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## Chapter 38: The Stormy Sixties, 1960-1968

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### I. 1960 Presidential Election

#### A. Candidates

1. Republicans nominated Nixon
  - a. Former Vice President (during Eisenhower's administration) as well as communist-hunter
2. Democrats nominated Kennedy
  - a. Kennedy asked Lyndon B. Johnson, a Senator from Texas, to be his Vice President
3. A **televised debate** is believed to have made the difference in the election, in which Kennedy "looked" better than Nixon
  - a. **303 electoral votes for Kennedy, 219 for Nixon**
4. Kennedy wins: he was the nation's youngest president at age 43 and the first Catholic president

### II. John F. Kennedy

#### A. Early Political Career

1. Entered politics after WWII
2. Kennedy first ran for a seat in the House of Representatives
  - a. He was reelected two times
3. In 1952, Kennedy decided to run for the Senate (Massachusetts)

#### B. Kennedy's Administration

1. He asked the nations of the world to join together to fight what he called the common enemies of man: **tyranny, poverty, disease, and war**
  - a. His policies are commonly referred to as the **New Frontier**
    - i. **April 1961: minimum wage was raised from \$1 to \$1.25**
2. He also secured the passage of the Trade Expansion Act which cut tariff rates up to 50%
3. Kennedy and Defense Secretary McNamara pushed a policy of flexible response—they wanted to have a variety of options ready to apply to any potential situation that arose
  - a. This did not mean adding more nuclear weapons; it included special forces that could be used—so they had multiple responses to conflict
4. Supported a tax cut in an effort to stimulate the economy (1963)
5. Wanted to put a man on the moon ASAP
  - a. He was the first president to ask Congress to approve money for the space program
    - i. He asked for more than \$22 billion for Project Apollo, which had the goal of landing an American man on the moon before the end of the decade (1969)
6. Concerned with Cold War issues and wanted to continue the policy of containment
7. Civil rights became a hot issue and needed to be addressed
8. Created the Peace Corp (March 1961): to aid developing nations

9. Famous quote: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country"

10. Kennedy's liberal agenda was ambitious but little of it would go into effect due to Republicans in Congress that did not support his programs

### III. Kennedy: Foreign Policy

#### A. Background on Vietnam

1. Historically, Vietnam was first controlled by the Chinese, the French, and the Japanese (1940-45)

a. France controlled Vietnam again in the post-WWII era

i. France struggled to maintain influence over Vietnam

ii. The Geneva Conference (1954) declared a cease-fire and split Vietnam at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel into North and South

aa. Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh controlled the North

bb. The goal of the Geneva Accords was to hold free elections in Vietnam and to reunify the country (which did not happen)

b. Why did the U.S. get involved?

i. Because they wanted to prevent the spread of communism in Vietnam due to the Cold War and the **domino theory**

#### B. Vietnam

1. Kennedy adopted Eisenhower's domino theory when it came to Vietnam

2. Kennedy further pushed the U.S. into Vietnam in an effort to establish political stability

a. Military advisors were sent to support Ngo Dinh Diem (but he was unpopular with the people)

i. by November 1963 Diem was overthrown by a U.S. backed CIA coup  
(aa. Duong Van Minh was put into power)

#### C. Cuba: The Bay of Pigs Invasion (April 1961)

1. Just before Eisenhower left office he broke diplomatic relations with Cuba

a. The result of a failed attempt by the U.S. to overthrow Castro

b. Eisenhower had advised Kennedy to advance the plans for an invasion of Cuba

i. The plan was to invade Cuba through the **Bay of Pigs**

2. The U.S. planned to land CIA trained and armed Cuban exiles in Cuba in an attempt to overthrow Castro's government

a. The U.S. and the Cuban exiles were counting on support from the local population to overthrow Castro

b. Overall, the Bay of Pigs invasion was a disaster for which Kennedy took full responsibility

#### D. Kennedy vs. Khrushchev

1. In June 1961, Kennedy met in Vienna (Austria) with Soviet Premier Khrushchev

2. Hopes of "thawing" the Cold War were dashed by Khrushchev's threat that the Soviets would conclude a peace treaty with East Germany and thus cut off Western access to West Berlin

