

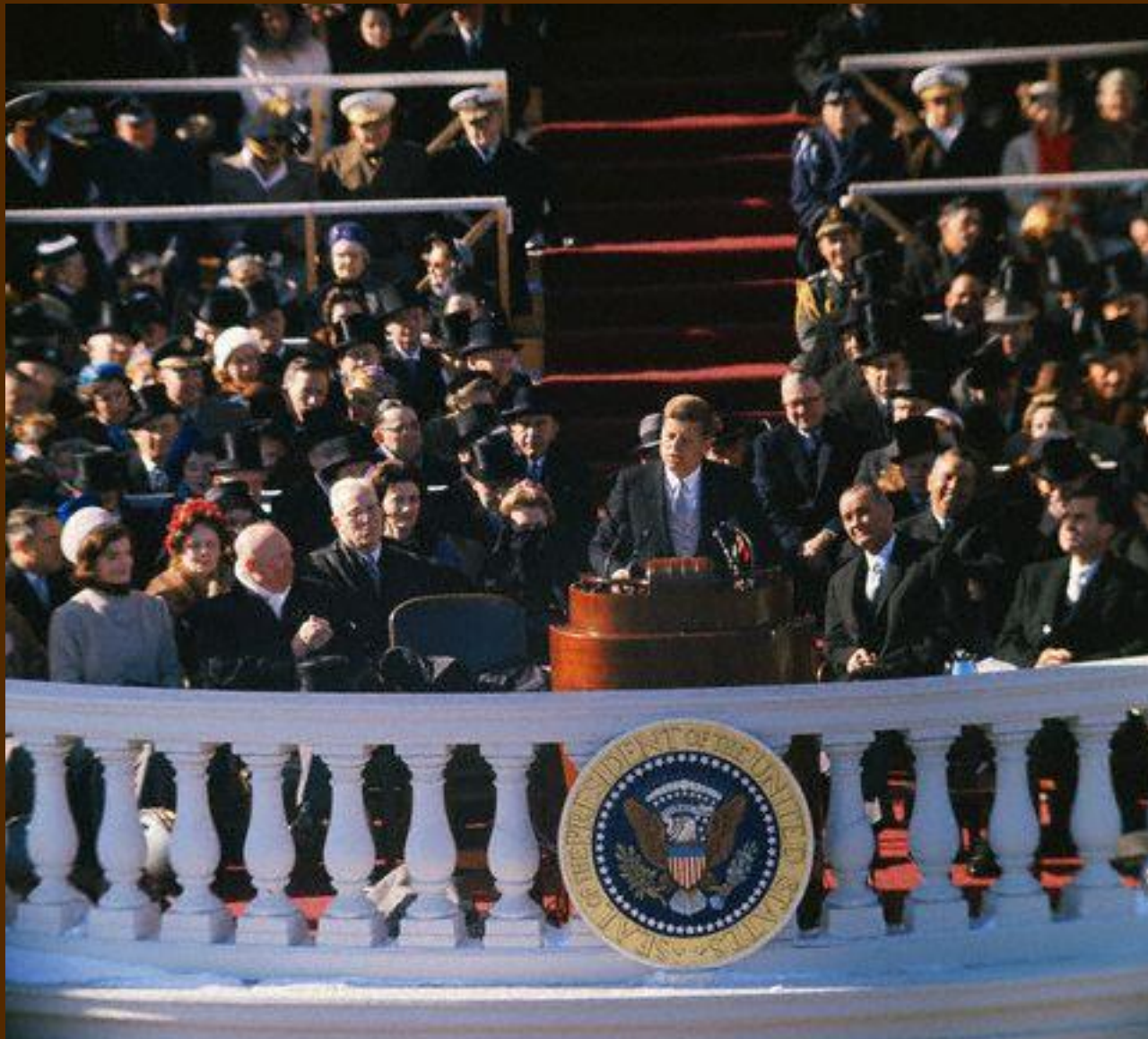
# The Stormy Sixties

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

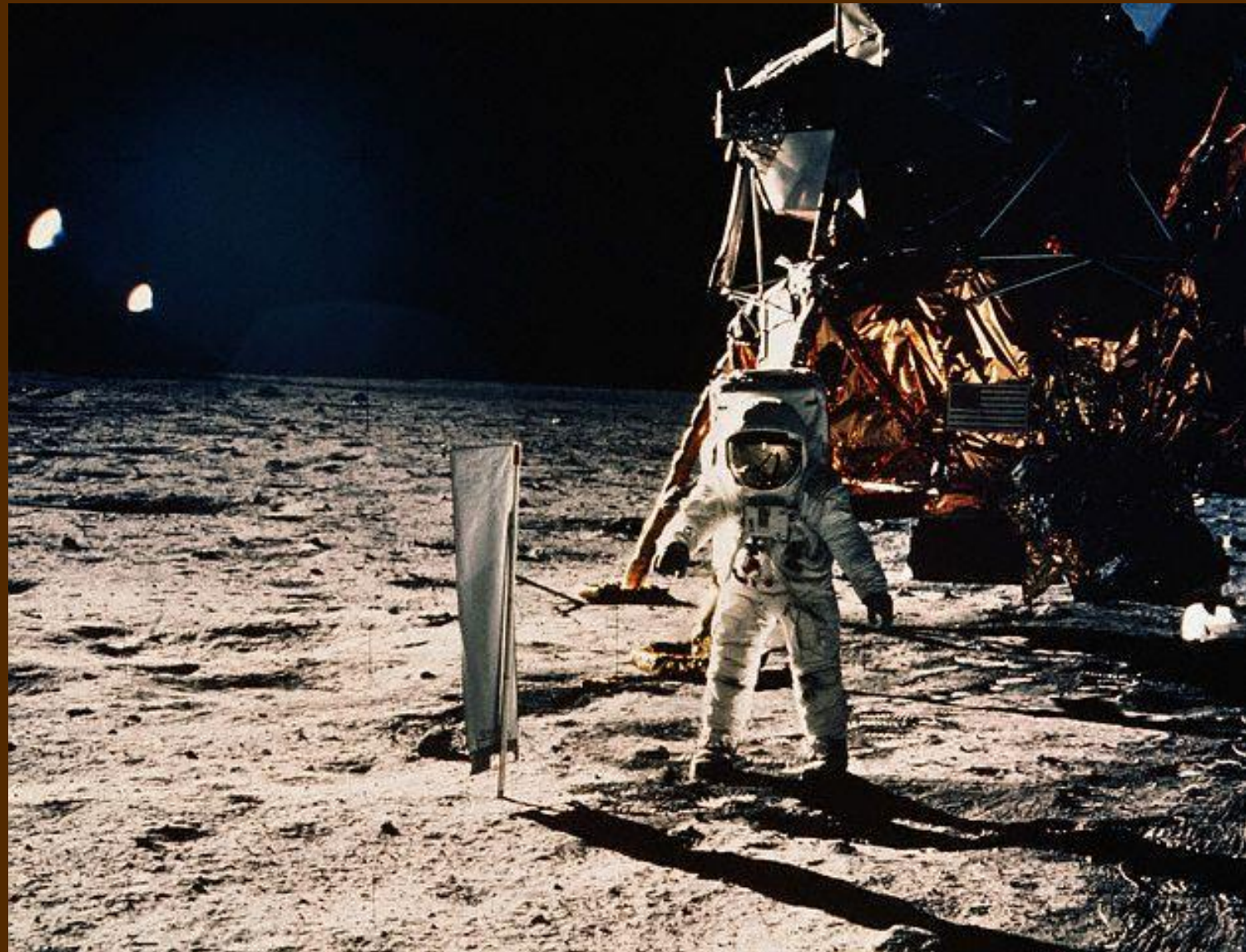
# The New Frontier at Home

- 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

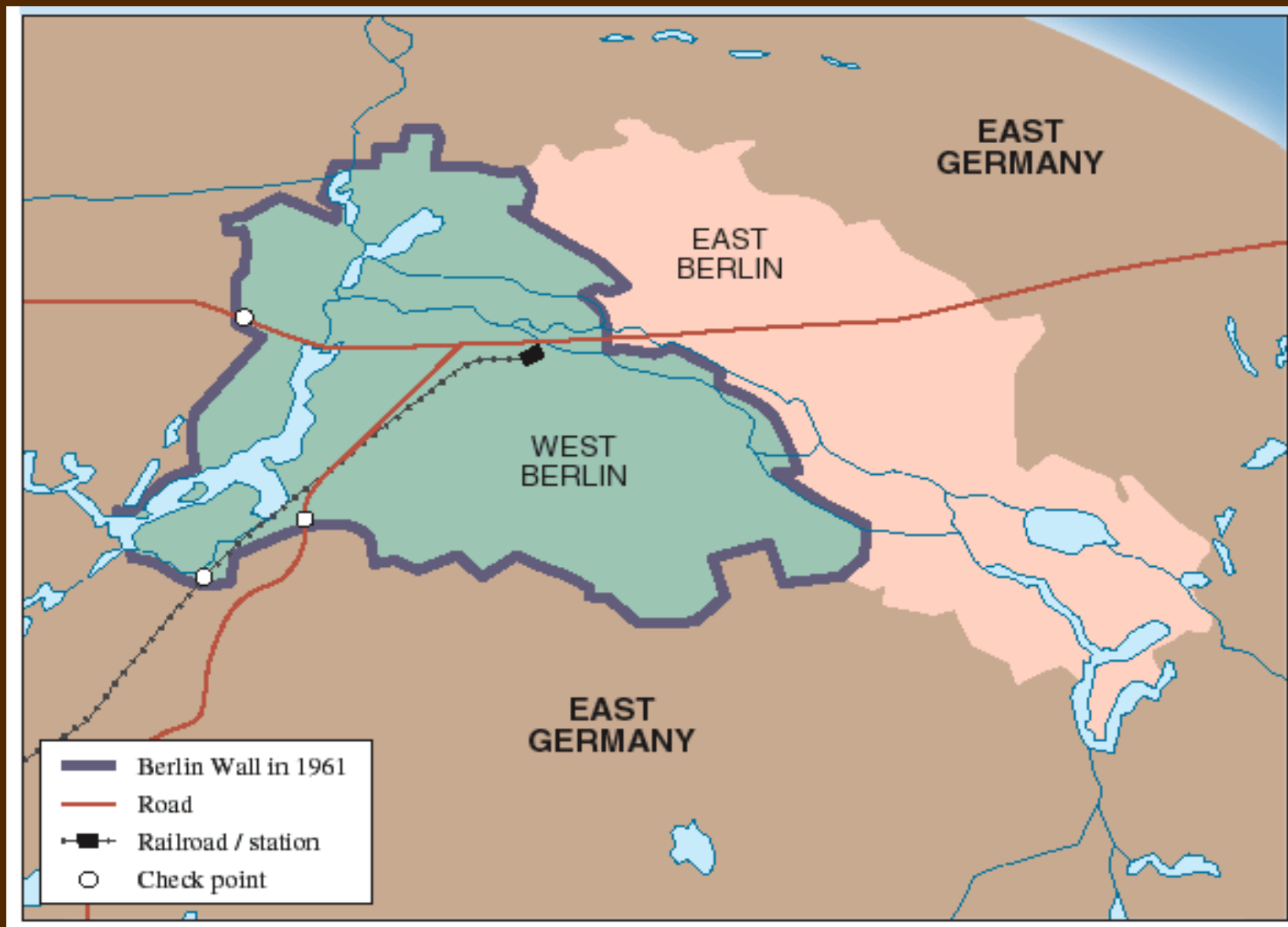
# Khrushchev Dominating the Baby Kennedy



# 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



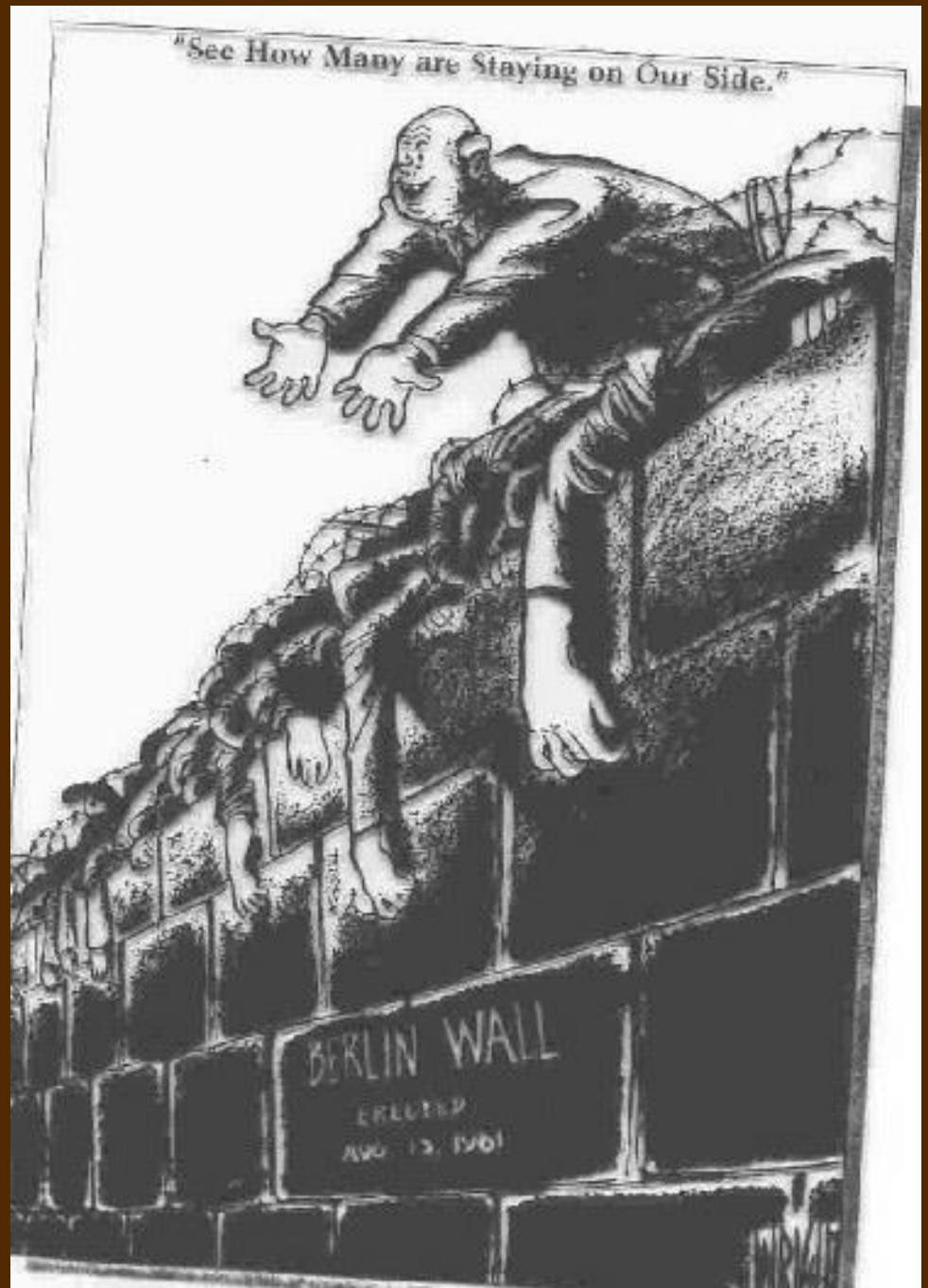
# Building the Berlin Wall



# 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

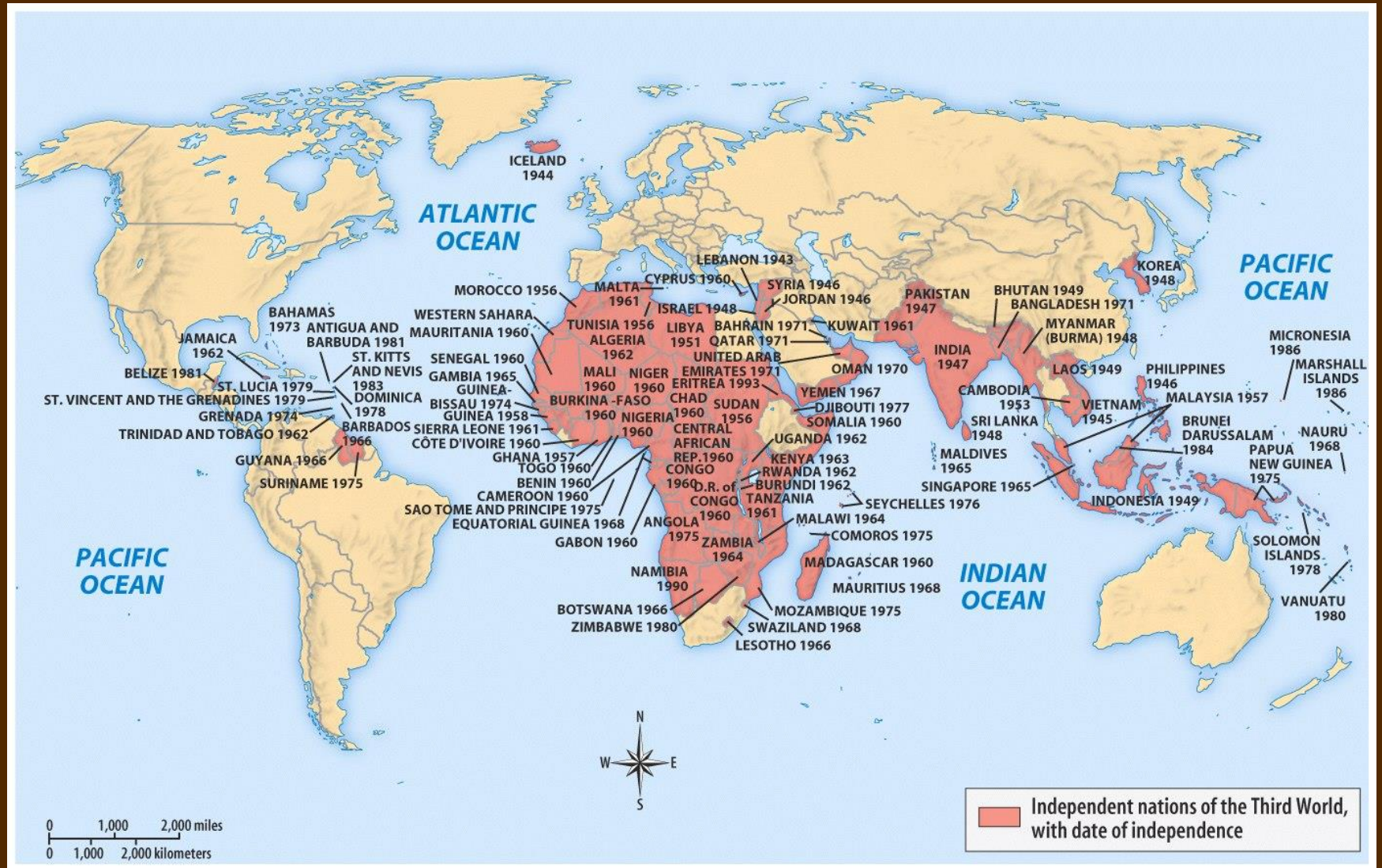
# Rumblings in Europe

- 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”

