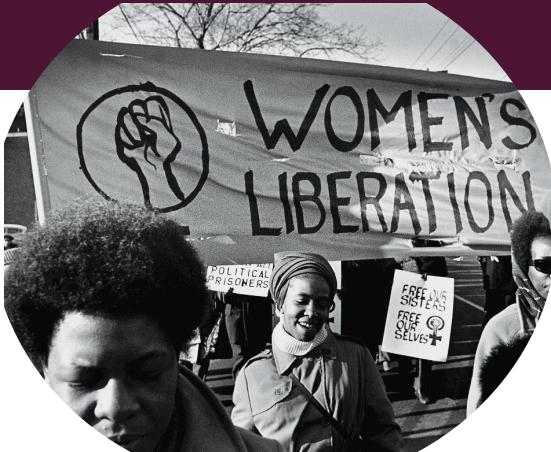




RIGHTS, REBELLION, & REACTION (1960-1974)

CENTRAL THEMES

- Kennedy & Johnson Expand the Role of Government
- How the Black Freedom Movement Evolved
- Emergence of Social Movements in the 1960s
- The Spark of a New Wave of Feminism
- Origins of the Conservative Movement



KENNEDY & JOHNSON EXPAND GOVERNMENT

- Democratic National Convention (1960)
- Beginning of a “New Frontier” Under John F Kennedy
 - “unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus.”
- Johnson & “Great Society”
 - “Abundance & Liberty for All
 - “End to Poverty and Racial Injustice”

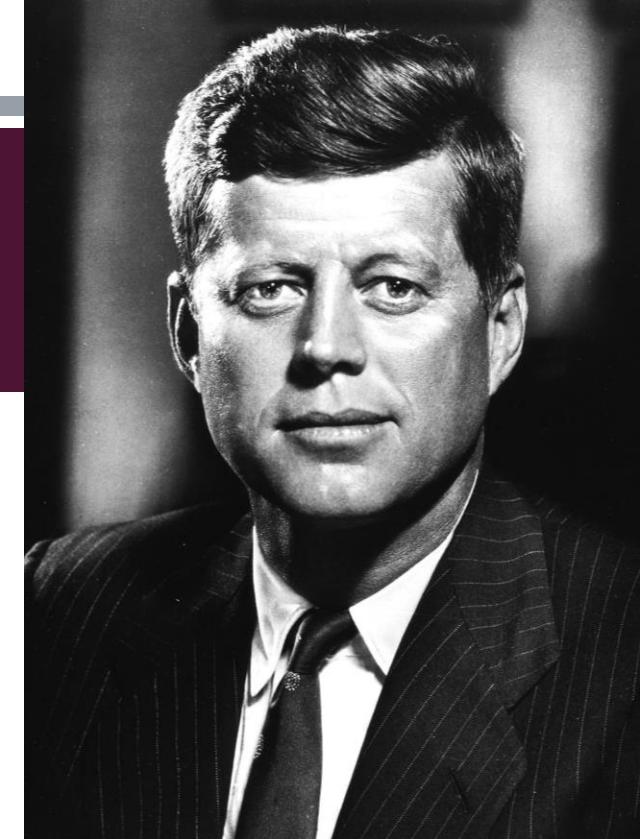
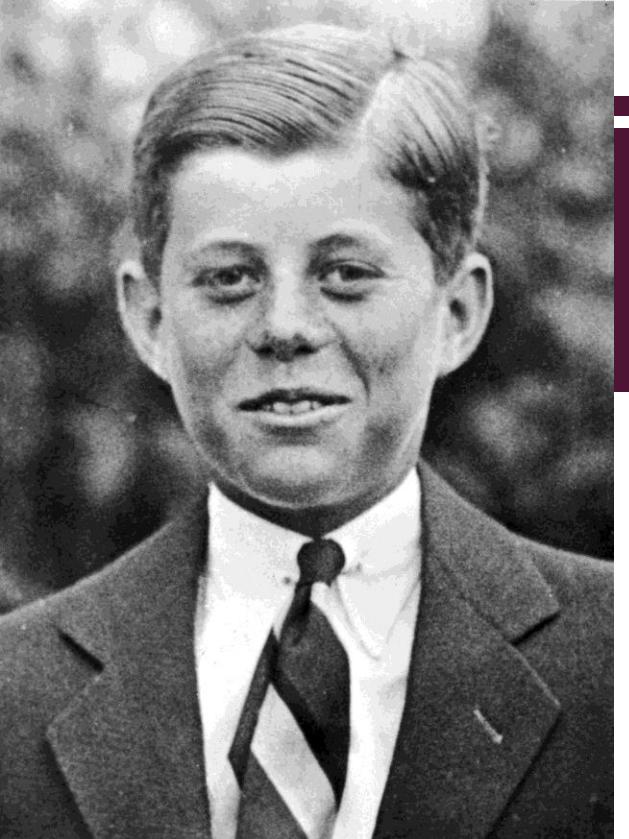




LIBERAL AGENDA OF THE 1960S

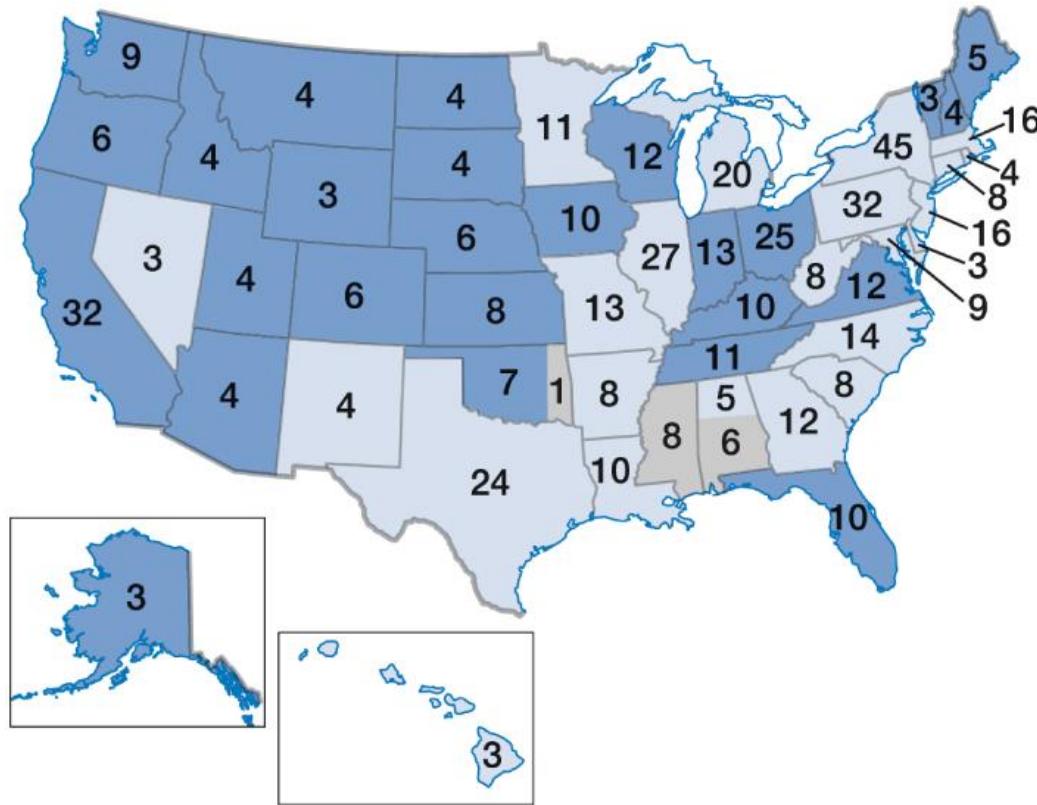


- Supreme Court Cases
- Postwar Prosperity
- Johnson's Legislation:
 - Civil Rights
 - Poverty
 - Education
 - Medical Care
 - Housing
 - Consumer Safety
 - Environmental Protection
- Growing Conservative Movement



JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

- John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917-1963)
 - Massachusetts Elite
 - Son of Irish Catholic Businessman
 - Honorable Navy Record in WWII
 - House of Representatives (1946)
 - Senate (1952)
 - President (1960)
 - Lyndon B. Johnson – Typical Southern Conservative (?)



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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1960

- Narrow Defeat Over Nixon
 - Richard Nixon
 - Anti-Communist Crusader
- JFK's Victory?
 - Black Voters
 - Johnson Carried the South
 - Televised Debates
 - Radio vs. TV Debate
 - Youngest & First Catholic as President (43 Years Old)
- Energy, Idealism & Glamour (Camelot)
- Hid Health Problems & Affairs

JFK AS PRESIDENT

- “Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.”
- Early Agenda:
 - Fight Communism
 - From Cuba to Vietnam
- Domestic Reform Took a Back Seat (at first)



JFK AS PRESIDENT YEAR I

- Peace Core (1961)
 - Reputation Builder Abroad
 - Goals:
 - Open Schools, Medical Care, Help with Agriculture & Small Businesses
- Congress: Refused the Same at Home
- Kennedy: Refused to Touch Civil Rights
 - Pledged to do so on Campaign Trail
 - Won't Act Until Violence Breaks Out
 - Bobby Kennedy Pushes JFK to



JFK AS PRESIDENT YEAR 2



- Poverty into National Agenda (1962)
- \$2 Billion for Urban Renewal Program
 - Job Training for Unemployed
 - Incentives to Businesses to Locate in Economically Depressed Areas
- 1963:
 - Exploring Attack on Poverty
 - Called for Tax Cuts
 - Increase Consumer Demand (Create Jobs)

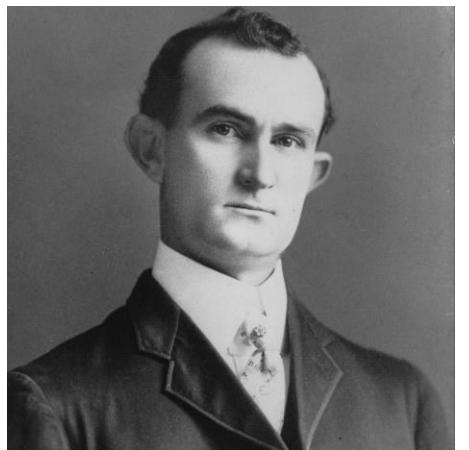
JFK'S ASSASSINATION, DALLAS, TX (NOV 22, 1963)

- A Nation in Shock
- Lee Harvey Oswald Arrested
 - Oswald Shot in Transfer in Days Later
- Conspiracies:
 - Ultraconservatives
 - Communists
 - LBJ
- Presidential Committee Concluded Oswald & Oswald's Killer Acted Alone
- LBJ's Turn to Convince Congress on Domestic Reforms Pushed by JFK



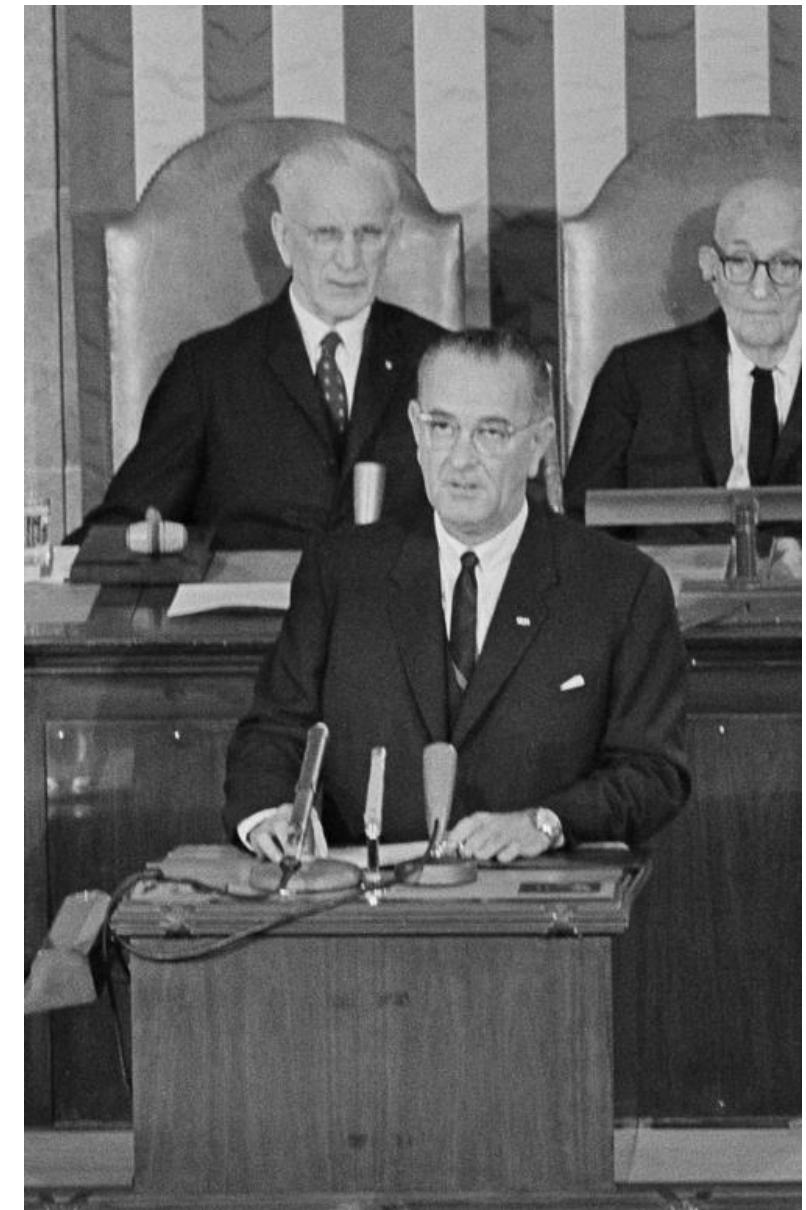
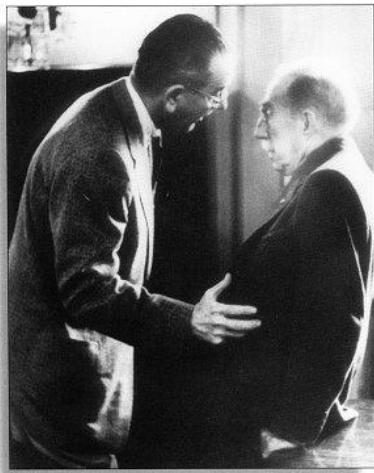
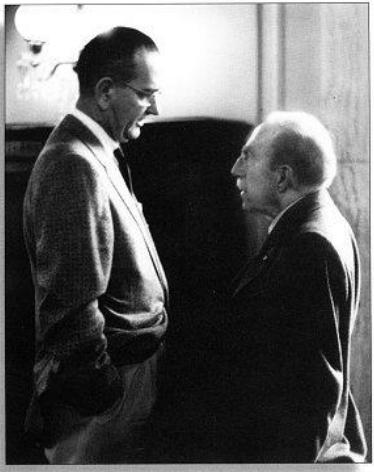
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

- LBJ (1908-1973)
 - Modest Upbringing
 - Hill Country (Texas)
 - Southwest Texas State Teachers College
 - Principal in Mexican American School
 - Poverty Ridden Students
- 1937 – House of Representatives
- 1938 – Senate (Senate Majority Leader)
- Politics:
 - Admired FDR
 - Sought to Outdo the New Deal
 - Skilled Behind the Scenes
 - “Johnson Treatment” Became Legend
 - Achieved Legislative Goals Unlike Any Other



LBJ AS PRESIDENT

- Asks Congress to Act so “John Fitzgerald Kennedy did not live or die in vain.”
- Congress Passes:
 - Tax Cut Bill
 - Economic Boom & Jobs
 - Civil Rights Act (1964)
 - Strongest Bill Since Reconstruction
 - Employment, Education, & Public Accommodations – Discrimination Illegal
 - LBJ – Political Skill to Persuade Republicans (Opposition from Southern Democrats)

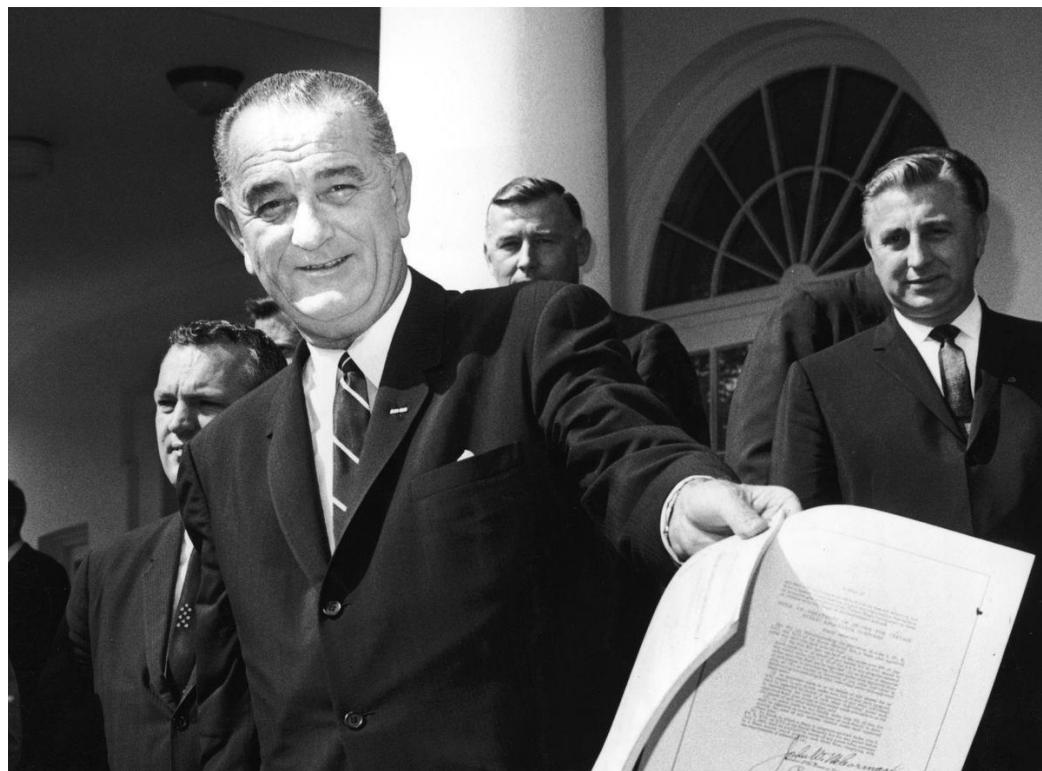


UNCONDITIONAL WAR ON POVERTY (JAN 1964)

