

THE 1960s KENNEDY'S PRESIDENCY

I. Election of 1960

A. Nominees

1. Republicans nominated Vice President Richard M. Nixon
 - a. One of most active vice presidents in U.S. history
 - b. Traveled throughout the world as a "troubleshooter" in various capacities.
 - c. Defended US democracy in his Moscow "kitchen debate" w/ Khrushchev
2. Democrats nominated Senator John F. Kennedy
 - a. Lyndon B. Johnson, Senate majority leader, was Kennedy's runningmate
 - b. Acceptance speech:
 - i. Kennedy called upon American people for sacrifices to achieve their potential greatness
 - ii. The New Frontier
 - iii. "We stand today on the edge of a new frontier -- the frontier of the 1960s, a frontier of unknown opportunities and paths, a frontier of unfulfilled hopes & threats. The new frontier I speak is not a set of promises -- it is a set of challenges."

B. Campaign

1. Kennedy's Catholicism a major issue until Sept. 12 when he told a gathering of Protestant ministers that he accepted separation of church and state and that Catholic leaders would not tell him how to act as president.
2. Debates
 - a. First-time debates shown on national television
 - b. determined fate of the election
 - c. First debate most important (3 more followed)
 - i. Those listening on the radio gave the edge to Nixon.
 - ii. Those watching TV gave the edge to Kennedy
3. Kennedy earned the support of African Americans when he arranged to have Martin Luther King released from a Georgia jail (for having been involved in a protest)

C. Result

1. Kennedy d. Nixon
 - a. by slightly over 100,000 popular votes
 - b. 303-219 in electoral votes
 - c. Closest election in U.S. history; difference less than 1/10 of 1%
2. Only Catholic president in U.S. history
3. youngest to be elected at age 43.
4. Democrats swept both houses in Congress, although lost a few seats

D. Inaugural speech: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

II. Kennedy's domestic policy

A. Legislative failures:

1. JFK unable to get much through Congress
2. due to resistance from Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats.
3. Congress blocked plans for
 - a. federal aid to education
 - b. urban renewal
 - c. medical care the aged
 - d. reductions in income taxes
 - e. creation of Dept. of Urban Affairs
4. LBJ would later get these measures passed

B. Minimum wage

1. raised from \$1 to \$1.25 an hour
2. extended to 3 million more workers.

- C. Area Redevelopment Act of 1961: provided \$400 million in loans to "distressed areas."
- D. Housing Act of 1961:
 - 1. Provided nearly \$5 billion over four years
 - 2. for preservation of open urban spaces, development of mass transit, and the construction of middle class housing.
- E. Steel Prices: 1961, Kennedy "jawboned" the steel industry into overturning a price increase after having encouraged labor to lower its wage demands.
- F. Space Race
 - 1. Kennedy promoted \$24 billion project to land an American on the moon.
 - 2. the U.S. was behind the Russians in space technology.
 - 3. Critics charge money could be better spent elsewhere.
 - 4. 1969, Apollo 11 mission transported two American astronauts successfully to the moon: Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin (Go Blue!)
- G. The Kennedys continued their crusade against organized crime
- H. Robert Kennedy (RFK) was JFK's attorney general

