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# CHAPTER 29

# FROM CAMELOT TO

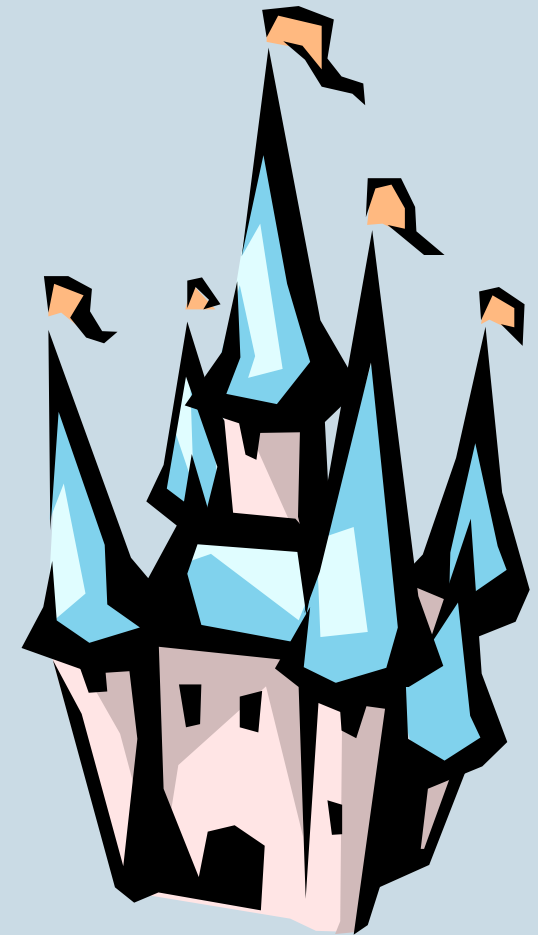
# WATERGATE

The American Nation:  
A History of the United States, 13th edition  
Carnes/Garraty

# KENNEDY IN CAMELOT

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- Kennedy had a youthful and scholarly senior staff
  - McGeorge Bundy, national security advisor and former dean of faculty at Harvard
  - Robert McNamara, secretary of defense and former head of Ford Motor Company
- Believed in physical activity and vigor
- Yet Kennedy was no intellectual nor was he in very good physical shape, suffering from Addison's disease and chronic back problems
- Kennedy nonetheless engaged in many extramarital affairs



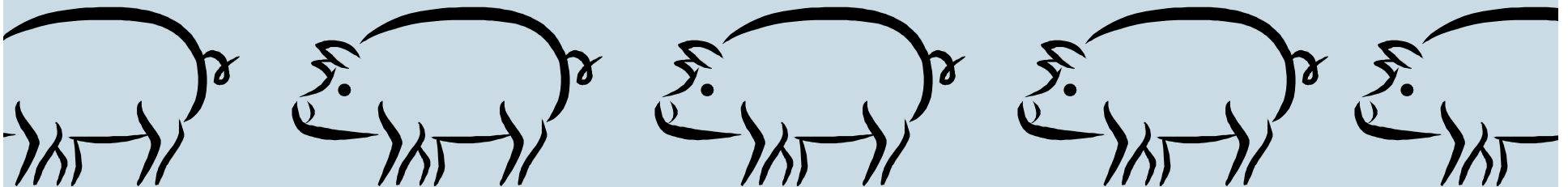
# THE CUBAN CRISIS

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- Kennedy proposed to challenge communist aggression wherever it occurred
  - Called on young men and women to serve in the Peace Corps, an organization created to mobilize American idealism and technical skills to help developing nations
- Under Eisenhower, the CIA had begun training some 2000 Cuban exiles in Nicaragua to retake Cuba
  - Kennedy inherited the invasion plan and his closest advisors urged him to go forward with it

# THE CUBAN CRISIS

- April 1961: some 1400 invaders landed at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast
  - Cuban people failed to flock to their support
  - Castro's army pinned down the invaders and forced them to surrender
  - American involvement was apparent
  - Kennedy looked impulsive and unprincipled
  - Castro tightened his connections with the U.S.S.R.



# THE CUBAN CRISIS

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- June 1961: Kennedy met with Khrushchev in Vienna
  - Khrushchev threatened to seize West Berlin
- August 1961: Khrushchev closed the border between East and West Berlin and erected a wall of concrete blocks and barbed wire across the city to stop the flow of East Germans to the West
  - Soviets also resumed nuclear testing
- Kennedy announced plans to build thousands of nuclear missiles (Minutemen) capable of hitting targets on the other side of the world
  - Expanded the American space program, stating Americans would land on the moon in ten years
  - Called on Congress to increase military spending

# THE CUBAN CRISIS

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- Kennedy ordered military leaders to plan for a full-scale invasion of Cuba
  - CIA undertook “Operation Mongoose”—a plan to slip spies, saboteurs and assassins into Cuba
- 1962: To forestall the American invasion, Khrushchev moved tanks, bombers and 42,000 Soviet troops and technicians to Cuba
  - Also sought to sneak in several dozen nuclear missiles
- October 14: U.S. spy planes discovered the launching pads and missiles
  - Fearful that if U.S. invaded Cuba or bombed Soviet bases and missile site, Khrushchev would seize West Berlin or bomb U.S. missiles in Turkey

# THE CUBAN CRISIS

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- October 22: Kennedy addressed the American people on TV
  - Ordered the American navy to stop and search all vessels headed for Cuba and to turn back any containing offensive weapons
  - Called on Khrushchev to dismantle missile bases and remove all offensive weapons from Cuba
- After several days, Khrushchev backed down
  - Recalled the ships, withdrew the missiles and reduced his military presence in Cuba
  - Kennedy lifted the blockade and promised not to invade Cuba
  - Kennedy also removed, several months later, the U.S. missiles in Turkey
- Missile gap actually favored U.S. by 17 to 1