- Economic Opportunity Act (August 1964)
 - \$800 Million (~1% of Fed. Budget)
 - Target Children & Youth
 - Head Start (Preschool)
 - Job Corps
 - Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)
 - Work Study Grants for College Students
 - Community Action Program (CAP)
 - “Maximum feasible participation”
 - Funneled to Private & Public Agencies
 - Avoided Discrimination in Local Govt



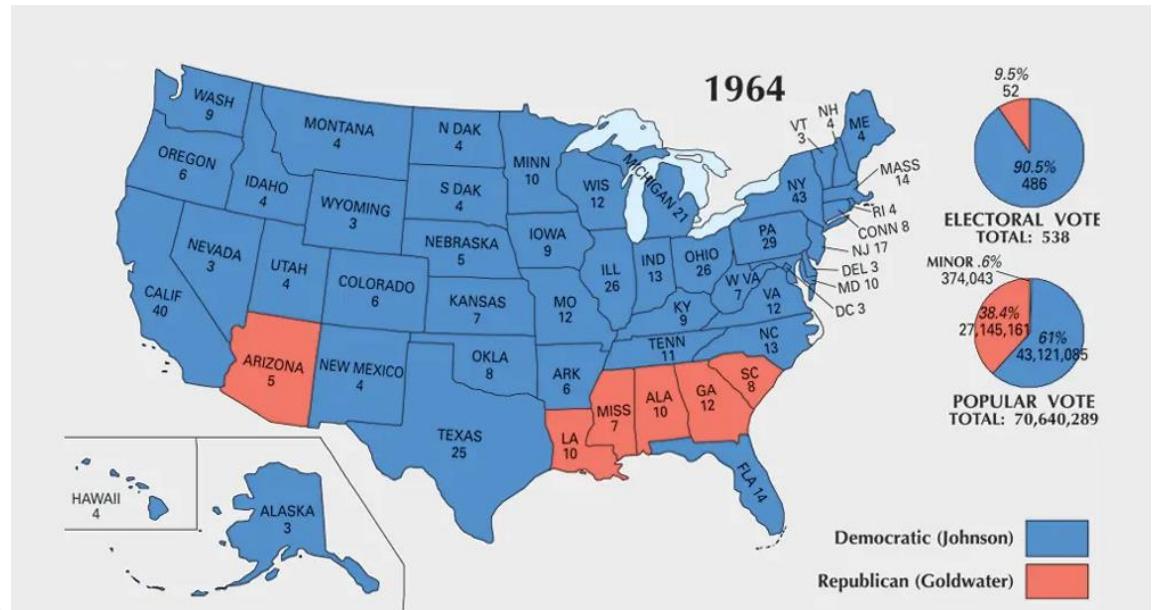
UNCONDITIONAL WAR ON POVERTY (JAN 1964)



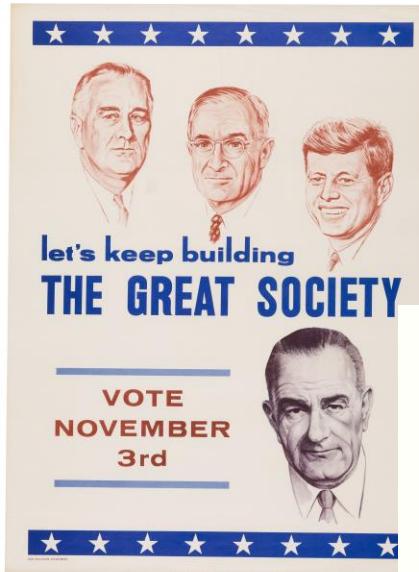
- Economic Opportunity Act (August 1964)
 - Community Action Program
 - “Maximum feasible participation”
 - The Poor Organized
 - Welfare Agencies
 - School Boards
 - Police
 - Housing Authorities
 - Pushed to Ensure Accountability
 - Local Officials Resisted
 - LBJ Backed Off
 - CAP – Some Opportunities
 - Though Limited

ELECTION OF 1964

- 1964 Election
 - Lyndon Johnson (D)
 - Projected Stability & Security
 - Booming Economy
 - Barry Goldwater (R)
 - Attacked Welfare
 - Used of Nuclear Weapons in Vietnam
 - Election Results
 - Johnson – 61% of Popular Vote
 - Democrats – House & Senate Gains
 - Goldwater
 - Southern Support Marked Beginning of



LBJ & HIS “GREAT SOCIETY”



- New Deal & Fair Deal Unfinished
 - Great Society to Finish the Job
 - Behind LBJ:
 - Majority in Congress
 - Political Prowess
 - Grassroots
- Legislative Achievements:
- Discrimination
 - Poverty
 - Education
 - Health Care
 - Housing & Urban Development
 - Consumer & Environmental Protections
 - Arts

89th Congress (1965-1966):A “Political Miracle”

LBJ Seeks \$962.5 Million To Fight Poverty In U.S.



JUDGES CONFER — Judges from three counties confer with Justice Samuel J. Roberts of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, third from right, before the Lawrence County Bar Association banquet Saturday night at New Castle Country Club. From left are Judge John F. Henderson of Lawrence County, President Judge Clyde S. Shumaker of Butler County, President Judge John S. Powers of Lawrence County, Justice Roberts, Judge Leo H. McKay of Mercer County and Judge George Kiesler of Butler County. Judge McKay spoke before about 150 lawyers and guests.

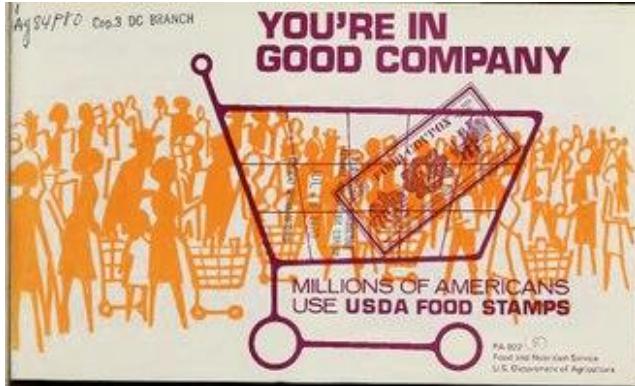
Five-Point Plan Aimed To Help Nation's Youth

By WILLIAM J. EATON

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Johnson, calling for "total victory" in the war against poverty, asked Congress today to approve a five-point \$962.5 million program to help open the doors to prosperity for the nation's poor.

In a special message the Chief Executive proposed creation of a new federal office of economic opportunity, headed by Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver, to lead the battle.

Johnson asked Congress to approve plans for a "job corps" that eventually would grow to 100,000 youths who would be modern-day counterparts of the "CCC boys" of the New Deal days in more than 100 camps across the land.



THE GREAT SOCIETY AGENDA

- Congress:
 - Doubled Funding for the Economic Opportunity Act
 - \$1 Billion to Improve Nation's Poorest Urban Areas
 - Created Food Stamp Program
 - Rent Supplements
- Forming of Grassroots Organizations
 - National Welfare Rights Organizations
 - Lawyers & Mothers Pushed for Change
 - Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
 - Ease Restrictions on Welfare Recipients
 - Greater Dignity
 - Less than 1 Million (1960) to 3 Million (1972)

WAR ON POVERTY

- Individual Opportunity:
 - Training, Education, Food Security, Health Care, Political Empowerment
- Elementary & Secondary Education Act (1965)
 - Federal Govt in K-12 Education
 - Funding for Public Schools
 - Equipment to Private Schools
- Higher Education Act (1965)
 - Federal Aid to Colleges
 - Building, Programs, Scholarships, Loans



Jack Rottier Photograph Collection C0093, Box 8, page 23, Special Collections Research Center, George Mason University Libraries.



ENTRY INTO HEALTH CARE

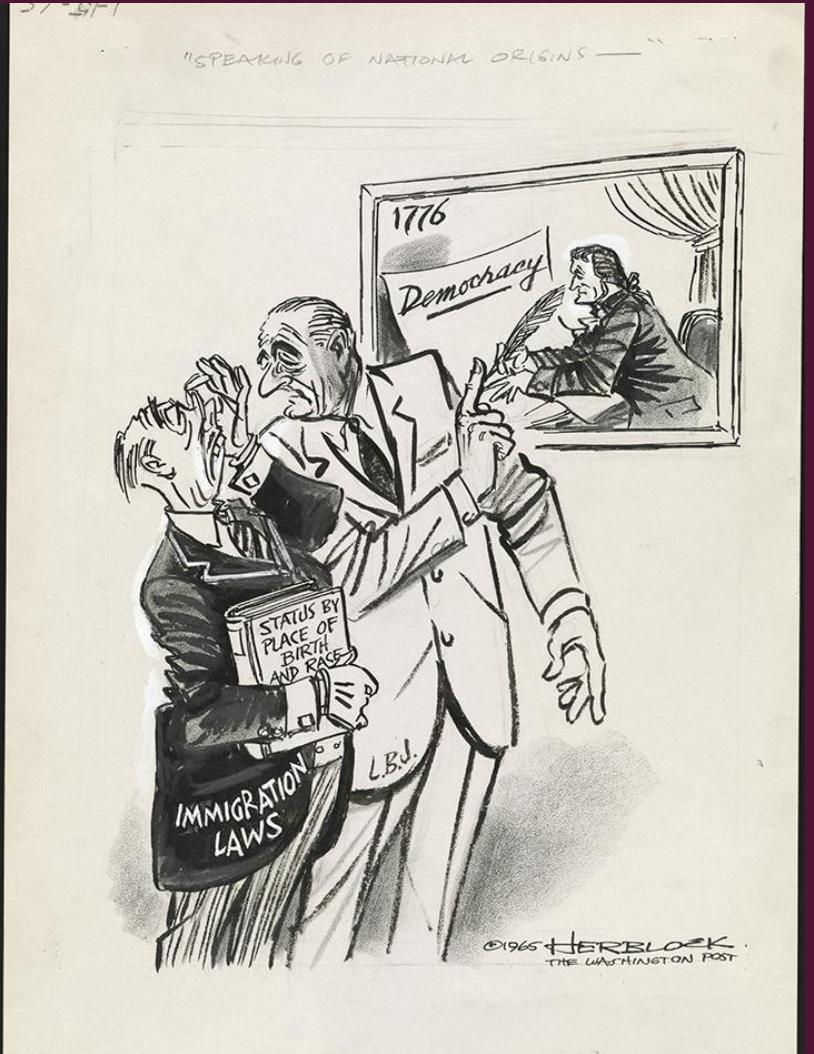
- Opposition: Powerful Medical Lobby
- Johnson: Aims at Elderly
 - Disproportionately Poor
- Medicare (1965)
 - 65+ Universal Medical Insurance
 - Via Social Security
- Medicaid (1965)
 - State-Paid Medical Care for Poor
- By 2000
 - 87 Million Americans (30%)



CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

- Told Not to Waste Time
 - Johnson, "What the hell's the presidency for?"
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - Employment, Education, & Public Accommodations – Made Discrimination Illegal
- Voting Rights Act of 1965
 - Banned Literacy Tests & Other Disenfranchisement Tactics
 - Authorized Federal Intervention





OTHER DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

- Immigration & Nationality Act of 1965
 - Started in 1924
 - Caps on Total Number of Immigrants
 - Included Western Hemisphere too
 - Preference to Those with Relatives as US Citizens & Those with Desirable Skillset

CONSUMER & ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION



- Car Safety
- Further Food, Drug & Cosmetic Standards
- 1965: Presidential Message on Environment
 - Control Water & Air Pollution
 - Preserve Natural Landscape
- National Arts & Humanities Act of 1965
 - Funded the Arts: Music, Artists, Writers, Scholars
 - Brought Work to the Public



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT
FOR THE HUMANITIES

JOHNSON'S LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

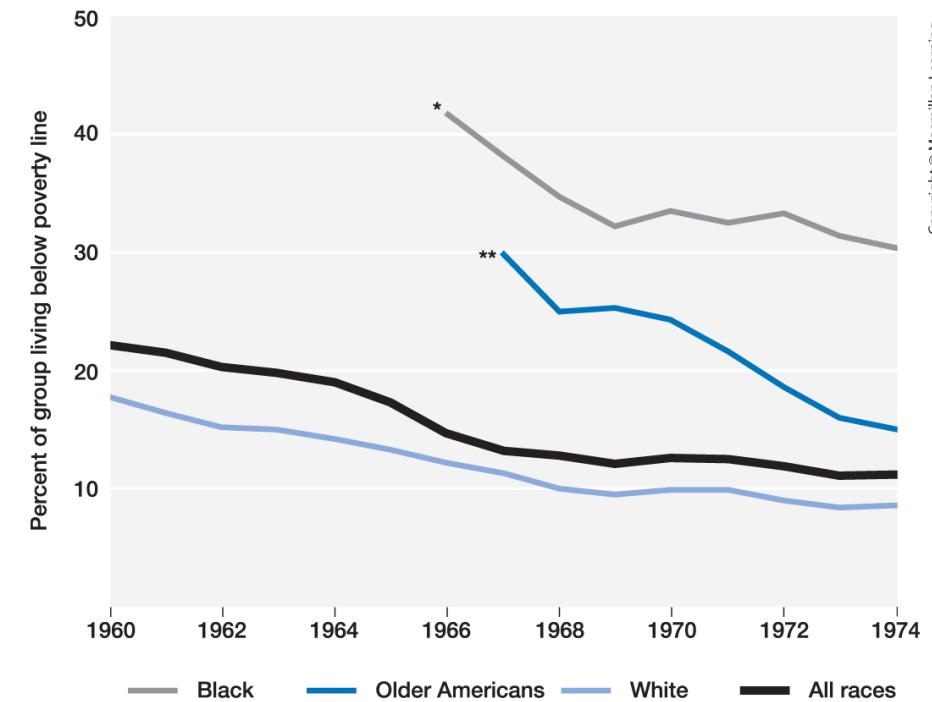


- “[Johnson] has done more than FDR ever did, or ever thought of doing.”
 - Power of Democratic Shrinks After 1966
 - Conservative Opposition Gained Ground
- Vietnam War – Biggest Blow to LBJ
 - Goes into Foreign Policy
- Sparks Anti-War Movement
 - Tax Dollars for War Instead of Reform
- National Housing Act of 1968
 - Huge Increase in Low-Income Housing
 - 1.7 Million Units in 3 Years



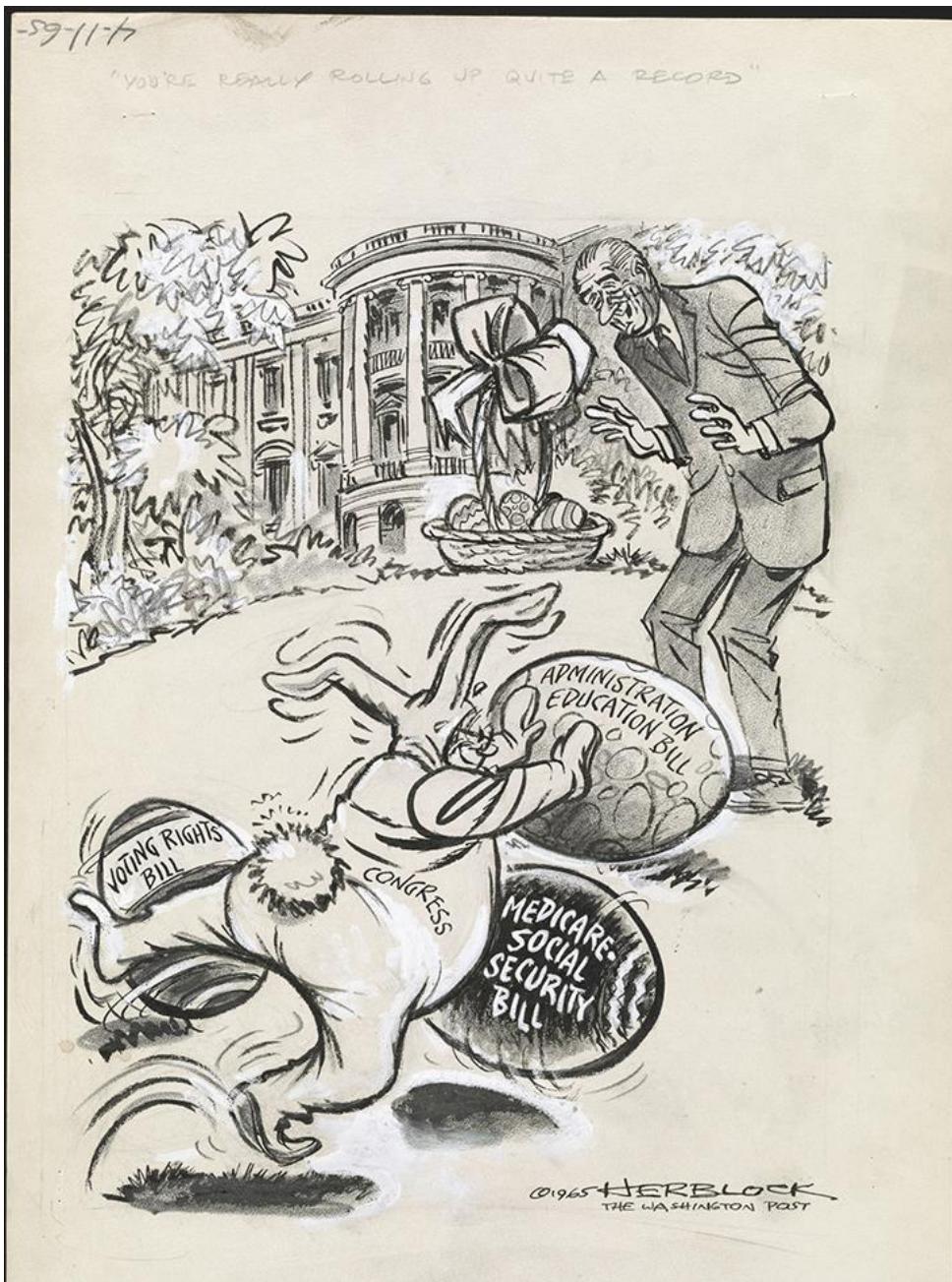
LEGACY OF THE GREAT SOCIETY

- Foods Stamps & Medicaid
 - Extended Reach of Fed Govt
- Federal Spending for:
 - Health, Welfare, & Education Grew 3x (~15% of Budget by 1970)
- Result: Huge Reduction of Poverty (20+% in 1959 to 13% in 1970)
 - “[My children] will finish high school and maybe go to college.... I see my family and I know the chains are broken.”



