Kennedy's New Frontier Spirit

- Delivered inaugural address on January 20th, 1961
- Personified the glamour and vitality of the new administration
 - o Youngest president, youngest cabinets.
- Robert set out on many new reforms
 - Recast priorities of the FBI. Only targeted a dozen people involved in organized crimes and no attention to Civil Rights
 - o Efforts were resisted by J.Edgar Hoover, who had served as FBI director.
- Robert S. McNamara joined to take over the DoD.
- "Best and the brightest" around him.
- Brought a warm heart to the Cold War and proposed the Peace Corp
 - o American ideals to underdeveloped countries
 - "Ask what not your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."
- Personal grace and wit won him much affection. Exuded natural vibrancy and bubbly.

New Frontier at Home:

- Kennedy came into office with fragile Democratic Majorities
 - Southern Dems threatened to join with Republicans and axe new frontier proposals.
 - Did not want Medical Assistance for the aged and increased federal aid to education.
- Kennedy won a first round in his campaign for a more cooperative congress
 - Forced expansion of orriall-important House Rules Committee, dominated by Conservatives.
 - o Key Medical and education bills still were stalled.
- Kennedy had campaigned on revitalization of the economy after recessions
 - o President held the crippling inflation away.
 - o Helped negotiate a noninflationary wage agreement in steel.
- Steel increased their prices
 - o Talked to them and unleashed anger.
- Steel provoked fiery attacks by big businesses
 - Appealed to free enterprise by announcing support of a general tax cut bill
 - Chose to stimulate economy by slashing taxes and putting in hands of private.
 - o "Most Republican Speech"
- Kenney also invested in a multibillion dollar project to land an American onto moon.
 - o "But why the moon?" 25 billion dollars later, two Americans triumphantly planted.

Rumblings in Europe

- Soviet premier Khrushchev met with JFK.
 - Adopted a bad attitude and threatened to make a treaty with East Germany and cut West access to Berlin.
 - President refused to be bullied.
- Soviets backed down and began to construct the Berlin wall.
 - o Designed to plug heavy population drain.
 - o Wall of shame, giant concentration camps.
- Kenney turned his attention to Western Europe
 - o Flourishing after Marshall Plain and growth of Common Market, EU.
 - Secured passage of Trade Expansion Act. Cut tariff by 50% to promote trade.
- Atlantic Community
 - o Military and economically make Europe a partner
 - o Charles De Gaulle: President of France
 - Suspicious of American intentions and on fire to recapture the gloried of Napoleonic France
 - Vetoed British application for Common Market
 - Feared that Britain would be a Trojan horse for deepening US control over Europe Affairs.
 - Dashed cold water on plan to develop a nuclear arm with NATO.

Foreign Flare-ups and Flexible Response:

- Special problems from U.S foreign policy emerged from decolonization of Europe after WWII.
 - African Congo received independence from Belgium and went into violence.
 - o UN sent peace-keeping force, US gave money while becoming dominated by the numerous nascent nations emerging in once-Asia and Africa.
- Laos, freed of France, was festering dangerously.
 - o Failed to cleanse of an aggressive communist Element.
 - As Civil War emerged, Kennedy found that he had insufficient forces to put out fire in Asia and honor Europe.
 - o 14-power Geneva Conference imposed Shaky peace in Laos.
- Secretary Dulles put pressure on shift from massive retaliation.
- JFK felt that in a crisis he had:
 - o Devil's choice between humiliation and nuclear incineration.
- DoD McNamara pushed flexible response.
 - o Develop an array of military options that could match.
 - o Increased spending on military forces and bolstered the Spec. Forces.

Stepping into Vietnam Quagmire:

- Doctrine of Flexible Response seemed sane but had lethal logic.
 - o Lowed the level at which diplomacy would give way to shooting.

- Mechanism to allow use of force.
- Corrupt Diem government in Saigon had ruled shakily since the partition of Vietnam.
 - o Agitators threatened to topple the pro-American gov.
 - o Kennedy ordered a sharp increased in number of military advisers
- American forces had entered Vietnam to protect Diem from communists long enough to help him enact reforms favored by US.
 - o Despaired of the reactionary Diem and encouraged a coup against him.
 - Kennedy still told South Vietnam it was their war, but made political commitments.
 - Ordered 15,000 troops into the far-off Asian slaughterhouse.