# THE CUBAN CRISIS

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- In wake of crisis, tempers cooled
  - Agreed to installation of direct telephone link—“hot line”—between the White House and the Kremlin
  - Signed a treaty outlawing nuclear testing in the atmosphere
  - Within two years, Kremlin hardliners forced Khrushchev from office
  - Leonid Brezhnev, an old-school Stalinist, became head of the country and inaugurated an intensive program of long-range missile building



# THE VIETNAM WAR

- Ngo Dinh Diem cancelled the nationwide election scheduled for 1956 and sought to establish an independent nation in the south
  - Under Eisenhower, U.S. sent weapons and “advisors” to help train and equip a South Vietnamese army
  - Ho worked on consolidating his rule in the North
  - Viet Minh (later called Viet Cong by Diem) units that remained in the south were instructed to bide their time
- By May 1959, Vietcong guerillas had infiltrated thousands of villages, ambushed South Vietnamese convoys, and assassinated government officials
  - Soon controlled large sections of the countryside



# THE VIETNAM WAR

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- As a senator, Kennedy had endorsed Diem and his efforts to build a noncommunist South Vietnam
- As president, Kennedy sharply increased the American military and economic commitment to South Vietnam
  - 1961: 3200 American military personnel in country
  - 1963: more than 16,000 and 120 American soldiers had been killed
- By summer 1963, Diem's regime was tottering
  - Not helped by his crackdown on Buddhists (Diem was Catholic) that led to several of them setting themselves on fire in front of major media coverage
  - Kennedy agreed to support Diem's overthrow
- 1 November 1963: several Vietnamese generals overthrew and killed Diem

# “WE SHALL OVERCOME”: The Civil Rights Movement

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- Kennedy approached civil rights gingerly since his election had depended on the votes of both northern blacks and southern whites
- Yet a demand for change was emerging in the South as a result of
  - Industrialization
  - Shift from small sharecropping holdings to large commercial farms
  - Vast wartime expenditures of federal government on aircraft factories and army bases in the area
  - Impact of the GI Bill on southern colleges and universities
  - Gradual development of a southern black middle class

# “WE SHALL OVERCOME”: The Civil Rights Movement

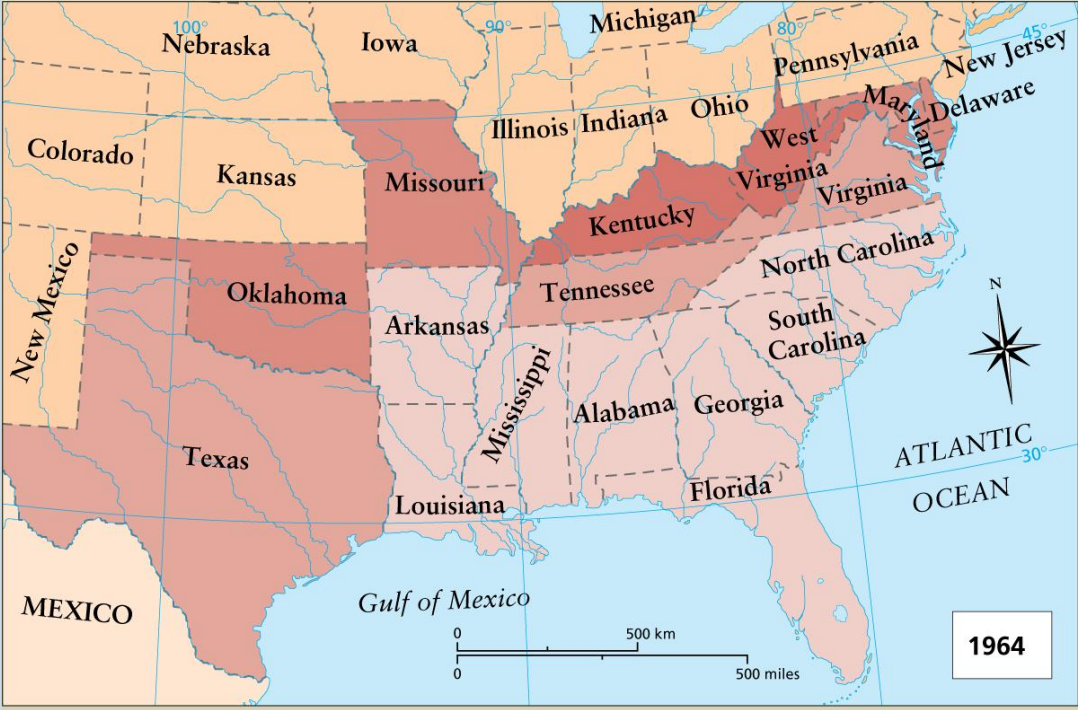
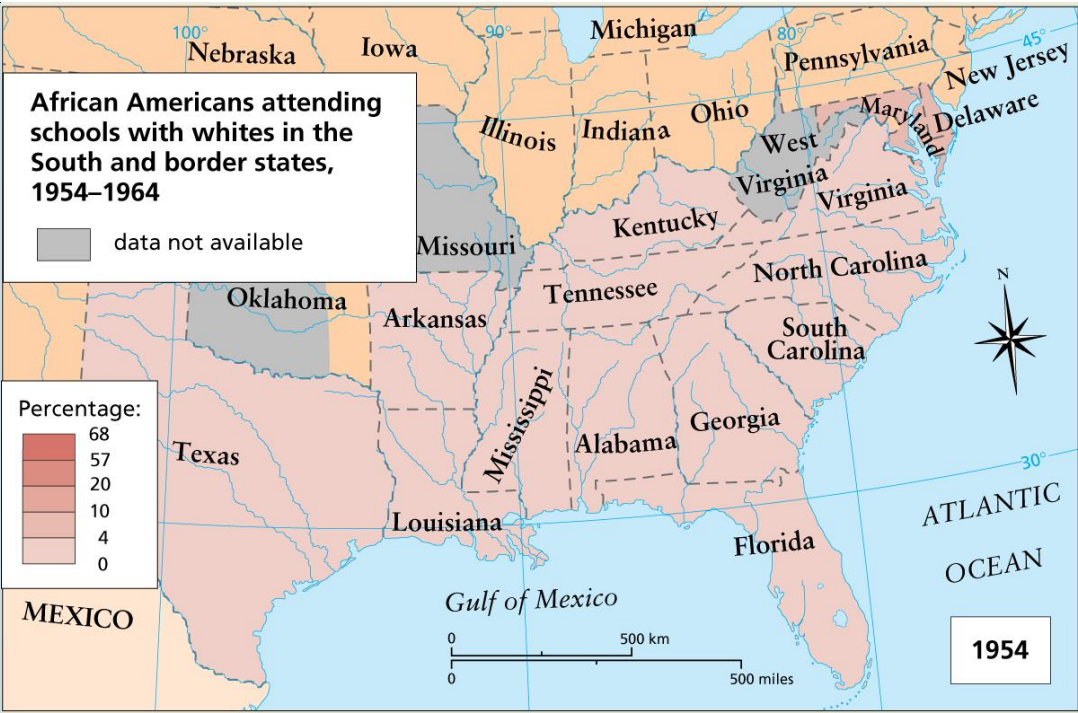
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- 1 December 1955: in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks refused to surrender her seat on the bus to a white passenger
  - She was arrested
  - Montgomery’s black leaders organized a boycott of the bus system
    - Black-owned cabs reduced their rates
    - Car pools were organized when city declared reduced rates illegal but there were never more than 350 cars available to the 10,000 people who needed them
- February 1956, Montgomery authorities obtained indictments of 115 leaders of the boycott
  - Focused national attention on the issue and on its emerging leader, Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
  - Money poured in to support the boycott which lasted for over a year
- Supreme Court declared local law enforcing segregation to be illegal
  - Montgomery had to desegregate public transportation system