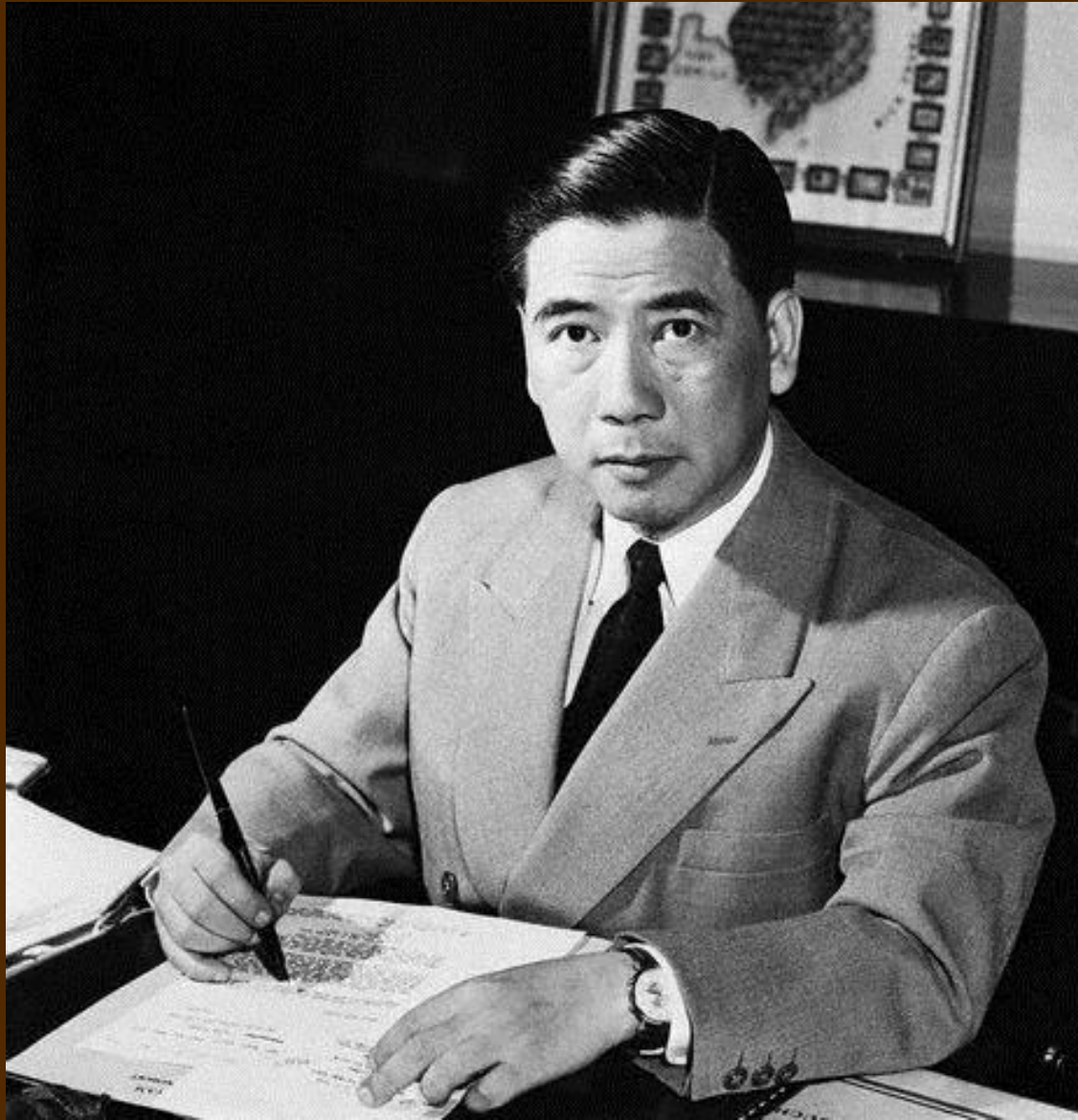
- Eisenhower and Dulles had relied on “massive retaliation”
- Problems such as Laos illustrated problem with this strategy
  - Kennedy had choice of humiliatingly giving in to 3<sup>rd</sup> world rebels or using nuclear weapons
- Kennedy and McNamara devised “flexible response”
  - Development of many 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

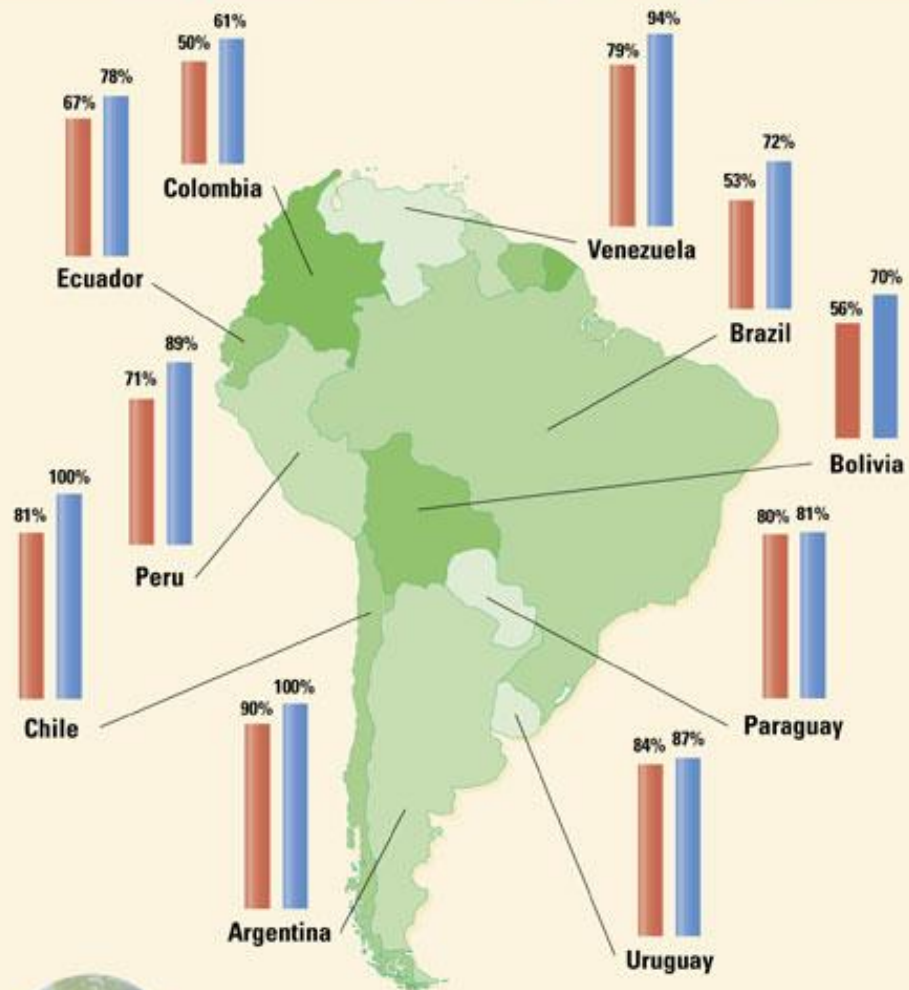
- Modernization theory
  - Provided theoretical justifications for US policies in 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries like Vietnam
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> world societies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America should follow West's path to develop into modern, industrial societies
  - Walt Whitman Rostow, influential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



■ Percentage of school-age enrollment, 1960  
■ Percentage of school-age enrollment, 1970

# Influence of Alliance for Progress

# Cuban Confrontations

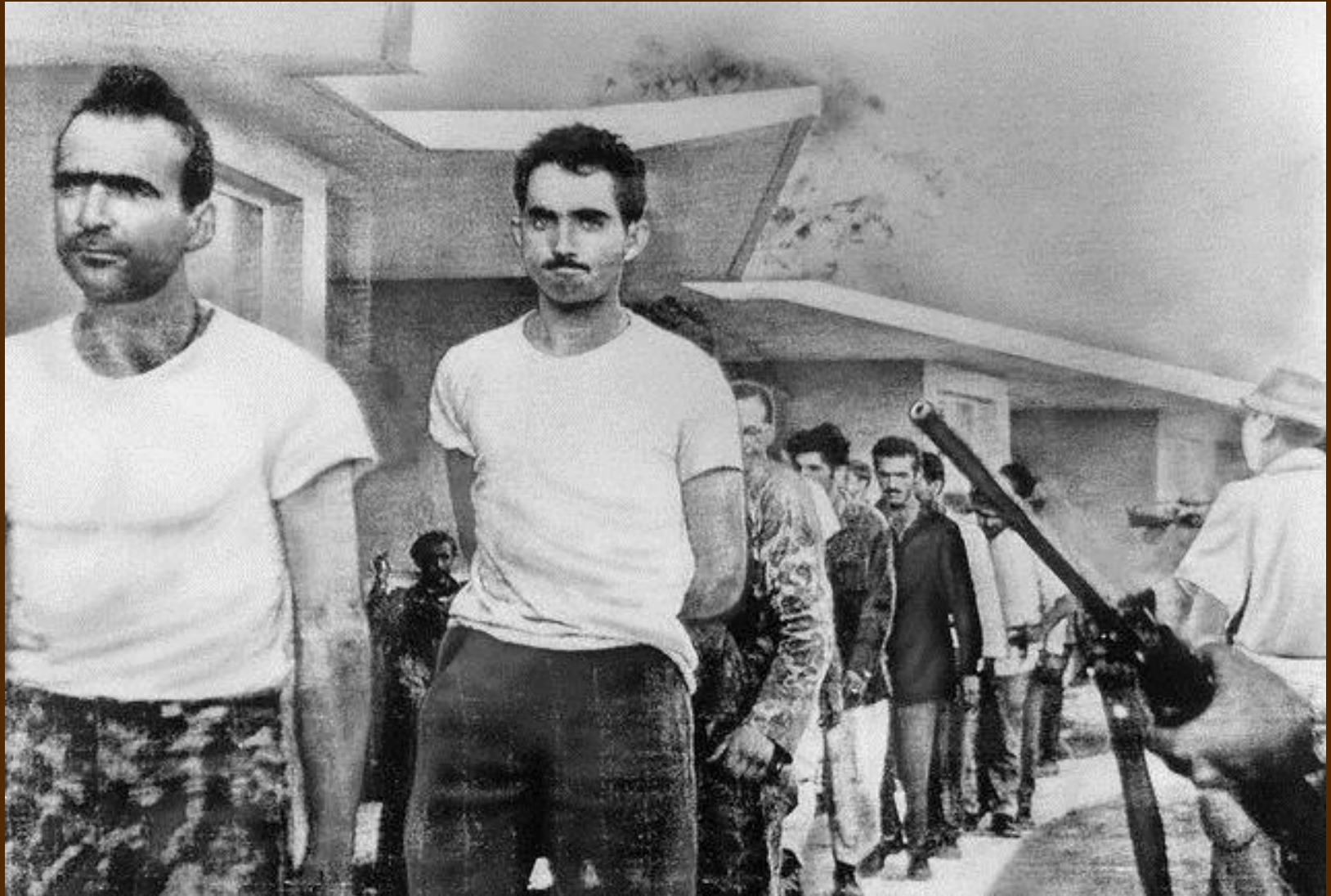
- April 1961 – the Bay of Pigs
  - Kennedy had inherited a CIA scheme for invasion of Cuba from Eisenhower
  - April 17 – 1,200 Cuban exiles invaded
  - Plan fell apart and Kennedy refused to escalate by calling in air strikes
  - Exiles forced to surrender to Cuban army



