In the history of the United States, few periods could more justly be regarded as the best and worst of times than the Kennedy–Johnson era. The arrival of John F. Kennedy in the White House in 1961 unleashed an unprecedented wave of hope and optimism in a large segment of the population—a wave that would come crashing down when he was assassinated only a few years later. His successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, enjoyed less popularity, but he was one of the most experienced and skilled presidents the country had ever seen and he promised a Great Society to rival Kennedy’s New Frontier. Both presidents were embroiled in foreign policy disasters: Kennedy with the Bay of Pigs fiasco, although he came out ahead on the Cuban missile crisis, and Johnson by the backlash of the Vietnam War. The 1960s witnessed unprecedented progress toward racial and sexual equality, but it also played host to race and urban riots. And while impressive advances in the sciences and arts fueled the American imagination, the counterculture rejected it all.

_Historical Dictionary of the Kennedy–Johnson Era_ relates these events and provides extensive political, economic, and social background on this era through a detailed chronology, an introduction, appendices, a bibliography, and several hundred cross-referenced dictionary entries on important people, events, institutions, policies, and issues.

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Historical Dictionaries of U.S. Historical Eras
Jon Woronoff, Series Editor

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## Contents

Editor’s Foreword  
*Jon Woronoff*  
vii  
Chronology  
ix  
Introduction  
1  
THE DICTIONARY  
35  
Appendix A Lists of Officials, Elections, Congresses  
311  
Appendix B Constitutional Amendments  
315  
Appendix C John F. Kennedy’s Addresses  
319  
Appendix D Lyndon B. Johnson’s Addresses  
341  
Appendix E Martin Luther King, Jr. Speech  
349  
Selected Bibliography  
353  
About the Authors  
395
Editor’s Foreword

Certainly, in the history of the United States, few periods could more justly be regarded as the best and the worst of times than the Kennedy–Johnson era. The arrival of John F. Kennedy in the White House in 1961 unleashed an unprecedented wave of hope and optimism in a large segment of the population, especially among the young, although it must be admitted that an almost equally large group thought he was the worst possible choice. But nearly everybody was shaken, sometimes very deeply, by his assassination only a few years later. His successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, enjoyed less popularity, but few could dispute that he was one of the most experienced and skilled presidents the country had ever seen, and he promised a Great Society to rival Kennedy’s New Frontier. Alas, both were dogged by foreign-policy disasters, Kennedy by the Bay of Pigs fiasco, although he came out ahead on the Cuban Missile Crisis, while Johnson suffered fatally from the backlash of the Vietnam War. But this was only part of the best and worst as the 1960s also witnessed unprecedented progress toward racial and sexual equality as well as race and urban riots, impressive advances in the sciences and arts as well as a counterculture that rejected it all.

This makes the *Historical Dictionary of the Kennedy—Johnson Era* not only one of the most important in this series on *U.S. Historical Eras*, but one of the most interesting. This is already foreshadowed by the chronology, packed with events that shaped the period. The introduction, which focuses on the two administrations, also places them in context. The dictionary section then passes in review the amazing cast of characters, the goodies and the baddies; the stirring events; the pathbreaking legislation adopted; and the economic, social, and cultural background. The appendixes, more than just a neat listing of facts, also include some major statements that define the era. Naturally, those
intrigued by this period can then proceed to further reading suggested in the selected bibliography.

This volume was written by two acknowledged specialists, Richard Dean Burns and Joseph M. Siracusa. Dr. Burns is professor emeritus and former chair of the History Department at California State University, Los Angeles. He has written extensively on the period, and is widely known for the books he edited on arms control, foreign relations, and the Cold War, as well as for directing the Twentieth Century Presidential Bibliography series. A native of Chicago and long-time resident in Australia, Dr. Siracusa is a professor of international studies at the School of Global Studies, Social Science and Planning, of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. His specializations are nuclear history, diplomacy, and presidential politics. Among his various books, the most relevant here is *Presidential Profiles: The Kennedy Years*, although others deal with the Johnson years as well. Between them, they have produced an excellent guide to a remarkable era.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor
Chronology

1960

2 January: Senator John F. Kennedy announces his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination. 9 January: Vice President Richard M. Nixon announces his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination. 1 February: Civil rights demonstrators begin a sit-in movement to integrate public accommodations in Greensboro, North Carolina. 8 March: Kennedy wins the New Hampshire Democratic primary with a record 42,969 votes. 3 April: Daniel Bell’s *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* is published. 5 April: Kennedy wins the Wisconsin Democratic presidential primary by a four-to-three margin over Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. 8 April: The Senate invokes cloture, and, by a vote of 71-18, passes a civil rights bill that gives increased authority to the federal courts and Civil Rights Commission to prevent the intimidation of black voters in the South. 26 April: Kennedy wins the Pennsylvania Democratic presidential primary by 49,838 votes. 5 May: An American U-2 spy plane is downed over the U.S.S.R. 10 May: Kennedy defeats Humphrey in the West Virginia Democratic primary by 77,305 votes. Humphrey withdraws from the presidential race. 16 May: The scheduled summit conference between President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev is canceled as a result of the U-2 incident. 13 July: Kennedy wins the Democratic presidential nomination on the first ballot at the Los Angeles convention. The vote is 806 for Kennedy, 409 for his chief rival, Lyndon Johnson. Johnson is chosen vice presidential candidate at the following session. 25 July: Nixon easily wins the Republican presidential nomination on the first ballot in Chicago. 9 August: The United Nations (UN) Security Council orders Katanga province to end its secession from the Congo. 26 September: Kennedy and Nixon hold the first of four televised debates between the presidential candidates. 8 November: Kennedy defeats Nixon in the presidential
election by 113,057 votes and receives 303 of the 537 electoral votes. **17 November:** The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) briefs Kennedy on its involvement in training Cuban exiles in Guatemala to overthrow Fidel Castro. **18 November:** President Eisenhower orders U.S. naval units to patrol Central American waters to prevent communist-led invasions of either Guatemala or Nicaragua.

**1961**  
3 January: The United States breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba.  
4 January: The Organization of American States votes to impose limited economic sanctions against the Dominican Republic.  
17 January: In his farewell address, Eisenhower warns against the influence of a “military–industrial complex.”  
20 January: Kennedy is inaugurated 35th president of the United States.  
25 January: In his first presidential news conference, Kennedy supports the idea of a neutral Laos.  
28 January: Kennedy approves a Vietnam counter insurgency plan that calls for government reform and military restructuring as the basis for expanded U.S. assistance.  
31 January: The House votes, 217-212, to expand the Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members.  
7 February: Kennedy orders a ban on most trade with Cuba.  
16 February: Kennedy warns of the risk of war if Belgium takes unilateral action in the Congo.  
20 February: In a special message to Congress, Kennedy asks for a five-year $5.6 billion program of federal aid to education.  
1 March: Kennedy establishes the Peace Corps by executive order.  
6 March: Kennedy issues an executive order establishing the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.  
13 March: Kennedy proposes that Latin America join the United States in an Alliance for Progress, a 10-year $20 billion program of economic and social development.  
21 March: Great Britain, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. resume their three-power nuclear test ban conference in Geneva.  
23 March: In a televised news conference, Kennedy alerts the nation to communist expansion in Laos and warns that a cease-fire must precede the start of negotiations to establish a neutral and independent nation.  
28 March: Kennedy announces the initiation of a program to rapidly increase U.S. military strength.  
12 April: Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man to orbit the Earth.  
17 April: CIA-trained Cuban exiles begin the Bay of Pigs invasion.  
20 April: A Cuban government communiqué reports the defeat and capture of the invasion force.  
24 April: Kennedy accepts full responsibility for the Cuban invasion.  
5 May:
signs a bill raising the minimum wage from $1 to $1.25 an hour. 5 May: Alan B. Shepard makes the first U.S. manned suborbital flight. 9–15 May: Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson visits Southeast Asia and recommends a “strong program of action” in Vietnam. 14 May: A freedom riders’ bus is stoned and burned in Anniston, Alabama. 21 May: Four hundred U.S. marshals are sent to Alabama after 20 people are hurt in racial violence stemming from the Freedom Rides. 25 May: Kennedy asks Congress for $1.8 billion to expand the space program and calls for a manned lunar landing by 1970. 31 May–6 June: Kennedy meets with British and French leaders in Europe. 3–4 June: Kennedy and Khrushchev hold an inconclusive summit meeting in Vienna. 9 June: President Ngo Dinh Diem requests U.S. troops for training the South Vietnamese army. 30 June: Kennedy signs a bill liberalizing Social Security benefits for 4.4 million persons. 30 June: The president signs a compromise version of an administration-backed omnibus housing bill that provides funds for urban renewal, community development, and direct housing loans for the elderly. The bill also liberalizes loan requirements for the purchase of moderately priced housing. 3 July: A Taft–Hartley injunction ends an 18-day maritime strike against U.S. flag ships. 5 July: Theodore White’s The Making of the President, 1960 is published. 25 July: Kennedy calls for $3.25 billion to meet commitments in the wake of the Berlin crisis and asks Congress for the power to increase the size of the armed forces by 217,000. 13 August: East Germany seals its border with West Berlin to halt the flow of refugees to the West. Work begins on the Berlin Wall. 16 August: The U.S. and 19 other American countries adopt the Alliance for Progress charter at Punta del Este, Uruguay. 18–21 August: Vice President Johnson visits Berlin to reaffirm the U.S. commitment there. 30 August: The House votes, 242-170, against consideration of the administration’s school aid bill. September–December: East Germany hampers U.S. access to East Berlin. 1 September: The Soviet Union resumes atmospheric nuclear tests. 5 September: Kennedy announces that the United States will resume underground nuclear tests. 5 September: Following several mid-air hijackings Kennedy signs a bill making the crime of airplane hijacking punishable by death or imprisonment. 11 September: Congress approves a two-year extension of the Civil Rights Commission. 16 September: The United States backs UN military action in Katanga. 25 September: Kennedy delivers a “Proposal for General and
Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World” in his major foreign policy address to the UN. **26 September:** Kennedy signs a bill establishing the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. **1 October:** South Vietnam requests a bilateral defense treaty with the United States. **4 October:** An international group of protestors urging unilateral disarmament and an end to nuclear testing demonstrates in Moscow. **27 October:** U.S. and Soviet tanks confront each other at the Berlin border. They withdraw the next day. **1 November:** 50,000 demonstrators turn out in 60 cities for The Women Strike for Peace. **3 November:** After a trip to Vietnam, General Maxwell Taylor reports to Kennedy that prompt U.S. military, economic, and political action can lead to victory without a U.S. takeover of the war. **26 November:** The “Thanksgiving Day Massacre” results in a major high-level reorganization of the State Department. Chester Bowles is replaced by George Ball as undersecretary of state. **7 December:** The United States begins its transport of UN troops to the Congo to end Katanga’s secession. **15 December:** Kennedy renews the U.S. commitment to preserve the independence of Vietnam and pledges American assistance to its defense effort. **15–17 December:** Kennedy makes a triumphant goodwill tour to Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Colombia. **20 December:** The New York Times reports that 2,000 U.S. uniformed troops and specialists are stationed in Vietnam.

**1962** **2 January:** The United States begins a series of diplomatic “probes” of Moscow regarding Berlin. **6 January:** The United States resumes diplomatic ties with the Dominican Republic after a 14-month suspension. **12 January:** The directors of the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads approve a merger of the two lines. **16 January:** The United States and Common Market agree to mutual tariff reductions. **21 January:** The House votes down, 264-150, an administration plan to create an Urban Affairs and Housing Department. **23 January:** The Senate Armed Services Committee’s Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee begins a probe of military “muzzling.” **29 January:** The United States, the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain nuclear test ban conference at Geneva adjourns after a three-year period. Talks remain deadlocked over a system of international control. **3 February:** Kennedy orders an almost-complete end to U.S. trade with Cuba. **8 February:** The Defense Department announces the creation of a Military Assistance Command in Vietnam. **14 February:** Kennedy announces that U.S.
troops in Vietnam are instructed to use weapons for defensive purposes.  
20 February: John Glenn becomes the first American to orbit Earth.  
26 February: The Supreme Court holds that no state can require racial  
segregation of interstate or intrastate transportation.  
1 March: In the biggest antitrust case in U.S. history, a federal district court orders E. I.  
DuPont de Nemours & Company to divest itself of 63 million shares of  
General Motors stock.  
2 March: Kennedy announces his decision to resume atmospheric nuclear tests.  
14 March: The 17-nation UN disarmament conference opens in Geneva.  
18 March: In a message to Khrushchev, Kennedy proposes the joint exploration of outer space.  
19 March: Michael Harrington’s *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* is published.  
22 March: The United States begins its first involvement in the Vietnam Strategic Hamlet (rural pacification) Program.  
26 March: The Supreme Court holds that the distribution of seats in state legislatures is subject to the constitutional scrutiny of the federal courts.  
31 March: The United Steelworkers Union and U.S. Steel Corporation formally ratify a pact providing for a 10-cents-an-hour fringe benefit increase. The agreement is the most modest contract improvement since 1942.  
3 April: The Defense Department orders the integration of all military reserve units except the National Guard.  
10 April: The U.S. Steel Corporation announces a $6-per-ton steel price increase; other steel companies follow.  
11 April: A Taft-Hartley injunction ends the 27-day West Coast shipping strike.  
13 April: Reacting to administration pressure, the major steel companies rescind their price increases.  
25 April: The United States opens a nuclear test series in the air over the Pacific.  
9 May: The Senate votes, 43-53, to reject cloture on a bill outlawing literacy tests in federal elections.  
15 May: Kennedy sends 5,000 marines and 50 jet fighters to Thailand in response to communist expansion in Laos.  
24 May: Scott Carpenter becomes the second American to orbit the Earth.  
25 May: The AFL-CIO announces a drive for a 35-hour week to reduce unemployment.  
28 May: Shares on the New York Stock Exchange lose $20.8 billion in the biggest one-day drop in prices since October 29, 1929.  
1 June: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) adopts the “Port Huron Statement” in its second annual convention, held at Port Huron, Michigan.  
25 June: The Supreme Court outlaws an official New York State school prayer.  
10 July: Telstar relays live pictures from
the United States to Europe. **17 July:** The Senate votes, 52-48, to table a compromise Medicare plan. **23 July:** 14 nations sign the Geneva Accords guaranteeing the neutrality of Laos. **25 July:** Kennedy approves a Puerto Rican plebiscite on the political status of the island. **27 July:** The Justice Department requires the General Electric Company to pay $7.5 million in damages for price fixing. **July–August:** Martin Luther King Jr. leads a series of unsuccessful demonstrations in Albany, Georgia, for the integration of public facilities. **6 August:** Marchers opposed to nuclear tests bring petitions to the American and Soviet UN missions. **14 August:** The Senate, 63-27, invokes cloture for the first time since 1927. The move ends a liberal filibuster against the president’s communications satellite bill. **27 August:** Congress approves a constitutional amendment barring poll tax requirements for voting in federal elections. **14 September:** Kennedy signs a $900 million public works bill. **24 September:** The House grants Kennedy’s request for special limited power to call up to 150,000 reservists for one year and to extend active duty tours without declaring a state of emergency. **28 September:** A U.S. court of appeals finds Governor Ross R. Barnett guilty of civil contempt for attempting to block the integration of the University of Mississippi. **1 October:** Three thousand troops quell Mississippi rioting and arrest two hundred as James Meredith enrolls at the University of Mississippi. **2 October:** Kennedy signs a bill authorizing a $100 million UN loan. **10 October:** Kennedy signs the first major improvement in food and drug laws since 1938, protecting individuals against untested and ineffective drugs. **11 October:** Kennedy signs the Trade Expansion Act, which reduces tariffs and gives the president greater discretionary power in making trade agreements. **14 October:** U.S. intelligence receives the first photographic evidence of Soviet offensive missiles in Cuba. **16 October:** Kennedy signs a tax revision bill that provides for a seven percent tax credit for businesses. However, the measure does not fulfill his request for withholding income taxes on dividends and interest. **16 October:** ExCom, the president’s specially chosen bipartisan advisory committee, convenes on the Cuban Missile Crisis. **22 October:** Kennedy announces a “quarantine” of Cuba to force the removal of Soviet missiles. **28 October:** Khrushchev agrees to dismantle the Soviet missiles in Cuba and withdraw Russian weapons under UN supervision. **3–10 November:** The United States supplies emergency military aid to India in its border war with Communist
China. 6 November: The Democrats increase their Senate majority by four but lose six House seats in the midterm election. Republicans capture governorships in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. Richard Nixon loses his California gubernatorial race by 500,000 votes to Edmund O. Brown. Edward Kennedy wins a Massachusetts Senate seat. 20 November: The United States lifts its naval blockade of Cuba. 20 November: Kennedy signs an executive order barring racial discrimination in housing built or purchased with federal funds. 24 November: The Pentagon awards General Dynamics the F-111 (TFX) fighter/bomber contract. 8 December: The International Typographers Union begins a 114-day strike against New York City newspapers. 14 December: In a speech to the Economics Club, Kennedy declares a need for an “across-the-board” cut in personal and corporate income taxes. 21 December: Kennedy and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan sign the Nassau pact, granting Great Britain Polaris missiles and pledging the commitment of American and British atomic weapons to a multilateral North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) nuclear force. 23 December: The Cuban government begins the release of prisoners captured in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. 31 December: The United States cancels the joint U.S.–Great Britain Skybolt missile project.

1963 January: UN troops reunify the Congo. 24 January: Kennedy proposes a $13.6 billion tax cut over a three-year period. 26 January: The Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee begins a probe of the TFX contract award. 21 February: Kennedy proposes a hospital insurance plan to be financed through Social Security. 24 February: A Senate panel reports that annual American aid to South Vietnam is $400 million and that 12,000 Americans are stationed there “on dangerous assignment.” 28 February: Kennedy sends a civil rights message to Congress that stresses the need to ensure blacks the right to vote. 15 March: Kennedy signs $435 million Manpower and Development Act. 18 March: The Supreme Court holds that states must supply free counsel for all indigents facing serious criminal charges. 19 March: In a San José, Costa Rica, meeting Kennedy and six Latin American presidents pledge resistance to Soviet aggression in the Western Hemisphere. 21 March: A commission headed by retired general Lucius Clay recommends reductions in the U.S. foreign aid program. 28 March: A federal jury convicts Billie Sol Estes of mail fraud and conspiracy. 31 March:
The 114-day New York City newspaper strike is settled. **1 April:** A federal grand jury indicts the U.S. Steel Corporation and six other steel manufacturers for price fixing. **2 April:** Led by Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference begins an integration campaign in Birmingham, Alabama. **9 April:** Wheeling Steel Corporation announces a $6-a-ton price increase. Other major steel companies follow suit. The administration takes no action. **10 April:** The atomic submarine Thresher is lost with 129 crewmen aboard. **20 April:** A U.S.-supported 80-day general strike begins in British Guiana and leads to the fall of the Jagan government. **22 April:** 22 units of the 7th Fleet are sent to the Gulf of Siam as a “precautionary” measure during fighting in Laos. **2–7 May:** Major civil rights demonstrations take place in Birmingham, Alabama. Police assaults and arrests lead to black riots. **9 May:** Birmingham leaders announce an agreement calling for the phased integration of business facilities and the establishment of a permanent bi-racial committee. **11 May:** Kennedy and Prime Minister Lester Pearson announce a joint defense agreement. Canada agrees to accept nuclear warheads for missiles located in its territory. **12 May:** Kennedy dispatches federal troops to bases near Birmingham, Alabama, when riots break out there. **20 May:** The Supreme Court rules that state and local governments cannot interfere with peaceful demonstrations for racial integration in public places of business. **21 May:** In a referendum, wheat farmers reject a mandatory acreage control plan. **27 May:** The Supreme Court prohibits an “indefinite delay” in the desegregation of public schools. **31 May:** Jackson, Mississippi, police arrest 600 black children involved in an integration demonstration. **3 June:** The Supreme Court rules that desegregation plans permitting pupils to transfer out of schools where their race is a minority are unconstitutional. **10 June:** Kennedy signs a bill requiring employers subject to the Fair Standards Act to pay equal wages for equal work, regardless of the sex of the workers. **10 June:** Kennedy delivers a major policy address at American University that calls for a re-examination of Cold War attitudes as a necessary prelude to world peace and announces new test ban negotiations in Moscow. **11 June:** The first blacks enroll at the University of Alabama despite the protest of Governor George C. Wallace. **12 June:** Civil rights workers picket New York City construction sites to protest racial discrimination in hiring. **12 June:** Mississippi NAACP field secretary Medgar W. Evers is murdered following mass demonstrations in Jackson, Mississippi. **17 June:** The Supreme Court pro-
hibits the use of the Lord’s Prayer and Bible reading in public schools. **19 June:** Kennedy asks Congress to enact extensive civil rights legislation to give all citizens equal opportunity in employment, public accommodations, voting, and education. **26 June:** On a visit to West Berlin, Kennedy delivers his “Ich bin ein Berliner” address that promises continued support of that city. **8 July:** The United States bans virtually all financial transactions with Cuba in a move toward economic isolation of that country. **12 July:** Modified martial law is imposed in Cambridge, Maryland, after racial strife. **15 July:** The United States, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. open disarmament talks in Moscow. **16 July:** The Federal Reserve Board increases the discount rate from three percent to three and a half percent. **18 July:** The United States and Mexico agree on a settlement of the disputed El Chamizal border area between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua. **18–19 July:** The United States suspends relations and aid to Peru following a military coup. **25 July:** The United States, the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain initial a test ban treaty in Moscow that prohibits nuclear testing in the atmosphere, space, and underwater. **2 August:** The United States cuts off all economic assistance to Haiti to show its disapproval of the dictatorial François Duvalier. **21 August:** The South Vietnam government attacks Buddhist pagodas. **24 August:** U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., receives a State Department cable stating that the United States can no longer tolerate Ngo Dinh Nhu’s influence in President Ngo Dinh Diem’s regime. **28 August:** Kennedy signs a compulsory arbitration bill blocking a threatened railroad strike. **28 August:** More than 200,000 participate in the March on Washington and hear King deliver his “I Have a Dream” speech. **30 August:** The Washington–Moscow hot line is made operational. **10 September:** Kennedy federalizes the Alabama National Guard to prevent its use against the desegregation of public schools. **15 September:** A bomb blast in a Birmingham, Alabama, church kills four black girls. **24 September:** The Senate, 80-19, ratifies the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. **25 September:** Following a successful military coup against President Juan Bosch, the United States suspends diplomatic relations and economic aid to the Dominican Republic. **7 October:** Bobby Baker resigns as secretary to the Senate majority after being charged with using his position for personal financial gain. **9 October:** Kennedy approves a $250 million wheat sale to the U.S.S.R. **10 October:** Kennedy signs a bill controlling
possibly hazardous drugs, such as thalidomide. 22 October: Chicago civil rights groups stage a one-day “Freedom Day” boycott of public schools in which about 225,000 pupils stay home to protest de facto segregation in that city. 1 November: South Vietnamese generals stage a successful coup. Diem and Nhu are assassinated. 16 November: Through personal intervention with the Soviet authorities, Kennedy obtains the release of Professor Frederick Barghoorn, who had been imprisoned in Russia on espionage charges. 22 November: Kennedy is assassinated in Dallas, Texas, by Lee Harvey Oswald. Lyndon Johnson is sworn in as the 36th president. 24 November: Jack Ruby kills Oswald in Dallas. The incident is seen live on TV. 26 November: In a railroad work-rules dispute, a government arbitration board calls for the elimination of 40,000 jobs. 27 November: Johnson asks Congress for the “earliest possible passage” of a civil rights program. 29 November: The Warren Commission is set up to investigate the assassination of Kennedy. It concludes that the shots that killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connolly were fired by Lee Harvey Oswald.

1964 3 January: Arizona senator Barry Goldwater announces his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination. 3 January: Johnson establishes the President’s Committee on Consumer Interests and appoints Esther Peterson its chair. 8 January: Johnson delivers his first State of the Union message and calls for a War on Poverty. 9–12 January: U.S. troops fire on anti-U.S. rioters in the Panama Canal Zone. 10 January: Panama breaks diplomatic ties with the United States. 11 January: U.S. Surgeon General Luther Terry’s committee reports the use of cigarettes “contributes substantially to mortality.” 23 January: The 24th Amendment barring the use of a poll tax in federal elections is ratified. 25 January: Echo II, the first U.S.–U.S.S.R. cooperative space venture, is launched. 17 February: The Supreme Court rules that congressional districts must be apportioned on a “one-person, one-vote” basis. 26 February: Johnson signs a $11.5-billion tax-cut bill. 4 March: James Hoffa is found guilty of jury tampering. 10 March: Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. wins the New Hampshire Republican presidential primary on a write-in vote. 14 March: Jack Ruby is found guilty of the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald. 4 April: The United States and Panama resume diplomatic ties and pledge negotiations on the Canal Zone treaty. 7 April: Alabama governor George Wallace receives
34.1 percent of the Democratic vote in the Wisconsin presidential primary. **9 April:** Railroad workers agree to postpone a scheduled nationwide railroad strike over work-rules changes after a personal plea from Johnson. **11 April:** Johnson signs a farm bill providing for major changes in federal wheat and cotton price subsidies. **15 May:** New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller wins an upset victory over Lodge and Goldwater in the Oregon Republican presidential primary. **19 May:** Wallace polls 42.8 percent of the vote in the Maryland Democratic presidential primary. **2 June:** Goldwater defeats Rockefeller by 59,000 votes in the California Republican presidential primary. **10 June:** The Senate invokes cloture on ending the longest filibuster since the adoption of the cloture rule in 1917. **14 June:** The United Steelworkers of America and 11 steel companies agree not to practice racial discrimination in the industry. **15 June:** The Supreme Court rules that state legislative districts must be apportioned according to population. **21 June:** Three civil rights workers, participants in the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, are murdered in Neshoba Country, Mississippi. **2 July:** Johnson signs a civil rights bill providing for the integration of public accommodations. **8 July:** The Senate Rules Committee finds Bobby Baker “guilty of many gross improprieties” while secretary to the Democratic majority. **9 July:** Johnson signs the urban mass transportation bill providing $375 million to help public and private transit companies provide and improve urban mass transportation. **15 July:** Barry Goldwater is nominated as the Republican candidate for president on the first ballot at the Republican National Convention. William Miller is chosen as the vice presidential candidate at the following session. **July 18:** Racial violence breaks out in Harlem and Bownsville, two predominately black sections of New York City. During the summer riots occur in Rochester, New York, suburban Chicago, Jersey City, Elizabeth and Paterson, New Jersey, and Philadelphia, as well. **4 August:** Johnson instructs the navy to take retaliatory action against North Vietnam for its alleged attack on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin. **7 August:** Congress passes the Tonkin Gulf Resolution authorizing Johnson to take “all necessary measures” to “repel any armed attack” against U.S. forces in Southeast Asia and approves in advance “all necessary steps, including the use of armed force,” that the president might take to aid U.S. allies in the region. **20 August:** Johnson signs the economic opportunity bill of 1964, authorizing 10 separate
programs, under the supervision of the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, designed to make a coordinated attack on the causes of poverty—illiteracy, unemployment, and lack of public services. 20 August: Johnson signs a bill providing free legal counsel for indigents accused of federal crimes. 26 August: Johnson is nominated as the Democratic candidate for president on the first ballot of the Democratic National Convention. Minnesota senator Hubert Humphrey is chosen vice presidential candidate at the following session. 31 August: Johnson signs a bill establishing the federal food stamp program on a permanent basis. 2 September: Johnson signs a housing bill providing for urban and rural renewal programs to alleviate blight. 3 September: Johnson signs a bill establishing a permanent national wilderness system and a bill creating a National Council of the Arts. 24 September: The Warren Commission issues its report, concluding that Lee Harvey Oswald “acted alone” in assassinating Kennedy. 14 October: Martin Luther King Jr. is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. 14 October: Presidential aide Walter Jenkins resigns following his arrest on a morals charge. 3 November: Johnson wins re-election by a record plurality of almost 16 million votes and captures 486 electoral votes from 44 states. Democrats win 17 governorships and increase their majorities in Congress. 25 November: U.S. planes airlift Belgian paratroopers into Stanleyville to rescue white hostages held by Congolese rebels. 28 November: Mariner 4 is launched to transmit close-up pictures of Mars. 14 December: The Supreme Court unanimously upholds the constitutionality of the public accommodations section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

1965 4 January: The House, 224-201, adopts a 21-day rule weakening the power of the Rules Committee to block legislation. 11 January: The International Longshoremen’s Association begins a strike that paralyzes Atlantic and Gulf Coast shipping operations until March 5. 7 February: Communist forces attack the U.S. air base at Pleiku. 2 March: The United States begins Operation Rolling Thunder, the sustained bombing of North Vietnam. 4 March: The U.S. Information Agency announces it will close its facilities in Indonesia because of harassment. The Peace Corps withdraws the following month. 7 March: About 500 blacks, beginning a protest march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, are attacked by sheriff’s deputies and state troopers.
8–9 March: The first declared U.S. combat troops land in Vietnam. 9 March: Johnson signs an Appalachia aid bill. 15 March: Johnson addresses a joint session of Congress and calls for swift passage of voting rights legislation. 21 March: The civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, begins under the protection of federal troops. 23 March: The first Gemini flight carrying astronauts is launched. 24 March: Ranger 9 transmits pictures of the Moon's surface to Earth. 6 April: Early Bird, the world's first commercial satellite, is launched. 11 April: Johnson signs the elementary and secondary education bill, granting aid to schools with large concentrations of children from low-income families and providing funds for educational materials and the creation of educational centers. 26 April: Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara states that the Vietnam war effort costs the United States about $1.5 billion a year. 28 April: U.S. Marines land in the Dominican Republic, allegedly to protect American lives during the civil war. 29 April: U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel announces that public schools districts receiving federal aid will be required to start desegregating their schools by the autumn of 1967. 2 May: In a televised address, Johnson states that Marines were sent to the Dominican Republic to prevent a Communist takeover as well as to protect American lives. 16 May: A four-member U.S. fact-finding team arrives in Santo Domingo in an unsuccessful attempt to help from a coalition government. 3 June: Major Edward White takes the first U.S. "space walk." 7 June: The Supreme Court voids a Connecticut law prohibiting the use of birth-control devices. 8 June: The State Department reports that Johnson has authorized the use of U.S. troops in direct combat if the South Vietnamese army requests assistance. 15 June: Three unions begin a 76-day maritime strike idling more than 100 ships in Atlantic and Gulf ports. 17 June: B-52s stage the first mass bombing raid in South Vietnam. 30 June: The Senate Rules Committee recommends indicting Bobby Baker for violation of conflict-of-interest laws. 27 July: The 17-nation disarmament conference resumes talks in Geneva. 27 July: Johnson signs a bill requiring health warnings on cigarette packages after 1 January 1966. 30 July: Johnson signs the Medicare bill, providing medical care for the aged, financed through the Social Security system. 4 August: A proposed constitutional amendment to modify the Supreme Court's "one-person, one-vote" decision fails to receive a two-thirds majority in the Senate. 6 August: Johnson signs the voting rights
bill suspending the use of literacy and other voter qualification tests. **10 August:** Johnson signs the housing and urban development bill, providing $30 million in rent subsidies for low-income families. **11 August:** Rioting breaks out in the predominantly African-American Watts section of Los Angeles. In a five-day period, more than 30 people are killed in the United States’ most destructive outbreak of racial violence in decades. **3 September:** A three-year steel pact is signed immediately before a nationwide strike is scheduled to begin. **4 September:** The United States recognizes a provisional government established in the Dominican Republic with the support of both junta and insurgent representatives. **7 September:** The United States suspends military aid to India and Pakistan as a result of the two countries’ border clash. **9 September:** Johnson signs a bill creating the Department of Housing and Urban Development. **3 October:** Johnson signs an immigration bill eliminating the 1924 national origins quota system. **11 October:** An administration effort to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act fails when the Senate rejects a motion to invoke cloture against a filibuster. **15–16 October:** Nationwide demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam are held in about 40 cities. **22 October:** Johnson signs a highway beautification bill. **November:** Ralph Nader’s indictment of the auto industry, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, is published. **8 November:** Johnson signs a higher-education bill that provides a three-year $23-billion program of college scholarships and college building construction grants. **15 November:** The Supreme Court holds unconstitutional a provision of a 1950 law requiring members of the Communist Party to register with the federal government. **27 November:** In a demonstration initiated by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), more than 15,000 marchers converge on the White House to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam. **5 December:** The Federal Reserve Board raises the discount rate from four percent to four and a half percent. **15 December:** *Gemini 6* and *Gemini 7* achieve man’s first rendezvous in space. **24 December–January 31:** The U.S. halts the bombing of North Vietnam in an effort to get peace talks started. **31 December:** U.S. forces in Vietnam total 184,314.

**1966 1 January:** New York City transit workers begin a 13-day strike. **7 January:** Martin Luther King Jr. announces the beginning of a campaign in Chicago to attack the problems of inner-city residents. **13**
January: Johnson nominates Robert C. Weaver as secretary of housing and urban development, making Weaver the first African-American ever to serve in a cabinet post. 17 January: Four nuclear devices are released in a collision between a B-52 and a refueling tanker over Spain. All are recovered by April 7. 19 January: Johnson asks Congress for a supplemental appropriation of $12.8 billion mainly for the war in Vietnam. 4 February: The Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins televised hearings on U.S. policy in Vietnam. 6–8 February: At the Honolulu Conference, Johnson announces renewed emphasis on “The Other War,” the attempt to provide the Vietnamese rural population with local security and develop positive economic and social programs to win their active support. 1 March: The Senate rejects an amendment repealing the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. 7 March: The Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of seven major provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. 16 March: Gemini 8 achieves the first successful space docking and then makes a safe emergency landing in the Pacific. 21 March: In three decisions, the Supreme Court upholds the obscenity convictions of Ralph Ginzburg and another New York publisher but rules the 18th-century novel *Fanny Hill* is not obscene. 25 March: The Supreme Court voids the use of poll taxes for state elections. 12 April: B-52 bombers are used for the first time against targets in North Vietnam. 21 April: Senate Foreign Relations Committee chair J. William Fulbright warns that the United States is “succumbing to the arrogance of power.” 24 April: The Newspaper Guild begins a strike against New York’s World-Journal-Tribune Inc., which lasts until September 11. It is the longest newspaper strike in a major city. 27 April: The Interstate Commerce Commission authorizes a merger between the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads, the biggest corporate merger to date in U.S. history. 30 April: The U.S. shells Communist targets in Cambodia. 1 June: The White House Conference on Civil Rights opens. 2 June: Surveyor I lands on the Moon. 3–13 June: One of the largest battles of the Vietnam War is fought in the Central Highlands province of Kontum. 6 June: James Meredith is shot during a protest march in Mississippi. 7 June: Stokely Carmichael, of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, demands “Black Power.” 13 June: The Supreme Court lays down guidelines for police interrogation of arrested suspects in *Miranda v. Arizona*. 28 June: Johnson begins removal of U.S. forces as inter-American peacekeeping troops start leaving the Dominican
Republic. 29 June: Johnson orders the bombing of oil installations at Haiphong and Hanoi. 12 July: Racial violence breaks out in Chicago. During the summer of 1966, more than 20 cities, including New York, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Omaha, and Detroit, experience riots or serious disturbances. 26 August: Civil rights leaders and Chicago officials agree on a program to end housing discrimination in Chicago. 30 August: The United Farm Workers, headed by Cesar Chavez, win a representation election at the DiGiorgio Corporation in central California. 18–24 September: The U.S. records 970 casualties in Vietnam, a record for a single week. 19 September: An administration civil rights bill, including a controversial open housing provision, fails when the Senate refuses to invoke cloture against a filibuster. 23 September: Johnson signs a bill increasing the minimum wage to $1.60 an hour and extending coverage to eight million additional workers. October: The Black Panther Party is formed by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California. 15 October: Johnson signs the bill creating the Department of Transportation. 26 October: Johnson visits U.S. troops in Vietnam, which number more than 400,000. 3 November: Johnson signs an omnibus urban assistance and housing bill establishing a Demonstration Cities program. 8 November: President Johnson signs an anti-inflation act that suspends the seven percent investment tax credit. 8 November: The Republicans gain three Senate seats, 47 House seats, and eight governorships in the mid-term elections. Edward W. Brooke is elected U.S. senator from Massachusetts, becoming the first African-American elected to the Senate in 95 years. 14 November: By a vote of five to four, the Supreme Court for the first time sustains the state convictions of non-violent civil rights demonstrators. 29 November: Johnson announces that $5.3 billion in federal programs are getting cancelled or postponed to save money. 2–4 December: Johnson escalates the fighting in Vietnam by ordering heavy air strikes on the Hanoi area.