*Statistics on Black Americans for years 1960–1965 not available.

**Statistics on older Americans for years 1960–1966 not available.

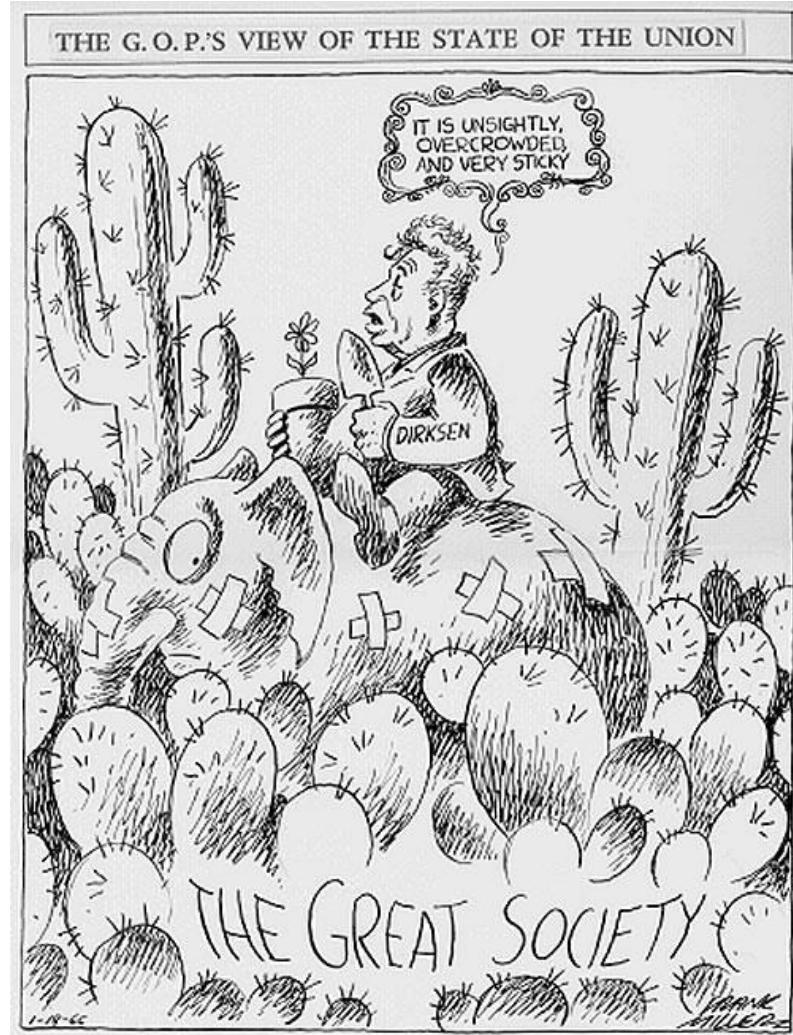


LEGACY OF THE GREAT SOCIETY

- Millions of Lives Improved
 - Older Americans
 - Male-Headed Families Rose out of Poverty
 - Female-Headed Families Impoverishment Grew
 - White People Escaped Poverty Faster than Minorities
 - Created Growing Black Middle-Class
 - 1/3 Black Americans Impoverished

LEGACY OF THE GREAT SOCIETY

- Fierce Political Debate
 - Conservatives – Govt Overreach
 - Discouraged Individual Initiative
 - “Handouts” Create Dysfunction
 - Liberal Critics – Did Not Attack the System
 - Targeted Poor People Instead
- Great Society: Avoided Reform of the Economy
 - No Redistribution of Income (Based on Tax Increases)
 - Programs Made Vulnerable During Economic Struggles
- Mixed Legacy



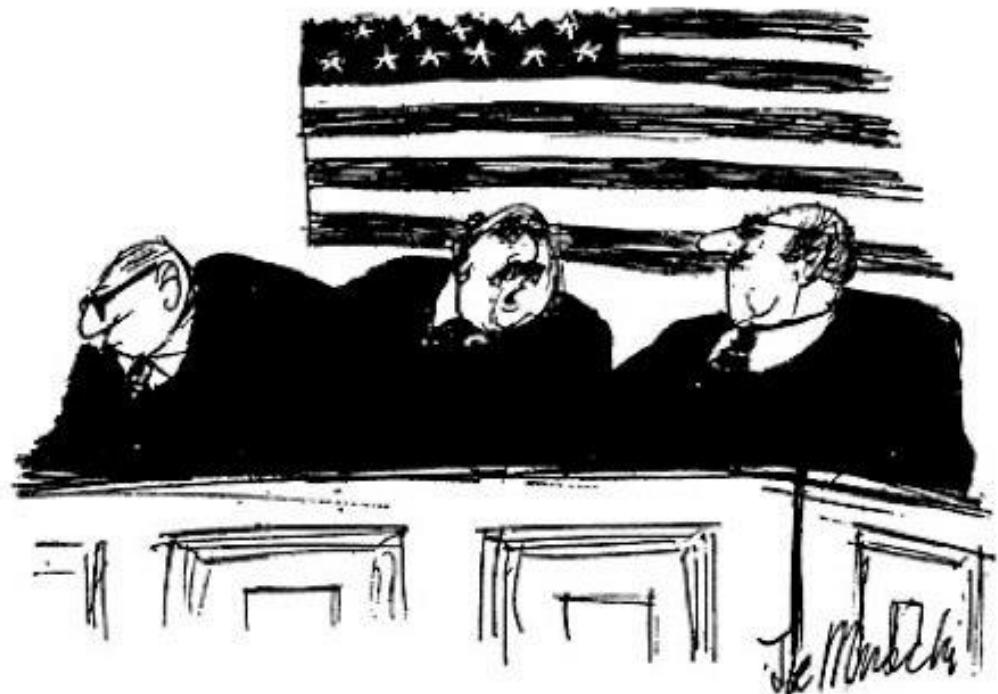
SUPREME COURT REVOLUTIONIZES RIGHTS



- Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953-1969)
- “Rights Revolution”
 - New Protections to Historically Neglected Groups & Accused Criminals
- Established Federal Oversight that Previously Belonged to States
 - *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954)
 - *Baker v. Carr* (1963)
 - Sparsely Populated Rural Districts with more Representation than Dense Urban Districts
 - “One Person, One Vote”
- Protections of Freedom of Assembly & Speech
 - Including Protestors
- Right to Privacy
 - *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965)
 - Birth Control
 - *Loving v. Virginia* (1967)
 - 9-0 on Interracial Marriages “Basic Civil Rights”

SUPREME COURT REVOLUTIONIZES RIGHTS

- Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953-1969)
- “Rights Revolution”
 - New Protections to Historically Neglected Groups & Accused Criminals
- States Bound to Bill of Rights
 - *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963)
 - Right to Counsel Even if Cannot Afford One
 - *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)
 - Inform Suspects of Their Rights
 - Must Legally Obtain Evidence
 - Unlawful Arrests, Illegal Surveillance, & Search Warrants
- Religious Cases
 - *Abington School District v. Schempp* (1963)
 - Prayer & Bible Reading in School Unconstitutional (8-1 Decision)
 - First Amendment Violation
 - Supporters: Defending Non-Christians
 - Critics: Christians Infuriated



“Do you ever have one of those days when everything seems un-Constitutional?”



BLACK FREEDOM MOVEMENT EVOLVES

- Civil Rights Movement:
 - Shocked the Nation
 - Forced Federal Action
 - Provided Protesting Model for Others
- Mass Mobilization
- Fighting Legal Segregation & Discrimination Down South
 - Won Nationwide Acceptance
 - Questioned Economic Inequality
 - White Support Would Erode (1970s)
 - Civil Rights vs. Black Power Activists Strategies

CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGIES IN THE 1960S

- Montgomery Bus Boycott (1956)
 - Emergence of MLK Jr.
- Protests Grow into the 1960s
 - Highlighting Inequality & Segregated South:
 - Retail, Parks, Libraries, Buses, & with Voting & Police
- First Movement of the 1960s: Woolworth's Sit-In (Greensboro, N.C.)





WOOLWORTH'S SIT-IN

- 4 Black College Students Sit at Counter
 - Request Service at All-White Counter
 - Hundreds Joined
 - Sit-Ins Spread to 31 Southern Cities
- Ella Baker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), “What are you going to do? It’s time to move.”
 - Baker Helped Spawn Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

STUDENT NONVIOLENCE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

- Bottom-Up Organization
 - Embraced Grassroots Decision Making
 - Embraced King's Civil Disobedience & Nonviolence Strategies
- Trained to Confront & Stand Up but not Respond to Assault
 - Often Met with Violence
 - Hot Food Dumped, Burned with Cigarettes, Hit with Rocks
 - Police – Complicit
 - Dogs, Clubs, Fire Hoses, Tear Gas
 - Arrested Thousands



CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

- Freedom Rides (May 1961)
 - Wanted Government Enforcement on Integration on Public Transportation
 - Started North & Went South
 - Alabama – Bus Firebombed
 - Beaten Badly
 - “couldn’t see their faces through the blood.”
 - Police Commissioner, Bull Connor, Worked with Local KKK Chapters
 - Tried Burning Them Alive Inside the Bus
- JFK’s Response – Cooling Period?
 - “Cooling off for 150 years. If we cool off anymore, we’ll be in a deep freeze.” (James Farmer, CORE Leader)
- Attorney General Robert Kennedy’s Response
 - Send in Federal Marshals to Restore Order
- Freedom Riders to Jackson, Mississippi
 - Arrested in Mass
 - Hundreds Spend Weeks in Jail



VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, SUMMER 1962 (SNCC & CO.)

- Register Black Southern Voters
- Fannie Lou Hamer First Registered in Mississippi
 - Later Civil Rights Leader
- Hamer – Hostile Crowd to Try Voting
- Hamer's County:
 - Majority Black
 - 1.2% of Registered Voters



Fannie Lou Hamer
(1917-1977)



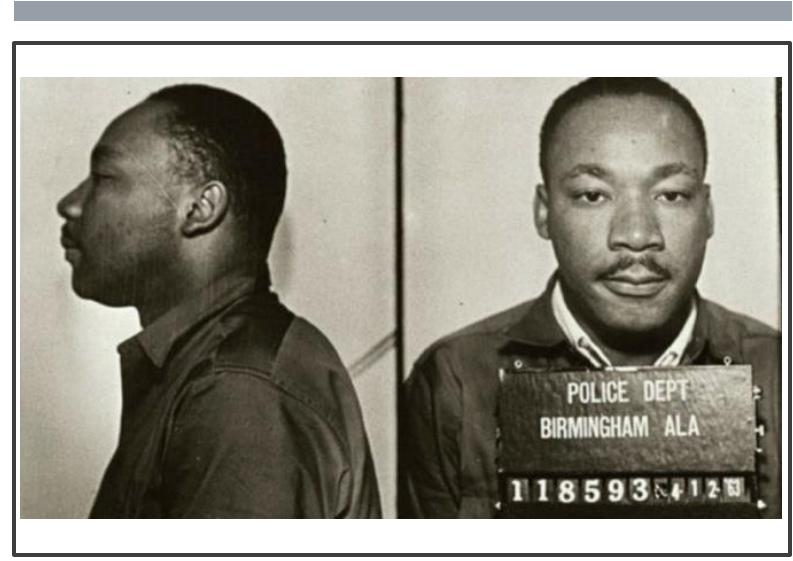
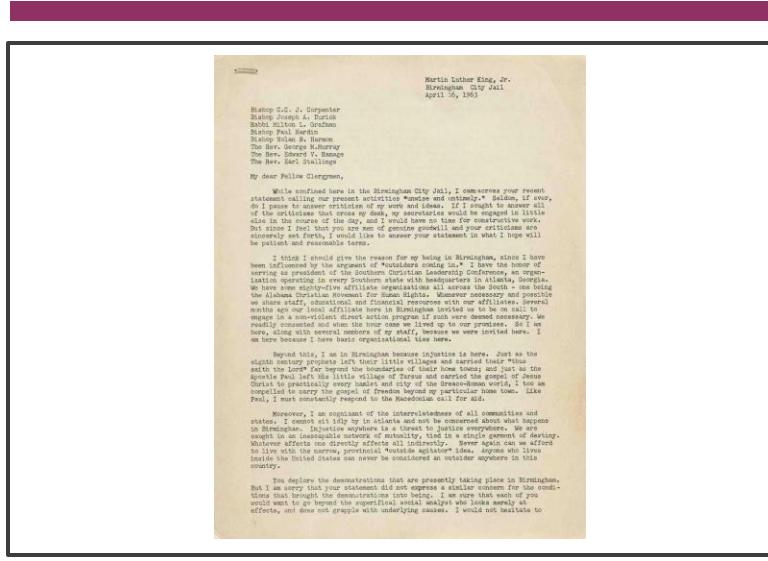
VIOLENCE IN RESPONSE TO NONVIOLENCE



- Southern White Response:
 - Fire-Bombed Churches
 - Tenant Farmers Evicted
 - Activists Beaten & Jailed
 - Medgar Evers of NAACP in Mississippi (1963)
 - Murdered Outside His Home
 - Night of Kennedy's Civil Rights Declaration on TV
 - Mississippi Goddam (Nina Simone)
 - MLK's Birmingham Campaign (1963)
 - Police Brutality
 - Attacked Demonstrators with Dogs, Cattle Prods, Fire Hoses
 - Televised Across the Country



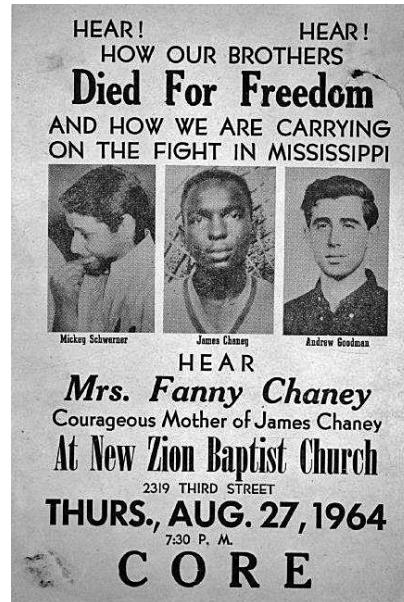
LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM JAIL (MLK, 1963)



- Organization's Principles of Nonviolent Protest
- Intellectual & Historical Context of Alabama
- The Issue of the White Moderate
- “I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action”; who paternalistically believes he can set the timetable for another man’s freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a ‘more convenient season.’”