Cuban Confrontations:

- Southern neighbors feared and resented the Colossus of the North (Latin America)
- Kennedy made Alliance for Progress
 - Marshall Plan for Latin America. Help Good Neighbors close the gap between rich and poor.
 - Results were bad, little alliance and progress. Handouts made little impact on immense social problems.
- Border with the mailed fist. Inherited CIA-backed scheme to topple Castro.
 - Invade Cuba with anti-commi exiles. Invaders would trigger a popular uprising in Cuba.
- April 17th,1961
 - o 1200 exiles landed on Cuba's Bay of Pigs.
 - Outset of direct intervention, but the anti-Castronites were no match for Castro's air force.
 - o No popular uprising greeted the invaders.
 - Kennedy still stood fast to keep hands off.
 - o Anti-Castronites surrendered and were jailed for two years but were ransomed for 62 million in humanitarian supplies and other such things.
- JFK assumed full responsibility for the failure, remarking: "Victory has hundred fathers, and defeat is an orphan"
- Bay of Pigs blunder, along with covert efforts to overthrow Castro, pushed Cuban leader to embrace Soviet Relations
 - Khrushchev lost little time in taking advantage of Cuban comrade's position in Florida.
 - Ariel photos revealed Soviets were secretly installing nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba.
- Purpose was to shield Castro and blackmail the US into backing down.
- Kennedy and Khrushchev were playing a game of "nuclear chicken"
 - President rejected air force proposals for bombing against missile launching sites.
- On October 22nd 1962, ordered a quarantine of Cuba and demanded removal of weaponry.

- Served notice on Khrushchev that any attack on US from Cuba would be regarded as coming from Soviet and would trigger nuclear retaliation.
- United States waited while Soviet ships approached the patrol line by US Navy off Cuba.
 - o Seizing or sinking a Soviet ship would be considered an act of war.
 - o Teetered on brink of global atomization.
- October 28th: Khrushchev agreed to compromise by pulling missiles out of Cuba.
 - o US agreed to end the quarantine and not invade the island.
 - o Quietly signaled that it would remove own missiles from Turkey.
- Fallout from the Cuban missile crisis was considerable.
 - o Disgraced Khrushchev was hounded out of Kremlin.
 - Moscow vowed never again to be humiliated in a nuclear face off and launched an enormous military expansion.
 - o Reached a crescendo and US needed to catch up with the Russians.
- Democrats did well in midterm elections, allegedly because Republicans were Cubanized.
 - Kennedy sobered by the risks pushed harder for a nuclear test-ban treaty with Soviet Union.
 - A pact prohibiting nuclear explosions in the atmosphere was passed in 1963.
 - Installation of a Moscow-Washington hotline permitting immediate teletype communication.
- Kennedy's speech at American University.
 - o Urged Americans to abandon view of Soviet Union as a Devil-ridden land.
 - Tried to lay the foundations for a realistic policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union.
 - o Modern origins of the policy "détente"

Struggle for Civil Rights:

- Kennedy had campaigned with a strong appeal to black voters, but proceeded gingerly to redeem his promises.
 - o Took two years to eliminate racial discrimination in handing.
 - Civil rights group sent thousands of pen in an "Ink for Jack" to respond to slowness.
- Kennedy needed the support of southern legislators to pass his economic and social legislation.
 - Believed those would benefit Black Americans at least as much civil rights.
- Sit-In movements, Freedom Riders fanned out to end segregation in facilities serviving interstate passengers.
 - White mob in Alabama attacked and Robert Kennedy's personal rep was beaten in another anti-Freedom Riot Movement.
 - Washington dispatched federal marshals to protect the Riders
- Reluctant, but fatefully, Kennedy had joined hands with the civil rights movement