1967 10 January: The House repeals the 21-day rule, adopted in January 1965. 27 January: Astronauts Virgil I. Grissom, Edward H. White, and Roger B. Chafee are killed by a fire in the Apollo I capsule during ground tests at Cape Kennedy. 29 January: Bobby Baker is convicted of income tax evasion, theft, and conspiracy to defraud the government. 11 February: The 25th Amendment to the constitution, deal-
ing with presidential disability and providing for the filling of a vice
presidential vacancy, is ratified. **13 February:** The National Student
Association admits that it received funds from the Central Intelligence
Agency between 1952 and 1966 for projects overseas. **1 March:** The
House of Representatives votes 307-116 to deny Adam Clayton Powell
his seat in Congress for improper use of government funds and other
misconduct. **6 March:** Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin’s only child, asks for
asylum at the U.S. embassy in New Delhi. **9 March:** Johnson asks Con-
gress to restore the seven percent investment tax credit sooner than orig-
inally planned. **4 April:** The military announces the loss of the 500th
plane over North Vietnam since bombing raids began in 1964. **15 April:**
100,000 in New York City and 50,000 in San Francisco march to protest
U.S. policy in Vietnam. **15 May:** The Supreme Court extends to chi-
dren in juvenile court proceedings the right to counsel and other proce-
dural safeguards afforded in adult trials. **17 May:** Sixteen senators crit-
cal of administration policy in Vietnam warn Hanoi, in a letter drafted
by Senator Frank Church, that they are opposed to unilateral American
withdrawal. **19 May:** U.S. planes bomb a power plant in Hanoi in the
first strike at the heart of North Vietnam’s capital. **29 May:** The Office
of Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS)
is formed, placing the Vietnam pacification program under military
control. **5 June:** War breaks out in the Middle East between Israel and
Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. **6 June:** Johnson praises a UN Security Coun-
cil resolution calling for a cease-fire in the Middle East war. **19 June:**
U.S. District Court judge J. Skelly Wright orders an end to de facto seg-
regation in Washington, D.C., public schools by the opening of the au-
tumn term. **23 June:** The Senate votes 92-5 to censure Connecticut sen-
ator Thomas Dodd for improper use of campaign funds. **23–25 June:**
Johnson and Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin hold a summit conference
at Glassboro State College in New Jersey. **6 July:** Congress’s Joint Eco-
nomic Committee issues a report stating that the Vietnam War created
“havoc” in the U.S. economy during 1966 and predicting that the war
will cost $4 to $6 billion more in 1967 than the administration’s request.
**12 July:** Rioting breaks out in Newark, New Jersey. During the “long,
hot summer” of 1967, racial violence disrupts 50 American cities. **17
July:** Congress enacts an administration bill ending a two-day national
railroad strike and providing for a compulsory settlement by a presi-
dential appointed panel if no voluntary agreement is reached within 90
days. 23 July: In a plebiscite, Puerto Rico chooses to remain a commonwealth of the United States. July 23: A riot breaks out in Detroit, Michigan, resulting in 43 dead. 24 July: Federal troops enter Detroit to help curb disorder. 29 July: Johnson appoints a special advisory committee on civil disorder to probe urban race riots. 3 August: Johnson asks Congress to enact a 10-percent income tax surcharge to combat inflation. 29 September: In a speech at San Antonio, Texas, Johnson modifies the U.S. position on Vietnam negotiations, saying that the United States is willing to stop all bombing if it will promptly lead to negotiations. 2 October: Thurgood Marshall is sworn in as the first African-American Supreme Court Justice. 13 October: Johnson issues an executive order banning sex discrimination in government jobs and in employment with federal contractors and subcontractors. 18 October: The House Ways and Means Committee votes 20-5 to postpone action on the 10-percent surcharge recommended by Johnson and demands budget cuts as well. 21 October: An estimated 50,000 people participated in a march to the Pentagon to protest U.S. policy in Vietnam. 7 November: African-American mayors are elected in two Northern cities, Carl B. Stokes in Cleveland and Richard G. Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. 21 November: General William C. Westmoreland declares in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., that if progress continues in Vietnam, U.S. forces could begin coming home in 18 to 24 months. 22 November: In one of the bloodiest battles of the Vietnam War, U.S. forces capture Hill 875 near Dak To. 23–28 November: U.S., UN, and NATO representatives meet with Turkish and Greek leaders in an effort to avert a war over Cyprus. An agreement is reached 1 December. 30 November: Senator Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.) announces that he will challenge Johnson in five or six Democratic primaries because of his concern “that the administration seems to have set no limit on the price it’s willing to pay for a military victory” in Vietnam. 18 December: The Supreme Court holds electronic surveillance subject to the Fourth Amendment and rules judicial warrants necessary to authorize bugging. 31 December: U.S. forces in South Vietnam reach 485,600.

1968 3 January: Minnesota senator Eugene McCarthy announces that he will enter the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary. 23 January: North Korea captures the U.S. spy ship Pueblo. 30 Janu-
During the Tet holiday (hunar New Year), the Communists launched a major offensive with attacks in 150 cities, towns, and hamlets. 1 February: Richard M. Nixon formally announces his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination. 8 February: Former Alabama governor George Wallace announces he will enter the presidential race as a third-party candidate. 20 February: The Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins hearings on the events leading to the passage of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. 27 February: U.S. military leaders request 206 thousand additional troops for Vietnam. 2 March: The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) issues its final report, asserting that “white racism” is chiefly responsible for black riots and warning that the United States is “moving toward two societies; one black, one white—separate and unequal.” 11–12 March: Secretary of State Dean Rusk testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on American policy in Vietnam. 12 March: In the New Hampshire Democratic primary, Eugene McCarthy wins a surprising 41.4 percent of the vote against Johnson’s 49.6 percent. 16 March: New York senator Robert Kennedy announces his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination. 17 March: Representatives of the United States and the London Gold Pool work out a two-price system for gold. 22 March: Johnson announces that General William Westmoreland will leave his post as commander of U.S. forces in Vietnam to become army chief of staff. 25–26 March: The Senior Advisory Group on Vietnam commonly known as the “Wise Men,” meets to discuss proposed troop increases and recommends against further escalation. 31 March: In a televised speech, Johnson announces that he has ordered a partial halt to the bombing of North Vietnam. He also announces that he will not run for re-election. 1 April: The Supreme Court extends the “one person, one vote” standard of apportionment to local units of government that elect representatives on a district basis. 4 April: Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. The killing leads to riots in Washington, Chicago, and numerous other cities. 11 April: 24,500 military reservists are called to active duty. 11 April: Johnson signs a civil rights bill barring discrimination in the sale or rental of about 80 percent of the nation’s housing. The bill also contains anti-riot and gun-control provisions. 23 April: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at Columbia University leads the occupation of the college dean’s office to protest proposed construction of a
gymnasium by the university on a Harlem park site. **26 April:** 200,000 students in the New York metropolitan area boycott classes to protest the Vietnam War. **27 April:** Vice President Hubert Humphrey announces that he will seek the Democratic presidential nomination. **30 April:** New York governor Nelson Rockefeller announces that he will seek the Republican presidential nomination. **2 May:** The Poor People’s March departs Memphis for Washington, D.C. Later in the month, 3,000 marchers camp near the Washington Monument on a site called “Resurrection City.” **3 May:** Johnson announces that the United States and North Vietnam have agreed to begin formal peace talks. **6 May:** Norman Mailer’s *Armies of the Night* is published. **13 May:** Vietnam peace talks begin in Paris. **28 May:** Eugene McCarthy wins the Oregon Democratic presidential primary with 45 percent of the vote. **29 May:** Johnson signs a truth-in-lending bill. **4 June:** Robert F. Kennedy wins the California Democratic presidential primary with 46 percent of the vote. **5 June:** Sirhan Bishara Sirhan assassinates Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles. **13 June:** President Johnson ratifies the U.S.–U.S.S.R. consular treaty. **13 June:** Chief Justice Earl Warren submits his resignation, effective upon the approval of a successor. On June 26, Johnson nominates Justice Abe Fortas as Warren’s replacement. **17 June:** The Supreme Court rules that an 1866 civil rights law prohibits racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing and other property. **19 June:** Johnson signs an omnibus crime control and safe streets bill. **24 June:** The police clear Resurrection City after the protesters’ permit expires. **28 June:** Johnson signs the income tax surcharge bill, which Congress had tied to a $6 billion budget cut. **1 July:** Johnson signs the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. **1 August:** Johnson signs a housing and urban development bill encouraging home ownership for low-income families. **8 August:** The Republican National Convention nominates Richard M. Nixon for president on the first ballot. Maryland governor Spiro T. Agnew is chosen vice presidential candidate at the following session. **10 August:** Senator George McGovern declares his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination. **20 August:** The Credentials committee of the Democratic National Convention votes to unseat the regular Mississippi delegation and instead seat a bi-racial challenge delegation. **21 August:** Soviet troops invade Czechoslovakia. **28 August:** Anti-war protestors clash with police outside the Democratic National Convention. Police tactics are denounced from the rostrum and
floor of the convention. **28 August:** Hubert Humphrey wins the Democratic nomination for president. Maine senator Edmund Muskie is chosen as his running mate the following day. **23 September:** Agnew apologizes for having used the terms “Fat Jap” and “Polack” earlier in the month. **2 October:** Abe Fortas asks Johnson to withdraw his name from consideration as chief justice following a filibuster by senators objecting to his advisory services to Johnson. **31 October:** Johnson announces a halt to all bombing of North Vietnam as a prelude to expanded peace talks. **5 November:** Richard Nixon wins the presidential race with 43.4 percent of the popular vote and 301 out of 538 electoral votes. **6 November:** San Francisco State College students shut down campus to protest suspension of an English instructor who is a member of the Black Panther Party. **1 December:** The National Committee on the Causes and Prevention of Violence issues a report concluding that law enforcement officers at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968 engaged in a “police riot.” **23 December:** North Korea releases the 82 crew members of the *Pueblo*. **27 December:** *Apollo 8* completes a mission that included circling the Moon 10 times. **31 December:** The total number of Americans killed in Vietnam in 1968 reaches 14,589.

**1969**  
**14 January:** Johnson delivers his final State of the Union address. **20 January:** Johnson leaves office; Richard M. Nixon is inaugurated as 37th president of the United States.
Introduction

The American presidential election of 1960 marked the changing of the guard in the United States, bringing to the forefront the first generation of politicians to be born in the twentieth century. At the Democratic National Convention meeting in Los Angeles in early July, Senator John F. Kennedy, the suave young man from Massachusetts, swept a first-ballot nomination and, in the process, overwhelmed his nearest rival, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate majority leader. Only 43 years old in 1960, Kennedy was a cultured man of intellectual leanings, the scion of a well-known and wealthy Boston Irish family. A Roman Catholic, a hero in World War II (although not in the same league as Eisenhower), and having written a Pulitzer Prize-winning best-seller, Profiles in Courage (1956), Kennedy had served fourteen years in Congress, eight of them as the junior senator from Massachusetts. His election to the Senate in 1952 had provided a high-profile political upset when Kennedy defeated Henry Cabot Lodge from one of the nation’s most powerful political families. Since then, the combination of his boyish good looks (along with those of his young wife, Jacqueline), his personal charisma, and his privileged family connections had firmly established him as the favorite political son of the nation’s media.

Ostensibly to placate the South, which unsuccessfully resisted the adoption of the strongest civil rights planks in the party’s history, Kennedy by-passed a number of leading personalities, including Senators Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Stuart Symington of Missouri, to select Johnson as his running mate. The move angered many African Americans, but during the campaign, Kennedy was able to overcome Republican candidate Richard M. Nixon’s initial appeal to black voters by insisting on the insertion of strong civil rights measures in the Democratic platform. In addition to this, the Democratic platform argued in
favor of placing medical care for the aged under the auspices of the social security program and against the Eisenhower administration’s tight fiscal policies. Taking the best of Adlai E. Stevenson’s 1952 and 1956 campaigns and casting himself as a liberal in the mold of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Kennedy promised to lead America out of what he called the “conservative rut” into which the Eisenhower administration had driven the nation.

Several weeks later at the Republican National Convention meeting in Chicago, Vice President Richard Nixon also swept a first-ballot presidential nomination, having long beforehand eliminated the challenge of Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York. Of humbler origins than Kennedy, the 47-year-old Nixon was born into a California Quaker family, attended public schools, received an undergraduate degree from Whittier College in 1937, and completed his law studies at Duke University three years later. After a brief stint with the Office of Price Administration, he served in the Navy for four years, reaching the rank of lieutenant commander. In 1946, he was elected to the 80th Congress, where he made his reputation in the Alger Hiss investigation. He was the first vice president in the history of the modern two-party system to win the presidential nomination in his own right, and he chose Henry Cabot Lodge, chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations (UN), as his vice-presidential running mate. Despite losing the nomination ballot to Nixon, Rockefeller continued to influence the domestic and foreign policy planks of the party platform. The platform on which the Republican Party campaigned reaffirmed the policies and tone of the Eisenhower White House, pledging more funds for national defense, a contributory health program, and a stronger stand on civil rights.

A Gallup poll in late August confirmed what most political analysts had already concluded: It was going to be a very close race. According to the poll, Nixon and Kennedy were tied at 47 percent each, with 6 percent undecided. Both were comparatively young; both possessed an inner ruthlessness. Neither had the comforting image that had swept Eisenhower into office eight years before. Republican critics assailed the wealthy and Harvard-trained Kennedy as an irresponsible smart aleck, quoting former president Harry S. Truman to the effect that Kennedy was not ready to be president and the country was not ready for him. Critics of candidate Nixon questioned both his credentials and his integrity; the majority of liberals simply did not like anything about him.
There was also Kennedy’s religion. The only other Roman Catholic to head the Democratic ticket, Al Smith, was swamped by Herbert Hoover in 1928. The “Catholic question” had been raised in the course of the West Virginia primary and would not go away. Accordingly, Kennedy met the issue head on, appearing before an influential gathering of Protestant ministers in Houston in September. “I believe in an America,” he told them, “where the separation of Church and State is absolute—where no Catholic prelate would tell the President (should he be a Catholic) how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote—where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference—and where no man is denied public office merely because his religion differs from the President who might appoint him or the people who might elect him.” The move was a political masterstroke: by bringing the issue out in the open and answering his critics directly, Kennedy succeeded in neutralizing the religious question.

Particularly noteworthy were the four, face-to-face encounters between the candidates on national television in late September and October. In the first television debates of their kind—actually, newsmen questioned the candidates and they, in turn, were allowed to challenge each others’ comments—the widespread public view was that the telegenic Kennedy came out ahead; at the very least, he showed he could handle himself, though his aggressive attitude toward Cuba and the lack of support for the Nationalist Chinese-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu managed to irritate many. In particular, Nixon regarded Kennedy’s call for American support of an anti-Castro revolution in Cuba as dangerously irresponsible and shockingly reckless, contrary to the nation’s treaty commitments with Latin America and its obligations under the UN Charter. And yet, as one observer has noted, Kennedy’s harsh anti-Castro rhetoric during the campaign “revealed neither personal adventurism nor animus but rather formed a belated salute to political necessity.” For his part, Nixon advocated instead an economic “quarantine” of Cuba. Other presidential issues dealt with matters of Soviet–American relations, U.S. prestige abroad, education, and welfare, yet some of the most pressing issues of the day, such as race relations and civil rights, were conspicuously absent from the debate.

After a strenuous campaign, which included thousands of miles of travel on both sides, Senator Kennedy won the election from Vice
President Nixon by the astonishing margin of just under 120,000 votes out of a record of 68.8 million votes cast. The electoral column was a different story with a Kennedy margin of 303 to 219. For good measure, the Democrats retained control of Congress, although with slightly reduced margins. Divided government in Washington came abruptly to an end, yet Republicans and Southern Democrats in Congress (the conservative coalition) still outnumbered moderate and liberal Democrats, not to mention Southern domination of committees in Congress because of the seniority system.

As early as his acceptance speech at Los Angeles in July, Kennedy made it clear that his goal was to “get the country moving again.” Americans, he said, stood “on the edge of a New Frontier—of the 1960s—a frontier of unknown opportunities and perils—a frontier of unfilled hopes and threats.” His purpose was to offer the nation a set of challenges that appealed to its pride. In this regard, like Roosevelt, he envisaged the White House as the national center of action, with the president actively leading the country and Congress. Furthermore, what could not be accomplished by legislative action might just as well be achieved by executive action. But how much latitude the American people were willing to give Kennedy remained to be seen.

In his inaugural address, on 20 January 1961, the president spelled out his challenge to the American people in unequivocal terms. “We observe today,” he told the nation, “not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change.” Asking his fellow countrymen to remember their own revolutionary origins, he continued: “Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe in order to assure the survival and success of liberty.” From the Soviet Union, to which he referred as “our adversary,” the president called for an exploration of the problems that united the superpowers rather than the ones that divided them. In this sense, he observed, “Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.”

To achieve these goals, Kennedy surrounded himself with liberal intellectuals espousing the belief that technology and social planning could overcome any problem and remake any society into the likeness of the United States. For his secretary of state, the president selected Dean Rusk, a former assistant secretary of state in the Truman adminis-
tration and president of the Rockefeller Foundation since 1952; for secretary of defense, he chose Robert S. McNamara, a former president of the Ford Motor Company; and for national security adviser, he recruited McGeorge Bundy from the East Coast academic establishment. In a move that sparked considerable controversy, he chose his brother Robert, who was 10 years his junior, for attorney general. A stream of young, rich, and professional elite, dubbed the New Frontiersmen, poured into Washington, each to add to the tone of a White House unafraid to play host to the best and the brightest. Enhancing this image was the president’s elegant wife, Jacqueline, and their energetic young family.

Things started inauspiciously. Kennedy had been in office only two months when he suffered a foreign policy disaster. Worse, it was right on America’s doorstep. As part of the Cuban problem, Eisenhower had handed over to the young president a secret plan to deal with the troublesome Fidel Castro. By the spring of 1960, the U.S. government had decided to sponsor an invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro refugees, of which there seemed to be no end. Kennedy soon endorsed the plan, assured by his own military advisers and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that the probable chance of success was good. In the early hours of 17 April 1961, an “army” of approximately 2,000 CIA-trained and equipped Cuban refugees landed at Bahia de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) on Cuba’s southern coast. The plan was ill-conceived and poorly executed. In the absence of the anticipated American air cover and supplies of ammunition, Castro’s forces quickly overwhelmed the army of refugees. The anticipated popular uprising, which American intelligence confidently predicted, failed to materialize. Kennedy expected Castro’s nerve to break and important elements of the Cuban armed forces to defect. This, too, failed to happen. To make matters worse, the administration’s cover story collapsed immediately, and it was clear that despite the president’s denial of U.S. involvement, Washington was indeed behind it.

The administration’s other Latin America policy was less dramatic. The Latin American aid program launched in the closing months of the Eisenhower administration was taken over and expanded by Kennedy in his Alliance for Progress (Alianza para el Progreso). Essentially, the president envisaged a 10-year plan of economic development and social progress and reform that many characterized as a sort of Marshall Plan
for Latin America. Without mentioning figures, Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, speaking at an Inter-American Economic and Social Conference in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in August estimated that at least $20 billion could be available from outside sources—North America, Europe, and Japan—during the next decade, mostly from public agencies. The conferees then proceeded to adopt a charter defining the aims and procedures of the Alliance for Progress and a “Declaration of the Peoples of America,” both signed on 17 August 1961. For its part, Washington pledged to provide a major part of the $20 billion, principally in public funds. Cuba was represented at Punta del Este by its leading Communist theoretician, Ché Guevara, who did not sign the charter. Furthermore, Secretary Dillon made it clear that Cuba could expect no aid from the United States as long as it remained under Communist rule.

Despite the fanfare, the Alliance for Progress got off to a disappointingly slow start. Two years after its inauguration at Punta del Este, the United States had committed a total of $2.1 billion to the program and had disbursed more than $1.5 billion, mainly for such items as residential housing, hospitals, and schools; overall, it made a relatively small contribution to the self-sustaining economic growth on which the eventual success of the program would depend. Private capital tended, moreover, to be frightened away by political insecurity. Entrenched resistance to reforms in landholding and taxation similarly took their toll, adding little to the promotion of political democracy in the Western Hemisphere.

An initiative that probably played a more important role was the Kennedy administration’s Peace Corps, the inception of which was both a product of the Cold War struggle and a reaction to the growing spirit of humanitarian activism evident throughout the Western world by the beginning of the 1960s, a spirit that had manifested itself in volunteer humanitarian programs already implemented in Canada, Australia, Great Britain, France, and Japan. The proposal to create a similar U.S. program had first been placed on the national political agenda by Democratic candidates during the 1950s, notably by Adlai E. Stevenson in his failed presidential campaigns of 1952 and 1956. During the course of the 1960 campaign, Kennedy championed the cause, reaping the electoral benefits of the program’s appeal to young liberals. Once in office, Kennedy continued to challenge Americans to contribute to national and international
public service, calling in his inaugural address for Americans to form a “grand and global alliance” to fight tyranny, poverty, and disease. On 1 March 1961, he temporarily established the Peace Corps through Executive Order 10924 under the auspices of the Department of State and appointed his brother-in-law R. Sargent Shriver Jr. to act as the corps’ first director at a token salary of $1 per year. In September 1961, shortly after Congress formally endorsed the Peace Corps by making it a permanent program, the first volunteers left to teach English in Ghana, the first black African nation to achieve independence (in 1957) and whose government had since become an outspoken advocate of anti-colonialism. Contingents of volunteers soon followed to Tanzania and India. By end of the twentieth century, the Peace Corps had sent more than 170,000 American volunteers to over 135 nations.

THE NEW FRONTIER AT HOME

At home, the New Frontier was launched in the depths of the fourth major recession since World War II. “We take office,” observed Kennedy a little more than a week after taking office, “in the wake of seven months of recession, three and one half years of slack, seven years of diminished economic growth, and nine years of falling farm income.” To make matters worse, business bankruptcies had reached the highest level since the 1930s, farm incomes had been squeezed 25 percent since 1951, and 5.5 million people were looking for work. The economy was in trouble. Essentially, the Kennedy economic program consisted of protecting the unemployed, of increasing the minimum wage, of lowering taxes, and of stimulating the economy, particularly in the business and housing sectors. Like most presidents, Kennedy met with stiff opposition from Congress. In 1961, the administration managed to expand Social Security benefits. The minimum wage was increased in stages to reach $1.25 per hour, benefiting more than 27 million workers. Nearly $5 billion was allocated for an omnibus housing bill. More controversial was the Area Redevelopment Act, which authorized loans, grants, and technical assistance to depressed industrial and rural areas. As a consequence of pumping money into the economy both by domestic and military spending, the recession faded by the end of the president’s first year in office.
In 1962, Kennedy’s legislative program met with mixed results. On the positive side of the ledger, the president requested and received intact the Trade Expansion Act. Pronounced the most significant international economic legislation since the Marshall Plan, the act gave him authority to negotiate for the reduction and removal of tariffs, as well as creating a new program of “adjustment assistance” to industries and workers especially hard hit by competitive imports. Congress also enacted an accelerated Public Works Act and the Manpower Retraining Bill. The Communications Satellite Act, which authorized a privately owned and financed corporation, was also enacted in 1962.

On the negative side of the ledger, the administration’s legislative program found rough sledding in the Congress. Its social welfare, agricultural, and civil rights proposals met strong opposition from Southern as well as Northern conservatives—including the powerful American Medical Association, which assailed national health insurance as little more than “socialized medicine.” Several significant pieces of welfare legislation, however, did see the light of day. Among these were the Higher Education Facilities Act, which authorized a five-year federal program for the growth and continuation or improvement of public and private higher education facilities; the Drug Industry Act, which established additional safeguards in the processing and prescription of drugs; and aid for research into mental illness and retardation.

There can be no question that the president gave much thought and energy to the problem of inflation. For, “If recession is . . . one enemy of a free economy—inflation is the other.” Kennedy firmly believed that the first line of defense against inflation was the good sense and public spirit of business and labor working together to keep their total increases in profits and wages in line with productivity. According to the administration, the nation’s basic national security policy rested on a “wage–price–productivity” triangle, the stability of which affected America’s ability to grow economically, to export competitively, and to provide an adequate defense and foreign policy.

Against this background, it is easy to understand the president’s anger when U.S. Steel Corporation, the nation’s preeminent producer, suddenly announced price increases averaging $6 a ton on 10 April 1962, only five days after the company had signed a new two-year, “noninflationary” contract with the United Steelworkers of America. The administration had spent almost a year persuading both sides to ex-
ercise restraint. Feeling betrayed, the president accused the major steel corporations (five other big steel companies moved in step with U.S. Steel the next day) of “irresponsible defiance” of the public interest and of “ruthless disregard” of the common good. Roger M. Blough, chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, remonstrated with the argument that the increases amounted to no more than a partial “catch-up” adjustment, a mere three-tenths of a cent per pound. The president, who recalled his father’s words “that all businessmen were sons-of-bitches, but I never believed it till now,” swung into action, using all the power of his office to force a rollback. In addition to denouncing the companies involved, the White House announced the opening of grand jury proceedings leading to possible antitrust action and threatened to divert federal purchasing orders to companies that had not raised prices. After 72 hours of this kind of pressure, combined with the decision by several other large companies not to proceed further, U.S. Steel Corporation backed down and rescinded the increase.

Kennedy also made extensive use of executive powers to improve the plight of African Americans, particularly those facing difficulties in the Deep South. Interstate transportation systems with their related terminals were effectively desegregated. A number of African Americans were appointed to high office, most notably Thurgood Marshall to the U.S. Circuit Court, Carl Rowan as ambassador to Finland, and Robert Weaver to the Housing and Home Financing Agency. Through the President’s Committee on Equal Employment chaired by Vice President Johnson, the administration succeeded, in part, in combating racial discrimination in the employment policies of firms holding government contracts. Also, much effort went into strengthening the basic rights of blacks to vote, mainly in southern states that employed literacy tests and poll taxes. Robert Kennedy led the way in the area of voting reform, bringing over 50 suits in four states on behalf of African Americans seeking to cast their ballots. Finally, the Executive Order of 20 November 1962, went a long—though imperfect—way toward eliminating racial (as well as religious) discrimination in housing financed with federal aid. In these, as in other cases involving racial discrimination, persuasion sometimes worked; other times, it did not.

In January 1961, black Mississippian James Meredith, a veteran of eight years in the U.S. Air Force, applied for admission to the University of Mississippi, where no black had ever been enrolled; his application
was rejected on the grounds that the black school from which he was attempting to transfer was not properly accredited and that his application lacked letters of recommendation from five alumni of “Ole Miss.” In May, Meredith filed suit in the U.S. District Court of Appeals for southern Mississippi, contending that his admission had been denied squarely on racial grounds. Sixteen months later, in the fall of 1962, the federal courts ordered Meredith’s admission. The governor of Mississippi, Ross Barnett, a states’ righter and white supremacist, chose to defy the order and bar enrollment. Knowing that there would come a time when, to quote candidate Kennedy, “The next President of the United States cannot stand above the battle engaging in vague little sermons on brotherhood,” the White House tried persuasion with Barnett, federalized the Mississippi National Guard, and ordered an escort of federal marshals to accompany Meredith to the campus. On 1 October 1962, Meredith was allowed to enroll during an ugly riot that took thousands of guardsmen and soldiers fifteen hours to quell. Hundreds were injured and two died, including a French journalist who said in his last article, “The Civil War has never ended.” Meredith was graduated the next year.

By the spring of 1963, the civil rights movement, together with broadly based support for black equality, took on life of its own. Both the North and the South witnessed civil rights demonstrations on a massive scale. Led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., blacks had reached the point where “we’re through with tokenism and gradualism. . . . We can’t wait any longer.” Slowly, inexorably, racial barriers came down in the hotels, universities, and recreational facilities of Southern cities. Where progress or even the prospect of progress seemed distant, African Americans marched in the streets. In Birmingham, Alabama, King and his followers were met by the stereotypical Southern police chief, in this instance “Bull” Connor, complete with cattle prods, police dogs, and fire hoses. Nothing could have been better calculated to bring the Kennedy administration into the foreground of the struggle for racial equality. When the governor of the State of Alabama, George C. Wallace, threatened to bar the entry of black students to the University of Alabama, he met the same fate as Governor Barnett of Mississippi, as Kennedy once again federalized the state National Guard.

Moving a step further, the administration called on Congress to enact comprehensive legislation to protect and guarantee blacks their basic rights, measures supported by a huge “March on Washington” in June
1963, with a quarter of a million people in attendance. Unlike Eisenhower, Kennedy gave the marchers his moral support and left no one in doubt about his administration’s position. But still, the president could not force the Congress to enact his legislative program nor could he prevent the senseless murder of the leader of the Mississippi branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Medgar Evers, or the killing of four children in a bomb attack on a Birmingham church in September 1963.

COLD WAR CRISSES

While the drama unfolded at home, the international situation was no less unstable. Crises during 1961 and 1962 over Berlin and Cuba came frighteningly close to erupting into nuclear war. During the election campaign, Kennedy had persistently criticized the Eisenhower administration’s defense strategy, claiming that in the era of missiles and thermonuclear weapons the strategy of massive retaliation was dangerously rigid and, furthermore, as a deterrent was undermined by a lack of credibility. In its place, Kennedy proposed to place a new approach, one that became known as “flexible response.” By reducing the reliance upon nuclear weapons, Kennedy promised to continue to protect U.S. national security and revitalize the credibility of the nuclear deterrent, all of this while reducing the chance of nuclear war.

The first test of the new strategy came in the form of a renewed Berlin crisis. With the settlement of the German question much in his mind—along with the complex web of issues that involved—the Soviet Union’s Nikita Khrushchev looked forward to dealing with a Democrat in the White House, for he plainly hoped to find Eisenhower’s successor more yielding. In June 1961, Chairman Khrushchev and President Kennedy met for a two-day conference in Vienna. Although the meeting was superficially cordial and businesslike, behind the scenes was a tense situation. At the heart of the discussions were the two most pressing international confrontations of the day: Berlin and Laos. Although the Laos situation seemed close to resolution, the Berlin problem was not. Khrushchev managed to resurrect the Berlin crisis on much the same terms as before, and again imposed a six-month deadline. Unless the four occupying powers could agree on a peace treaty or treaties with
Germany within that time, Khrushchev said, the Kremlin would conclude a separate treaty with Walter Ulbricht’s East German regime and would terminate the West’s rights to traverse East German territory to access West Berlin, a move that would completely undermine the viability of West Berlin as a Western outpost and a symbol of Western resolve.

Nevertheless, Kennedy responded forcefully. During a post-summit report to the nation in July, Kennedy reaffirmed the Western commitment to West Berlin, declaring that the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization would not allow the Communists to drive them out of the city, an enclave of two million people living in freedom. Remark ing that “we do not want to fight, but we have fought before,” the president asked Congress for a $3.2 billion increase in the defense budget, for an increase in military manpower, and for authority to activate various reserve units. By increasing conventional forces at home and abroad, the president sought to broaden his options; in his words, “to have a wider choice than humiliation or all-out nuclear action.”

While thousands of Americans built fallout shelters, being less confident of presidential options than the commander in chief, Congress gave Kennedy everything for which he asked. To bolster the president’s ability to respond flexibly, an additional 45,000 troops were moved to Europe.

The Soviets cancelled their time limit but, in the early hours of August 13, began sealing the border between East and West Berlin with barbed wire and other fortifications. Over the coming months, a wall was built. Khrushchev’s move had the desired effect of ending West Berlin’s role as an escape hatch from Communist East Germany, but it did not constitute a threat to U.S. interest per se; consequently, Washington responded by protest only, much to the distress of the West Germans. As a follow-up move, Khrushchev initiated a new series of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, ending an informal moratorium begun in 1958. By the end of the year, the Kremlin publicly announced a large increase in its defense budget. In this acrimonious atmosphere, the Cold War dangerously threatened to heat up.

It was in this tense environment that the United States and the Soviet Union came face to face—or, as Secretary of State Dean Rusk aptly put it, “eye ball to eyeball”—in what has often been regarded as the moment when the world was in most peril of nuclear disaster. In May 1962, Khrushchev and Castro had conspired to ship Soviet nuclear missiles to
Cuba, only 90 miles from Florida, ostensibly to protect Cuba from a much-rumored U.S. invasion, but more accurately to serve a variety of Soviet objectives, among which was to neutralize the massive American nuclear superiority, which, in turn, would bolster the Soviet negotiating position on other issues, such as the Berlin problem. During September, U.S. intelligence detected signs of a buildup of defensive conventional weapons on the island, including advanced air-defense systems and several thousand Soviet “technicians” but did not yet have any firm evidence to back up Cuban refugee reports that the Soviets were installing nuclear missiles on the island. To quell the brewing political storm, Kennedy issued a statement that if any offensive weapons were found, “the gravest consequences would arise.” Nevertheless, unbeknownst at the time to U.S. intelligence, 42,000 Soviet troops were arriving in Cuba along with nuclear-capable bombers, battlefield nuclear weapons, and nuclear missiles capable of reaching most of the continental United States.

In mid-October, American U-2 planes flying at high-altitude finally delivered hard evidence of Soviet missile installations on the island. Kennedy summoned to the White House his top advisers to devise a response. Meeting in secrecy, this group, which later became known as the ExComm (Executive Committee of the National Security Council), debated Kennedy’s options. Most of the group, including the president, was initially inclined toward some kind of military action ranging from air strikes on the missile sites themselves to a full-fledged invasion of the island. By 21 October, however, Kennedy had settled on an interim response: a naval “quarantine” (in reality, a blockade) accompanied by an ultimatum. On the evening of Monday, 22 October 1962, Kennedy announced the existence of the missiles to a startled world. Their purpose, he explained in a televised address to a spellbound nation, could “be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.”

Denouncing the cloak of secrecy and deception under which the missiles had been spirited into Cuba, Kennedy voiced a grave warning to the Kremlin: The United States would “regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.” On 24 October, as American strategic nuclear forces were placed on DEFCON 2, the highest alert
status below actual nuclear war, and school children practiced civil defense drills, the world waited anxiously for the Soviet response to the quarantine. As the world watched anxiously on television, some Soviet ships en route to Cuba voluntarily turned back or stopped dead in the water; others, known to be carrying inoffensive cargoes, were allowed to proceed. To maintain his credibility and to set a precedent, Kennedy ordered the search of a tanker that he knew was not carrying military supplies. On 25 October, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai E. Stevenson, famously confronted the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, Valerian Zorin, with photographic evidence and declared his intent to “wait until hell freezes over” for a Soviet explanation. At U.S. insistence, the Organization of American States officially condemned the Soviet–Cuban action and thereby formalized Cuba’s hemispheric isolation. In some of the most dramatic diplomacy that the United Nations had engaged in, acting Secretary-General U Thant became a valuable mediator of peace.

The world literally held its breath. Washington, with the support of its Latin American and major European allies, prepared for war. Khrushchev, however, did not challenge the blockade; Kennedy’s strategy had worked. In a series of complex exchanges with the president, which lasted until Sunday, 28 October, the Soviet leader agreed to withdraw the “offensive weapons,” in exchange for an American guarantee against a future invasion of Cuba. During secret talks between Robert Kennedy and the Soviet ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, Kennedy also secretly agreed to remove obsolete American Jupiter missiles in Turkey, although, ironically, Kennedy need not have made this concession to close the deal.

Although the Berlin and Cuban crises had both come to flashpoint and then faded away, developments in Asia ultimately proved more disastrous for the United States over the long term. The Geneva settlement of 1954 had left Laos’s Communist forces, the Pathet Lao (Lao nation) in occupation of two northeastern provinces, adjoining North Vietnam and the People’s Republic of China. Attempts by the neutralist faction to integrate these forces and their leaders into the Laotian army and government invariably aroused rightist opposition. Successive attempts by the Pathet Lao led to armed resistance, putatively supported by Communist regulars from Hanoi. A civil war between the left and the right threatened to escalate into a major conflict between Washington and
Moscow: the United States, which had assumed the task of training and supplying the Royal Laotian Army, aided the right, while the Soviet Union aided the Communists.

Its efforts stimulated by the joint statement of Kennedy and Khrushchev made at their Vienna summit reaffirming their support of a neutral and independent Laos, a fourteen-nation conference met in Geneva in May 1961. The only neutralist solution for Laos, all agreed, was to be found in a coalition government representative of Laos’s three main factions. Agreement among them required a year of hard bargaining, during which time yet another Communist offensive in the region threatened to spill over into Thailand, a South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) ally of the United States. The landing in Thailand of 1,800 marines from the Seventh Fleet, followed by token forces from Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, headed off any such danger and probably expedited a Laotian settlement. By June 1962, a coalition had been constructed, with the new government committed to neutrality and non-entanglement in any alliance of military coalition (i.e., SEATO), and the transaction was completed in Geneva in July 1962.

Kennedy had been in office only a few months when he received an appeal for increased military spending from President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam. For the previous several years, Diem’s government had been engaged in guerrilla war with the Viet Cong, who had established their control over many rural areas. Whether this conflict was a war of aggression by the North against the South, or a genuine civil war with Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam coming to the aid of his Communist brethren, there could be little doubt that guerrilla warfare was erupting all over Vietnam.

In these circumstances, Kennedy sent Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson on a fact-finding mission to Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia. Johnson, who as Senate majority leader had opposed intervention to save Dienbienphu in 1954, found the Communist threat in Vietnam serious, echoing President Eisenhower’s famous “domino theory.” According to General Maxwell D. Taylor, whom Kennedy had sent on a similar mission a few months earlier, Diem would particularly welcome American personnel to assist in logistics and communications, but he did not, at this time, request U.S. troops. Accepting the proposition that Hanoi orchestrated the terrorist campaigns in violation of the Geneva settlement, Kennedy promised to increase American assistance.
A dramatic indicator of the Kennedy policy was the arrival at Saigon, on 12 December 1961, of an American escort carrier bearing helicopters, training planes, and requisite crews numbering about 400 men. This event served as the prelude to the so-called helicopter war in which American personnel were to participate throughout the next three years by flying Vietnamese troops over jungles and rice fields in an attempt to seek out the Viet Cong or Communist guerrillas. In addition, the United States had undertaken to train the Vietnamese in anti-guerrilla tactics and had persuaded the Diem regime to launch a program isolating the peasantry from the Viet Cong by resettling them in fortified villages—a technique the British had found successful in fighting Communists in Malaya. Persuaded that Vietnam represented “the cornerstone of the Free World in Southeast Asia,” Kennedy steadily expanded the American presence there. The number of U.S. “advisers” in Vietnam rose from 650 when Eisenhower left office to 16,500 before the end of 1963.