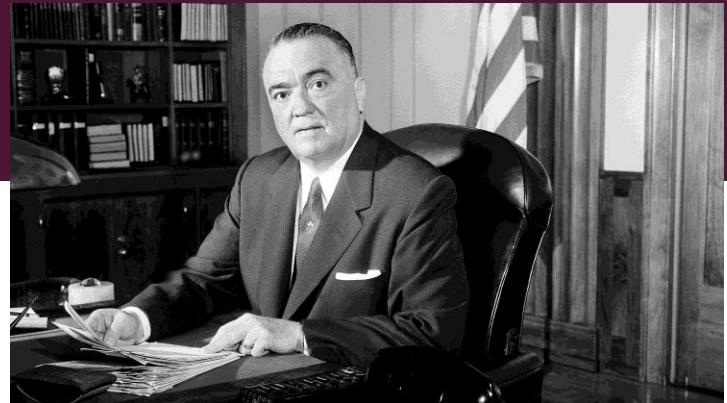
MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS & FREEDOM (AUGUST 1963)

- ~250,000 Americans to DC
- “I have a dream... that one day...when all of God’s children ... will be able to join hands and sing ... ‘Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last.’”
- Mississippi Freedom Summer Project (1964)
 - Voter Registration Drive
 - Only ~1,200 Registered
 - Mississippi Burning
 - Activists Murdered
 - 80 Beaten
 - 1,000+ Arrested
 - 35 Black Churches Burned





John Lewis (1940-2020)



J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972)

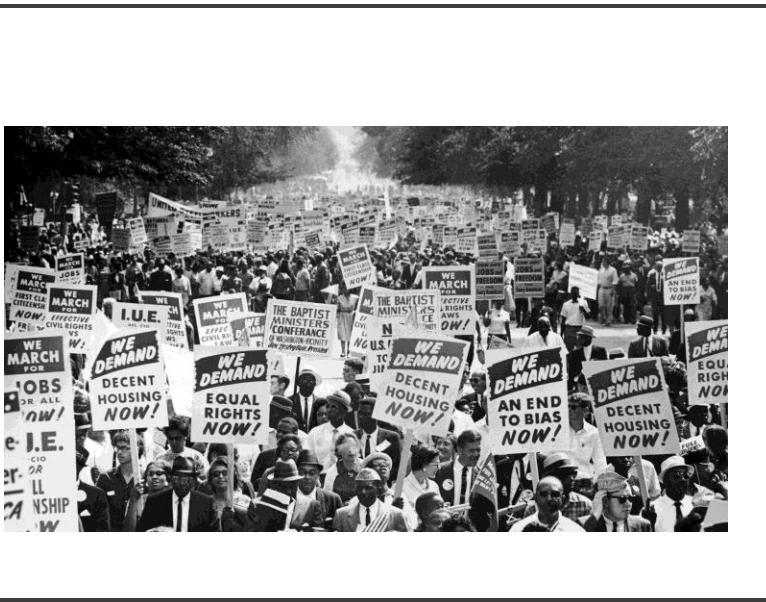
GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISM

- Democratic Party Officials: Little
- Federal Government:
 - Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) & J. Edgar Hoover
 - Spying on Civil Rights Leaders & Any ‘Subversives’
- March 1965 – Selma to Montgomery March
 - State Troopers Beat Marchers
 - “Bloody Sunday”
 - LBJ’s Response – Alabama National Guard to Protect Marchers
- John Lewis (SNCC Chairman)
 - Battered & Beaten
 - Voting Rights Act (Oct 1965)
 - “we all felt we’d had a part in it.”

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO CALLS FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

- Slow Movement
 - Birmingham Prompted Action (June 1963)
 - Peaceful Marchers Beaten
- JFK Announcement on Civil Rights Legislation
- Results:
 - Civil Rights Act of 1964





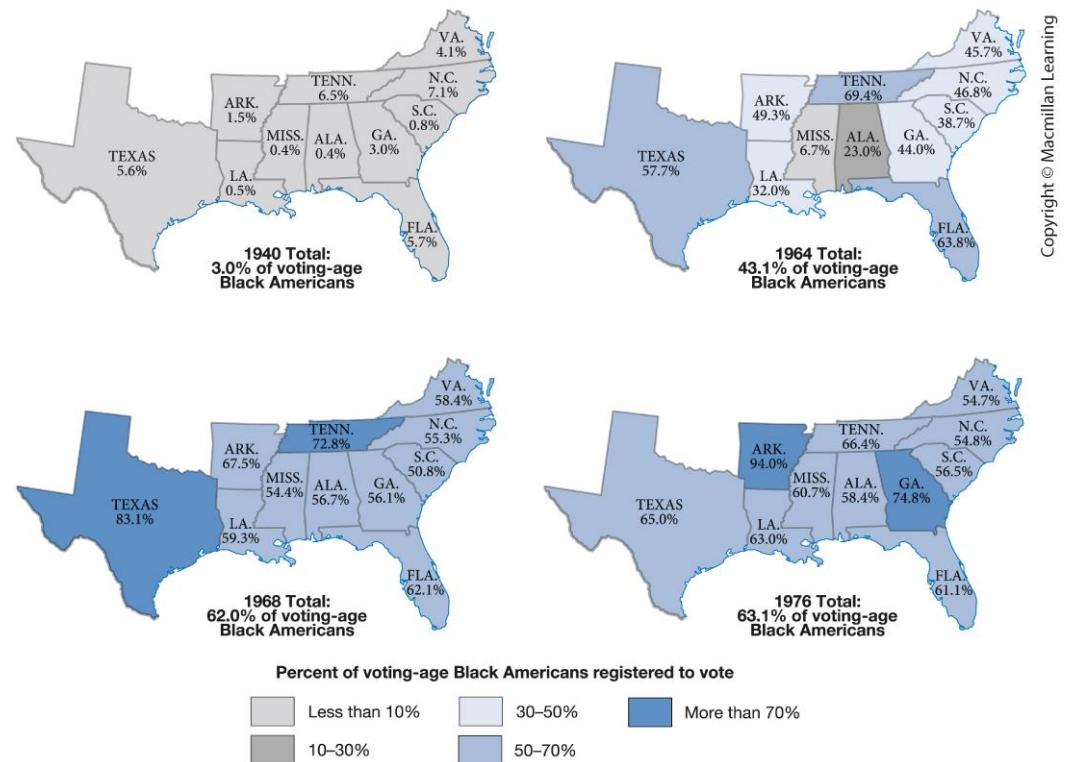
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

- Discrimination in employment, education, and public accommodations illegal. No discrimination based on race.
 - Included Native Americans on Reservations as Well
- Title VII: Outlawed discrimination on the basis of gender
 - Major Step for Women in Hiring, Pay & Promotion Practices



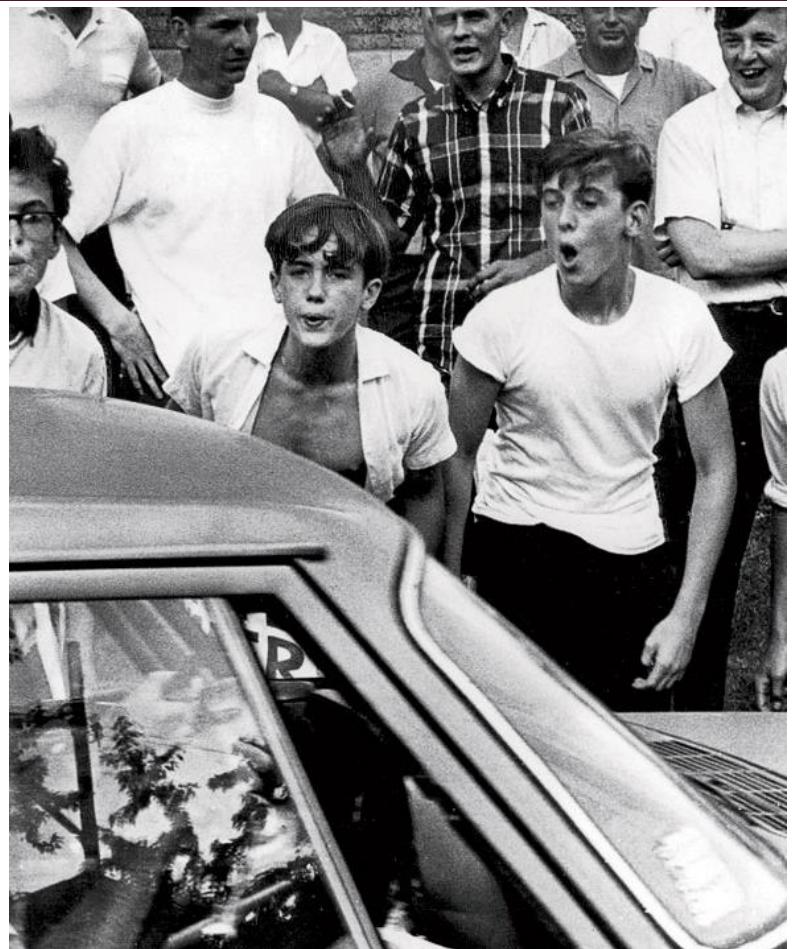
VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

- Johnson in Response to South's Resistance:
 - Legislation to Remove, "Every remaining obstacle to the right and opportunity to vote."
- Federal Protection for Southern Blacks
 - Black Voting Rates Exploded
- 1964: Handful of Blacks in Office
 - 1972: 1000+
 - Tangible Change for Black Communities



AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

- Executive Order (1965)
 - Equal Opportunity for All
 - Hiring: All Qualified Candidates Considered, Not Just White Men
 - Many Saw as Good Practices
 - Part of Partisan Battle in 1970s Onward
- Ending Housing Discrimination
 - Resistance North & South
 - MLK Jr. Campaign in Chicago (1966)
 - Thousands Threw Stones at Him
- Civil Rights Act of 1968 (After MLK's Death)
 - Banned Racial Discrimination in Housing & Jury Selection
 - Federal Intervention When Activists Attacked



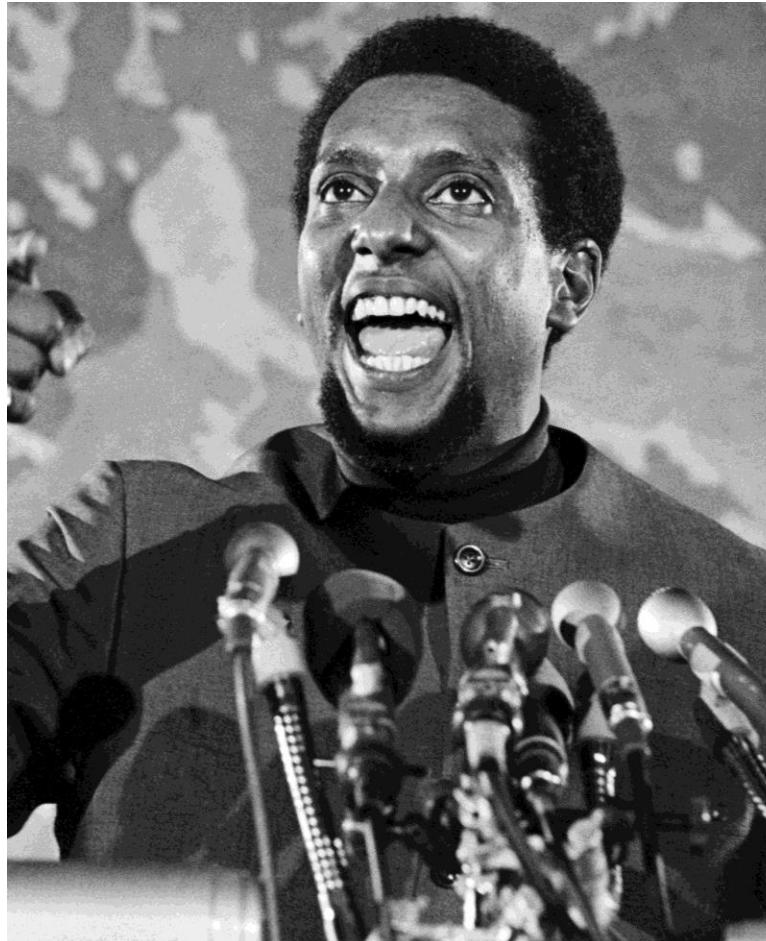
ROOTS OF BLACK POWER & URBAN REBELLIONS

- Activists Turn to Cities & Black Poverty – Economic Justice
 - Some Abandon Nonviolence Practice for Armed Resistance
 - Seemed More Threatening to White Majority; Started as far Back as '30s
 - Urban Uprisings (1965-1968)
 - Results: Property Damage, Injuries & Deaths
 - Watt's Uprising (1965)
 - Police Brutality Sets off Wave
 - Long Standing Issues
 - Inadequate Housing, Poor Sanitation, Underfunded & Segregated Schools
 - Hundreds of Cities

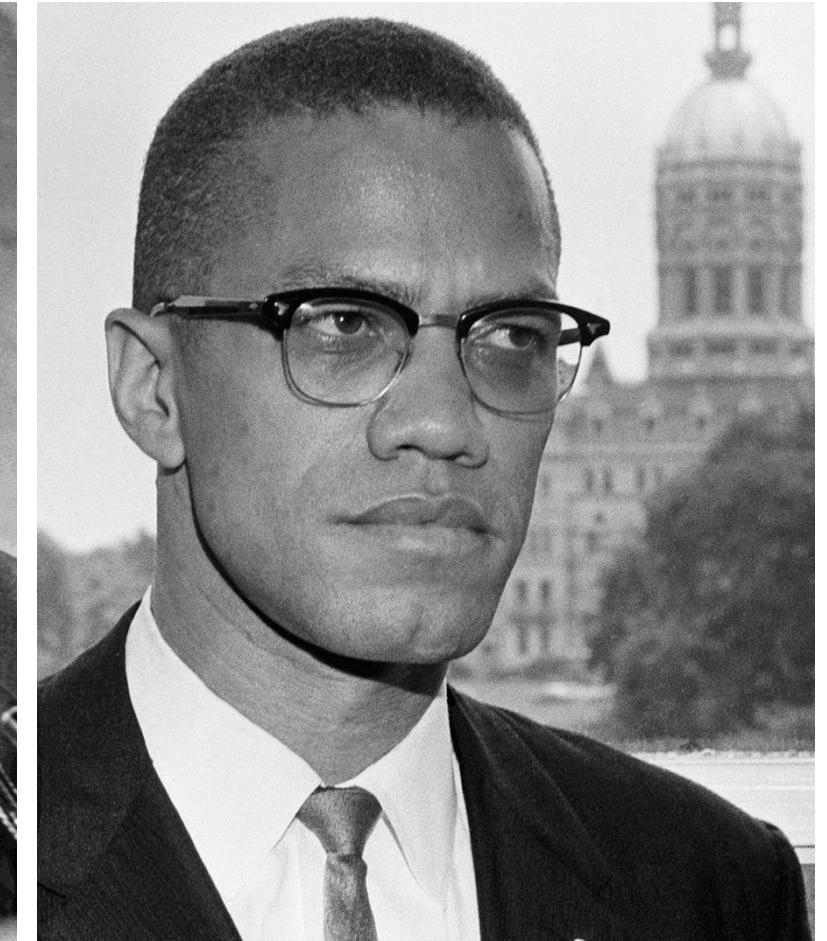


RISE OF “BLACK POWER”

- Coined by Stokely Carmichael
 - SNCC Chairman
- North – Malcolm X
 - Converted to Nation of Islam in Jail
 - Challenged Nonviolence
 - Civil Rights Leaders: Failed to Protect Black Communities
 - Meet Violence with Violence
 - Promoted Separation from Whites
 - Large Following in Impoverished Urban Neighborhoods
- SNCC: Self-Determination Achieved Without Integration
 - Own Schools, Communities, Organizations, etc.