# The United States and Cuba, 1961-1962



# 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



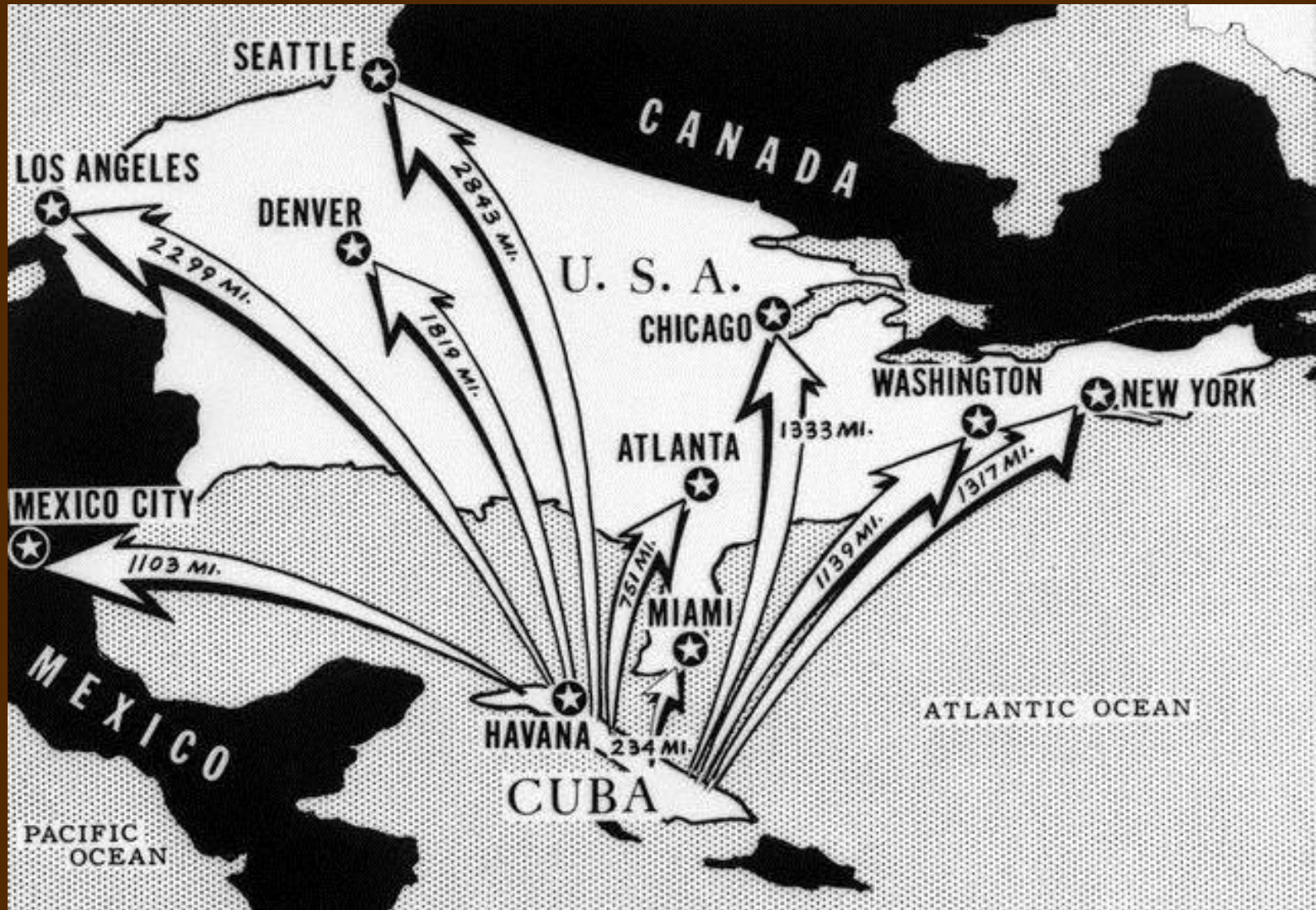




Aerial  
Reconnaissance Photo  
Showing Missile Site  
in Cuba



# Distances of Major Cities from Cuba



# The United States and Cuba, 1961-1962



# 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

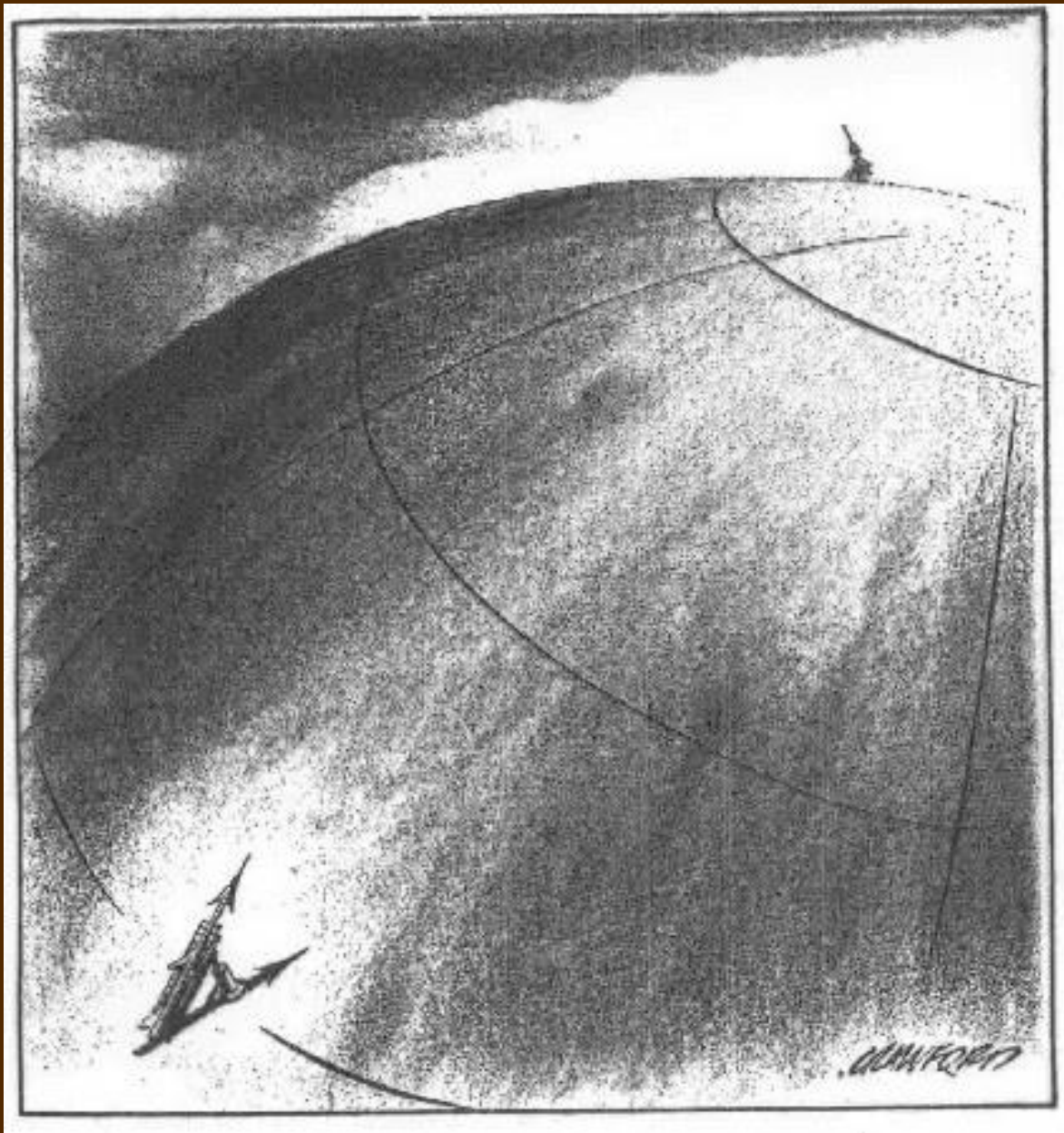


# Adlai Stevenson Addressing United Nations Security Council with Proof of the Soviet Missiles in Cuba



# 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

"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

# Cuban Confrontations

- “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

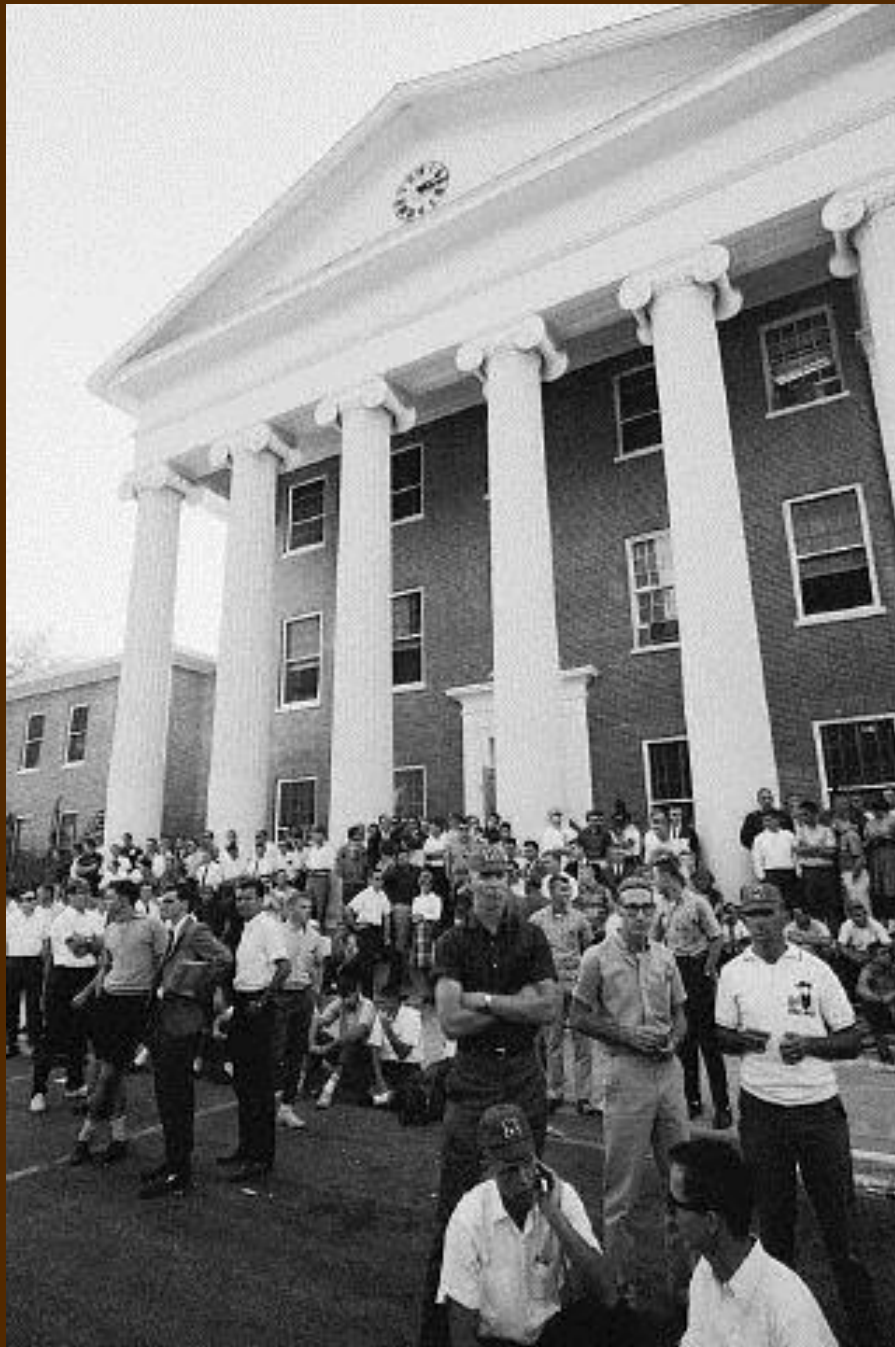


# The Struggle for Civil Rights

- 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

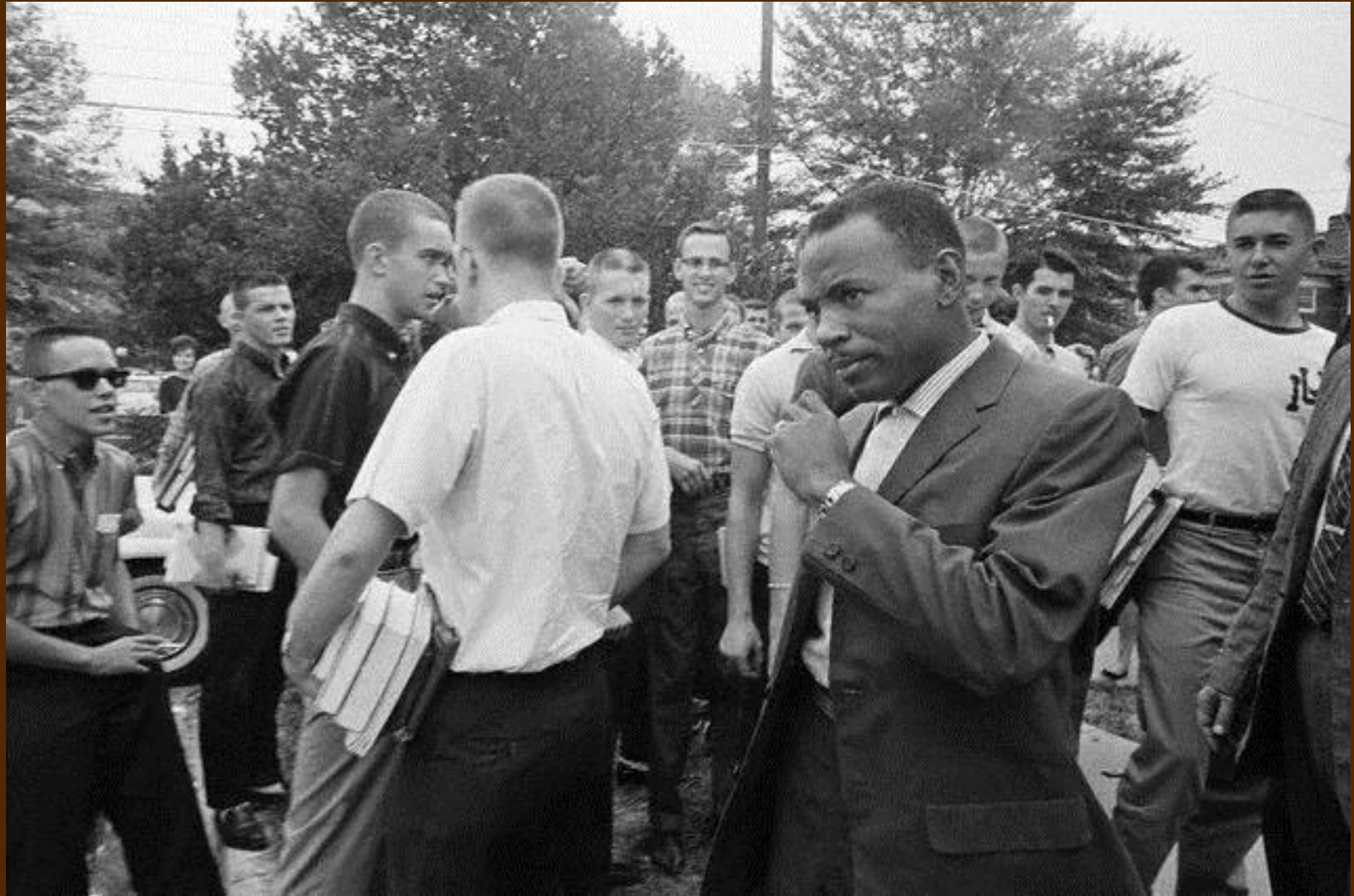




# A US Army Convoy at the University of Mississippi as Marshals Arrive to Enforce James Meredith's Enrollment



# 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.”



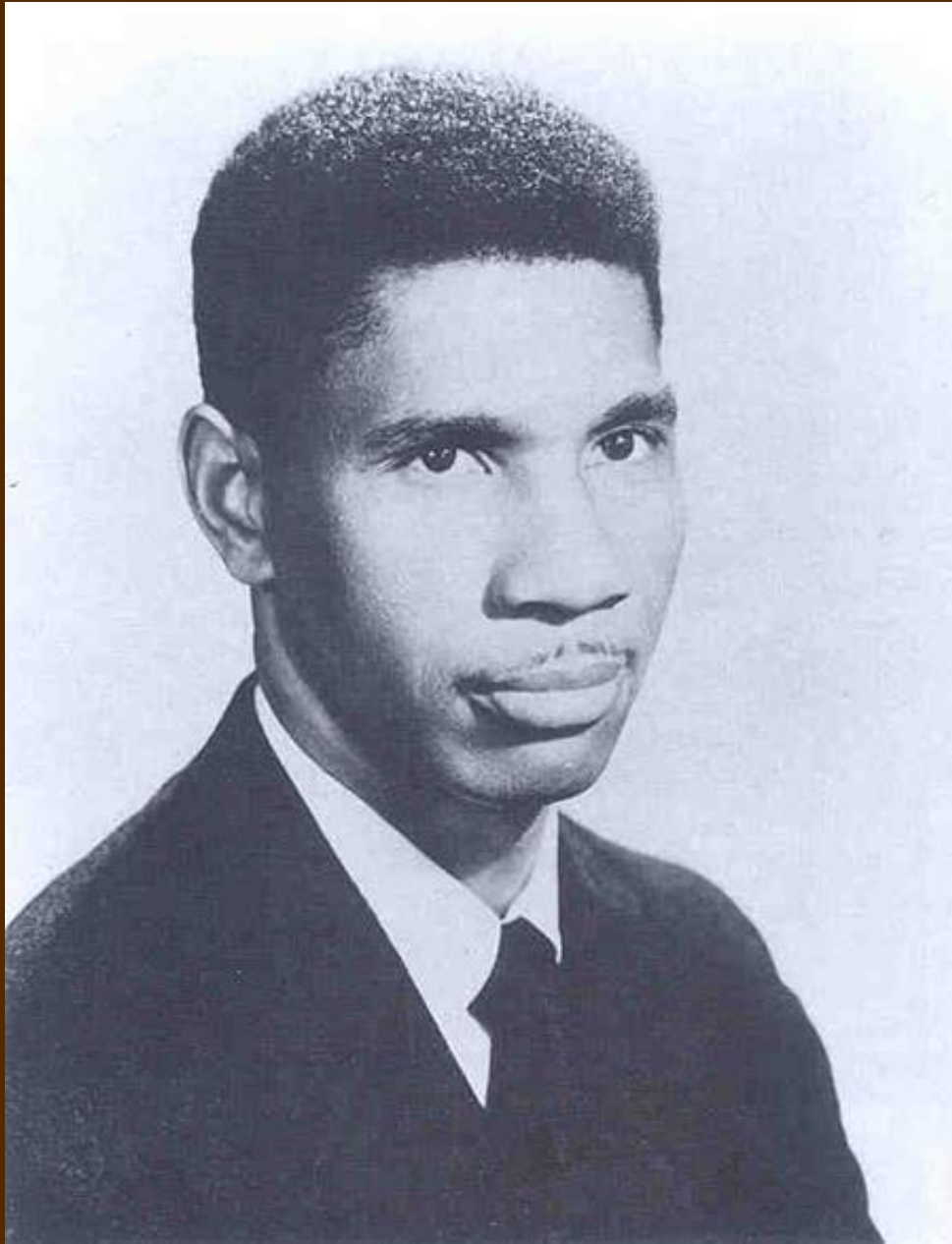
Thousands of  
Marchers Gather  
at the Lincoln  
Memorial Around  
the Reflecting  
Pool for the March  
on Washington  
and Dr. King's "I  
Have A Dream"  
Speech

# 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 16<sup>th</sup> Street Church After the Bombing



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



**Addie Mae Collins**



**Carole Robertson**



**Cynthia Wesley**



**Denise McNair**

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

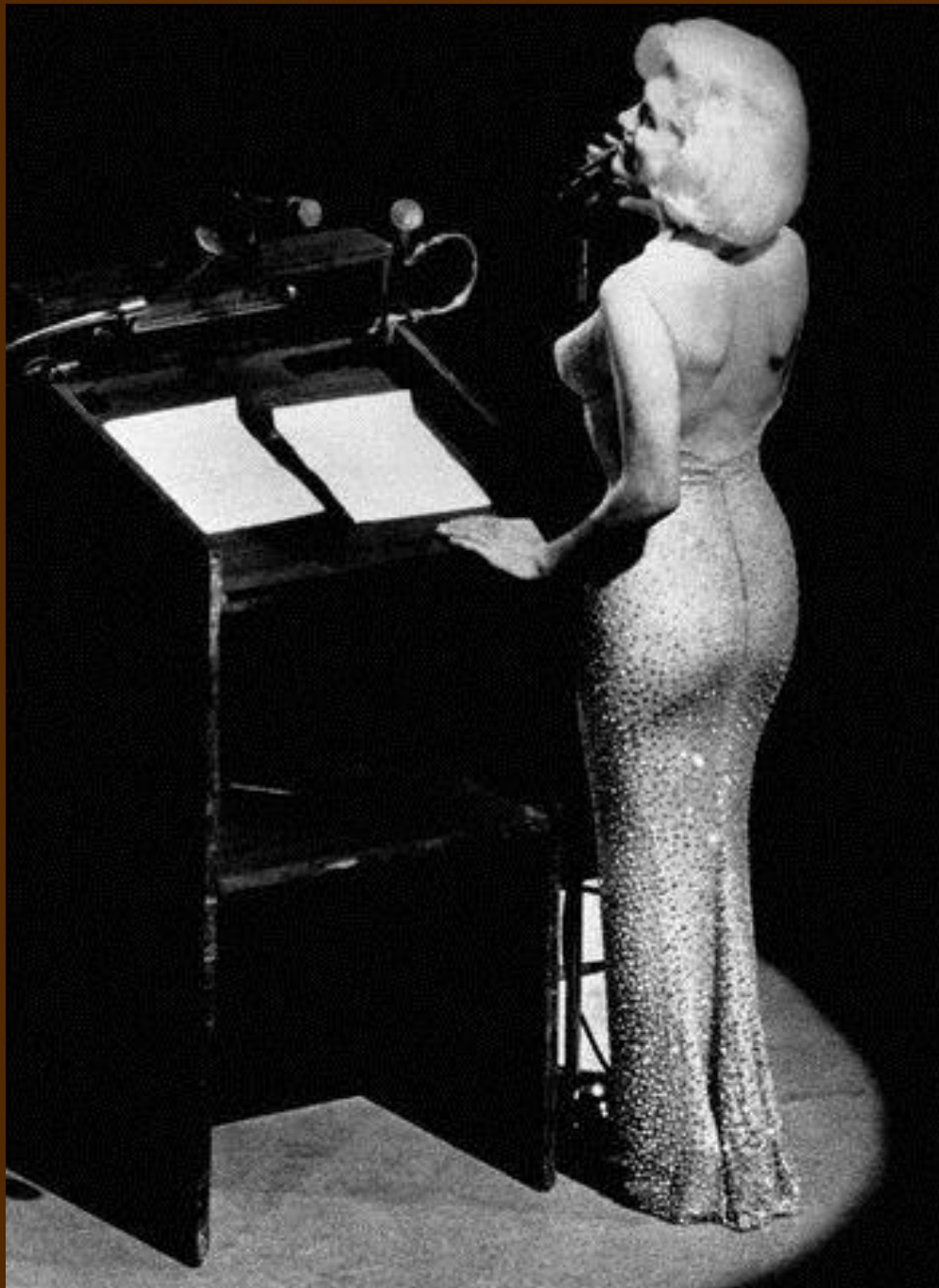


# The Killing of Kennedy

- 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 Sworn 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 “Landside 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

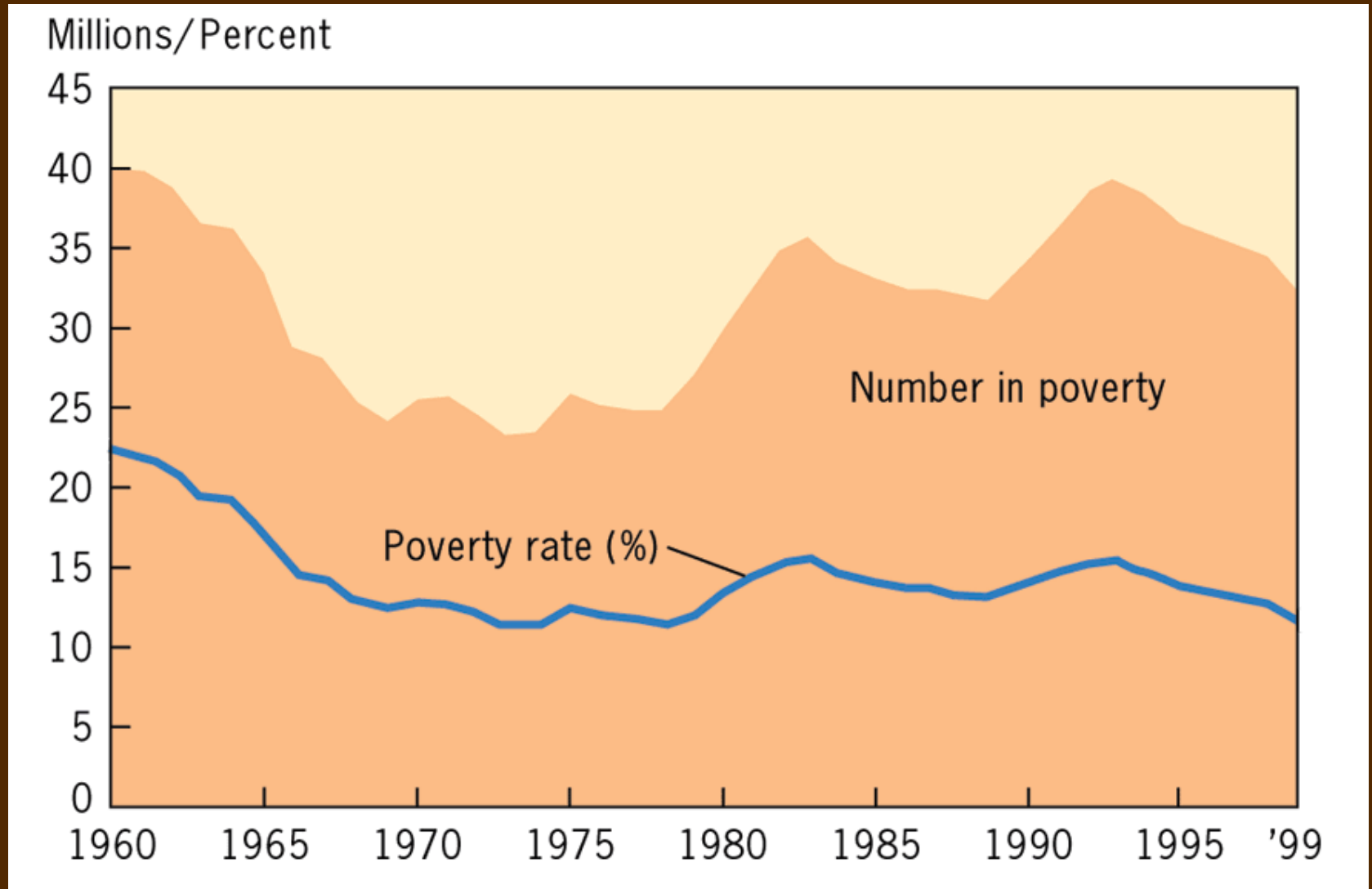
- Affirmative action
  - 1965 – Johnson issued executive order requiring all federal contractors to take “affirmative action” against discrimination