III. JFK and Civil Rights

- A. Did nothing during his first two years.
 - 1. Tried to avoid losing either white or black southern vote.
 - 2. Most civil rights initiatives were merely symbolic
 - 3. RFK's attempts at enfranchisement in the South was largely unsuccessful
 - a. Only small percentage of blacks able to register due to spelling mistakes on literacy tests, poll taxes, white primaries, and grandfather clauses.
 - b. White segregationists wreaked terror on Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC – "snick"); church bombings; assaults on blacks
 - 4. While Kennedy was initially able to satisfy both sides of the issue, the rise of civil rights militants forced his hand.
- B. Kennedy and the militants
 - 1. May 1961, Freedom Riders organized by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)
 - a. Rode interstate buses to verify that segregation was not occurring.
 - b. In Alabama, Freedom Riders were arrested by police, state troopers, and National Guard; some were severely beaten.
 - c. More Freedom Riders kept coming all summer.
 - d. RFK petitioned Interstate Commerce Commission to issue a ruling against segregation of interstate facilities; sent 400 marshals to protect freedom riders.
 - e. ICC made the announcement on Sept. 22, 1961; CORE victorious.
 - 2. Sept. 1962
 - a. JFK had to send the U.S. Army to enforce a court order
 - b. to enroll James Meredith in the U of Mississippi ("Ole Miss)
 - c. Kennedy was losing control of the segregation issue.
 - 3. Showdown in Birmingham, Alabama
 - a. 1963, Birmingham closed parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and golf courses to avoid desegregation.
 - b. b. King chose Birmingham because it was the toughest challenge and a victory would break segregation.
 - c. MLK and supporters arrested on Good Friday for marching without a permit and spent 2 weeks in jail.
 - d. "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was 'well-timed' in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the worked "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never." We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that justice too long delayed is justice denied." -- Martin Luther King, Letter from a Birmingham Jail

- e. After his release, King began using black school children in the demonstrations:
 - i. Police commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor used cattle prods and ordered police dogs on demonstrators and used fire hoses on children as world watched in horror.
 - ii. Public pressure mounted for civil rights legislation.
 - iii. Local business leaders gave in and agreed to desegregate the big department stores.
 - iv. King called off the demonstrations.
 - f. Shortly after, King's motel was bombed as was his brother's home
 - i. Rioting erupted.
 - ii. Kennedy decided to side with King.
4. Kennedy actively pursues civil rights
- a. June 1963
 - i. JFK federalized Alabama National Guard
 - ii. to enforce a court order requiring the admission of two blacks to the University of Alabama.
 - b. Governor George Wallace
 - i. symbolically stood in the doorway
 - ii. protesting that states' rights were being crushed
 - iii. earlier had said in his inaugural speech: "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."
 - c. That night, Medgar Evers, NAACP director in Mississippi, was assassinated
 - d. Seen as retaliation for University of Alabama incident
 - e. In response, JFK announced he would send Congress a civil rights bill
 - i. would crush segregation
 - ii. outlaw discrimination in elections
 - iii. give justice department authority to enforce school integration.
 - f. March on Washington, August 28, 1963
 - i. Largest protest in nation's history thus far: 200,000
 - ii. Organized in part by A. Philip Randolph
 - iii. Protesters demanded
 - ◆ support for Kennedy's civil rights bill
 - ◆ for better and more jobs.
 - iv. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his "I have a dream" speech
 - v. "I have a dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal'....I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plains, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.... This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, 'My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring'..... When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!'"
 - vi. By the time JFK was assassinated, his civil rights bill was moving toward passage in the House.