- Kennedy proved wary about MLK.
- Fearful of embarrassing revelations that some of them had communist affiliations, Kennedy ordered Hoover to wiretap King's phone.
- Year was mostly productive with King.
- Robert Kennedy helped financial backing for SNCC and other civil rights groups to a Voter Education Project
 - Help register South's historically disfranchised blacks.
- Integrating universities was hard
 - o U of Mississippi.
 - James Meredith encountered violent opposition when he registered in October 1962.
 - JFK sent in over 400 federal marshals and 3,000 troops to enroll Meredith in his first class.
 - Graduated that cost lives of 2 men, scores of injuries, and 4 million taxpayer dollars.
- MLK launched a campaign against discrimination in Alabama, the most segregated big city in America
 - Black constituted half of population, but 15% of voting population.
 - Previous attempts to crack the rigid racial barriers had led to 50 cross burnings and 18 bombings.
 - o King told that some people here will not be alive.
- Horrified world saw peaceful civil rights people being attacked by police with attack dogs
 - Fearsome of all were high pressure water that felt like bricks from a lost building at a distance of 100 feet.
- President Kennedy delivered a memorable speech
 - Kennedy called the situation a moral issue and committed to finding a solution.
 - o MLK said that the principle at stake is as old as the scriptures and clear as the constitution
 - o Called for a new civil rights legislation to protect black citizens.
- King led 200,00 people on march on Washington
 - o "I have a dream that my four children..."
 - A white gunman shot down Medgar Evans, An explosion killed four black girls who had studied.
- By the time that Kennedy was dead, his civil rights bill was making little headway and frustrated blacks.

Killing of Kennedy:

- Violence haunted the nation on November 22nd, 1963
- Kennedy was shot in the brain by a concealed rifleman and died within a few seconds.
 - Lee Harvey Oswald was shot to death in front of cameras by Jack Ruby.

- Chief Justice Warren could not quiet all doubts and theories about what had happened.
- LBJ was sworn in as President and flown back to Washington with Kennedy's body.
- Johnson retained most of the bright Kennedy team.
 - o Dignified and efficient transition.
- Nation was steeped in sorrow and did not realize how much the vibrant President and Jacquie Kennedy had cast a spell.
 - Acclaimed more for the ideas and the spirit than for the goals he achieved.
 - o Lay down the myth that a catholic could not be trusted.
- Kennedy's womanizing and allegations came later, with involvement in organized crimes. However, his vigor, charisma, and ideals made him a figure, that inspired Bill Clinton.

The LBJ Branded Presidency:

- The torch passed to LBJ, new president from Texas.
 - o FDR was his political daddy and supported New Deal down to the line.
 - o He learned that liberal political beliefs did not necessarily win elections.
 - o Squeezed into senate with 87-vote margin.
- Johnson developed into a wheeler-dealer and was Dem. Majority leader.
- Move mountains or checkmate using what was the Johnson Treatment
 - Flashing display of backslapping, flesh-pressing, and arm twisting that overbore friend and foe.
 - o Ego and Vanity were legendary.
 - On a visit to the Pope, Johnson was presented with a precious 14th painting; LBJ gave the Pope a bust.
- As President, LBJ shed the conservative coloration of his Senate to reveal the latent liberal.
 - No memorial oration or eulogy could more honor JFK than the earliest passage of the Civil Rights Bill.
- Congress passed it in 1964
 - Act banned racial discrimination in private facilities open to the public, including theatres, hospitals and restaurants.
 - Strengthened the federal government's power to end segregation in schools and other public places.
 - o EEOC- Eliminated discrimination whilst hiring.
- Johnson struck another blow for women and minorities when he issued all federal contractors to take affirmative action.
- Johnson also rammed Kennedy's stalled tax bill through Congress and added proposals for a billion dollar "War on Poverty"
- Dubbed his domestic policy the: Great Society

- New dealish economic and welfare measures aimed at transforming American way of life.
- Other America- Michael HARRINGTON. 20% of population and over 40% were suffering in poverty.