The administration’s task was made even more difficult by a growing rift between non-Communist elements in the population and President Diem, whose government was, in reality, a shambles. Spurred on by his family and apparently intolerant of criticism from any quarter, Diem deeply resented Washington’s suggestions for alleviating popular discontent. Meanwhile, the war against the Viet Cong dragged on with no end in sight. Dissatisfaction with Diem reached a crisis point in the summer and fall of 1963. With the writing clearly on the wall—and with the knowledge of the state department—on 1 November, a group of army officers overthrew the government and killed Diem and his brother. Kennedy promptly recognized the new provisional government, hoping for a more united and renewed effort against the Viet Cong.

PRESIDENCY CUT SHORT

On 22 November 1963, while riding through downtown Dallas in a motorcade, President Kennedy was shot and killed by an assassin, later identified as Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald, a drifter who had once defected to the Soviet Union and had been active in the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was subsequently arrested by Dallas police.
after a brief struggle in a nearby theater prior to which a policeman had also been slain.

Then followed a bizarre turn of events. While still in police custody, Oswald was himself shot and killed by an obscure Dallas nightclub owner, Jack Ruby, the entire drama of which was captured on national television. Theories of conspiracies filled the air. The official Warren Report, the study of the presidential commission headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren in 1964, concluded that Oswald alone killed the president and that there was no conspiracy. The commission also found that Ruby acted alone in killing Oswald. Subsequent studies of the event make it difficult not to believe that Oswald pulled the trigger.

**PICKING UP THE BATON**

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had been riding in the third car in the fateful Dallas motorcade, was sworn in as the 36th president of the United States within two hours of Kennedy’s assassination. In contrast to the privileged upbringing of his predecessor, the 55-year-old Johnson had come to prominence in Washington via a very different route. The new president was born in 1908 in a three-room house, in poor farming country near Stonewall, Texas. Working as state director of the National Youth Administration in the mid-1930s, and thereby demonstrating a connection to Franklin D. Roosevelt, Johnson made his political move in 1937 when he was elected to fill a congressional vacancy. With a brief leave of absence for naval duty in 1941–1942, he served in the House of Representatives until 1949; from that time until his selection as Kennedy’s vice president, Johnson served with distinction in the Senate, finally attaining the position of majority leader in 1955.

In his first State of the Union Address to Congress, delivered on 8 January 1964, Lyndon Johnson showed every sign of carrying forward the plans and programs of Kennedy, “Not,” he said, “because of our sorrow or sympathy, but because they are right.” In addition to retaining his predecessor’s cabinet, Johnson guided two key pieces of Kennedy’s legislative program through to fruition. The first was the Tax Reduction Act, in February; the second the Civil Rights Law of 1964, in July. In the tax law, which was designed to stimulate the economy, personal income tax rates were reduced from a 20–91 percent scale to a 14–70
percent scale over a two-year period, while corporate tax rates were reduced from 52 to 48 percent. The civil rights law was the most far-reaching civil rights legislation since the era of Reconstruction. It prohibited discrimination in areas of public accommodation, publicly owned facilities, employment, union membership, and federally aided programs. It also authorized the attorney general to institute suits to desegregate schools or other public facilities, and it outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was established to monitor compliance by industries or unions involved in interstate commerce that employed more than 25 workers. The impact of this law, which received the bipartisan support of more than two-thirds of the members of both the House and Senate, was profound. Any organization or body could now be held accountable for discriminatory behavior.

Other major legislative accomplishments in 1964 included the Urban Mass Transportation Act, also signed into law in July, and the Wilderness Preservation Act ratified in September. The Transportation Act provided $375 million in federal grants over a three-year period for the construction and rehabilitation of commuter bus, subway, and train facilities and was the nation’s first program of its kind to give massive aid to urban transportation systems. The Wilderness Act set aside 9.1 million acres of forest and mountain preserves, adding some protective barrier around the last of America’s fast-disappearing wilderness.

LAUNCHING THE GREAT SOCIETY

Moving beyond the New Frontier reforms of the Kennedy administration, Johnson set out to stamp his own imprint of reform on the American people. Essentially, the former poor boy from West Texas declared unconditional war on human poverty and unemployment in the United States. The outcome of this offensive, he hoped, would be a Great Society, “a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.” Johnson seemed deeply troubled by the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty, “the invisible poor” described in Michael Harrington’s influential 1962 study, The Other America. Harrington estimated that as many as 35 million Americans (almost 18 per-
cent of the population) lived in poverty, too poor even to publicize their plight, the invisible poor. Johnson took up the challenge.

The embodiment of the Great Society took the form of the Economic Opportunity Act of late August 1964, as well as other related legislation. Together, they attacked the presumed root causes of poverty—particularly illiteracy, unemployment, and inadequate public services. Within a short time, nearly $1 billion was appropriated for ten separate programs conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Among these were the Job Corps; Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a domestic Peace Corps; Upward Bound, a program to send underprivileged children to college; Project Head Start, a program for preschool children; work-training and work-study programs; and incentives to small businesses. Other equally ambitious legislation would have to await the outcome of the 1964 presidential election.

The Republican National Convention, meeting in San Francisco, in July, nominated Barry M. Goldwater on the first ballot. A senator from Arizona and the champion of a new American conservatism, Goldwater was born in the territory of Arizona three years before its statehood. The son of a devout Episcopalian mother, he became a strong opponent of “Big Government,” challenging both the Great Society as well as what he called the “dime store New Deal” of the Eisenhower administration. His message was simple: the danger to freedom, according to his campaign biography Conscience of a Conservative (1960), came from the intervention of the federal government into the lives of individuals, from the graduated income tax to the social security system, both of which he saw as unnecessary intrusions into the private sector. The senator also favored militant anticommunism abroad and a tougher stand in Vietnam. Congressman William E. Miller of New York was chosen as his running mate. Their principal target was Lyndon Johnson, whom Goldwater indicted as “the biggest [civil rights] faker in the United States,” and the “phoniest individual who ever came ’round.” The Goldwater–Miller theme was “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.” The conservative Republicans finally got their way over their moderate colleagues.

Meeting in August in Atlantic City, the Democratic National Convention nominated Johnson for a term of his own; the president then smashed tradition by stepping before the delegation to name Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota as his personal choice for running
mate. Against the lurid image of a demagogic Goldwater with his finger on the “Bomb,” all Johnson had to do was look normal. The major polls, Gallup and Harris, predicted a landslide result for the Texan and the effervescent Humphrey. They were right: 486 to 52 electoral votes and 42.8 to 27.1 million popular votes. The Democrats were further strengthened in Congress with a gain of 38 seats in the House and two in the Senate. The GOP, wracked and ruined by the reactionary wing of the party, would require the next four years to re-think its strategy.

“We are only at the beginning of the road to the Great Society,” Johnson declared in his January 1965 message to Congress on the State of the Union. “The Great Society,” he continued, “asks not how much, but how good; not only how to create wealth but how to use it; not only how fast we are going, but where we are headed.” To prove his point, Johnson and his supporters in the 89th Congress pushed through the most significant social legislation since the days of Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal. The Elementary and Secondary School Act provided $1.3 billion in aid to public schools under a formula designed to aid the neediest; in addition, it provided $100 million to purchase textbooks and library materials for both public and parochial school children—the first time federal funds had been authorized to assist nonpublic schools even indirectly. Medicare, a federal program of health insurance for the elderly under social security first proposed by President Truman in 1945, was passed, as was Medicaid, subsidized medical care for the poor. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 struck down literacy and other such tests used in the South to deny African Americans the vote and allowed federal examiners to register all eligible voters.

The Omnibus Housing Act, costing $7.5 billion, was directed toward rent subsidies for low-income families and aid to small businesses displaced by urban renewal. The Clean Air Act amendments required all 1968 and later automobiles to meet federal control standards. Subsequent years of the Johnson administration witnessed a Model Cities program aimed at encouraging the rehabilitation of city slums; the creation of the Department of Transportation, and legislation creating a non-profit public corporation (Public Broadcasting Corporation) to accelerate the growth and improve the quality of noncommercial television. The Great Society also attempted to reorient American behavior. An “affirmative action” policy emerged in the form of an executive order in 1965 requiring federal contractors and institutions to give a better
deal to women and nonwhites in employment opportunities. The Truth-in-Lending Act of 1968 required full disclosure to consumers of information related to credit transactions. The newly established National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities financially assisted painters and performing artists, and a revision of the immigration laws, repealing racial quotas that Congress had set in the 1920s, rounded out the legislative landscape of the Great Society.

OVERSEAS INVOLVEMENT

Johnson had been in office only six months when he was confronted with his first foreign policy crisis: relations with the Republic of Panama. The immediate cause was some student dispute over rival flags at a high school inside the Canal Zone; before long, it turned dangerous, culminating with an attempted invasion of the zone by a Panamanian mob in January 1964. The mob was finally repulsed by American troops but not before the deaths of three American nationals and an unknown number of Panamanians in the commotion. By April, diplomatic relations, which had been broken off by Panama, were restored. More than anything else, the incident demonstrated the extent to which the Panamanians were determined to renegotiate a new Canal Zone treaty with Washington, preferably one that would oversee the passing of American sovereignty and special privileges on Panamanian soil.

Johnson’s handling of the Panama crisis was, on balance, considerate and tactful and was well received in Latin America. Quite different was the reception of his intervention in the Dominican Republic in the spring of 1965. There, according to most observers, he overreacted to a danger that was partially imaginary. To preserve the position of a military junta of strong anti-Communists who opposed the revolt by a group of young officers several days earlier, Johnson announced on 28 April 1965, that he had ordered the landing of U.S. marines in the Dominican Republic in order to give protection to hundreds of Americans who were presumably in mortal danger. The 556 marines landed at Santo Domingo were soon reinforced by more marines and airborne troops to a total of 21,000.

Johnson wasted no time in reaffirming the policy objectives of his predecessor regarding Vietnam and called upon all government agencies
to support that policy with full unity of purpose. The stability and efficiency that had been hoped for from the new government of military officers did not materialize; in fact, military coups followed one another at frequent intervals until June 1965 when General Nguyen Van Thieu emerged as chief of state with Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky as premier.

Through a drawn-out process beginning in the summer of 1963 and finally resolving in the winter of 1965, Johnson eventually found it necessary to make the decision that he had foreseen in 1961—"Whether we commit major United States forces to the area or cut our losses and withdraw." Through a long series of decisions complicated by an array of domestic bureaucratic and political maneuvers, Johnson chose to escalate U.S. involvement, with each decision usually triggered by an allegedly provocative act by the enemy.

The first such episode was an attack by North Vietnamese PT-boats on American destroyers cruising in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin, on 2 August 1964, and again, so it was claimed, on 4 August. The administration retaliated by bombing North Vietnamese naval stations, and Congress, at the president's request, passed a joint resolution authorizing the president "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States," or "to assist any member or protocol state" (for example, South Vietnam) of the SEATO treaty "requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." This Tonkin Gulf Resolution, as it came to be called, passed the House of Representatives unanimously and the Senate by a vote of 92 to 2. Described by the state department as "a functional equivalent of a declaration of war," it gave the president congressional backing for such escalation of the war as he might choose to carry out.

The Gulf of Tonkin incident, as it happened, came in the thick of a presidential campaign in which the Republican candidate, Senator Barry Goldwater, was urging a more vigorous participation in the war by the United States. In defending his more restrained course, Johnson gave repeated assurances that American soldiers would not be sent "nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves." His sweeping victory in the election was presumably due in part to such assurances.

The decision to "Americanize" the war was not the result of a single provocation—or even a series of provocations—but rather was a convergence of a myriad of factors and accumulation of decisions. And the
sum total of these factors and decisions was by no means a foregone conclusion. Serious and sustained doubts were expressed by informed and influential people. Senator Mike Mansfield (D-MT), the Senate majority leader, repeatedly urged Johnson to resist the pressure to escalate, while Richard B. Russell (D-GA), the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, and J. William Fulbright (D-ARK), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, both expressed similar doubts in private. For the most part, however, these early voices of dissent were heard only in private; in mid-1965, the “Americanization” of the war passed the point of no return.

By early 1965, 23,000 American troops were serving as advisers and only incidentally exposed to the risk of combat in South Vietnam. Attacks by the Viet Cong on American barracks in February altered the picture completely, with American retaliation for specific hostile acts transforming itself into a regular bombing campaign against North Vietnamese military targets. The air war with all its risks, was carried to within ten miles of the Chinese border. The landing of two Marine battalions at Danang, 6 May 1965, marked the introduction of the first American combat troops. It also marked the Americanization of the war with mostly young American soldiers—average age, nineteen—taking over an increasingly heavy share of fighting on the ground. From there, the numbers grew: 180,000 by the end of 1965, 380,000 a year later, and 542,000 in 1969.

Johnson argued that the defense of Vietnam was essential to the containment of Chinese communism, a test of Beijing’s theory of the inevitable success of Communist guerrilla warfare. It was also seen as the test case of American determination to hold the line against the forces of international communism. “It became increasingly clear,” observed the president subsequently in his memoirs, “that Ho Chi Minh’s military campaign against South Vietnam was part of a larger, much more ambitious strategy being conducted by the Communists. What we saw taking shape rapidly was a Djakarta–Hanoi–Beijing–Pyongyang axis, with Cambodia probably to be brought in as junior partners and Laos to be merely absorbed by the North Vietnamese and Chinese.” Given the presumed correctness of these assumptions, concluded the Texan who more than once likened the challenge of Vietnam to the defense of the Alamo, “the members of this new axis were undoubtedly counting on South Vietnam’s collapse and an ignominious American withdrawal.”
Americans who argued for continuation of the war or, as some of them did, for waging it more relentlessly were labeled “hawks.” In August 1965, the Gallup poll indicated that six out of ten Americans approved of U.S. involvement there. Those who opposed the war were called “doves.” These included Senator Fulbright, who had sponsored the original Gulf of Tonkin Resolution; Senator Mike Mansfield, Senate majority leader; and veteran journalist Walter Lippmann, who thought it was a mistake to ask the armed forces to do what was not possible for them to do, that is, to fight armed peasants who were willing to die. Others opposed the war on the grounds that the United States had no legal obligation under SEATO to defend a regime that was, in any case, unpopular and repressive.

The war outraged the world as it divided the American people and wasted American resources, starving the Great Society. A victory by North Vietnam, the doves conceded, might make all Vietnam Communist, but clearly, a Communist Vietnam with its ancient hatred and fear of China would never be a puppet of Beijing. Quite apart from the calculations of geo-political strategy, the grim spectacle of hundreds of thousands of young American men returning home with physical and psychological wounds was simply too much for many Americans to bear, leading to a dramatic swelling of support for the antiwar movement. The movement had first found voice in “teach-ins” on college campuses but rapidly expanded into the wider population with Johnson’s decision to escalate. By 1965, when some prominent civil rights leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Bayard Rustin, abandoned their silence to speak out against “Johnson’s war,” the commonality of interests between the antiwar and civil rights movements compounded not only the political strength but also the experience in the methods of dissent of both movements. Initially, the peace movement generally aimed at building public consensus through legitimizing the dissent movement, and the preferred method was nonviolent protest of the kind first mastered by Gandhi in India, but, by 1967, some antiwar activists were resorting to increasingly drastic methods, and civil disobedience gave way to urban unrest punctuated by violence. Over the weekend of 21–22 October 1967, approximately 100,000 antiwar protesters converged on Washington threatening to escalate their expressions at opposition from dissent to resistance by disrupting the U.S. military machinery and attacking the Pentagon building if possible. For the
first time since the 1932 Bonus March, U.S. troops and marshals were deployed in Washington, D.C., to protect against domestic protesters. Similar mass protests were staged in San Francisco and New York. Despite the extreme measures being adopted by the protest movement and the longer the war dragged on with no end in sight, the stronger grew the appeal of the doves to an already disillusioned public.

By 1968, the Vietnam War had reached a stalemate. The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops could not force the Americans out or destroy the Saigon government; U.S. troops and their allies, on the other side, could not destroy the Viet Cong or, despite heavy bombing, prevent North Vietnamese supplies and reinforcements from reaching the battle area via the so-called Ho Chi Minh Trail through Laos or through Cambodia. Nor could the Americans prevent attacks on South Vietnamese cities—either by rocket-borne bombs or by occasional infiltration. The most significant illustration of the apparent vulnerability of the government-held area of South Vietnam was the Tet (Lunar New Year) offensive of January–February 1968. Notwithstanding high-level assessments by U.S. commander General William Westmoreland and others in November 1967 that the United States was winning a war of attrition and that “there was light at the end of the tunnel,” and that American forces could begin the process of withdrawal within two years, the Viet Cong stunned American public opinion with simultaneous surprise attacks on as many as 40 provincial capitals, as well as on a number of American–Vietnamese airfields and bases in the early morning of 31 January 1968. The most dramatic episodes were the seizure and six-hour occupation of the American embassy compound in Saigon by a suicidal Viet Cong unit and the capture of the capital city Hue by North Vietnamese regulars, from which the invaders were driven out only after weeks of fighting. The Viet Cong and their allies were eventually expelled from all the towns and cities that they had seized, and Johnson proclaimed the Tet offensive a complete failure, which in military terms it surely was. From the standpoint of Washington, according to Walt Rostow, special assistant to President Johnson, “The surprise was not the scale of the Viet Cong forces revealed but the bold imprudence of the effort: an unlikely diffusion of resources that resulted in a disaster from which the Viet Cong (and their political cadres) never recovered.” Still, from this time forward, talk of victory in Vietnam ceased.
The Tet offensive also accelerated opposition to the president’s war policy within the Democratic Party. In March, Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, running on an antiwar platform, won 42 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary; shortly afterward, Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York, President Kennedy’s brother and a most formidable war critic, entered the presidential race. Meanwhile, a new consensus was emerging within the administration. Led by the new secretary of defense, Clark M. Clifford, who succeeded Robert McNamara in March 1968, arguments prevailed that it was useless to press for military victory in Vietnam and that the bombing should be halted as a step toward a negotiated peace. Accordingly, in a television address on the night of 31 March 1968, President Johnson announced that the bombing would be ended the following day over all of North Vietnam, except the sparsely populated southern portion that contained the access routes to South Vietnam. In the same address, and with no hint in the air, the president announced that he would not seek nor accept his party’s re-nomination for the presidency.

To the surprise of many, Hanoi responded positively to the president’s overture to negotiate. After weeks of wrangling about finding a place for the talks, both sides accepted Paris, and there on 10 May 1968, delegations headed by veteran diplomats Averell Harriman for the United States and Xuan Thuy for North Vietnam at last met. The results were disappointing as Hanoi refused to discuss terms of settlement until all bombing of the North was stopped. This was done on 31 October, five days before the presidential election.

Meanwhile, the arms-control movement trudged ahead, initially with the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, followed by the creation of “hot lines” linking Washington (1963), Paris (1966), and London (1967) directly with the Kremlin, seeking to prevent a communications debacle similar to that which occurred during the 1962 missile crisis. The Johnson administration agreed to three important treaties in 1967, the first of which was to internationalize and denuclearize the use of outer space, the moon, and other celestial bodies. The other two pacts offered hope to begin bottling the nuclear genie—the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which created the first “nuclear-weapons-free zone” (NWFZ), and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which prohibited nuclear states from transferring nuclear weapons or control of such weapons to non-nuclear states and, correla-
tively, non-nuclear states from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring nuclear weapons and from receiving assistance in the manufacturing of nuclear weapons. Thus, the superpowers saw it to their advantage, if only in a negative way, to preserve the relatively simple but familiar nuclear balance. The NPT was diminished by France’s appeasement of its national ego, and others seeking to right a nuclear balance: China vs. the U.S. and U.S.S.R., India vs. China, Pakistan vs. India, Israel vs. the Arab states, and so on. Yet projections of the 1950s that several dozen nations would possess nuclear weapons by the end of the century did not materialize, in considerable measure because of the test ban, the NPT, and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

With considerable patience and persistence, Johnson finally persuaded Moscow’s leaders to open negotiations on limiting strategic weaponry. Before the first meeting, however, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 startled Washington and resulted in postponing these talks until they were revived by the Nixon administration.

THE PROTEST MOVEMENTS GAIN MOMENTUM

Within less than a week of the signing into law of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the first of the major ghetto riots of the 1960s broke out in the Watts section of Los Angeles, an abject slum and home to a sixth of that city’s 523,000 African Americans. On 11 August, a hot and unusually muggy night in the city, a routine traffic arrest in Watts turned into a riot, with rioters spreading out into the surrounding area, breaking windows, looting stores, and going on a rampage. For the next several days, the rioting continued throughout the entire 154 blocks of Watts, as well as in other areas of the city. Not until the fifth day of rioting did authorities, spearheaded by 15,000 National Guard troops, gain the upper hand; by then losses from fires and looting had run into hundreds of millions of dollars. Thousands had been arrested and injured while 28 African Americans were dead. Similar violence spread across the country, to Chicago, Illinois, and Springfield, Massachusetts.

In July 1966, street rioting broke out again in Chicago’s largely black West Side, ostensibly over the police decision to turn off fire hydrant water that children were using; again National Guard units were summoned to restore order. In this instance, two African Americans were
killed and six policemen wounded by snipers. The situation eased somewhat the next month when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced an agreement with civic leaders and real estate interests on a program to end discrimination in residential renting and sales, paving the way for the Federal Open Housing Law of 1968. But the worst was yet to come. The summer of 1967 brought with it racial rioting in, among other places, Detroit, Michigan; East Harlem, New York; and Newark, New Jersey. Death and destruction lay in the wake of the riots. The assassination of Dr. King by James Earl Ray on a motel balcony in Memphis, 4 April 1968, set off a week-long wave of urban disturbances in 125 cities encompassing 29 states.

In the aftermath of the 1967 riots, President Johnson established a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, chaired by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. Fourteen hundred pages in length and one-half year in the making, the “Kerner Report,” told Americans mostly what they already knew: “Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” Furthermore, the report warned, unless drastic and costly remedies were begun at once, there would be a “continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.”

Who was to blame for this state of affairs? As far as the commission was concerned, “white racism” lay at the heart of the explosive conditions that ignited riots of the last few summers, civil disorders that were neither caused nor organized by plan or conspiracy. Nonetheless, the report cautioned against a policy of separatism advocated by “Black Power” militants, such as Huey Newton’s Black Panthers and Stokely Carmichael’s increasingly radicalized Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, for it could, “only relegate Negroes to a permanently inferior economic state.” Among the sweeping recommendations made at the federal and local levels were changes in law enforcement, welfare, employment, education, and news media. Although no attempt was made to put a price tag on the panel’s recommendations, it was abundantly clear that they went far beyond further proposed legislation of the Great Society. Answering the “guns versus butter” quandary, a New York Times editorial expressed a sentiment shared by a majority of the American people in 1968: “The first necessity (for national action on the racial problem) is for a long overdue reordering of priorities in
Washington—a turn toward de-escalation of the military combat in Vietnam and escalation of the war against poverty and discrimination at home.” The growing migration of rural African Americans to urban areas by 1970—16.8 million out of a total black population of 22.5 million—attested to the urgency of the task ahead. At the same time, other Americans set out to reorder their own priorities.

In protesting the war in Vietnam, poverty and racism at home, and the traditional patterns of education and employment, a new radicalism in social thought emerged in the 1960s, known sometimes as the “counterculture” or the New Left. It was a pluralistic, amorphous grouping, embracing, among others, the Free Speech Movement, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the various antiwar organizations composed mainly of white, middle-class youth. On the political level, the New Left was an anti-establishment protest against all the obvious iniquities of the American life; on a more complex level, it was no less than a moral revulsion against a society that was perceived as remote and corrupt. For some, solutions to these problems required direct action, such as forcing the termination of Pentagon-related research on campus, or the introduction of a more “relevant” curriculum. The result was turmoil and violence at universities from New York to California, culminating with the shooting to death of 4 students on the Kent State campus by the Ohio National Guard in May 1970. By the end of the decade, however, the movement had gone, mainly the victim of its own infighting.

Seizing the opportunity, Hispanics, American Indians, and women created their own liberation movements, each hoping, in its own way, to throw “the man” off their back. Hispanics, or Spanish-speaking Americans, numbered nearly 20 million, making the United States the fourth-largest Spanish-speaking nation in the world. Hispanics came from such places as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. Almost 800,000 Puerto Ricans alone lived in New York, accounting for one-third of that city’s welfare recipients. Six million Mexican Americans, resident largely in the Southwest, suffered unemployment at twice the national level. Many eeked out an existence as migrant laborers in California’s “farm factories.” Their leaders, including Cesar Chavez whose National Farm Workers association championed the migrants’ cause, adopted the term “Chicano” to describe their cultural identity. They demanded bilingual instruction in the public schools and sought legal remedy to rectify perceived past injustices in the workplace and marketplace.
Well outside the mainstream of national life were the American Indians. Though their population grew at four times the national rate in the 1960s, reaching nearly 800,000 in 1970, their prospects were dim: their unemployment was the highest in the nation, as was their infant mortality, alcoholism, and suicide rates. The only thing less than average was life expectancy—46 years compared with the national average of 69. Worse yet, the Department of the Interior’s Bureau of Indian Affairs had done little to alleviate abysmal living conditions on federal reservations. In protest to these and other grievances, particularly claims to recover ancestral land, the American Indian Movement was formed, drawing attention to its people’s conditions by temporarily occupying public places linked to their vanishing past. Some actions were peaceful; others were violent.

More successful was the feminist movement. In 1963, Congress passed the Equal Pay Act sponsored by Representative Edith Green (D-OR), a fighter for women’s rights for many years. Indeed, the few women in the House of Representatives joined by the few in the Senate, including Maurine Neuberger (D-OR) worked against great odds in the late 1950s and early 1960s to secure legislation favorable to women. The word “sex” was introduced into the Civil Rights Law of 1964, and Congress thereby forbade discrimination in employment on the basis of gender as well as race and religion. Through the offices of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, women sought legal remedies more and more. The publicity that accompanied the Civil Rights Law and the coupling of civil rights for African Americans with all women served to educate Americans on the common needs of both groups; indeed, one of the greatest accomplishments of the women’s movement in the 1960s was acquainting everyone with the issues of feminism.

The 1960s witnessed the coming of age of the first group of baby boomers—70 million in all. Colleges and universities burst at the seams, welcoming larger and larger numbers of students for the first time in American history. The economy, until the end of the decade when Vietnam soured it, was prospering with minimal levels of inflation. The mood was one of frustration and optimism, mixed uneasily together. But, with change, the phenomenon of rising expectations also developed. As Congress responded to African American demands, their demands increased; as students protested the draft, the war heated up. As women began organizing on their own behalf, they kept expanding
their goals. The 1970s would see many of the issues raised in the 1960s persist as vital concerns. There would be a reexamination and reassessment of many issues as well. But the enthusiasm, the demonstrations, and the coalescing of various social reform movements remained unique to the 1960s. In all of this, television played a major role in publicizing the issues and the personalities of the movements in the 1960s.

POLITICS OF DIVISION

The Republican National Convention, gathering in Miami in early August 1968, nominated former vice president Richard M. Nixon for the presidency on the first ballot. This was something of a second-wind for Nixon; after his razor-thin loss to Kennedy in 1960, and more substantial loss to Democrat Pat Brown for the governorship of California in 1962, many—including apparently Nixon himself—had concluded that his political career was over. The day after his loss to Brown, Nixon had lashed out against the press, telling them: “You won’t have Nixon to kick around anymore, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference.” Initially, he seemed true to his word, moving to New York and practicing law, but after Goldwater’s debacle, Nixon had proved himself the politician’s politician, cultivating Republicans at the grassroots level.

The favorite of party professionals, big contributors, and the rank and file who controlled the party machinery in the conservative Middle West and South, Nixon easily pushed aside the challenges of liberal Republicans Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and Governor George Romney of Michigan. “The time has come for us to leave the valley of despair and climb the mountain so that we may see the glory of the dawn of a new day for America, a new dawn for peace and freedom to the world,” declared the Republican presidential nominee in his acceptance speech. Promising to end “the long dark night for America,” Nixon proclaimed that on the foreign front, he would make the end of the war in Vietnam his first order of business; on the domestic front, he would solve the nation’s internal problems by combining a firm approach to law and order with innovative remedies to poverty that would depend less on federal aid and more on private enterprise. Specifics were kept purposely vague. As his running mate, Nixon chose Governor
Spiro Agnew of Maryland, a conservative public administrator and the son of a Greek immigrant and restaurant owner in Baltimore.

The Democratic National Convention, meeting in Chicago in late August, nominated Vice President Hubert Humphrey for the presidency. Humphrey was the beneficiary of a series of events that would otherwise have made his nomination problematic: President Johnson’s decision to withdraw from politics, the assassination of challenger Senator Robert F. Kennedy in June, and the inability of Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-MN) to sustain the momentum of his unexpected success in the New Hampshire primaries. Humphrey was clearly the choice of trade unions, city machines, black organizations, and farm groups. He had also managed the difficult task of mollifying Southern conservatives without alienating northern liberals. His hand-picked vice-presidential running mate was Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, the son of a Polish immigrant. Confident, but vague, he could find a way out of the Vietnam War in 90 days—he had no peace plank—Humphrey had all but lost touch with the young antiwar protestors whose presence in Chicago led to violent street clashes with the local police within a few blocks of the convention center and within full view of the American television audience.

Inside, the Democratic Convention delegates appeared as bitterly divided on the issue of Vietnam as the protestors and the police in the street. Ugly scenes, name-calling and nastiness, in both places, were there for all to see. The nomination of segregationist Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama and Vietnam hardliner General Curtis E. LeMay as presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the American Independent party, with the real threat of throwing the election into the House of Representatives, rounded off the principals in an extraordinary presidential campaign. As the election neared, the major public opinion polls predicted a very close outcome.

Nixon, bringing to a climax one of the most amazing personal comebacks in American political history, edged out Humphrey in a close and tumultuous presidential campaign. In the popular vote column, victory held the barest of margins: 31,710,470 votes to 30,898,055; in the electoral column, a different story emerged with 302 electoral votes to 191, with one elector voting for Wallace. Joining the ranks of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, Nixon became only the third man to be elected to the White House after having been previously defeated for
the presidency. Although many distrusted his personality, even Nixon’s severest critics recognized the president as intelligent and able, essentially a moderate conservative. He would, in fact, require all of these qualities in dealing with a Democratic-controlled Congress. The 37th president of the United States controlled neither the House (243–192) nor the Senate (58–42) at the time of his inauguration. In any case, Richard Nixon finally had the job that he desperately wanted, and the American people had the change of government they thought they needed.
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION. Meeting with Vice President Lyndon Johnson, James Farmer, founder of the Congress of Racial Equality, urged a program he labeled “Compensatory Preferential Treatment” as a means of advancing equality of African Americans. In 1965, President Johnson renamed Farmer’s proposal as “affirmative action” in a speech at Howard University and offered it as a national program: “You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line in a race and then say, ‘you are free to compete with all the others’, and still justly believe that you have been completely fair.” Affirmative action came to be applied to positive efforts, through preferential selection, to place women and minorities in education and jobs that they had been historically excluded. It became controversial because it operated counter to the idea that entry to educational and workplace opportunities be based on merit.

AFRICAN AMERICANS. The names of the various African American organizations provide a brief history in the use of descriptive terms related to black people of African decent residing in the United States. The earliest civil rights organization still functioning at mid-century was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (founded in 1909), which was followed by the United Negro College Fund (1944). By the middle of the 1960s, the terms “colored people” and “negro” gave way to “Black” and Afro-American influenced by the Black Power/Black Pride movements. Then by the late 1980s, Black spokesmen such as Jesse Jackson insisted that “African American” was more in keeping with the U.S. tradition.
of hyphenated Americans that linked them with their ancestor’s geographical origins and permitted people to look at the ethnic origins with pride while still retaining an American national identity.

During the 1960s, many African Americans were prominent in the fields of art (Aaron Douglas), filmmaking (Gordon Parks, Dick Gregory), music (Louis Armstrong), literature (James Baldwin), politics (Shirley Chisholm, Robert C. Weaver), and sports (Muhammad Ali). Leading African Americans promoting civil rights included such individuals as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Hubert "Rap" Brown, Medgar W. Evers, and Roy Wilkins. The civil rights movement spawned such widely different African American-led organizations as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Black Panthers.

President Johnson, through his War on Poverty and Great Society programs, caused the federal government to focus on the problems of its deprived citizens, many of whom were African Americans. The Urban Riots of the '60s and the Watts Riot in 1965 persuaded administration to address these needs of poor inner city people with such programs as Affirmative Action, Fair Housing Act of (1968), Head Start, Job Corps, and the Voting Rights Act (1965).

**AGE DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT ACT (1967).** This federal law specifically prohibited employment discrimination against persons 40 years of age or older. This prohibition included discrimination in hiring, promotions, wages, firing/layoffs, or in specifications of age preferences and limitations appearing in job notices. The legislation also prohibited employers from denying or reducing benefits to older workers, unless such reduced benefits equal the cost of providing full benefits to younger workers. Standards were established for pensions and benefits provided by employers. This legislation applied to employers with 20 or more employees and only to employers in industries involved in interstate commerce. This law has been amended several times, first in 1978, then in 1986 and 1991.

**ALDRIN, BUZZ.** See SPACE RACE.
ALI, MUHAMMAD (1942– ). Muhammad Ali was born Cassius Marcellus Clay, Jr., in 1942, in Louisville, Kentucky. Encouraged at the age of 12 to take up boxing, Clay fought successfully for six years as an amateur. In 1960, he won an Olympic gold medal in the light heavyweight division and turned professional shortly thereafter. From the outset of his career, Clay aroused and encouraged controversy by his bragging predictions of victory—often delivered in doggerel—and skillful bantering with sports writers. The day after a stunning seventh round victory over heavyweight champion Sonny Liston in February 1964, Clay announced that he had become a black Muslim and had dropped his “slave name” of Clay for the name Muhammad Ali. The next month, the World Boxing Association (WBA) refused to recognize Ali as the heavyweight champion, ostensibly because of his zealous promotional efforts before the Sonny Liston fight. The WBA action, however, did not deter a Liston–Ali rematch in May 1965, which Ali won with a knockout in the first round.

During the next two years, Ali defended heavyweight crown eight times, scoring easy victories in each and building a reputation as one of the greatest heavyweight boxers in history. On 28 April 1967, in Houston, Texas, he refused induction into the army on the grounds that he was a full-time Black Muslim minister and, therefore, exempt from the draft. His feelings about the war in Vietnam were already widely known and quoted: “We [Muslims] don’t go to wars unless they are declared by Allah himself. I don’t have no personal quarrel with those Viet Congs.” The same day that he refused induction, Ali was stripped of his world heavyweight title by both the WBA and the New York Boxing Commission, whose chair declared that Ali’s “refusal to enter the service is regarded by the Commission to be detrimental to the best interests of boxing.” His stand drew the animosity of most Americans; the governor of Maine said he should be “held in utter contempt by every patriotic American,” and an American Legion post in Miami called him “an unpatriotic, loudmouthed, bombastic individual.” After being denied conscientious objector status, Ali was convicted by a federal jury in Houston, Texas, on 20 June 1967 of violating the Selective Service laws after only 21 minutes of deliberation. He was given the maximum penalty of five years in jail and a $10,000 fine.
Following the verdict, Ali’s career went into a three-and-one-half-year hiatus pending legal appeals. During this period, Ali’s opposition to the draft and the Vietnam War provoked considerable animosity throughout the country. Conservative columnist William F. Buckley Jr. called for “someone to succeed in knocking sense into Clay’s head before he’s done damaging the sport.” Many sports reporters also joined in condemning Ali’s action.

As a result of increased public interest and intensive negotiations with officials, Ali returned to boxing in 1970. In October, he defeated Jerry Quarry in Atlanta in his first fight since 1967. Two months later, Ali stopped Argentine heavyweight Oscar Bonavena, but in March 1971, in what was billed as the “Fight of Century,” he suffered his first ring defeat when he was outpointed by WBA heavyweight champion Joe Frazier in a fight that went 15 rounds in Madison Square Garden and earned $2.5 million for Ali.

On 28 June 1971, a unanimous U.S. Supreme Court voted to reverse Ali’s draft conviction and prison sentence. The Court ruled that the Selective Service had refused to grant Ali conscientious objector status because of advice from the Justice Department that “was simply wrong as a matter of law.”

Ali regained his world heavyweight boxing title on 30 October 1974, with an eighth-round knockout of George Foreman in Kinshasa, Zaire. After losing his title in 1978 to Leon Spinks, Ali became the only boxer to win the heavyweight title three times by reclaiming the belt from Spinks in a rematch six months later. Still, all the years of fighting had taken their toll, and in the early 1980s, Ali was diagnosed with Pugilistic Parkinsonism, caused by repetitive trauma to his head.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS. In March 1961, President John F. Kennedy proposed a 10-year plan for Latin America designed to establish economic cooperation between North and South America. The aid was intended to counter the perceived emerging communist threat from Cuba to U.S. interests and dominance in the region. The program was signed at an inter-American conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, in August 1961. The charter called for: an annual increase of 2.5% in per capita income; the establishment of democratic governments; the elimination of adult illiteracy by 1970; price stabil-
ity, to avoid inflation or deflation; more equitable income distribution; land reform; and economic and social planning. Latin American countries were to pledge a capital investment of $80 billion over 10 years, during which time the United States would supply or guarantee $20 billion. Participating Latin American countries were required to create comprehensive plans for national development that then would be submitted to an inter-American board of experts for approval. Finally, tax codes were to be changed to demand “more from those who have most” and land reform was to be undertaken.