IV. Kennedy and the Cold War

- A. "flexible response" -- Kennedy developed conventional military strategies to deal with difficult challenges around the world.
 - 1. Khrushchev: "Soviets would back wars of liberation" in third world countries.
 - 2. During presidential election of 1960, Kennedy had criticized Eisenhower for allowing a "missile gap" that favored the Soviets.
 - 3. When JFK became president, he learned that the gap was actually in favor of the US
 - 4. yet he continued the largest peacetime military buildup in history
 - 5. Kennedy ordered buildup of conventional armed forces to fight localized wars in the Third World.
 - a. Replaced Ike's heavy reliance on nuclear weapons.
 - b. Set up Green Berets (elite commando force)
 - c. Built up nuclear arsenal for 2nd strike capability.
- B. Bay of Pigs
 - 1. Early 1960, Eisenhower authorized CIA to organize, train, and arm in Central America a brigade of 1,400 Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba to overthrow Fidel Castro.
 - 2. Invaders would presumably trigger a popular uprising in Cuba
 - 3. JFK continued the plan
 - 4. In April 1961, Bay of Pigs invasion pinned down and forced to surrender
 - a. Kennedy had decided a day earlier against direct U.S. intervention
 - b. he did not want to spark an international diplomatic crisis.
 - c. Some 1,189 men were captured, 400 killed, only 14 exiles rescued
 - 5. Cuban people did not support the invasion
 - 6. Kennedy publicly took full responsibility on national TV for the ill-conceived mission.
 - 7. Privately Kennedy blamed the CIA for faulty information
 - 8. Significance: brought USSR and Cuba closer together in planning for defense of a future U.S. invasion.
- C. Operation Mongoose
 - 1. CIA-backed plan to overthrow and assassinate Fidel Castro
 - 2. Ultimately failed and abandoned after Cuban Missile Crisis.
- D. Peace Corps – one of Kennedy's most popular programs
 - 1. Est. in 1961, sent young volunteers (doctors, lawyers and engineers) to third world countries to contribute their skills in locally sponsored projects to improve economic stagnation, poor health and inadequate education.
 - 2. Alternative to military containment of communism.
 - 3. By 1966, 15,000 volunteers served in 46 countries but were often overwhelmed.
- E. Alliance for Progress
 - 1. 1961, JFK gave \$20 billion in aid to Latin America ("Latin American Marshall Plan")
 - 2. Primary goal was to help Latin American countries to close the gap between rich and poor thus quieting communist sympathies.
 - 3. Result: Little positive impact on Latin America's social problems.
- F. Berlin Wall
 - 1. 1949-1961 -- Thousands of East Germans flee to West Berlin.
 - 2. Khrushchev delivered new ultimatum on Berlin
 - 3. saw U.S. weakness in Bay of Pigs
 - 4. USSR would give Berlin to East Germany
 - 5. strip western access to Berlin
 - 6. Kennedy: US would not abandon West Berlin
 - 7. USSR announced increase in defense
 - 8. Kennedy asked for a \$3.2 billion increase as well.
 - 9. August 1961 – Soviet Union builds wall separating West Berlin from the rest of Berlin and East Germany almost overnight.
 - 10. Purpose: Stem the flow of 100,000 people leaving East Berlin
 - 11. Kennedy calls up 1,500 US reserves to reinforce West German garrisons.
 - 12. On personal trip to Berlin: "Ich bin eine Berliner"
 - 13. Tensions eased as treaty not signed between USSR and East Germany
 - 14. Air and land routes to West Berlin were kept open.

15. Wall remained until November, 1989
- G. Cuban Missile Crisis (Summer & October 1962)
 1. Khrushchev began placing nuclear weapons in Cuba
 2. 90 miles off Florida coast in October 1962.
 3. Soviets intended to use weapons to force U.S. into backing down on Berlin, Cuba, and other troubled areas.
 4. Only the Pacific Northwest was out of range from the Soviet missiles.
 5. Oct. 14, U.S. aerial photographs revealed Russians were secretly and speedily installing nuclear missiles.
 - a. Warning of missile attack would shrink from 30 minutes to 2 minutes
 - b. U.S. unaware that tactical nuclear missiles were also in Cuba.
 - c. Designed to destroy invading armies.
 - d. Soviets also had nuclear cruise missiles to destroy U.S. Navy near Cuba.
 6. October 22, JFK ordered a naval "quarantine" of Cuba and demanded immediate removal of Soviet missiles from Cuba.
 7. Kennedy also stated any attack by Cuba on US or any other Latin American country would result in a full retaliatory response on the Soviet Union.
 8. Organization of American States had given Kennedy their full support.
 9. Kennedy rejected "surgical" bombing strikes against missile launching sites fearing it might mean war; no guarantees that all missiles would be hit.
 10. rejected US invasion of Cuba (many in cabinet & military favored this)
 11. Unbeknownst to Kennedy, Soviet tactical nuclear weapons in Cuba could have destroyed invading American army.
 12. Had US invaded, WWII would most likely have begun.
 13. Kennedy made the announcement on national television; Americans shocked
 14. All US forces put on full alert.
 15. For a week, world watched as the Soviet ship carrying missiles steamed toward Cuba.
 - a. Any U.S. attack would trigger war between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.
 - b. October 24, 16 Soviet ships stopped before they reached the blockade
 16. October 26, Khrushchev agreed to remove missiles if U.S. removed its missiles from Turkey and vowed not to attack Cuba.
 - a. This agreement publicly favored Kennedy as the U.S. quietly pulled its Turkish missiles out 6 months later.
 - b. Agreement can be seen as a victory for Khrushchev: he saved Cuba and got U.S. missiles removed from Turkey.
- H. New spirit of cooperation
 1. Kennedy and Khrushchev realized they had come dangerously close to nuclear war and had to work to prevent that likely from ever again occurring.
 2. Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (July, 1963)
 - a. Banned the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons:
 - b. land, sea, and outer space.
 3. Khrushchev refused on-site inspections.
 - a. Did not reduce stockpiles
 - b. Signed by all major powers except France and China.
 - c. JFK considered the treaty his greatest achievement
 4. Hot-line installed with 24-hour access between Moscow and Washington.

