The Stormy Sixties

1960 – 1968
Kennedy’s “New Frontier” Spirit

• New Frontier
  – Kennedy’s domestic and foreign policy agenda

• January 20, 1961 – Kennedy’s inaugural address
  – Hatless and coatless in 22° weather
  – Personification of glamour and vitality
    • As opposed to stale comfort of Eisenhower
Kennedy’s Inauguration
Kenney’s “New Frontier” Spirit

• The “best and the brightest”
  – Kennedy brought together a young cabinet, most from Harvard (as was the president)
  – Radiated confidence in abilities
Kenney’s “New Frontier” Spirit

• Attorney General
  – Robert Kennedy, president’s brother
  – Worked to get FBI to focus on organized crime
  – Ignored civil rights violations
  – Clashed with head of FBI, J. Edgar Hoover
John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy
Kenney’s “New Frontier” Spirit

• Secretary of Defense
  – Robert McNamara
  – Business whiz who left presidency of Ford Motor Company
Robert McNamara
Kenney’s “New Frontier” Spirit

• Peace Corps
  – Army of idealistic young volunteers
  – Brought skills to underdeveloped countries
A Peace Corps' Volunteer in the Philippines
Teaching English at the Central Elementary School in the Philippines
The New Frontier at Home

• Fragile Democratic majority in Congress
  – Conservative Southern Democrats blocked liberal programs of New Frontier
  – 1961 – Kennedy won an expansion of House Rules Committee
    • Had been dominated by conservatives that could have blocked his entire agenda
The New Frontier at Home

• The economy
  – Had gone through several recessions during Eisenhower years
    • Kennedy wanted to stabilize the economy
  – Kennedy negotiated non-inflationary wage agreement in steel industry (meaning wages would not rise)
    • Deal was that steel companies would not raise steel prices
    • Steel companies then raised prices
    • Kennedy called the steel owners into Oval Office and got them to back down
  – Steel incident led to attacks by businessmen on New Frontier
The New Frontier at Home

• Tax cuts
  – Kennedy announced support for general tax cuts to stimulate the economy
  • Rejection of desire of more liberal groups to spend more money on social programs
The New Frontier at Home

• Landing on the moon
  – Kennedy pushed multibillion dollar project to land a man on the moon
  – 1969 – 2 US astronauts walked on the moon, after spending $24 billion spent
Moon Landing, July 20, 1969
Rumblings in Europe

• June 1961 – Kennedy met Khrushchev in Vienna
  – Khrushchev tried to bully Kennedy by threatening to cut off Berlin from Western powers
  – Kennedy was shaken but not bullied
Kennedy and Khrushchev, Vienna, 1961
Khrushchev Dominating the Baby Kennedy
Rumblings in Europe

• August 1961 – the Berlin Wall
  – Barbed-wire and concrete designed to stop flow of people from East to West Germany
  – Came to symbolize post-WWII division of Europe and the harsh rule of communism
  – Eventually torn down in 1989
The Berlin Wall
Building the Berlin Wall
The Berlin Wall
See How Many Are Staying on Our Side!
Rumblings in Europe

- Expansion of trade with Western Europe
  - 1962 – Trade Expansion Act
    - Tariff cuts up to 50% to promote trade with Common Market countries
    - Common Market – group of Western European nations that traded without tariffs
  - Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations
    - Concluded in 1967
    - Expanded US – European trade
Rumblings in Europe

- US wanted “Atlantic Community” with US playing prominent part
  - Blocked by Charles de Gaulle, president of France
  - De Gaulle blocked Britain’s application to Common Market
    - Feared close Britain’s close relationship with US would invite American influence
  - De Gaulle also kept small number of nuclear weapons in France, independent of US control
Foreign Flare-ups and “Flexible Response”

- Problems emerged from decolonization of ex-European colonies
- Laos
  - 1954 – freed from French control; communists gained influence in country
  - US planners feared communism would spread throughout Southeast Asia
  - Eisenhower had tried US aid to pacify country; was not effective
  - Kennedy’s advisors considered using US troops
    - Kennedy feared he would be short of troops in Europe
  - 1962 – shaky peace established after negotiations in Geneva
Decolonization and the Third World, 1943-1990
**Foreign Flare-ups and “Flexible Response”**

- Eisenhower and Dulles had relied on “massive retaliation”
- Problems such as Laos illustrated problem with this strategy
  - Kennedy had choice of humiliatingly giving in to 3rd world rebels or using nuclear weapons
- Kennedy and McNamara devised “flexible response”
  - Development of many military options
  - Increased spending on conventional forces and elite Special Forces
Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire

• Pitfalls of flexible response
  – Lowered level at which diplomacy would be replaced by war
  – Provided a mechanism for progressive, endless stepping-up of the use of force
  – Vietnam provided proof of these pitfalls
Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire

• Diem government in South Vietnam
  – Corrupt, right-wing, repressive
  – Shaky rule in spite of massive US aid
  – Anti-Diem groups threatened to overthrow Diem
Ngo Dinh Diem
Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire

- 1961 – Kennedy ordered sharp increase in “military advisors” (US troops) to South Vietnam
  - Goal supposedly was to protect Diem from communists long enough for him to enact basic social reforms that US supported
  - Diem refused to carry out land and political reforms
Protest by a Buddhist Monk Against Diem’s Repression
Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire

- November 1963 – US-supported coup carried out against Diem
  - Contributed to long process of political disintegration in South Vietnam, contrary to original policy
  - Kennedy still claimed it was “their war”
  - But his policies had made it difficult to withdraw
  - By November 1963, 15,000 US troops were in Vietnam
Photo of the Dead Bodies of Diem and His Brother
Stepping into the Vietnam Quagmire

• Modernization theory
  – Provided theoretical justifications for US policies in 3rd world countries like Vietnam
  – 3rd world societies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America should follow West’s path to develop into modern, industrial societies
  – Walt Whitman Rostow, influential advisor in Kennedy and Johnson administrations
  – Later discredited for Eurocentric bias, ignoring important differences between West and 3rd world
Cuban Confrontations

• 1961 – Alliance for Progress
  – Kennedy’s Marshall Plan for Latin America
  – Purpose was to help close massive gap between rich and poor in Latin America in order to quiet communist agitation
  – Was not effective; US dollars had little effect on Latin America’s social problems
Influence of Alliance for Progress

Percentage of Enrollment of School-Age Population (ages 7-14)

- Colombia: 78%
- Ecuador: 67%
- Venezuela: 53%
- Brazil: 56%
- Bolivia: 70%
- Peru: 71%
- Chile: 100%
- Argentina: 81%
- Paraguay: 84%
- Uruguay: 87%

Red bars: Percentage of school-age enrollment, 1960
Blue bars: Percentage of school-age enrollment, 1970
Cuban Confrontations

• April 1961 – the Bay of Pigs
  – Kennedy had inherited a CIA scheme for invasion of Cuba from Eisenhower
  – April 17 – 1,200 Cuban exiles invaded
  – Plan fell apart and Kennedy refused to escalate by calling in air strikes
  – Exiles forced to surrender to Cuban army
Captured Cuban Exiles after the Bay of Pigs
The Cuban Fiasco
Cuban Confrontations

• Kennedy authorized continuing assassination attempts against Castro
• Castro grew closer and closer to USSR
**Cuban Confrontations**

- **Cuban Missile Crisis**
  - October 1962 – US spy planes showed that USSR was installing nuclear weapons in Cuba
  - USSR intended to protect Cuba from invasion and force US to back down in Berlin and other trouble spots
Russian Ship Carrying Missiles to Cuba

KASIMOV WITH IL-28 FUSELAGE CRATES ENROUTE TO CUBA
28 SEPTEMBER 1962
Aerial Reconnaissance Photo Showing Missile Site in Cuba
Distances of Major Cities from Cuba
The United States and Cuba, 1961-1962

Map showing the United States and Cuba, highlighting key locations such as Havana, Guantanamo Bay, and Bay of Pigs. Symbols indicate U.S. military sites, U.S. invasion routes, and Soviet missile sites in 1961.
Cuban Confrontations

• Cuban Missile Crisis
  – October 22, 1962 – Kennedy ordered “quarantine” (blockade) of Cuba
    • Demanded immediate removal of nuclear weapons
    • Any attack from Cuba on US or any other nation in Western Hemisphere would be regarded as attack on US by USSR, leading to full nuclear retaliation
Kennedy’s Announcement to the US Public Regarding the Missiles in Cuba, October 22, 1962
Cuban Confrontations

• Cuban Missile Crisis
  – World waited to see if USSR would run the blockade
    • If US sank a Soviet ship, it would be seen as act of war
    • In 1991, it was revealed that ground forces in Cuba had operational nuclear weapons and they were authorized to use them if attacked
High Noon
Cuban Confrontations

• Cuban Missile Crisis
  – October 28, 1962 – Khrushchev agreed to face-saving compromise
    • USSR would pull its missiles out of Cuba
    • US would end quarantine and guarantee not to invade Cuba
    • US also quietly would remove some missiles from Turkey aimed at USSR
The Cuban Missile Crisis
Cuban Confrontations

• Effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis
  – Hardliners in Moscow isolated Khrushchev and began enormous military-expansion program
  – Democrats did well in November 1962 elections
  – Kennedy pushed harder for nuclear test-ban treaty
    • Signed in late 1963
  – August 1963 – Moscow-Washington hot line installed
Let’s Get a Lock for This Thing
Cuban Confrontations