American business interests shaped many of the details of the charter in their favor. U.S. delegates included a clause in the charter that required Latin American government to promote the “conditions that will encourage the flow of foreign investments.” The lobbyists limited competition by making sure that no Latin American business receiving aid would export more than 20 percent of its output to the U.S., while insisting that most of the aid money was spent at home. A 1967 study revealed that 90 percent of all aid commodity expenditures went to U.S. corporations. Moreover, as Washington’s ambassador to the Organization of American States, William T. Denzer, told the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in March 1969: “When you look at net capital flows and their economic effect, and after all due credit is given to the U.S. effort to step up support to Latin America, one sees that not that much money has been put into Latin America after all.”

Latin America output increased to 2.4 percent annually in the 1960s, nearly matching the goal of 2.5 percent. Although adult illiteracy remained, it was reduced and the number of people attending universities doubled or even tripled. Many health clinics were built across Latin America, but progress in improving health care faltered because of population growth. The Alliance for Progress was a short-lived public relations success and achieved some real but limited economic improvement. However, three reasons have been offered for its overall ineffectiveness: 1. Latin American nations were unable or unwilling to make needed reforms, especially in land reform; 2. Washington’s fear of leftist activities and U.S. businesses’ concern with their own interests; and 3. The funds considered were not sufficient for the entire hemisphere to bring about individual improvement. The Organization of American States disbanded the permanent committee created to implement the alliance in 1973.
AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY. Former governor of Alabama, George C. Wallace, Sr., established the third party in 1968 and managed to place it on every state ballot in time for the national presidential election. The primary motive for forming the party was opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and federal government welfare programs and support for states rights. Wallace, and his running mate Curtis E. LeMay, received 13.5 percent of the popular vote and 46 electoral votes in 1968, but lost to Richard M. Nixon. This was the best showing of a third party in a half-century.

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM). Dennis Banks, Herb Powless, Clyde Bellecourt, Eddie Benton Banai, and several others co-founded AIM. The American Indian Movement discovered an early leader in Russell Means. During the summer of 1968, 200 individuals from the Indian community gathered in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to discuss the crucial issues facing the Native American community. The motivation of the group was to begin improving their communities by drawing on their strengths—by starting their own schools and developing job-training programs—to determine their own future. According to Dennis Banks, the beginning is now being called “the Era of Indian Power.” The 1970s were not kind to the movement as the rebellious spirit of AIM drew the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The 71-day siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, brought national attention to AIM, the death of two people and arrest of 1,200 individuals. The leaders of the siege were later acquitted. See NATIVE AMERICAN.

ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Several independent components made up the 1960s antiwar movement against the Vietnam War—traditional peace organizations, student activists, and religious groups. It pulled together in a loose alliance organizations that often were divided on other issues. Taking shape early in 1965 on college and university campuses, the antiwar crusade caught the interest of students who had been engaged in the civil rights movement—especially those who had participated in the previous year’s “Freedom Summer” in Mississippi. After the U.S. began bombing North Vietnam, the first campus “teach-in,” modeled after earlier civil rights seminars and
led by faculty members, was held at the University of Michigan on 24 March 1965 and the concept quickly spread across the country. On 17 April, a march on Washington drew between 15,000 and 25,000 dissenters in a turnout that surprised the organizers and energized them. Religious figures became involved as more than 1,000 of them urged the administration to recognize conscientious objection on secular, moral grounds, as well as traditional religious qualifications.

When civil rights leaders began to denounce the war, a dimension was added to the antiwar movement. Beginning in January 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. added his voice to those who were concerned about the morality of the conflict and questioned the shifting of needed resources from domestic projects to carry out the war. With the escalation of the hostilities, especially the Tet Offensive of January 1968, more than one half of the American public questioned the administration’s policy and many joined in the protests. Protest marches in April 1967 found more than 300,000 people in the streets of New York City; six months later, some 50,000 protesters gathered around the Pentagon.

Unfortunately, the peaceful phase of the protests began to shift during 1968 to violent responses—the seizure of campus buildings, raids on draft boards, sabotaging Dow Chemical facilities, and, finally, clashes with the police at the Democratic National Convention. As the antiwar movement grew more substantive, it also became less cohesive in the years that followed. A November 1969 march on Washington mobilized nearly a half a million participants, yet the growing counterculture influence among the new, increasingly strident leadership dismayed much of the middle class. Songs of protest by Joan Baez and Bob Dylan caught the youthful enthusiasm, but expanded the gap between the youthful lifestyle and traditional America; by 1969, many of the older Americans who opposed the war also opposed the leaders, methods, and culture of the protest movement. The movement would generate its highest participation in the protests against the Nixon administration. See also Berrigan, Daniel; Dellinger, David; Hippy (Hippie) Movement; Gulf of Tonkin Resolution; Spock, Benjamin.

ARCHITECTURE. The 1960s found American architecture moving to a distinctly streamlined contemporary appearance—especially its
skyscrapers. Buildings were designed for their particular use—for example, the employment of light and space for the Cleo Rogers Memorial Library by I. M. Pei. Some public buildings revealed the influence of space and futuristic designs, especially in the National Aeronautical & Space Administration’s Houston complex. The Memorial Arch in St. Louis, Missouri, built in 1965, reflected the American look. Famous architects who launched their careers in the 1960s include I. M. Pei, Peter Eisenman, and Frank O. Gehry.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT (1961). The Kennedy administration selected 852 localities as redevelopment areas and an additional 106 communities as areas of substantial unemployment for assistance under the 1961 Act. The causes of these areas’ troubles included “exodus of industry, displacement of labor by technological change, excessive dependence on declining industries, influx of job-seekers, changing weapons requirements in military procurement, and chronic rural poverty.” It was estimated that the unemployment in the designated areas was 33 percent higher than the rest of the country. Administration officials, especially the president, indicated that the focus should be on long-term solutions to these communities’ economic problems, not primarily current unemployment. Although $394 million was allocated in the 1961 Act to invigorate the private sector and, thus, create new jobs, an additional $4.5 million annually was set aside, over four years, for vocational training programs. Other federal job training programs emerged during the 1960s, including the Job Corps. Federal funds up to 50 percent, along with grants and loans, were also available for eligible federal, state, and local capital-improvement projects in economically depressed areas.

ARMS CONTROL. The desire to control armaments, and thereby reduce the likelihood of widespread warfare, had increased greatly by the 1960s, stimulated by the development and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems with global reach. As the superpowers’ nuclear weapons grew more plentiful and powerful, it became increasingly evident that the chaos and destruction emanating from a nuclear conflict would not be limited to the principal belligerents, but could gravely endanger most other nations. Despite disclaimers by
the superpowers that nuclear weapons would never be used, many academics, diplomats, and citizens urged the negotiation of measures that could rein in the expansion of the new military systems.

However, arms control “should not be thought of as an end in itself,” Thomas Graham wrote in *Disarmament Sketches*. “Rather it should be considered a part of national security policy or, in the international sense, another means by which security can be achieved. . . . It is the achievement of security through control of arms rather than, for example, through the threat of the use of armed force, or economic pressure.”

Serious efforts to achieve arms control measures during the Cold War began with the administration of President *John F. Kennedy*. Presidential adviser John J. McCloy and Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin issued “agreed principles regarding disarmament” in September 1961. The so-called *Zorin–McCloy agreement* sought a general strategy to assure that war would not be used as a way of settling international disputes and an outline for future arms control negotiations between Washington and Moscow.

Appalled that only about 75 people in the U.S. government were at work on disarmament planning under President *Dwight Eisenhower*, Kennedy set out to create a specific agency for the work. Shortly after entering the presidency, he created the *Arms Control and Disarmament Agency* (ACDA) to study various arms control mechanisms and gained congressional approval. The ACDA conducted, supported, and coordinated “research for arms control and disarmament policy formulation;” prepared for and managed “U.S. participation in international arms control and disarmament negotiations;” prepared, operated, and directed “U.S. participation in international arms control and disarmament systems.” In the 1960s, the agency became the driving force behind many of the early proposals, such as a nuclear *Non-Proliferation Treaty* (NPT), that were opposed by the State and Defense Departments.

*General and complete disarmament* was first included on the agenda of United Nations General Assembly at the request of the Soviet Union. Premier *Nikita Khrushchev* addressed the assembly on 18 September 1959 and proposed a new disarmament program in three stages aimed at eliminating all armed forces and armaments within a four-year period. President Kennedy told the Assembly on
25 September 1961 that signing a nuclear test ban treaty—which had escaped the Eisenhower administration—should be a priority. “This can be done now,” he challenged. “Test ban negotiations need not and should not await general disarmament.” Additionally, he urged: (1) halting the production of fissionable materials for use in weapons and the transfer of such materials to nonnuclear powers; (2) prohibiting the transfer of nuclear weapons to nations that do not have them; (3) keeping nuclear weapons from outer space; and (4) destroying strategic missiles and aircraft that could deliver nuclear bombs. These themes were included in the United States’ proposal for general and complete disarmament submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in 1962.

Actually, the president’s program contained little that had not been suggested before by Harry Truman or Dwight Eisenhower—and it offered nothing that seemed likely to lure the Soviets from previous opposition to on-site inspections. Despite Kennedy’s promise to resume discussions of any one step toward disarmament whenever agreement seemed in sight, the U.S. plan is basically a step-by-step approach requiring international inspection to ensure that each stage has been carried out.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy’s negotiators were able to gain Soviet approval of a Limited Nuclear Test Ban, a treaty that was subsequently adopted by scores of other nations. Given the difficulties in mutual communications during the missile crisis, the Soviet and Americans established a Hot Line between Washington and Moscow to allow direct contact and less the chance of a miscalculation. However, the Kennedy administration refused to seriously discuss Rapacki proposals of 1962 that would have created a “denuclearized” Central Europe.

President Lyndon B. Johnson’s administration sought additional arms control agreements with the Soviets, but some his staff’s early proposals were nonstarters because they failed to offer mutual benefits. In January 1964, the U.S. proposed a “Strategic Nuclear Delivery Vehicle Freeze” that would have frozen Soviets to strategic inferiority. Later, Washington suggested bomber “bonfire”—a one-for-one destruction of medium bombers. The U.S. desired to phase out its B-47 bombers and failed to get the Soviets to destroy their TU-16s—the mainstay of the Soviet bomber force.
1963–1964, the United States and Soviets each unilaterally announced military budget cuts; but in 1965, with the U.S. involved in Vietnam, the Americans began increasing their expenditures and the program was terminated. A 1964 proposal for a cutback in production of enriched uranium and plutonium for nuclear weapons did not gain much interest in Moscow. The Defense Department was unenthusiastic about Mexico’s pressing of the Treaty of Tlatelolco (1967), which denuclearized Latin America.

More successful efforts involved the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 that committed signatories “not to place in orbit around the Earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction.” The Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, which President Johnson subsequently considered one of his major accomplishments, was a major agreement designed to restrict the manufacture and traffic of nuclear weapons and a main component of a regime that sought to control their spread. The NPT pledged those signatories who did not possess nuclear weapons not to acquire them, and the current nuclear weapons states to eventually disarm. In return, a comprehensive system of supervision and safeguards on the trade in nuclear technologies was established under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which permitted the peaceful exploitation of nuclear energy and the trade in the necessary technology.

The Johnson administration’s final arms control efforts focused on opening negotiations with Moscow seeking to place limits on strategic weaponry. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara accepted as reality that each of the two superpowers’ nuclear forces was sufficient to constitute a state of mutual deterrence. Given this situation, it seemed logical to Johnson and McNamara that they should seek to limit further expansion of these weapons systems—especially antiballistic missiles (ABMs), the deployment of which would only stimulate the strategic arms race. At the Glassboro Conference, 23–25 June 1967, President Johnson and Secretary McNamara attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade Soviet premier Aleksei Kosygin to open formal negotiations to limit strategic weaponry, including ABM systems. When, two years later, officials in Moscow and Washington did agree to launch discussions on limiting strategic weapons, the Soviets intervened to halt an uprising in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Johnson suspended talks. President Richard M. Nixon did begin
these discussions with the Soviets, resulting in the ABM Treaty and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) agreement (1972).

**ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY (ACDA).** The idea of an independent agency was first suggested by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and formerly established by President John F. Kennedy on 26 September 1961. Creating the new agency by Congress as a statutory agency of the federal government gave it more weight and authority than if it were established by executive order. The legislation—drafted by presidential adviser John J. McCloy—stipulated the agency was to strengthen American security by “formulating, advocating, negotiating, implementing and verifying effective arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament policies, strategies, and agreements” and by directing American “participation in international arms control and disarmament systems.” The agency’s initial directors—Gerard C. Smith (1969–72) and William C. Foster (1961–69)—were the principal advisors to the president and secretary of state on matters related to arms control and disarmament.

During the Cold War, the United States entered several important arms accords with the Soviet Union, beginning with the 1963 **Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** that banned signatories from testing new nuclear devices in the atmosphere, space, territorial waters, or at sea, while permitting underground tests. The **Outer Space Treaty** (1967) outlawed national claims of sovereignty or military activities and was patterned after the Antarctic Treaty (1959). No country could transport nuclear weapons, establish military bases in space, or send any military personnel to work in space in other than a civilian capacity. Any stations, vehicles, and equipment established in space would be subject to inspections by other countries on a reciprocal basis.

Lyndon B. Johnson considered the **Non-Proliferation Treaty** (1968) one of the most significant accomplishments of his administration. The treaty’s basic objective was to help halt the spread of nuclear weapons by banning the sale or distribution of any nuclear weaponry to non-nuclear states. Non-nuclear nations had the right to obtain the materials to build civilian nuclear power plants without being charged research and development costs. Additionally, Article VI of the treaty stated that signatory nations seek agreements to end the nuclear arms race and pursue general disarmament in the future.
After thirty-five years, in 1997 the Clinton administration folded the ACDA into the State Department, which essentially terminated the contributions to this agency.

**ARMS RACE.** The arms race was a major component of the Cold War as the United States and the Soviet Union vied for more and more sophisticated weaponry. Nuclear weapons were a central feature of this contest, as well as new delivery systems, as each nation invested heavily in what became a game of technological escalation aimed at producing more and better military devices. The U.S.’s successful test of an H-bomb in 1952 made possible the creation of warheads smaller than the World War II A-bomb, but 2,500 times more powerful. The Soviets developed similar bombs a few years later and China followed in 1967. These developments were followed in the 1960s with improved delivery systems that included missiles of several types, including short range (SRBM), medium range (MRBM), and intercontinental (ICBM). Initially, these missiles and their nuclear warheads were land-based, but in 1960 the U.S. launched its first submarine that carried 16 Polaris missiles, only to be followed by Soviet submarines equipped with nuclear-tipped missiles. The growth in the number of targeted warheads grew dramatically with the introduction of multiple-independently-targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs) that allowed a single missile to carry ten or more warheads.

In an attempt to defend against these new missile delivered warheads, both nations experimented with anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems. However, the advent of MIRVed ICBMs employing an array of decoys presented a challenge that was not solved during the Cold War. The two superpowers now possessed weapons that could obliterate cities and cause tens of millions of casualties; indeed, they possessed enough warheads to virtually destroy the world. This fearful situation was described by Carl Sagan “as two men standing waist deep in gasoline; one with three matches, the other with five.”

Recognition of this fact meant that each nation possessed weapons they dare not use for fear of being destroyed themselves by retaliatory strikes. The concept of **nuclear deterrence** was born from the fact there could be no winners in a nuclear war; Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara labeled the situation that of “assured destruction.” Finally determining that they could not find security through
engineering, leadership in Moscow and Washington turned slowly to political mechanisms referred to as arms control agreements.

ART. Following the trend established in the 1950s, American art in the 1960s was influenced by a desire for modernity and the future, which was symbolized by the budding space age. The works of Alexander Calder (mobiles and sculpture) and Helen Frankenthaler (non-representational art) focused on interpretation that sought to inspire viewers to see art in their own way. Calder changed the course of modern art “by developing a new method of sculpting: by bending and twisting wire, he essentially ‘drew’ three-dimensional figures in space. . . . [and was] renowned for the invention of the mobile, whose suspended, abstract elements move and balance in changing harmony.” Andy Warhol emerged as a leader in the twentieth-century pop-art movement with his imagery of common consumer items. In its reaction against abstract expressionism, pop art sought to remove distinctions between “good” and “bad” taste. See also JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS; NATIONAL ENDOWMENTS FOR ARTS AND HUMANITIES.

ASSASSINATION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY. On 22 November 1963, while riding through downtown Dallas in a motorcade, the 35th president of the United States, John F. Kennedy, was shot and killed by an assassin, later identified as Lee Harvey Oswald. Oswald, an ex-marine and self-proclaimed pro-Castro Marxist who had once defected to the Soviet Union, was subsequently arrested by Dallas police after a brief struggle in a nearby theatre prior to which a policeman had also been slain. Then followed a bizarre turn of events. While still in police custody, and in full view of television cameras, Oswald was himself shot and killed by an obscure Dallas nightclub owner, Jack Ruby, a minor gangster with ties to the Mafia. Conspiracy theories filled the air.

The official Warren Report, the study of the presidential commission headed by Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren in 1964, concluded that Oswald alone killed the president and there was no conspiracy. The Warren Commission also found that Ruby acted alone in killing Oswald.
BAEZ, JOAN (1941– ). Joan Baez was born in Staten Island, New York, on 9 January 1941, and grew up in New York and California. In 1958, Baez began singing folksongs in the Boston area, then the center of a folk music revival. After successful appearances at the 1959 and 1960 Newport Folk Festivals, she signed a recording contract with Vanguard records. Her first albums consisted mostly of traditional English and American ballads and African American spirituals, but she later began to perform contemporary songs and songs of her own composition as well. Baez rapidly became one of the country’s most popular folksingers, helping to broaden the interest in folk music and serving in manner and dress as a model for many young women. She was one of the first American folksingers whose albums became best sellers; she was also one of the first popular performers to champion social activism in this period. “Action,” she insisted, “was the antidote to despair.”

Baez became increasingly involved in political activity throughout the 1960s. She was an active supporter of the civil rights movement and took part in a number of demonstrations, including the August 1964 March on Washington, where she sang from the podium. Baez sang We Shall Overcome to a December 1964 rally of several thousand Free Speech Movement supporters at the University of California, Berkeley, just before they occupied Sproul Hall, in a demonstration that first brought national attention to the growing student movement. She also sang at the first major national demonstration against the war in Vietnam, held in Washington, D.C., in April 1965. In 1966, she walked arm in arm with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. during a march in Mississippi.

Baez was also a pacifist and in 1965 founded the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence in Palo Alto, California. She advocated the use of nonviolent tactics to oppose the Vietnam War and was one of the 350 people who announced in an April 1966 advertisement in the Washington Post that they would protest the war by refusing to pay federal income tax. Among the many antiwar activities Baez participated in were the “Stop-the-Draft-Week” protests in Oakland, California, in October 1967. On 16 October Baez, her mother, and her sister,
folksinger Mimi Farina, were among 125 protesters arrested at the Oakland Draft Induction Center. The arrested demonstrators received 10-day prison sentences. At the same center, Baez was again arrested on 19 December and received a 45-day sentence, which she began serving the next day. Baez was also a strong supporter of the United Farm Workers in their effort to unionize California agricultural workers. In 1968, Baez married David Harris, a leader of the Resistance, a draft resistance group. In 1969, she gave birth to their son, Gabriel; that same year, Harris began a three-year jail term for failing to report for induction into the army. In 1967 and 1968, Baez made many speeches and television appearances urging resistance to the United States war effort in Vietnam, and she continued to be a vocal opponent of the war until its end. As one of a group of four Americans visiting North Vietnam in 1972, she met with U.S. prisoners of war and was one of the few Americans other than the prisoners to be in Hanoi during the Christmas bombing raids. After the war, she continued to use her music for political causes, singing at many benefits and protests. In 1979, she founded a human rights organization known as the Humanitas International Human Rights Committee. See also MUSIC; COUNTRY AND FOLK MUSIC.

**BAKER V. CARR (1962).** This significant U.S. Supreme Court case ruled that federal courts could intervene in and decide the reapportionment of legislative districts. The decision cast aside the Court’s earlier position that it should not interfere in “political questions” or violate the separation of powers between legislatures and Courts. Members of the Court found it extremely difficult to arrive at their decision that it could provide relief for legislative malapportionment or gerrymandering of districts to favor one particular political party or certain individuals. After a year of deliberations among themselves, the Court split 6-2 with the major affirmative decision written by Justice William J. Brennan, along with three concurring opinions and two dissenting opinions.

Having decided that it could deal with reapportionment issues in Baker v. Carr, the Court established for evaluating claims of gerrymandering in *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964). In that case, the Courts laid down its famous “one-man, one-vote” formula for designing legislative districts, which was applied for the first time regarding congres-
sional districts in *Wesberry v. Sanders* (1964). Since the Court ruled that its standard must be applied to both houses in state legislatures, those states—such as Arizona and California—that had allocated one or two senators from each county had to alter their constitutions. Subsequent cases resulted in fundamentally changing the nature of political representation in America. See also WARREN COURT.

**BALANCE OF PAYMENTS.** See DILLON, CLARENCE DOUGLAS.

**BALDWIN, JAMES** (1924–1987). Born 12 August 1924 in New York City, the son of an indigent minister, James Baldwin described his Harlem childhood as a “bleak fantasy.” During his adolescence, he tried preaching but gave up at age 17 and left home shortly thereafter relocating to Greenwich Village. Unable to sell his first two books, Baldwin at age 24 left for France, where in 1953 he finished *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, his highly praised novel of religious experience in Harlem. His most widely acclaimed work of the 1950s was *Notes of a Native Son*, a collection of personal essays that probed what one reviewer called “the peculiar dilemma of Northern Negro intellectuals who can claim neither Western nor African heritage as their own.” During the early 1960s, Baldwin was probably the most widely read and discussed black writer in America. In *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, Harold Cruse characterized Baldwin as “the chief spokesman for the Negro among the intellectual class” during the early years of the decade. In May 1963, Baldwin arranged a meeting between President John F. Kennedy and a dozen black leaders and artists.

In *The Fire Next Time*, two essays published in 1963, Baldwin argued that black people in America “are very well placed indeed to precipitate chaos and ring down the curtain on the American dream.” He went on to predict that “if we do not dare everything, the fulfillment of the prophecy, recreated from the Bible in song by a slave, is upon us: ‘God gave Noah the rainbow sign, no more water, the fire next time.’” Read in light of the 1965 Watts riot and later violence in inner cities across the nation, *The Fire Next Time* came to be regarded as a prophetic and insightful study of American race relations. In his history of the civil rights movement, Thomas Brooks wrote that
no one else predicted the events “with such verve and before such a wide audience.” It also earned him extensive scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which resulted in a file of more than 1,700 pages.

Baldwin returned from Europe in March 1965 to participate in a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Although Baldwin lived abroad and devoted most of his energies to creative writing, he continued to take an active interest in the black movement in America. In February 1967, he resigned from the advisory board of *Liberator*, a black nationalist monthly he had been associated with since 1961, in protest against the magazine’s publication of allegedly anti-Semitic articles. Baldwin also contributed to *If They Come in the Morning*, a collection of essays that assessed the significance of Angela Davis’s trial, which was published in 1971. His writings also dealt increasingly with the topic of homosexuality. In fact, Baldwin’s work as a whole focused more on conflict and the human condition than simply the lives of African Americans. In 1983, he became a professor at the University of Massachusetts, and he died of cancer four years later in France.

**BALL, GEORGE (1904–1994).** A specialist in European trade issues, George Ball would prove to be one of the most influential foreign policy advisers of the decade. He was born 21 December 1909 in Des Moines, Iowa. Following his graduation from Northwestern University Law School in 1933, he worked in several New Deal agencies before returning to Illinois to practice law. Ball reentered government service in 1942 in the Office of Lend–Lease Administration and in 1944 was appointed director of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey, a civilian group established to assess the effect of the air offensive against Germany. After the war, Ball resumed private law practice and became a specialist on international trade. He was appointed undersecretary of state for economic affairs in January 1961. In November, he was promoted to undersecretary, which was the second-ranking position in the state department.

During the Kennedy administration, Ball was concerned primarily with the formulation of U.S. trade policy and with international problems in such areas as the Congo and Cuba, but he also became in-
volved in the growing war in Vietnam. In 1961, when the administration was discussing policy options in Vietnam, Ball cautioned against the introduction of U.S. combat forces because he felt such a course would mire the United States in a war it could not win. He also believed that the United States was best served by devoting its resources to Europe, rather than Asia, and was highly critical of South Vietnamese leader Ngo Dinh Diem.

Ball’s opposition to U.S. involvement in the war continued during the Johnson administration. Following the spring 1965 decision to increase troop commitments and launch regular bombing attacks upon North Vietnam, Ball wrote a memorandum titled “Cutting our Losses in South Vietnam,” which argued for de-escalation and political compromise. Ball viewed South Vietnam as a “lost cause” because of the lack of popular support for the Saigon regime and the deep commitment of the communists. He cautioned that continued troop increases would not assure victory.

Ball recommended that the administration hold forces at current levels while arranging a conference to negotiate a withdrawal. He recognized that America would lose face before its Asian allies, but he felt that the loss would be of short duration and that the United States would emerge as a “wiser and more mature nation.” If this step were not taken, “humiliation would be more likely than the achievement of our objectives—even after we paid terrible costs.”

In January 1966, Ball again wrote a memorandum to Johnson opposing the bombing of North Vietnam because that policy contained “a life and dynamism of its own” and could result in retaliation by Hanoi or involve the United States in a war with China. Drawing on his wartime experience, he also argued that massive air strikes would strengthen, not weaken, North Vietnamese resolve.

Convinced that he could not change American policy, Ball left office in September 1966 to return to his law firm and investment banking. He continued to advise President Johnson, however, particularly in the 1968 crisis with North Korea over their capture of the American spy ship USS Pueblo. He also served briefly as ambassador to the United Nations. In March 1968, Ball served as a member of the Senior Advisory Group on Vietnam. This gathering of what was commonly called the “Wise Men” had been called by President Johnson
to advise him on the military’s request for over 200,000 additional troops. In their high-level meetings, Ball continued to press for de-
escalation. A majority of Johnson’s advisers, fearing the domestic so-
cial and political consequences of still another troop increase, now
supported the point of view advanced for so long by Ball. On 31
March, Johnson announced restrictions on the bombing of North
Vietnam in the hope of starting peace negotiations.

A quiet man who remained personally loyal to Johnson and secre-
tary of state Dean Rusk, Ball’s determined opposition to the war
only became widely known after the publication of the *Pentagon Pa-
pers* in 1971. After leaving public service, Ball served as an invest-
ment banker until his death in 1994.

**BARNETT, ROSS R. (1898–1987).** The youngest son of a Confed-
erate veteran, Ross R. Barnett was born on 22 January 1898, in Stand-
ing Pine, Mississippi, and worked his way through Mississippi Col-
lege and the University of Mississippi Law School, receiving his law
degree in 1926. He then began private practice in Jackson, served as
president of the State Bar Association in 1943 and made two unsuccess-
ful attempts for the governorship in 1951 and 1955. He tried
again in 1959, this time placing first in the 5 August Democratic pri-
mary and winning the 25 August runoff by a wide margin. A member
of the segregationist Citizens Councils, Barnett preached white su-
premacy during his campaign with what one observer called a
“Bible-pounding evangelistic fervor.” Repeatedly promising he
would “rot in jail” before he would “let one Negro ever darken the
sacred threshold of our white schools,” Barnett won the November
election easily and was inaugurated on 19 January 1960.

In Barnett’s first 10 weeks in office, 24 new segregation bills were
introduced in the state legislature and circuit clerks were ordered not
to give the Justice Department any voter registration figures. As
chairman of the State Sovereignty Commission, Barnett subsidized
the Mississippi Association of Citizens Councils throughout his term,
awarding it over $100,000 in state grants in 1962 alone. Labeling the
civil rights plank adopted by the Democratic National Convention in
1960 “repulsive,” Barnett tried to organize a third-party movement
comparable to the Dixiecrats of 1948 but won little support from
other Southern governors. Barnett then put forward a slate of un-
pledged Democratic electors, which defeated the Mississippi slate pledged to support Kennedy in November. They ultimately cast the state’s eight electoral votes for Senator Harry F. Byrd.

All these events were a prelude to Barnett’s defiance of federal court orders mandating the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi in September 1962. There had been no desegregation in any of the state’s public schools until then, and shortly after the final court order for Meredith’s admission was handed down on 10 September, Barnett promised to oppose it, declaring, “We will not surrender to the evil and illegal forces of tyranny.” Appointed special registrar for Meredith by the university’s Board of Trustees, Barnett met Meredith in Oxford when he came to register on 20 September and read him and accompanying federal officials a lengthy proclamation denying Meredith entry. On 25 September, the Fifth Circuit Court issued an injunction prohibiting Barnett from interfering with Meredith’s enrollment, but when Meredith tried to register at the trustees’ office in Jackson that day, Barnett refused to accept a copy of the injunction and once again denied Meredith admission. Acting under Barnett’s orders, Lieutenant Governor Paul B. Johnson blocked Meredith’s third registration attempt in Oxford on 26 September. Two days later, the Fifth Circuit Court found Barnett guilty of civil contempt and required him to comply with court orders by 2 October or face a $10,000 per day fine.

Beginning 15 September, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy negotiated with Barnett in a series of phone conversations, hoping to persuade the governor to comply with the court orders and thus obviate the need to call in federal troops. Barnett did work out a plan with the Justice Department on 27 September in which the governor would physically block Meredith and a force of U.S. marshals when they came on the campus that day, but would step aside when the marshals drew guns. This plan was canceled, however, when a gathering crowd in Oxford made Barnett and federal officials fearful that violence would result. President John F. Kennedy entered the behind-the-scenes negotiations on 29 September and, in three phone conversations with Barnett, worked out a new arrangement in which Barnett would go to Oxford on 1 October, ostensibly planning to deny Meredith admission again, while Meredith would quietly register in Jackson. Late that evening, Barnett canceled the deal and on 30
September, after President Kennedy had federalized the Mississippi National Guard, Barnett suggested staging a dramatic show of force at Oxford in which state forces would give way to the U.S. Army. The attorney general dismissed the idea as, “foolish and dangerous” and added that the president, in a television address that night, intended to reveal the plans Barnett had agreed to on the 29th and announce that the governor had gone back on his word. In response, Barnett now suggested that Meredith be taken quietly onto campus that day before the president’s address. Barnett promised that state police would aid federal marshals in protecting Meredith and maintaining order, and it was agreed he would issue a statement saying he was yielding to force but condemning any talk of violence.

Federal marshals and state police entered the campus late that afternoon, while Meredith was flown in from Memphis and taken to his dormitory room around 6 P.M. At 9 P.M., Barnett issued a statement declaring that the state was “surrounded by armed forces” and “physically overpowered” but calling on Mississippians to “preserve the peace and avoid bloodshed.” A riot had already erupted on the campus, however, and at a crucial point the state police were suddenly ordered away from the university. It was never clear who gave the order, but the troopers returned after the Kennedys urged Barnett to get them back onto the campus. Shortly before midnight, Barnett issued a second statement accusing the federal government of “trampling on the sovereignty of this great state” and asserting that Mississippi “will never surrender.” The riot lasted into the early morning hours and ended only after President Kennedy called in both the National Guard and the army. Two men died during the night of violence and more than 350 were injured. At 8 A.M. on 1 October, Meredith finally registered at the university.

**BAY OF PIGS.** On 17 March 1960, President Dwight D. Eisenhower approved a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) plan, initially proposed by Vice President Richard M. Nixon, called “A Program of Covert Action against the Castro Regime.” Its objective was to create and train a force of exiles who would be transported to Cuba to establish a beachhead, which supposedly would act as a focal point for a popular uprising, according to Richard Bissell, CIA Director of Plans, in his *Memoirs of a Cold Warrior: From Yalta to Bay of Pigs.*
Should that not occur, the exiles would be sent up into the hills to conduct guerrilla operations. The initial budget of $4,400,000 included $950,000 for political action, $1,700,000 for propaganda, $1,500,000 for the paramilitary exiles, and $250,000 for intelligence gathering. A year later, the actual ill-fated invasion would cost American taxpayers more than $46 million.

As Eisenhower left office, the secret plan was handed over to the incoming president, John F. Kennedy. By the spring of 1960, Kennedy endorsed the plan, assured by his own military advisers and the CIA that it had a good chance of success. Moreover, during his campaign, he had made substantial commitments to the Cuban exiles, supported the overthrow of Castro, and criticized Eisenhower for not doing enough to unseat the Cuban communists. Both the president and his brother Robert recognized that failure to act would expose the administration to charges from domestic political opponents that they lacked the will to challenge Castro.

In the early hours of 17 April 1961, an “army” of approximately 2,000 CIA-trained and equipped Cuban refugees landed at Bahia de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) on Cuba’s southern coast. The plan was ill-conceived and poorly executed. In the absence of the anticipated American air cover and supplies of ammunition, the forewarned Cuban forces quickly overwhelmed the exiles. The anticipated popular uprising, which American intelligence had confidently predicted, failed to materialize. Kennedy expected Castro’s nerve to break and important elements of the Cuban armed forces to defect. This, too, failed to happen. To make matters worse, the administration’s cover story collapsed immediately, and it was evident that despite the president’s denial of U.S. involvement, Washington had instigated it. When the initial beachhead collapsed, 1,197 of the invaders were captured, 200 of them had been members of Batista’s army (14 were wanted for murder in Cuba). Four U.S. pilots and more than 100 of the invaders had been killed. See also CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.

BEATLEMANIA. This chaotic cultural phenomenon was launched with a televised appearance at the London Palladium in 1963 by the British rock group called The Beatles. Their popularity exploded across America following their first performance on The Ed Sullivan Show on 9 February 1964—a top-rated television program that
attracted 73 million viewers. In the following months, The Beatles appeared four more times on the Sullivan show. The Beatles established an all-time record on 4 April 1964 when they held all five top positions on *BillBoard*’s *Hot 100* and followed this up by releasing their motion picture, *A Hard Day’s Night* in August. The Beatles’ *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* was released on 1 June 1967 and became a high point both for the band and for rock music. *See Music; Rock and Roll.*

**BERLIN WALL (1961–1989).** The East German government, officially the German Democratic Republic, with approval of the Soviet Union’s leader Nikita Khrushchev, began construction of a wall to separate East and West Berlin on 13 August 1961. Two weeks earlier, on 30 July 1961, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright, was quoted in a televised interview as saying: “I don’t understand why the East Germans don’t just close their border, because I think they have a right to close it.” Several observers believe that President Kennedy asked Fulbright to make this statement as a way to let Khrushchev know that the United States would accept the wall as a means of defusing the new Berlin Crisis. The purpose of the wall was to stop the daily migration of large numbers of East German skilled workers and professionals to the western sector of Berlin, which had serious economic consequences for East Germany and the Communist Bloc. It also was effective in drastically reducing defections—2.5 million between 1949 and 1962 and only 5,000 between 1962 and 1989.

President Kennedy visited West Berlin on 26 June 1963 and took this opportunity to publicly criticize communism in general and to cite the Berlin Wall as an example of its failures. “Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect,” he said, “but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in.” But his speech is best known for his utterance, “Ich bin ein Berliner.” *See Foreign Affairs.*

**BERRIGAN, DANIEL (1921–).** One of six children, born on 9 May 1921 in Virginia, Minnesota, Daniel Berrigan moved with his family to Syracuse, New York, after his father was fired from his job on a railroad in Minnesota for his activity in the Socialist Party. At the age
of 18, Berrigan applied for admission to the Society of Jesus. After his novitiate, he studied philosophy and theology at Woodstock College in Maryland and Weston College in Massachusetts. He was ordained in 1952.

In 1953 and 1954, Berrigan served as an auxiliary military chaplain in Germany. After returning to the United States in 1954, he taught French and theology at the Jesuits’ Brooklyn Preparatory School. Berrigan also led a chapter of the Young Christian Workers among Puerto Ricans living on Manhattan’s Lower East Side. From 1957 to 1963, he was a professor of New Testament studies at Le Moyne College in Syracuse, where he attracted a dedicated group of young followers committed to pacifism and human rights—one of whom was David Miller, later the first convicted draft-card burner.

Beginning in 1963, Berrigan fasted, picketed, sat-in, and spoke against the Vietnam War. In the summer of 1965, he helped form the interdenominational Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam. As a result of his antiwar activity, his superiors decided to send him to South America, apparently under pressure from the Archdiocese of New York, which was headed by the hawkish Francis Cardinal Spellman. Protests from liberal Catholics forced his recall after three months, and Berrigan resumed his organization of antiwar work.