V. Assassination of JFK

- A. November 22, 1963, Kennedy assassinated in Dallas while on a southern tour to drum up support for his policies; pronounced dead at 1 p.m.
- B. Lee Harvey Oswald
 1. alleged assassin arrested in a Dallas movie theater shortly after he allegedly killed a Dallas police officer.
 2. Oswald killed a few days later by Jack Ruby, affiliated with the Mafia.
- C. Warren Commission report stated that Oswald was the lone assassin
 1. ordered by LBJ

2. "Magic bullet theory" states that one single bullet went through Kennedy's back, out his neck, and inflicted several wounds to Texas governor Connolly.
- D. Later views question the magic bullet, Oswald's alleged connections with Moscow, and mysteries surrounding Kennedy's autopsy

JOHNSON'S PRESIDENCY

I. President Lyndon B. Johnson and the Election of 1964

- A. Pledged to continue Kennedy's policies when he became president in Nov. 1963.
 1. Rammaged Kennedy's stalled Civil Rights and tax cut bills through Congress
 2. LBJ one of very few southern Democrats in favor of civil rights.
 3. Began his "War on Poverty" by pushing bills through Congress costing billions.
 4. 1964 tax cut of about \$10 billion resulted in an economic boom.
- B. Election of 1964
 1. Democrats nominated LBJ on the platform of "The Great Society"
 - a. Sweeping set of New Deal-type economic and welfare measures
 - b. aimed to transform America
 - c. Public sentiment aroused by Michael Harrington's *The Other America* (1962)
 - d. showed 20% of US population and over 40% of blacks lived in poverty
 2. Republicans nominated Barry Goldwater
 - a. senator from Arizona
 - b. Attacked:
 - i. federal income tax
 - ii. Social Security System
 - iii. the TVA
 - iv. civil rights legislation
 - v. nuclear test ban treaty
 - vi. the Great Society
 - c. Considered the "father of the modern conservatism"
 - d. Reagan's platform in 1980 very similar to Goldwater's in 1964
 3. Campaign
 - a. Johnson used Gulf of Tonkin Resolution to show he was a statesman
 - b. would not expand the war in Vietnam
 - c. offered economic reform: "Great Society"
 - d. Characterized Goldwater the warmonger who might start a nuclear war.
 - e. Goldwater disenchanted many of his fellow Republicans with his extremism.
 - i. Suggested US field commanders be given discretionary authority to use tactical nuclear weapons.
 - ii. Many Republicans more moderate in terms of social programs
 4. Results: Johnson d. Goldwater
 - a. Electoral: 486 – 52
 - b. Popular: about 43 million to 27 million
 - c. Democrats swept both houses of Congress with lopsided majorities.
 - d. Democratic president and Democratic Congress
 - e. now had a mandate for an unprecedented passage of legislation in the next four years.