• June 1963 – Kennedy’s speech at American University
  – Tried to lay groundwork for peaceful coexistence with USSR
  – Urged Americans to abandon view of USSR as godless and ideologically fanatical
“What kind of peace do we seek? I am talking about a genuine peace; a kind of peace that makes life on Earth worth living. Not merely peace in our time...Peace in all time. Our problems are man-made. Therefore, they can be solved by man. For in the final analysis, our most common basic link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And, we are all mortal.” (President Kennedy at American University – June 1963)
Kennedy at American University
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• President Kennedy approached civil rights for blacks cautiously
  – Had been elected by very thin margin
  – Had shaky control over Congress
    • Needed support of Southern Democrats to pass economic and social legislation
    • Believed these laws would benefit blacks as much as specific civil rights laws
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• Events forced Kennedy to act
  – 1960 – sit-ins in segregated restaurants
    • Freedom Riders rode on segregated bus lines to force desegregation
  – May 1961 – a Freedom Ride bus burned
    • Robert Kennedy’s personal representative beaten unconscious
    • Kennedy sent federal marshals to protect Freedom Riders
  – During 1960 campaign, Kennedy promised to eliminate housing discrimination “with a stroke of the pen”
    • Took 2 years to fulfill promise to
    • “Ink for Jack” protest; thousands sent pens to president
The Woolworth's Lunch Counter Sit-In, Greensboro, NC, February 1960
Whites Youths at Sit-In on Woolworth’s Counter Seats, February 1960, Greensboro, NC
Greyhound Bus Burning After White Attack on Freedom Rides Bus, Alabama, May 1961
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• Kennedy’s cautious steps for civil rights
  – Wary relationship with Martin Luther King, Jr.
    • Robert Kennedy ordered J. Edgar Hoover (head of FBI) to tap King’s phone
    • Some of King’s associates may have had communist affiliations
  – Encouraged SNCC and other groups to launch Voter Education Project to register disenfranchised blacks in South
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• Integration of southern universities
  – Some desegregated painlessly, some did not
  – October 1962 – James Meredith attempted to register at University of Mississippi (“Ole Miss”)
    • Campus erupted in violence
    • Kennedy sent in 400 federal marshals and 3,000 troops to force Ole Miss to enroll Meredith
White Students Gather at the University of Mississippi's Administration Building, in an Attempt to Block Enrollment of James Meredith
Crowds of White Students Protest the Admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi
Demonstration Against Meredith's Admittance to the University of Mississippi
A US Army Convoy at the University of Mississippi as Marshals Arrive to Enforce James Meredith’s Enrollment
James Meredith on University of Mississippi Campus After His Admittance
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• Birmingham, Alabama
  – Most segregated city in US
    • Blacks were 1/2 the population but only 15% of the voters
    • Attempts to desegregate had resulted in brutal retaliation by whites (bombings, cross burnings)
  – Spring 1963 – King led drive to end segregation
    • Civil rights demonstrators attacked with fire hoses, electric cattle prods, and police dogs
    • Entire world saw these attacks on nightly news
Demonstrators Facing Fire Hoses in Birmingham
Civil Rights Protestors Sprayed with Fire Hoses in Birmingham
Civil Rights Segregation Protesters Flee from a Police Officer and Police Dog During a March in Birmingham, Alabama
Civil Rights Protesters Sing and Pray During a Protest at the Birmingham Jail in Alabama
The Struggle for Civil Rights

- June 11, 1963 – Kennedy made a televised speech in response to events in Birmingham
  - Called civil rights a “moral issue”
  - Pledged personally and as president to find solution
  - Called for new civil rights legislation
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• August 1963 – March on Washington
  – 200,000 black and white demonstrators
  – Marched to support Kennedy’s proposed legislation
  – Martin Luther King’s speech
    • “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.”
Thousands of Marchers Gather at the Lincoln Memorial Around the Reflecting Pool for the March on Washington and Dr. King’s “I Have A Dream” Speech
Dr. King Delivers the “I Have a Dream” Speech in Front of the Lincoln Memorial
The Struggle for Civil Rights

• Continuing violence in the South
  – June 1963 – civil rights worker Medgar Evers shot in back
  – September 1963 – bomb at Baptist church in Birmingham killed 4 black girls

• Violence led to black frustration and impatience
Medgar Evers
Medgar Evers’ Home Driveway Immediately After the Shooting
The 4 Girls Killed in the 16th Street Baptist Church by a Bomb
The Killing of Kennedy

• November 22, 1963 – Kennedy shot while riding in open limousine in Dallas, Texas
  – 2 days later, alleged assassin Lee Harvey Oswald shot by Jack Ruby (to avenge Kennedy’s death, according to Ruby)

• Warren Commission
  – Headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren
  – Huge study (26 volumes) of 2 murders
  – Did not quiet conspiracy theories
Kennedy’s Limousine Immediately Before the Assassination
Lee Harvey Oswald in One of the Backyard Photos, Posing with the Alleged Murder Weapon
The Fatal Head Shot
The Killing of Kennedy

• The importance of Kennedy
  – Nation mourned young president, killed after little more than 1,000 days in office
  – More for the spirit he had kindled than concrete goals he had accomplished

• Later revelations tarnished Kennedy’s reputation
  – Womanizing
  – Involvement with organized crime
Reaction to the JFK Assassination
Actress Marilyn Monroe Sings Happy Birthday to President John F. Kennedy at Madison Square Garden, for his 45th Birthday
The Killing of Kennedy

- President Lyndon Johnson
  - Sworn in on plane in Dallas before leaving (with Kennedy’s body) for Washington, DC
  - Kept most of Kennedy’s team, although he distrusted them ("the Harvards")
Lyndon Johnson Sword in as President, Nov 22, 1963
The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

• Background on Lyndon Johnson
  – 1937 – sent as congressman from West Texas at 29
    • Strong New Deal supporter
  – 1941 – lost Senate race
    • Became more conservative to appeal to Texas voters
  – 1948 – barely won Senate seat
    • Margin of 87 votes earned him nickname “Landslide Lyndon”
The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

• Johnson became master wheeler-dealer in Senate
  – 1954 – became extremely powerful Senate majority leader
  – Used the “Johnson treatment”
    • Backslapping, flesh-pressing (handshaking), and arm-twisting
    • Won over friends and enemies to get his way
  – Known for huge ego and vanity
The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

- Johnson as president
  - Became much more liberal as president than he had been as senator
  - Immediately called for passage of Civil Rights bill to memorialize Kennedy
The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

• 1964 – Civil Rights bill passed after lengthy Southern filibuster
  – Banned racial discrimination in most private facilities open to the public
  – Strengthened federal government’s power to end segregation in schools and other public places
  – Created federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to eliminate discrimination in hiring
The Signing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act
The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

