

Chapter 34

- I. Kennedy's New Frontier
 - A. Election of 1960
 1. **Nixon** as politician – “**Tricky Dick**”; two-faced etc.; shrewd intelligence; love for politics; Republican
 2. **Kennedy's** background – inexperienced; political rise b/c of father's campaigning; like FDR he hid his medical problems
 3. The campaign
 - a. Neutralization of religion – said that no Catholic official would tell the president what to do
 - b. Television debates – Nixon agreed to debate Kennedy (shouldn't have); Nixon looked haggard, uneasy, sinister on TV; Kennedy looked calm, had crisp answers
 4. Results – Closest election since 1888; Kennedy wins
 - B. Kennedy's administration
 1. Caliber of appointments – best/brightest minds available;
 2. **Kennedy style** – tone of elegance & youthful vigor; uplifting rhetoric in speeches
 - C. Domestic record
 1. No control over congress; blocked most programs
 2. Drastic tax-cut blocked by congress in 1963
 3. Legislative successes
 - a. Foreign aid – “**Alliance for Progress**” to help Latin America
 - b. **Peace Corps** (1961) – volunteers that provide edu/tech aid abroad
 - c. **Trade expansion act of 1962** – tariff cuts avg. 35% with European Common Market
 - d. **Housing Act** - \$5 bil for urban renewal over 4 years
 - e. Increased minimum wage - \$1 → \$1.25
 - f. **Area Redevelopment Act of 1961** - \$400 mil in loans/grants to distressed areas
 - g. **Space race** – accl. Space program; land man on moon before end of 60s
 - D. The **Warren Court**
 1. School prayer by NY State Board of Regents violated constitution b/c no est. religion
 2. Criminal justice
 - a. *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) – all felons provided lawyer even if can't afford one
 - b. *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964) – must be allowed to consult w/ lawyer before interrogation
 - c. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) – must be informed of basic right to: remain silent, know that anything can be used against you in court, defense attorney during interrogation; establishes rules for informing suspects of legal rights
 - E. Growing movement for civil rights
 1. Kennedy's position – like FDR, celebrated equality, didn't promote it
 2. Sit-ins
 - a. Mass movement – 4 black college students at Woolworth → 54 cities in 9 states
 - b. SNCC – **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** worked with MLK's **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**
 - c. Freedom songs developed; similar to slave spiritual songs
 3. **Freedom rides** – **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** tests banned segregation on busses
 4. Federal intervention
 - a. Integration of “Ole Miss” – **Gov. Ross Barnett** wouldn't let **James Meredith** enroll at **U of Miss.**; **Attny-Gen. Robert Kennedy** sends fed. marshals to enforce law; white mob attacks marshals; federal troops intervene; Meredith registers at “Ole Miss”
 - b. **Birmingham** demonstrations

- i. Nonviolent demonstrations in Birmingham → police commissioner Eugene “Bull”: Connor uses attack dogs, tear gas, fire hoses on televised protest
 - ii. “**Letter from Birmingham Jail**” – MLK shifts strategy → educate white southerners about injustice of discrimination
 - c. JFK’s changing position – decides that new legislation is needed
 - d. **Gov. George Wallace** blocks enrollment of blacks at **U of Alabama**; federal marshals enforce law → desegregation of U of AL
5. **March on Washington** – largest civil rights demonstration; MLK’s famous “I have a dream” speech;

F. Foreign frontiers

1. **Bay of Pigs** disaster – poorly planned/executed plot to overthrow **Castro** in **Cuba**
2. **Vienna Summit** – **Khrushchev** bullies Kennedy; threatens to limit Western access to Berlin; Kennedy calls up Army Reserve & Nat’l Guard; Soviets build **Berlin Wall**
3. **Berlin Wall** – restricted movement between E & W Berlin
4. **Cuban missile crisis**
 - a. The crisis – Soviets install ballistic missiles in Cuba; Soviets wanted to protect Cuba from American invasion
 - b. Kennedy’s action – blockade masqueraded as “quarantine” (blockade is act of war)
 - c. Resolution of the crisis – Soviets would remove missiles if U.S. won’t invade Cuba
 - d. After effects
 - i. Lowered tension
 - ii. Sale of surplus wheat to USSR
 - iii. Washington-Moscow telephone hotline installed
 - iv. U.S. removal of obsolete missiles from Turkey after 6 mos.
 - v. Nuclear test ban treaty – ban of nuclear bomb tests in atmosphere; stop pollution of environment; underground tests OK
5. Neutrality for Laos agreed on by conflicting factions (Communist **Pathet Lao**, **Royal Laotian Army**)
6. **Vietnam**
 - a. Diem’s failure to reform or gain popular support; repressive actions against Communists & Buddhist majority
 - b. Kennedy’s reluctance to escalate (inc. military presence)
 - c. Heightened opposition to Diem; immolation of Buddhist monks
 - d. Overthrow of **Diem** – coup d’état not blocked by U.S.; several coups

- G. The **Kennedy assassination** – Nov 22 1963 by **Lee Harvey Oswald**; several conspiracy theories; left public w/ image of leader cut down in prime of life

II. Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society

A. Johnson’s background and style

1. Paradoxical personality – rough-hewn, gregarious, domineering; wanted political power & public affection; wanted to be the greatest president; raised false hopes (promised too much)
2. Political experience – Democratic leader in senate; gift for compromise (like Henry Clay); novice at int’l affairs
3. The Johnson Treatment – used powerful body language to intimidate/manipulate