#### E. The Berlin Wall

1. The East Germans constructed the **Berlin Wall** (1961) with help from the Soviets

a. This was to prevent the emigration of East Germans to West Germany

- i. This was not how the Soviets advertised their reason for constructing the wall—both a physical barrier and sign of the tension that existed
- ii. The Wall would stand until November 1989

#### **F. The Cuban Missile Crisis**

- 1. A major Cold War confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union—closest we ever were to nuclear war**
2. Following the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Soviet Union increased its support of Castro's regime
  - a. In the summer of 1962, Khrushchev installed ballistic missiles in Cuba
- 3. When U.S. reconnaissance flights revealed the secret construction of missile launching sites, President Kennedy publicly denounced the Soviet actions (October 22, 1962)**
  - a. Kennedy imposed a naval blockade/quarantine on Cuba**
    - i. He declared that any missile launched from Cuba would warrant a full-scale retaliatory attack by the U.S. against the Soviet Union**
- 4. On October 24, Soviet ships carrying missiles to Cuba turned back**
5. A week later, the crisis was resolved: Khrushchev agreed (October 28) to withdraw the missiles and dismantle the missile sites
  - a. Kennedy agreed to end the naval quarantine of Cuba (and...remove some missiles from Turkey)
6. Led to the development of the "hotline" where the U.S. and Soviets could speak to each other if any future crises were to occur

#### **G. Other Programs**

- 1. The Alliance for Progress: established in 1961 to aid Latin American countries that promised to enact democratic reforms**
- 2. Trade Expansion Act of 1962: reduced tariffs with the newly formed European Community**

#### **IV. Kennedy and Civil Rights**

##### **A. Civil Rights and Race Relations**

- 1. Remember... *Brown v. Board*, the Supreme Court had ruled in 1954 that segregation in public schools would no longer be permitted BUT...**
  - a. There were many schools, especially in southern states, that did not obey this decision
  - b. There were also still racial segregation on buses, in restaurants, movie theaters, and other public places

##### **B. Freedom Rides (1961)**

1. An interracial group of **CORE** (Congress of Racial Equality) members organized a Freedom Ride on buses traveling through the South
  - a. The riders encountered opposition in Alabama as they were attacked and their bus was torched

##### **C. Integrating Universities (1962)**

- 1. James Meredith encountered mass resistance to attending University of Mississippi**
  - a. Kennedy sent in troops to allow Meredith to enroll**

#### **D. The Albany Movement (Georgia)**

- 1. The NAACP and SNCC focused on Albany, Georgia to continue nonviolent resistance and the sit-in movement (overall only limited successes here)**

#### **E. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

- Birmingham, Alabama was also a focus of the Civil Rights Movement and was considered one of the most segregated cities
  - King was arrested here and wrote the very famous “Letter from Birmingham Jail”
- 2. All of this pushed Kennedy to press Congress for civil rights legislation to establish equality for blacks**

#### **F. March on Washington (August 1963)**

- This was a collaborative effort of NAACP, SNCC, SCLC, and CORE
- More than 200,000 people (both black and white) were present for this march
- This is also where King delivered the “I Have a Dream Speech”

### **V. Lyndon B. Johnson Becomes President**

#### **A. Kennedy is Assassinated**

- 1. Kennedy is assassinated on November 22, 1963**
- 2. This brought Lyndon B. Johnson, an entirely different man, into the White House**

#### **B. Johnson as President**

- 1. From Texas and a loyal Democrat**
- 2. He had risen through the party ranks to become a polished professional negotiator by the time he was Kennedy’s Vice President**
- 3. Famous for using what was called the “Johnson Treatment,” in the Senate**
  - a. He literally got right in his opponents’ faces to discuss key issues**
- As a former Senate Majority Leader Johnson was a skilled legislator and developed a good relationship with Congress

#### **C. 1964 Presidential Election**

- 1. The Democrats nominated Johnson**
- 2. The Republicans nominated Barry Goldwater**
- 3. Johnson is easily elected (486 electoral votes to 52)**

#### **D. Johnson’s Domestic Programs—The Great Society**

- Johnson declared a “**war on poverty**”
  - The book *The Other America* (Michael Harrington) brought up the issue of poverty (40 million Americans were in poverty)
- His **domestic programs** and policies became known as the **Great Society**
  - a. Think of it as an attempt at a “New Deal” in the 1960s**
  - b. His programs focused on education, medical care for the elderly, immigration reforms, and civil rights**
- 3. Great Society Programs:**
  - 1. Medicare and Medicaid** were developed in 1965
    - Medicare: health insurance for those 65 years and older
    - Medicaid: provides health services for low-income people