- Gender (sexual) discrimination
  - Conservatives tried to stop the 1964 Civil Rights bill by adding clause that prohibited sexual as well as racial discrimination
  - Backfired – Title VII passed, prohibiting gender discrimination
The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

• Affirmative action
  – 1965 – Johnson issued executive order requiring all federal contractors to take “affirmative action” against discrimination
The Great Society

- Johnson got Kennedy’s tax-cut bill passed, adding proposals for a billion-dollar “War on Poverty”
- Series of economic and welfare measures based on New Deal
- 1962 – The Other America
  - By Michael Harrington
  - Revealed that 20% of the population (40% of the black population) lived in poverty
  - Moved public to support many Great Society proposals
Poverty in the United States, 1960–1999

The graph shows the number of people in poverty and the poverty rate (%) over the years from 1960 to 1999.
Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

• Democrats
  – Johnson nominated
  – Most liberal platform since Truman’s Fair Deal
Lyndon Johnson
• Republicans
  – Arizonan Barry Goldwater nominated
  – Extremely conservative platform
    • Insisted that GOP offer “a choice not an echo”
    • “extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice…moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue”
  – Goldwater attacked federal income tax, Social Security, Tennessee Valley Authority, civil rights laws, nuclear test-ban treaty, and especially the Great Society
  – Republican slogan - “In Your Heart You Know He’s Right”
    • Democratic reply – “In Your Guts You Know He’s Nuts”
Barry Goldwater
Goldwater Campaign Button

Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.

GOLDWATER
IN '64
Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

- Democrats portrayed Goldwater as trigger-happy cowboy who would “Barry us” in WWIII
- Johnson was portrayed as reasonable statesman
Still From the Daisy Girl Commercial, in Which Johnson Charged that Goldwater Would Use the Bomb
Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

• August 1964 – Gulf of Tonkin incident
  – US ships worked with South Vietnamese gunboats in provocative raids along North Vietnamese coasts
  – August 2 and 4 – US destroyers allegedly fired on by North Vietnamese (without provocation)
    • Later investigations showed that North Vietnamese had probably fired in self-defense on August 2 and that the “attack” on August 4 never took place
1 of the 3 North Vietnamese Boats Attacking the Maddox on August 2
Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

• Johnson’s response to the Gulf of Tonkin incident
  – Ordered limited retaliatory air raid against North Vietnamese bases
  – Loudly proclaimed that he wanted “no wider war” – implying that Goldwater did
  – Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed
    • Only 2 dissenting votes
    • Lawmakers gave up war-declaring powers and gave Johnson blank check to wage war in Vietnam
    • Was “like grandma’s nightshirt—it covered everything”
Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

• Results of the election of 1964
  – Johnson won a landslide with 61% of the vote
    • 43 million to 27 million popular votes
    • 486 to 52 electoral votes
  – Goldwater carried only Arizona and 5 states in Deep South
    • South was traditionally Democratic, but moved to Republicans because of Democratic support for black civil rights
The Election of 1964
The Great Society Congress

- Democrats gained huge majorities in Congress, along with resounding defeat of Goldwater in 1964
  - Johnson used 2 to 1 Democratic majorities to pass flood of legislation
  - Johnson believed growing economy gave him fiscal and political room to deliver on Democratic promise of social reform
The Great Society Congress

- Office of Economic Opportunity
  - Budget doubled to $2 billion
- Appalachia
  - $1 billion granted to redevelop area after downturn in coal mining left unskilled, uneducated miners economically stranded
- 2 new cabinet offices
  - Department of Transportation
  - Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
- National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities
The Great Society Congress

• The Big Four legislative achievements of Great Society
  – Aid to education
  – Medical care for elderly and indigent
  – Immigration reform
  – New voting rights bill
The Great Society Congress

• Aid to education
  – Allowed funds to flow to parochial (church) schools, not only public ones
    • Avoided problematic issue of separation of church and state by granting aid directly to student, not school
The Great Society Congress

• Medical care for elderly and indigent
  – 1965 – Medicare and Medicaid became law
    • Medical care for elderly and poor
  – Created “entitlements” (like Social Security)
    • Conferred rights on certain categories of Americans continuously, without need for repeated congressional approval
The Great Society Congress

- Immigration reform
  - Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965
    - Abolished “national-origins” quota system in place since 1921
    - Doubled number of immigrants allowed to enter annually (to 290,000)
    - Set limits on immigrants from Western Hemisphere for first time (to 120,000)
    - Allowed admission of close relatives of US citizens outside of above numerical limits
  - Many took advantage of close family provision
  - Immigrants after 1965 shifted from Europe to Latin America and Asia, changing US population’s ethnic composition
The Great Society Congress

• Judging the Great Society
  – Conservatives charged that the billions had been wasted
  – In Johnson’s defense
    • Poverty did markedly decline
    • Medicare brought down poverty among elderly
    • Project Head Start increased educational performance of underprivileged youth
    • Infant mortality rates fell in minority communities
Battling for Black Rights

• Racial discrimination and voting
  – Civil rights laws were being passed, but not fast enough for many blacks
  – Mississippi had largest black minority of any state
    • Only 5% of those eligible were registered to vote
  – Ways to keep blacks from voting
    • Poll tax, literacy test, intimidation
    • Mississippi – blacks who wanted to register had to have their names published for 2 weeks in local newspapers (guaranteeing economic or violent reprisals)
Battling for Black Rights

• 1964 – opening up voting rights became primary goal of black organizers in South
  – 24th amendment (ratified February 1964) outlawed poll tax in federal elections
  – Freedom Summer (1964)
    • Blacks joined with white students in massive voter-registration drive in Mississippi
Battling for Black Rights