# The LBJ Brand on the Presidency

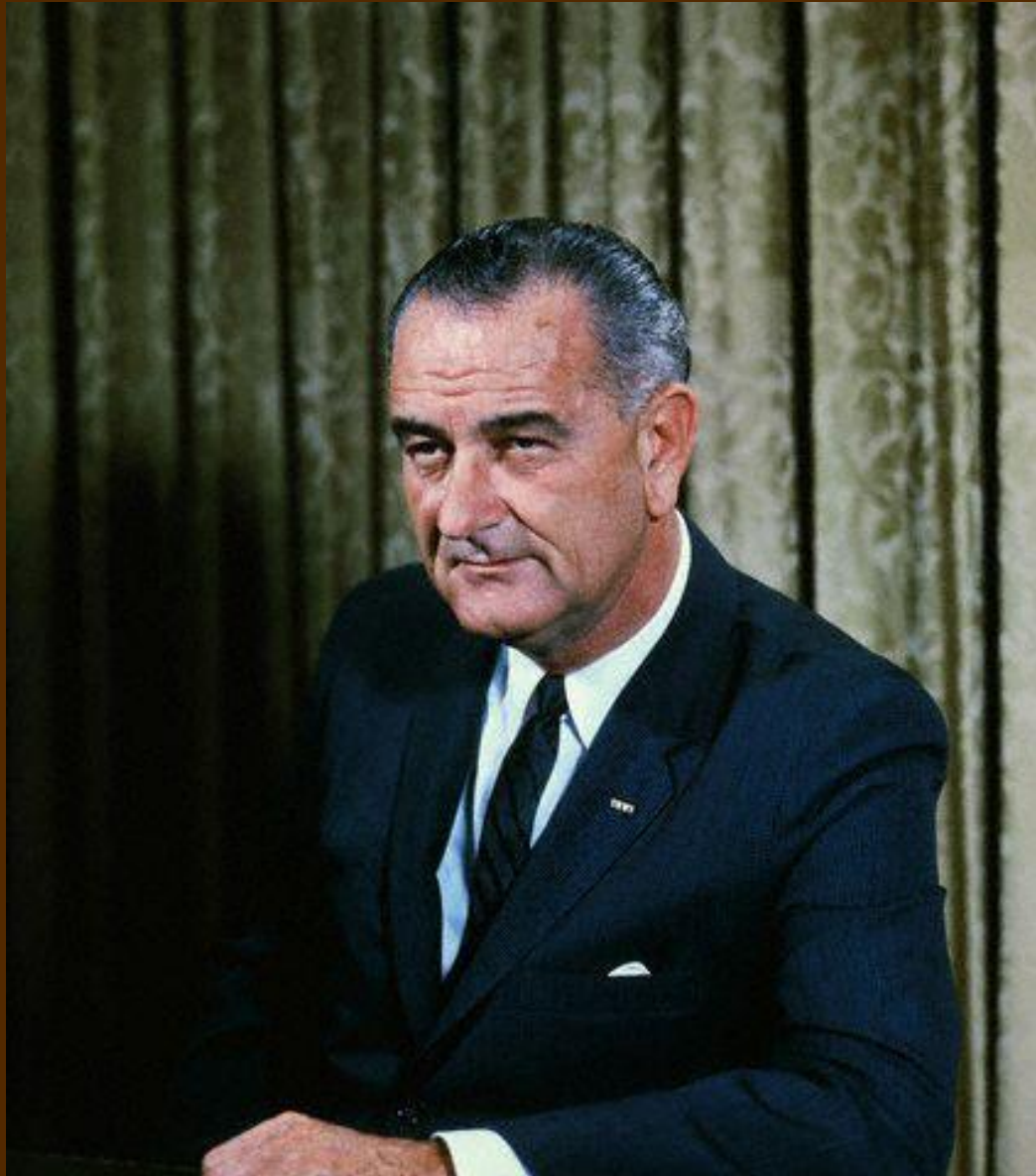
- The Great Society
  - Johnson got Kennedy’s tax-cut bill passed, adding proposals for a billion-dollar “War on Poverty”
  - Series of economic and welfare measures based on New Deal
  - 1962 – The Other America
    - By Michael Harrington
    - Revealed that 20% of the population (40% of the black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

# Poverty in the United States, 1960–1999



# Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

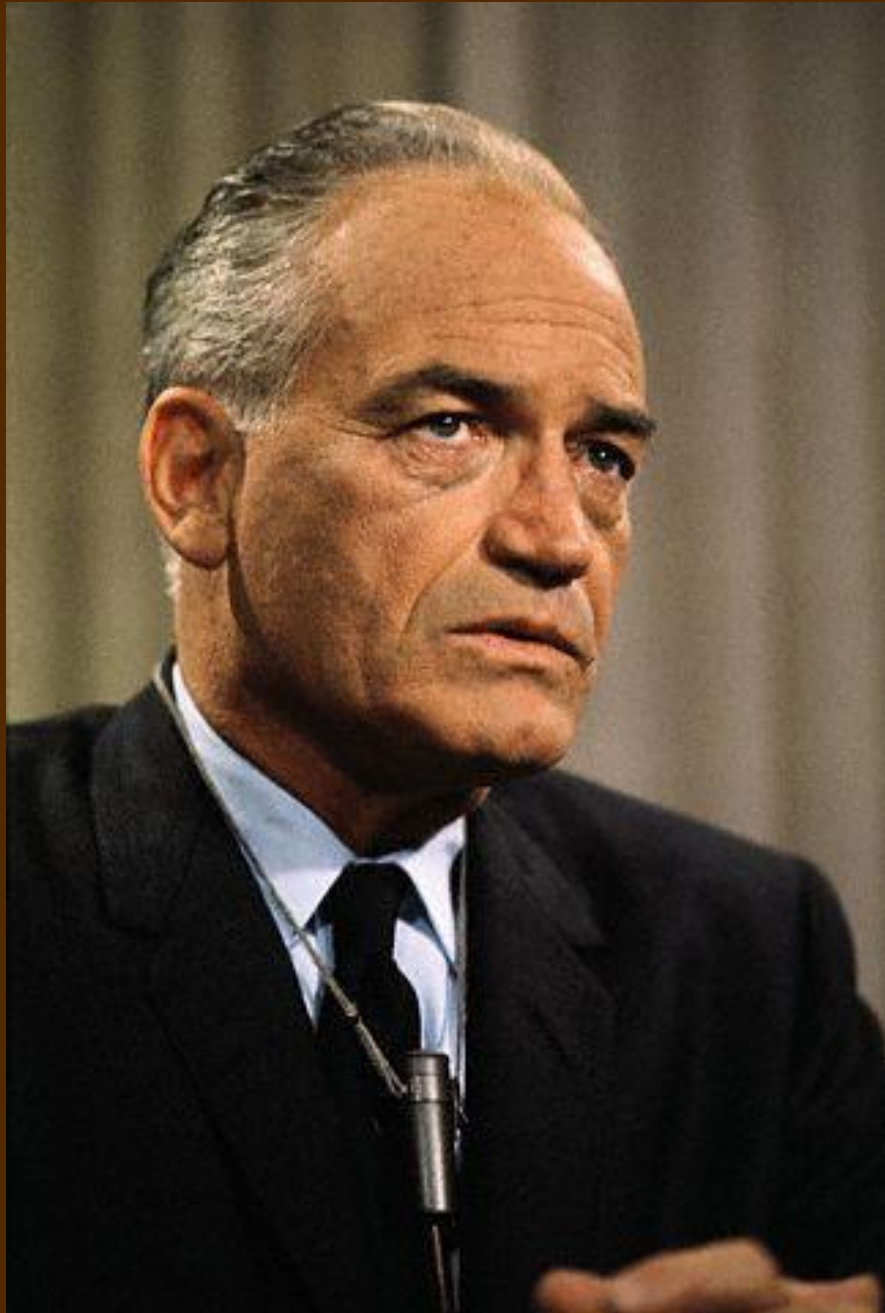
- Democrats
  - Johnson nominated
  - Most liberal platform since Truman's Fair Deal



Lyndon  
Johnson

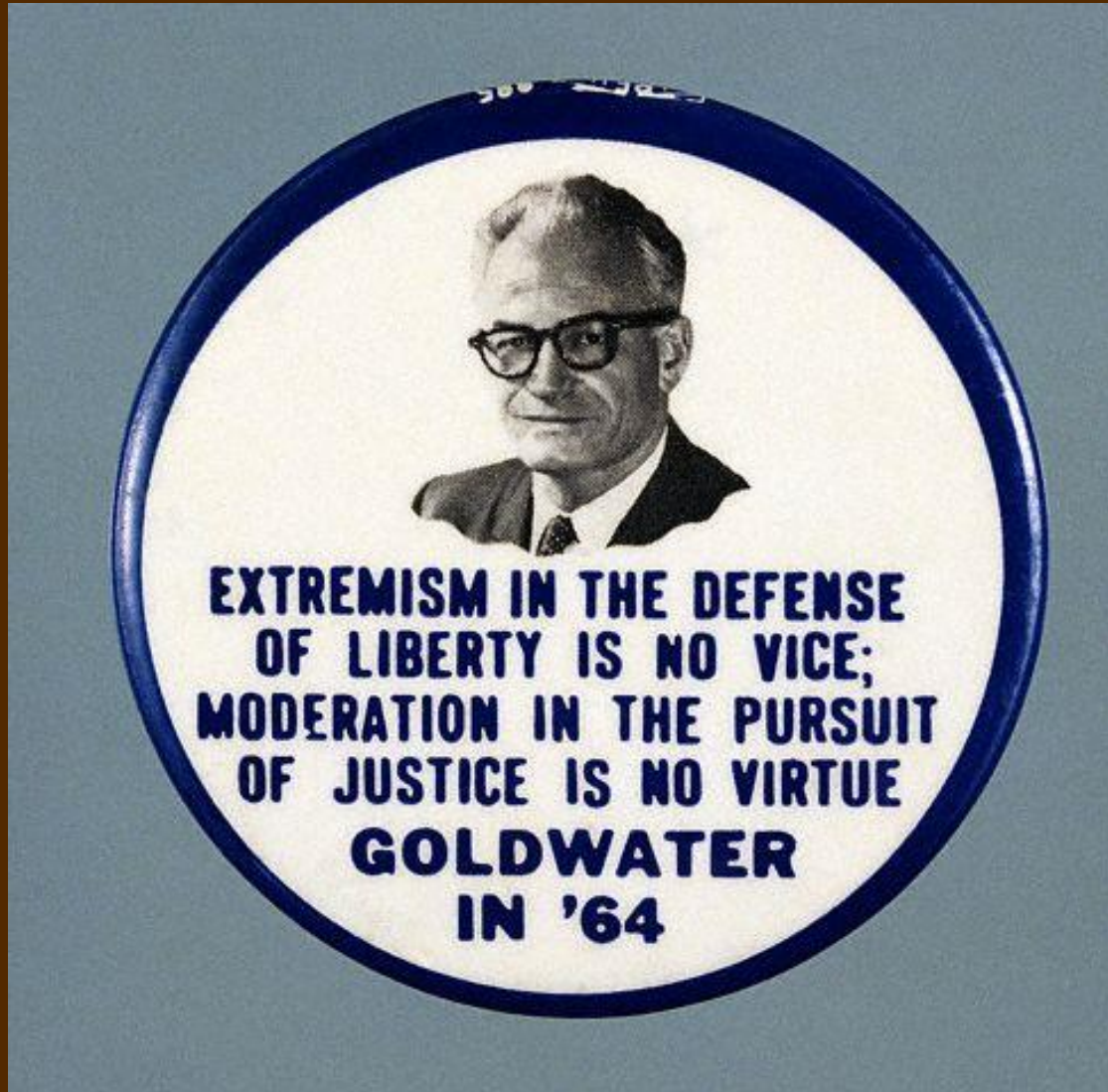
# Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

- 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



# 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

Photo # USN 711524 North Vietnamese motor torpedo boat attacking USS Maddox, 2 Aug. 1964



# Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

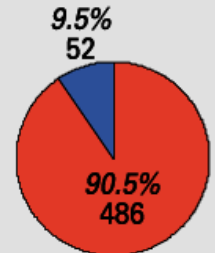
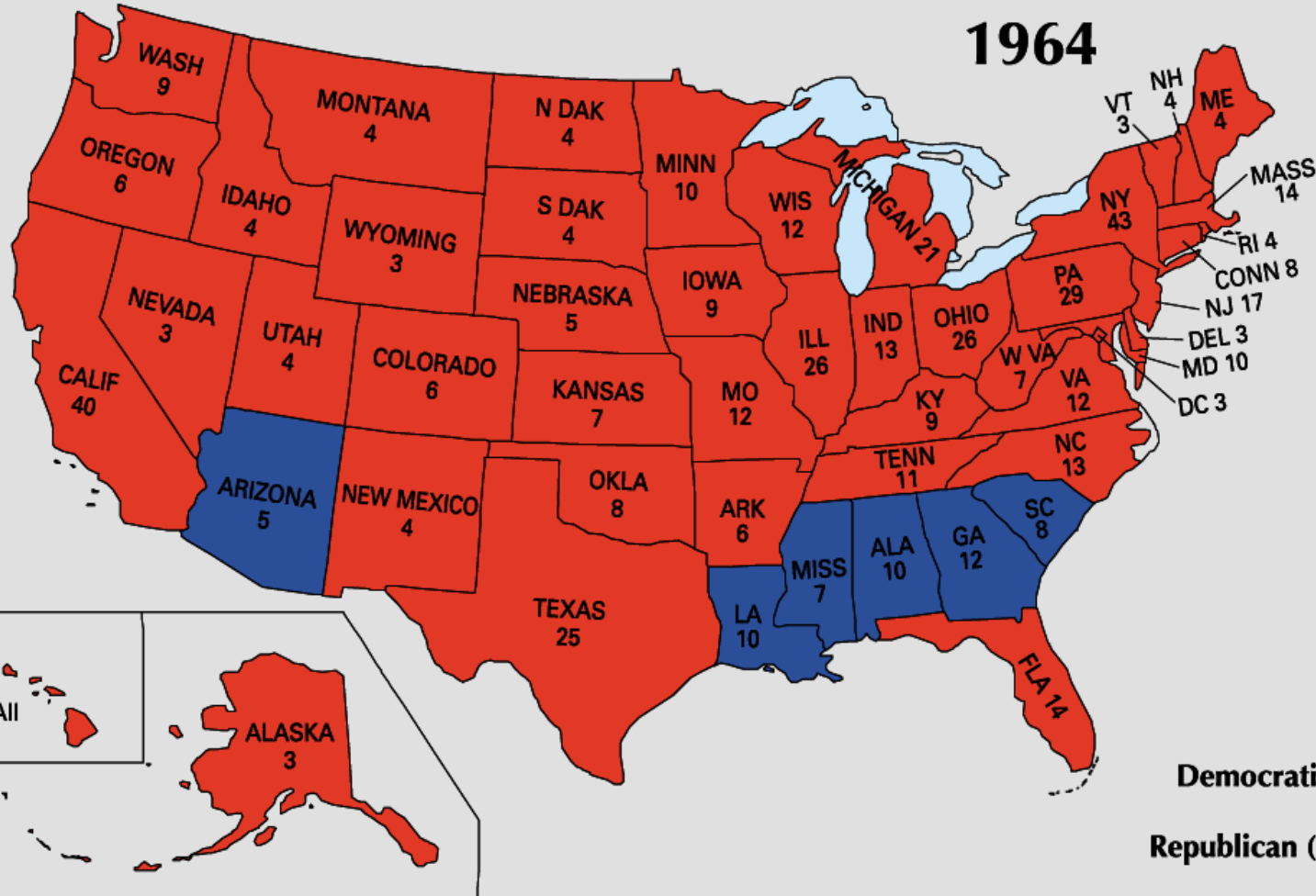
- Johnson's response to the Gulf of Tonkin incident
  - Ordered limited retaliatory air raid against North Vietnamese bases
  - Loudly proclaimed that he wanted “no wider war” – implying that Goldwater did
  - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed
    - Only 2 dissenting votes
    - Lawmakers gave up war-declaring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

# Johnson Battles Goldwater in 1964

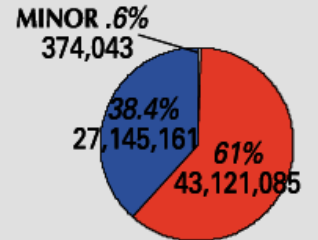
- Results of the election of 1964
  - Johnson won a landslide with 61% of the vote
    - 43 million to 27 million popular votes
    - 486 to 52 electoral votes
  - Goldwater carried only Arizona and 5 states in Deep South
    - South was traditionally Democratic, but moved to Republicans because of Democratic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

# The Election of 1964

1964



**ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL: 538**

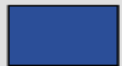


**POPULAR VOTE TOTAL: 70,640,289**

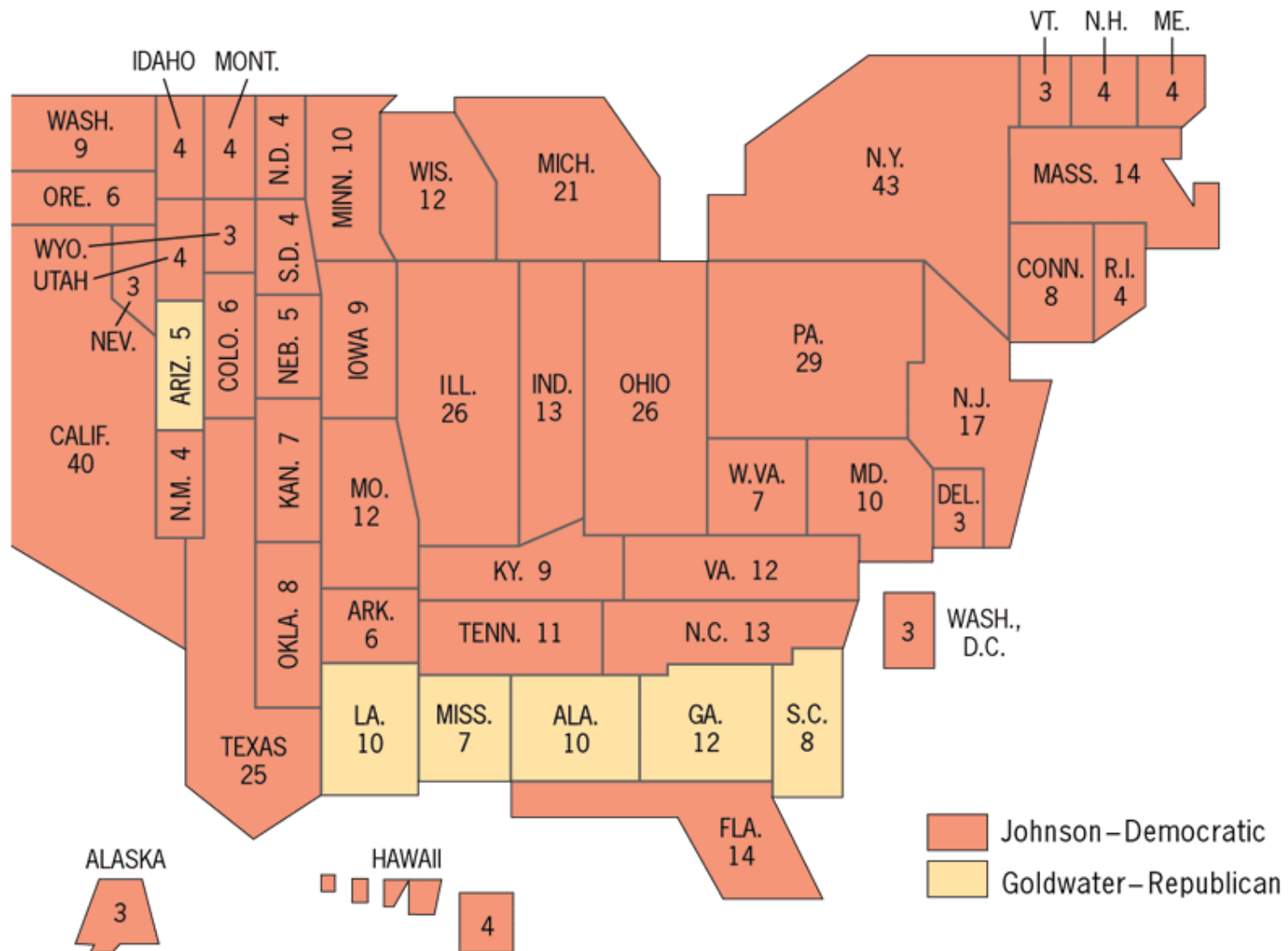
Democratic (Johnson)