# “WE SHALL OVERCOME”: The Civil Rights Movement

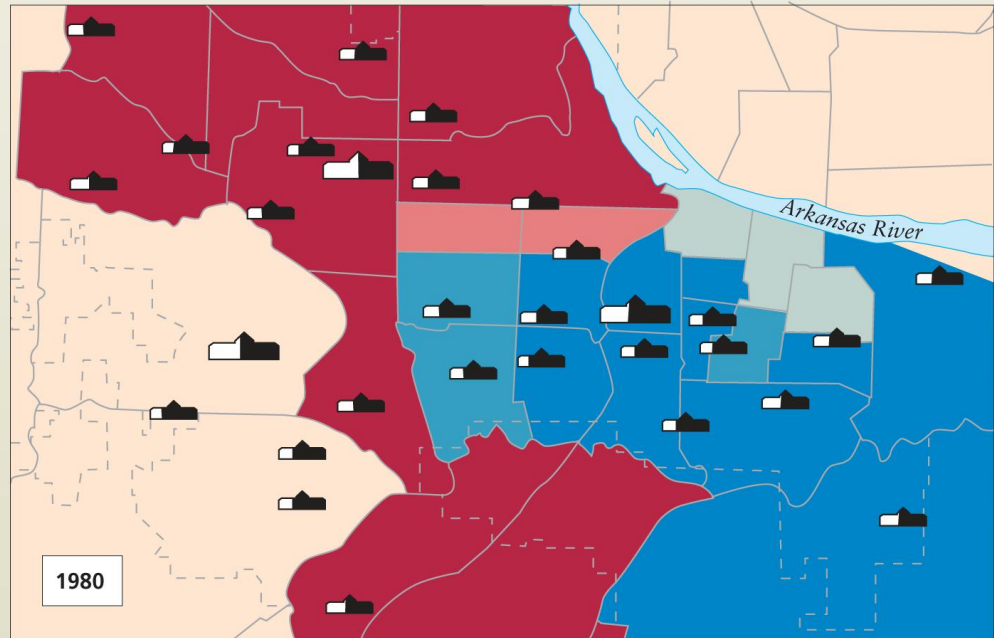
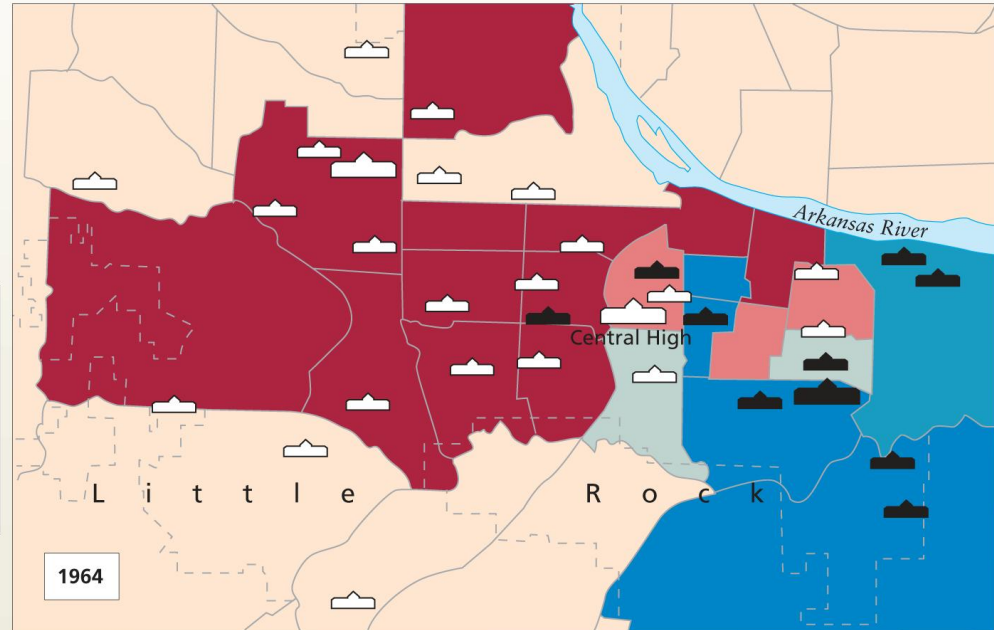
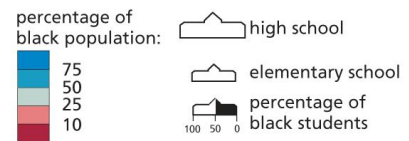
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- Success encouraged blacks elsewhere to band together against segregation
  - 1957: Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed (SCLC), headed by King
  - Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), founded in 1942, also joined the fray
- February 1960: four African American college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, sat down at a lunch counter at a Woolworth’s store and were informed that the counter would not serve them due to their race
  - Returned with increasing number of demonstrators until there were over a thousand by the end of the week
  - Sparked a national movement of “sit-ins” with more than 50 underway within two weeks and over 70,000 people participating by the end of 1961