• White attacks during Freedom Summer
  – June 1964 – 1 black and 2 white civil rights workers disappeared in Mississippi
    • Badly beaten bodies found buried beneath an earthen dam
    • FBI arrested 21 white Mississippians (including a sheriff)
      – White juries refused to convict any of them
A Missing Persons Poster Displays the Photographs of Civil Rights Workers after They Disappeared in Mississippi
Battling for Black Rights

• Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party
  – Believed it represented the true Democratic Party from Mississippi, since actual Democratic Party disenfranchised blacks
  – August 1964 – delegation refused seats at national Democratic convention

• 1964 – only a few black Mississippians had succeeded in registering to vote
Protestors at the 1964 Democratic Convention Seeking to Seat the MFDP Delegates
Battling for Black Rights

- Early 1965 – King resumed voter-registration in Selma, Alabama
  - Blacks were 50% of the population but only 1% of the registered voters
  - State troopers used tear gas and whips to stop a peaceful march from Selma to Montgomery
Police in Selma Block the Road of the March Out of a Black Neighborhood in Selma
A Civil Rights Marcher Attempts to Ward Off the Attack of State Troopers
Police Officers Attack Civil Rights Marchers in Selma, Alabama
An Officer Approaches an Unconscious Woman at Selma
Police Officers Attack Civil Rights Marchers With Tear Gas in Selma, Alabama
A Civil Rights Marcher Suffering from Exposure to Tear Gas, Holds an Unconscious Woman in Selma, Alabama
Milestones in the Civil Rights Movement

1954: *Brown v. Board of Education*; Supreme Court rules public school segregation is unconstitutional

1957: Eisenhower sends federal troops to integrate Central High School

1960: Sit-in movement begins, spreads to Nashville, Atlanta, and Memphis

1961: Freedom Ride to Mississippi meets with violence in Atlanta, Anniston, and Montgomery

1962: Martin Luther King, Jr. and SCLC fail in desegregation attempt

1962: James Meredith integrates University of Mississippi

1963: Medgar Evers assassinated

1964: Volunteers arrive for Freedom Summer

1965: Selma to Montgomery march; state troopers use nightsticks, clubs, tear gas, and bullwhips on marchers

1966: March on Washington

1968: King's march for fair housing becomes a riot and fails

1968: Martin Luther King, Jr. killed

1968: King condemns U.S. role in Vietnam

1969: Malcolm X killed
Battling for Black Rights

• President Johnson made stirring speech on national television after events in Selma
  – Nation “must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice…And we shall overcome.”
Battling for Black Rights

• Voting Rights Act of 1965
  – Provisions
    • Outlawed literacy tests
    • Sent federal voter registrars to some Southern states
  – Importance
    • Passed 100 years after Civil War
    • “Give us the ballot and the South will never be the same again.” (Martin Luther King, Jr.)
    • Did not change South overnight, but put power to change South in blacks’ hands
The Rise of the African American Vote, 1940-1976

1940
- TOTAL: 3.0% of voting age blacks

1964
- TOTAL: 43.1% of voting age blacks

1968
- TOTAL: 62.0% of voting age blacks

1976
- TOTAL: 63.1% of voting age blacks

Percent of voting age blacks registered to vote
- Less than 10%
- 10-30%
- 30-50%
- 50-70%
- More than 70%
Black Power

• Passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked end of an era in civil rights movement
  – Pre-1965 – movement was focused on nonviolent demonstrations in South, led by moderates like King, and wanted to bring blacks into mainstream American society
  – Post-1965 – movement marked by militant confrontation, focusing on northern and western cities, led by radical and sometimes violent spokespersons, and often aimed not at interracial cooperation but at black separatism
    • Moderate Martin Luther King, Jr. attacked by new generation of younger black leaders
Black Power

• August 11, 1965 – Watts Riots
  – Black ghetto in Los Angeles
  – Blacks enraged by police brutality rioted for 5 days
    • Property burned, stores looted in their own neighborhood
  – Aftermath
    • 31 blacks, 3 whites killed
    • Over 1,000 people injured
    • Hundreds of buildings had been burned
Looters Carry Off Merchandise From a Watts Loan Shop
Black Smoke Over LA During Watts Riots
Burning Building During Watts Riots
Burned Out and Smoldering Buildings in the Aftermath of Watts Rioting
Aftermath of the Watts Riots
Urban Riots, 1965-1968

Riots in urban ghettos
- 1965–1966
- 1967–1968
Black Power

• Malcolm X
  – Born Malcolm Little
  – Joined Nation of Islam while in prison
  – Changed his last name to highlight fact that he did not know his real last name because of slavery
  – Pushed for black separatism, attacking “blue-eyed white devils”
  – Broke with Nation of Islam in 1964 and traveled to Mecca, where he saw white Muslims
    • Softened his attacks on whites
  – February 1965 – killed by 3 Nation of Islam members while speaking in New York City
Malcolm X
Police Moving the Body of Malcolm X After his Assassination
• Black Panthers
  – Flaunted weapons in Oakland, California
  – Stokely Carmichael preached “Black Power”
    • “will smash everything Western civilization has created”
Black Panther Party
Black Power

• Conflicting interpretations of Black Power among blacks
  – Some saw it as a broad effort to exercise political and economic rights and speed integration
  – Black nationalists (remembering Marcus Garvey) emphasized black distinctiveness
    • Promoted “Afro” hairstyles and dress
    • Dumped “white” names for new African ones
    • Demanded black studies programs in colleges
Black Power, 1968 Olympics
Black Power