Republican (Goldwater)



# Presidential 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
  - 24<sup>th</sup> 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

# MISSING CALL FBI

THE FBI IS SEEKING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE DISAPPEARANCE AT PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI, OF THESE THREE INDIVIDUALS ON JUNE 21, 1964. EXTENSIVE INVESTIGATION IS BEING CONDUCTED TO LOCATE GOODMAN, CHANEY, AND SCHWERNER, WHO ARE DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS:

**ANDREW GOODMAN**



**JAMES EARL CHANEY**




**MICHAEL HENRY SCHWERNER**



RACE:	White	Negro	White
SEX:	Male	Male	Male
DOB:	November 23, 1943	May 25, 1943	November 6, 1939
POB:	New York City	Wardlaw, Mississippi	New York City
AGE:	20 years	21 years	24 years
HEIGHT:	5'10"	5'7"	5'9" to 5'10"
WEIGHT:	150 pounds	175 to 180 pounds	175 to 180 pounds
HAIR:	Dark brown; wavy	Black	Brown
EYES:	Brown	Brown	Light blue
TEETH:		Good; none missing	
SCARS AND MARKS:		1 inch cut above 2 inches above left ear.	Pockmark center of forehead, slight scar on bridge of nose, appendectomy scar, broken leg scar.

SHOULD YOU HAVE OR IN THE FUTURE RECEIVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THE WHEREABOUTS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS, YOU ARE REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ME OR THE NEAREST OFFICE OF THE FBI. TELEPHONE NUMBER IS LISTED BELOW.



  
DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535  
TELEPHONE: NATIONAL 8-7117

June 29, 1964

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

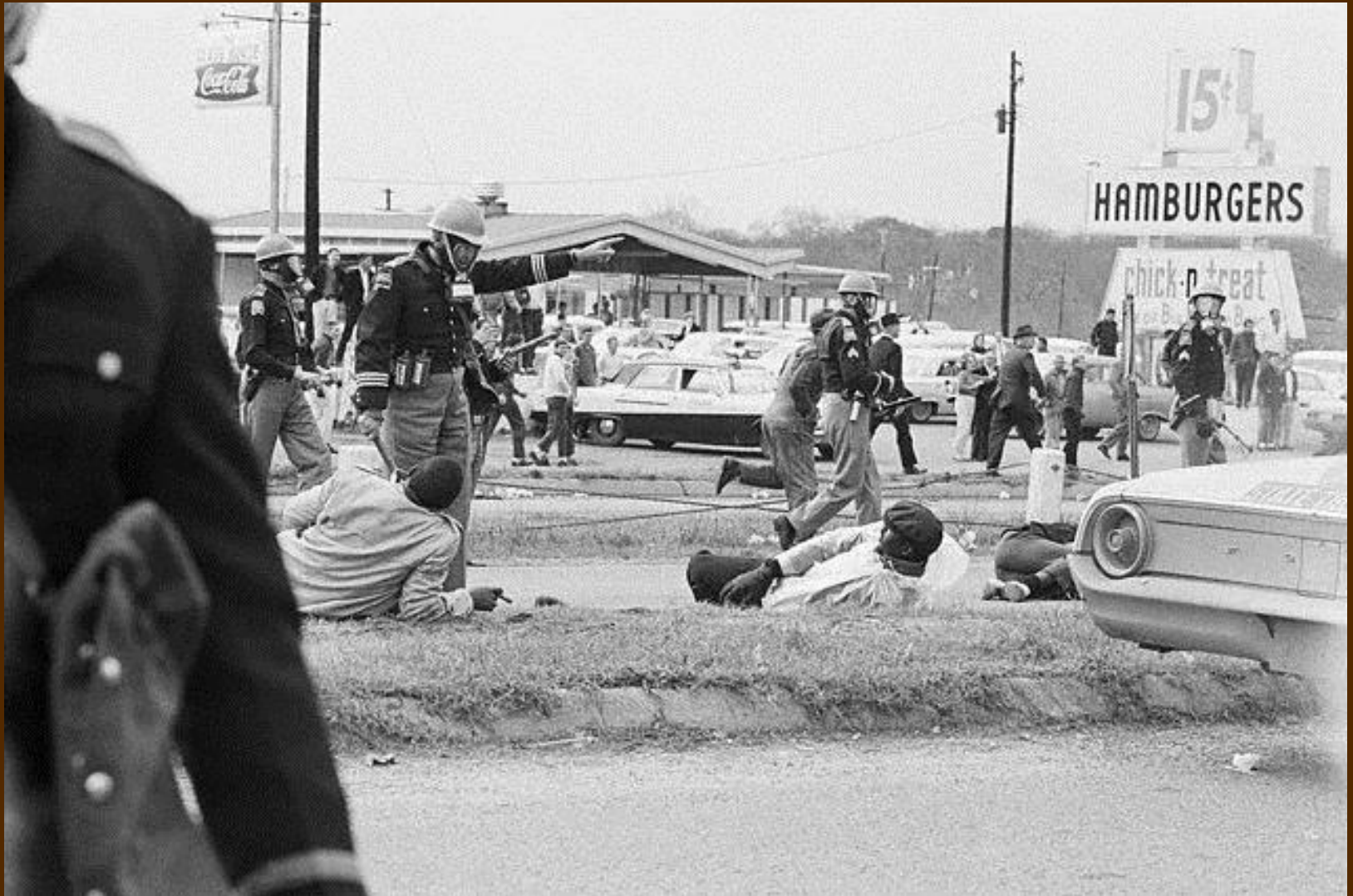
# Police in Selma Block the Road of the March Out of a Black Neighborhood in Selma



# A Civil Rights Marcher Attempts to Ward Off the Attack of State Troopers

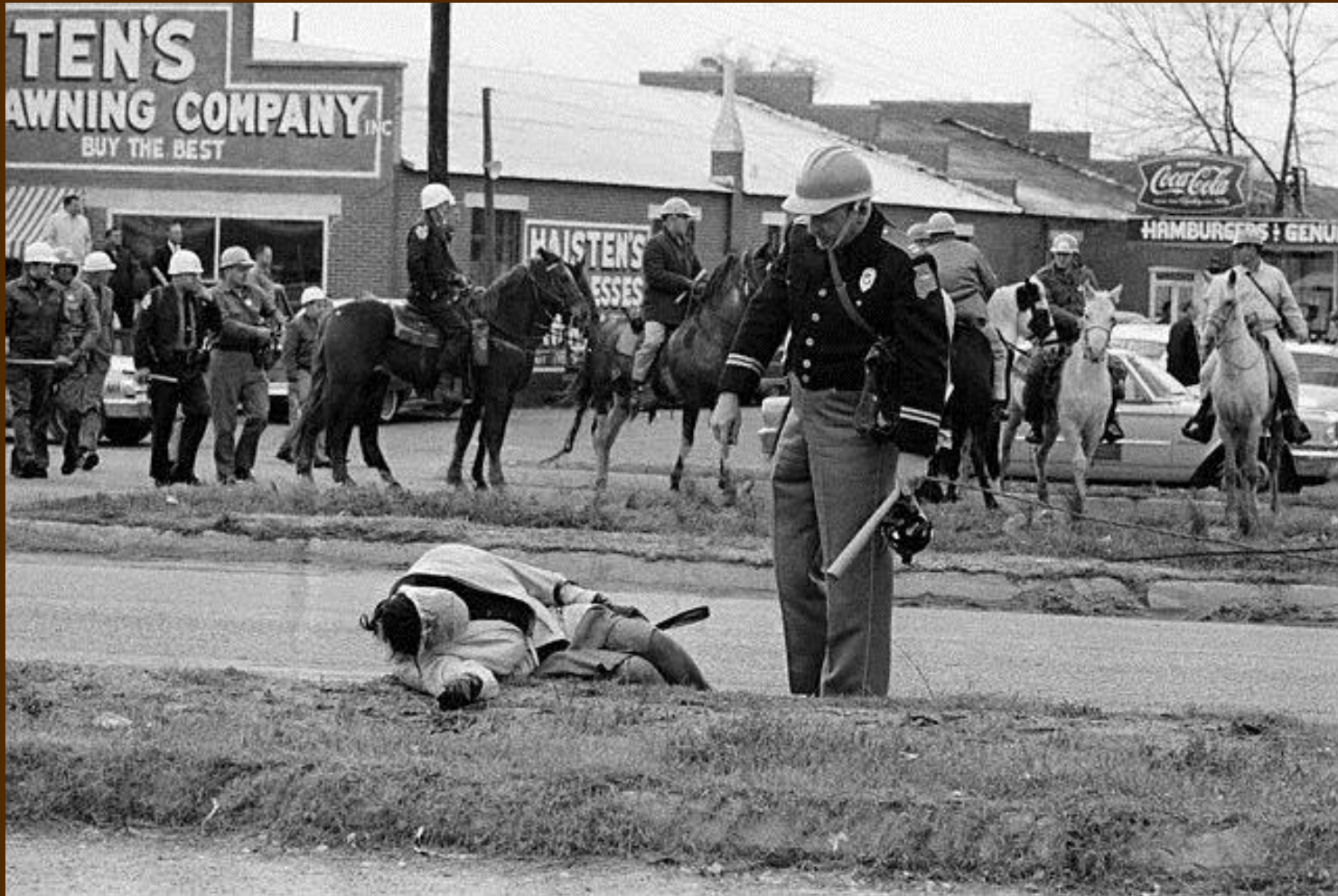


# Police Officers Attack Civil Rights Marchers in Selma, Alabama

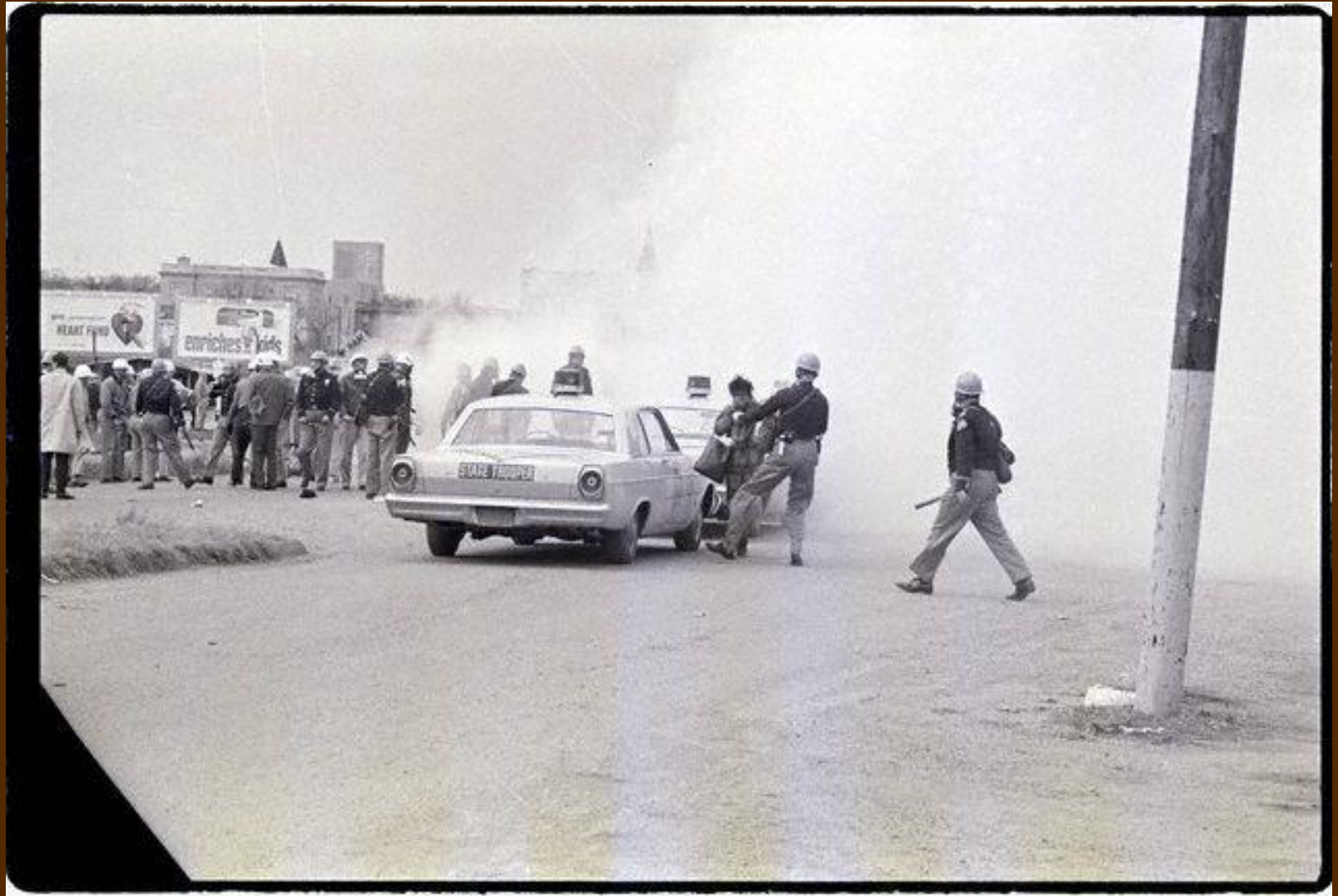




# An Officer Approaches an Unconscious Woman at Selma



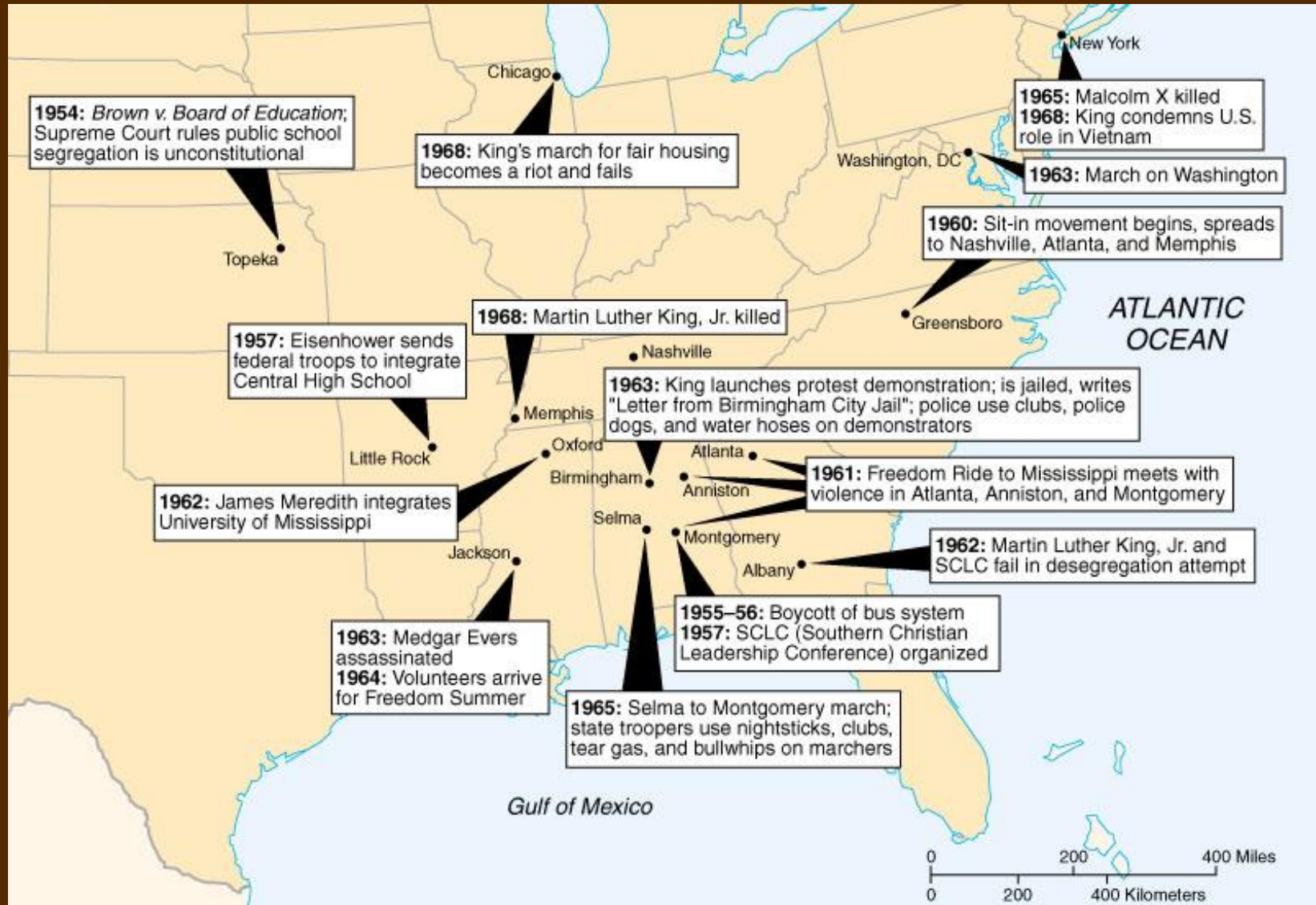
# Police Officers Attack Civil Rights Marchers With Tear Gas in Selma, Alabama





A Civil Rights Marcher  
Suffering from Exposure  
to Tear Gas, Holds an  
Unconscious Woman in  
Selma, Alabama

# Milestones in the Civil Rights Movement



# Battling for Black Rights

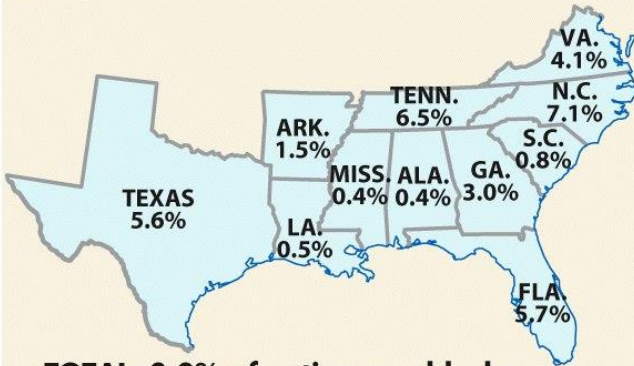
- President Johnson made stirring speech on national television after events in Selma
  - Nation “must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice...And we shall overcome.”