2. **Education:** The Higher Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided federal aid to schools
  - a. **Head Start** was developed for young children
  - b. The **Child Nutrition Act** added breakfast to school lunch programs
  
3. **Immigration:** immigration quotas were relaxed
  - a. The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** abolished the 1920s quota system, limited immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, and gave preference to relatives of U.S. citizens
  
4. **Programs to aid the poor**
  - a. **The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEC) was formed: an anti-poverty agency and a billion dollar budget**
  - b. **The Food Stamp Act (1964) was passed to help the poor buy food**
  
5. **Tax cut:** In February 1964, Johnson moved another Kennedy plan through Congress: a \$10 billion tax cut
  - a. This helped to increase consumer spending and GNP soared
  
6. **Was the Great Society a success?**
  - a. Yes, but limited by the rising cost of the Vietnam War
  
7. **Two new cabinet departments were also created: Department of Transportation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**

#### E. Johnson and the Civil Rights Movement

1. **Sought to continue what Kennedy had started although previously he had not supported the civil rights movement**
2. One of the first pieces of legislation that Johnson pushed through Congress was the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**
  - a. It banned racial discrimination in **public accommodations** in the U.S. (this included gas stations, restaurants, hotels, movie theaters, and airline terminals)
  - b. Also outlawed discrimination based on color, nationality, religion, and gender (gave some power to the women's movement)
  
3. The **Freedom Summer (1964):** campaign to register and educate black voters
  
4. **Selma, Alabama:** attempt to draw attention to racial issues by King and his follower
  - a. It worked but resulted in violence
  
5. One of the most important pieces of civil rights legislation was also passed: the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**
  - a. Outlawed **literacy tests** for voters (although the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment had give blacks the right to vote, it had been pushed aside)
  
6. The **24<sup>th</sup> Amendment** was also passed in 1964, which outlawed the **poll tax** in federal elections

## VI. A New Direction in the Fight for Civil Rights

### A. From Nonviolence to Violence

1. More and more people began to disagree with **integration** and **nonviolence**
  - a. **Malcolm X (Elijah Muhammad)** was more forceful than King and felt it was time for African Americans to stand on their own feet and defend themselves against white domination
    - i. He popularized the Nation of Islam (and the idea of **black nationalism**, separatism, and self-improvement)
    - ii. Criticized King for being subservient to whites
2. **Stokely Carmichael** was one of the leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
  - a. This organization began as a non-violent organization and was instrumental in the sit-ins and Freedom Rides of the early 1960s
  - b. In 1964 and 1965 Carmichael called for the exclusion of whites from African-American civil rights organizations
  - c. **Black Power** gradually became a new focus in the civil rights movement
    - i. Those in favor of **Black Power** asserted that:
      - aa. Blacks should do things for themselves rather than rely on the charity of white politicians
      - bb. Blacks should defend themselves and fight back if necessary
      - cc. Blacks should develop and emphasize pride in their own culture
3. The **Black Panthers** (1966): wanted immediate equality for blacks and sought to arm themselves if necessary
  - i. Organized by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale

### B. Racial Tensions Heighten

1. By the mid 1960s, racial tensions had gone beyond sit-ins and Freedom Rides
2. A combination of a lack of rights, poverty, and unemployment led to violence
3. A series of major riots, or rebellions, erupted during the latter part of the decade, including:
  - a. 1964—Riots in Harlem and New York City
  - b. 1965—Riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles
  - c. Malcolm X was killed in New York (1965)
  - d. 1967—Several dozen riots, including ones in Newark and Detroit
  - e. 1968—Martin Luther King, Jr. killed on April 4—race riots broke out around the country
    - i. This left the Civil Rights Movement without its biggest leader and proponent

### C. The Earl Warren Court

1. Earl Warren was chief justice of the Supreme Court from 1953-1969
  - a. Considered impactful as the John Marshall Court was
  - b. Decision focused on protecting individual rights
2. Key Decisions
  - a. *Brown v. Board* (1954): school desegregation
  - b. *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961): illegally seized evidence cannot be used in court against the accused
  - c. *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963): required state courts to provide counsel (attorney) for poor defendants