• Just as the civil rights movement had achieved its greatest legal and political triumphs, more citywide riots took place
  – Summer 1967
    • Newark, New Jersey
    • Detroit, Michigan
Rioting at Newark, NJ, 1967
Burning Car at Newark Riot, 1967
Bayonet of National Guard During Detroit Riots 1967
Urban Riots, 1965-1968

Riots in urban ghettos

- 1965–1966
- 1967–1968
Black Power

• White backlash against black rioting
  – Some angrily threatened retaliation against ghetto arsonists and killers
  – Northerners could not understand rioting; had thought racism was only a Southern issue
Black Power

• Black problems in north
  – 1/2 the country’s blacks had moved north
  – Black Power demanded economic justice, not just civil rights
    • Example – black unemployment was double that of whites
  – New problems seemed unlikely to be solved by non-violent methods used in South
April 4, 1968 – Martin Luther King, Jr. killed by sniper in Memphis, Tennessee

- Cost Americans one of its most eloquent and non-violent voices for black equality
- Riots across US broke out
  - At least 40 people were killed
The Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.
Damage in a Chicago Business District Caused by Rioting after the Assassination of Dr. King
Destruction Caused by Chicago Riots After Dr. King's Assassination
Black Power

• Quiet progress made by blacks in late 1960s
  – Voter registration in South shot upward
  – Several hundred blacks elected to office
  – Black mayors elected in Cleveland and Gary, Indiana
  – By 1972 – 1/2 of all black kids went to integrated schools
  – 1/3 of black families had risen to middle class
    • Although 1/3 were still below poverty line
Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

• Dominican Republic
  – April 1965 – Dominicans rebelled against US-supported military government
  – Johnson announced country was under communist-sponsored overthrow
    • Sent 25,000 US troops to restore order
  – Reality was the rebellion was not communist-inspired
    • Instead result of long history of abuses by government
  – Johnson was condemned in US and in Latin America for invasion
Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

• Early 1965 – Johnson began escalation of Vietnam
  – February – Viet Cong guerillas attacked US air base at Pleiku, South Vietnam
    • Johnson ordered bombing raids against North Vietnam and US troops to Vietnam
  – March 1965 – “Operation Rolling Thunder”
    • Sustained bombing of North Vietnam targets
  – End of 1965 – 184,000 US troops in Vietnam (mostly in South)

• By 1968 – 500,000 troops and $30 billion annually sunk into Vietnam
Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1954–1975
Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

• Johnson’s Vietnam strategy
  – Fine-tuned escalation of US force would lead to defeat with minimum loss of life on both sides
  – But enemy matched every increase with more man and guerrilla warfare
U.S. Combat Troops in Vietnam

The graph illustrates the number of U.S. combat troops in Vietnam over time. The troops peaked at around 500,000 in 1968, increasing sharply from 1966 to 1968, and then decreasing again by 1972.
US Battle Deaths in Vietnam

The graph shows the number of U.S. battle deaths in thousands from 1962 to 1972. The peak number of deaths was in 1968.
The Other Ascent into the Unknown
Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

• South Vietnam during the war
  – Became spectators as war was Americanized
  – Corrupt governments came and went, sometimes lasting only a few months
Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

• Washington’s justifications for the war
  – Defending an important democratic ally
    • Fiction since South Vietnam’s many governments were brutally repressive
  – Test of US’s commitment and reliability
    • Allies would not believe US’s treaty pledges if Vietnam fell
Vietnam Vexations

• World problems and Vietnam
  – World opinion turned against US
    • Superpower blasting a tiny 3rd world nation was obscene
  – Several nations expelled US Peace Corps volunteers
  – 1966 – Charles de Gualle removed NATO from France
  – US commitment in Vietnam tied its hands elsewhere
Vietnam Vexations

• 1967 Six Day War in Middle East
  – Israel defeated Egypt, gaining Sinai Peninsula, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, and West Bank
    • 1 million Palestinians put under Israeli control
  – Israel gave up Sinai but moved settlers into other areas
  – Intensified Arab-Israeli conflict into bitter standoff that continues to plague US (and world) today
Israel Before the 6-Day War, June 1967
Cease-Fire Lines After the Six-Day War
Israel Today, after Giving up Most of the Territorial Gains Made During the Six-Day War
Vietnam Vexations

- Domestic protests over Vietnam
  - 1965 – campus “teach-ins”
  - Protests increased as war went worse and draft reached more young men
    - Hundreds of thousands marched in the streets
    - “Hell no, we won’t go!”
  - Draft resisters burned draft cards and went to Canada
  - News showed US troops burning hunts and civilians burned with napalm
    - “Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?”
A Teach-in, Analyzing and Criticizing US Policy in Vietnam
Young Men Hold Their Burning Draft Cards Up at an Anti-Vietnam War Demonstration in Front of the Pentagon
A US Soldier Sets Fire to One of the Huts in a Viet Cong Training Camp
Vietnamese Civilians Escaping an Accidental Napalm Bombing of Their Village
Aerial View of Vietnam War Demonstration at the Pentagon, October 1967
Lyndon Johnson, War Criminal
Members of the Women's Strike for Peace, 1967
Vietnam Vexations

• Opposition in Congress
  – Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
    • Headed by Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas
    • Held televised hearings on war in 1966 and 1967 in which prominent people aired (largely antiwar) views on war
Vietnam Vexations