II. The Great Society

- A. War on Poverty (after election of 1964)
- B. Office of Economic Opportunity ("Equal Opportunity Act")
 1. Appropriation doubled to nearly \$2 billion.
 2. Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1966
 - a. Congress allocated \$1.1 billion to redevelop isolated mountain areas.
 3. Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
 - a. More than \$1 billion given to aid elementary & secondary education.
 4. Head Start prepared educationally disadvantaged children for elementary school.

- C. Medicare Act of 1965 passed for the elderly.
 - 1. Supported by millions of Americans being pushed to poverty by skyrocketing medical costs.
- D. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) created in 1966
 - 1. Provided for 240,000 housing units and \$2.9 billion for urban renewal.
 - 2. Robert C. Weaver, HUD secretary, became first African American cabinet member in U.S. history
- E. Immigration Act of 1965
 - 1. Discontinued national origins system from the 1920s
 - 2. Immigration now based on first-come first-serve basis
 - 3. Immigrants with families already residing in US had precedence.
 - 4. Immigration on things such as skills and need for political asylum
 - 5. Artists, scientists and political refugees given preference.
 - 6. Act more than doubled number of immigrants coming in each year
 - 7. mostly from Asia and Latin America.
- F. Consumer protection laws passed
 - 1. for full disclosure of cost of credit when borrowing money
 - 2. regulating use of harmful chemicals in food.
- G. Culture
 - 1. National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities aimed to lift level of U.S. culture
 - 2. Public Broadcasting System created (PBS)
- H. Water Quality Act (1965) – Federal gov't could set clean water standards for states to force industry to clean up the nation's lakes and rivers.
- I. Space program continued: US won the space race.

III. Triumph of civil rights (part of the Great Society)

- A. 24th Amendment (ratified in January 1964): Abolished the poll tax in federal elections.
- B. Civil Rights Bill of 1964
 - 1. Johnson's skill with Congress allowed him to get Kennedy's bill passed.
 - 2. Provisions
 - a. Forbade segregation in hotels, motels, restaurants, lunch counters, theaters, and sporting arenas that did business in interstate commerce
 - b. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created to enforce the law.
 - c. Relieved individuals of responsibility for bringing discrimination complaints to court themselves; federal government now responsible.
 - d. Eliminated remaining restrictions on black voting.
 - e. Title VII: Discrimination based on race, religion, gender and national origin was illegal.
 - 3. Result: Most businesses in the South's cities and larger towns desegregated immediately.
- C. Voting Rights Act of 1965
 - 1. Legislation still did not address the 15th Amendment guaranteeing the right to vote.
 - 2. March from Selma to Washington
 - a. Only 383 out of 15,000 African Americans registered to vote in Selma, Alabama
 - b. After 2 months of beatings, arrests, and one murder, civil rights leaders in Selma announced a climactic protest march from Selma to Montgomery.
 - c. First march: state troopers violently ended the march on bridge outside Selma.
 - d. March 9, Martin Luther King led a second march
 - i. This time he halted on the bridge and marched back to Selma as protesters sang "We Shall Overcome"
 - ii. King had agreed to President Johnson's request to discontinue march
 - e. March 15, Johnson promised on TV to send a bill to Congress that would extend voting rights to African Americans in the Deep South.
 - f. March 21, March proceeded peacefully from Selma to Montgomery with the protection of the federalized Alabama National Guard.
 - 3. Provisions:

- a. Literacy tests unlawful if less than 50% of all voting-age citizens were registered. If so, African Americans could be enrolled whether or not they could read.
 - b. If local registrars would not enroll African Americans, the president could send federal examiners who would
 - c. This gave teeth to the Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - d. As a result, 740,00 African Americans registered to vote in three years.
 - i. Hundreds of African Americans elected by the late 1960s in the Old South.
 - ii. African Americans no longer feared white reprisals during elections.
 - iii. Southerners now began courting African American votes and businesses.
 - iv. For first time since Reconstruction, African Americans migrated into the South.
- D. Affirmative Action (part of the Great Society)
- 1. Johnson signed an executive order in 1965 requiring employers on federal contracts to take "affirmative action" to ensure underprivileged minorities and women were hired.
 - 2. President Nixon later furthered affirmative action.
 - 3. Countless American corporations that did business with the gov't, colleges and universities that received federal scholarship and research funding became obligated to meet guidelines.
 - 4. Result: Black, Asian, and Hispanic enrollment in universities increased dramatically.
 - 5. 1970s saw cries of "reverse discrimination"
 - a. the economy began to suffer
 - b. whites faced increased competition for jobs or were denied promotions and students were denied college admission.
 - 6. *Bakke* case, 1978
 - a. Supreme Court ruled that Allan Bakke, a white medical student, was unfairly turned down to medical school because of an admissions program that favored minorities.
 - b. Court declared preference in admissions could not be given to members of any group on the basis of ethnic or racial identity alone.
 - 7. Jesse Jackson became a leading advocate in the 1970s and 1980s for the continuing of affirmative action and the furthering of civil rights.
 - 8. Affirmative action weakened by Supreme Court in late 1980s & 1990s
 - 9. Current Case re: Univ. of Michigan pending
- E. 1967, Johnson appointed Thurgood Marshall as first African American to Supreme Court
- F. Forced busing
- 1. 1968, Supreme Court ordered end to de facto segregation of nation's school.
 - 2. Court ordered school districts to bus children from all-minority neighborhoods in the center cities to achieve integration of schools.
 - 3. Issue became controversial with middle class suburban whites in early 1970s into 1990s
- G. African-American civil rights movement in retrospect
- 1. Years between 1954 and 1968 seen as "2nd Reconstruction"
 - 2. Equality before the law largely achieved.
 - 3. Other minorities, e.g. women, Native Americans, Hispanics and gays looked to civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s as a model for their own efforts.

IV. Rise of Black Power and racial violence

- A. Not all African Americans agreed with Martin Luther King's non-violent methods.
 - a. After the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 King's ideas seemed obsolete to many young blacks.
 - b. Many questioned whether it was a good idea for blacks to try to integrate with whites.
- B. Black Separatism
 - a. Called for the separation of the races in America by returning to Africa or occupying an exclusive area of land in the US supplied by the federal gov't.

- i. Opposite of integration.
 - ii. Inspired by ideas of Marcus Garvey
 - iii. Nation of Islam (black Muslim movement) most notable and well-organized
 - b. Malcolm X
 - i. Most vocal and brilliant orator of Nation of Islam
 - ii. “The white people should thank Dr. King for holding black people in check.”
 - iii. Preached religious justification for black separatism and furthering of African American rights through “any means necessary.”
 - 1. Advocated use of weapons for self-defense believing nonviolence encouraged white violence
 - 2. Many in the white community were alarmed
 - iv. His views softened after his pilgrimage to Mecca
 - v. left Nation of Islam
 - vi. February 21, 1965, assassinated by members of Nation of Islam
- C. SNCC and Stokely Carmichael
 - a. Influenced by Malcolm X
 - b. 1966, CORE and SNCC called for civil rights movements to be staffed, controlled and financed by blacks
 - c. thus rejecting interracial cooperation
 - d. Black nationalism replaced integration as the goal.
 - e. Black Power – attempt to seize political power in an Alabama election.
 - f. Carmichael later a member of Black Panthers, based in Oakland, and founded by urban revolutionaries Huey Newton and Bobby Seale.
 - i. Revolutionary social movement to organize African American men in northern and western cities to fight for liberation.
 - ii. H. Rap Brown another leader of the movement.
- D. Racial violence
 - a. Poverty, unemployment, & racial discrimination common in major inner cities.
 - b. Empty promise of racial equality in the North ignited rage in many African American communities
 - c. "Long Hot Summers": throughout summers of 1965, 1966 & 1967, racial disorders hit.
 - i. Watts Riots
 - 1. Los Angeles, August 11-16, 1965
 - 2. 34 people dead
 - 3. 1,072 injured
 - 4. 4,000 arrested
 - 5. 1,000 buildings destroyed
 - 6. property loss nearly \$40 million
 - ii. 1967, 7,000 arrested in Detroit
 - 1. White businesses targeted but many black businesses inadvertently burned.
 - 2. Snipers prevented fire fighters from doing their work.
 - iii. During first 9 months of 1967, more than 150 cities reported incidents of racial disorders
 - d. Kerner Commission
 - i. appointed by LBJ to investigate the riots
 - ii. Conclusion:
 - 1. Frustrated hopes of African Americans led to violence.
 - 2. Approval and encouragement of violence both by white terrorists and by black protest groups led to violence
 - 3. Blacks had a sense of being powerless in a society dominated by whites.
 - iii. Recommended:
 - 1. Elimination of all racial barriers in jobs, education, and housing
 - 2. Greater public response to problems of racial minorities
 - 3. Increased communication across racial lines.

