technology: “The Pill”
   3. Deviance: drugs
   4. Social Movements

B. Social Movements 1960s

1. Definition

2. Examples

Civil Rights Movement Anti-Vietnam War Movement

Free Speech Movement Environmental Movement

Consumer Safety Movement American Indian Movement

United Farm Workers Welfare Rights Movement

Gay Rights Movement Feminist Movement

Occupational Safety and Health Free Speech Movement

2. Consequences

a. end of legal segregation

b. redefinition of family/women’s roles

c. new norms: sex, drugs

d. ? conventional wisdoms

e. ? consumerism and the environment

f. auto safety, worker, environmental regulations

g. legitimation crisis: “Crisis of Democracy”

h. repression: COINTELPRO

i. backlash social movement: right wing

populism

3. “Controlling History”

C. Social Movements: Anatomy

1. assumption: power/system

a. concentrated vs fluid

b. elitist vs democratic

c. no change within system

2. cause: directed at social injustice

a. instititutions

b. policies

c. social order or status quo

3. popular or "grassroots"

a. large number

b. purposeful

c. organized

4. ideology

5. strategy and

6. tactics

7. timing

a. weakness in power structure

b. reject conventional wisdoms that support injustice

c. belief: possibility of success

d. organizational structure