• Opposition among the American people
  – Came to believe that it had been lied to about the causes and “winnability” of the war
  – “credibility gap” opened between what the government said and what the people believed
  – Number of antiwar “doves” increased (as opposed to pro-war “hawks”)
Vietnam Vexations

• Doubts within the administration
  – Secretary McNamara expressed concerns and was quietly eased out of the cabinet
Vietnam Vexations

• Early 1968 – Vietnam was longest and most unpopular war in US history
  – Government had utterly failed to explain rationale for war to US public
  – Critics wondered if any objective could be worth the price (blood and money)
It Was often Very Difficult to Determine Success or Failure in Vietnam
Vietnam Vexations

• Effects of the war on the US
  – 1967 – Johnson ordered CIA to spy on domestic antiwar activists
    • Clear violation of its charter
  – Johnson ordered FBI to use its counterintelligence program (Cointelpro) against peace movement
    • Used false accusations against “doves” of communist sympathies
Vietnam Vexations

• Evidence showed that US was fighting Asian civil war against motivated rebels who were fighting oppressive government
  – Johnson clung to original strategy of slowly ratcheting up pressure
  – Johnson claimed he could see “the light at the end of the tunnel”
    • Most Americans did not believe him
The Tunnel at the End of the Tunnel

Viestnam

Laos and Cambodia
Vietnam Topples Johnson

- January 1968 – Tet Offensive
  - Communist offensive simultaneously in 27 key South Vietnamese cities (including Saigon)
    - Eventually defeated by US forces – the Tet offensive was a military defeat for the Viet Cong
  - Importance of Tet
    - Showed that Johnson’s strategy of gradual escalation was not working
    - US public turned against the war, demanding end
    - Military leaders requested 200,000 more troops (staggering to public and policy makers alike)
The Tet Offensive, January–February 1968
The Aftermath of Tet
A South Vietnamese Officer Kills a Bound Viet Cong Suspect During the Tet Offensive
Impact of the Tet Offensive

TET OFFENSIVE

PARIS

Peace talks begin after the halt to bombing of North Vietnam

Talks make no progress

SOUTH VIETNAM

Huế destroyed; ARVN retakes cities and towns, but government loses support

Increased bombing in South Vietnam by Americans

Vietcong appear to be everywhere

General Westmoreland asks for more troops

USA

Johnson criticized by hawks and doves

Johnson decides not to run again

Democratic Party splinters

Riots in Chicago during Democratic Party convention

Nixon wins 1968 presidential election
“What the Hell is Ho Chi Minh Doing Answering Our Saigon Embassy Phone?”
Vietnam Topples Johnson

• Eugene McCarthy
  – Democratic senator from Minnesota
  – Gathered army of antiwar college students as campaign workers
    • Long-haired students went “clean for Gene” – shaving faces and cutting hair
  – March 12, 1968 – New Hampshire primary
    • Received 42% of the vote
    • Johnson received 49% - viewed as a loss because as incumbent he was expected to get much more
Eugene McCarthy
Vietnam Topples Johnson

• Robert Kennedy
  – Senator from New York
  – Announced he would run for president
    • 4 days after McCarthy’s showing in New Hampshire
  – Now a “dove” on Vietnam
Campaign Poster for Robert F. Kennedy, 1968
Robert Kennedy Shaking Hands with Supporters, 1968
Vietnam Topple Johnson

• March 31, 1968 – Johnson makes nationally televised address
  – Announced he would freeze US troop levels and scale back the bombing
  – “I shall not seek, and I will not accept the nomination of my party for another term as your president.”
• Had effect of preserving status quo (US could maintain maximum acceptable level of military activity in Vietnam while trying to negotiate peace with North Vietnam
Johnson Listens to a Tape Recorded Message from His Son-in-Law About the Fighting in Vietnam
Johnson’s Speech Announcing He Would Not Run Again For President
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

• Summer of 1968 – various Democrats fight for nomination
  – Vice president Hubert Humphrey
    • Seen as likely to continue policies of Johnson
  – Senator McCarthy and Senator Kennedy fought for “dove” vote, with Kennedy gaining momentum
  – June 5, 1968 – Kennedy beat McCarthy in important California primary
    • Midnight – Kennedy shot and killed by a Palestinian national (Sirhan Sirhan) angry at Kennedy’s support for Israel
Robert Kennedy Immediately After the Shooting
Sirhan Sirhan, Robert F. Kennedy's Killer
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

• August 1968 – Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois
  – Angry antiwar activists streamed into Chicago
  – Mayor Richard Daley barricaded convention hall with barbed wire (“Fort Daley”)
  – Militant demonstrations took place
    • Police called “pigs”, chanting in support of Ho Chi Minh, shouting obscenities, throwing bags of excrement at police lines
  – The “police riot”
    • Police attacked demonstrators, clubbing and tear gassing innocent and guilty (even reporters)
Delegates at the 1968 Democratic National Convention Protest the War
Thousands of Anti-War Demonstrators Confronted by Police in Chicago
Illinois National Guardsmen Close in on a Protestor in Chicago
Troops Holding Back Protesters at Chicago 1968 Democratic Convention
Police and Demonstrators Fighting Outside the Democratic National Convention
A Demonstrator Struggles with Chicago Police
A Peace Demonstrator Under Arrest
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

- Democratic nomination at Chicago convention
  - Humphrey won nomination on 1st ballot
    - Nomination still controlled by political “bosses”, not primaries
    - Antiwar Democrats felt betrayed
  - Humphrey blocked antiwar plant in Democratic platform
    - Instead, inserted declaration that war would continue until enemy was willing to negotiate
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