Stokely Carmichael
(1941-1998)



Malcolm X
(1925-1965)



Huey Newton
(1942 – 1989)



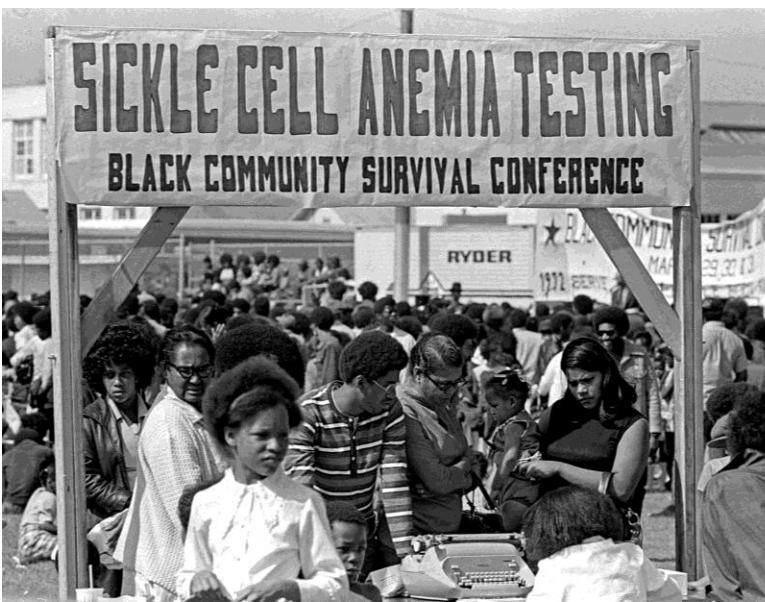
Bobby Seale
(1936-)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF- DEFENSE (BLACK POWER)

- Oakland, CA (1966)
 - Bobby Seale & Huey Newton
 - Military Attire, with Rifles
- Black Community Work:
 - Day Care Centers
 - Free Breakfast
 - Clothing Programs
- Classes in Black History
- Harassed by FBI
- Encounters Killed on Both Sides
- Self-Determination Resonated
- New Pride in African & African American Culture
 - “Black is Beautiful”

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF- DEFENSE (BLACK POWER)

- Very Negative Association in the Press
- Black Militants Blamed for Urban Rebellions
 - Occurred Simultaneously
- White Americans Believed Black Americans Pressed for too Much too Quickly
 - 1964: 34%
 - 1966: 85%



END OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

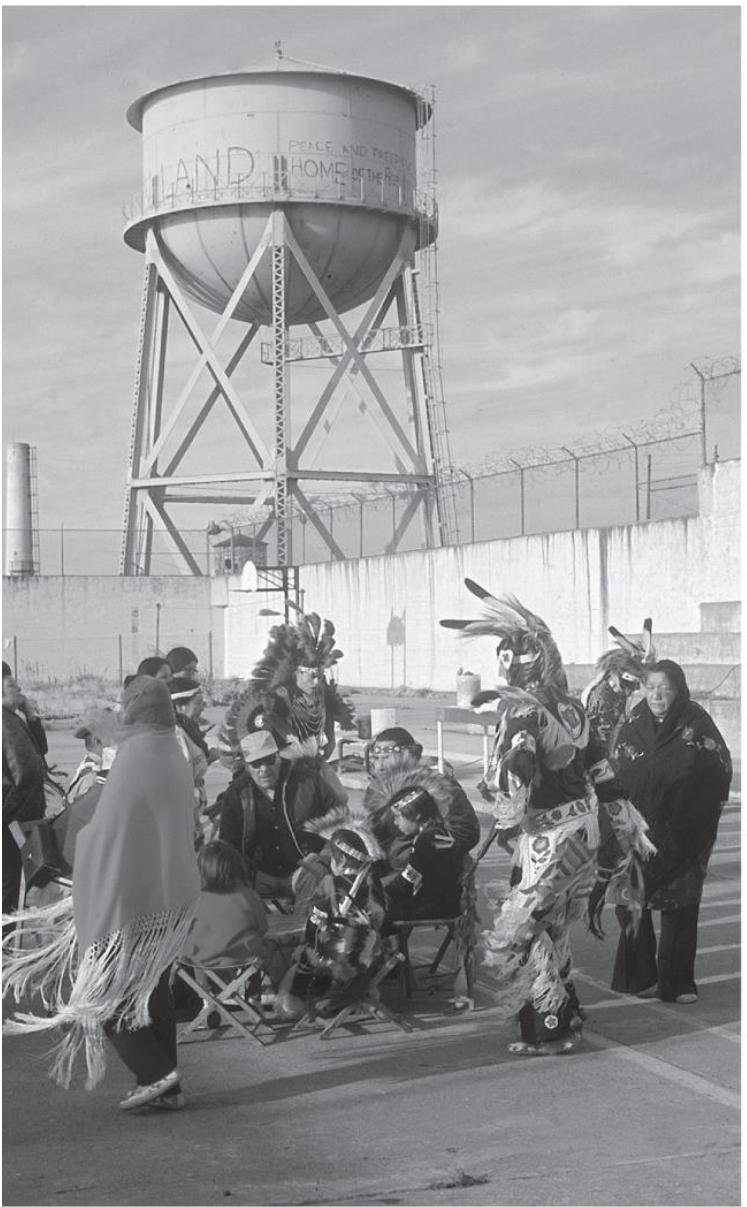


- MLK Agreed about Economic Justice, but Reasserted Nonviolence & Integration as Means to an End
- April 4, 1968, Memphis, TN
 - Martin Luther King Jr. Shot & Killed Outside Hotel Room
 - Riots Around the Country
 - “Why must we always kill our prophets before we will listen to them?”

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 1960S

- Civil Rights Inspired More Movements:
 - Native Americans
 - Mexican Americans
 - Gay Liberation
 - Women's Liberation
 - Environmentalists
- Groups Will:
 - Direct-Action Protests
 - Demanded New Rights
 - Cultural Pride Movements





Ralph Crane/Getty Images.

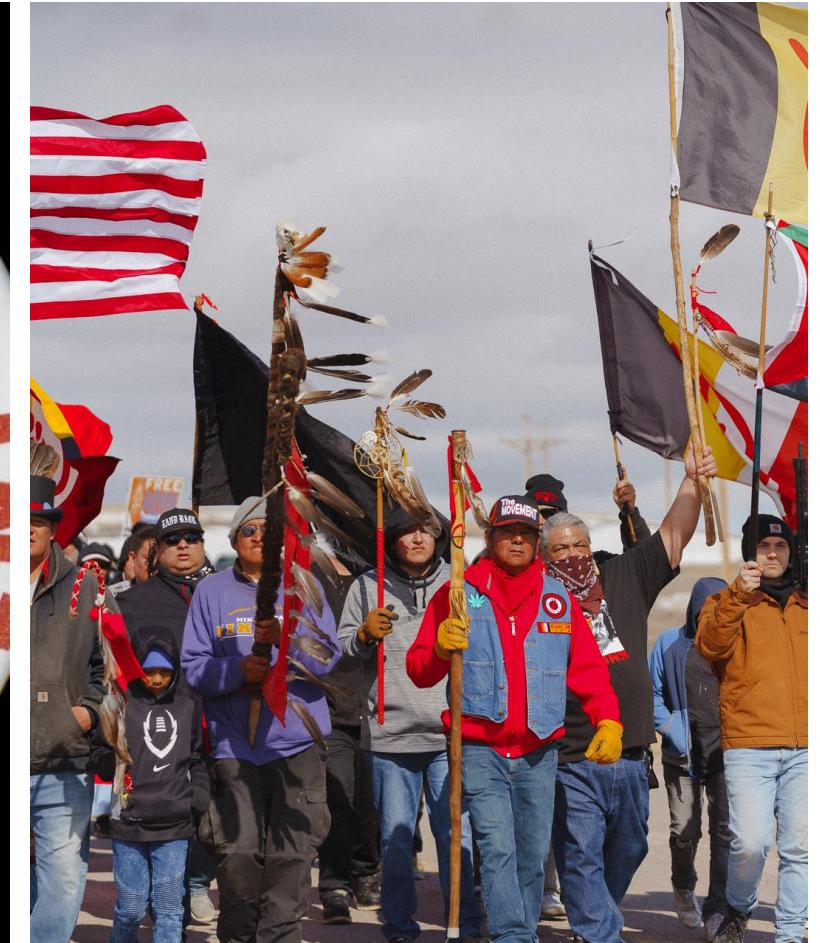


RED POWER MOVEMENT

- Who? Young Native Americans
 - Influenced by Black Radicalism
 - Earlier Policy of Relocation & Termination Left Tribal Identity in Crisis & Bitterness
 - Sought to Preserve Traditional Cultures
- Activists: Cultural Recognition & Economic Claims
 - Natural Right to Resources
- Occupation of Alcatraz Island (1969)
 - “first discovery” law
 - 19 Month Occupation – Publicized Injustices & Promoted Pan-Indian Cooperation
 - “We were able to reestablish our identity as Indian people, as a culture, as political entities.”

RED POWER MOVEMENT – AIM (MINNEAPOLIS, 1968)

- American Indian Movement (AIM)
 - Dennis Banks & George Mitchell of Chippewa Tribe
- Goal?
 - Protect Native Americans from Police Harassment
 - Secure Antipoverty Funds
 - Establish “Survival Schools”
 - Teach Indian History & Values
- Spreads Quickly





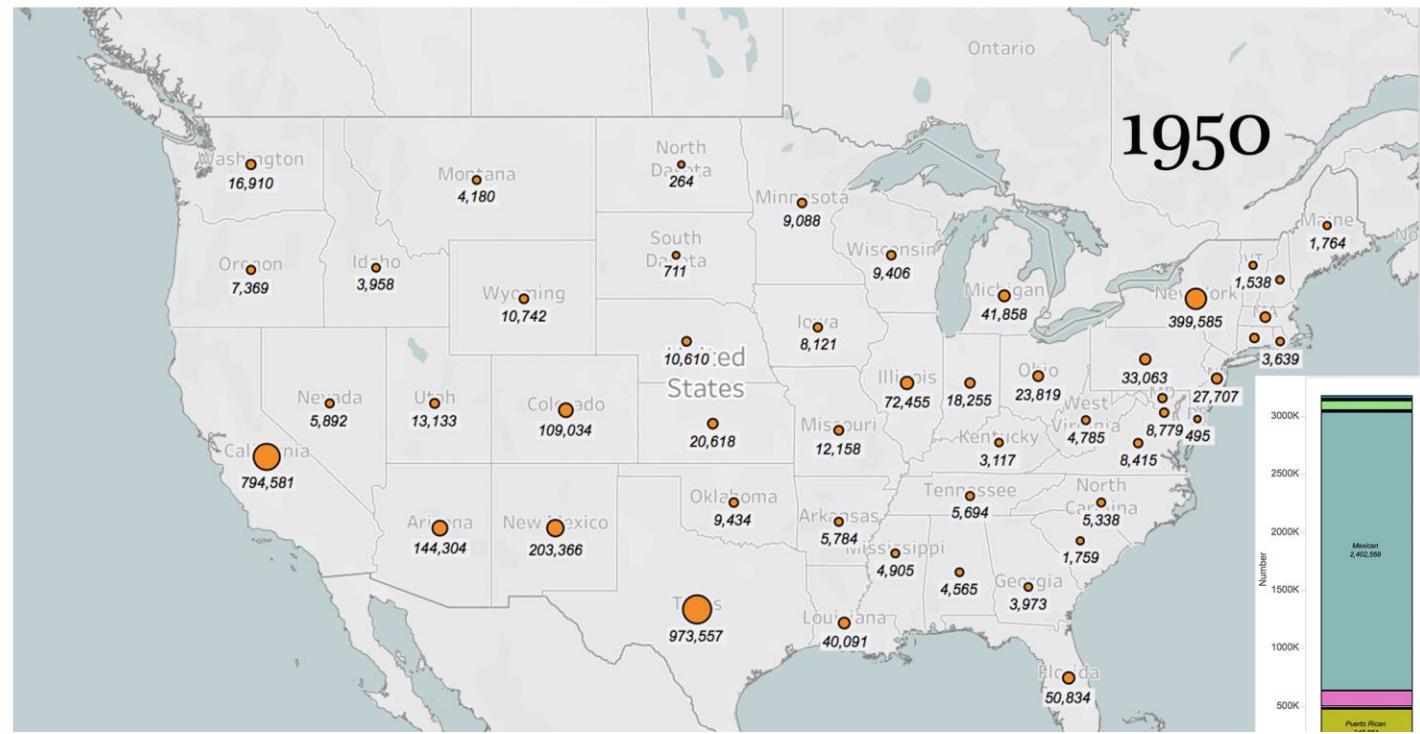
RED POWER MOVEMENT

- “Trail of Broken Treaties” March to DC (1972)
 - Occupied Bureau of Indian Affairs as Protest
- Wounded Knee (1973)
 - Lakota Sioux Reservation (S.D)
 - 72 Days
 - Shoot Outs and at Least 2 Dead
 - Native Americans Surrender
- Eventual Success? Some
 - Ending Relocation & Termination
 - More Tribal Sovereignty
 - Control Over Community Services
 - Protection of Religious Practices
 - Visibility for the Cause
- Court Cases Restored More Ancestral Land & Compensation

CHICANO MOVEMENT

- Latinos – Fastest Growing Minority Group in the 1960s.
 - Puerto Rican & Caribbean (East Coast)
 - ~50% Lived in Southwest
 - 6 Million Mexican Americans Alone
 - +Undocumented Immigrants in the Thousands
 - Economic Opportunity & Escape from Violence

Latinx Population by State





CHICANO MOVEMENT

- 1929: League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
 - The NAACP of Mexican Americans
- 1960s: New Generation of Mexican Americans Frustrated
 - Reject Politics & Adopt Direct Action
 - Adoption of the Term 'Chicano'



CHICANO MOVEMENT

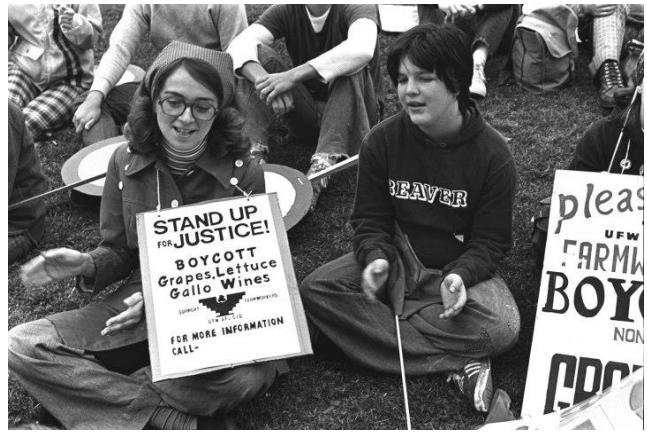
Dolores Huerta (1930 -)



- Cesar Chavez
 - Child of Migrant Farmworkers
 - Parents – Cheated & Financially Struggled
 - Served in WWII
 - Organized Voter Registration Drives
- Dolores Huerta
 - Integrated Neighborhood & Escaped Poverty
 - Treated with Suspicion & Discrimination



Cesar Chavez
(1927-1993)



CHICANO MOVEMENT – UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION (UFW)

- Chavez & Huerta: United Farm Workers Union in 1962
- Workers go on Strike
 - Becomes Nationwide Boycott of California Grapes
 - With Nationwide Support
 - Result? Wage Increase for Workers in 1970
- Lose Membership but Politicized Mexican Americans & Improved Farmworkers' Lives

CHICANO MOVEMENT

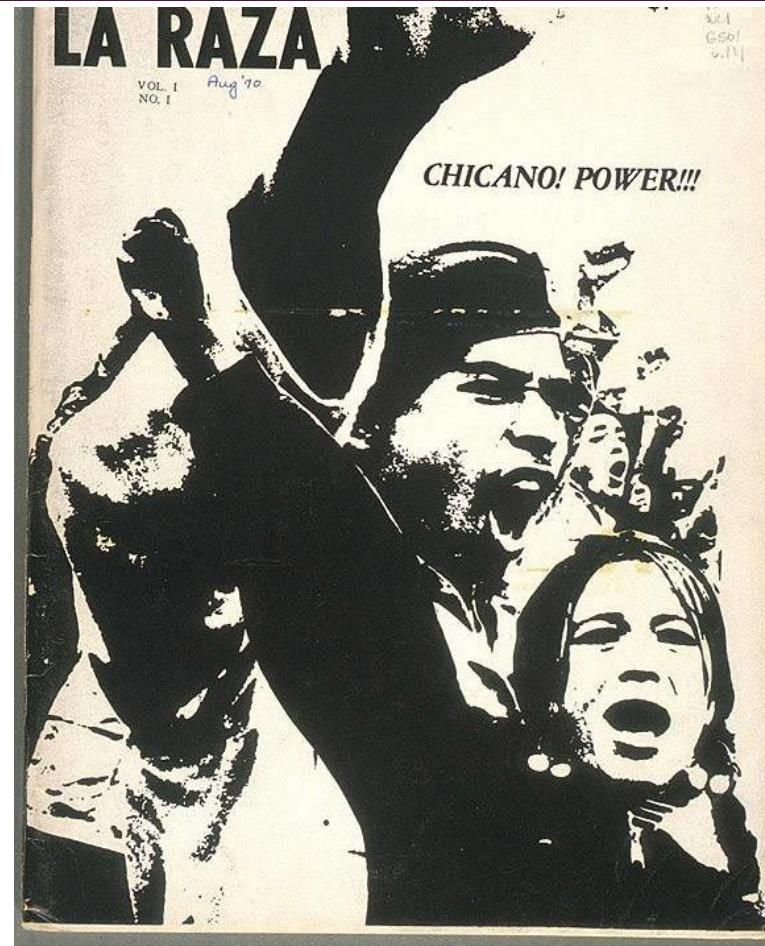
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)
 - Combat Job Discrimination
 - LULAC & American GI Forum Involved
- LBJ's Response:
 - Vicente T. Ximenes to Commission
 - Special Committee on Mexican American Issues



Vicente Ximenes with Lyndon B. Johnson

CHICANO MOVEMENT – “BROWN POWER”

- Goals: End Discrimination in Education, Gain Political Access, Combat Police Brutality
- “Freedom Schools”
 - Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales (Denver, CO)
- La Raza Unida (The United Race)
 - Cultural Pride & Solidarity as a Political Party
- Continued to be Disproportionately Impoverished
 - Slowly Won More Political Offices, Effectively Enforced Antidiscrimination Laws, & Gained Cultural Respect