On 17 May 1968, Daniel and eight other Catholics, including his brother, Father Philip Berrigan, walked into the draft board office in Catonsville, Maryland, and set fire to the draft records with homemade napalm. The Catonsville Nine, as they came to be known, had selected the Catonsville draft board because it was housed in a Knights of Columbus hall and therefore symbolized, in their view, the collusion of the church and those directing the war. The Nine went to trial in October 1968 for conspiracy and destruction of government property. Daniel Berrigan and the others were found guilty, and he was sentenced to three years in prison. That same year, he was part of an American delegation to North Vietnam that orchestrated the release of three downed U.S. pilots. In April 1969, when he was to have begun his sentence, he went underground, later explaining that he had refused to accept the legal consequences of his lawbreaking because “there is no machinery of recourse with our law about this war.” In August 1970, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents apprehended him on an island off the Rhode Island coast, and
he was sent to federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut, where he served 18 months. After his release, he continued to be active in protesting against the use of U.S. military force. See ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT (1968). Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas sponsored this legislation that was the first to address the needs of minority language speakers. With federal funds, school districts could establish educational programs for students with limited English speaking ability. In its original form the bill was intended for Spanish-speaking students, but in 1968 it was merged into the broad Bilingual Education Act or Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). A product of the Civil Rights Movement, this legislation recommended instruction in English and multicultural awareness and, although it did not require bilingual programs, it provided school districts the authority to provide bilingual education programs without violating segregation laws. The federal funds could be used for resources for educational programs, teacher training, development of materials and parent involvement projects. In 1969, $7.5 million was approved for spending on bilingual education programs. See also GREAT SOCIETY.

BLACK MUSLIMS. See MALCOLM X.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY. In Oakland, California, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale organized the militant revolutionary Black Panther Party for Self-Defense during August 1966 with the slogan “All Power to the People.” Drawing upon theoretical positions of Malcolm X, the new Black Panther doctrine emphasized the dignity and self-respect to fight for the equality of all oppressed minorities and stressed an international working class unity that joined people of all colors and genders. With a mixture of Maoism and Marxism, they opposed the capitalist economic system and argued that the workers must take over the means of production. A link was established with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Stokely Carmichael left SNCC to join the party as prime minister in February 1968. A major party social service activity was the Free Breakfast for School Children Program, launched in Oakland in January 1969; during that year, the Party set up free breakfasts in several
other cities, feeding 10,000 children every day prior to school. By the
end of the year, the party had grown from 500 members to more than
5,000.

In September 1968, however, the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s
(FBI) director, J. Edgar Hoover, described the Panthers as: “the
greatest threat to the internal security of the country. Schooled in the
Marxist–Leninist ideology and the teaching of Chinese Communist
leader Mao Zedong, its members have perpetrated numerous assaults
on police officers and have engaged in violent confrontations with
police throughout the country. Leaders and representatives of the
Black Panther Party travel extensively all over the, [sic] United
States preaching their gospel of hate and violence not only to ghetto
residents, but to students in colleges, universities and high schools as
well.”

By July 1969, the Black Panthers had become the primary focus of
the FBI program and was ultimately the target of 233 authorized ac-
tions. Many members were killed, jailed, or fled the country. Kath-
leen and Eldridge Cleaver, who earlier had published Soul on Ice,
fled the U.S. in 1968 to live in Algeria. Huey Newton was jailed. In
1969, the alliance with SNCC was coming apart and a gunfight on the
campus of the University of California at Los Angeles resulted in two
Panthers being killed. In Chicago, a police raid ended with Fred
Hampton and several other Panthers killed. During the 1970s, the
pressure reduced the party; by 1980, it was virtually dead. See also
AFRICAN AMERICANS; BLACK POWER MOVEMENT; CIVIL
RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

BLACK POWER MOVEMENT. This call for “black power” came to
embody many African Americans’ aspirations for full empower-
ment that would permit them to consciously promote their collective
interests and values. Although they did not offer any single agenda,
their primary object was to improve the status and welfare of all
African Americans. Increasing numbers of black youth during the
1960s rejected the Civil Rights Movement’s moderate path of coop-
eration, integration, and assimilation, and joined the Black Power
Movement. Several member of the Student Nonviolent Coordinat-
ing Committee (SNCC), notably Stokely Carmichael, abandoned
Dr. Martin Luther King’s non-violence creed. He is credited with
saying: “I’m not going to beg the white man for anything I deserve—I’m going to take it. We want black power.” By 1966, the slogan, “Black Power” carried the hopes of many African Americans to gain control over their own communities. The urban riots of the mid-1960s posed serious domestic problems for the Johnson administration as whites blamed the violence on black “lawlessness,” while blacks were angry at the unfulfilled promises to end poverty and discrimination. See also BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

**BLOUGH, ROBERT M. (1904–1988).** See STEEL INDUSTRY.

**BROWN, H. RAP (1943– ).** Brown, who was born 4 October 1943, grew up in Baton Rouge and enrolled at Southern University in 1960. He spent the summers of 1962 and 1963 in Washington, D.C., where he joined demonstrations organized by the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG), an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Brown quit school in 1964 and moved to Washington, where he became chair of NAG in the fall of 1964 and a neighborhood worker in a local antipoverty program during 1965. He began working as a SNCC organizer in Greene County, Alabama, in the fall of 1966 and was named SNCC’s state project director in Alabama late that year. In May 1967, Brown was elected chair of SNCC, replacing Stokely Carmichael.

The militant Carmichael told reporters at the time of Brown’s election: “People will be happy to have me back when they hear him.” As SNCC chair, Brown quickly captured media attention for his statements in support of Black Power, his condemnation of American society and government, and his advocacy of violence and revolution. He repeatedly accused white America of conspiring “to commit genocide against black people” and counseled blacks to “get yourself some guns.” Brown called President Johnson a “wild, mad dog, an outlaw from Texas” who sent “honky, cracker federal troops into Negro communities to kill black people.” He applauded inner-city violence and called on blacks to celebrate 11 August, the day that the 1965 Watts riot had begun, as their “day of independence.” He warned that the riots were only “dress rehearsals for revolution” and predicted “the rebellions will continue to escalate.” Violence “is necessary,” Brown asserted. “It is as American as cherry pie.”
Brown became controversial not only for his public statements but also for the role he allegedly played in instigating riots in 1967. Rioting erupted in Dayton, Ohio, in June and in East St. Louis, Illinois, in September shortly after speeches by Brown in each city. In a widely publicized incident, Brown addressed a rally of blacks in Cambridge, Maryland, on 24 June, reportedly telling his audience that they should get their guns and that they “should’ve burned . . . down long ago” a 50-year-old all-black elementary school in the city. Later that night, a fire broke out in the school and quickly spread throughout the black business district, destroying nearly 20 buildings.

Brown was arrested in Washington on 26 July by federal officials and taken to Alexandria, Virginia, where he was rearrested by state authorities on a fugitive warrant, charged by Maryland with arson and inciting to riot. Released on bond on 27 July Brown was again arrested in New York City on 19 August on a warrant issued by a federal court in New Orleans and charged with violating the Federal Firearms Act by carrying a gun across state lines while under indictment. He was also arrested in February 1968 for violating travel restrictions imposed on him by a federal judge while he was out on bond. Following the time of his July 1967 arrest, Brown spent various periods of time in jail while raising bail ranging from $10,000 to $100,000 on different charges.

Brown, who repeatedly insisted that the charges against him were trumped-up, was often singled out by proponents of a federal antiriot bill as one of their major targets. The 1968 Civil Rights Act included a section making it a crime to cross state lines with intent to incite a riot, and the controversial provision was popularly known as the “Rap Brown amendment.” In May 1968, Brown was convicted of violating the federal firearms law and given the maximum sentence of five years and a $2,000 fine, but he was released on bond pending appeal.

From February to July 1968, while SNCC and the Black Panther Party were allied with each other, Brown served as the Black Panthers’ minister of justice. That same year, he published his controversial autobiography and political manifesto, Die, Nigger, Die. He was replaced as SNCC chair in June 1968 but then reelected to the post in July 1969 at a meeting where SNCC also changed its name to the Student National Coordinating Committee. Brown’s trial on the Maryland charges was scheduled for 16 March 1970, but was twice
postponed when he failed to appear in court. Brown disappeared in March 1970, and in May he was placed on the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s 10-most-wanted list. He was not seen until October 1971, when he was shot and captured by police in New York City. The police charged that Brown had participated in the armed robbery of a Manhattan bar and was shot while trying to make a getaway. In March 1973, Brown was found guilty of armed robbery in New York and was sentenced to a term of five to 15 years. Maryland dropped its riot and arson charges against Brown in November when he pleaded guilty to a lesser charge of failing to appear for trial in 1970. After he was released in 1976, Brown, who had become a Muslim in prison and taken the name Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, led the National Ummah, one of America’s largest Muslim groups. In 2000, after a shootout with Atlanta policemen who had come to arrest him for theft, Brown was found guilty of murder and sentenced to life in prison. See BLACK POWER MOVEMENT; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

BUCKLEY, WILLIAM, JR. (1925– ). Born 24 November 1925, into a wealthy family in New York City, William F. Buckley Jr. attended private schools in Great Britain and served in the navy during World War II. A year after his 1950 graduation from Yale, Buckley wrote God and Man at Yale, a best-selling condemnation of what he regarded as his alma mater’s political and irreligious liberalism. In McCarthy and His Enemies (1954), he championed the anticommunist activities of the Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wisc.).

By the mid-1960s, Buckley had emerged as the intellectual leader of a new, postwar conservatism linking militant opposition to communism abroad with antagonism toward political liberalism at home. To provide a forum for conservative opinion, Buckley founded the biweekly National Review in 1955. Edited by Buckley and partially subsidized by his family, the Review became the conservative counterpart to the left-leaning New Republic and Nation. In the Review, a widely syndicated newspaper column begun in 1962, and in frequent debates and on lecture tours, Buckley argued against a host of programs and policies supported by the liberals, including Social Security, U.S. membership in the United Nations, and the federal judiciary’s school desegregation orders. A vigorous critic of the Soviet
Union, Buckley compared it to Nazi Germany and said he agreed with the proposition “Better the chance of being dead than the certainty of being Red.”

Buckley supported conservative senator Barry M. Goldwater for president in 1964 but did not play a role in his campaign. In his columns, Buckley strove to differentiate Goldwater’s candidacy from the extreme right-wing John Birch Society, which he deemed a threat to a genuine conservative political movement in America. At the same time, however, members of the Goldwater staff rejected Buckley’s offer of assistance.

In 1965, Buckley championed conservative politics in the New York City mayoralty campaign. Running as the candidate of the Conservative Party, established with his assistance in 1962, Buckley hoped to frustrate the political ambitions of Representative John V. Lindsay, the Republican–Liberal Party mayoral candidate who had refused to endorse Goldwater in 1964. Declining to campaign in the traditional New York fashion—in the streets, eating blintzes and pizza—Buckley instead offered lengthy position papers and denunciations of Lindsay’s grammar and the predominant social welfare philosophy of the nation’s largest city. He criticized the city’s budgetary policies and voting-bloc politics. Among other proposals, Buckley offered tax relief for minority business enterprises, legalization of gambling, access to drugs by addicts with a doctor’s prescription, compulsory work for able-bodied welfare recipients, and an elevated bicycle expressway along First Avenue. Although he failed to accomplish his principal objective, that of denying Lindsay’s election, he succeeded in a secondary purpose of his campaign. With 13.4 percent of the vote, he exceeded Lindsay’s tally on the Liberal Party line. He drew most of his support from Republican districts outside Manhattan.

Becoming something of a celebrity, Buckley pursued his conservative campaign nationwide. Beginning in 1966, he hosted Firing Line, a syndicated television interview program in which he debated, with acumen and sarcasm, liberals and radicals. An early critic of both the civil rights and antiwar movements, Buckley attacked their militancy and emphasis upon civil disobedience as subversive to an orderly and rational society. Still protesting his college’s “liberal bias,” Buckley ran for a seat on the board of the Yale Corporation in
1967. Former deputy defense secretary Cyrus Vance, a liberal Democrat, defeated him.

In 1968, Buckley supported former Vice-President Richard M. Nixon for president and managed his own brother’s campaign for the U.S. Senate. Running on the Conservative Party line, James L. Buckley lost to Senator Jacob K. Javits in November, but an impressive display of voter support (16.7 percent) set the stage for James’s successful senatorial campaign two years later. William F. Buckley held two largely honorific appointments in the Nixon administration. In 1972, he declared a “suspension of support” for Nixon because he differed with the president’s policy of détente with the People’s Republic of China and the Soviet Union and his planned budget deficit. He continued, however, to support Republican causes and candidates throughout the century, particularly Ronald Reagan, through his magazine and also through his own prolific writing.

Bundy, McGeorge (1919–1996). A nominal Republican, McGeorge Bundy backed Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. However, he withdrew his support of the Republican Party after its 1960 nomination of Richard M. Nixon. Instead, Bundy helped organize a scientific and professional committee in support of Senator John F. Kennedy. Following his election, Kennedy, impressed by Bundy’s intellectual brilliance, organizational ability, and philosophical pragmatism, offered him several positions in the state and defense departments and on the U.S. disarmament team, but Bundy was not interested in these appointments. He did accept one as the president’s special assistant for national security affairs.

Bundy’s position suited his philosophical background and prior experience. He was, in the words of Joseph Kraft, an “organizer of process,” more interested in the process of informed decision making than in advocating particular policies. It was Bundy’s job to gather information from the defense and state departments and the intelligence agencies and present them to the president in a concise fashion. More important, he also controlled access to the president. These functions gave him great power in determining what issues received priority and the policy options from which Kennedy could choose. Bundy was also responsible for organizing the meetings of the National Security Council and helped assemble the task forces that
Kennedy often used in place of State Department officials to deal with special diplomatic problems. Because of Bundy’s background, he generally drew men from the ranks of the academic and business establishments for these assignments and thus indirectly determined the way many issues would be tackled.

Bundy’s influence became even greater following the April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Angered by what he considered the state department’s poor advice during the months prior to the attack, Kennedy began relying more and more upon Bundy for foreign policy information and counsel. The role Bundy played in the Kennedy administration was most evident during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Late in the afternoon of 15 October, Bundy was informed of the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Bundy was then instructed to set up meetings of the ExCom, a special panel to advise the president and gain bipartisan support for administration action. This group included many men with long experience in foreign affairs, among them Dean Acheson, Robert Lovett, and John J. McCloy.

At the meetings, Bundy was anxious to keep the process of decision making open until all policy ramifications had been explored. At the 17 October meeting when majority sentiment seemed to favor an air strike to remove the missiles, Bundy advocated an armed strike. Because a blockade was technically an act of war, Kennedy instituted a “quarantine” of Cuba on 23 October.

Bundy’s involvement in Vietnam affairs grew during the remainder of his government service. Following the August 1963 attack on Buddhist dissidents by the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, the Kennedy administration began a reevaluation of American policy toward the South Vietnamese government. During the two-month debate on the subject, some advisers, such as Roger Hilsman, advocated U.S. withdrawal of support in hope of precipitating a coup. Others, such as Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, insisted that the United States continue to support Diem but demanded governmental reform. Bundy believed that the United States should not thwart any coup that seemed potentially successful but should have the “option of judging and warning on any plan with poor prospects of success.” On 1 November South Vietnamese generals staged a successful coup. The United States had given no direct aid to the rebels but made no move to stop the change in government.
Following Kennedy’s assassination, Bundy remained special assistant to President Johnson and played a major role in the decision to send U.S. troops to the Dominican Republic in 1965. He was a major force in the formation of the administration’s Vietnam policy and advocated bombing North of Vietnam in 1965. Unable to accommodate himself to Johnson’s personality, Bundy left government in February 1966 to become president of the Ford Foundation. See FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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CALIFANO, JOSEPH (1931– ). Born 15 May 1931 in Brooklyn, New York, Joseph Califano graduated from Holy Cross in 1952 and took his law degree from Harvard Law School in 1954. That same year, he joined the navy, where he served as a legal officer in the Defense Department. He went to work for the defense department in 1961. By 1965, he was special assistant to secretary of defense Robert S. McNamara and had gained the attention of President Johnson and Bill Moyers, who admired Califano’s sharp analytical ability and his talent for devising clear proposals for solving governmental problems.

Califano was named White House special assistant in July 1965. He quickly became one of LBJ’s closest advisers and was given the authority to oversee the domestic legislative program. Califano, another aide recalled, “began to regularize the development of the legislative program in a way that had not been before.” He exerted particular influence in a few areas, especially issues involving urban life and the environment, but he played a behind-the-scenes role in almost every domestic initiative the administration produced.

In January 1966, Johnson announced his intention to create a Department of Transportation. The president put Califano in charge of the legislation and told the cabinet the next day, “When Joe speaks, that’s my voice you hear.” The bill was an enormously complex piece of legislation involving some 30 autonomous and semi-autonomous agencies, including the Civil Aeronautics Board and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Its progress was slow because many members of Congress regarded many of the affected government activities, such as highways, dams, and waterways, as valuable “pork-bar-
rel” projects. After passage of the Department of Transportation bill in October 1966, Califano’s power and prestige within the White House increased.

Unlike Walter Jenkins or Moyers, Califano was never an “alter ego” to Johnson, nor did he attract significant public attention. Calling himself “the president’s instrument,” he was described by Secretary McNamara as “the man who, next to the President, has contributed more than any other individual in our country to the conception, formulation and implementation of the program for the Great Society.”

After Moyers’s departure from the administration in December 1966, Califano continued to expand the “task-force system” initiated by Moyers and Richard Goodwin. He exercised White House control over the department of labor, various welfare programs within the department of health, education and welfare, the poverty program, the agency for international development program, and all aspects of foreign trade. Concerned with the legislative proposals of these agencies and with many of their day-to-day activities, Califano’s role went well beyond guiding the administration’s legislative program through Congress. In the Model Cities program, for example, Johnson told Califano he wanted a big, innovative housing program but that the response from housing officials had not been imaginative enough. Califano then helped to organize a task force to advocate the Model Cities plan, meanwhile overcoming resistance from housing officials who insisted the program was too large, and was too controversial to undertake in the first year of the new department of housing urban development. A modified version of the Model Cities program, allocating $11 million for the project, was passed by Congress in 1966.

Throughout his White House career, Califano concentrated on domestic affairs and made a conscious decision to avoid the issue of Vietnam. Although he had both the position and the expertise to become an authority on the war, Califano preferred to remain silent in order not to place himself in conflict with national security affairs adviser McGeorge Bundy.

In 1969, Califano joined the law firm of Arnold and Porter in Washington. From 1970 through 1972, he served as general counsel to the Democratic National Committee. He served as secretary of health, education, and welfare until 1979 and, in 1992, became...
president and chair of the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University.

CAMPUS TEACH-INS. The antiwar movement was initially centered in colleges and universities and was stimulated by teach-ins with students gradually playing a larger role in them. Beginning at the University of Michigan in March 1965, teach-ins quickly spread to other colleges and universities across America, all the time generating larger audiences and public attention. At the beginning non-violent in approach, the major goal of the teach-in was to reduce President Johnson’s expansion of American military involvement in Vietnam. Gradually, however, other protests began to replace the teach-ins with rallies and marches that became increasingly violent.

At first, the campus movements prompted the administration to respond and they sent out specialists to debate faculty members and students over the role of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. The clashes between protestors and government officials, broadcasted via television and radio, gave the antiwar messages a wide audience and a high degree of respectability. The political significance of the teach-in became apparent when the president felt it necessary to respond in a speech at Johns Hopkins University on 7 April 1965.

CARMICHAEL, STOKELY (1941–1998). Born in Trinidad, raised in New York City, and educated at Howard University, Stokley Carmichael (also known as Kwame Ture) initially gained prominence in the 1960s as a civil rights activist. He participated in the Freedom Rides and the registration of black voters in Mississippi (1964) and Alabama (1965–1966) during which he was arrested and jailed numerous times. In 1966, he assumed the leadership of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and shortly afterwards, following the assassination of James Meredith, joined Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders to complete Meredith’s “March against Fear.” This experience led to Carmichael’s “Black Power” speech urging African Americans take pride in their heritage and community and “to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations.” Although Black Power was not a new idea, his advocacy energized young African Americans and radicalized SNCC, which separated him from the moderate civil rights
leadership. Carmichael subsequently became a black separatist, a member of the Black Panther Party, and a Pan-Africanist.

**CARSON, RACHEL (1907–1964).** A 15-year veteran of federal service as a scientist and editor for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Rachel Carson’s books, *The Sea around Us* (1952) and *The Edge of the Sea* (1955), brought her fame as a naturalist and a writer who could explain science to the public. She resigned in 1952 to devote her efforts to writing about the relationship of humans to their surroundings and stressed the power humans possessed to irreversibly alter nature, often with disastrous results. Carson was particular concerned with widespread use of synthetic chemical pesticides after World War II and undertook to warn the public about their over use and long-term dangers. She sharply criticized the department of agriculture and agricultural scientists in the *Silent Spring* (1962), which helped to spark the environmental movement. The chemical industry and some government officials denounced her as an alarmist, but Carson called upon Congress in 1963 to enact new laws that would help protect the environment and human health. See CLEAN AIR ACT (1963).

**CASTRO, FIDEL (1926– ).** Fidel Castro Ruz was born in Cuba in 1926. The son of middle-class parents, he was educated by Jesuits and received a law degree from the university of Havana in 1950. In 1953, he was jailed following the failure of a coup, the July uprising against dictator Fulgencio Batista. Freed and then exiled, he lived in Mexico and the United States before returning to launch a guerrilla campaign against Batista from the Sierra Maestra region of Oriente Province. In 1959, he succeeded in ousting Batista, became premier, and immediately set out to reform Cuban society.

Nationalizing oil companies and sugar producers, as well as cracking down on mobsters, made him a hero at home, but his seizure of American companies aroused the relentless enmity of the U.S. Because his policies drove many middle-class Cubans into exile, the American government assumed that Castro was deeply unpopular; it encouraged and financially supported a growing band of Cuban exiles determined to overthrow him. Their attempt failed, and the disaster at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 only made Castro more powerful. He
turned increasingly to the Soviet Union for assistance and announced that Cuba was a socialist state and that he was a Marxist–Leninist. His hostility to what he saw as Yankee imperialism was implacable, and he welcomed Soviet missiles that led to the crisis with the Kennedy administration in October 1962. See CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS.

CHAVEZ, CESAR (1927–1993). Born 31 March 1927 in Yuma, Arizona, Cesar Chavez left school in the seventh grade to become a full-time field worker in California. After taking part in several unsuccessful strikes of farm workers, he began to consider ways of organizing Mexican Americans in California. In 1952, he joined the San Jose branch of the Community Service Organization (CSO), which fostered grassroots efforts to meet the problems of the poor people. As a CSO worker, and later director, Chavez organized voter registration drives among Mexican Americans and set up services to provide information on such matters as immigration laws and welfare regulations. He left the CSO in 1962, when the organization turned down his proposal to create a union of farm workers.

With their meager savings, Chavez and his wife, Helen, immediately established the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). There followed several years of painstaking organizational work in the fields and migrant worker camps of southern and central California. By 1965, the NFWA had a membership of 1,700 families, but Chavez still considered it too weak for a confrontation with employers. His hand was forced in September 1965 when 800 Filipino grape pickers in Delano struck for higher wages. The striking workers belonged to a separate organization, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) affiliated with the AFL–CIO. Chavez called a sympathy strike, which developed into an extended fight to win recognition from grape growers and other employers in California agriculture.

Under Chavez, the farm workers’ strike had elements of both a labor struggle and a civil rights movement with strong religious overtones. To dramatize union demands for recognition, Chavez led 60 union members in a 300-mile march from Delano to Sacramento in 1966; the march ended with a demonstration of over 10,000 people in the state capital. Chavez himself fasted for 25 days in 1968, hop-
ing to emphasize the nonviolent character of the movement. These and more traditional tactics—including picket lines and organizing work—increased the membership of the farm workers' union to 17,000 in the late 1960s. Chavez decided to affiliate with the AFL–CIO in July 1966, merging the NFWA with the AWOC to form the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC).

The drama of the strike and Chavez's personal magnetism brought together a broad coalition of national support, ranging from civil rights and church groups to traditional labor leaders. Senator Robert F. Kennedy and Walter Reuther, leader of the United Auto Workers Union, appeared at farm workers' rallies; the UAW also contributed to the UFWOC strike fund. The farm workers' struggle soon became a defining issue in both California and national politics. Democratic governor Edmund G. Brown's sympathy for the growers cost him much liberal support in his state, while the farm workers' enthusiastic endorsement of Senator Kennedy helped increase his national standing. Chavez's actions also earned him the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which developed a 2,000-page file on his activities.

Gradually, publicity and labor unrest began to tell on the California growers. The first employers to acknowledge union demands were the growers of wine grapes, who marketed their own brands and were highly vulnerable to boycott. Between April and September 1966, the major wine manufacturers of California signed contracts with the UFWOC, recognizing the union as the sole bargaining agent of the grape pickers. See also HISPANICS.

“CHICAGO EIGHT.” See DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION; HOFFMAN, ABBIE.

CHICANO MOVEMENT. The Chicano Movement, also known as the Chicano Civil Rights Movement, the Mexican–American Civil Rights Movement, and El Movimiento, was part of the widespread American civil rights movement of the 1960s. The movement sought to enhance all political, social, economic, and cultural activities of Mexican Americans. In New Mexico, the political dimensions included efforts to restore Spanish-era land grants to their original owners, while in California and elsewhere in the West, it involved the
election and appointment of Mexican Americans to government offices. Political activities also involved the desegregation of schools and responsible authorities to review complaints of police brutality. Led by Cesar Chavez and others, the farm workers struggled for collective bargaining rights of agricultural laborers. Although several different nationalities were involved in these economic efforts, many were Mexican Americans. The strike of the National Farm Workers Association against the grape growers during the mid and late 1960s resulted in initial success. See also HISPANICS.

CHOMSKY, NOAM (1928– ). Noam Chomsky was born on 7 December 1928 and grew up in Philadelphia, the city of his birth. He was educated in linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving an M.A. in 1951 and a Ph.D. in 1955. A committed Zionist, Chomsky considered settling in Israel during the late 1940s; but his academic mentor, Professor Zelig Harris, persuaded him to continue his linguistic studies in the United States. Chomsky became assistant professor of linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1955. His first book, Syntactic Structures, was published in 1957. A revision of his doctoral dissertation, Chomsky’s book developed the concept of generative or transformational grammar. Language, according to Chomsky, is a basic human capacity; grammar, in his view, is the surface product of deeper, universal conceptual structures existing in the mind, which can use rules of logic and syntax to generate new thoughts and expressions. Chomsky’s thesis challenged the dominant behaviorist school of linguistics, which viewed language entirely as a response to external stimuli. Arguing against this attitude, Chomsky pointed out that children are able not only to repeat what they are taught but also to use words and grammatical rules in sentences they have never heard before.

As the founder of a major new school of linguistics, Chomsky gained wide attention in academic circles. He reached the rank of professor at MIT in 1961 and was named Ferrari P. Ward Professor of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics five years later. At this time, he also carried his conflict with behaviorists into broader areas of philosophy and psychology. In his book Cartesian Linguistics, published in 1966, Chomsky traced his view of humans’ creative capacity back to the rationalist philosophers of the 17th century. He
expanded on his faith in free individual development as an alternative to what he considered the behaviorist system of social control and manipulation.

Always a close observer of current events, Chomsky was drawn increasingly to political activism during the mid-1960s. He opposed the Vietnam War from its inception and soon broadened his criticism to include most aspects of U.S. foreign policy. In numerous articles in the New York Review of Books and other journals, he attacked American foreign policy as the product of a bankrupt ruling class attempting to preserve itself by forcefully maintaining the economic and political status quo. His most influential essay, “The Responsibility of Intellectuals,” appeared in 1966. Here, Chomsky criticized such intellectuals as Walt R. Rostow and Arthur Schlesinger Jr. for developing an elaborate justification of American foreign policy in the service of government and industry. Chomsky argued that the proper place for authentic intellectuals was outside the power structure and that their proper function was of criticism and dissent. This essay and other political writings by Chomsky were collected in American Power and the New Mandarins, published in 1969.

Chomsky’s strong opposition to the war in Vietnam and his support of the protest movement made him a major influence within the American New Left. He was a participant and frequent speaker at many demonstrations during the mid and late 1960s, including the 1967 March on the Pentagon. He also served on the steering committee of Resistance, a national antiwar group. Chomsky praised the anarchist element of youth rebellion of the 1960s but favored libertarian socialism as the best path to “a society in which freely constituted social bonds replace the fetters of autocratic institutions.” In 1969, Chomsky was appointed to an MIT panel reviewing the university’s support of two laboratories involved in defense-related research. The panel urged MIT to recommend a stronger civilian orientation for both laboratories.

Chomsky remained an important academic and protest figure during the 1970s, although his early defense of Pol Pot’s regime in Cambodia alienated many supporters. He moved away from his original strong support of Israel in the aftermath of the 1967 Middle East war, urging first a binational state in Palestine and later a separate state for Palestinian Arabs. He also has been a prolific critic of U.S. foreign

**CHURCH, FRANK (1924–1984).** Born on 25 July 1924 in Boise, Idaho, Frank Church, a 1950 graduate of the Stanford University Law School, practiced law in Boise until elected to the Senate in 1956 at the age of 32. During the Kennedy years, Church compiled a liberal record, voting for the administration’s civil rights, school aid, minimum wage, and Medicare bills. The Americans for Democratic Action gave Church uniformly high ratings during this period.

Church was a member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Interior and Insular Affairs Committees; he also served on the special Senate Committee on Aging. He had a special interest in conservation issues, and, in 1962, Church served as floor manager for a bill designed to protect several million acres of wilderness from commercial and highway development. A similar measure became law in 1964. In 1967, Church introduced legislation, passed a year later that established a National Wild and Scenic Rivers System to protect designated rivers from pollution and commercial exploitation. Although conservationists generally praised his work in the Senate, they pointed out that over the years Church had vacillated on the question of whether the Snake River–Hells Canyon area in Idaho should be developed for hydroelectric power—a measure that conservationists had vigorously opposed. During the Johnson years, Church supported major social welfare legislation. Unlike most liberals, however, he voted against gun-control legislation in 1968.

As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Church generally advocated reduced foreign aid expenditures. He called for a phasing out of aid to prosperous Western European nations and Japan. He also urged an end to military assistance to such nations as India, Pakistan, Greece, and Turkey that seemed likely to engage in future hostilities. He did, however, support Johnson’s intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

Church was critical of U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam and in 1963 opposed aiding the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem. In June 1965, he called for direct negotiations with the National Liber-
ation Front, free elections in South Vietnam, and a scaling down of the U.S. war effort. Nevertheless, during 1965 and 1966, he voted for the supplemental arms appropriations bills necessary for sustaining the war effort. In May 1967, Church drafted a letter signed by 16 antiwar senators warning the North Vietnamese that “our objective is the settlement of the war at the conference table, not the repudiation of American commitments already made to South Vietnam or the unilateral withdrawal of American forces from that embattled country.” In 1969, Church coauthored a bill to prohibit the use of U.S. ground combat troops in Laos and Thailand.

Conservatives in Idaho were bitterly opposed to Church’s antiwar stand and his liberal voting record. In 1967, they began a movement to have him recalled, but Church gained a good deal of popular sympathy as a result of this challenge, and he swept to an overwhelming victory in the 1968 elections. In 1970, Church and Senator John Sherman Cooper sponsored an amendment passed by the Senate, but rejected by the House, to prohibit the president from sending U.S. combat troops into Cambodia without consent of Congress. He also served, in the 1970s, as chair of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, better known as the “Church Committee,” which found serious problems with the power and conduct of the American intelligence community. He was defeated for reelection in 1980, and he resumed the practice of law in Maryland. He died in April 1984 in Bethesda, Maryland.

**CINEMA.** Cinema in the 1960s reflected the decade of fun, fashion, and tremendous social changes. However, 1963 was the worst year for U.S. film production in fifty years (there were only 121 feature releases) and the largest number of foreign films released in any one year was in 1964 (there were 361 foreign releases in the U.S. vs. 141 domestic release). With movie audiences declining due to the dominance of television, major American film producers began to diversify with other forms of entertainment such as records (Bob Dylan’s album *Highway 61 Revisited* by Columbia in 1965) and TV movies (*Saturday Night at the Movies*, 1961). Increasingly in the 1960s, the major studios financed and distributed independently produced domestic pictures, while made-for-TV movies became a regular feature of network programming by the mid-decade. Studio-bound “contract”
stars and directors disappeared, and most of the directors from the early days of cinema were either retired or dead. Some of the studios, such as United Artists and Hal Roach Studios, had to sell off their back lots as valuable California real estate to make room for condominiums and shopping malls. Because of shrinking profit margins and other financial difficulties, the major studios were quickly taken over by multinational companies, especially after the death of pre-war studio moguls, such as Louis B. Mayer of MGM and Harry Cohn of Columbia. The traditional, Hollywood studio era soon receded into the background as more and more studios were acquired by other unrelated business conglomerates. The age of “packaged” films and the independent company and producer had arrived. The much-heralded Joseph L. Mankiewicz film Cleopatra (1963), starring Elizabeth Taylor and future husband Richard Burton, proved a financial disaster for 20th Century Fox, headed by Darryl Zanuck. It was also the longest, commercially made American film released in the U.S. at 4 hours and 3 minutes. Fox was saved from bankruptcy only by the release of the fact-based war epic The Longest Day (1963), an all-star re-creation of the events surrounding D-Day, and the unexpected success of The Sound of Music (1965), starring Julie Andrews.

With the high cost of producing and making films in Hollywood, many studios took movie making abroad, mainly to Britain, examples of which resulted in Becket (1964) and The Lion in Winter (1968), two magnificent historical dramas of 12th-century England. The major studios increasingly became financiers and distributors of foreign-made films. Two of British director David Lean’s 1960s films—Lawrence of Arabia (1962) and Doctor Zhivago (1965)—opened the door for similar epic travelogues.

The popular Broadway musicals also appeared as movies, including Sound of Music and My Fair Lady. With Marilyn Monroe’s death, Audrey Hepburn, star of My Fair Lady and Wait until Dark, became the idol of young women. Walt Disney’s movies sought to provide family-oriented entertainment with such films as 101 Dalmatians and Pinocchio. Perhaps the most famous politically oriented movie of the decade was Dr. Strangelove, which commented on the absurd nature of the nuclear arms race.

Sex became more explicit, and occasionally non-traditional, in such films as the Midnight Cowboy, Bob and Carol and Ted and Al-
The decade’s James Bond movies—Dr. No, From Russia with Love and Goldfinger—delighted their audiences with a combination of sex and violence. Because movie makers were choosing to ignore previously acknowledged taboos on sex, violence, and language, there was considerable pressure to devise a new film code. See also DEAN, JAMES; MUSIC; THEATER.

CIVIL DEFENSE. The potentially staggering human and industrial losses resulting from a nuclear war prompted both American and Soviet officials during the early Cold War years to consider ways of defending their citizens and factories. These programs included identifying and marking public locations where their citizens could shield themselves from the blast and radiation effects of a nuclear bomb. In the United States, private citizens often took it upon themselves to prepare for such a catastrophe, preparations that usually focused on construction of a family fallout shelter. The Gaither Commission’s Report (7 November 1957) explored the feasibility of a nationwide program of shelters. The high tide of American civil defense activity, as opposed to planning, took place in 1961 and 1962 following John F. Kennedy’s summit meeting with Premier Nikita Khrushchev at Vienna on 3–4 June 1961 and during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. By the end of the decade, most officials and citizens recognized the destructiveness of nuclear warheads rendered civil defense programs futile, while the nuclear balance, and subsequent negotiations between the superpowers seeking to control this weaponry, offered the greatest prospect for safety. See also ARMS CONTROL; ARMS RACE.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT (1964). This landmark legislation forbade discrimination in the United States based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origins. It altered the American political, social, and economic landscape by banning discrimination in public facilities, government, and employment, and by abolishing segregation by race in schools, housing, and hiring. President Kennedy had urged the passage of such a bill in his civil rights speech of 11 June 1963 when he asked for legislation that would extend to all persons “the kind of equality of treatment which would want for ourselves.” Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield introduced the bill in Congress but
neither he nor Kennedy was able to achieve its passage. After Kennedy’s death, Johnson addressed Congress and the nation for the first time as president on 27 November 1963. He urged the passage of the civil rights bill as a tribute to Kennedy so that “the ideas and the ideals which [he] so nobly represented . . . will be translated into effective action.” Johnson employed his considerable influence to persuade Congress to act on the bill and, despite an 83-day filibuster in the Senate by conservatives and segregationists, it was overwhelmingly passed and signed into law on 2 July 1964. Enforcement of the Act grew slowly as judicial decisions upheld its intent.

Although the initial intent of the bill was to guarantee the rights of African Americans, it was amended prior to passage to protect the civil rights of all persons and, for the first time, specifically women. The inclusion of women in the 1964 Act was due to the influence of a Virginia segregationist, Representative Howard W. Smith, who chaired the House Rules Committee. Although he opposed civil rights protections for African Americans, his support of them for women was due to the urging of his longtime friend, Alice Paul, a leader in the suffrage movement since 1917. Smith joined with Representative Martha Griffiths, a liberal feminist from Michigan, in a last-minute amendment to include sex as a protected category despite the opposition of labor chieftains who had long opposed the Equal Rights Amendment and African American leaders who desired to focus on race.

There were repercussions that evolved from the passage of the civil rights act that altered national politics. Southern states that had long provided the Democrats with majorities in the House and Senate shifted their political allegiance to the Republicans. As a sign of the impending change, the election of 1964 found five states in the Deep South going to the Republican candidate, two of which had not voted Republican since 1876.

Spurred by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. a week before, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which was intended to be a supplement to the 1964 Act. Although the act had prohibited discrimination in housing there were no federal provisions for enforcement. The 1968 Act, also known as the Fair Housing Act, expanded earlier legislation by banning discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, religion, national
origin, and, later added, sex. It additionally extended protection to

civil rights workers. See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1968. See CIVIL RIGHTS ACT (1964);
FAIR HOUSING ACT OF (1968).