• Republican nomination
  – Convention in Miami, Florida
  – Former vice president Richard Nixon nominated
    • Acceptable to conservative (Goldwater) and moderate Republicans
    • “hawk” on Vietnam; right-leaning moderate on domestic issues
  – Governor Spiro Agnew (Maryland) nominated as vice president
    • Appealed to “law and order” southerners
    • Tough stands against protestors and black militants
  – Platform called for victory in Vietnam and strong anticrime policy
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

- American Independent Party nomination
  - Segregationist George C. Wallace
    - Former governor of Alabama who had tried to deny entrance to 2 black students in 1963
    - Attacked “pointy-headed bureaucrats” and protestors as “bums” who needed a bath
    - Pushed government to put blacks in their place with force
  - Vice presidential nominee former air force general Curtis LeMay
    - Wanted to bomb North Vietnamese “back to the Stone Age”
American Independent Party Candidate for President George Wallace
We’ll Let the Overcoat out All the Way, and the Robe Will Hardly Show at All.
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

• The choice in 1968
  – Both main parties supported an “honorable peace” (victory) in Vietnam
  – Millions of “doves” had no one to vote for
    • Many refused to vote for pro-war Humphrey
The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

• Results of the election of 1968
  – Nixon won a close race against Humphrey
    • 301 electoral votes; 43.4% of the popular vote (Nixon)
    • 191 electoral votes; 42.7% of the popular vote (Humphrey)
  – Democrats kept both houses of Congress
  – Nixon had won no mandate to do anything
    • Minority president who owed his election to divisions over war and protest
  – Wallace received almost 10 million votes and 46 electoral votes
    • Largest 3rd party vote in US history
    • Demonstrated power of “populist” politics (appealing to fears and resentments of voters)
    • Foreshadow of coarsening of US politics (to present)
The Election of 1968

1968

ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL: 538
35.5% 191
56.1% 301
12.9% 9,446,167
MINOR 1.3% 972,139

POPULAR VOTE TOTAL: 73,026,831
42.6% 30,898,055
43.2% 31,710,470

Republican (Nixon)
Democratic (Humphrey)
American Independent (Wallace)
The Obituary of Lyndon Johnson

• Johnson returned to Texas and died in 1973

• Failure of Great Society
  – Vietnam took money away from social programs
  – Tried to deliver “guns and butter” (war and domestic programs) but could not do either
    • Inflation and Viet Cong resistance

• Failure of Johnson’s Vietnam policies
  – Committed to Vietnam by Eisenhower and Kennedy
  – Johnson chose to escalate rather than leave
  – Persuaded by advisors that massive bombing and limited numbers of troops would lead to victory
  – Alienated both “hawks” and “doves”
    • Hawks wanted escalation; doves wanted pullout – Johnson did neither
"I knew from the start if I left a woman I really loved -- the Great Society -- in order to fight that bitch of a war in Vietnam then I would lose everything at home. My hopes my dreams."

Lyndon Johnson
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• 1960s – division between 2 different eras in terms of values, morals, and behavior
  – “Trust no one over thirty.”
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• Negative attitudes toward authority
  – Disillusionment about American history
    • Racism, sexism, imperialism, oppression
  – Young people lost traditional moral compass
    • Families, churches, schools, could not define behavior or values
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• Religious divide
  – Weekly churchgoing attendance dropped
  – Liberal Protestant churches suffered most
    • Educated professionals became more secular
    • Less educated became more religious (in conservative evangelical Protestant tradition)
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• Roots of breakdown of authority in 1950s
  – “Beat” poets like Allen Ginsberg
  – Rebellious novelist Jack Kerouac
    • On the Road (1957)
  – Movie stars like James Dean
    • Rebel without a Cause (1955)
Allen Ginsberg
James Dean
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• 1964 – Free Speech Movement
  – University of California at Berkeley
  – Students objected to administration ban on political debate in campus space
  – Used sit-ins to protest university committed to corporate interests
Mario Savio, a Founder of the Free Speech Movement at a Rally at UC Berkeley, 1964
Students Protest Restrictions on Political Activities at Berkeley
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• Vietnam radicalized middle class college students and led to a “counterculture”
  – Radical political issues
  – Mind-bending drugs
  – Acid rock
  – Communes where people could do “their own thing”
  – Young men wore long hair and earrings; young women wore jeans
A Love-In Demonstration, 1967
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• 1960s sexual revolution
  – Heterosexual sexuality
    • 1960 – birth control pill introduced
    • Many young people experimented with sexual activity
  – Gay rights
    • Gays demanded tolerance
    • 1969 – brutal attack by off-duty police at Stonewall Inn in New York energized gay militancy
  – Sexual revolution slowed after AIDS became prevalent in 1980s
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• Youthful revolutions in 1960s moved to violence and cynicism
  – Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) moved from antipoverty and antiwar to violent Weathermen
  – Civil rights demonstrations degenerated into urban riots
  – Drugs fried the brains of young people, spawning world of drug lords and addicts
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

- Backlash against counterculture
  - Seen as end of Western civilization
The Cultural Upheaval of the 1960s

• Long-term effects of 1960s protests
  – Had been caused by the youth population (Baby Boom), protest (Vietnam, racism), and prosperity
  – All 3 of these went away in 1970s
    • Youth grew older
    • Vietnam ended; civil rights movement lost force
    • Prosperity ended in stagnation of 1970s
  – Did not replace older values, but weakened their grip