- E. Assassination of Martin Luther King
 - a. April 4, 1968
 - b. 39-year-old minister shot while standing on a balcony in Memphis.
 - c. King was working to increase wages for Memphis trash collectors.
- F. King had lost many supporters when he opposed the Vietnam War.
 - a. Was attempting to rebuild his support – speech on April 3rd:
 - b. "We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountain top. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight... that we as a people will get to the promised land."

V. Rise of the "New Left" and Counterculture

- A. Impact of baby boom generation
 - 1. 1950 – 1 million went to college
 - 2. 1960 – 4 million
 - 3. Raised largely in economic security
 - 4. 75% of college students came from families with income above the national average.
 - 5. Student protest movement only a minority of student population – 10-15%
- B. New Left
 - 1. By mid-1960s majority of Americans were under age 30.
 - 2. Universities became perceived as bureaucracies indifferent to student needs.
 - 3. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
 - a. headed by Tom Hayden
 - b. called for "participatory democracy" in universities.
 - 4. Free Speech Movement
 - a. Students at U.C. Berkeley started sit-ins in 1964 to protest prohibition of political canvassing on campus.
 - b. Came to emphasize the criticism of the bureaucracy of American society.
 - c. Police broke up a sit-in in December
 - d. protests spread to other campuses
 - 5. SDS would become more militant during the Vietnam War.
- C. Many of America's youth became critical of U.S. policy and turned to alternative lifestyles
 - 1. Music: Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger
 - 2. Beatles became influenced by Americans counterculture
 - 3. Woodstock, 1969
 - a. three days of sex, drugs and rock & roll
 - b. Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin

VI. The Warren Court

- A. Chief Justice Earl Warren
 - 1. appointed to the Supreme Court by Eisenhower in 1953.
 - 2. His Court considered one of the two creative periods in US history
 - 3. John Marshall is considered to be the first of the great creative periods.
 - 4. Warren's court stressed personal rights (esp. 1st Amendment)
 - 5. placed personal rights in a preferred constitutional position.
- B. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) most important of his court's decisions.
- C. Reapportionment decisions – "one-person, one-vote"
 - 1. Result has been an electoral reform shifting voting power from rural districts to urban and suburban areas.
 - 2. Required states redraw their voting districts for the U.S. Congress according to population so that each district had roughly the same number of people.
- D. Rights of the accused
 - 1. *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963): Established that people accused of a crime have the right to a lawyer, even if they cannot afford one.
 - 2. *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964): Ruled that one has the right to a lawyer from the time of arrest or when one becomes the subject of a criminal investigation.

3. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966): Required that accused people be informed of their right to a lawyer and their right not to testify against themselves.
- E. School Prayer: 1962, banned school prayer and religious exercises in public schools.