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT (1954–1968). The movement con-
sisted of a number of loosely connected organizations that sought to
abolish racial discrimination and segregation of African Americans
in what has been called the Second Reconstruction era. The initial
strategies involved litigation and lobbying activities led by such or-
ganizations as the National Association for the Advancement of
Colored People that resulted in such achievements as Brown v. Board
of Education (1954) that ordered the desegregation of public schools.
It is generally held that this decision, which overturned the previous
“declaring separate but equal” doctrine and was ignored by parts of
the South, sparked the movement. Other groups joined in with their
own protest activities, such as the American Indian Movement, Chi-
cano Movement, and Women’s Liberation Movement.

Frustrated by the federal and state government’s gradual ap-
proaches to ending segregation, clergy, students, and fellow citizen
activists chose to become involved in direct nonviolent resistance or
civil disobedience to protest unlawful denial of citizen’s rights. These
activities included sit-in at lunch counters as in the dramatic Green-
boro sit-in (1960) and boycotts, such as that which followed Rosa
Parks’ refusal sit in the back of the bus, the well-publicized Mont-
gomery Bus Boycott (1955–1956). The latter episode brought the
Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. to the forefront while the former
resulted from student action led by the Student Nonviolent Coordi-
nating Committee (SNCC). Marches, such as the Selma to Mont-
gomery marches, and Freedom Rides, such as the 1961 effort that
ended in the Kennedy administration getting directly involved, were
organized by SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
In 1964, SNCC and CORE conducted a Freedom Summer when they
tried to assist black Mississippians to register to vote, usually unsuc-
cessfully, as white authorities rejected their applications. The effort
gained notoriety when three young CORE volunteers—James
Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner—disappeared in
June 1964. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) eventually found their bodies, and those of other missing black Mississippians, after FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover, had been prodded into action.

The civil rights organizations also undertook significant actions in the Northern states. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference sponsored Operation Breadbasket in Chicago during 1965–1967 in what Martin Luther King Jr. called a “second phase” of the movement. The program, which was based on a model developed by the Reverend Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia during the early 1960s, was employed in Southern cities and finally in Chicago. “In Chicago,” Dr. King noted, “we found that while white-owned and white-managed businesses flourished in the Negro community, they return little to the very people they supposedly serve—the customers.” However, the urban riots of the mid-1960s saw many, especially young African Americans, turn away from the mainstream civil right organizations and embrace the Black Power Movement and such groups as the Black Panthers.

Nevertheless, the Johnson administration managed to respond to many of the movements’ complaints with the passage of the Civil Rights Act (1964), which prohibited discrimination in employment practices and public lodgings, the Voting Rights Act (1965), which removed the artificial barriers to voting rights, and Civil Rights Act (1968), which banned discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. Additionally, many other programs developed by the War on Poverty and the Great Society assisted in bettering the conditions of various minorities. See also HISPANICS; NATIVE AMERICANS; WATTS RIOT.

CLEAN AIR ACT (1963). Legislative actions taken by many state and local governments in response to constituents’ complaints about poor air quality had led to the Air Pollution Control Act of 1955. The federal government’s initial effort identified air pollution as a nationwide environmental hazard, announced plans to research the problem and indicated that certain measures were required to improve air quality. The 1963 legislation, built upon the 1955 Act, was the first statute to use the term “clean air” in its effort to promote public health and well-being. During a three-year period, state and local governments received $95 million for research and air-pollution control pro-
grams. The 1963 Act urged the establishment of emissions standards for stationary sources of air pollution that used high sulfur coal and oil, such as electrical power plants and steel mills, and recommended the use of technology that reduced the sulfur content in these fuels. It also recognized that automobile exhaust was producing the greatest amounts of dangerous pollutants and suggested the development of emission standards for vehicles.

The Clean Air Act was amended in 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1969 for the purpose of authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish standards for vehicle emissions, authorize local air pollution control programs, create air-quality control regions, set air-quality standards and compliance deadlines for stationary source emissions and promote research to lower emissions from automobiles. See also CARSON, RACHEL; ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT.

CLIFFORD, CLARK (1906–1998). Clark Clifford, influential adviser to three presidents, was born in Fort Scott, Kansas, on 25 December 1906, and grew up in St. Louis, specializing in corporation and labor law. He eventually became one of the most successful attorneys in that city. In 1944, Clifford was commissioned a lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Reserve and a year later became the assistant to President Harry Truman’s naval aide, James K. Vardaman. He succeeded Vardaman in 1946.

Following the completion of his naval service in June 1946, Clifford was appointed special counsel to the president. While at the White House, he played an important part in the formulation of post-war foreign and domestic policy. In 1946, he prepared a memorandum that was the basis for much of the administration’s increasingly hard-line policy toward Russia. One year later, he helped draft the Truman Doctrine and the National Security Act of 1947. Clifford also helped plan the political strategy that led to Truman’s election in 1948 and that laid the basis for much Fair Deal legislation. In 1950, he resigned his post and returned to private law practice in Washington. During the 1950s, Clifford became one of the most influential lawyers in Washington, D.C., representing some of America’s largest corporations in their dealings with the government. He also served as Senator John F. Kennedy’s personal attorney.
In 1960, Clifford joined Kennedy’s presidential campaign as an adviser on strategy. He counseled the candidate on the policy problems he would face if elected and on the organization of a White House staff. Following Kennedy’s victory, Clifford became his liaison to the Eisenhower administration. In May 1961, Kennedy appointed Clifford to the newly formed Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Disillusioned with the conduct of U.S. intelligence agencies during the planning of the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, the president had created this panel to oversee the activities of these bodies and look into possible ways of reorganizing them. Clifford became chairman of the panel in April 1963.

In the spring of 1962, the Kennedy administration clashed with the steel industry over price increases instituted on 10 April. Since Clifford was respected by the corporations, many of which he had represented as an attorney, the president sent him to outline the government’s demand for a price rollback. Clifford secretly met with U.S. Steel chairman Roger Blough and was instrumental in forcing the corporation to rescind its price increase. In the early 1960s, Clifford played a major role in the development of Comsat, the public–private corporation set up to manage communication satellites. Congress authorized this corporation in August 1962.

Clifford served as a trusted adviser to President Lyndon B. Johnson, both in domestic and foreign affairs. In early 1968, he succeeded Robert S. McNamara as Secretary of Defense and was a decisive force in persuading Johnson to de-escalate the Vietnam War in March 1968. In January 1969, Clifford returned to his private law practice.

COFFIN, WILLIAM SLOANE, JR. (1924– ). William Coffin was born in New York City on 1 June 1924. His father was vice president of the family furniture business, W. & J. Sloane, Inc., and his uncle, the Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, was president of the Union Theological Seminary and a fellow of the Yale Corporation. After attending Phillips Exeter Academy, Coffin entered Yale, and his studies were interrupted by four years of service as an officer in the army. He returned to Yale in 1947 and later spent a year at the Union Theological Seminary. Coffin became a follower of the theologian Reinhold Neibuhr, whose doctrine of “Christian realism” justified and encour-
aged political activism. From 1950 to 1953, he worked overseas for the Central Intelligence Agency, specializing in Russian affairs. After completing theological studies at Yale, Coffin was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1956. He served as chaplain at Phillips Andover Academy and Williams College before being appointed Yale University chaplain in 1958.

Coffin took part in a May 1961 Freedom Ride to Montgomery, Alabama, where he was arrested for breaching the peace in an effort to desegregate a bus terminal lunch counter. Two years later, he was arrested in an effort to end segregation at a Baltimore amusement park, and, in 1964, he was again arrested in St. Augustine, Florida, during a similar demonstration. In addition to his civil rights activities, Coffin served as a training adviser to the Peace Corps during the early 1960s.

Beginning in 1965, Coffin was strongly critical of American conduct in Vietnam. He argued that “the war was being waged with unbelievable cruelty and in a fashion so out of character with American instincts of decency that it is seriously undermining them. The strains of war have cut the funds that might otherwise be applied to antipoverty efforts at home and abroad—which is the intelligent way to fight Communism.” After first restricting his protests to letters and petitions, Coffin became acting executive secretary of the National Emergency Committee of Clergy concerned about Vietnam in January 1966.

By the fall of 1967, Coffin was counseling active resistance to the war and was one of the original signers of the September 1967 statement, “A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority,” which supported draft resistance and the refusal of troops to obey orders to participate in the war. In October, Coffin was the main speaker at ceremonies at the Arlington Street Church in Boston, sponsored by New England Resistance, during which draft-eligible men burned or handed in draft cards. Four days later, Coffin was part of a delegation that turned over these and other draft cards to Justice Department Officials in Washington. On the steps of the Justice Department he stated: “In our view it is not wild-eyed idealism but clear-eyed revulsion which brings us here,” and concluded, “we hereby publicly counsel . . . refusal to serve in the armed services as long as the war in Vietnam continues.”
For these and other acts, Coffin, Benjamin Spock, Marcus Raskin, co-director of the Institute of Policy Studies, writer Mitchell Goodman, and Harvard graduate Michael Ferber were indicted in January 1968 for conspiring to “counsel, aid and abet” young men to “refuse and evade service in the armed services.” After a widely publicized trial, all but Raskin were convicted on one conspiracy count, and, in July 1968, they were sentenced to fines and two-year prison terms. The convictions were overturned a year later, when the First U.S. District Court of Appeals ruled that the trial judge, Francis J. W. Ford, had made prejudicial errors in his charge to the jury. Coffin and Goodman were ordered retried, while charges against Spock and Ferber were dismissed. In April 1970, the charges against the two remaining defendants were dismissed at the request of the Justice Department. Coffin announced his resignation as Yale University chaplain in February 1975, effective the next year. In the 1980s, he served as pastor of the prestigious Riverside Church in New York. He later became the president of SANE-Freeze, one of the nation’s largest peace organizations, and continued to write and lecture on such topics as race, peace, and the role of church in society. See also ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.

COINTELPRO. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), headed by J. Edgar Hoover, initiated in August 1967 a secret operation COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) aimed at disrupting, dismantling, or neutralizing organizations that it classified as “Black Nationalist Hate Groups.” Targeted by the FBI were such groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, and the Revolutionary Action Movement and the Nation of Islam. The FBI also watched and often tried to discredit specific individuals, such as Cesar Chavez, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Maxwell Stanford, and Elijah Muhammad. The Senate select committee to investigate “Intelligence Activities” (1976) released a copy of the FBI document setting out COINTELPRO’s five major objectives, which can be summarized as preventing: 1. a coalition of militant black nationalist groups; 2. the rise of a messiah who could unify and electrify the militant nationalist movement; 3. violence on the part of black nationalist groups; 4.
militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability by discrediting them; and 5. the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth.

The FBI had undertaken more than 2,000 COINTELPRO operations, beginning early in the 1950s and aimed at radical or subversive political organization, before the program was officially terminated in April 1971 in response to public criticism.

COLD WAR. This global competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was fueled by ideology, geopolitics, economics, militarization, and patriotic culture. Although falling short of “hot” war between the two superpowers (although hostilities frequently involved client states), it lasted from 1946 to 1991. Public officials and citizens—and there were many on both sides—rarely ever considered an issue from the other side’s perspective; those ruled by their fervent ideological animosity were known as “Cold Warriors” and played a significant role in constantly feeding international tensions.

In retrospect, the Cold War manifested itself in periods of differing intensity. Following a relative calm in the mid-1950s following the end of the Korean War, it flared sharply during John F. Kennedy’s presidency with confrontations over the Western nation’s enclaves in Berlin, the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961, the Bay of Pigs intervention, and reached the apogee of the Cold War confrontations during the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. At the same time, Kennedy and his advisers were entangled in the unfolding series of crises in Laos and Vietnam.

Following the resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis, tensions relaxed and a series of negotiations were undertaken by officials in Moscow and Washington, some reaching mutual understandings and others not. Several of the successful arrangements were arms-control agreements reached with the Soviets by the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. See also ARMS CONTROL; FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

COMMITTEE FOR SANE NUCLEAR POLICY (SANE). See ANTIWAR MOVEMENT; SPOCK, BENJAMIN.

COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE ACT (1962). This Act established the Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT) and
incorporated it as a publicly traded company in 1963. Although not the first communications satellite, *Telstar I*, launched on 10 July 1962, is considered to have originated the age of satellite communications. The same day, that *Telstar I* lifted off into space, live television was transmitted from the United States across the Atlantic Ocean fascinating the public. COMSAT expanded the reach of satellite communications when in August 1964 it assisted, as majority owner, in the creation of the International Telecommunication Satellite Consortium (INTELSAT) and launched the *Early Bird* communication satellite on 6 April 1965. INTELSAT rapidly grew to include 143 member nations, while COMSAT has provided global satellite services, digital networking, and technology through its various international subsidiaries.

During the series of congressional hearings regarding the 1962 Act, a public controversy grew as public advocates and private business sought to gain control of satellite communications in the United States. An uneasy compromise emerged with the creation of a “government corporation” that was intended to operate as a private business but act in the public interest. As it has sought to reconcile the often contradictory interests of the business and public sectors, COMSAT has confronted many serious challenges in its more than four-decade history and usually favored the business portion of its mandate.

**COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM** (CAP). One of the Great Society programs, the CAP was contained in the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act. It was designed to fight poverty by empowering the poor through local private and public non-profit Community Action Agencies (CAAs). These organizations depended heavily on volunteer work to promote self-sufficiency in low-income communities. They were federally funded, ultimately in Community Services Block Grants. Each CAA had a board consisting of at least one-third low-income community members, one-third public officials, and up to one-third private sector leaders. The CAAs provided a broad range of activities—promoting citizen participation, providing utility bill assistance and home weatherization for low-income families, administering **Head Start** pre-school programs, **Job Training**, and operating free food outlets.
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE). Founded in 1942 by an interracial group of students, many of whom were members of the Chicago branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation—a pacifist group. Led by James L. Farmer Jr. and others, CORE launched a series of direct-action protests against racial discrimination. These included tactics involving sit-ins, jail-ins, and freedom rides. The 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* revitalized the declining Civil Rights Movement and CORE began to focus its attention on segregation in the South. The 1961 Freedom Ride was modeled after an earlier Journey of Reconciliation. In 1963, they planned the March on Washington. The following year, they participated with other groups in the Mississippi Freedom Summer project in which three young CORE members were killed. See also AFRICAN AMERICANS; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

CONNERY, SEAN (1930– ). Sean Connery is an Academy Award-winning Scottish actor and producer who is best known as the actor to portray James Bond on film. He starred in six official Bond films between 1962 and 1971, plus an unofficial remake in 1983. Connery is also known for his trademark Scottish accent and rugged good looks.

CONSERVATION. See CARSON, RACHEL; CHURCH, FRANK; CLEAN AIR ACT (1963); ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT; WILDERNESS ACT OF 1964.

CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING. The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, owed a sizeable debt to John Gardner who energetically promoted public television and radio. He believed that non-commercial stations were necessary to develop programming whose content was based on merit not market value. Building on a legacy of reserving channels for noncommercial broadcasting that reached back into the 1940s, Congress renewed its interest in public stations in 1962 with the Educational Television Facilities Act but found its efforts lacked focus and structure. Carnegie Corporation president John Gardner formed the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television that would produce a landmark report on how to improve
public broadcasting. Although the report proposed the creation of a federal agency to support public television, it was not until Gardner joined President Johnson’s cabinet that the proposal became a reality. The private, non-profit corporation was overseen by a nine-member board, appointed by the president and approved by the Senate, which provided federal support to public stations and producers nationwide.

Educational programming emerged as the top priority of the new corporation as its initial emphasis was placed on discovering entertaining ways of motivating children to learn. The first two programs—*Mr. Rogers’ Neighborhood* (1968) and *Sesame Street* (1969)—gained international praise. In 1969, the corporation established the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) to oversee, among other things, program acquisitions, educational services, fundraising, and technology development. The following year, PBS formed a network of public radio stations, National Public Radio (NPR), to produce and distribute news and entertainment programs, such as *Morning Edition*, *All Things Considered*, and *A Prairie Home Companion*. Initial PBS and NPR programming focused on education, history, culture, public affairs, and entertainment.

**COUNTERCULTURE MOVEMENT.** This mass movement had its origins in the 1964 Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, California, and the antiwar movement’s opposition to the Vietnam conflict and included resistance to conscription or the draft for the war. Involving large numbers of student-aged youths, the counterculture movement was a negative reaction to “the establishment,” which involved parents (except when funds were needed), most forms of government, especially the police, and traditional values. Those with a preference for LSD were quick to adopt Timothy Leary’s catchphrase: “Turn on, tune in, drop out.”

The protest against tradition took many forms—such as dress fashions, music, visual art, sexual freedom, and use of various drugs—and the more extreme participants were generally known as hippies. The term psychedelia, generally acknowledged to have begun in 1967, was used to describe the music of psychedelic rock bands, such as The Grateful Dead and Pink Floyd. Centered in the mid-1960s at the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, California, it gained national recognition in 1967 with the “Summer of Love.”
COUNTERINSURGENCY. Counterinsurgency, according to William Rosenau of RAND, consists of “a competition with the insurgent for the right and the ability to win the hearts, minds and acquiescence of the population.” Defining this topic has not been difficult, but successfully applying its tactical techniques, as presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson discovered, was much more complicated. The Kennedy administration searched though various historical episodes to uncover the secrets to defeating inspired insurgent or guerrillas forces but found no magic formula. The basic American dilemma was the use of firepower. Unless it was a battlefield situation, U.S. forces had more firepower that it could or should employ in many situations. As Rosenau continued: “Injudicious use of firepower creates blood feuds, homeless people and societal disruption that fuels and perpetuates the insurgency . . . . the people do not have to like you but they must respect you, accept that your actions benefit them, and trust your integrity and ability to deliver on promises, particularly regarding their security.”

American and South Vietnamese forces relied heavily upon the use of airpower, artillery, Agent Orange, free fire zones, and search-and-destroy tactics, all of which too often resulted in the destruction of hamlets, small cities, and cropland. Most U.S. commanders viewed counterinsurgency and pacification tactics with disdain and adopted as their strategy the “war of attrition.” See also VIETNAM WAR.

COUNTRY AND FOLK MUSIC. The 1960s witnessed country music become a major industry. In Nashville, Tennessee, the Nashville sound—a smooth sound of vocals, backed by strings and choruses—found an expanding audience. Led by such producers as Chet Atkins and Owen Bradley, and featuring artists like Patsy Cline and Jim Reeves (and later Tammy Wynette and Charlie Rich), this form of country music became a multi-million dollar industry. It was not without its critics. Because of its perceived formula approach, musicians outside of Nashville thought it to be too much of the same old tunes, fiddles, and guitars. Critic Merle Haggard was a prominent figure in the 1960s Bakersfield Sound that challenged the Nashville groups. At the same time, Dave Grisman, Bill Keith, and Peter Rowan experimented with bluegrass sounds and came up with other genres such as “newgrass.”
From the folk music tradition came songs carrying social and political messages related to the civil rights and antiwar movements. Most prominent were Bob Dylan ("The Times They Are A-Chang-ing"), Joan Baez ("One Tin Soldier"), Phil Ochs ("I Ain’t Marching Anymore") and the trio known as Peter, Paul, and Mary ("Blowin’ in the Wind"). Other message songs focused on the "peace and love" theme of the counterculture movement, such as Buffalo Springfield’s "For What It’s Worth," Creedence Clearwater Revival’s "Fortunate Son," and Jackie DeShannon’s "Put a Little Love in Your Heart."

CRONKITE, WALTER (1916–). Walter Cronkite, who was born on 4 November 1916, in St. Joseph, Missouri, attended the University of Texas at Austin for two years while simultaneously working as the state capital reporter for the Scripps–Howard Bureau in 1935 and 1936. During World War II, Cronkite had a distinguished career as a correspondent for United Press International. He joined the Columbia Broadcasting System in July 1950 as a member of the network’s Washington staff and soon became one of its most important correspondents, acting as anchor for the 1952 and 1956 political conventions. Cronkite also served as moderator for such popular CBS programs of the 1950s as You Are There and the Morning Show. He became the anchor of the CBS television’s Evening News in April 1962. In September 1963, the broadcast expanded from 15 to 30 minutes. During the mid-1960s, Cronkite’s ratings dropped as a result of the popularity of NBC’s Huntley–Brinkley news program, and he was removed from his customary position as anchor for the 1964 political conventions.

The Vietnam War was one of the most important stories that Cronkite covered during the 1960s. By the middle of the 1960s, a majority of Americans said that television was their principal source of news. Cronkite won considerable praise for his balanced reporting, although, privately, like many Americans, he supported the Johnson administration’s policies when the first declared U.S. combat troops went into South Vietnam in 1965. Cronkite’s views about the war gradually shifted, especially after the enemy’s Tet offensive, which began on 30 January 1968. Cronkite visited Vietnam and witnessed some heavy fighting. On 27 February, in a special, primetime report, Cronkite declared that the war was a stalemate and that the United
States would most likely have to accept a negotiated settlement. Johnson despaired, “If I’ve lost Cronkite, I’ve lost the country.”

During the August 1968 Democratic National Convention held in Chicago, Cronkite angrily described police attacks on demonstrators and journalists on the air. Subsequently, he conducted an interview with Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley in which Daley stated that the riots were led by “hardcore” radicals. Renowned for his relaxed manner and a lucid style that was especially evident during “live” events, Cronkite’s evening news program was broadcast by more than 200 affiliated stations and led the competition with an estimated audience of 26 million by 1973. For years, he was known as “the most trusted man in America.” He retired from CBS in 1981, but remained active in the television field on many levels.

CUBA. Cuba’s proximity to the United States—only 90 miles from the Florida Keys—and its hard-line pro-Moscow communist government led successive American administrations to fear the island both as a base for subversive activities throughout the Western Hemisphere and as a platform for a Soviet attack on the United States mainland. These fears led to the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and American efforts to isolate the government and assassinate its leader, Fidel Castro.

CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS. On the evening of Monday, 22 October 1962, President Kennedy made a startling disclosure to the American people and the world. Within the past week, he reported, unmistakable evidence had established that a series of Soviet missile sites were in preparation on the island. Their purpose, he explained, could be “none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western hemisphere,” with the East Coast of the United States now within 10 minutes of a nuclear attack.

Kennedy’s experience with Cuba up to this point was a failure, highlighted by the ill-fated, U.S.-sponsored invasion at the Bahia de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) on Cuba’s southern Coast on 17 April 1961, by 2,000 armed Cuban refugees. Most of the invaders were captured.

After the president’s Monday speech followed a week of intense and almost-continuous consultations among the president’s top-level advisers, with the president himself sitting in from time to time. The
upshot was a challenge to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev to halt the build up, with the warning that the Kremlin would be held responsible for any missile launch on Cuban soil. Moreover, to halt the flow of missiles on the high seas, the president ordered a blockade or “quarantine.” The world now seemed on the brink of war.

In a series of exchanges with the president, lasting until Sunday, Chairman Khrushchev agreed to withdraw the missiles and thirty long-range Russian bombers and to see to the dismantling of the missile sites; in exchange, Kennedy promised that the U.S. would not invade Cuba. It was also later discovered that the president had secretly agreed to the removal of American missiles in Turkey at a later date.

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DALEY, RICHARD J. (1902–1976). Richard J. Daley was born on 15 May 1902 in Chicago, in an Irish working-class neighborhood near the Union Stockyards not far from the house where he later resided as mayor. Trained as a clerk and bookkeeper at the Christian Brothers De La Salle Institute, Daley later attended De Paul University, from which he earned a law degree in 1934. Daley was elected to the Illinois House of Representatives in 1936 and, for the next decade, served there and in the state senate. As a state legislator, he earned a reputation for reliability and a sense of discretion. These qualities won him appointment as Cook County comptroller, a position that gave him access to politically sensitive material on patronage and public works contracts. In 1953, he became chairman of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee and thus head of the Democratic Party in Chicago. In 1955, Daley was able to secure the mayoral nomination over the protests of incumbent Martin Kennelly. Daley was elected mayor that year and had little difficulty winning reelection.

In 1960, Daley came to prominence as a power broker in national politics. Controlling an estimated three-quarters of the 69 Illinois delegate votes at the Democratic National Convention, he rejected Adlai E. Stevenson’s late bid for a third presidential nomination and helped secure the first ballot nomination for Senator John F. Kennedy. In the tightly contested November general election, the Cook County Democratic organization worked hard to turn out the
urban vote; it swung Illinois into the Democratic column by a bare 10,000 votes. Benjamin Adamowski, the losing Republican candidate for state’s attorney, charged that “Daley has stolen the White House.” A limited and incomplete recount reduced Kennedy’s margin of victory but failed to give Richard M. Nixon the 27 Illinois electoral votes.

**DANCE.** Television’s *American Bandstand* provided its listeners with the latest new music and showed teenagers how to dance to it. Chubby Checker started a new craze when he introduced the “Twist” on the show in 1961; now dancing had become an individual activity. This was followed by the “Mashed Potato,” the “Swim,” the “Watusi,” the “Monkey,” and the “Jerk,” each mimicking their namesakes and each lasting for just a song or two before being superseded by the next one. Finally, dancers tired of the stylistic mimicry and began making up their own movements. For individuals who chose to watch dancers, go-go girls performed on stages or in bird cages, often above the audience.

**DEAN, JAMES (1931–1955).** James Dean was an American film actor whose mainstream status as a cultural icon is best embodied in the title of his most cited role in *Rebel without a Cause* (1955). His enduring fame and popularity rests on only three films (also *East of Eden*, 1955, and *Giant*, 1956), his entire starring output. He was the first person to receive a posthumous Academy Award nomination for Best Actor and remain the only person to have two such nominations. See also CINEMA.

**DELLINGER, DAVID (1915–2004).** In the antiwar movement of the 1960s, David Dellinger, born 22 August 1915, in Wakefield, Massachusetts, represented an older generation of radical pacifists—those who had been involved in labor and community organizing in the 1930s, who had been conscientious objectors during World War II, and who had organized acts of civil disobedience and moral witness on behalf of peace and **civil rights** throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

Dellinger graduated from Yale in 1936 and enrolled in Union Theological Seminary in 1939. In 1940, along with seven fellow students who had been living in voluntary poverty in Harlem and Newark, he
refused to register for the draft. Although registration would have exempted him from any further military obligation under the automatic exemption granted to members of the clergy, Dellinger felt the need for a dramatic act. He was sent to federal prison in Danbury, Connecticut, for a year. In 1943, he was again arrested for Selective Service violations and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.

After the war, Dellinger organized a cooperative community, and, in 1948, he joined with A. J. Muste, Dwight McDonald, and Bayard Rustin in organizing the Peacemakers, a group that called for resistance to peacetime conscription by means of civil disobedience and tax refusal. In 1956, Dellinger, Muste, and Rustin founded Liberation magazine, which became a forum for the rising agitation against nuclear arms and racial discrimination.

During the early stages of the Vietnam conflict, Dellinger favored an immediate withdrawal rather than negotiations. He also opposed the moratorium on militant action called by peace and civil rights leaders in 1964 to ensure a Democratic victory in the presidential election. When Lyndon B. Johnson ordered the bombing of North Vietnam, Dellinger helped organize a coalition of peace groups, calling itself the Assembly of Unrepresented People, which sponsored a series of acts of civil disobedience in Washington in August 1965. Despite opposition to the demonstration from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, and lukewarm support from Students for a Democratic Society, 356 people forced the police to arrest them on the Capitol mall. Coinciding with the Vietnam Day Committee’s attempt to block troop trains in the San Francisco Bay area, the arrests marked the first large-scale application of civil disobedience tactics to the antiwar movement.

In November 1966, Dellinger served as co-chair of the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. The “Mobe” chose 15 April 1967 for demonstrations in New York and San Francisco. Over the next five months, it organized churches, women’s groups, universities, political clubs, and peace groups in an attempt to show that active opposition to the war was not limited to a handful of radicals but included vast numbers of Americans. The marches in April were the largest demonstrations against government policy in American history up to that time. It also served to convince President Johnson and
others within his administration that the antiwar movement, and Dellinger in particular, was directly tied to Hanoi.

Dellinger was involved in the demonstrations in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in August 1968. The violence of these events formed the basis of a five-month court trial in 1969, at which Dellinger and seven others were charged by the federal government with conspiracy to riot. Dellinger was sentenced to five years in prison, although the decision was overturned on appeal. Dellinger remained active promoting pacifist causes throughout the next decades. He died on 25 May 2004.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION (1968). As the Democratic delegates gathered at Chicago in late August, they looked back over a series of unsettling events, widespread protest of the Vietnam War and the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy. From 26–29 August 1968, the American public was treated to two main events. In the International Amphitheatre, delegates were weighing Hubert Humphrey, who endorsed President Johnson’s efforts to get concessions at the Paris Peace talks, against Senator Eugene J. McCarthy, who had conducted an antiwar campaign on the floor. Humphrey was chosen to be the Democratic nominee for the fall presidential election. In the meantime, an intermittent confrontation between antiwar protesters and the police took place outside the convention hall and in the streets and parks. Mayor Richard J. Daley had expected the protests and repeatedly emphasized “law and order will be maintained.” Tempers gradually heated as Daley refused permits for rallies and marches and instructed the police to use whatever force was necessary to break up the crowds. Some antiwar demonstrators deliberately taunted the police and disobeyed reasonable orders, but the police and National Guard clearly used excessive force. “With billy clubs, tear gas and Mace,” a Time magazine article reported, “the blue shirted, blue-helmeted cops violated the civil rights of countless innocent citizens and contravened every accepted code of professional police discipline . . . . No one could accuse the Chicago cops of discrimination. They savagely attacked hippies, yippies, New Leftists, revolutionaries, dissident Democrats, newsmen, photographers, passers-by, clergymen and at least one cripple.”
After the convention ended, eight protest leaders were charged with conspiring to incite a riot—Abbie Hoffman, Tom Hayden, David Dellinger, Rennie Davis, John Froines, Jerry Rubin, Bobby Seale, and Lee Weiner. They became known as The Chicago Seven, when a mistrial was declared in Seale’s case. The infamous trial that followed found all seven defendants acquitted of conspiring to incite a riot on 18 February 1970, but five were convicted of individually inciting a riot. An appeals court later dismissed the charges. The Walker Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence called the street confrontation a “police riot.”

DEMOCRATIC PARTY. The short presidency of John F. Kennedy promised to take America to a “new frontier.” After eight years of a stable but uninspiring administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower, Kennedy’s youth and energy promised to revitalize American society. During the 1960s, forces of reform that had begun to take root the decade before, such as the civil rights and feminist movements, were beginning to find their political voices, creating a time of turbulence and opportunity. Overseas, the Cold War was never hotter, with a series of crises taking the world to the brink of nuclear disaster.

Gunned down after only three years in office, Kennedy left a powerful yet unfulfilled legacy to his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, who was determined to revive the tradition of domestic reform. In laying the foundations of the “Great Society,” Johnson supported affirmative action and attempted to break down many of the traditional social barriers. Yet the emergence of a new radicalism, fuelled by the 70 million children from the post-war baby boom who became teenagers and young adults, challenged his reforms and resulted in widespread violence. Most important, however, was the escalation of American involvement in Vietnam, a move that divided the nation and resulted in long-term political and social upheaval. The greatest change came in the collapse of the Democratic Party in the South as a reaction to the granting of equality to African Americans.

DIEM, NGO DINH. See KENNEDY, JOHN F.; TAYLOR, MAXWELL D.; VIETNAM WAR.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (HUD). This cabinet level office was established in 1965 with the
task of coordinating and administering the various programs relating to housing and urban development. The department provided assistance to the state, local, or private parties dealing with these and related problems. HUD made direct loans, insured mortgages, provided housing subsidies, and promoted and enforced equal housing opportunities. The first secretary of HUD, Robert Weaver, was also the first African American cabinet member. See also FAIR HOUSING ACT OF (1968).

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION (1966). As he was leaving office as chief of the independent Federal Aviation Agency, Najeeb Halaby urged the Johnson administration to establish a cabinet-level Department of Transportation. This could be accomplished with the merging of the functions of the undersecretary of commerce for transportation and the Federal Aviation Agency. Although the Constitution’s commerce clause gave regulation of aviation and railroads to the federal government, the Federal Highway Administration and Federal Transit Administration provided funding for state and local projects but had little say in the construction and operation of the roads. “One looks in vain,” Halaby wrote President Johnson, “for a point of responsibility below the President capable of taking an even-handed, comprehensive, authoritarian approach to the development of transportation policies or even able to assure reasonable coordination and balance among the various transportation programs of the government.” The Department of Transportation was established on 15 October 1966 and launched on 1 April 1967, in order to ensure that federal funds were used to further the national transportation program. Johnson noted upon signing the Act: “Transportation has truly emerged as a significant part of our national life. As a basic force in our society, its progress must be accelerated so that the quality of our life can be improved.”

DILLON, CLARENCE DOUGLAS (1909–2003). C. Douglas Dillon was the most influential member of President Kennedy’s economic policy-making team. His success in persuading the president that the nation’s economic problem was the balance of payments deficit steered administration policy along a moderate course and ruled out more adventurous liberal solutions to domestic problems.
President Kennedy’s selection of Dillon as secretary of the treasury in January 1961 was an expression of his own deep concern with the balance of payments deficit and the resulting “gold drain.” By placing a “sound money” man with Dillon’s Wall Street, solidly Republican credentials in the top financial post of his administration, Kennedy intended to reassure the financial community, which was apprehensive about the “easy money” proclivities of the incoming Democratic administration. “The need for world confidence in the dollar, and the danger of a ‘run on the bank’ by dollar holders,” said Theodore Sorensen in Kennedy, “were the decisive influence in his [the president’s] choice of a Secretary of the Treasury.” Kennedy, moreover, shared Dillon’s moderately conservative outlook on economic matters at the time of his appointment. Throughout the Kennedy administration, Dillon enjoyed easy access to the president and was one of Kennedy’s few political associates who socialized with him as well.

The preoccupation of Kennedy and Dillon with the balance-of-payments question exerted a strong conservative pull on the administration’s overall economic policy. Swelling annual payments deficits of dollars since the late 1950s had left large deposits of dollars in the hands of foreigners, whose recurrent loss of “confidence” in the dollar’s value led them to trade in dollars for American gold, the value of which was then fixed in relation to the dollar. The resulting “gold drain” alarmed the financial community and both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Anxious to solidify the standing of the dollar and stem the gold outflow, the Kennedy administration tended to rule out economic initiatives that might increase inflation and thus undermine foreigners confidence in the dollar. In the first two years of the Kennedy administration, Dillon’s success in maintaining the priority status of the payments deficit blocked the path of a more aggressive fiscal and monetary stimulation of the economy or heavier spending on social programs.

A proponent of tax reform, Dillon oversaw the department’s formulation of a reform package in 1961 and 1962 and defended the program before Congress in 1962. He argued for Treasury proposals to withhold taxes on interest and dividend income, a device to curb widespread tax evasion, and advocated closing loopholes for foreign
“tax haven” corporations and for businessmen deducting entertainment expenses. Much of the administration’s reform program was rejected or eliminated by Congress in the summer of 1962, but Dillon and the administration endorsed the final package because it contained the feature they considered most important, the 7 percent investment tax credit.

Kennedy also used Dillon for foreign policy assignments. He made Dillon head of the American delegation sent to Punta del Este, Uruguay, to inaugurate the Alliance for Progress in August 1961. There, Dillon pledged $20 billion in low-interest loans over the next 10 years to improve Latin America’s living standards. “We welcome the revolution of rising expectations,” Dillon said, “and we intend to transform it into a revolution of rising satisfactions.” Dillon also sat on the National Security Council and took part in the tense deliberations during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962.

DISARMAMENT. See ARMS CONTROL; ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY; GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT (GCD).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC INTERVENTION (1965). The U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in April 1965, ordered by Lyndon B. Johnson, was launched ostensibly to protect American lives and prevent a communist takeover of the island. The move was generally regarded as an overreaction, while generally damaging American relations with Latin America. However, it underscored the administration’s determination to avoid a “second Cuba.”

DOMINO THEORY. President Dwight Eisenhower applied the domino concept to Indochina during a news conference on 7 April 1954. The domino theory rested on the idea that should one country fall to the communists, all neighboring countries would also fall to the communists. This image was employed to generate congressional and public support for a policy or program. Eisenhower argued that if the communists were allowed to achieve power in Vietnam, then the growing communist groups in Southeast Asia would gain the momentum and materiel support to seize power in Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Other influential proponents
of U.S. support of South Vietnam would continue to buttress their appeals for aid with this theory. President Kennedy was one who continued to use the same theme, adding as possible dominoes the Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia. In his augural address, the new president endorsed Ngo Dinh Diem and his government and declared that communism must be stopped in South Vietnam or it would gradually consume the entire world. Kennedy stated, “No other challenge is more deserving of our effort and energy . . . . Our security may be lost piece by piece, country by country.” And he went on to pledge America’s willingness to “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty.”

During the Cold War, the domino theory was initially used by the President Harry Truman administration in 1946 to gather support for a firm stand against the Soviet Union’s occupation of the northern portion of Iran. Then the dominoes in danger of falling were Turkey, Iraq, and other oil suppliers in the region. In 1947, Truman used the same idea to gain approval of the Truman Doctrine, which promised assistance to Greece and Turkey, by raising the specter of communism spreading into Western Europe. Subsequently, President Ronald Reagan employed the fear of falling dominoes to generate support for the administration’s interventions in Central America and the Caribbean. See also FOREIGN RELATIONS.