**School segregation and residential patterns in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1964 and 1980**



# “WE SHALL OVERCOME”: The Civil Rights Movement

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- Black college students founded Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960 to provide a focus for the sit-in movement and to conduct voter registration drives in the South
- May 1961: black and white foes of segregation organized a “freedom ride” to test the effectiveness of federal regulations prohibiting discrimination in interstate transport
  - An integrated group of 13 boarded two buses in Washington and headed for New Orleans
  - Anniston, Alabama: racists set one of the buses on fire
  - Were assaulted by a mob in Birmingham
  - Nonetheless, other groups followed and court cases that resulted helped break down local segregation laws



# “WE SHALL OVERCOME”: The Civil Rights Movement

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- In the North, black nationalism became a potent force
  - Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslim movement, demanded that a part of the United States be set aside exclusively for blacks
  - Urged his followers to be industrious, thrifty and abstemious and to view all whites with suspicion and hatred
  - Malcolm X was another important black Muslim leader who urged separatism
- Ordinary southern blacks became increasingly impatient and in the face of violent repression began to question King’s nonviolent approach

# “WE SHALL OVERCOME”: The Civil Rights Movement

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- When King was thrown in jail after leading a series of protests in Birmingham, Alabama, he wrote his moving *Letters from a Birmingham Jail* explaining why he and his followers were no longer willing to wait as sympathetic whites urged them to do
- Brutal repression of Birmingham demonstrations was captured by the media and generated a flood of recruits and money
- President Kennedy reluctantly began to change his policy
  - Gave support to modest civil rights bill
- Blacks organized demonstration in Washington when bill ran into Congressional opposition
  - Over 200,000 attended
  - King delivered his famous “I Have Dream” speech

# TRAGEDY IN DALLAS:

## JFK Assassinated

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- 22 November 1963: while visiting Dallas, Kennedy was shot and killed by Lee Harvey Oswald
  - Before being brought to trial, Oswald was killed by Jack Ruby, owner of a Dallas nightclub
  - Many people believed a conspiracy was behind the Kennedy assassination and a special commission under Chief Justice Earl Warren was established to investigate
    - Concluded Oswald had acted alone

# LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

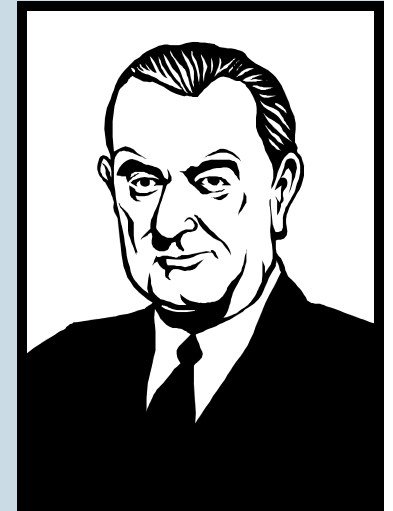
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- Lyndon Baines Johnson became president when Kennedy died
  - Considered social welfare legislation his specialty
  - Kennedy's plans for federal aid for education, medical care for the aged, higher minimum wage, and urban renewal had been blocked by Congress and Kennedy had reacted mildly, believing government to be cumbersome and ineffective
- Johnson knew how to make government work and pushed hard for Kennedy's programs when he became president
  - Early in 1964, Kennedy's tax cut was passed
  - An expanded version of Kennedy's proposal was passed as the Civil Rights Act of 1964

# THE GREAT SOCIETY

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- Civil Rights Act outlawed discrimination by employers against blacks and also against women
  - Broke down legal barriers to black voting in southern states
  - Outlawed racial segregation of all sorts in places of public accommodation
  - Johnson made sure the act was enforced
- Johnson declared war on poverty and set out to create a Great Society
  - In 1960, between 20 and 25 percent of American families—about 40 million people—lived below the poverty line
  - Prosperity and advancing technology had changed the definition of poverty; yet, as living standards rose so did the educational requirements of many jobs



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

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- Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: created a mixture of programs that combined the progressive concept of government with the conservative concept of individual responsibility
  - Job Corps
  - Community action program to finance local antipoverty efforts
  - System for training the unskilled unemployed and for lending money to small businesses in poor areas
- Johnson sought election as president in his own right in 1964
  - Championship of civil rights garnered him almost unanimous support of blacks
  - His tax policy attracted the well-to-do and business interests
  - War on poverty held the allegiance of labor and other traditionally Democratic groups
  - Down-home southern antecedents counterbalanced his liberalism on race in the eyes of many white Southerners

# THE GREAT SOCIETY

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- Republicans nominated conservative Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona
- Johnson won with over 61 percent of the popular vote and carried the entire country except for Arizona and 5 southern states in the Deep South
- January 1965: Johnson proposed a compulsory hospital insurance system, Medicare, for all persons over 65
  - Part A: hospital insurance for retired (funded by increase in Social Security)
  - Part B: a voluntary plan covering doctors' bills (paid for in part by the government)
  - Also provided for grants to the states to help pay medical expenses of poor people regardless of age—Medicaid

# THE GREAT SOCIETY

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- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
  - Supplied federal funds to school districts
  - Head Start program was designed to help prepare poor preschoolers for elementary school
  - Also provided medical examinations and nutritious meals
- Voting Rights Act of 1965: provided for federal intervention to protect black registration and voting in six southern states and applied to state and local as well as federal elections