- d. *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964): required the police to inform an arrested person of his/her right to remain silent
- e. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966): extended the Escobedo ruling to include the right to have a lawyer present when being questioned by the police

### 3. Other Decisions: Voting and Freedom of Expression and Privacy

- a. *Baker v. Carr* (1962): “one man, one vote;” election districts would have to be redrawn to provide equal representation for all citizens
- b. *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) ruled that state laws requiring prayers the Bible readings in public schools violated the 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment provision for separation of church and state
- c. *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965): in recognition of a citizen’s right to privacy, a state could not prohibit the use of contraceptives by adults

## VII. Johnson and Vietnam

### A. The Vietnam War

#### 1. Vietnam became even messier under LBJ

2. **The Gulf of Tonkin (or Tonkin Gulf) Resolution (August 1964)**: gave Johnson a “blank check” to use further force in Vietnam and Southeast Asia after 2 American destroyers were attacked by the North Vietnamese

3. The war became “**Americanized**” in 1965 when U.S. ground troops arrived in Vietnam

- a. By June 1965 75,000 U.S. troops were in Vietnam

4. **The terrain made it difficult to find the Viet Cong and led the U.S. to fight a war of attrition in an effort to wear down the enemy by killing as many men as possible**

5. **By 1966 there were approximately 400,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam and this number would reach 500,000 by 1968**

6. **Nasty chemicals were used during the war such as napalm and Agent Orange**

7. Furthermore, the war was covered on TV and the people were not seeing results: instead they saw deaths and the increasing commitment of U.S. forces

- a. People were divided into **hawks** and **doves**

8. The **Tet Offensive** (January 1968): it was believed the Viet Cong were suffering a set-back but they launched a sudden attack on various Vietnamese cities

- a. This led the U.S. to commit even more troops to the war and showed the war was not even close to being over

9. The war made LBJ extremely unpopular as the U.S. became more and more involved

- a. He decided not to run for reelection in **1968**—that is how bad it was

### B. Anti-war Movement

- 1. **People were seen burning their draft cards (some even fled to “dodge” the draft)**
- 2. **Demonstrations, marches, and even some civil rights leaders spoke out against the war**
- 3. **The war had gone on too long, cost too much money, and caused too many deaths**

4. **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)** protested heavily against the war (1962)

- a. They met in Port Huron, MI and wrote the Port Huron Statement

- i. They believed in a participatory democracy, in which people take part in making decisions that affect their lives
- ii. Those who believed in this ideas became known as the **New Left**

**5. The first major student protest took place in 1964 at the University of California Berkley**  
**a. Was related to free speech issues**

**6. This movement continued heavily under Nixon's presidency**

## **VIII. Culture of the 1960s**

### **A. Counterculture**

1. Those that practiced **nonconformity** were a part of the **counterculture**
2. The most prevalent group were the **hippies (usually those ages 15-25)**
  - a. They focused on ways of achieving personal fulfillment and rejected traditional elements of life
  - b. They got away from the conservatism and conformity that existed during the 1950s**
  - c. Wore flowered or unusual clothing**
  - d. Many used marijuana or LSD**
  - e. Heavily influenced by the writers of the Beat Generation of the 1950s**
  - f. Opposed the Vietnam War**
  - g. influenced by the music of the Beatles, Jefferson Airplane, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan**

### **B. Music**

1. **Woodstock (1969): 3-day celebration of peace and music**
  - a. Represented the counterculture of the time (drugs and sex)**
  - b. Attended by over 400,000 people**
  - c. Artists such as Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, Joan Baez, Janis Joplin, The Who, Creedence Clearwater Revival, and the Grateful Dead performed**
2. **During the 1960s more black artists/groups became accepted (think Motown artists)**
3. **Music also emphasized the anti-war movement**

### **C. Women's Movement**

1. **Betty Friedan** wrote ***The Feminine Mystique***
  - a. This brought equal pay for equal work to the forefront
  - b. It also focused on the **"problem that had no name"**
    - i. Women felt unfulfilled as housewives and their husbands did not understand this at all
2. **NOW** (National Organization for Women) formed in 1966 with the help of Friedan and other feminists
3. There would also be a push for an Equal Rights Amendment in the 1970s