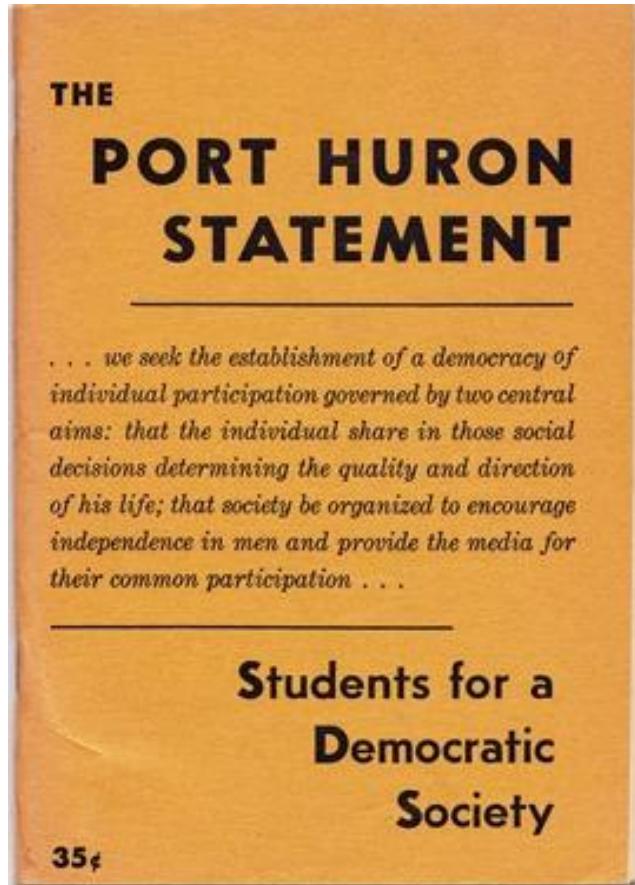


NEW LEFT & COUNTERCULTURE

- Generally Young & White
 - Radicalized by Critiques of American Society
- Participated in:
 - Civil Rights
 - Antiwar Movement
 - Free Speech Movement
 - 2nd Wave of Feminism

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

- 1962 – Port Huron Statement:
 - “We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably at the world we inherit.”
- Critiquing:
 - Complacency of Older Generation
 - Alienation Created by Bureaucracy
- Goals:
 - Civil Rights
 - Peace
 - Universal Economic Security





NEW LEFT PROTEST – UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY (1964)

- Free Speech Movement on Campus
- Campus Banned Free Speech Spot on Campus
 - Hundreds of Students Stage Sit In (Administration Building)
 - Civil Rights Tactics
 - 700 Arrested; School Board Overturned Ban
- Protests Nationwide on College Campuses
 - Anti-War Movement
 - University of Chicago (1969): Sexism on Campus
 - Howard University: Black Awareness Research



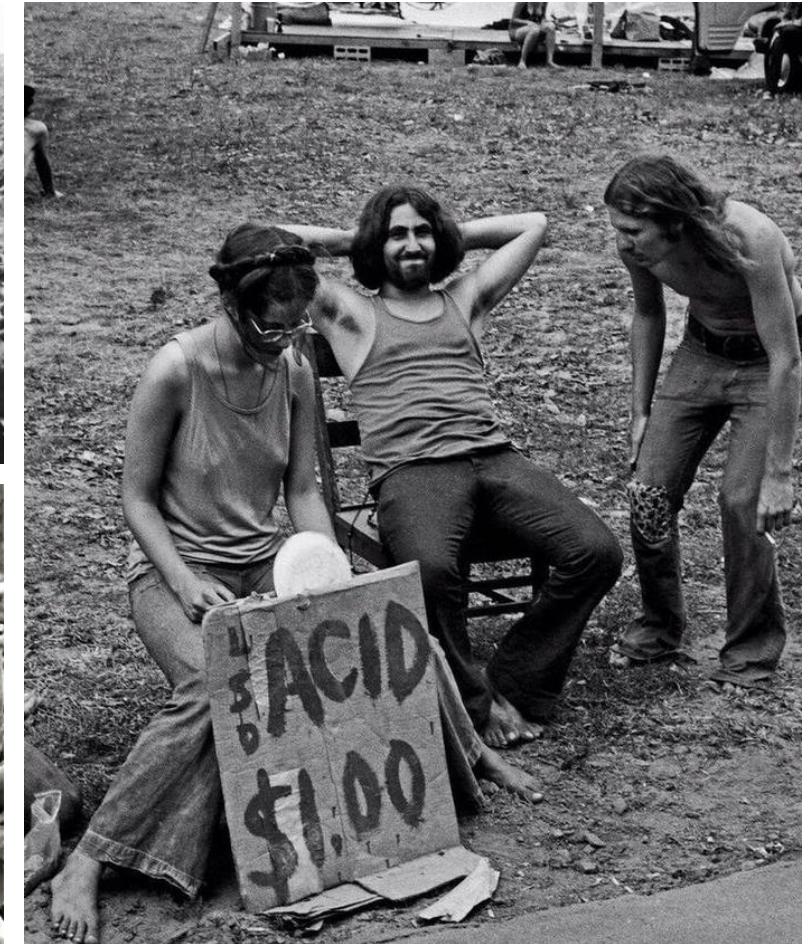
NEW LEFT – HIPPIE CULTURE

- Student Protests to Cultural Rebellion
- Hippies:
 - Rejected Mainstream Values of:
 - Consumerism, Social Order, Sexual Restraint
- 1967 – “Human Be-In” (Golden State Park, San Francisco)
 - Questioned Authority
 - Signature ‘Hippie’:
 - Beards & Long Hair
 - Colorful Clothes
 - Drug Use
 - Free Sex



NEW LEFT – MUSIC

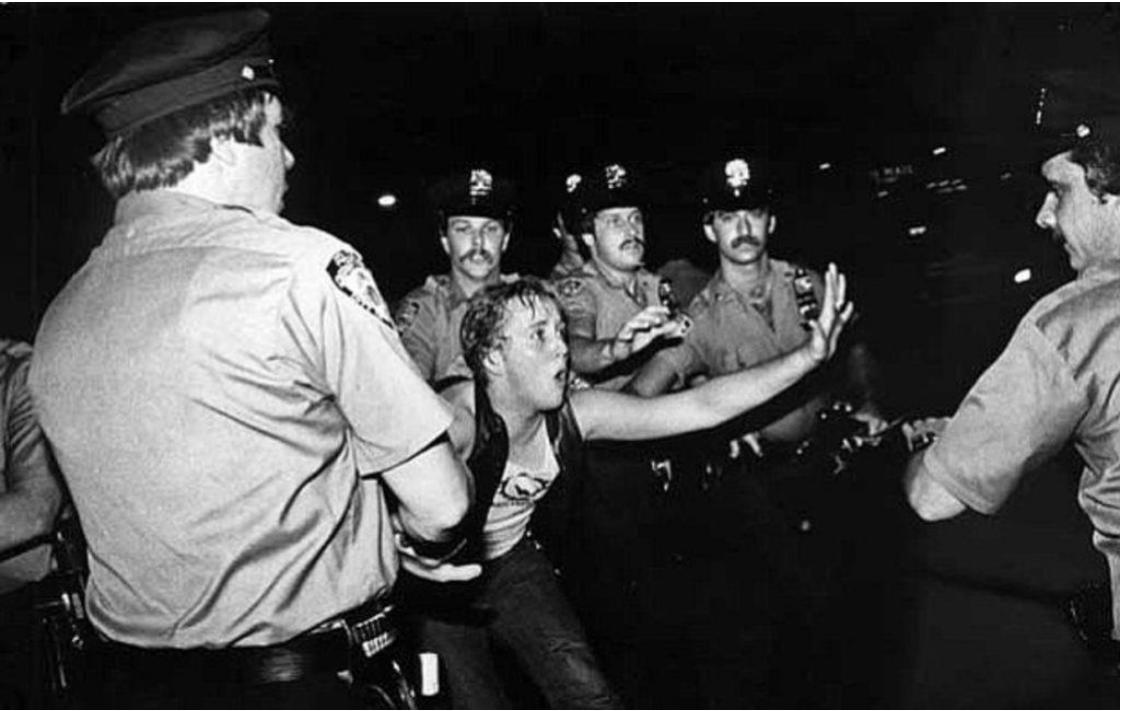
- Woodstock Music Festival, 1969
- 400,000 People
- Music as Central to Youth Rebellion
- Filtered into Mainstream:
 - Jeans, Rock Music, etc.
 - Sexual Liberation
 - Birth Control & the “Sexual Revolution”
 - Premarital Sex, Sex Outside Heteronormative Marriage





GAY LIBERATION MOVEMENT

- Discriminated Group
 - Hid Their Identities or Fired & Arrested for ‘Perversion’
 - 1960s: 58% Americans Considered Gay & Lesbian Americans a ‘Threat’
- 1950s: Slow Work to Advance Rights for Gay People
 - Conformed Enough to Defend Themselves as ‘Respectable’
- Organization Adapted:
- 1965: Picket at the White House Against Discrimination
 - “as immoral as discrimination against Negroes and Jews.”
- 1975: Civil Service Commission Ended Discriminatory Policy Banning Gay Americans from Civil Service

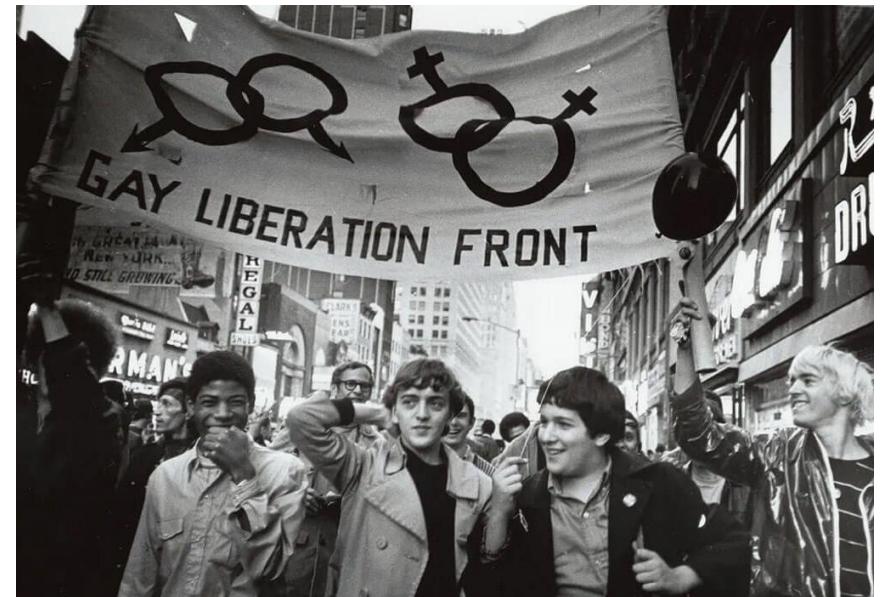


STONEWALL RIOTS (JUNE 1969)

- Police Raid on Stonewall Inn (Mafia Owned)
 - (Greenwich Village, NYC)
 - Not the First Raid; First Raid Where Police Met Resistance
 - “Suddenly, they were not submissive anymore.”
 - Response?
 - Waves of Protests & New Advocacy Groups

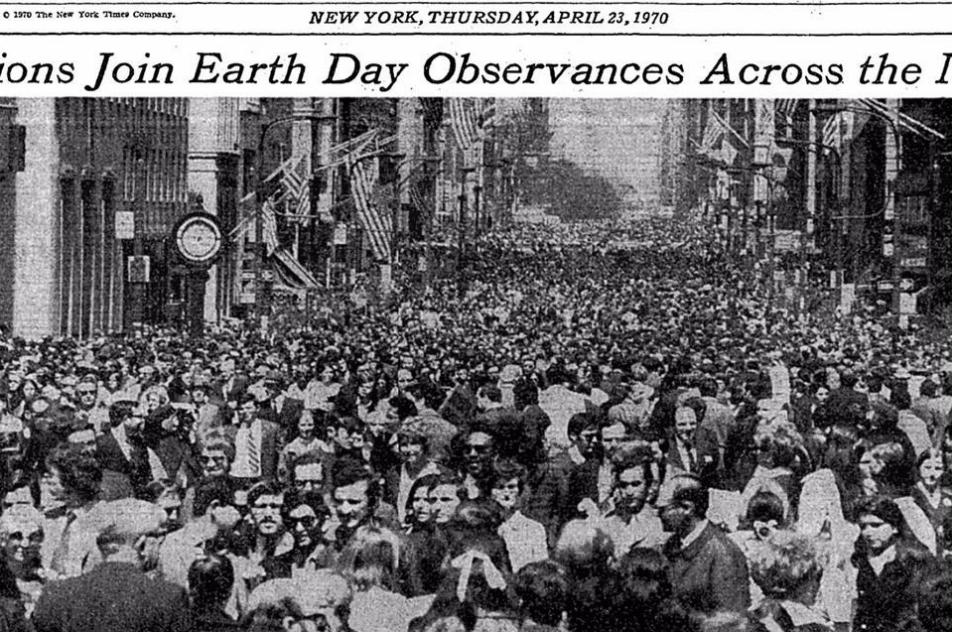
GAY LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS & ACHIEVEMENTS

- Gay Liberation Front (GLF)
 - First Organization with the Word 'Gay'
 - Agenda: Anti-Racist, Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Capitalist Demand Equal Rights (Collapses with the New Left)
- Gay Activists Alliance (GAA)
 - Agenda: End Sodomy Laws, End Police Harassment, End Employment & Housing Discrimination, Homosexuality Removed from Mental Disorders List
- Achievements
 - First Antidiscrimination Ordinance (Michigan, 1973)
 - American Psychiatric Association Removes it (1973)
 - First Openly Gay Candidate Won State Office (Massachusetts, 1974)
 - Slow & Steady Strides for Equal Rights for Now





The New York Times



ing Fifth Avenue yesterday in response to a call for the regeneration of a polluted environment. View is north from 43d Street, with Central Pa
The New York Times

RN SUED IN JAPAN

Mood Is Joyful Activity Ranges From Oratory

BACKERS OF ROJAS THREATEN REVOLT

U.S. Plane Flies I As Trinidad Fight

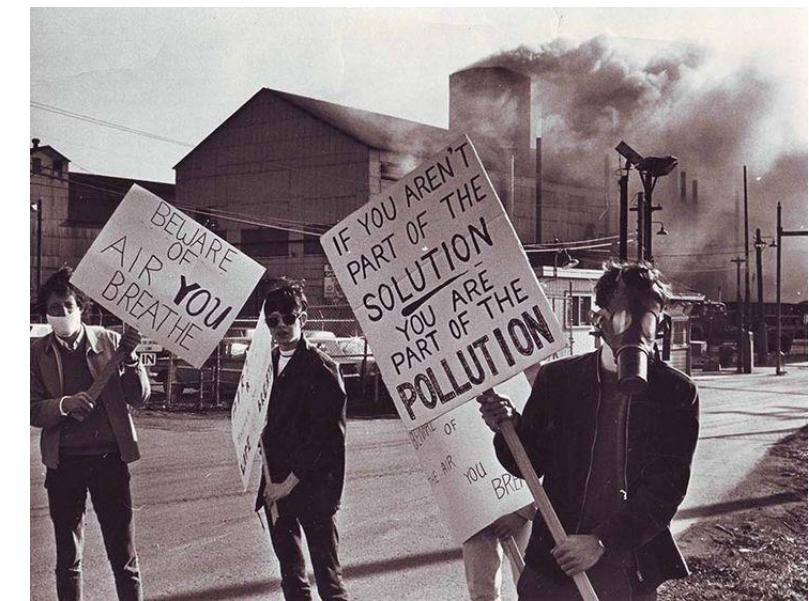
NEW WAVE OF ENVIRONMENTALISM

- Goals? Preserve Natural Areas for Recreational & Aesthetic Purposes (Conservate Natural Resources)
 - Like Progressive Era Environmentalists
- New? Included Industry & Tech Impacts on Human Life & Health
 - *Silent Spring* by Biologist Rachel Carson (1962)
 - Perils of Toxic Chemicals
 - Impacts on Animals, Plants, & Ecological Balance
- Conservation Organizations Increase Membership
- Earth Day (April 1970)
 - 20 Million Americans Participated
 - Teach-Ins, Rallies
- Awareness on Water & Air Pollution, Oil Spills, Waste, Auto Emissions

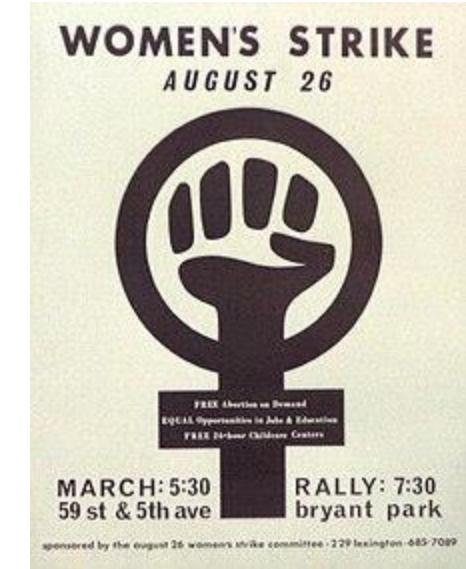


CREATION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY (EPA)

- Idea Emerged Under LBJ
- Nixon Created EPA (1970)
 - Enforce Environmental Laws, Conduct Research, Reduce Human Health & Environmental Risks from Pollutants
- “clean air, clean water, open spaces... the birthright of every American” & urged Congress to “end the plunder of America’s natural heritage.”
- Occupational Safety & Health Act (OSHA)
 - Protect Workers from Job-Related Accidents or Disease
- Clean Air Act of 1970
 - Restrict Auto & Factory Emissions of Pollutants (i.e. CO₂)
- Clean Water Act of 1972
 - Nixon Vetoed; Congress Overrode
- Endangered Species Act (1973)



SECOND WAVE FEMINISM (1970S)



- August 26, 1970 (50th Anniversary of 19th Amendment)
 - Tens of Thousands of Women Marched in Celebration
- Time of Remarkable Changes:
 - Legal Status
 - Employment Opportunities
 - Public Roles
 - Personal & Sexual Relationships
 - Gender Roles Expectations Shifting