# 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

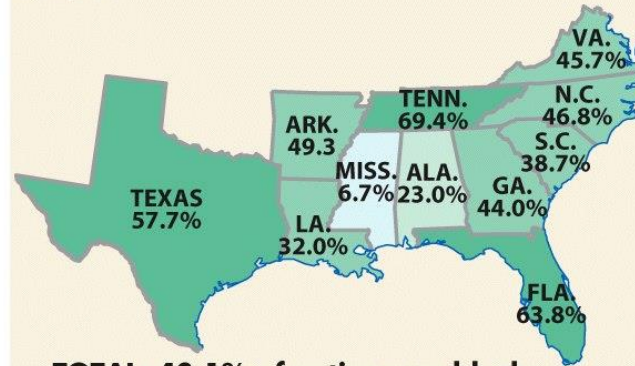
# The Rise of the African American Vote, 1940-1976

1940



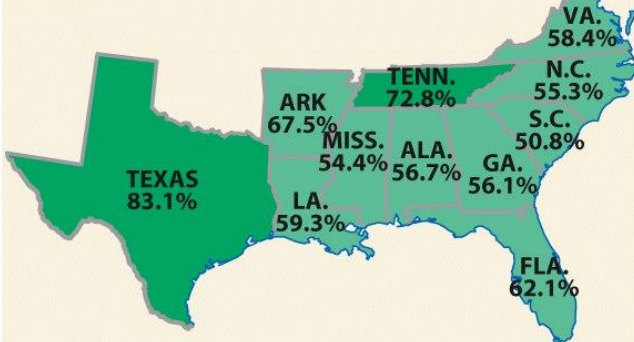
TOTAL: 3.0% of voting age blacks

1964



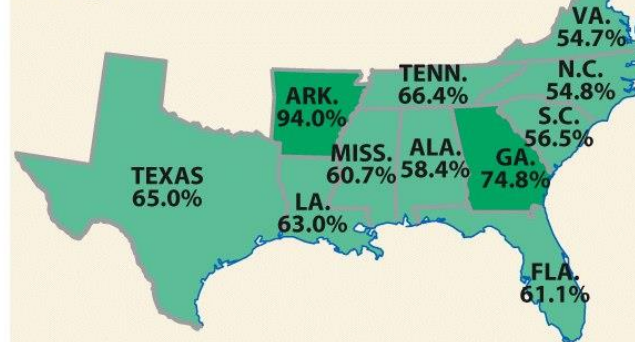
TOTAL: 43.1% of voting age blacks

1968



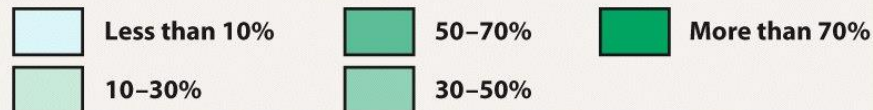
TOTAL: 62.0% of voting age blacks

1976



TOTAL: 63.1% of voting age blacks

Percent of voting age blacks registered to vote



# 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

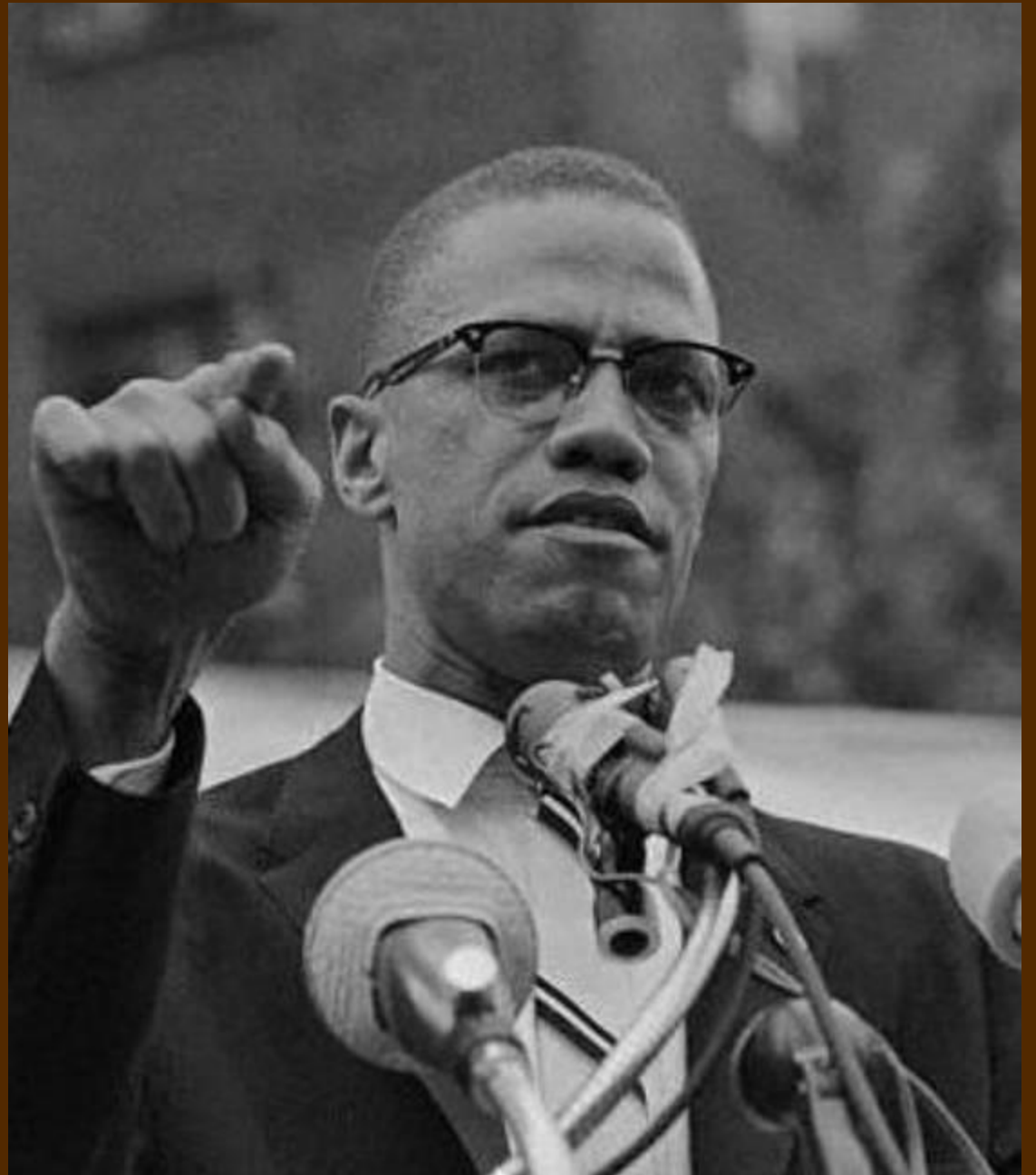


# Black Power

- 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 Power

- 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



Racial demonstration, 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



# 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

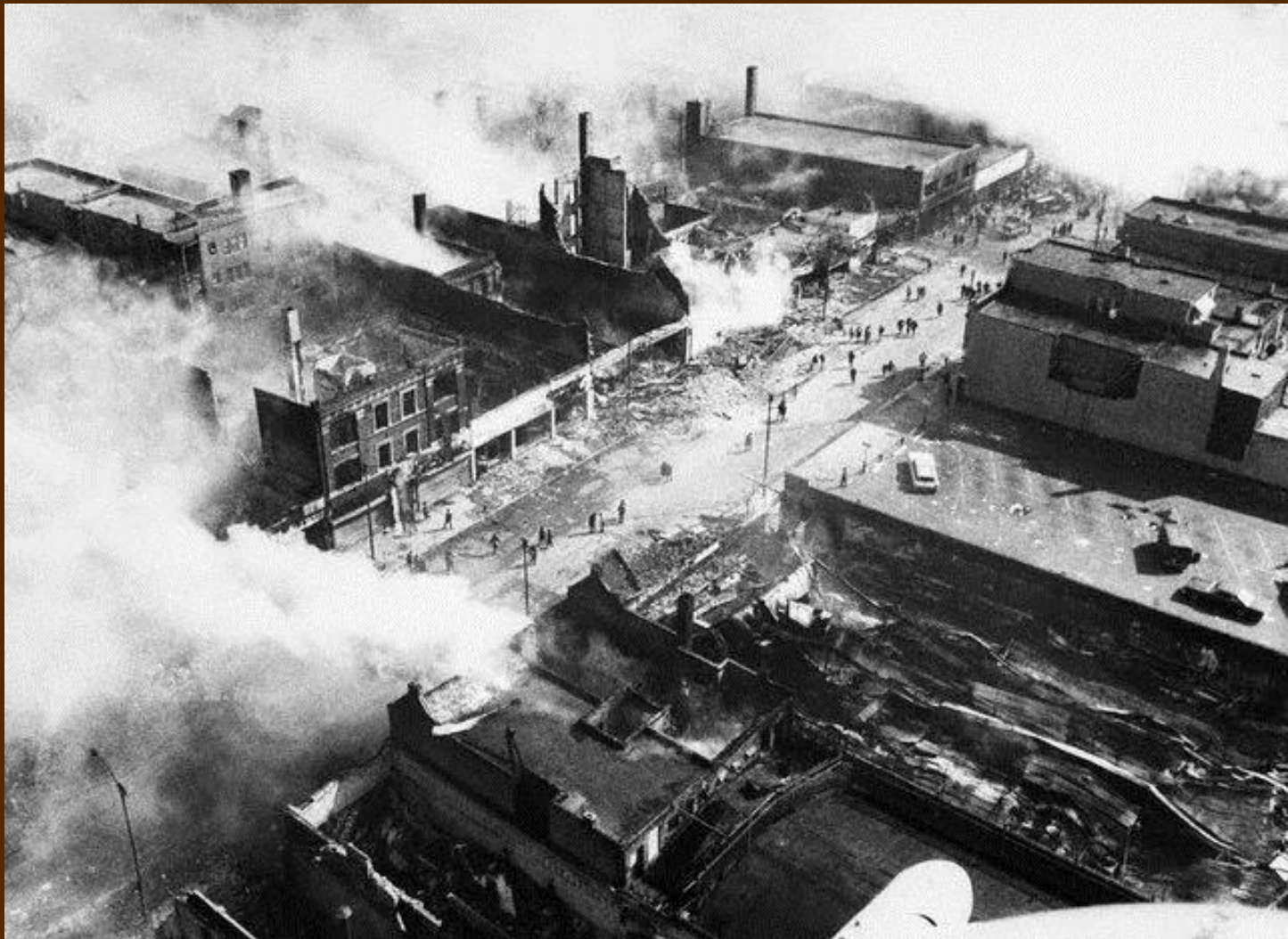
# Black Power

- 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



# Urban Riots, 1965-1968



# 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

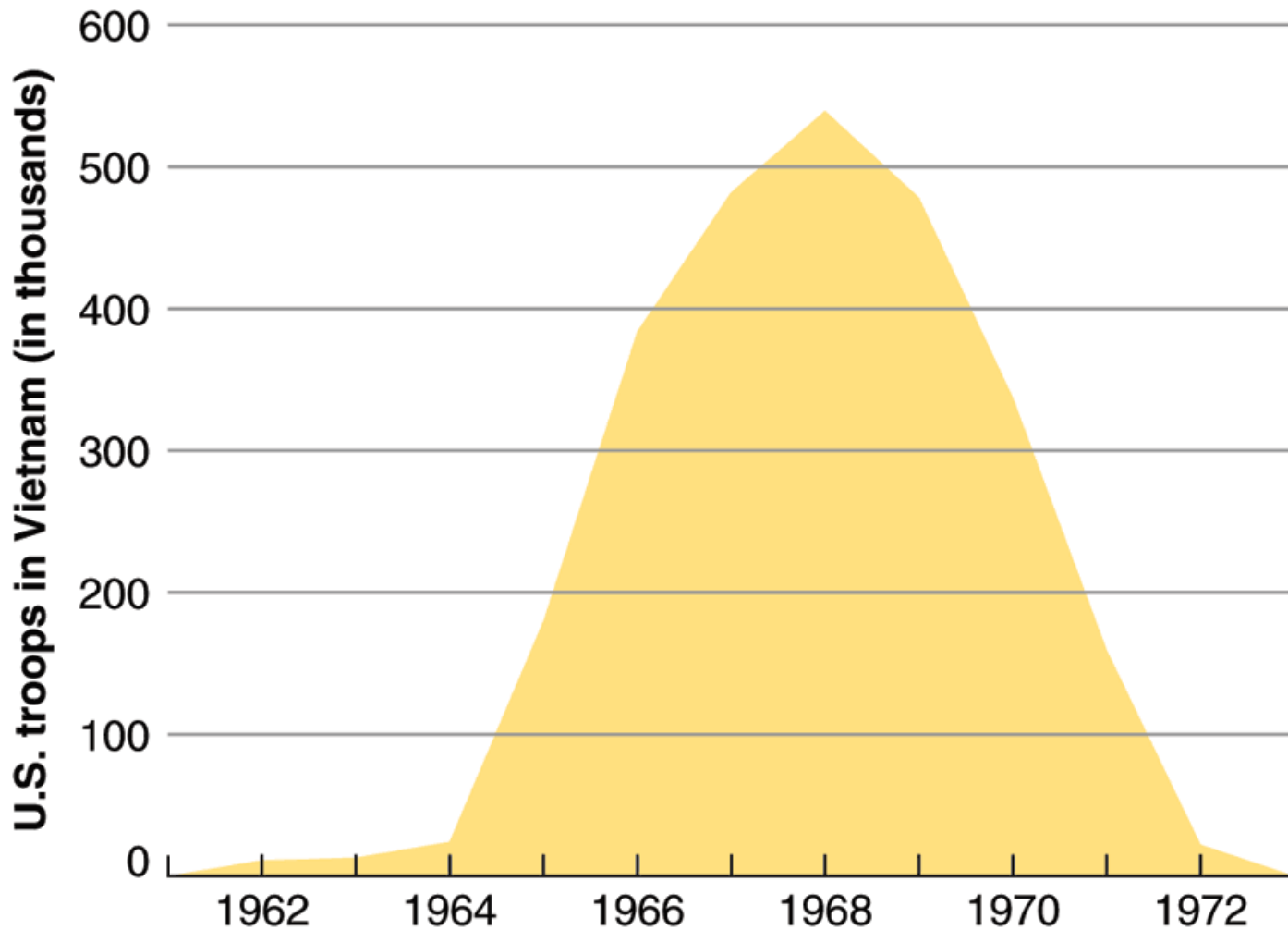
# Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1954–1975



# Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres

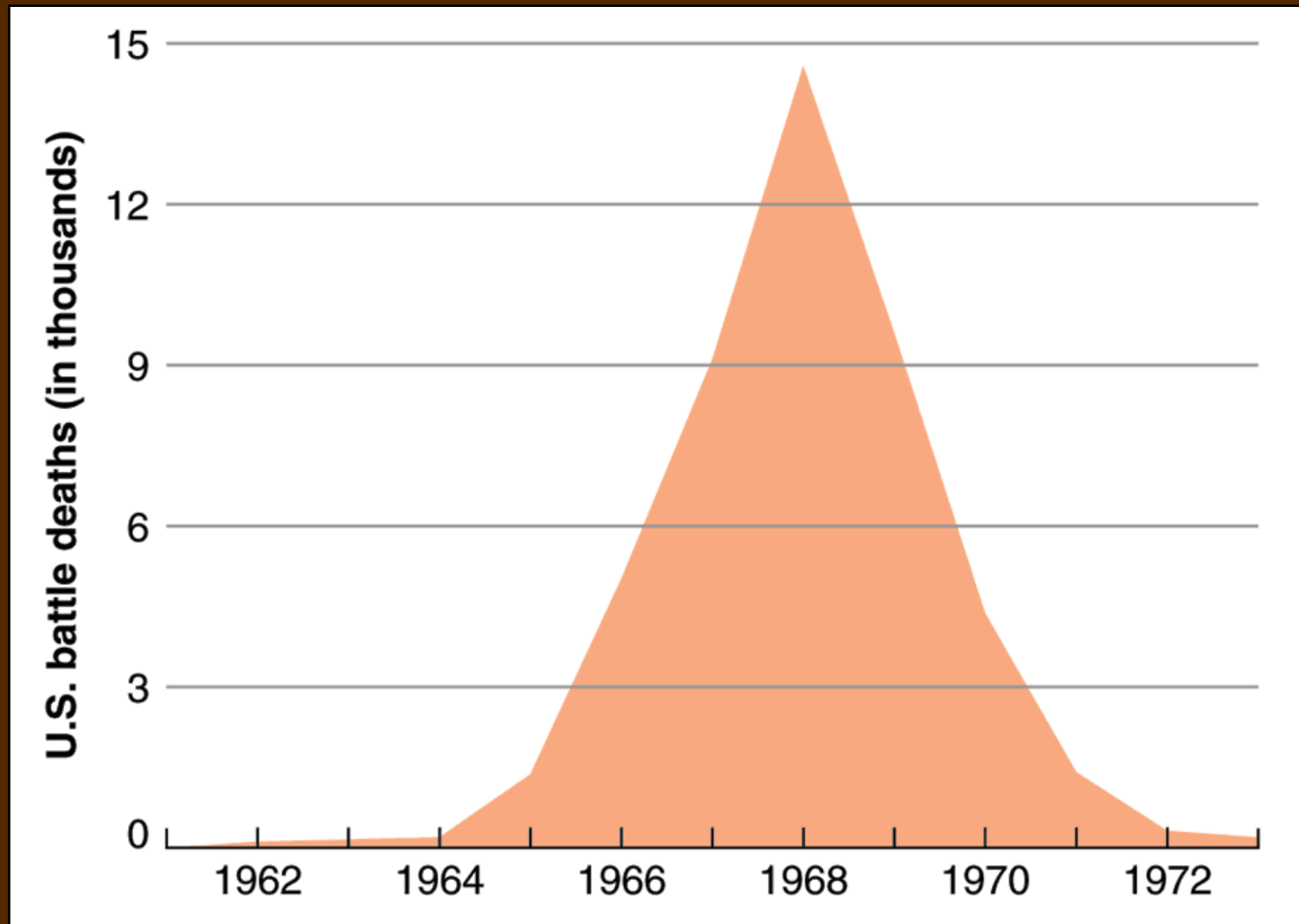
- Johnson's Vietnam strategy
  - Fine-tuned escalation of US force would lead to defeat with minimum loss of life on both sides
  - But enemy matched every increase with more man and guerrilla warfare