VII. Women's Rights

A. Commission on the Status of Women

1. Eleanor Roosevelt's
2. highlighted inequalities women faced
3. endorsed improvements in education
4. equal employment
5. child care
6. governmental opportunities for women

B. Betty Friedan

1. *Feminine Mystique* (1963)
2. Considered a classic of women's protest literature
3. Criticized plight of women with domestic duties (cult of domesticity) who also had to work full-time employment at jobs that paid less than men's
4. With other feminists founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966
 - a. Called for equal employment opportunities and equal pay.
 - b. Argued for changes in divorce laws to make settlements more fair to women
 - c. Sought legalization of abortion (most controversial issue)
 - d. ERA
 - i. 1967, began advocating an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution
 - ii. extending the same guarantees contained in the 14th Amendment for racial and religious minorities
 - iii. Alice Paul had started this idea in 1923
 - iv. Passed in Congress in 1972
 - v. failed by early 1980s to get required 38 states necessary for ratification.
 - vi. Failed to pass as movement
 - ◆ limited to middle class women
 - ◆ pro-life groups argued against it
 - ◆ some feared
 - i. ERA would deny them rights to financial support in case of divorce
 - ii. would end special treatment women had received in the way of "protective" courtesies in a male-dominated society.
 - iii. Opposition spearheaded by Phyllis Schlafly

C. Gains

1. 1972, federal gov't required colleges receiving federal funds to establish "affirmative action" programs for women to ensure equal opportunity.
2. *Roe v. Wade* (1973) Legalized abortion
3. Hitherto states had the right to determine legality of abortion.
4. Several corporations forced to provide back wages to female employees who had not received equal pay for equal work
5. Also had to abolish hiring and promotion practices that discriminated against women (Title VII of Civil Rights Act of 1964)
6. Woman experienced more inclusion in the military
7. Title IX guaranteed equal access for girls to programs boys benefited from (e.g. sports)
8. Sally Ride – first female astronaut
9. Geraldine Ferraro – became first woman to be on major presidential ticket

VIII. Other minorities fight for rights

A. Chicanos (Mexican-Americans)

1. Caesar Chavez

- a. led the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC)
 - b. succeeded in gaining improved work conditions for mostly Chicano agricultural workers.
- 2. La Raza Unida – locally-based political parties sought to increase the Mexican-American vote in urban areas.
- B. Native Americans
 - 1. American Indian Movement (AIM) founded in 1968
 - 2. AIM seized Indian Bureau in Washington in 1972
 - 3. Protested desperate conditions in reservations
 - a. unemployment
 - b. illiteracy
 - 4. 1973, militant Indians led by leaders of AIM and the Oglala Sioux occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota.
 - a. Held it for two months and gained national publicity.
 - i. Several Indians dead and 300 arrested.
 - ii. Leaders acquitted
 - b. Eventually led to Indian gain of lost fishing rights and receiving of millions of dollars in payments for lands taken earlier in US history.
- C. Gay rights movement emerged later using civil rights laws to win discrimination cases.

IX. Johnson's legacy

- A. No president had shown more compassion for the poor, the ill educated, and minorities.
 - 1. Achievements of first 3 years compared with successes of the New Deal.
 - 2. Poverty rate declined measurably in the next decade.
 - a. Medicare dramatically reduced poverty among America's elderly.
 - b. Anti-poverty programs, such as Head Start, significantly improved the educational performance of underprivileged youth.
 - c. Infant mortality rates fell in minority communities as general health conditions improved.
- B. No president since Lincoln had worked harder or done more for civil rights.
- C. "Great Society" programs heavily criticized by conservatives in subsequent years.
 - 1. Most programs extremely costly and eventually required increased taxes to fund them.
 - 2. Dubbed Great Society as "social engineering" that could not be solved simply by allocating billions of dollars.
- D. The Vietnam War siphoned off much of the energy of the Great Society
 - 1. Inflation racked the Great Society programs.
 - 2. War on Poverty eventually went down in defeat.
 - 3. Johnson's handling of the war caused the turbulence that characterized the 1960s and led to America's skepticism over its government.