CAUSES OF SECOND WAVE FEMINISM

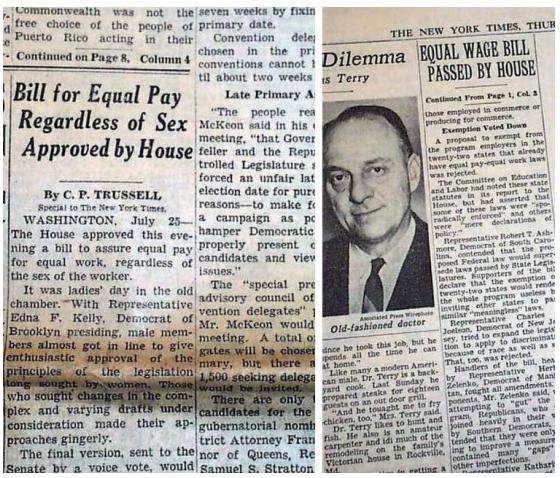
- Backdrop & Causes:
- WWII: Women at Work
 - Challenged Traditional Views
 - Realization of Discrimination Against Women
- Post WWII: Higher Education
 - College Campuses & Education Collide with Expectations of Domesticity & Subordinate Jobs



E.S. 26647

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

- 1961 – President's Commission on the Status of Women Created
 - Chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt
- 1963: President's Report on the Status of Women:
 - Discrimination Against Women in Workplace
 - Recommendations:
 - Affordable Childcare to Paid Maternity Leave
 - Before Report's Published:
 - Equal Pay Act of 1963
 - Illegal to Pay Women Less than Men for Same Work
 - Civil Rights Act of 1964 – Title VII
 - Affirmative Action



GRASSROOTS ACTIVISM BEGINS

- Govt Failed to Take New Policies Seriously
 - “NAACP for Women”
- 1966, National Organization for Women (NOW)
 - Betty Friedan, Pauli Murray, Shirley Chisholm, etc.
- Agenda – Equal Opportunities in:
 - Employment
 - Education
 - Medicine
 - Law
 - Politics
 - Support Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
 - Introduced in 1923

Betty Friedan
(1921-2006)



Pauli Murray
(1910-1985)



Shirley Chisholm
(1924-2005)

Gloria Steinem
(1934-)



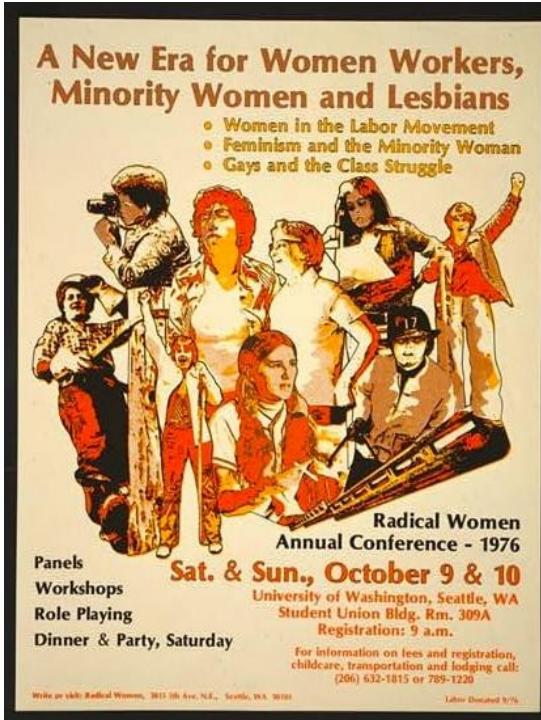
THE COHESIVE STRUGGLE OF SECOND WAVE FEMINISM

- NOW – Black President (Aileen Hernandez)
- 2nd Wave Feminism Leadership: White & Middle Class
 - Women of Color Respond
 - White Women Speaking for All Women Equitably?
- Hurdles of Second Wave Feminism:
 - One Movement, Many Voices
 - Constituents' Differences:
 - Ethnic, Racial, Religious, Labor Union, Rural Women, Mother's on Welfare, Lesbians



Aileen Hernandez
(1926-2017)





RADICAL FEMINISM VS. EARLIER WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

- Participants of the New Left & Civil Rights
- Dismissed by Male Leaders
- Sexually Exploited, Relegated to Mundane Tasks
- Walked Out of New Left & Formed Women's Liberation Groups

RADICAL FEMINISM

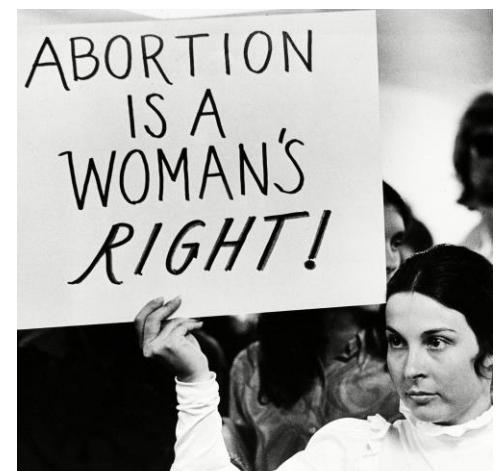
- Radical Feminists & Miss America Beauty Pageant (1968)
 - Ridiculous 'Beauty' Standards & Compete for Male Approval
 - Birth of the 'Bra Burner' Myth
- "Consciousness Raising" Circles
 - Rape, Domestic Violence, Abortion
- 'The Personal is Political'
 - Personal Problems is Part of System of Male Privilege
 - Division of Labor & Family
 - Norms on Body & Beauty Equated to Power Relations



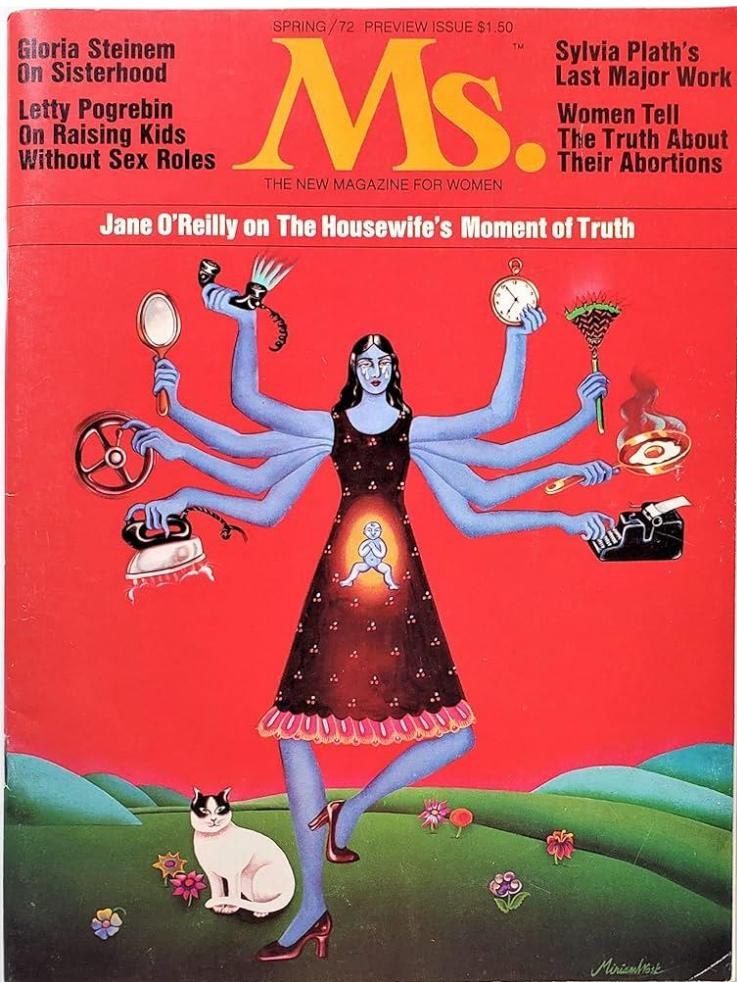
RADICAL FEMINISM VS. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW)



- NOW:
 - Equal Treatment in Public Sphere
 - Integrate Women into Existing Institutions
- Women's Liberation:
 - Women's Subordination in the Family & in Intimate Relationships
 - Total Transformation of Institutions
 - Strong Support for Abortion Rights
 - "Without the full capacity to limit her own reproduction, a woman's other 'freedoms' are tantalizing mockeries that cannot be exercised."
- 1970s: NOW & Radical Feminism Blur Together



FEMINISTS & THE MEDIA

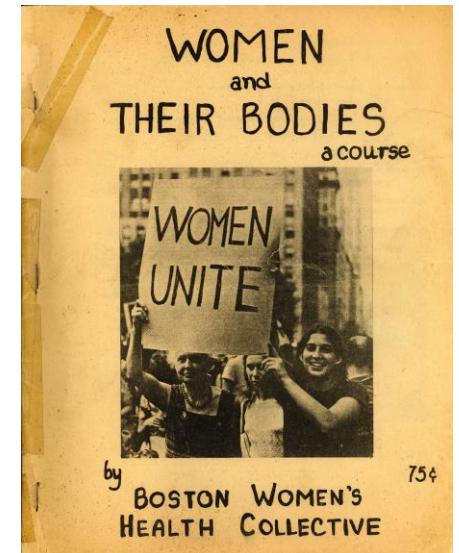
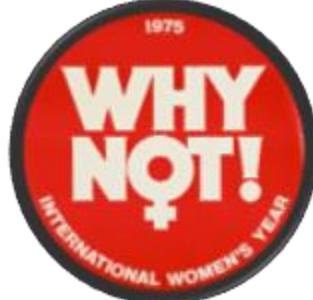


- Women's Movement: Mocked & Trivialized by Media
 - Sometimes Only met with Female Reporters
- Created Women-Run Media
- 1972 – Gloria Steinem & Co Created *Ms.*: The New Magazine for Women
 - For Women, By Women
- 1976 – Susan Weidman Schneider & Co. Created *Lilith*: Independent, Jewish & Frankly Feminist



ADDITIONAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

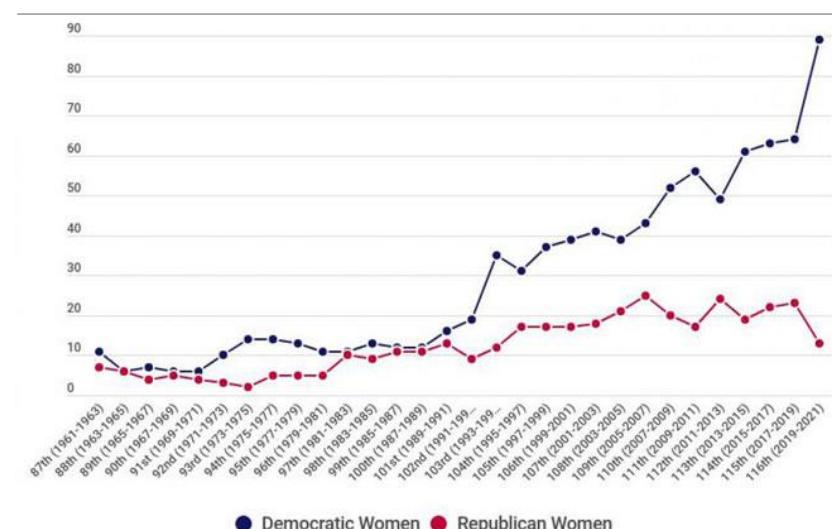
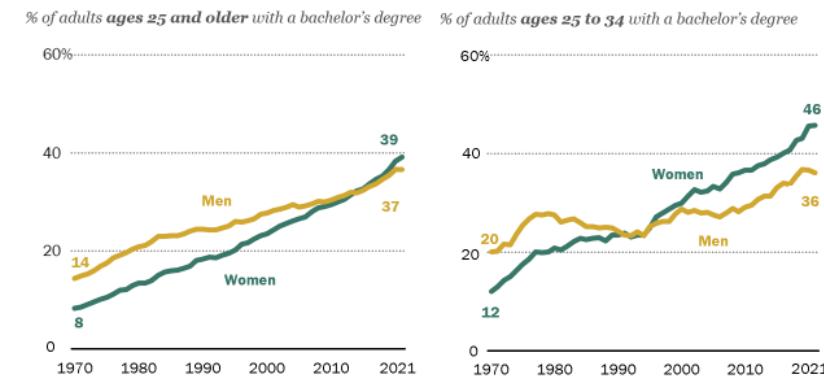
- Women's Organizations & Publications for:
- Health, Abortion Rights, Domestic Violence, Labor, etc.
 - *Our Bodies, Ourselves*
 - Jane Collective
 - Chicago Women's Liberation Union
 - National Conference of New Politics
- UN Declares International Women's Year (1975)
 - Global Conversations on Women's Status
 - US: Women's Welfare & Leadership Lacking



PROGRESS MADE?

- 1960-2010:
 - Women's Share in Law & Medical Degrees
 - 5-10% to ~50%
 - Still Earn Less than Men
 - Women in Office
 - 2021:
 - ~28 in Congress
 - ~30% of State Legislatures
 - Outnumbered Men in College
 - Despite That:
 - Still Paid Less in Traditional Female Jobs
 - Pay Gap Continues
 - Primary Responsibility of Home & Childcare, "Double Shift"
 - Not Entitled to Paid Maternity Leave; No Government Provisions Either

Women in the U.S. are outpacing men in college graduation



OPPOSITION TO SECOND WAVE FEMINISM (MID-1970S)



- Organized in Opposition to Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
- Roe v. Wade (1973)
 - Constitutional Protecting for Right to Abortion & States Could Not Prohibit Abortion in Early Stages
- Social Conservatives Organized
 - Belief: Feminism Threatened Traditional Gender Roles
- 1977: Anti-Choice Activism Reaches Congress
 - No Government Financing for Abortion
- Supreme Court: Allowed Additional Hurdles Via States

High court voids states' prohibitions against abortions in first 6 months

EVENING TRIBUNE News Report

WASHINGTON — States may not forbid women to have medical abortions during the first six months of pregnancy, the Supreme Court ruled 7 to 2 today.

Only in about the last three months, when the unborn child is developed enough to live outside the mother, may the state interfere with this "right of privacy," said Justice Harry A. Blackmun.

But, he said, the decision on whether to end a pregnancy before the fetus becomes viable — before the 24th to 28th week — is one best left to the woman and her personal physician.

an inherently hazardous procedure ... has largely disappeared."

The Texas law made it a crime to end a pregnancy except "for the purpose of saving the life of the mother."

The ruling followed two years of deliberations by the justices. It was based predominantly on what Blackmun called a right of privacy. He said the right is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy.

Justices Byron R. White and William

LASTING LEGACIES OF SECOND WAVE FEMINISM

- Title IX of Education Amendments Act (1972)
- Banned Sex Discrimination in Education
- Admissions, Athletics, & Hiring
- 1976: Opened Military Academies to Women
- 1978: Prohibited Discrimination Against Pregnant Employees
- Supreme Court:
- Struck Laws Treating Men & Women Differently in Social Security, Welfare, Military Benefits, & Workers' Compensation
 - Arguments Defended & Made by Ruth Bader Ginsburg
 - Arguments Crafted by Pauli Murray
 - *Moritz v. Commissioner*
 - *Reed v. Reed*
 - *Weinberger v. Wiesenfeld*



'Battle of the Sexes' (1972)



Ruth Bader Ginsburg
(1933-2020)

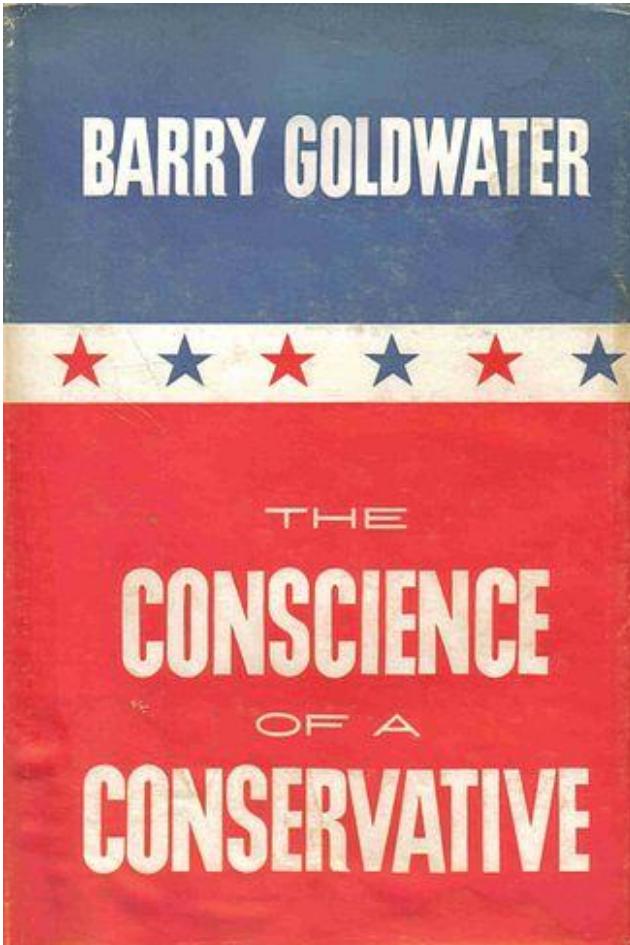


LASTING LEGACIES OF SECOND WAVE FEMINISM

- State & Local Reform:
 - Laws & Training to Treat Rape Victims More Humanely & With Respect
 - Protection & Funds for Shelters for Domestic Violence Victims
 - More Effective Prosecution for Abusers
- End of 1970s: Radical Ideas Accepted into American Mainstream
 - Equal Pay
 - Criminalization of Marital Rape

CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT GAINS GROUND

- Rising Conservative Movement Post 1964 Election
- Opposition to:
 - Black Power
 - Student Protests
 - Second-Wave Feminism
- Goldwater Represented New Conservativism in Republican Politics
 - Govt Intervention:
 - Hindered Economic Prosperity
 - Stifled Personal Responsibility
 - Interfered in Citizens Rights to Determine Their Individual Beliefs
 - Become a Moral Critique of the 1960s



Barry Goldwater
(1909-1998)

Reagan's Candidacy Is Endorsed By Young Americans for Freedom
New York Times (1923-Current file); Aug 19, 1979; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
pg. 37

Reagan's Candidacy Is Endorsed By Young Americans for Freedom..