Johnson Battles Gold Water

- Johnson's nomination by the Dems was a foregone conclusion
 - o Chosen by acclamation as his birthday present. Most liberal platform.
- Republicans nominate Senator Goldwater
 - o Bronzed and bespectacled champion of rock-ribbed conservatism.
- Goldwater's forces went into Southwest
 - o Insisted that the GOP offer a choice, not an echo.
 - o Attacked federal income tax, Social Security, TVA, civil rights legislation, nuclear test-ban treaty, and Great Society.
- Democrats said
 - o "In your guts, you know he's nuts."
 - o Gleefully exploited the image of Goldwater as a trigger-happy cowboy who would "barry us" in WWII.
 - LBJ cultivated the image of a resolute statesman by seizing upon the Tonkin Gulf episode.
 - US Navy had been cooperating with South Vietnam.
 - Two American destroyers were destroyed by North Vietnam.
 - o LBJ said for all I know, the Navy was shooting whales.
- Johnson promptly called the attack and unprovoked and went into make a political hay
 - o Limited retaliatory air raid against North Vietnam
 - Sought no wider than war
- Johnson also used the incident to spur congressional passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution
 - Abdicated war-declaring powers and handed the president a blank check to use further force.
- LBJ rode to a spectacular victory
 - Herded into LBJ by fondness of Kennedy Legacy, faith in Great Society and fear of Goldwater.

The Great Society Congress:

- Johnson's Victory smashed the conservative congressional coalition of southern democrats and northern republicans.
 - o Legislative road stretched before the Great Society programs.
 - Congress poured out flood of legislations, comparable to the output of 100 day Congress.
- Johnson was confident that a growing economy gave him ample fiscal and political room and delivered on social reform.
- Escalating War on Poverty

- Congress doubled the appropriations of the Office of Economic Opportunity to 2 billion and gave 1 billion to develop gutted hills and hollows.
- O Johnson also prodded the Congress into creating two new cabinet offices
 - Department of Transportation and Department of Housing and Urban Development.
- Johnson appointed the first black cabinet secretary in the nation's history: Robert Weaver.
- National endowments for the Arts and Humanities to lift cultural life.
- Big Four Legislation:
 - o Aid to education
 - Medical Care
 - o Immigration Reform
 - New Voting Rights Bill.
- Avoided the thorny question of separation to church and state by channeling education to students, thus allowing fund s to flow to parochial institutions.
 - o Signed the education bill in the humble one-room Texas Housebill.
- Medicare, accompanied by Medicaid for the poor, becomes a reality.
 - o Although bitter news for the American Medical Association. Welcome millions of elder Americans who had no health insurance.
- Like the New Deal, it created entitlements. Conferred rights on certain categories of Americans
 - Parts of right resolutions that improved lives of millions but undermined the federal government's financial health.
- Immigration reform was third.
 - Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 eliminated the quota system that had been set up.
 - Doubled the number of immigrants allowed to enter annually and set limits on immigrants from Western Hemisphere.
 - o Further provided for the admission of close relatives of US citizens, outside limits.
 - 100,000 persons took advantage of its family unification in the decades later.
 - Sources of immigration shifted from Europe to Latin America and Asia, changing the racial and ethnic composition.
- Great Society programs came in for political attacks later.
 - Poverty could not be papered over with greenbacks and that billions had been flushed.
 - Yet, poverty declines measurably over the next few decades.
 - Project Head Start: Sharply improved the education performance of underprivileged youth.
 - Infant Mortality Rates fell in minority conditions as health conditions improved.

Battling for Black Rights:

- With the last of his reforms, the Voting Rights Act was the most heartening headway against racial discrimination.
 - o Although the South's' walls of discrimination were tumbling, it was not fast enough.
 - Civil Rights gave fed. Government more muscle to enforce school desegregation orders.
 - Problem was that voting rights still remained, where in Mississippi, only 5% of blacks voted.
 - Lopsided voting was present everywhere in the South.
 - Ballot denying techniques barred black people from voting.
- Begging in 1964, opening up the polling booths became the chief goal of the black movement.
 - o The 24th amendment abolished the poll tax.
 - o Blacks and White Civil Workers joined in hands, many of them student volunteers, for Freedom Summer.
- Freedom Summer however turned bad when one black and two white civil rights workers disappeared.
 - o Badly beaten bodies were found buried an a dam.
 - o Arrested 31 white Mississippians, including the sheriff.
 - o Judge denied to convict them.
- Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was denied its seat at the DNC.
- MLK resumed the voter-registration campaign in Alabama.
 - O Blacks made only 1% of the voters.
 - State troopers whipped and tear gassed MLK's demonstrators as they marched.
- Klansmen killed a Boston Unitarian Minister while a white Detriot woman was shot gunned to death.
- President Johnson, speaking in a soft action, addressed Selma
 - We must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.
 - o And we shall overcome. Shepherded through the Voting Rights Act.
- Passage of Voting Right Act came 100 years after the conclusion of the Civil War.
 - o "Give us the ballot and the South will never be the same again"
 - o It placed an awesome lever for change in blacks' hands. Southerners had power and wielded it without fear of reprise.