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

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- Other laws passed at Johnson's urging included:
  - National Endowment for the Arts
  - National Endowment for the Humanities
  - Measures supporting scientific research, highway safety, crime control, slum clearance, clean air, and the preservation of historic sites
  - Immigration Act of 1965 did away with most of the provisions of the national-origin system of admitting newcomers
    - 290,000 were to be admitted each year on the basis of job skills and need for political asylum for instance
    - Also placed a limit of 120,000 on immigrants from Western hemisphere countries which had previous been unrestricted

# THE GREAT SOCIETY

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- The Education Act was considered disappointing
- Medicare and Medicaid provided medical treatment for millions of people but gave doctors, hospitals and drug companies the ability to raise fees without fear of losing customers
- Job Corps, which was supposed to provide vocational training to help people get better jobs, was almost a complete failure

# JOHNSON ESCALATES THE WAR

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- The situation in South Vietnam continued to deteriorate after Diem was assassinated
  - One military coup followed another
  - Johnson felt had to support South Vietnam
- Decided to punish the North for the war
  - Early 1964 secretly ordered U.S. naval ships to escort the South Vietnamese navy on missions far into the Gulf of Tonkin where they attacked ships and port facilities and landed commando teams
  - After one such mission, an American destroyer reported it was fired on by North Vietnamese gunboats
  - A second report of an additional attack came in several days later, though it was extremely bad weather and the enemy was never spotted



★ Southeast Asia, 1954-1975

# JOHNSON ESCALATES THE WAR

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- Johnson used the Gulf of Tonkin incident to demand Congress authorize him to “repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression” [Tonkin Gulf Resolution]
  - Essentially a blank check
- Johnson authorized air attacks on North Vietnam
  - By the summer of 1965, U.S. bombers were conducting 5000 raids each month
  - American intelligence officers concluded that the bombing campaign actually strengthened people’s will to resist
  - Vietcong expanded the areas under their control

# JOHNSON ESCALATES THE WAR

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- July 1965: Johnson suggested that lots of American troops would be needed in Vietnam
  - Undersecretary of State George Ball believed that the U.S. could not win and should withdraw and accept the probable defeat of Vietnam
  - Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, and the rest of the Cabinet, rejected this view
- By the end of 1965, 184,000 Americans were in the field
  - 1966: 385,000
  - 1967: 485,000
  - Middle of 1968: 538,000
- Increases of American troops were met by increases from the other side and increased aid from China and the Soviet Union to North Vietnam
  - North Vietnamese soldiers crossed the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel to help the Vietcong
  - American soldiers engaged in “search and destroy” operations

# OPPOSITION TO THE WAR

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- Some Americans objected to U.S. involvement in Vietnam
  - Stressed repressive character of the South Vietnamese government
  - Objected to massive aerial bombings, to the use of napalm and defoliants and to the killing of civilians by American troops
  - Deplored the heavy loss of life—40,000 American dead by 1970 and hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese
- Cost of war came to exceed \$20 billion a year but Johnson refused to ask Congress to raise taxes to cover it
  - Resulting deficits forced the government to borrow huge sums of money, causing interest rates to soar and pushing prices higher

# THE ELECTION OF 1968

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- Opponents of war began to gather strength and numbers, even among the President's advisors
  - By 1967 even Robert McNamara believed the war could not be won and resigned
- Opposition was especially vehement on college campuses
  - Some felt U.S. had no business intervening in Vietnam
  - Some did not want to be drafted
  - Some objected because so many received educational deferments while young men who could not attend college were drafted
- November 1967: Eugene McCarthy announced he would seek the Democratic nomination
  - Opposition to the war was his issue



# THE ELECTION OF 1968

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- Johnson ordered General Westmoreland to reassure the American people on the course of the war
  - Late 1967, said could “see the light at the end of the tunnel”
- Early 1968, North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces launched a general offensive to correspond with Tet (lunar new year)
  - Struck 39 of 44 provincial capitals in Southern Vietnam
  - Held the old capital city of Hué for weeks
- Tet offensive was a series of raids
  - Communists did not expect to hold cities and they did not
  - Suffered huge casualties
  - Psychological impact in South Vietnam and the U.S. made Tet a victory for the North
    - American pollsters reported huge shift of public opinion against further escalation

# THE ELECTION OF 1968

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- When Westmoreland asked for 206,000 additional troops, Eugene McCarthy suddenly became a major figure and in the New Hampshire primary he polled 42 percent of the Democratic vote
  - Robert Kennedy announced his candidacy
  - President Johnson withdrew from the race
  - Vice President Hubert Humphrey announced his candidacy and Johnson supported him
- Kennedy carried the primaries in Indiana and Nebraska
- McCarthy won in Wisconsin and Oregon
- Kennedy won in a close race in California but was assassinated during his victory speech by Sirhan Sirhan, an Arab nationalist opposed to Kennedy's support of Israel
- Humphrey was assured of the nomination

# THE ELECTION OF 1968

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- The Republicans nominated Richard M. Nixon
  - Chose Maryland Governor Spiro Agnew as his running mate
- Alabama Governor George Wallace tried to get enough electoral votes for his American Independent party to prevent any candidate from obtaining a majority
  - Anti-black and anti-intellectual
- The Democratic convention met in Chicago in late August
  - Humphrey delegates controlled the convention
  - Humphrey had a liberal domestic reputation but had supported Johnson's Vietnam policy
  - Several thousand activists, representing a dozen groups and advocating tactics ranging from orderly demonstrations to civil disobedience to indiscriminate violence, came to Chicago to put pressure on the delegates