WASHINGTON, Aug. 18 (UPI) — Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California won an informal endorsement of his Presidential candidacy today from the conservative Young Americans for Freedom.

Mr. Reagan won 78 percent of the 392 delegate votes at the group's mock nominating convention. Representative Philip Crane, Republican of Illinois, was second with 18 percent.

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, and former Gov. John B. Connally of Texas — thought the most likely to give Mr. Reagan the strongest race for the Republican Presidential nomination — were both booed when their names were presented to the convention.



GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS

- Origins: Middle-Class Suburbia & Anti-Communists
- John Birch Society
 - Big Government – Not in Domestic but in Military
 - Eradicate “Godless Communism”
- Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)
 - Countering Radical Student Groups
- 1966 – Both Groups Supported Ronald Reagan to Become Governor of California
 - Linked Previous Governor to Watts Rebellion, UCLA Berkeley Strike, & Rising Taxes

ORIGINS OF THE NEW CONSERVATIVE ERA

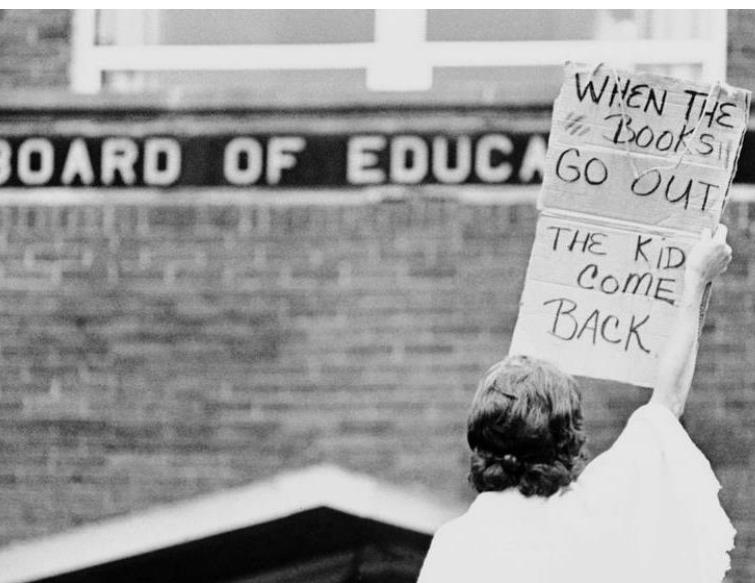
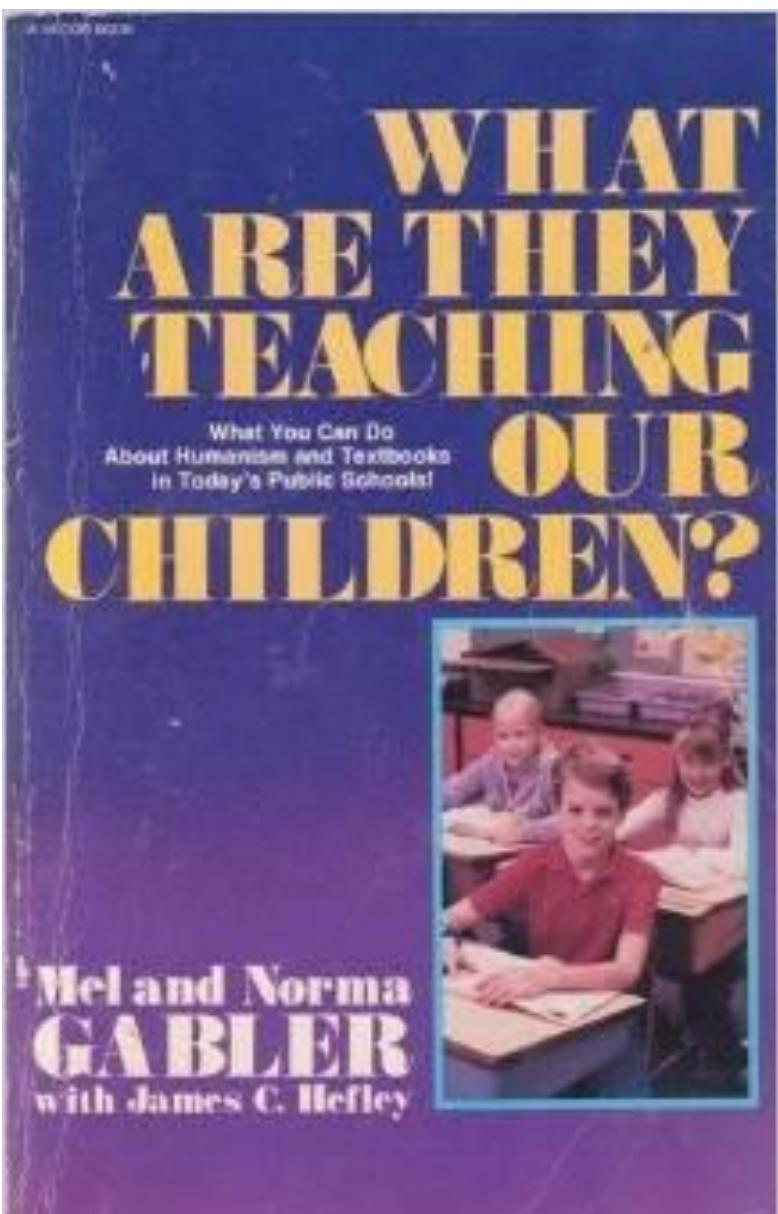


- Demographics:
- White, Skilled, Economically Comfortable Communities in the Sun Belt
- Military & Defense Plants
 - Orange County, CA
 - Dallas, Tx
 - Scottsdale, Arizona
- West: Tradition of Individualism & Opposition of Federal Interference
 - West: Reliant on Defense Spending & Federal Projects for Water & Power

SOUTHERN DISLIKE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

- Military Bases & Space Program (Federal Funding)
- Hostility Towards Racial Equality Mattered More
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- “I think we just delivered the South to the Republican Party.”





GRASSROOTS ON THE RIGHT

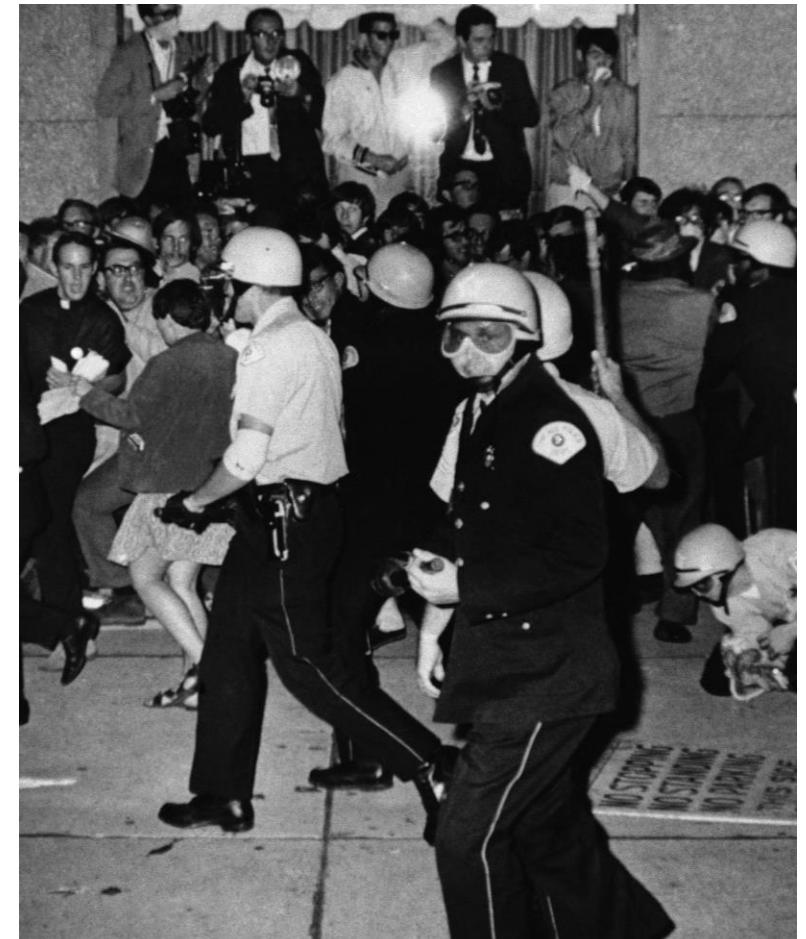
- Grassroots: Response to Fears of Moral Decline & Rapid Social Change
- Texas Board of Education, 1962
 - Ban Books that Undermine, “Christian-Judeo morals, values, and standards as given to us by God through... the Bible.” – Mel & Norma Gabler
- Sex Education Programs – Point of Contention
- Supreme Court’s Decisions:
 - School Prayer, Abortion, Obscenity
 - Raised the Hackles of Conservatives to Defend “Traditional Values”

“LAW & ORDER”

- Rallied Cry
- Rising Crime Rates:
 - Linked Crime with Civil Disobedience, & Antiwar Protests
← Declining Respect of “Authority”
 - Sit-In Movement as “Incitement to Anarchy”
- Blamed:
 - Supreme Court
 - “Coddling” Criminals
 - Nonchalant Attitudes Towards Protests
 - Great Society Programs
 - Undercut Personal Responsibility

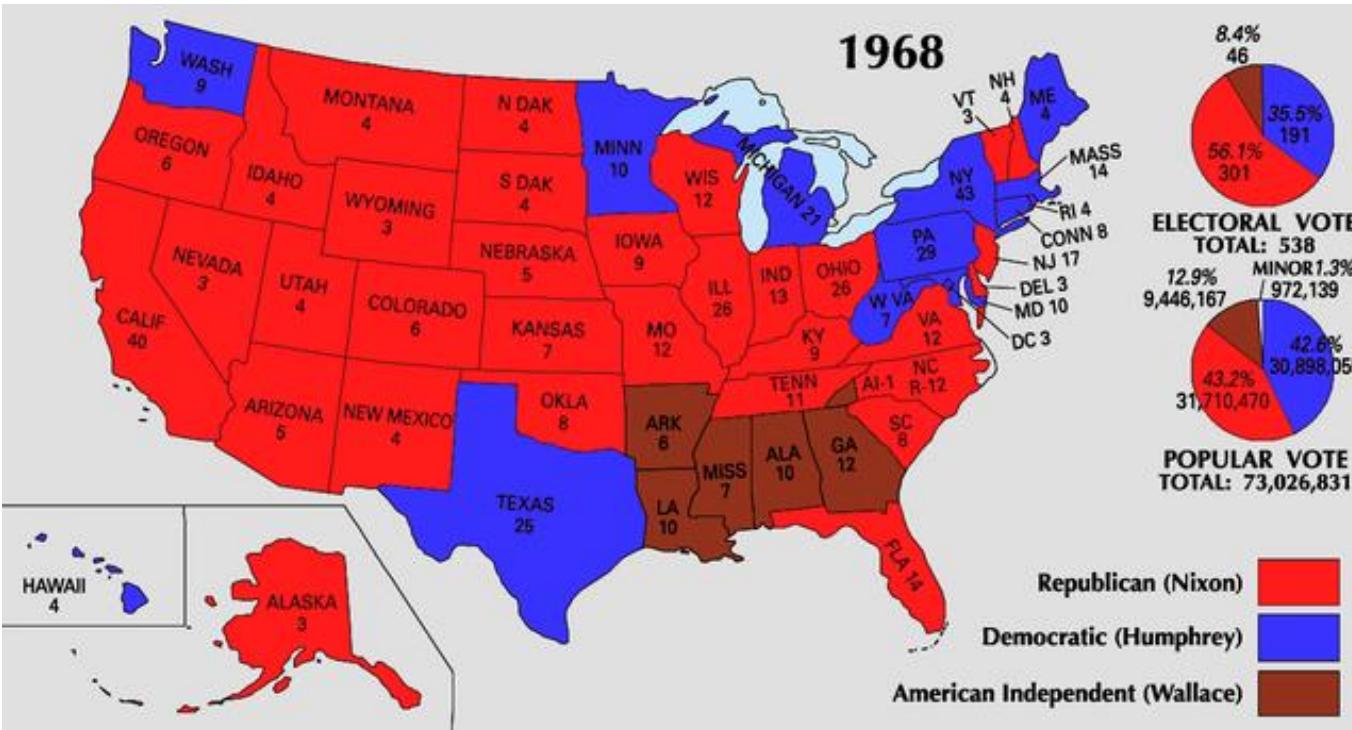


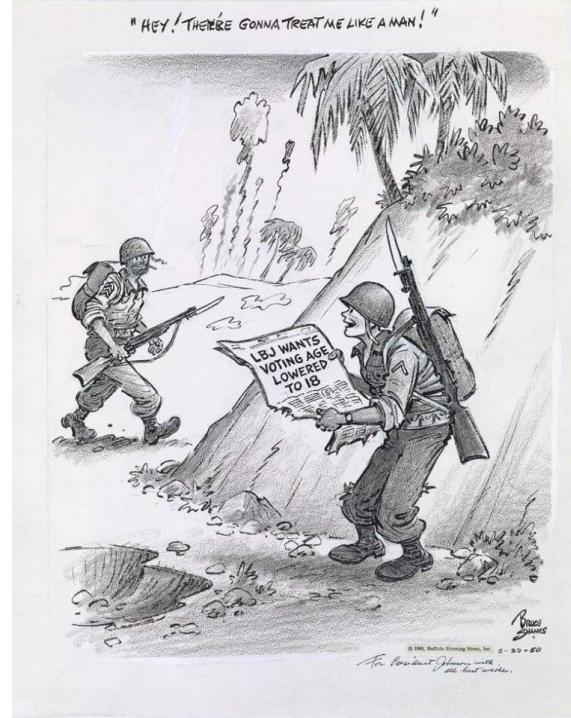
Richard Nixon
(1913-1994)



ELECTION OF 1968

- Opposition to:
 - Civil Rights
 - Govt Spending (War on Poverty)
 - Fast Social Change
 - Vietnam War
- Election of Richard Nixon (R)
 - Goal: Rebuild Republican Party
 - Appeal to Blue-Collar & Southern White Democrats
- Nixon on Great Society:
 - “Pouring billions of dollars into programs that have failed.”
- Nixon’s Admin:
 - Increased Spending on Federal Assistance Programs
 - Social Security, Public Housing, Food Stamps
 - Pell Grants for Low-Income College Students

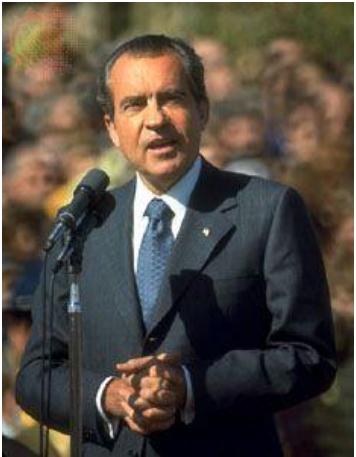




CONGRESS DURING NIXON ADMINISTRATION

- Congress:
 - Extended Voting Rights Act of 1965
 - Strengthened Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - 26th Amendment – Right to Vote to 18

NIXON ADMINISTRATION ACTIONS



- Nixon Administration:
 - Implemented Affirmative Action
 - 1970: Established Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
 - Further Legislation to Regulate Pollution
 - 1973: Legislation Outlawing Discrimination Against Disabled to All Programs Receiving Federal Funds
 - Native American Rights:
 - Recognizing Claims of Alaskan & New Mexican Indians to Restore Tribal Status & Land
 - Women's Rights:
 - Vetoed Funding for Day Care Centers
 - Private Family Matters, Not Govt's Job
 - Defended 'Right to Life of the Unborn'
 - Signed Title IX: Equality in Education
 - Labor Department Pursued Affirmative Action for Women

NIXON'S RHETORIC VS. REALITY

- Nixon: Disavowed Great Society & New Deal
 - Gradual Push Despite Growth
- Nixon, “Ask – not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself?”
- Promoted Private Enterprise & Individualism



CENTRAL THEMES

- Kennedy & Johnson Expand the Role of Government
- How the Black Freedom Movement Evolved
- Emergence of Social Movements in the 1960s
- The Spark of a New Wave of Feminism
- Origins of the Conservative Movement