# U.S. Combat Troops in Vietnam





# US Battle Deaths in Vietnam



# 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



Israel before June 1967

# Cease-Fire Lines After the Six- Day War



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 huts 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



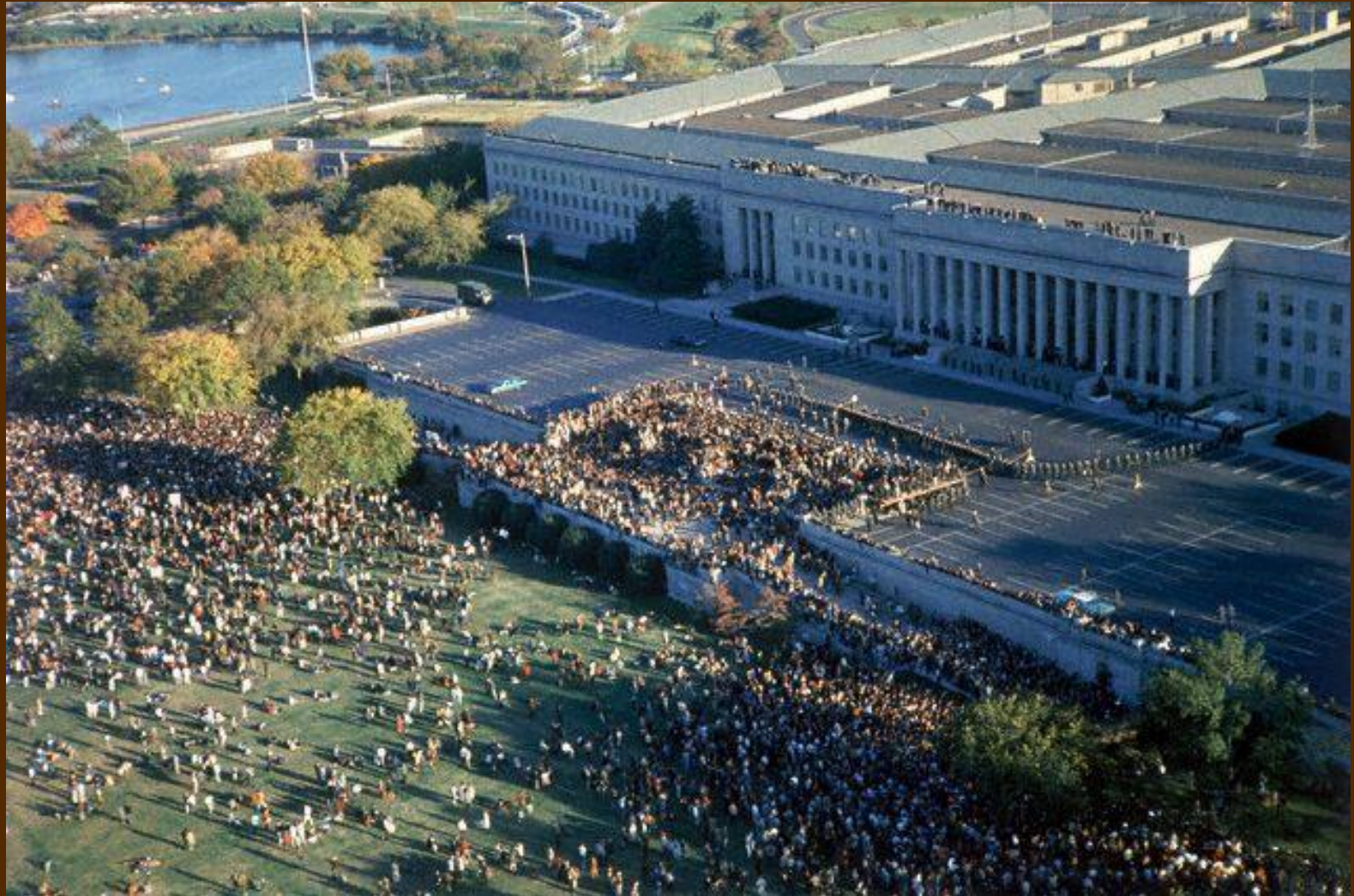
# A US Soldier Sets Fire to One of the Huts in a Viet Cong Training Camp

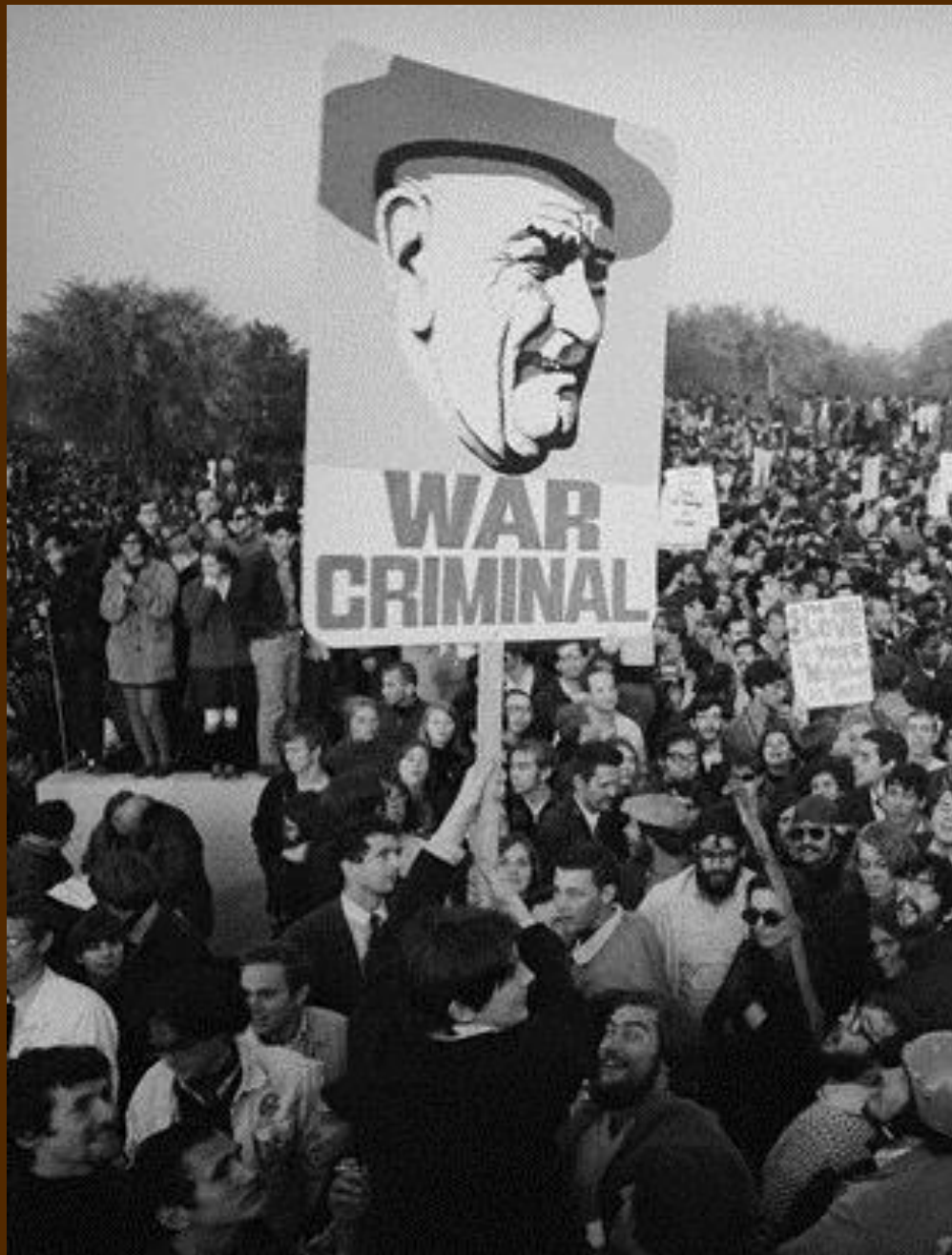


# Vietnamese Civilians Escaping an Accidental Napalm Bombing of Their Village



# 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”)

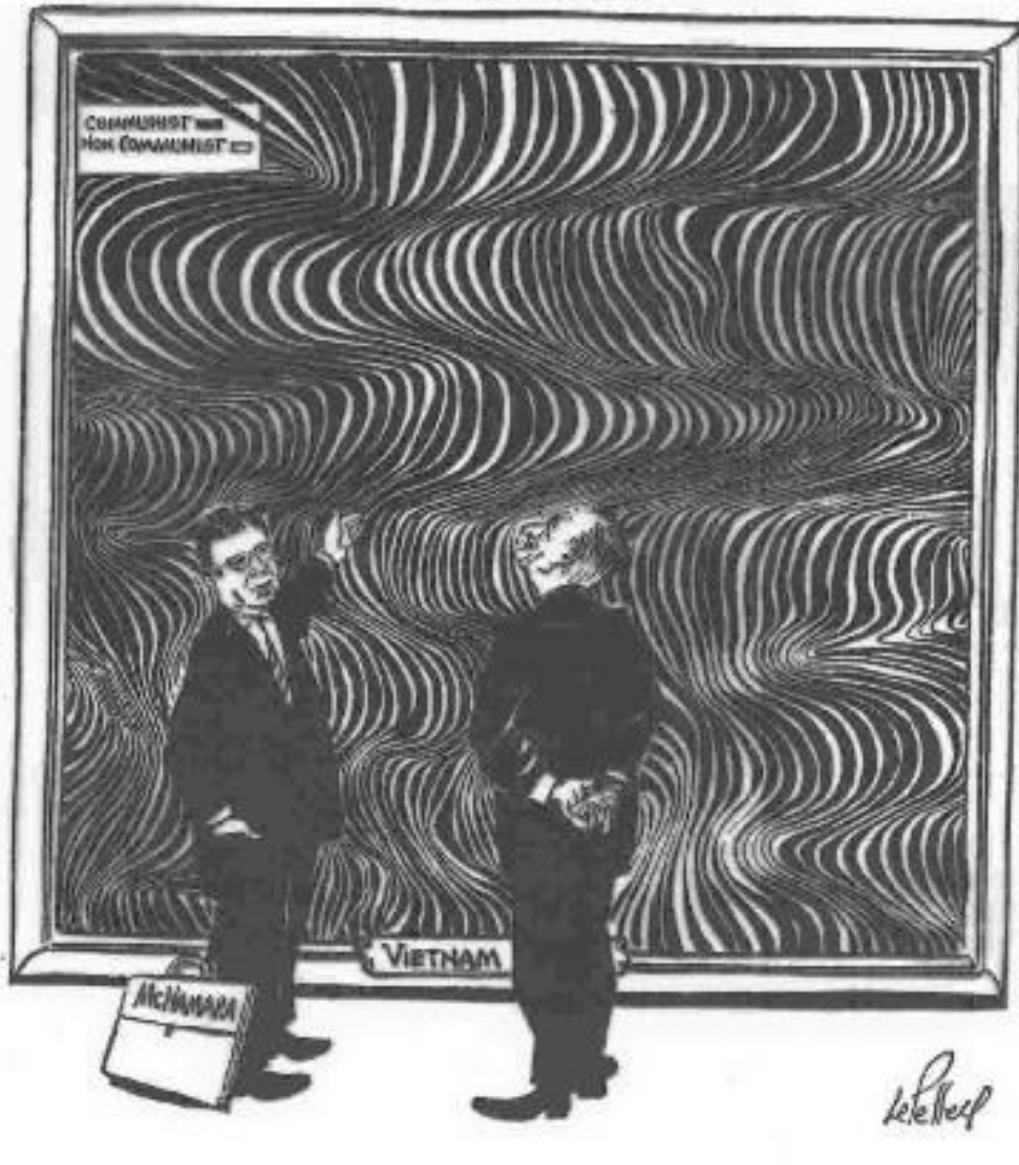
# Vietnam Vexations

- 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)

"THE PICTURE IS NOT ALL BLACK,  
MR. PRESIDENT."



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



The Tunnel at  
the End of the  
Tunnel

# 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)

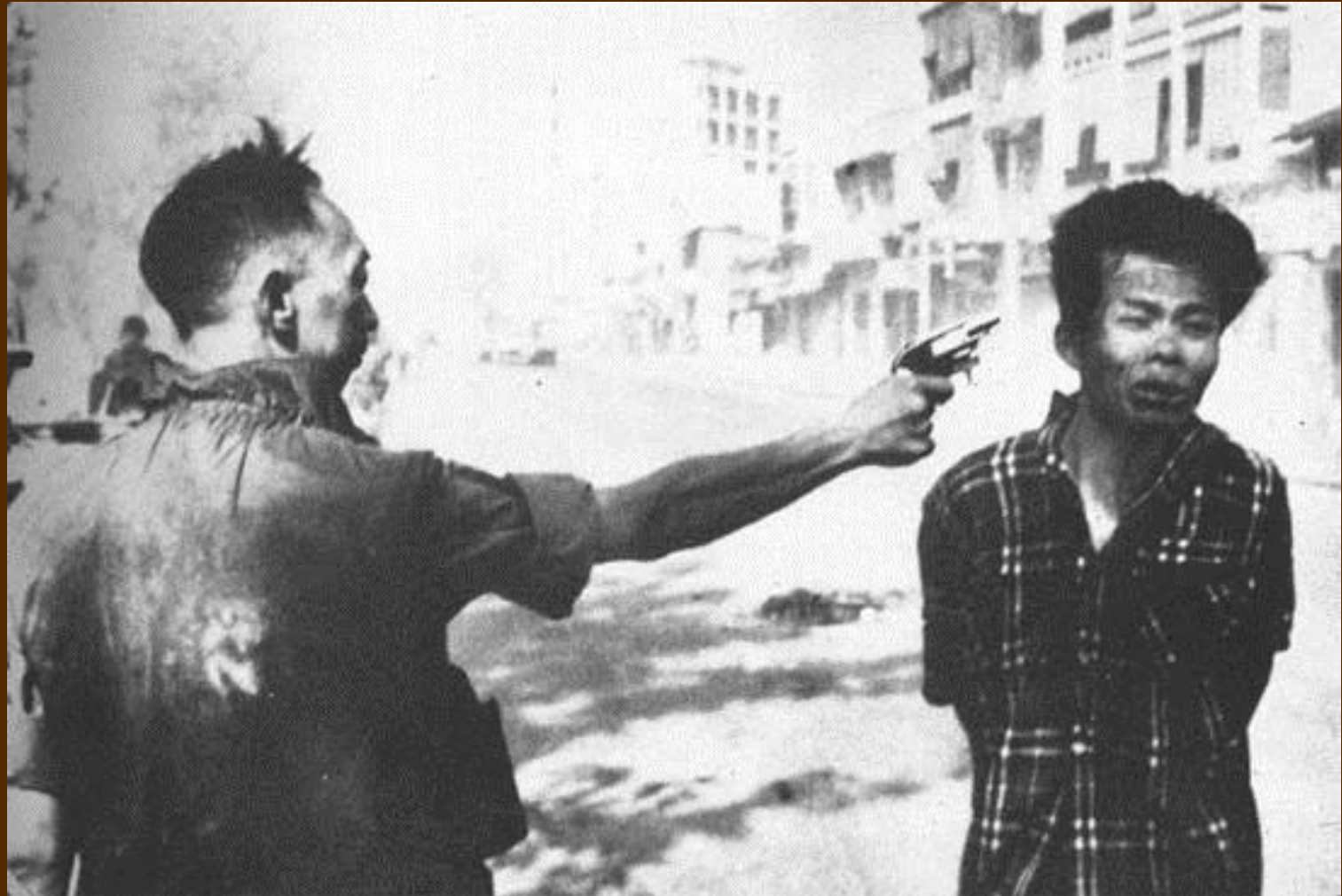
# The Tet Offensive, January- February 1968