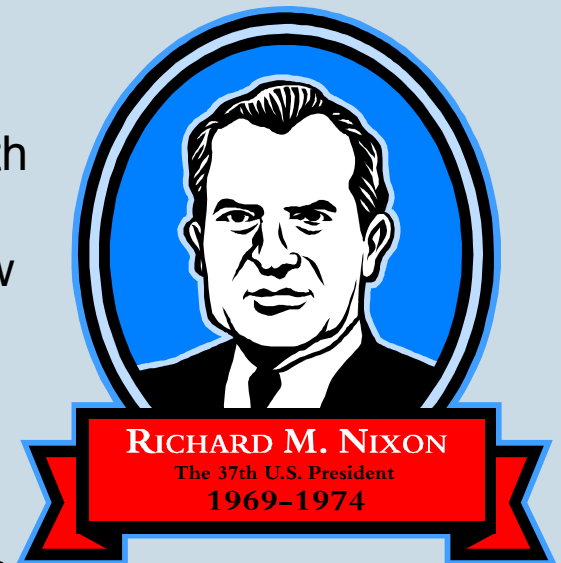
# THE ELECTION OF 1968

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- Mayor Daley of Chicago ringed the convention with police
  - Inside the delegates nominated Humphrey and adopted a war plank satisfactory to Johnson
  - Outside, provoked by abusive language and violent behavior, police tore into the demonstrators while millions watched on TV
- Nixon campaigned at a deliberate dignified pace while the Democratic campaign was badly organized
  - Johnson helped Humphrey shortly before election day by suspending air attacks on North Vietnam
  - Black voters and urban poor had no real choice but to vote Democratic
- Nixon won a close race with 31.8 million to 31.3 million popular votes but 301 to 191 electoral votes
  - Remaining 46 electoral votes went to Wallace whose 99 million votes were 13.5 percent of the total
  - Democrats retained control of both houses of Congress

# NIXON AS PRESIDENT: “Vietnamizing” the War

- Nixon considered solving the Vietnam War to be his chief concern when he took office in 1969
  - Proposed a phased withdrawal of all non-South Vietnamese troops, to be followed by an internationally supervised election in South Vietnam
  - North Vietnamese insisted that U.S. withdraw its forces unconditionally
- Nixon responded by trying to build up South Vietnamese troops so U.S. could pull out without South Vietnam falling
  - Vietnamization, as the policy was called, was problematic since U.S. had been trying to make South Vietnam capable of defending itself for 15 years



# NIXON AS PRESIDENT: “Vietnamizing” the War

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- June 1969: Nixon announced that he would soon reduce the number of American troops in Vietnam by 25,000
  - Promised in September to remove an additional 35,000
- October 15: Vietnam Moratorium Day
  - Produced unprecedented antiwar outpouring all across country
- A second moratorium day resulted in a crowd of over 250,000 marching past the White House
  - Nixon declared a silent majority of Americans was behind him
- A gradual slowing of military activity reduced American casualties, troop withdrawals continued, and a new lottery system for the draft eliminated some of the previous inequities
- Reports that Americans had massacred civilians, predominantly women and children in a Vietnamese hamlet known as My Lai
  - War seemed to be undermining American values

# THE CAMBODIAN “INCURSION”

- Late in April 1970 Nixon announced that within a year 150,000 American troops would be withdrawn
- A week later announced that the enemy was consolidating its sanctuaries in neutral Cambodia and he was dispatching thousands of American troops to destroy these bases
  - U.S. had been secretly bombing Cambodia for years but this was not revealed until 1973



# THE CAMBODIAN “INCURSION”

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- Announcement of Cambodian invasion triggered numerous campus demonstrations
  - Kent State, Ohio: students clashed with local police for several days and damaged property until the governor called in the National Guard who opened fire, killing four students on May 4
  - Two students were also killed at Jackson State University in Mississippi
  - A wave of student strikes led to the closing of hundreds of colleges across the nation
- Nixon pulled U.S. troops out of Cambodia and stepped up air attacks
- March 1972: North Vietnamese mounted a series of attacks
  - Nixon responded with heavier bombing and ordered the mining of Haiphong Harbor in North Vietnam



# DÉTENTE WITH COMMUNISM

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- Nixon and his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, were meanwhile engaged in a secret diplomatic strategy that decided to treat the Soviets and the Chinese as separate powers that one could live and work with—détente
  - Nixon sent Kissinger secretly to China and the Soviet Union to pave the way for summit meetings
- February 1972: Nixon and Kissinger flew to Beijing
  - Nixon agreed to promote economic and cultural exchanges and supported the admission of communist China into the UN
  - Exports to China increased, reaching \$4 billion in 1980

# DÉTENTE WITH COMMUNISM

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- May 1972: Nixon and Kissinger flew to Moscow
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT): two powers agreed to stop making nuclear ballistic missiles and to reduce the number of antiballistic missiles in their arsenals to 200
  - Nixon also agreed to ship grain to Soviet Union
- By October 1972, Kissinger had hammered out a deal with the North Vietnamese calling for a cease fire, the return of American prisoners of war and the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam

# NIXON IN TRIUMPH

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- Nixon was re-elected in 1972, defeating Senator George McGovern by 521 electoral votes to 17
  - Nixon interpreted triumph as an indication that people were behind him
  - South voted Republican
- Kissinger's agreement with North Vietnam was undermined when South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu refused to sign it because it said nothing about removing communist troops from South Vietnam
  - Nixon resumed bombing of North Vietnam in December 1972, losing large numbers of planes

# DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER NIXON

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- January 1973: agreement was reached that looked similar to the one in October
  - North Vietnamese retained large sections of the south
  - Agreed to release all U.S. prisoners within 60 days
  - Thieu agreed and Nixon secretly pledged to “respond with full force” if North Vietnam resumed its offensive
  - American prisoners were released and most U.S. troops pulled out of Vietnam
- More than 57,000 Americans died in Vietnam, over 300,000 had been wounded
  - Nearly a million communist soldiers and 185,000 South Vietnamese soldiers were reported killed
- 1973: Kissinger was named Secretary of State
  - Shared the Nobel Peace Prize with the North Vietnamese negotiator Le Duc Tho

# DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER NIXON

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- Major economic problem Nixon faced in 1969 was inflation
  - Cut federal spending and balanced the 1969 budget while the Federal Reserve Board forced up interest rates
  - When prices continued to rise, unions demanded wage increases
- 1970: Congress gave president the power to regulate prices and wages
  - 1971: Nixon announced 90-day wage and price freezes
  - Set up pay board and price commission with authority to limit wage and price increases when the freeze ended

# DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER NIXON

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- Signed the bill creating the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Clean Air Act of 1970
- Hoping to increase the standing of the Republican party in the South, Nixon checked further federal efforts to force school desegregation on reluctant local districts and sent “strict constructionists” to the Supreme Court
- Nixon wanted to increase the power of the presidency vis-à-vis Congress, but also decentralize the administration by encouraging state and local management of government programs
  - No person or group should be coddled by the state
  - Criminals should be punished without pity

# DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER NIXON

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- After second inauguration, ended wage and price controls and called for voluntary “restraints”
  - Prices soared in most rapid inflation since Korean War
  - Nixon set rigid limit on federal spending which he achieved by cutting or abolishing a large number of social welfare programs and reducing federal grants to support science and education
  - Refused to spend (impounded) funds Congress had appropriated when they were not for programs he approved of
    - Created furor but Congress was unable to override his vetoes of bills that challenged impoundment

# THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

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- 19 March 1973: James McCord, former FBI agent accused of burglary, wrote a letter to the judge in his trial that would ultimately bring down the Nixon administration
  - McCord had been employed during the 1972 presidential campaign as a security officer for the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP)
  - 1 AM on 17 June 1972, he and four others (members of the unofficial CREEP surveillance group known as the “plumbers”) had broken into the Democratic party headquarters at the Watergate, a complex of apartments and offices in Washington
    - Plumbers had been formed after the Pentagon Papers, a confidential report on government policy in Vietnam, had been leaked to the press
  - They were caught rifling files and installing bugging devices



# THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

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- Two other Republican campaign officials were soon implicated and their arrest aroused suspicions that the Republican party was behind the break-in
  - June 22: Nixon denied any connection
  - When the case went to trial in early 1973, most of the burglars pleaded guilty
  - McCord did not and was convicted by the jury
  - Before Judge Sirica could impose sentence, McCord sent the letter claiming that high Republican officials had known about the burglary in advance and had paid the defendants “hush money” to keep their connection secret
- The head of CREEP, Jeb Stuart Magruder, and Nixon’s lawyer, John Dean III, soon admitted their involvement

# THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

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Other disclosures followed:

- The acting director of the FBI, L. Patrick Gray, had destroyed documents related to the case
- Large sums of money had been paid to the burglars at the instigation of the White House to ensure their silence
- Agents of the Nixon administration had burglarized the office of a psychiatrist, seeking evidence against one of his patients, Daniel Ellsberg, who had been charged with leaking the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times*
- CREEP officials had attempted to disrupt the campaigns of leading Democratic candidates during the 1972 primaries in a number of illegal ways
- A number of corporations had made large contributions to the Nixon reelection campaign in violation of federal law
- The Nixon administration had placed wiretaps on the telephones of some of its own officials as well as on those of journalists critical of its policies without first obtaining authorization from the courts

# THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

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- These revelations led to the dismissal of John Dean and the resignations of most of Nixon's closest advisors:
  - HR Haldeman, chief of staff
  - John Ehrlichman, top domestic affairs advisor
  - John Mitchell, Attorney General
  - Richard Kleindiest, Attorney General
- Nixon continued to deny any personal involvement, promised a thorough investigation but refused access to White House documents, claiming executive privilege
  - Dean testified that the president had been involved
  - Other testimony disclosed Nixon had a secret taping system in the Oval Office
  - Nixon refused access to the tapes

# THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

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- Nixon's status declined in public opinion polls
- Nixon agree to the appointment of an "independent" special prosecutor to investigate the Watergate affair
  - Appointed Archibald Cox and promised to cooperate
  - Cox asked for access to White House records, including the tapes and obtained a subpoena from Judge Sirica
  - The administration lost their appeal of the subpoena and the case headed for the Supreme Court
- Saturday, October 20, 1973: Saturday Night Massacre
  - Nixon ordered the new Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, to fire Cox
  - Both Richardson and his chief assistant resigned rather than do so
  - The third ranking officer in the Justice Department complied

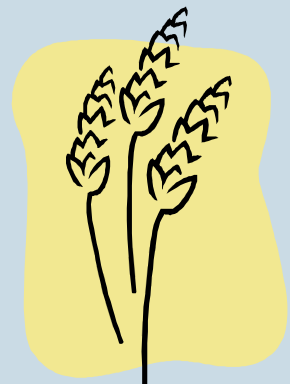
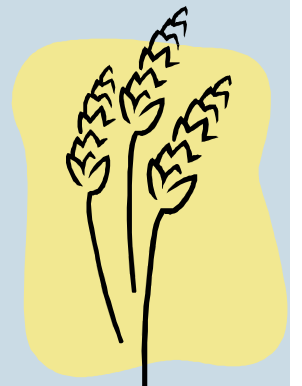
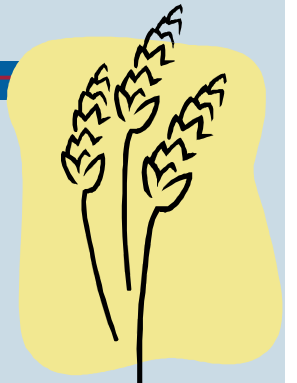
# THE WATERGATE BREAK-IN

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- Congress was bombarded by letters and telegrams demanding Nixon's impeachment
  - The House Judiciary Committee began investigating to see if enough evidence existed for impeachment
  - Nixon agreed to turn over the tapes to Judge Sirica with the understanding that the material would be presented to the grand jury investigating Watergate but that nothing would be made public
  - Named a new special prosecutor, Leon Jaworski, and promised him access to whatever he needed
  - Soon apparent that several tapes were missing and a large section of another had been erased