Black Power:

- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 marked an end of an era in history of the civil rights movement, the end of non-violent demonstrations.
- Aimed at integrating blacks into American society
- Just five days after LBJ signed the landmark voting legislation, a bloody riot erupted in Watts.

- o Blacks, enraged by police brutality, burned and looted their own neighborhoods.
- o 31blacks and 3 whites lay dead, more than a thousand people had been injured, and hundreds of buildings had been charred and gutted.
- Watts explosion heralded a new phase of the black struggle, increasingly marked by militant confrontation.
- MLK came under heavy fire from young leaders who mocked him as de Lawd.
 - Malcolm X. Inspired by the militant black nationalists in the Nation of Islam.
 - o Elijah Muhammad, founder. Changed his surname and advertised his lost African Identity in white America.
 - O X distanced himself later and changed his name again. He preached more conciliatory messages but was gunned down.
- Violence raised its head in the black community
 - o Black Panther openly brandished weapons in streets of Cali.
 - SNCC urged the abandonment of peaceful demonstrations and promoted Black Power.
 - Unsettled many whites and their fears increased when he was quoted that it will smash all whites.
 - Some advocates insisted that they had intended the slogan to describe a broad front change.
 - Marcus Garvey, breathed a vibrant separatists meaning into the concept of Black Power.
 - Emphasized African-American distinctiveness in hairstyles, dress, and black studies program in schools.
- Civil Rights had achieved its greatest legal and political triumphs, more cities-shaking riots erupted in black ghettos.
 - Newark, NJ took 25 lives. Detroit, Michigan, 43 people died in the streets.
 LA- Black rioters torched their own neighborhoods and attacked officers.
- Riotous outburst angered many white Americans who threatened to retaliate with their own backlash against ghetto arsonists and killers.
 - Inner-city anarchy baffled many northerners who had considered racial problems as a Southern question.
 - o Black concerns had moved north. Black power focused less on civil rights and more on economic demands.
 - Black unemployment was double.
- Despair deepened when MLK was silenced by a sniper's bullet in Memphis, Tennessee on April 4th.
 - o Martyr for justice had died against the American thorn of race.
 - o Robbed the American leader of an inspirational leader.
- Rioters made news but thousands others make history quietly.
 - Voter registration increased upwards
 - o Several hundred blacks held elected office in the Old South.
 - o Half of southern black children sat in integrated classrooms.
 - More integrated in Northern Schools
 - o 1/3 blacks had rised in economic terms, though there was a poverty line.

Combating Communism in Two Hemispheres:

- Violence at home eclipsed Johnson's triumphs while foreign flare-ups threatened his political life.
 - o Dominicans rose in revolt against their military government in April 1965.
 - Johnson announced that the Dominican Republic was the target of a castrolike coup by American troops.
 - o Evidence of a communist takeover was fragmentary at best.
- Condemned at home and outside for his temporary reversion to the "gunboat" policy.
 - o Too eager to back right-wing regimes with rifle-totting troops.
- Johnson was deep into the monsoon mud of Vietnam
 - O Viet Cong attacked an American air base at Pleiku, South Vietnam.
 - o Johnson ordered retaliatory bombing raids against military installations in North Vietnam and, for the first time, ordered attacking US troops to land.
 - "Operation rolling thunder" was in full swing, regular bombings against North Vietnam.
 - 184,000 troops involved, slogging through the jungles and rice paddies of South Vietnam.
- Johnson had now taken the first few steps down a slipper path.
 - Fine-Tuned Step by step escalation of American force would drive the enemy to defeat with a minimum loss of life.
 - Did not know the knowledge of the toughness, resiliency, and dedication of the Viet Cong guerrillas in South Vietnam.
 - o Ariel Bombardment strengthened the communists' will to resist.
- South Vietnamese were becoming spectators in their own war.
 - Corrupt and collapsible governments succeeded each other in Saigon with rapidity
 - Americans talked of defending a faithful ally.
 - Defended action as test of Uncle Sam's commitment and of the reliability of his treaty pledges to resist communist.
- If United States were to cut and run from Vietnam
 - Other nations would crumble under communist pressure. "Domino Theory"
 - Drive America's first line back to Waikiki Beach in Hawaii, or to California.
 - He raised the stakes in Vietnam and poured more than 30 billion dollars.