B. Early legislative achievements

1. The tax cut
2. The War on Poverty – 20% below poverty line → “Great Society” programs
 - a. Kennedy read **Michael Harrington’s** *The Other America* (1962) → investigate problems of poverty → LBJ continues his work
3. **Economic Opportunity Bill** – Job Corps for inner-city youth 16-21; Head Start program for disadvantaged preschoolers; work-study jobs for college students; grants to farmers/rural

businesses, loans to hire chronically unemployed, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA); Community Action Program (aid neighborhood programs)

- C. The election of 1964
1. Conservative Republicans seek a “choice” b/c of Johnson’s liberal social programs → **Barry Goldwater** (AZ senator)
 - a. proposes removing income tax, sale of TVA, redo of Soc. Sec.; frightened audiences
 - b. felt that other repbs. Support the democratic programs more efficiently
 2. **Johnson’s** appeal to consensus of the middle majority; pledged not to send troops to Vietnam
 3. **LBJ wins by a landslide**; Democrats increased majority in congress
- D. Landmark legislation
1. **Health insurance** – Medicare (insurance for over 65); Medicaid (insurance for poor)
 2. **Aid to education** - \$1.5 bil for federal aid to elementary/secondary schools
 3. **Appalachian redevelopment** - \$1 bil for poverty aid in remote mountain areas
 4. **Housing and urban development** – aid for construction of housing units & urban renewal
 5. **Immigration Act of 1965** – removed discriminatory quotas; all nationalities treated equally
 - a. 170,000 per year from outside W. Hemisphere (120,000 from within)
 - b. no more than 20,000 from any country, unlimited if immediate family
 - c. most visas given to relatives of American residents (leads to chain migration)
 6. **Highway Safety Act & Traffic Safety Act** – safety standards of cars & highways
 7. **Higher Education Act** (1965)- scholarships for college students
- E. Civil rights movement
1. **Civil Rights Act of 1964** – no discrimination in hotels, restaurants, public places; literacy tests must be in writing; literate if finished 6th grade
 2. Voting rights
 - a. **Selma march** – MLK’s drive to increase voting registration
 - b. **Voting Rights Act of 1965** – attny-gen. dispatch fed. examiners to register voters; if less than ½ adults voted in 1964 then literacy tests banned
- F. The development of black power
1. The **riots of 1965 and 1966** in L.A., Chicago, Cleveland – riots started by blacks that weren’t being helped by civil rights legislation
 2. Assessment of the urban black condition – 70% blacks lived in urban areas; most in ghettos; segregation in north was different than south b/c segregated by where they lived
 3. The focus on black power
 - a. **Stokely Carmichael** – head of **SNCC** in 1966; separatist black power → removed whites from **SNCC**; **Black Panther** party supporter afterwards
 - b. **H. Rap Brown** – **SNCC** head in 1967; urged blacks to get guns and kill whites
 - c. **The Black Panthers** – armed urban revolutionists; terrified the public
 - d. **Malcolm X** – spokesman for black power; voice for urban black militancy; assassinated at time when he decided to preach social change
 - e. Assessment of black power
 - i. limited extent; majority still supported nonviolent integration
 - ii. African-Americans take greater pride in racial heritage
 - iii. Forced MLK to focus attention on poor inner-city blacks
- III. The tragedy of **Vietnam**
- A. U.S. involvement
1. General policies – minimum involvement; avoid “loosing” Vietnam
 2. Costs of war - \$150 bil; 570,000 draft dodgers; 563,000 non-honorable discharges; divided country like civil war
- B. The **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**

1. Basis for the request – attack on U.S.S. *Maddox* & *C. Turner Joy* by N. Vietnamese; LBJ says it was unprovoked but they were overseeing a U.S. led attack
 2. Provisions of the resolution – pres. can take all measures necessary
- C. Escalation in 1965
1. Attack on **Pleiku** – Feb 5; leads to escalation
 2. “**Operation Rolling Thunder**” – continuous bombing to stop flow of soldiers & supplies; task force concludes it is impossible to stop the traffic
 3. 1st Combat troops sent in; search & destroy missions
- D. The context for policy
1. Consistent with containment policy; can’t just let communism spread there w/o fight
 2. Warnings from advisers –of SE Asia would fall to communist if U.S. withdrew
 3. The goal of United States involvement – force negotiation with N. Vietnamese; winning not possible since too much military action → China/USSR involvement
 4. The erosion of support by American public before N. Vietnamese gave up
 5. **Kennan** (made containment policy) says it only works for Europe, not Asia
- E. The turning point of the war
1. The **Tet Offensive** – Viet Cong ignore holiday truce & attack U.S. + S. Vietnamese forces; shows U.S. public that war not going well although it was a defeat for the Viet Cong
 2. The presidential primaries – LBJ’s popularity sinks; he won’t run again for pres.
 3. Johnson’s decision to move out – Mar 31 1968; stop bombing; initiatives for negotiated cease-fire
- IV. The crescendo of the sixties
- A. The tragedies of 1968
1. **Martin Luther King, Jr.** assassinated (Apr 4) by **James Earl Ray** (expressed hostility to blacks); debate over conspiracy theories
 2. **Robert Kennedy** assassinated (Jun 6) by Palestinian **Sirhan Sirhan** (anti-Israel)
- B. Convergence on the election of 1968
1. **Chicago demonstrations** during **Democratic primaries** (Aug 1968); riots protesting MLK assassination police use tear gas/clubs against demonstrators; televised; Mayor Richard Daley gave shoot-to-kill orders during April protests
 2. The contrast of Miami primaries –Republicans nominate **Richard Nixon & Spiro Agnew**
 3. **George Wallace** (dem. Gov. of AL) campaign – ultra conservative reactionary candidate; resents LBJ’s liberalism; white working-class community support
 4. The results – **Nixon & Agnew win**