# MORE TROUBLES FOR NIXON

- Pushed by a shortage of grain resulting from massive Soviet purchases authorized by détente policy, food prices shot up
  - Wheat went from \$1.45 a bushel to over \$5
- Vice President Agnew was accused of income tax fraud and having accepted bribes while serving as Baltimore county executive and governor of Maryland
  - In October Agnew admitted the tax evasion and resigned as vice president
  - Acting according to the Twenty-fifth amendment passed in 1967, Nixon appointed a new vice president, Gerald Ford



# MORE TROUBLES FOR NIXON

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- In response to the Agnew fiasco and claims that he had not paid taxes, Nixon released his 1969 to 1972 returns showing that he had paid only \$1600 in two years on over half a million in income
  - While Nixon claimed the returns were legal, when combined with charges that millions of dollars of public funds had been spent on improvements for his private residences in California and Florida, the tax issue further eroded his reputation
- Reassured the public during a press conference that he was “not a crook”

# THE JUDGMENT ON WATERGATE: “Expletive Deleted”

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- March 1974: grand jury indicted Haldeman, Ehrlichman and former attorney general John Mitchell, who had been head of CREEP at the time of the break-in, and four other White House officials for conspiring to block the investigation
  - Jurors named Nixon an “unindicted co-conspirator”
  - Sirica turned over the jury’s evidence against Nixon to the House Judiciary Committee
  - Then both the IRS and a joint congressional committee announced that most of Nixon’s tax deductions had been illegal and the IRS assessed him nearly half a million in taxes and interest



# THE JUDGMENT ON WATERGATE: “Expletive Deleted”

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- Late in April, Nixon released heavily edited transcripts of the tapes he had turned over to the court the previous November
  - In addition to much incriminating evidence, tapes provided public with shocking view of how the president conducted himself in private
    - Seemed confused, indecisive and lacking any concern for public interest
    - Heavy use of profanity, indicated by the term “expletive deleted,” offended many

# THE JUDGMENT ON WATERGATE: “Expletive Deleted”

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- Release of transcripts led even some of Nixon’s strongest supporters to demand he resign
- Once the Judiciary Committee received the actual tapes, it became clear that the transcripts were inaccurate
  - Much material prejudicial to the president’s case had been suppressed
  - Jaworski subpoenaed 64 of the tapes for use against the Watergate defendants
  - Nixon refused to obey and the case went to the Supreme Court as *United States v. Richard M. Nixon*
- Summer 1974: Judiciary Committee decided to conduct its deliberations in open session while millions watched on TV
  - Three articles of impeachment were adopted: obstructing justice, misusing the power of the office, failing to obey the committee’s subpoenas

# THE JUDGMENT ON WATERGATE: “Expletive Deleted”

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- On the eve of the debates, the Supreme Court ruled the president must turn over the tapes to the special prosecutor
  - Nixon reluctantly complied
- Three recorded conversations between Haldeman and Nixon on 23 June 1972 proved conclusively that Nixon had tried to obstruct justice by engaging the CIA to try to persuade the FBI not to follow up leads in the case on the spurious grounds of national security
  - When the House Judiciary Committee read these transcripts, all the Republicans who had voted against impeachment, reversed themselves
  - Republican leaders informed the president the House would impeach him and only a few Senators would support him

# THE MEANING OF WATERGATE

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- 8 August 1974: Nixon resigned effective noon August 9
- Ford became president
  - Within weeks pardoned Nixon
  - Nixon accepted



# MILESTONES

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1942	Pacifists found Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
1953	CIA backs coup in Iran
1955–1956	Martin Luther King Jr. leads Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott
1957	Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is founded in Atlanta
1960	Black college students found Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
1961	CIA-trained Cuban exiles launch disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion Soviets build Berlin wall John F. Kennedy founds Peace Corps
1962	Freedom riders integrate buses in South Soviet Premier Khrushchev precipitates Cuban missile crisis
1963	United States supports coup to oust President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam Martin Luther King Jr. leads March on Washington Lee Harvey Oswald assassinates President Kennedy; Lyndon Johnson becomes president
1964	Congress endorses escalation of Vietnam War in Gulf of Tonkin Resolution Lyndon Johnson is elected president, begins Great Society program Congress passes historic Civil Rights Act
1965	Congress passes Immigration Act, ending national quota system Congress's Medicare Act pays some medical costs for senior citizens and the poor Congress funds education with Elementary and Secondary Education Act

# MILESTONES

## cont.

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- 1968* Communists strike all over South Vietnam in Tet Offensive  
Lyndon Johnson withdraws as candidate for reelection  
Richard Nixon is elected president
- 1969* Nixon announces "Vietnamization" of war  
Apollo 11 lands on the moon
- 1970* Nixon announces "incursion" into Cambodia  
Antiwar student protesters are killed at Kent State and Jackson State universities  
Congress passes Clean Air Act and creates Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
- 1972* Nixon's "plumbers" burglarize Democratic national headquarters at Watergate complex  
Nixon and Kissinger visit China and Soviet Union  
United States and Soviet Union sign Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)  
Nixon is reelected in landslide
- 1973* House Judiciary Committee begins impeachment hearings against Nixon  
Vice President Spiro Agnew resigns; Gerald Ford is appointed vice president  
Last American troops leave Vietnam  
Nixon fires Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox (Saturday Night Massacre)  
Chilean socialist Salvador Allende is overthrown
- 1974* Supreme Court orders release of Nixon's White House tapes  
Nixon resigns; Gerald Ford becomes president and pardons Nixon

# WEBSITES

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- Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/jfkennedy.html>

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/lbjohnson.html>

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/rmnixon.html>

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/grford.html>

- Vietnam Online

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/amex/vietnam>

- My Lai Court Martial (1970)

<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/mylai/mylai.htm>

# WEBSITES

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- *United States v. Cecil Price et al.* (The “Mississippi Burning” Trial), 1967

<http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/price&bowers/price&bowers.htm>

- Watergate

<http://www.journale.com/watergate.html>

- Civil Rights Oral History Bibliography

<http://www.usm.edu/crdp/html/dah.shtml>