Vietnam Vexations:

- America could not defeat the enemy in Vietnam, but it seemed to be defeating it.
- World opinion grew hostile
 - Blasting of an underdeveloped country by a mighty superpower struck many critics as obscene.
 - o Several nations expelled American Peace Crops.
 - French ordered Nato off French Soil.
 - Over commitment in Southeast Asia tied American's hands elsewhere.

- Soviet Union expanded is influence in the Mediterranean Area, especially in Egypt.
- Israel stunned Egyptians in the 6 day war. Israel occupied new territories in the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, and the Gaza Strip.
- Although they withdrew, they refused to relinquish the other areas and introduced Jewish people into Arab districts.
- Arab Palestinians already living in the West Bank complained about these Israeli policies.
- Domestic discontent deserted as the Vietnam entanglement dragged on.
 - Anti-war demonstrators had begun on small scale and grew to tidal –wave proportions.
 - o Military draft grew as young men whet into a slaughter pen.
 - Thousands of draft registrants fled to Canada and others burned their cards.
 - Marchers filled the cities and said, "Hey, Hey, LBJ, how many kids you kill today?"
 - Countless citizens felt the inflation and felt pangs of conscience at the spectacle of their men burning peasant huts.
- Opposition in Congress to the Vietnam involvement centered in the Senate for Foreign Relations.
 - Senator William Fulbright of Arkansas.
 - Staged a series of widely viewed television hearings and promoted antiwar sentiments.
 - Public felt that it he been deceived about the causes and winnability of the war.
 - Giant credibility gap opened between the government and the people.
- Doubts were deepening about the war in Vietnam in the administration.
 - O Defense Secretary McNamara expressed discomfiture at the course of events.
 - Eased out of Cabinet.
 - O Johnson did announce bombings were going to halt, to lure the enemy onto the peace table. Yet, Washington did not pursue its peace with much energy and the other side did not respond.
 - Both sides used the bombing pauses to funnel more troops into South Vietnam.
 - o 1968: Brutal and futile struggle had become the longest and most unpopular foreign war in history.
 - Government failed to explain what was supposed to be at stake in Vietnam, and if any objective could be worth the vast price.
- War was ripping fabric of society and the constitution.
 - Ordered the CIA, in clear violation as a foreign intelligence agency, to spy on domestic antiwar activists..
 - o FBI to turn its counterintelligence program against the peace movement.

- Cointelpro was a movement launched by J. Hoover to infiltrate communist organizations.
 - Sabotaged peace groups by conducting black bags, break ins.
 - Leading "doves" of peace with false accusations that they were communist sympathizers.
 - Made FBI look like Gestapo.
- America had been entrapped in an Asian Civil War, fighting against motivated rebels who were striving to overthrow an oppressive regime.
 - o Johnson clung to his strategy by ratcheting up the pressure bit by bit.
 - o Stubbornly assured Americans that he could see the end.

Vietnam Topples Johnson.

- Hawkish illusions that the struggle was about to be won was shattered in January, during Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, when the Viet Cong were licking their wounds, when the attacked on 27 key South Vietnamese cities.
- They demonstrated that victor could not be gained by Johnson's escalation strategy.
 - The Tet offensive ended in a military defeat, but a political victory for the Viet Cong.
 - o American Public OPinoin demanded a speedy end to the war.
- Opposition grew so vehement that the President could feel the very foundations of government shaking under his feet.
 - o Suffering personal agony over American causalities.
 - He wept as he signed letters of condolence and slipped at night to pray with monks.
- American leaders responded to the Tet attacks with a request for 200k more troops, the largest single increment.
 - o Swollen American troop strength to 3 quarter million mark.
 - Size staggered politicians. Secretary of State Dean Acheson advised the President that Joint Chiefs of Staff don't know what they're talking about.
 - Johnson himself began to doubt whether the wisdom of continuing his raise the stake course.
- President felt challenge from his own party. Eugene McCarthy, little known Dem senator, emerged as a contender for the 1968 nomination.
 - o Poet, soft-spoken, devout Catholic, gathered a small armty of anti-war college students as campaign workers.
 - o Going "Clean with Gene", with shaven faces, shortened locks, and idealistic recruits.
 - Efforts gave McCarthy 42% of the Democratic Votes and 20/24 convention delegates. President Johnson was on the same ballot, but as a write-in candidate.
- Robert F. Kennedy, a dove, threw his hat into the ring.
 - Heir to his fallen brother's mantle of leadership. Strired society, African Americans, Hispanics, and the young.
- These events abroad and at home were not lost on LBJ.