# The Aftermath of Tet

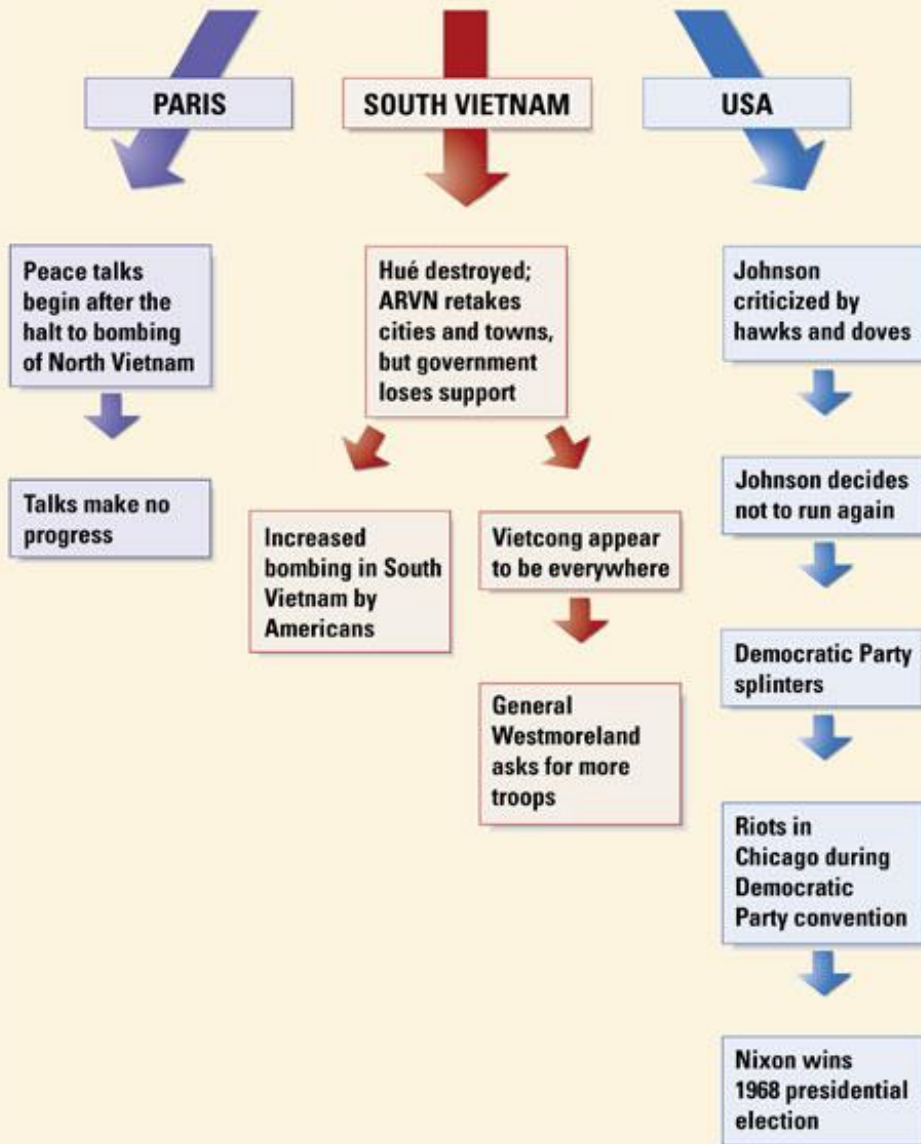


# A South Vietnamese Officer Kills a Bound Viet Cong Suspect During the Tet Offensive



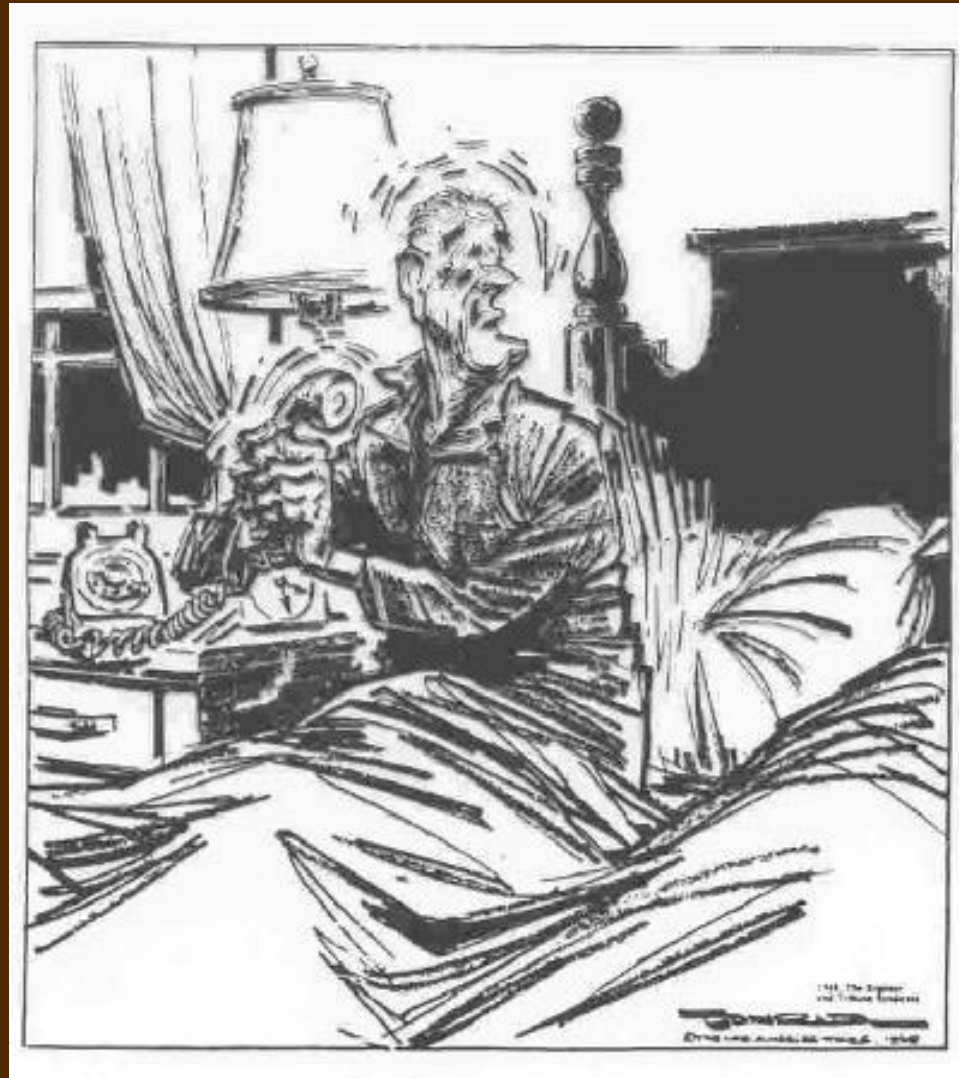
## Impact of the Tet Offensive

### TET OFFENSIVE



# Impact of the Tet Offensive

“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

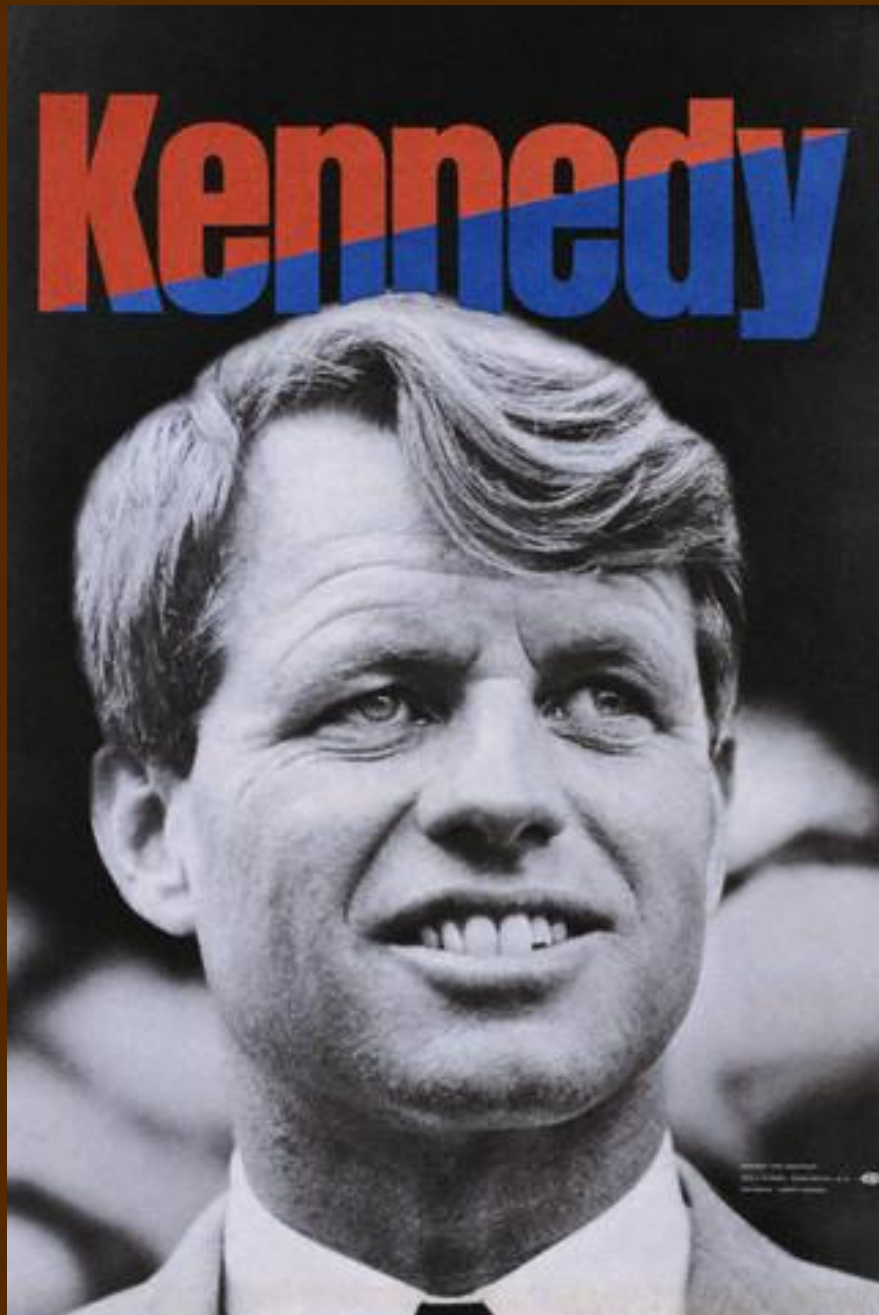


# Eugene McCarthy



# 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 Topples 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 plank in Democratic platform
    - Instead, inserted declaration that war would continue until enemy was willing to negotiate

# Hubert Humphrey Addressing the Democratic National Convention



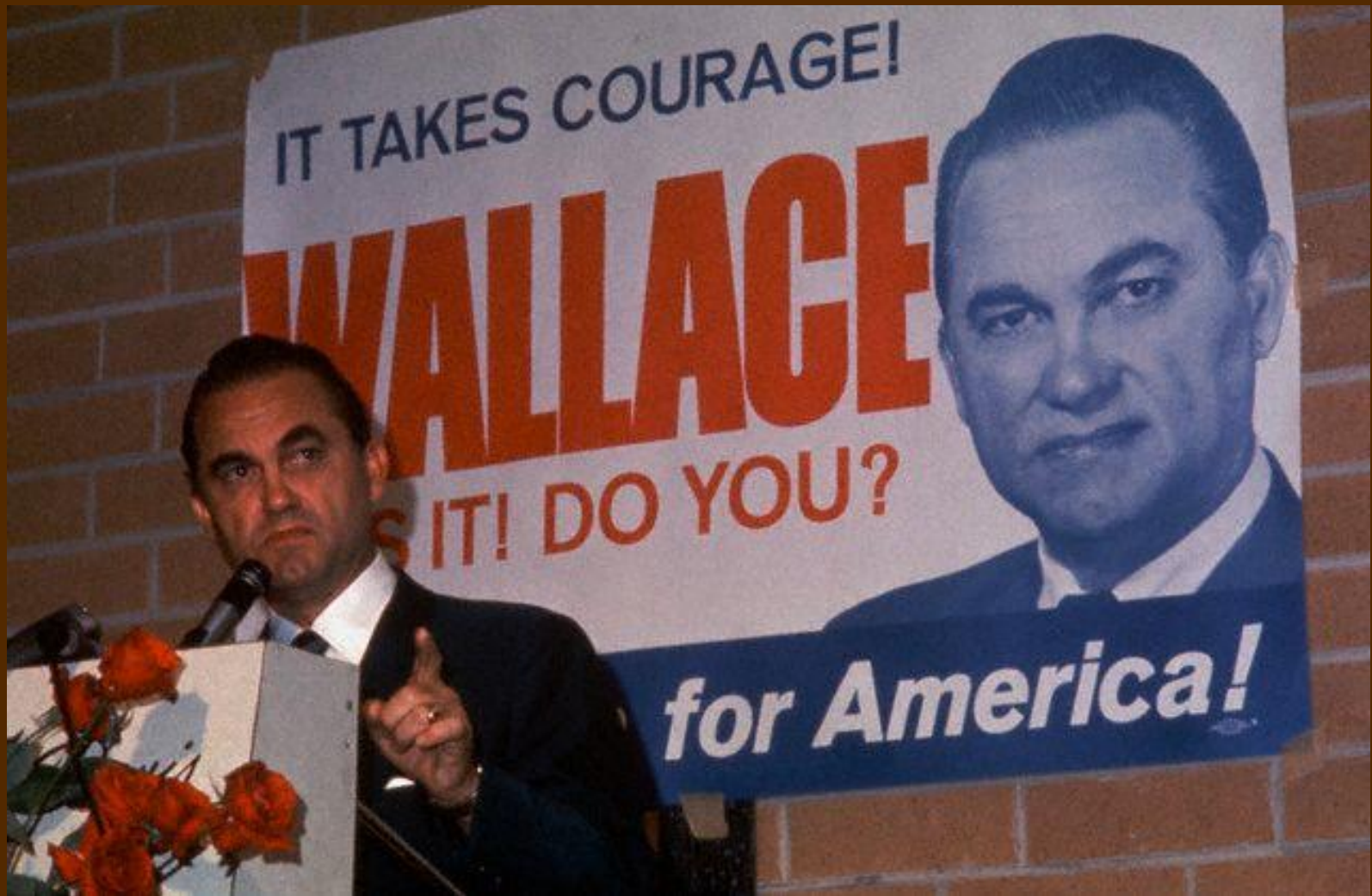
# The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

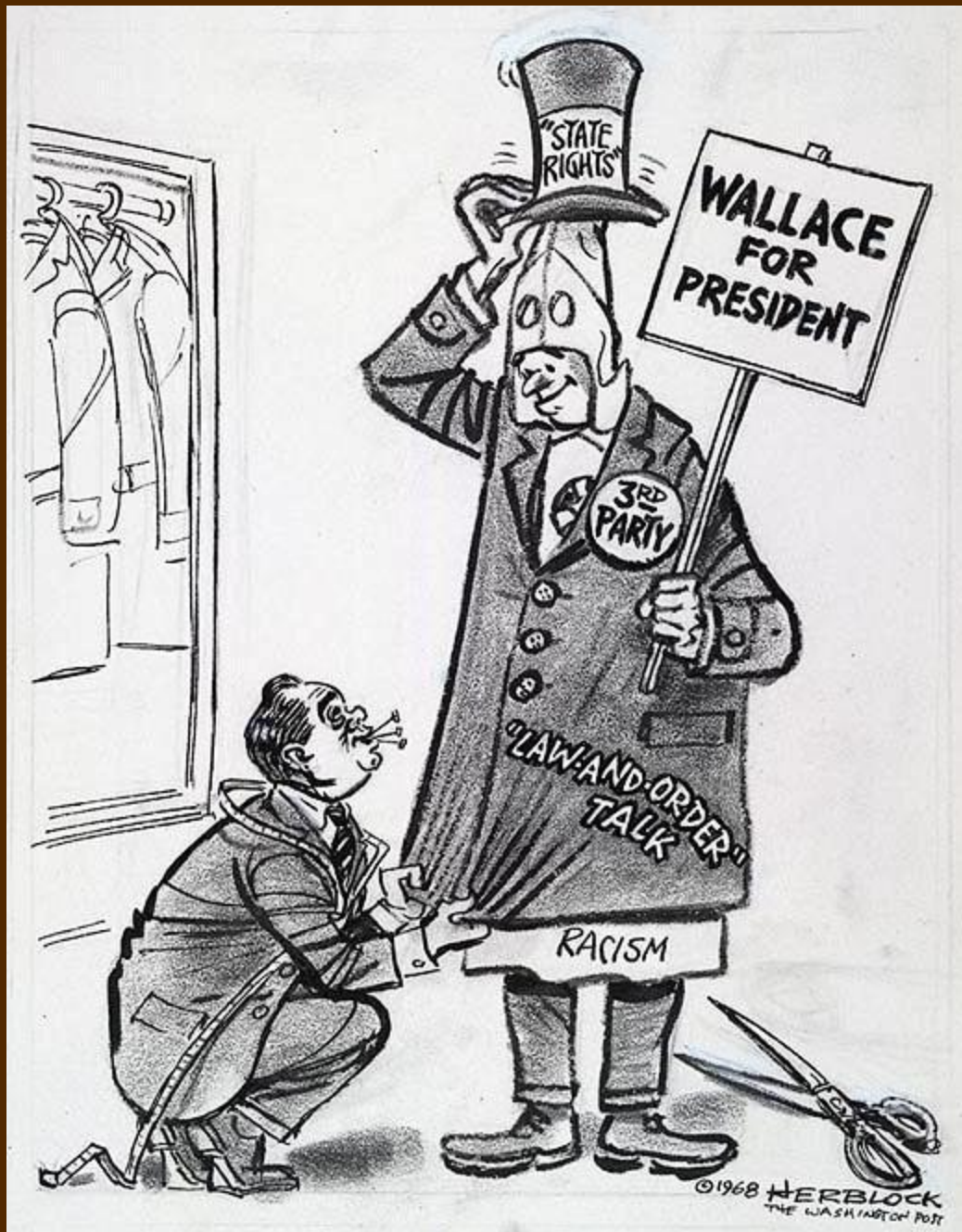
- Republican nomination
  - Convention in Miami, Florida
  - Former vice president Richard Nixon nominated
    - Acceptable to conservative (Goldwater) and moderate Republicans
    - “hawk” on Vietnam; right-leaning moderate on domestic issues
  - Governor Spiro Agnew (Maryland) nominated as vice president
    - 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



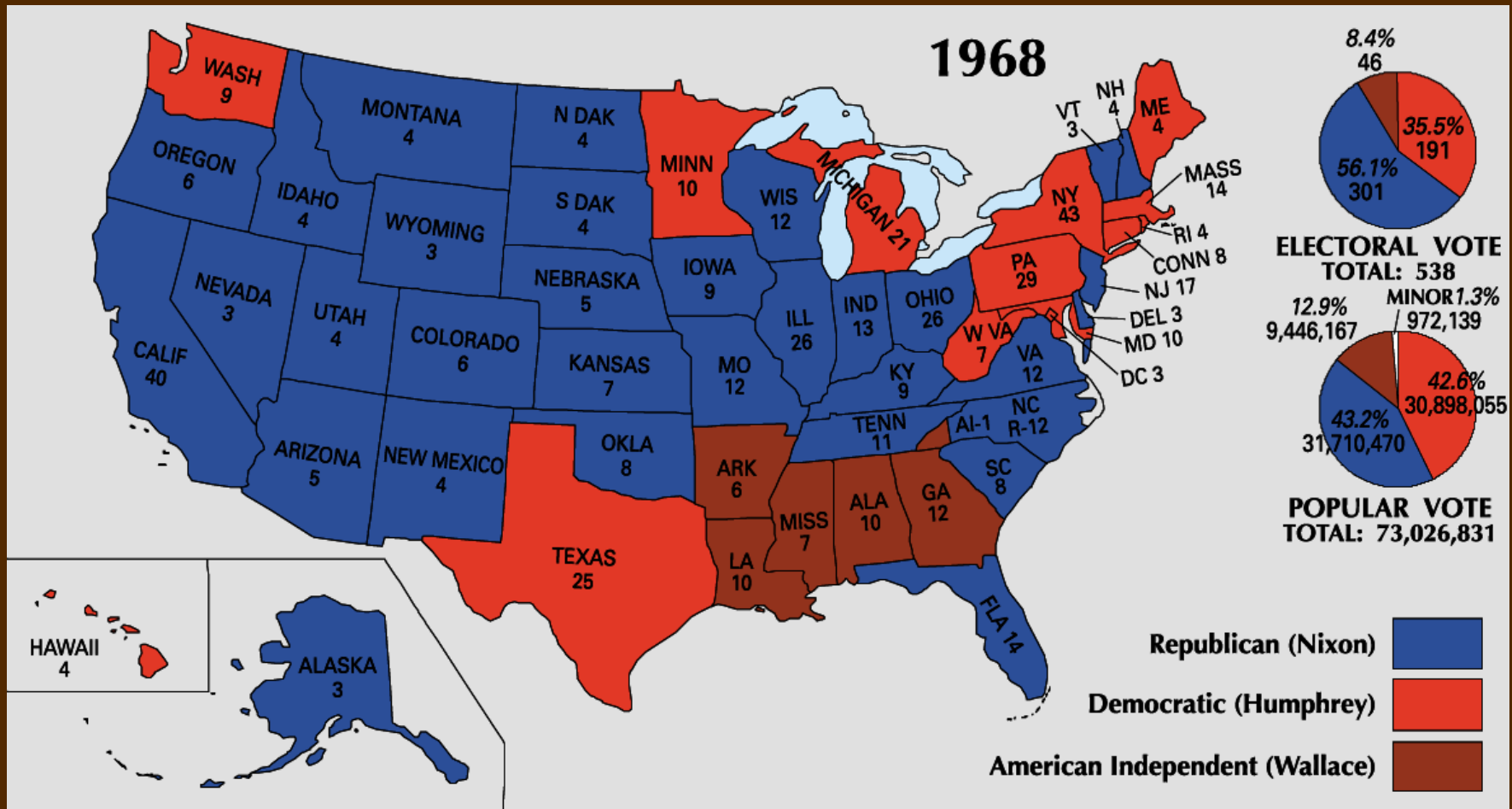
# The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

- 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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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



# 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

"THERE'S MONEY ENOUGH TO SUPPORT BOTH OF YOU ....  
NOW, DOESN'T THAT MAKE YOU FEEL BETTER?"



“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.”



Covered in The Los Angeles Times

“Dad!?”  
“Son!?”  
The 1960s  
Divided  
Many  
Families

# 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



Jack  
Kerouac



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



# Hippies high on LSD



# 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