- o Country would go violent if he met the requests for more troop.
- His own party was divided on the issue.
- Yet, LBJ remained committed to victory, even if he saw the war ending.
- Johnson's answer came in an address on March 31st
 - He said that he would be applying brakes to the war.
 - Freeze American troop levels and shift more responsibility to the South Vietnamese.
 - Aerial bombardment would be scaled down. He also said he would not be a candidate for presidency in 1968.
- Abdication had the effect of preserving the military status quo.
 - o Offering himself as a sacrifice to the militant doves.
 - Could thus maintain the maximum acceptable level of military activity in Vietnam, while working on settlements.
- North Vietnam responded with peace talks.
 - After months of haggling over the site, adversaries met in Paris. Progress was very slow.

The Presidential Sweepstakes of 1968

- The summer of 1968 was one of the hottest political seasons in the nation's history.
- Johnson's heir apparent for the DNC nomination was his liberal vice president
 - Hubert Humphrey: Former pharmacist, professor, mayor, Senator.
 Supported LBJ's Vietnam policies. Received the support of the party apparatus, dominated by the White House.
 - o McCarthy and Kennedy dueled in several state primaries.
 - o But on June 5, Kennedy was shot to death due to the candidate's pro-Israel view.
- Democrats met in Chicago
 - O Antiwar zealots, deprived by an assassin's bullet of their leading candidate, streamed Chicago.
 - Mayor Daley fortified the convention hall.
 - Other militants shouted Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh and obscenities
 - World watched as the police came in and "peace officers" broke "police riot"
 - o Acrid gas tears filled up the city, even drifted up to Humphrey's suite.
 - No causalities, except as cynics said, the Democratic Party and its candidate
- Humphrey steamrollered to the nomination on the first ballot
 - o Dovish McCarthyites failed to secure an antiwar platform plank.
 - Humphrey forces echoed the president and hammered that armed force would be relentlessly applied.
 - Republicans jubilantly convened in Florida and nominated Richard M.
 Nixon.
- Nixon pleased Goldwater conservatives
 - o Appealed to Southern and to Maryland: Governor Spiro T. Agnew

- Republican platform called for victory in Vietnam and strong anticrime policy
- American Independent Party
 - Added color and confusion to the campaign
 - o Headed by George C. Wallace, former Alabama.
 - He stood in front of the doorway to prevent two black students from entering: Segregation now, Segregation Forever he shouted.
 - o Wallace jabbed repeatedly at pointed-headed bureaucrats.
 - o Prodded blacks back into their place if needed, Curtis LeMay.

Victory for Nixon:

- Vietnam proved a less crucial issue than expected
 - o Positions of the Republicans and the Democrats, there was little choice.
 - Both were willing to carry the war until they got "Honorable Peace" or American Victory
 - o The millions of Doves had no place to roost and refused to vote.
 - Went down to defeat as a loyal prisoner of his chief's policies, despite LBJ announcing a total halt to bail him out.
- Nixon, who had lost a cliffhanger to Kennedy in '60, won one later
- Nixon was the first president-elect not to bring in on his coattails at least one house of Congress
 - He carried not a single major city, thus attesting to the urban strength of Democrats
 - Minority president who owed his election to divisions over war and protest over unfair draft, crime, rioting.
- Wallace did worse than expected. Yet, he won 46 votes from the deep south.
 - Remained a formidable force and amassed the third largest popular vote in history
 - o Continuing sound of populist policies
 - o Foreshadowed a coarsening of American political life that would take deep root in the ensuing decades.

ALSO STUDY: 1960's Social Movements Warren Court Cases