DRUG AMENDMENT LEGISLATION (1962). The genesis of the 1962 Drug Amendment legislation came from hearings held by Senator Estes Kefauver (D-TN) during the Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee that began in 1959. The major issue before the subcommittee was a concern that the prevailing regulations allowed the marketing of new drugs whose effectiveness was questionable and prices exorbitant. Congress would not have passed the 1962 Amendments had it not been for Europe’s unfortunate thalidomide episode. The federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) had prevented thalidomide being marketed in the United States under provisions of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, but the manufacturer was permitted to distribute the drug to some physicians for experimental or investigational purposes. The drug tragedy during 1961–1962 that resulted in the birth of thousands of deformed infants, whose moth-
ers had taken the new sedative thalidomide, accelerated the trend toward preventive legislation. Congress unanimously passed the 1962 Amendments that expanded the 1938 statute by linking drug safety with effectiveness and requiring effectiveness to be established prior to marketing. Now pharmaceutical companies must report a drug’s adverse reactions to the FDA and must ensure their advertising in medical journals informs doctors of the risks, as well as the benefits, of their products. The effectiveness test resulted in thousands of prescription drugs being discontinued because they lacked evidence of safety and/or effectiveness, or their labels were rewritten to show proven medical data. Additionally, the 1962 Amendments required Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP) Regulations that established standards for the manufacturing processes—maintenance of plant facilities, laboratory controls, etc.—to prevent mistakes or accidents harmful to consumers. The logic and sensibility of this practice dictated that it not be limited to drugs, and in 1969 the first GMP’s, based on actual industry practices, were prepared for food establishments.

**DRUGS.** Recreational use of cannabis (marijuana) and other narcotic drugs, especially new semi-synthetic psychedelic drugs such as LSD (from the German Lysergsäure-diethylamid), became widespread in the mid-1960s among counterculture groups and also among some members of the general public. The “gateway drug” theory dominated U.S. policy regarding marijuana since the 1930s as most policymakers adhered to the notion that smoking cannabis leads users to try other, more dangerous drugs. Consequently, the supplying of cannabis was declared illegal throughout most of the world as a result of the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances. Neither local, federal, or international laws have prevented the black-market dealers from making these drugs available throughout most of the United States. In 2006, marijuana was declared the largest cash crop in the state of California.

Harvard professor *Timothy Leary* was credited with popularizing the term “psychedelic” to describe hallucinogenic drugs and was a recognized user of these drugs. **Counterculture** groups adopted Leary’s catchphrase: “Turn on, tune in, drop out.” Among the early uses of the term in **music** circles was the 13th Floor Elevators’ album *The Psychedelic Sounds of the 13th Floor Elevators* and continued by
psychedelic rock bands, such as The Grateful Dead and Pink Floyd. In the semantic sense, many prefer that the term “entheogen” be reserved for religious and spiritual usage, such as certain Native American churches do with the peyote sacrament, and “psychedelic” left to describe those who are using these drugs recreationally.

While the counterculture groups were using psychedelic drugs, they were also being employed in experiments by governments and mental health researchers. The Central Intelligence Agency used LSD to conduct mind-control research, Project MKULTRA, from the 1950s into the late 1960s. The U.S. Army Biomedical Laboratory (later, the U.S. Medical Research Institute of Chemical Defense) undertook additional research at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds aimed at investigating the effects of LSD on soldiers. Although records were scant, the outraged public (informed in the 1970s) learned that apparently several subjects suffered severe mental illnesses and even committed suicide after the experiments.

Although LSD was banned for recreational, spiritual, and medical uses, some researchers continued to believe that it held promise for medical uses. Such organizations as the Heffter Research Institute and the Albert Hofmann Foundation encourage, fund, and coordinate research into possible uses for LSD.

**DYLAN, BOB (1941– ).** Bob Dylan was born Robert Allan Zimmerman on 24 May 1941. He grew up in a middle-class family in Hibbing, Minnesota, a declining mining center. In high school, he led a rock-and-roll band, and, during a short stay at the University of Minnesota, he began publicly performing folk music. In the winter of 1960–61, Dylan came to New York City, partially to fulfill his desire to meet the then seriously ill folksinger Woody Guthrie. In New York, Dylan joined a growing circle of folk musicians performing in small Greenwich Village clubs. He first received wide attention in September 1961 when New York Times music critic Robert Shelton favorably reviewed one of his appearances.

By the time Dylan’s first record album appeared in March 1962, he had begun to write songs at a rapid rate. Over the next 15 years, he produced hundreds of songs. Many of his early songs dealt with social themes. Some, like A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall, described a fundamental corruption Dylan saw pervading U.S. society. Others
chronicled specific cases of injustice, particularly violence and discrimination against blacks, or commented on the arms race, fallout shelters, or the communist blacklist.

In the civil rights and antiwar movements, and in the cultural awakening of the early 1960s, Dylan found hope that a new spirit was beginning to emerge. When the singing group Peter, Paul, and Mary recorded Dylan’s song “Blowin’ in the Wind,” it became a best-selling record, introducing Dylan’s writing to millions of listeners and turning the song itself into something of an anthem for supporters of the civil rights movement. Dylan himself performed at several civil rights rallies, including the 28 August 1963 march on Washington, where he sang a song about the murder of Medgar W. Evers.

From the start of his career, Dylan was a controversial figure. Many early press accounts of him were hostile, and, in July 1963, he walked out of a scheduled appearance on the Ed Sullivan Show when CBS refused to allow him to sing a song parodying the extreme right-wing views of the John Birch Society.

Recording and performing frequently, Dylan had become a major influence on millions of young Americans by 1964, especially after the release of his popular album The Times They Are A-Changin. For his largely white, middle-class audience, Dylan articulated a growing, if inchoate, dissatisfaction with the existing society, chronicling the plight and struggles of the poor, the abused, and the victims of discrimination. His songs often had a lyricism and grace that transcended the norm of much popular music. By writing about such a wide range of subjects, Dylan helped expand the range and depth of popular music in general.

By late 1964, Dylan was turning away from explicitly political themes and, as a result, was strongly criticized by many political activists. At the Newport Folk Festival, the following summer, Dylan began performing with an electrified backup band. The reaction from both audiences and critics was sharply divided, with many vehemently denouncing this departure from a supposedly “pure” folk tradition. But Dylan’s popularity continued to grow.

Although Dylan’s writing was less explicitly political, his vision of America was if anything more scathing than ever. In Highway 61 Revisited, an album released in 1965, Dylan portrayed a country in which everything, including war and death, had been reduced to a
commodity to be packaged and sold, while bewildered liberals responded by giving “check to tax-deductible charity organizations.” The hit single, Like a Rolling Stone, cemented his status as one of the leading voices of his generation.

Following several hit records and successful tours of America, Europe, and Australia, Dylan was seriously injured in a motorcycle accident in upstate New York in August 1966. After a period of seclusion, Dylan began releasing records again in late 1967, but he did not resume regular public performances until 1974. By the middle of the decade, he had again achieved considerable popular success, which he maintained throughout a long career. He won a Grammy Award in 1975 for best artist, following the release of the popular album Blood on the Tracks. Overall, he would record 43 albums, with more than 57 million copies sold, on his way to becoming one of America’s most influential musicians. Dylan, wrote Rolling Stone magazine, “not only revolutionized popular music by incorporating poetry into his compositions, he also helped create a more inclusive and progressive social consciousness in American culture.”

– E –

**ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT (1964).** In his 8 January 1964 State of the Union address, Lyndon B. Johnson declared that it was time “to break the cycle of poverty” affecting nearly 35 million Americans. While economic growth had reduced unemployment to 5.3 percent, 25 percent of young African Americans were faced with unemployed or irregular employment. Johnson directed R. Sargent Shriver to direct the formulation and passage of legislation that would prepare the poor to successfully compete in the expanding economy. Shriver’s efforts resulted in an omnibus bill, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which combined existing and new programs—VISTA, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, College Work Study, Head Start, and Community Action Program. The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), headed by Shriver, sought to administer its own program and supervise related agencies, but the extended oversight structure and inadequate funding, in large measure because of the spending for the Vietnam War, hampered its ef-
fectiveness. The OEO drew the displeasure of critics on the right and left and it was dismantled in 1973, although many of its programs were shifted to other government agencies. Interestingly, in the decade following the 1960s focus on poverty, the rate for poverty in the United States that had historically ranged from 20 to 25 percent, fell to 11.1 percent and has remained between 11 and 15 percent. See also GREAT SOCIETY; WAR ON POVERTY.

EDUCATION. As college campuses witnessed antiwar and civil rights protests during the 1960s, the Johnson administration began assisting the nation’s educational systems. A featured component of President Johnson’s War on Poverty campaign consisted of the comprehensive Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 that provided the first federal funding for educational development of teachers and educational programs for parents of students in grades K–12. The emphasis was on activities, such as Head Start, that would meet the needs of low-income families by providing for the needs of “educationally deprived children.” As a part of the president’s Great Society program, the Higher Education Act of 1965 focused on strengthening “the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education.”

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare commissioned James S. Coleman in 1964 to lead the Equality of Education Opportunity Study, eventually known as the Coleman Study. This social survey, prompted by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, examined the availability of equal educational opportunities to children of different races, color, religion and national origin. Data was obtained from a national sample of test scores and questionnaire responses received from first-, sixth-, ninth-, and twelfth-grade students, as well as questionnaire responses from teachers and principals.

The landmark report, published in 1966, demonstrated the use of social surveys in formulating federal policies. It would prompt the federal government and courts to force school integration, often employing busing, in the 1970s. See also UPWARD BOUND.

EIGHTEEN-NATION DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE (ENDC).
A successor to the Ten-Nation Committee on Disarmament, comprising
the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and a small balance of their Eastern European and Western allies, the ENDC was established in 1962 at Geneva, Switzerland, with the addition of eight countries representing neutral or nonaligned blocs. In 1969, with the addition of new members, its name was changed to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). In 1978–1979, with yet larger addition of members, the Committee on Disarmament was created and its name was changed in 1984 to the Conference on Disarmament. Early on, the ENDC conducted useful discussions on a Nuclear Test Ban, but its most important contribution was developing the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) under the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States.

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT D. (1890–1969). The third of seven sons born on 14 October 1890, in Denison, Texas, to a farming family of Swiss descent, Dwight D. Eisenhower grew up in Abilene, Kansas, where he earned the nickname “Ike” and worked a variety of jobs to help his brothers through college. In 1915, Eisenhower graduated from West Point. He served as a tank instructor during World War I and remained in the army after the armistice. From 1929 to 1940, he worked under U.S. Army chief of staff general Douglas A. MacArthur in Washington and in the Philippines when his chief went there to reorganize the country’s defenses.

On the eve of America’s participation in World War II, Eisenhower returned from the Philippines. He soon won a series of promotions that eventually led to his command of the Allied forces on the Western Front. He oversaw the Allied invasions of North Africa in 1942, Sicily and Italy in 1943, and Normandy in 1944. In November 1945, President Harry S. Truman named Eisenhower as U.S. Army chief of staff.

In the seven years following the end of World War II, Eisenhower moved from leadership positions in the army to the worlds of education and politics. He resigned as chief of staff in February 1948 to become president of Columbia University. In 1951, he assumed command of forces newly organized under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In 1952, Eisenhower ran for the Republican presidential nomination and, in a closely fought contest, defeated conservative senator Robert A. Taft. The most popular war leader
since Ulysses S. Grant, with a wide grin and a pleasing personality, Eisenhower easily defeated his democratic opponent Adlai E. Stevenson, both in 1952 and again in 1956.

Eisenhower’s eight years in office proved less notable for accomplishment than for the deliberate avoidance of foreign and domestic conflict. Successful leaders of business, men characterized more for their administrative capacity than enthusiasm for innovation, dominated high appointive offices in his administration. Despite his popularity, Eisenhower possessed little sway over the conservative Old Guard of his own party, which often helped to defeat his modest legislative proposals in the Congress. By comparison with the social legislation passed under Democratic administrations before and after him, Eisenhower took few initiatives and accomplished little in domestic policy areas.

On the international scene, Eisenhower “waged” an uneasy peace. He forced the South Korean government to accept an armistice in 1953, thus ending a costly American–United Nations (UN) intervention in Asia. He proposed an “Atoms for Peace” program at the UN in 1953 and an “Open Skies” policy at the 1954 Geneva Peace Conference in the hope that the Soviet Union would agree to limit the production of atomic weapons and share nuclear secrets for peaceful purposes. His “new look” military budget reduced defense expenditures by laying far greater emphasis on more powerful nuclear weaponry at the expense of conventional systems.

In his January 1961 farewell address, the most famous speech of his presidency, Eisenhower expressed anxiety over the creation of a Cold War “military-industrial complex” in America. The retiring leader regretted the “conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry” and warned that America “must guard against [its] unwarranted influence.”

**ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT (1965).**

This legislation is often viewed as the most significant educational component of Lyndon B. Johnson’s War on Poverty. The Elementary and Secondary School Act (ESEA) was the first and most comprehensive federal legislation that provided sizeable funding for kindergarten through twelfth grade. ESEA authorized expenditures for teacher’s professional growth, instructional materials, educational
programs, and promotion of parental involvement in the schools. According to Section 201 of ESEA, the focus, as with Head Start, was on “the special educational needs of low-income families and the impact that concentrations of low-income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs.” Congress had acted to “provide financial assistance” to improve “by various means (including preschool programs) which contribute to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children.”

The basic elements of ESEA were designed by Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel and were passed on 9 April 1965, less than three months after the proposal was introduced. There were at least three significant political consequences of the act, according to Joel Spring’s Conflicts of Interests (1993). First, federal aid to education was now appropriated for more specific categories and tied to national policy interests, such as poverty, defense, or economic growth. Second, it skirted possible religious conflicts by directing federal education assistance specifically to disadvantaged children in parochial schools. And third, it avoided criticism of federal control by designating state departments of education to administer the federal funds, which resulted in the greater involvement of state governments in education. See also GREAT SOCIETY; WAR ON POVERTY.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT. The Johnson administration sought to extend protection to those natural untouched resources that ought to be held in trust for future generations. Concerned about the impact of by-products from technology and industry, President Johnson believed that those in society who reap the rewards of technology and industry ought to cooperate in dealing with the “new conservation.” “We must not only protect the countryside and save it from destruction, we must restore what has been destroyed and salvage the beauty and charm of our cities. Our conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation.” Acting on the suggestions of the Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, the Great Society included the following environmental legislation: Clean Air, Water Quality and Clean Water Restoration Acts and Amendments, Wilderness Act of 1964, Endangered Species Preservation Act of

Also during the 1960s, the environmental movement received support from concerned citizens. In 1967, a small number of conservationists took up the challenge of halting the spraying of DDT on Long Island, New York. They formed the Environmental Defense Fund (later the Environmental Defense) led by Art Cooley and Charles Wurster, who had become worried when they found the peregrine falcon and other large birds were disappearing. The spraying of DDT to kill mosquitoes, they discovered, had the side effect of weakening the eggshells of large birds. In addition to harming wildlife, DDT was found in mother’s milk. After the Environmental Defense Fund succeeded in obtaining a ban on DDT throughout the state of New York, the organization undertook a national campaign (ultimately successful in 1972). See also CARSON, RACHEL.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION (EEOC). The EEOC’s mandate, to end job discrimination by private employers in the United States, was spelled out in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As tasked, the EEOC supported the Equal Pay Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and, later, the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. The first Commission’s chairman and four commissioners were confirmed in June 1965 and, with a staff of 100 employees, it officially began operating on 2 July. That day, the EEOC received a backlog of 1,000 complaints or charges—most from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s Legal Defense Fund. During the Commission’s first year, 8,852 charges were filed. Guidance and restrictions were placed on the EEOC by Congress and the administration in power; consequently, there have been significant changes over time in the Commission’s enforcement activities. In the beginning, because it was limited to only conciliation, education, outreach, and technical assistance, the EEOC was frequently called a “toothless tiger.” In 1972, Congress provided the Commission with litigation enforcement authority and that function became one of its main activities.
Despite its lack of enforcement powers between 1965 and 1971, the EEOC did make important strides in defining the nature and scope of discrimination in the work place. The Commission defined equal employment by examining the various and often egregious practices taking place at job sites, while it assisted in resolving thousands of such discriminatory acts through conciliation and filing “friends of the court” briefs defining the law.

EQUAL PAY ACT OF 1963. This federal legislation amended the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938) for the purpose of abolishing wage differentials based on sex. Throughout America’s history, women were paid less than men—even when employed in identical jobs. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this discrimination was World War II’s “Rosie the Riveter”—widely heralded, patriotic, and underpaid. Despite the National War Labor Board plea of equal pay for equal work, employers failed to answer the voluntary request, moreover, when the war ended, most of the women were forced out of their new jobs to make room for returning veterans. The early 1960s found newspapers listing jobs for men and women separately, with the higher-level and higher-paid jobs almost exclusively under “Help Wanted—Male.” Even when the same jobs were placed under both male and female listings, the pay scales were lower for women. Between 1950 and 1960, women with full-time jobs earned between 59–64 percent of what their male counterparts were paid for the identical work. The Equal Pact Act of 1963, effective 11 June 1964, declared: “To prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce.” Exceptions to the equal pay rule were allowed if related to seniority or merit systems, based on quantity or quality of work or any other variable as long as it was not based on gender. See also WOMEN’S LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

EVERS, MEDGAR W. (1925–1963). Born on 2 July 1925, in Decatur, Mississippi, Medgar W. Evers, after graduating from Alcorn A & M College in 1952, took a job with a black-owned insurance company in Mound Bayou, Mississippi. At the same time, he joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and began organizing chapters of the Association in the
Mississippi Delta. At an NAACP meeting late in 1953, Evers volunteered to try to desegregate the University of Mississippi. He applied to the university’s law school in January 1954, but when his application was rejected in September, Evers and the NAACP decided not to take his case to court.

Evers became the association’s state first secretary in Mississippi in December 1954, and he opened an office in Jackson, the state capital, in January 1955. Over the next nine years, Evers worked to increase the NAACP membership and encourage voter registration among Mississippi’s blacks. He traveled throughout the state explaining the Supreme Court’s 1954 school desegregation decision, showing black parents how to file petitions for desegregation with local school boards, the first step in implementing the Supreme Court ruling. While he organized the school board petition campaign, Evers also coordinated aid for black parents who signed petitions and were then subjected to economic reprisal for their action.

Once described as “the heartbeat of any integration activity in the state of Mississippi,” Evers kept in touch with the increased tempo of the Civil Rights Movement in the state during the Kennedy years. After 1960, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality began voter-registration drives in Mississippi. The Justice Department filed several voting discrimination suits and black students from colleges and high schools staged occasional sit-ins and protests. James Meredith called on Evers in the fall of 1960 and said he wanted to enter the University of Mississippi at Oxford, still an all-white institution. Evers encouraged him, put him touch with the NAACP attorneys, and counseled and supported him until his graduation in 1963.

The next year, Evers led a major anti-segregation drive in Jackson. On 12 May 1963, a mass meeting called by the NAACP adopted a resolution demanding fair employment opportunities for blacks in city jobs, the desegregation of all public facilities and accommodations in Jackson, an end to discriminatory business practices, and the appointment of a biracial committee to achieve these goals. Jackson’s mayor, Allen Thompson, rejected all the demands the next day, and on 17 May, Evers called for a consumer boycott, which quickly spread from a few local products and one department store to all the stores in Jackson’s main shopping area. The mayor finally met with
an NAACP committee on 28 May, but when black leaders reported afterward that he had agreed to several of their key demands, the mayor denied their statements. Black college students in Jackson began sitting in at local lunch counters that day; on 30 May, a student march was attacked by the police and 600 were arrested.

According to his wife, Evers was initially wary of student protests and wanted the time and place of demonstrations carefully chosen and their purpose made clear. Evers and other adults in the black community were won over by the students’ courage, however, and Evers was soon organizing protests and arranging bail for jailed students. On 1 June, he was arrested for picketing. Released from jail soon after, Evers led a daily campaign of mass meetings, marches, picketing, and prayer vigils. On the evening of 11 June, with the Jackson protests still in high gear, Evers listened to President Kennedy’s nationwide address on civil rights, spoke at a mass rally in Jackson, and then drove home. Around 12:20 A.M, as he walked from his car to the door of his house, Evers was shot in the back by a sniper. He died within an hour. See also AFRICAN AMERICANS.

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FAIR HOUSING ACT OF 1968. The Housing Act of 1968 was intended, in general, to supplement the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, more specifically, to update the Civil Rights Act of 1866 that had guaranteed the property rights of all citizens regardless of race. The intentions of the 1866 Act became an empty promise, however, with the onset of segregation when the courts ruled it only prohibited governmental discrimination. President Kennedy’s executive order in November 1962, entitled “Equal Opportunity in Housing,” banned discrimination in housing owned, operated, or assisted by the federal government and instructed federal agencies to prevent discrimination based on race, color, creed, or national origin. Neither the 1866 nor the 1962 bans had any significant impact on private housing.

Action on the Civil Rights Act of 1968, or the Fair Housing Act, was spurred by the urban riots in 1967–1968, the release of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the “Kerner Commission Report,” and the assassination of Dr. Martin
Luther King Jr. on 4 April. The Kerner Report pointed out that one of the underlying causes of the 1967 urban riots was residential segregation and the creation of racial ghettos and it concluded that America was “moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” Within days after Dr. King’s death, Congressional action was completed and President Johnson signed the Act. Not long afterward, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co. that the revitalized Civil Rights Act of 1966 banned private, as well as government, racial discrimination in housing. As a result of the urban riots, an anti-riot amendment intended to curb the activities of black power advocates was added to the 1968 Act, making it illegal to cross state lines to incite unrest.

FALLOUT SHELTERS. The construction of family fallout shelters was part of a brief effort at creating a civil defense program that reached its peak in the early 1960s. These shelters were not expected to resist the destructive power of a direct nuclear blast, but were built to shield their occupants from the radiation that would follow such a blast. Most basic units were designed to provided only the basic necessities to sustain life for perhaps two weeks. However, other units had the appearance of small guesthouses and contained many luxury items, such as pool tables, wine racks, wall coverings, etc. Few of these units still remain as most people’s interest waned in the 1970s. See also ARMS RACE; COLD WAR.

FASHION. Youth dominated fashion trends during the 1960s as some 70 million teenagers from the post World War II baby boom made their presence known. When the decade began, men were walking around with crew cuts and casual plaid shirts that buttoned down the front, while women wore bouffant hairstyles and knee-length dresses when going out. By 1964, the teenage influence caused hemlines to creep up as daywear for young girls included mid-thigh length skirts and sweater-dresses. Other innovative designs also soon appeared. In 1965, Peter Max and Pucci introduced brilliantly colored culottes, which provided the freedom of trousers but had the look of a full skirt. A year later, the style of dress was the tent, or “baby doll dress,” occasionally in transparent chiffon, worn over a contrasting slip. They became popular as evening or party wear. Also 1966 saw the
appearance of revealing miniskirts, apparently the brainchild of designer Mary Quant. Within a year, the hemlines often were 4–5 inches above the knee in New York and 7–8 inches in London. Styles had become quite revealing.

Toward the end of the decade, styles began to shift dramatically. Briefly popular was the 1967 paper dress, created often from a blend of paper and nylon, which appeared at special occasions or in casual situations. Its disadvantages undoubtedly contributed to its failure to last—the dresses easily creased and caught fire. Much more significant was the rapidly growing emphasis on a causal look that was highlighted by peasant skirts and granny dresses, worn with shoes that looked heavy and awkward.

During the decade, fads came and went almost overnight. Women’s top wear was also rapidly changing from the early 1960s. The turtleneck or polo sweater appeared under collarless jackets. Matching sweaters with skirts came into vogue and presented a uniform look. Then, came the straight, shapeless mini-coat, often with dyed furs, and vinyl jackets and skirts. In 1966, the thick-knit Aran sweaters joined young women’s wardrobes. A year later, the cape, usually with a matching deerstalker hat, became popular. Another trend was the sleeve length, set early by Jackie O’s suits and jackets. After mid-decade, the sleeveless tops became popular.

Fads also dominated men’s styles. Young men let their hair grow long and shaved less as beards and moustaches became popular. Their clothing became brighter and more flamboyant as polyester pants and double-breasted sports jackets appeared. Nehru jackets came into vogue briefly. Turtlenecks often replaced the traditional shirt and tie, but when ties were worn they were nearly five inches wide and patterned. At the end of the 1960s, the dominating casual trend was accentuated by the introduction of the unisex style, where clothes could be found at surplus stores as often as at specialty shops. The young and not-so-young men and women adopted love beads, bell-bottomed jeans, and brightly illustrated T-shirts.

Fashion conscious women became more conscious about their shoes during the 1960s. Andre Courreges, a leading French fashion designer, created the go-go boots, made famous by Nancy Sinatra, who topped the music charts with “These Boots Are Made for Walkin’.” The fashions of the 1960s emphasized women’s legs; con-
sequently, as the skirts rose, the boots became taller and more pointed. Worn initially by teen dancers, and first seen on afternoon discotheque television shows, the boots quickly became known as “go-go boots” after the go-go dancers who wore them. Soon they were introduced into high fashion and older women found them stylish.

Daily News Record magazine proclaimed 1967 the year of the turtleneck sweater. At the peak of its popularity, beatniks, flower children, movie stars, and politicians were seen wearing the turtleneck instead of a shirt and tie. For a time, it was a favorite with television host Johnny Carson and such movie stars as Sammy Davis, Jr., Paul Newman, and Steve McQueen.


FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT (1962). The act was stimulated by the need for urban areas to begin considering how the National Interstate and Defense Highway System routes would pass through and around the urban regions. Consequently, a major emphasis of this legislation was to persuade states and local urban areas to cooperate in designing projects that integrated land development and systems of transportation. When President Kennedy sent his transportation message to Congress in 1962, he said: “To conserve and enhance values in existing urban areas is essential. But at least as important are steps to promote economic efficiency and livability in areas of future development. Our national welfare therefore requires the provision of good urban transportation, with the properly balanced use of private vehicles and modern mass transport to help shape as well as serve urban growth.” The law that emerged was the first federal legislation to mandate urban transportation planning as a condition for gaining access to federal funding that would “serve the states and local communities efficiently and effectively.” The 1962 Act, combined with the 90 percent federal funding available for interstate highway projects, prompted an enormous interest in urban transportation planning throughout the United States and other parts of the world.

FOOD STAMP ACT OF 1964. Congress spent 18 years reviewing studies, reports, and legislative proposals focusing on a food stamp
program. Many prominent senators actively promoted the idea, with legislation finally passed on 21 September 1959, authorizing the secretary of agriculture to operate a food stamp program through to 31 January 1962, but the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration never initiated the system. John F. Kennedy’s first Executive Order enabled the creation of food stamp pilot programs, thus fulfilling a campaign promise he made in West Virginia. The food stamps would be purchased and the emphasis would be on increasing the consumption of perishables. By January 1964, the pilot programs grew from eight areas to 22 states involving 40 counties and the cities of Detroit, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh with 380,000 participants.

On 31 January 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson requested Congress to pass legislation making the program permanent, resulting in the Food Stamp Act of 1964 joining the Great Society. Justifications for the Act included strengthening the agricultural economy and providing improved levels of nutrition among low-income households. With congressional control, the regulations were standardized and enacted into law. The Act provided for developing of eligibility standards by states; requiring that recipients purchase their food stamps, but receiving an amount of food stamps that more nearly provided a low-cost nutritionally adequate diet; allowing use of food stamps for all items of human consumption except alcoholic beverages and imported foods; prohibiting discrimination on bases of race, religious creed, national origin, or political beliefs; and dividing responsibilities between states and the federal government, with shared responsibility for funding costs of administration.

By April 1965, 561,260 people were participating in the food stamp program. The number using the system grew rapidly as it expanded across the country: by March 1966 more than 1 million were taking part; by October 1967, 2 million; by February 1969, more than 3 million; and growing to 15 million in October 1974.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. The brief presidency of John F. Kennedy found a very warm Cold War, with a series of crises taking the world to the brink of nuclear disaster and the beginning of a long war in Southeast Asia. Crises during 1961 and 1962 over Berlin and Cuba caused many people to fear the superpowers were close to nuclear war. In June 1961, Soviet Chairman Nikita Khrushchev and President
Kennedy met for a two-day conference in Vienna. Although the meeting was superficially cordial and businesslike, behind the scenes was a tense situation. At the heart of the discussions were the two most pressing international confrontations of the day: Berlin and Laos. Although the Laos situation seemed close to resolution, the Berlin problem was finally resolved by the construction of the Berlin Wall.

As part of the Cuban problem, Dwight D. Eisenhower had handed over to the young president a secret plan to deal with the troublesome Fidel Castro. By the spring of 1960, the U.S. government had decided to sponsor an invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro refugees, of which there seemed to be no end. Kennedy soon endorsed the plan, assured by his own military advisers and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that the probable chance of success was good. In the early hours of 17 April 1961, an “army” of approximately 2,000 CIA-trained and equipped Cuban refugees landed at Bahia de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) on Cuba’s southern coast. The plan was ill conceived and poorly executed. In the absence of the anticipated American air cover and supplies of ammunition, Castro’s forces quickly overwhelmed the army of refugees. Trustful of the Pentagon and disdainful of the State Department, Kennedy learned from the experience to keep tight control from the Oval Office and remain skeptical of military advice.

The second, more serious Cuban Missile Crisis, arose in May 1962 when Nikita Khrushchev and Fidel Castro conspired to ship Soviet nuclear missiles to Cuba, only 90 miles from Florida. This was ostensibly to protect Cuba from a possible U.S. invasion, but more accurately to serve a variety of Soviet objectives, among which was to neutralize the massive American nuclear superiority. When, in mid-October, American U-2 planes flying at high-altitude and outfitted with special surveillance camera equipment finally delivered hard evidence of Soviet missile installations on the island, Kennedy summoned to the White House his top advisers to devise a response. Meeting in absolute secrecy, this group, which later became known as the ExComm (Executive Committee of the National Security Council), debated Kennedy’s options. President Kennedy voiced a grave warning to the Kremlin: The United States would “regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.”
The Cuban Missile Crisis produced major, yet contradictory, effects. It provided renewed momentum for **arms control** as both Moscow and Washington recognized that they might not be so fortunate next time. After discovering the difficulty of communication in times of crisis, the White House and the Kremlin negotiated the so-called **Hot Line** agreement, signed in July 1963, providing for special crisis communication between the superpowers. More significantly, at the same time, the United States and the Soviet Union, together with Great Britain, concluded the **Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**.

The Kennedy administration’s other Latin America policy was less dramatic. The Latin American aid program was expanded by Kennedy in his **Alliance for Progress** (Alianza para el Progreso). Essentially, the president envisaged a ten-year plan of economic development and social progress and reform that many characterized as a sort of Marshall Plan for Latin America. Its results were, at best, mixed.

An initiative that probably played a more important role was the Kennedy administration’s **Peace Corps**, the inception of which was both a product of the Cold War struggle and a reaction to the growing spirit of humanitarian activism evident throughout the Western world by the beginning of the 1960s, a spirit that had manifested itself in volunteer humanitarian programs.

Although the Berlin and Cuban crises had both come to flashpoint and then faded away, developments in Asia ultimately proved more disastrous for the United States over the long term. Kennedy had been in office only a few months when he received an appeal for increased military funds from President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam. For the previous several years, Diem’s government had been engaged in guerrilla war with the Viet Cong, who had established their control of many rural areas. Whether this conflict was a war of aggression by the North against the South or a genuine civil war with Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam coming to the aid of his Communist brethren, there could be little doubt that guerrilla warfare was erupting all over Vietnam. To make matters worse, American military advisers had provided the native army with training only for a conventional war, while political advisers were unable to persuade Diem to adopt reforms that might have rallied the peasantry. From 1955 to
1962, U.S. funding exceeded $2 billion and by 1963 approached the rate of $500 million annually. The arrival at Saigon, on 12 December 1961, of an American escort carrier bearing helicopters, training planes, and requisite crews numbering about 400 men served as the prelude to the so-called helicopter war in which American personnel were to participate throughout the next three years. For the administration, Communist-led wars of national liberation remained fraudulent, despite the tenacity of the enemy; the possibility that the Viet Cong had strong indigenous roots in the south was not considered.

This was the Kennedy legacy in what would become America’s longest war. By the time his administration was abruptly and tragically brought to an end, however, Kennedy seemed to be looking for alternatives to escalating involvement ahead of the 1964 presidential campaign.

Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as the 36th president of the United States within two hours of Kennedy’s assassination. He wasted no time in reaffirming the policy objectives of his predecessor regarding Vietnam and called upon all government agencies to support that policy. The stability and efficiency that had been hoped for in South Vietnam did not materialize after the assassination of Diem; in fact, military coups followed one another at frequent intervals until June 1965 when General Nguyen Van Thieu emerged as chief of state with Air Vice-Marshall Nguyen Cao Ky as premier.

Following a long series of complicated decisions, Johnson chose to escalate U.S. involvement. At the president’s request, Congress passed a joint resolution authorizing the president “to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States,” or “to assist any member or protocol state” (for example, South Vietnam) of the SEATO treaty “requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.” This Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, as it came to be called, passed the House of Representatives unanimously and the Senate by a vote of 92 to 2. Described by the State Department as “a functional equivalent of a declaration of war,” it provided for the escalation of the war. In early 1965, 23,000 American troops were serving as advisers and only incidentally exposed to the risk of combat, when the landing of two Marine battalions at Danang on 6 May 1965, marked the introduction of the first American troops deployed for combat in Vietnam War. From there, the numbers grew: 180,000
by the end of 1965, 380,000 a year later, and 542,000 in 1969. Moreover, the war divided the American people, leading to a dramatic swelling of support for the *antiwar movement*. The movement had first found voice in college *campus teach-ins* but rapidly expanded into the wider population with Johnson’s decision to escalate. American involvement in Vietnam was, by any standard of judgment, the most disastrous episode in the history of U.S. foreign policy. The loss in national treasure and blood was staggering.

Johnson had been in office only six months when he was confronted with a foreign policy crisis involving the Republic of Panama. The immediate cause was some student dispute over rival flags at a high school inside the Canal Zone; before long it turned dangerous, culminating with an attempted invasion of the zone by a Panamanian mob in January 1964. Johnson’s handling of the Panama crisis was, on balance, considerate and tactful, and was well received in Latin America. Quite different was the reception of his authorization of the *Dominican Republic intervention* in the spring of 1965. There, according to most observers, he overreacted to a danger that was partially imaginary. To preserve the position of a military junta of strong anti-Communists who opposed the revolt by a group of young officers several days earlier, Johnson announced on 28 April 1965, that he had ordered the landing of U.S. Marines in the Dominican Republic to protect hundreds of Americans who were presumably in mortal danger. *See also* ARMS RACE; COLD WAR; COUNTERINSURGENCY; DOMINO THEORY; Fallout Shelters; Glassboro Summit Conference; Hanoi Hilton; Missile Gap; Non-proliferation Treaty; Nuclear Deterrence; Pacification; Search and Destroy Policy; Selective Service System; Tet Offensive (1968).

**FORTAS, ABE (1910–1982).** Born on 19 June 1910, in Memphis, Tennessee, Abe Fortas worked his way through Southwestern College in Memphis, receiving his B.A. in 1930. Three years later, he graduated from Yale Law School, where had had been editor in chief of the *Yale Law Journal*. He then taught at the school from 1933 to 1937. During those four years, he also worked part-time for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Securities and Exchange Com-
mission (SEC). From 1937 to 1946, Fortas successively held posts in the SEC, the Public Works Administration, and the Department of Interior, serving as undersecretary of the interior from 1942 to 1946.

Fortas successively represented Lyndon B. Johnson in legal proceedings following his controversial victory in the 1948 Texas Democratic primary. The incident launched a long, close friendship between the two men, and Fortas became Johnson’s confidant and one of his most trusted advisers. Johnson’s first phone call following John F. Kennedy’s assassination was to Fortas. Fortas helped organize the Warren Commission, which investigated Kennedy’s assassination, and advised Johnson on appointments, speeches, legislation, and foreign policy. He also participated in strategy conferences during the 1964 presidential campaign. When Walter Jenkins, a top White House aide, was arrested on a morals charge in the fall of 1964, Fortas attempted to keep the story from the news media and then advised Johnson on how to handle the situation. During the 1965 Dominican crisis, Fortas, who had close relations with a good friend of the Dominican president Juan Bosch, acted as a back-channel emissary for President Johnson and conducted a number of quiet meetings with Bosch to try to resolve the crisis.

In 1964, Fortas refused an offer to be named U.S. Attorney General, preferring to keep his role as Johnson’s unofficial adviser. In July 1965, when Arthur Goldberg resigned from the Supreme Court to become an ambassador to the UN, Fortas also turned down a nomination to a Court seat. On 28 July, however, when Johnson told Fortas he was going to announce his appointment as associate justice that day, Fortas acquiesced. Fortas’s nomination was well received, and the Senate confirmed his appointment on 11 August; later, however, he resigned when his selection as Chief Justice failed to gain approval because of certain improprieties.

FREE FIRE ZONES. The U.S. policy in South Vietnam established areas where no restrictions were placed on the use of arms or explosive and where, after curfew, anyone in the area who could not be identified was deemed hostile and a legitimate target. American ground forces referred to these zones as “Indian Country” or killing fields. The practice was employed because the Viet Cong intermixed with many villagers, dressing in the same black cotton pajama-style
clothing, thus making it almost impossible for U.S. forces to distinguish the friendly civilians from armed foes. However, the zones were considered by many to be a serious violation of international law because the 1949 Geneva Conventions requires armies to target only military objectives and grants protection of civilians in almost all situations. There is no provision for one party to shift their obligation by declaring a whole area to be “civilian free” and thus attacking all those who remain.

**FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT (FSM).** On 14 September 1962, officials of the University of California announced that current regulations prohibited advocating political causes or candidates, outside speakers, and fundraising by student organizations on the Bancroft Strip. These prohibitions were to be enforced on the 26'-by-60' area just inside the Berkeley campus main pedestrian entrance at the intersection of Bancroft and Telegraph Avenues, long thought to be city property.

The arrest on 1 October of former graduate student Jack Weinberg, who was sitting at a *Congress of Racial Equality* (CORE) table, for refusing to show campus police his identification triggered the first sit-in. When Weinberg was placed in a police car, students spontaneously surrounded the vehicle and neither Weinberg nor the car moved for 36 hours. The crowd grew to some 3,000 individuals and the police car became a speaker’s podium from which a continuous public discussion was held until the charges against Weinberg were dropped. Nearly a month later, university officials sought to bring charges against the students who were thought to have organized the sit-in. This action resulted in an even larger student protest focusing on Sproul Hall, the university’s administrative building, that virtually shut down the campus. The massive sit-in ended on 3 December when police arrested more than 800 students.

Philosophy student Mario Savio and others formed the Free Speech Movement, which cut across all political and social alignments as undergraduates of every political persuasion united against the summary action by the university in a series of demonstrations and classroom boycotts. A frequent misconception about the FSM was that it was solely a left-wing radical protest when the ban applied to all political activity, including Students for *Goldwater* and other
conservative groups. The conservative students joined the FSM and benefited, too, from the administration’s subsequent decision to create a new free speech area on Sproul Hall steps.

Although the student demonstrations at Berkeley would radicalize the American campus during the 1960s, it also prompted a voter backlash that helped to elect Ronald Reagan as California’s next governor. Reagan ordered the University of California regents to dismiss President Clark Kerr because he had been too lenient toward the protesters, many of whom had been involved in civil rights causes.

In the spring of 1965, the FSM was superseded by the Vietnam Day Committee, a pioneer group in the antiwar movement.

**FREEDOM RIDE (1961).** The civil rights movement supported John F. Kennedy for president because its members believed he was more sympathetic to their goals than Richard Nixon. To verify Kennedy’s commitment, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) undertook a new Journey of Reconciliation, which came to be called “Freedom Ride.” The interracial group of riders would board buses bound for the South and the whites were to sit in the back, the blacks in the front; at bus stops, the whites were to go into black-only areas and vice versa. The Freedom Riders expected, indeed, planned on meeting resistance. According to James Farmer, the CORE director, “We felt we could count on the racists of the South to create a crisis so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce the law. When we began the ride I think all of us were prepared for as much violence as could be thrown at us. We were prepared for the possibility of death.”

The riders departed Washington, D.C., on 4 May 1961 and planned to arrive in New Orleans on 17 May—the seventh anniversary of Brown v. Board of Education. Meeting little trouble in the upper South, the riders split into two groups to travel through Alabama. The first group was stoned by a mob of 200 in Anniston; they escaped, but the bus’s tires were slashed. When they halted to change tires, the bus was set on fire. The second group fared no better; as they entered Birmingham, they were also met by a mob that severely beat the riders. The wounded riders wanted to continue the journey but the bus company was unwilling to risk more buses or the lives of their white drivers.
While the riders chose to continue their trip to New Orleans by air, a group of Nashville sit-in students elected to take over the Freedom Ride. When the replacements arrived in Birmingham and sought to lease buses, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy put pressure on the bus company and on the local police to maintain order. On 17 May, the Birmingham police placed the Nashville riders in protective custody, drove them to the Tennessee border and left them by the highway. As soon as they were able, the riders returned to Birmingham, where Robert Kennedy and other officials arranged for them to continue their journey. Departing on 20 May, the riders came under attack at the bus station in Montgomery, where, as the police were absent, a mob beat them. Robert Kennedy had had enough; he sent in federal marshals to provide the riders protection. But when pressing on into Mississippi, they were met not with violence but by the local courts. The riders were arrested for trespassing and many were sentenced to jail time. None of the Freedom Riders made it to New Orleans, but they had forced the Kennedy administration to take a position on civil rights.

FRIEDAN, BETTY (1921–2006). Born 4 February 1921, in Peoria, Illinois, and a graduate of Smith College, Betty Friedan gained national attention in 1963 with the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*. An immediate best-seller, her book argued that in the years after World War II, a “mystique” promoted by advertisers, educators, women’s magazines, and psychologists had convinced American women that fulfillment for them lay only in a life of domesticity. Living solely as wives and mothers, however, women abandoned any efforts at self-realization or personal achievement and submerged their own identities into those of their husbands and children. The result was not happiness but what Friedan called “the problem that has no name”—a sense of emptiness and malaise and a lack of personal identity. Controversial and influential, Friedan’s study was both a portent of and a contributor to the women’s liberation movement.

Friedan lectured extensively on the position of women over the next several years. In October 1966, she founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) to press for “true equality” for women. As NOW’s first president, Friedan helped build an organization that emphasized education, legislation, and court action to win
equal rights for women. During 1967 and 1968, NOW members picketed the *New York Times*, charging that its use of “Male” and “Female” headings in classified advertisements discriminated against women. NOW also brought a suit against the **Equal Employment Opportunities Commission** (EEOC) for permitting such column headings and pressured the EEOC to step up its enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 **Civil Rights Act**, which prohibited sex discrimination in employment. Under Friedan’s direction, NOW lobbied for the repeal of antiabortion laws in New York State and for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in Washington. NOW also instituted court cases in various states to challenge state protective labor laws applicable only to women.

Friedan stepped down as NOW’s president in 1970 but remained a prominent advocate of women’s rights. She found it difficult to accept homosexuality and initially objected to “equating feminism with lesbianism.” During a 1969 NOW meeting, Friedan was said to have coined the anti-lesbian phrase “Lavender Menace,” but at a 1977 meeting, she publicly switched positions. She issued a call for a “Women’s Strike for Equality” to be held on 26 August 1970, the 50th anniversary of the Nineteenth Amendment. The result was the first nationwide protest for women’s rights since the suffrage movement. In July 1971, Friedan helped organize the National Women’s Political Caucus to work for equal representation of women with men at all levels of the political system. In 1973, she became director of the First Women’s Bank and Trust Company. She was also a leader in the effort to obtain an amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing equality for women. She remained an active figure for women’s rights.

**FULBRIGHT, J. WILLIAM** (1905–1995). J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the period of American involvement in **Vietnam**, was born in Summer, Missouri, on 9 April 1905, and grew up in Fayetteville, Arkansas, where his family was socially and economically prominent. Following his graduation from the University of Arkansas in 1925, he studied at Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship and then returned to the United States in 1928 to take a law degree at George Washington University. Fulbright served as a lawyer for the Justice Department in
1934 and the next year was appointed instructor of law at George Washington. He returned to the University of Arkansas in 1936 as a member of its law faculty. From 1939 to 1941, Fulbright served as the president of that university.

In 1942, Fulbright was elected to Congress, where, as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, he introduced the “Fulbright Resolution,” calling for U.S. participation in an international organization to maintain peace. First elected to the Senate two years later, he was repeatedly returned to the upper house during the next two decades. As a representative from the Deep South, Fulbright reflected the sentiments of his constituents on most domestic issues, compiling a conservative record on many legislative issues, especially those involving civil rights. However, the senator’s main preoccupation throughout his career was foreign affairs. Believing that world peace could be furthered through education, Fulbright sponsored the 1946 law that set up the international educational exchange program that bears his name.

During the John F. Kennedy administration, Fulbright used his position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to advocate a reappraisal of the basic tenets upon which Soviet–American diplomacy has been conducted. In a series of speeches and articles and in two books, Prospects for the West (1963) and Old Myths and New Realities (1964), Fulbright urged the United States to abandon the postwar assumption that Russia and the United States were locked in uncompromising ideological combat. He thought this premise had produced continual confrontations between the two nuclear powers. Instead, the senator recommended that the United States view relations with the Soviet Union in terms of traditional great power rivalry and use quiet diplomacy to settle differences.

In these years, Fulbright began an involvement in Vietnam affairs, which would become his major preoccupation for the remainder of his Senate career. In June 1961, he delivered a major address to the Senate that outlined his thoughts on the U.S. role in the nationalistic struggles of developing nations. Citing the example of Vietnam, Fulbright argued that American aid to that country was only a “qualified success” because stress had been put on military rather than long-term economic assistance. As long as this emphasis continued, he thought, the effort was doomed to failure. He was also known as a
frequent dissenter of popular positions: objecting to President Kennedy’s impending Bay of Pigs incursion, criticizing the U.S.’s pro-Israel lobby, and warning of right-wing radicalism in the U.S. military.

As the decade continued, Fulbright became an increasingly vocal critic of the war. Although he supported the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that gave President Johnson almost unlimited authority to send American troops to Vietnam, he gradually came to question the moral right of a world power to destroy a small country for what, in his view, were slight political gains. The senator, therefore, used the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a forum for the discussion of Johnson and Nixon administration policies in Indochina, resulting in publication of The Arrogance of Power (1966). By the end of the decade, Fulbright had become the preeminent symbol of growing congressional discontent with the war. In 1974, Fulbright failed in his bid for a sixth Senate term when he was defeated in the Arkansas Democratic primary. See also ANTIWAR MOVEMENT; COLD WAR; FOREIGN RELATIONS.

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GALBRAITH, JOHN KENNETH (1908–2006). John Kenneth Galbraith, an influential economist and ambassador to India during the John F. Kennedy administration, was born on 15 October 1908, in Iona Station, Canada, and raised in rural Ontario. Following his graduation from the University of Toronto in 1931, he studied economics at the University of California, Berkeley, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1934. During the next five years, Galbraith taught at Harvard and then joined the economics department at Princeton.

In 1942, Galbraith was appointed deputy administrator of the Office of Price Administration. His vigorous and outspoken defense of price controls brought him under attack by congressional and business leaders, who objected to the comprehensive nature of the controls. In 1943, the criticism prompted his resignation. Two years later, Galbraith headed the Strategic Bombing Survey, which assessed the effects of wartime bombing on the war-making capacity of the Axis powers. In the postwar period, Galbraith also served as director of the
State Department’s Office of Economic Security Policy, which helped plan the economic recovery of Germany and Japan.

In 1949, Galbraith returned to Harvard. A Keynesian economist, Galbraith wrote a series of well-received books during the 1950s and won a wide audience for his liberal critique of the American economy. In 1952, he published *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power*. Three years later he wrote a popular history entitled *The Great Crash: 1929*. Both books argued for greater government regulation and stimulation of the economy as a method of sustaining stable economic growth. Galbraith wrote *The Affluent Society* in 1958. His most influential work, the book attacked what he believed was the economy’s overemphasis on the production of private consumer goods and its neglect of public social expenditures. He proposed a transfer of resources from the private to the public sector to eliminate poverty, equalize social and economic opportunity, and generate faster economic growth.

A liberal Democrat, Galbraith worked on Adlai E. Stevenson’s campaign staff in 1952 and 1956. From 1956 to 1960, he was chairman of the Democratic Advisory Council’s economic panel. In 1960, Galbraith was an early supporter of Senator John F. Kennedy’s presidential nomination and worked to overcome distrust of the candidate within the Democratic Party’s liberal wing. Following Kennedy’s victory Galbraith served on the president’s foreign economic policy task force and advised the administration on important appointments.

In keeping with his desire to appoint capable men from outside the traditional foreign service path to high diplomatic posts, President Kennedy named Galbraith ambassador to India in March 1961. Kennedy chose the economist because of Galbraith’s familiarity with India’s staggering economic problems, his personal acquaintance with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and his prestige as an economic and social analyst.

**GARDNER, JOHN (1912–2000).** John Gardner played a major role in developing and implementing much of Lyndon B. Johnson’s ambitious Great Society as chief of the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). Moving from head of the Carnegie foundation with a staff of 35 persons, Gardner assumed his position as Secretary of HEW on 27 July 1965, when he became responsible for
a multi-billion dollar budget and supervised some 150 programs and more than 100,000 employees. Later, HEW was split into the Department of Education and Department of Health and Human Services. Gardner played a significant role in enforcing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by insisting that the department’s funds were not used to support discriminatory practices. He also took on the awesome tasks of launching the Medicare program, which aided retired senior citizens, and of overseeing the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which greatly expanded the role of the government in education and directed funding to poor students.

Additionally, Gardner contributed greatly to the establishment of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, an idea he had long sponsored. At the ceremony for signing the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 that created the Corporation, President Johnson credited Gardner for inspiring the legislation. The president said that some time ago Gardner “asked me to help participate in forming” the Corporation. “We are indebted” to him “for this, as we are to many things he has done to provide leadership in the field of what is really important in the world—the education of our people.”

GARRISON, JIM (1921–1992). Jim Garrison, who was born on 20 November 1921 in Dennison, Iowa, earned a law degree from Tulane University in 1949. That year, he was admitted to the Louisiana bar and began his practice in New Orleans. He served as assistant district attorney for New Orleans from 1954 to 1958. In 1962, shortly after he became district attorney for Orleans Parish, he undertook an investigation of vice and crime in New Orleans’ French Quarter. Late in the year, the New Orleans Criminal District Court denied Garrison’s request for additional funds for his investigation. Garrison alleged that “racketeering influence” had affected the court’s decision. In February 1963, Garrison was convicted of defaming the judges and sentenced to four months in prison and fined $1,000. Late in the year, however, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the conviction.

In October 1966, Garrison began an investigation of the John F. Kennedy assassination. In February 1967, he announced that Kennedy had been murdered by a group of New Orleans conspirators. Four days later, David William Ferrie, a former airline pilot and prime Garrison suspect, was found dead in his New Orleans apartment.
New Orleans coroner Dr. Nicholas Chetta stated that Ferrie had died of a ruptured blood vessel in the brain, a finding confirmed by an autopsy. Garrison questioned the results of the autopsy and suggested that Ferrie had committed suicide. “Evidence developed by our office,” said Garrison, “had long since confirmed that he was involved in events culminating in the assassination of President Kennedy. Apparently we waited too long.”

Garrison announced on 24 February that his staff had “solved” the assassination but that he would need months or even years to “work on details of evidence” and to make arrests. Yet only days later, Garrison ordered Clay L. Shaw, retired director of the New Orleans International Trade Mart, arrested for “participation in a conspiracy to murder John F. Kennedy.” Garrison charged that, during 1963, Shaw, alias “Clay Bertrand,” Lee Harvey Oswald, and Ferrie had planned the assassination. Shaw denied that he knew Oswald or Ferrie and, through legal appeals, sought to prevent Garrison from bringing him to trial. While the Shaw case was making its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, Garrison attempted to develop an elaborate account of the assassination. He proposed that Oswald had been a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operative and implied that he had been framed by the agency. He suggested that a number of Cuban exiles working for the CIA and “having a venomous reaction from the 1961 Bay of Pigs episode” had actually murdered the president.

Garrison’s allegations received extensive coverage as well as strong criticism in the news media. In June 1967, the National Broadcasting Company, in a special television broadcast, charged that Garrison was intimidating potential witnesses and had offered them bribes to secure cooperative testimony. The New York Times reported that two Louisiana convicts had asserted that Garrison’s office had offered them their freedom if they would cooperate with the investigation.

In December 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to bar Garrison from prosecuting Shaw. The trial began 21 January 1969. A key prosecuting witness, Perry Russo, testified that in September 1963 he had heard Ferrie, Oswald, and Shaw discuss the assassination. Under cross-examination, Russo confessed that he had previously been hypnotized to help strengthen his recollection of Oswald and Shaw. The jury acquitted Shaw after 50 minutes’ deliberation on 1 March 1969. The New York Times called it one of the most disgraceful chapters in
the history of American jurisprudence. Garrison vowed that he had “just begun to fight” and had Shaw arrested on 3 March for perjury, charging that he had lied under oath in denying having known Oswald and Ferrie. Shaw, in turn, sued Garrison for $5 million in damages stemming from his prosecution.

Although Garrison endured strong public criticism, he won reelection to another term as district attorney in November 1969. In May 1970, a federal judge ordered Garrison to cease his prosecution of Shaw. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld this order in 1972. Shaw’s suit against Garrison was delayed for several years and remained unsettled when Shaw died in 1974.

During the early 1970s, Garrison had to contend with his own legal problems. In December 1971, a federal grand jury indicted him on charges that he had taken bribes to protect New Orleans gambling and pinball interests. He was acquitted in September 1973. He also won acquittal in March 1974 on charges of federal income tax evasion. He attributed his prosecution in these matters to a government conspiracy to prevent him from pursuing his investigation of the Kennedy assassination.

In December 1973, Garrison was narrowly defeated for a fourth term as district attorney in the Democratic primary in New Orleans. He then returned to private legal practice. In 1978, he was elected to the Louisiana Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. He published his recollections of the investigation in a 1988 book, On the Trail of the Assassins, which served partially as the basis for the controversial 1991 film, JFK, which Oliver Stone directed. Garrison had a cameo role in the movie. Despite the attention that the book and film garnered, his claims have been widely repudiated, and his own reputation suffered. He died of cancer on 21 October 1992.

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT (GCD). During the early years of the Cold War, both the Soviet Union and the United States offered plans calling for general and complete disarmament. President Kennedy spelled out his administration’s plan at the United Nations (UN) on 25 September 1961, which included signing a nuclear test ban pact; halting the production of fissionable materials used for weapons; preventing the transfer of fissionable materials to non-nuclear nations; prohibiting the transfer of nuclear
weapons to non-nuclear states; preventing deployment of nuclear weapons into outer space; and destroying strategic missiles and aircraft that could deliver nuclear weapons.

Little here had not been suggested by previous administrations, nor did it offer any new ideas that might prompt Moscow to forego its objections to onsite inspections to verify compliance with any of the proposals. Actually, Kennedy’s proposals were in response to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev’s GCD program offered to the UN General Assembly on 18 September 1959.

Revised versions of both proposals were formally sent to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in 1962, when portions of them eventually reappeared as arms control measures designed to deal with specific problems, such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Outer Space Treaty. At the time they were offered, however, neither government expected much to materialize from their proposals because they were primarily designed as propaganda aimed at various publics around the world. See also ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY.

GINSBERG, ALLEN (1926–1997). Born in Newark, New Jersey, on 3 June 1926, Allen Ginsberg grew up in difficult circumstances. His mother, Naomi Ginsberg, an émigré from Russia and a Communist in her youth, died in 1956 after many years of paranoia and long confinement in a mental hospital. Her son’s painful memory of her deterioration is reflected in the poem Kaddish for Naomi Ginsberg (1961). Ginsberg entered Columbia University in 1943 on a scholarship and graduated in 1948. While at Columbia, he was part of a circle that included writers Jack Kerouac and William S. Burroughs. In 1953, Ginsberg moved to San Francisco, where he worked for a short time as a market research consultant before quitting to devote himself to poetry. Ginsberg became a leading figure in the literary movement known as the San Francisco Renaissance. His 1956 poem Howl was one of the Beat Generation’s major documents. It also earned Ginsberg a trial for obscenity violations. That same year, the publication of his book, Howl and Other Poems, helped make him a national figure among an emerging artistic movement.

In 1960, Ginsberg began experimenting with drugs under the guidance of Timothy Leary. Three years later, he returned from a
visit to India chanting a Hare Krishna mantra and preaching the superiority of yoga and meditation over drugs, but he continued to regard psychedelics as useful aids to personal awareness and illumination. In June 1966, he testified in support of the liberalization of laws against non-addictive psychedelics before a Senate subcommittee on narcotics. Ginsberg informed the senators that LSD had enabled him to stop hating Lyndon B. Johnson as a criminal and to pray for the president instead.

As a correspondent for the Evergreen Review, Ginsberg visited Cuba in 1965. He was quickly deported by Fidel Castro’s regime, however, after he publicly condemned the government’s persecution of homosexuals. On a tour of Eastern Europe in 1965, Ginsberg was expelled by the Czechoslovak government because, according to Ginsberg, it was embarrassed by the enthusiasm with which young people in Prague received a “bearded American fairy dope poet.”

Back in the United States, Ginsberg saw his role as one of bridging the gap between political radicals and hippies. In the fall of 1965, he proposed “flower power” to antiwar demonstrators in California as a means of neutralizing harassment from the police and a Hell’s Angels motorcycle gang. He was also an organizer of the first Human Be-In, in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco in January 1967. Later in the same year, he was arrested, with Dr. Benjamin Spock and others, in New York City for blocking the steps of a draft board office. During the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, he was tear gassed while chanting a mantra at the Lincoln Park Yippie Festival of Life. He continued writing into the next decade, and won the 1974 National Book Award for his The Fall of America. His criticism of numerous U.S. government actions also earned him a large Federal Bureau of Investigation file. Never moving from the Lower East Side of New York, he remained an active presence in the arts world until his death from liver cancer on 5 October 1997.

GLASSBORO SUMMIT CONFERENCE. From 23 to 25 June 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson and Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin met in a hastily arranged summit at the home of the president of Glassboro State College in New Jersey. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and his staff arrived ready to discuss the limitation of strategic nuclear weaponry, both offensive and defensive. The generally
amicable atmosphere of the summit, referred to as the “Spirit of Glassboro,” failed to reach agreement to open negotiations on limiting this weaponry, especially anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems, because the Soviets had not yet decided whether to entertain such discussions. By 1969, Moscow and Washington did decide to open such strategic (SALT) talks. See ARMS CONTROL; ARMS RACE; COLD WAR.

GLENN, JOHN H. (1921– ). John H. Glenn was born in Cambridge, Ohio, on 18 July 1921. He became a naval pilot in the Marine Corps in 1943 and saw action in the Pacific, where he won several medals. He remained on active duty during the Korean War and later became a naval test pilot. In 1957, he set a speed record in the first non-stop, transcontinental supersonic flight.

In April 1959, Glenn and six others were selected from 110 military test pilots to become the first American astronauts. On 20 February 1962, Glenn became the first Project Mercury astronaut to orbit the earth, circling the globe three times in just under five hours. Glenn’s flight allayed fears that America had lagged helplessly behind the Soviets in the space race and made him a national hero. Several days after his flight, Glenn addressed a joint session of Congress in support of the space program’s long-range goals, saying “exploration and the pursuit of knowledge have always paid dividends in the long run.”

GOLDBERG, ARTHUR J. (1908–1996). Arthur J. Goldberg was among the earliest labor backers of John F. Kennedy’s presidential primary campaign. In December 1960, the new president chose Goldberg as his secretary of labor over five elected union officials nominated by AFL–CIO president George Meany. Kennedy chose Goldberg because he needed a secretary of labor who could administer the reform of provisions of the Landrum–Griffin Act, recently enacted over strong trade union opposition. Goldberg, who was “from the unions but not of them” was the “perfect appointee.”

Goldberg was an activist secretary of labor. During 1961, he personally intervened to settle a New York tugboat strike in January, a wildcat strike of flight engineers in February, a California agriculture work stoppage in March, and a musicians’ dispute at New York’s
Metropolitan Opera in August. In May 1961, Goldberg helped negotiate a no-strike, no-lock-out pledge covering construction work at U.S. missile and space bases. President Kennedy then appointed Goldberg to chair an 11-man Missile Sites Labor Commission to handle subsequent labor disputes at the bases.

The principal economic problem facing Goldberg and Kennedy in 1961 was the lingering recession with its continuing 6.8 percent unemployment rate. At Kennedy’s request, Goldberg toured areas of high unemployment in five Midwestern states in February and reported that “we are in a full-fledged recession.” The Department of Labor announced that “substantial and persistent” labor surpluses existed in 76 of 150 major industrial centers. Adopting the heretofore unsuccessful legislative proposals of Senator Paul Douglas to aid these “depressed areas,” the administration backed a $389 million area redevelopment program in January 1961. Goldberg agreed that the new Redevelopment Agency be administered by the secretary of commerce, and he helped win the votes of conservative Southern congressmen by pointing out that federal money would be channeled into depressed areas in the South, as well as the high-unemployment centers of the industrial North. The bill passed both houses of Congress in April and was signed by the president 1 May.

During the spring of 1961, Goldberg also helped secure a 13-week extension of state unemployment benefits and a “pooling” of state tax revenues to spread the burden of increased expenditures among all 50 states. The administration also won a substantial increase in the minimum wage (from $1 to $1.25 an hour over two years) in early May and extended minimum-wage coverage to an additional 3.6 million workers, the first such extension since 1938. In order to pump more purchasing power into the economy, the administration won an $800 million dollar increase in Social Security benefits in June. In August 1961, the Senate passed an administration-sponsored manpower training bill, but the House delayed final passage of the compromise $435 million Manpower Development and Training Act until March 1962. The act, administered by the Department of Labor, was designed to retrain workers displaced from their jobs by technological change or automation. A notable failure of the Kennedy–Goldberg legislative program came in May 1961 when the House rejected amendments aimed at protecting the wages and jobs of American
farm workers. Instead, the lower chamber simply extended the “bracero” program, which enabled California and Texas growers to import large numbers of poorly paid Mexican laborers.

In August 1961, Kennedy nominated Goldberg to fill the Supreme Court seat held for 23 years by Felix Frankfurter, who had recently suffered a stroke. The appointment, widely hailed in the press, came at a time when Goldberg’s warm relationship with organized labor had begun to cool as a result of his vigorous wage-restraint policies. The Senate confirmed the nomination in September with but one dissenting vote.

The former secretary of labor spent 34 months on the bench. Goldberg first raised the specter of the unconstitutionality of the death penalty in October 1963 on the basis of cruel and unusual punishment and due process of law clauses of the Constitution. He spoke for the Court’s six-to-three majority in June 1964 that ruled denial of passports to members of the Communist Party “unconstitutional on its face.” In the same month, Goldberg authored the Court’s landmark five-to-four decision in Escobedo v. Illinois, holding that confessions cannot be used in court if police question a suspect without letting him consult a lawyer or warning him that his answers may be used against him.

Goldberg continued to advise Presidents Kennedy and Johnson on national labor problems while he was on the bench and, in July 1965, readily accepted Johnson’s offer of appointment as ambassador to the United Nations. He resigned in April 1968 to aid Senator Hubert H. Humphrey’s campaign for the presidency and later spoke in opposition to American policy in Vietnam. Goldberg challenged Nelson A. Rockefeller in the 1970 New York gubernatorial election but failed to unseat the three-term Republican incumbent.

conservative delegates nominated Goldwater for president as a protest against Nixon’s accommodation with the New York governor. Aware of Nixon’s overwhelming delegate strength, however, Goldwater asked that his name be withdrawn in an address calling for party unity.

Many conservative Republicans, long frustrated in GOP presidential politics, looked to Goldwater as the natural heir to the late senator Robert A. Taft, who had three times sought and been denied the party’s highest honor. But Goldwater proved more militant in his anticommunism and conservative on social welfare legislation. The senator was also less pragmatic and more ideological than Taft. Unlike Taft, he promoted his views with evangelical fervor; his Conscience of a Conservative, published in 1960, sold more than 700,000 copies in its first year.

As a political leader, Goldwater drew support from, and, in turn, applauded, the expansion in the early 1960s of the diffuse anticommunist rightwing, separate from the regular party. Goldwater, for example, often defended the John Birch Society (although he criticized its founder, Robert H. W. Welch Jr. In March 1962, Goldwater hailed as “the wave of the future” the Young Americans for Freedom, founded by journalist William F. Buckley Jr. and others. Despite his identification with these and other rightist groups, Goldwater emphasized that the Republican Party should continue as the main vehicle of conservatism.

In the Senate, Goldwater often stood with only a small number of colleagues in his opposition to the John F. Kennedy administration domestic policy proposals. As measured by Congressional Quarterly, Goldwater favored a smaller federal role in every roll-call vote in the 1961, 1962, and 1963 sessions of Congress. In April 1961, he voted against an increase in the federal minimum wage law, which the Senate approved 65–28. He cast negative votes on the administration’s 1961 and 1963 wilderness preservation bills, although the Senate twice voted for the proposal by overwhelming margins. With fellow conservative senator John Tower, Goldwater frequently dissented on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee’s recommendations.

Goldwater’s attacks on the Kennedy administration measures solidified his command of the Republican right. In November 1961, political organizer F. Clifton White and others began a Draft Goldwater
for President Committee, which effectively laid the groundwork for his presidential nomination in 1964. Two factors, however, threatened to thwart the Goldwater strategy. First, the senator’s identification with the “radical right” and his votes against measures favored by a majority of his party colleagues (such as the Limited Test Ban Treaty) appeared to place him outside the “political mainstream” of the GOP. Blaming Goldwater for his slide in the pre-primary opinion surveys, Rockefeller urged Republicans in a formal statement on 14 July 1963, to repudiate “well-drilled extremist elements boring within the [Republican] party.” Clearly aimed at the Arizona Republican, Rockefeller’s statement infuriated Goldwater and ended their briefly cordial association. Second, the senator relied heavily upon ghostwriters and hence frequently contradicted himself on major policy issues. L. Brent Bozell, brother-in-law of William F. Buckley Jr., wrote the entire manuscript for Conscience of a Conservative, which Goldwater at first did not read, choosing instead to have another ghostwriter approve it for him. “Oh hell, I have ghosts all over the place,” he admitted in an August 1963 interview. Inconsistency or outright political gaffes—such as his advocacy in October 1963 of the sale of the Tennessee Valley Authority—later proved costly in the 1964 campaign.

In 1964, he won the nomination after a bitter pre-convention struggle but lost the election to President Lyndon B. Johnson in a historic landslide. See also PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1964.

GOODMAN, PAUL (1911–1972). Paul Goodman was born 9 September 1911 and grew up in the New York City slums. He attended the City College of New York, where he was first attracted to the anarchist principles of Peter Kropotkin. He then studied at the University of Chicago, eventually receiving his Ph.D. in English in 1955. During the 1940s and 1950s, Goodman’s wide-ranging intellect produced poetry, short stories, novels, and essays on sociology, linguistics, and city planning. His ideas drew little attention until 1960, when he published Growing Up Absurd: Problems of Youth in the Organized System, a sweeping indictment of modern American society that attributed the growing alienation of many young people to the bureaucratic dehumanization of the system itself.
Growing Up Absurd won a large audience among college students and intellectuals, and Goodman’s many essays and books in the mid-1960s were an important influence on the growing student radicalism of the period. Goodman’s ideas on restructuring education had special impact. In The Community of Scholars (1962) and in Compulsory Mis-Education (1964), Goodman argued that students were the “major exploited class” in the society. He suggested a wide range of experiments in educational reform, including the radical decentralization of the school system and integration of the work experience with academic life through widespread use of apprenticeship programs. Goodman’s proposal for the creation of voluntary “mini-schools” in inner-city areas attracted substantial support in the mid-1960s. The Ford Foundation sponsored several such schools in 1967 and 1968.

Goodman was a vocal critic of the Vietnam War and actively supported draft resistance and civil disobedience. He was an editor of Liberation, a radical pacifist magazine, and a frequent contributor to the New York Review of Books. By the late 1960s, however, Goodman had become increasingly critical of the New Left. Believing that it had failed to produce a creative leadership and a coherent body of thought, he doubted that the movement could significantly change American society. Goodman’s disenchantment reflected in his New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative (1970). While still sympathizing with young people who were outraged by such “gut” issues as Vietnam, he was nevertheless distressed by their lack of interest in “fundamental” questions and by their anti-intellectualism and authoritarian tendencies. In the last years of his life, Goodman was also alarmed that many of his ideas had been misinterpreted. The proliferation of rural communes in the late 1960s owed much to Goodman’s communitarian ideas, but he asserted that his anarchist principles were not intended to promote “dropping out,” which he believed could never lead to basic social or political change. Goodman died of a heart attack in 1972.

GREAT SOCIETY. Lyndon B. Johnson announced his objectives for the Great Society in an address at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor on 22 May 1964. His speechwriter, Richard N. Goodwin, popularized the phrase “the Great Society” and Johnson had used it
several times. But in the Ann Arbor speech, Johnson emphasized the term and from then on used it as the catch phrase for his domestic programs. These programs had the twin goals of social reforms aimed at the elimination of poverty and of racial injustice. Among these various federally funded undertakings were ones dealing with **education**, medical care, urban problems, and transportation. In scope, it can be compared with President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal; however, the Great Society’s type of programs, especially those of the **War on Poverty**, differed greatly from the New Deal.

Almost at once 14 task forces, directed by presidential assistants Bill Moyers and Richard N. Goodwin, began examining nearly all major aspects of American society. The groups consisted of specialists who were generally governmental experts and academicians. All but one of the task forces developing the 1965 legislative program addressed domestic policy—agriculture, anti-recession policy, **civil rights**, education, efficiency and economy, health, income maintenance policy, intergovernmental fiscal cooperation, natural resources, pollution of the environment, preservation of natural beauty, transportation, and urban issues.

Although Johnson drew on the stalled initiatives of **John F. Kennedy’s New Frontier** for some of his legislative proposals, it was his own highly honed skills of persuasion and the Democratic landslide in 1964 that enabled the passage of Great Society legislation. The Democrats controlled more than two-thirds of the members of each chamber that allowed the first session of the Eighty-Ninth Congress in 1965 to create the core of the Great Society. The Johnson administration submitted 87 bills to Congress, and Johnson signed 84 (96.5 percent), arguably the most successful legislative agenda in American history.

Perhaps the most important domestic achievement of the Great Society was its ability to translate many of the civil rights movement’s demands into law. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** forbade job discrimination and the segregation of public accommodations. The **Voting Rights Act of 1965** assured minority registration and voting by banning literacy or other voter-qualification tests, such as discriminatory poll taxes, and supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with the appointment of federal voting examiners. The **Immigration and Nationality Services Act of 1965** abolished the national-origin quotas
in immigration law. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 ended housing discrimination and extended constitutional protections to Native Americans on reservations.

The **Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965**, designed by Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, provided the first significant federal aid to public education, initially helping schools purchase materials and initiate special education programs where there was a large number of low-income children. The Act also expanded **Head Start** to a permanent program. The **Higher Education Act of 1965** provided additional federal money given to universities, created scholarships and low-interest loans for students and established a **National Teachers Corps** that provided teachers for America’s poverty-stricken regions. The **Bilingual Education Act of 1968** offered federal aid to schools to help meet the needs of children with limited ability in English. It expired in 2002.

The **Social Security Act of 1965** authorized federal funding to meet some of America’s health needs. It established **Medicare** to provide medical care for older citizens and **Medicaid** to extend medical assistance to welfare recipients regardless of age. While states administered their own Medicaid programs, federal centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services oversaw the state-run programs. These changes were criticized by several groups, especially the American Medical Association, which labeled them “socialized medicine.”

The fiscal demands of the **Vietnam War** and Johnson’s efforts to balance the national budget resulted in reduced funding for many Great Society programs, particularly those focusing on the poor. Civil rights laws remained in amended versions. Some programs, like Medicare and Medicaid, have enjoyed wide support and their benefits have been increased since the 1960s. Federal funding for public and higher education, and for cultural initiatives in the arts, humanities, and public broadcasting have survived.

**GREGORY, DICK** (1932–2006). Born 12 October 1932, Dick Gregory grew up in poverty in St. Louis. He ran track for his St. Louis high school and attended Southern Illinois University on an athletic scholarship. After serving in the army and drifting through several jobs, Gregory began his career as a comedian in 1958 at a black nightclub in Chicago. He remained largely unknown outside of black
audiences until 1961, where he appeared at the Chicago Playboy Club as a replacement for a white comedian. He was so successful in his limited number of appearances that the Playboy Club offered him a contract extension from several weeks to three years. By 1962, he had become a national figure, with television appearances, comedy albums, and a large network of supporters from blacks and whites alike. In his comedy routines, he provided ironic commentary on many social issues.

Gregory became involved in civil rights in November 1962, when he spoke at a voter registration rally in Jackson, Mississippi. He became friendly with Medgar Evers, leader of the Mississippi National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and subsequently toured the South, speaking at civil rights rallies and demonstrations. When local governments in Mississippi stopped distributing federal food surpluses to poor blacks in areas where the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had taken an active role in voter registration campaigns, Gregory chartered a plane to bring in several tons of food. Gregory dropped out of the nightclub circuit entirely in 1966 to devote himself to college appearances aimed at encouraging student activism. During the late 1960s, he became increasingly involved in opposition to the Vietnam War. Other issues, such as environmental protection and the rights of American Indians, also drew his attention.

Always an individualist, Gregory did not identify himself with any single civil rights or peace organization. However, his celebrity status enabled him to act alone for the causes he espoused. In November 1967, he began a series of fasts, lasting from 40 to 80 days, to dramatize his stance on the war and other issues. He also led antiwar demonstrations in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic National Convention and was jailed for crossing police lines—his 20th arrest since 1962. In 1967, Gregory ran a write-in campaign against Richard J. Daley in the Chicago mayoral election, gaining 22,000 votes. A second write-in campaign during the Democratic presidential primaries of 1968 brought him 150,000 votes. In 1969, Gregory attended the World Assembly of Peace in East Berlin, protesting “racism as the prime cause of war.”

Gregory’s independent crusading drew mixed reactions from other black leaders. James Farmer, former head of the Congress of Racial
Equality, praised Gregory for stimulating the political interest of many blacks. But Whitney Young of the National Urban League claimed that Gregory could do more good in the entertainment industry, opening new opportunities for black performers and writers. “There are many activists, but only one Dick Gregory,” Young pointed out.

Gregory, in fact, reduced his political activism after 1969, partly for financial reasons. He resumed his nightclub performances in 1970 but left show business again in August 1973. This transition reflected a change in Gregory’s lifestyle; he moved with his family from Chicago to a farm outside of Boston and devoted himself to pursuing a “natural” life, including a vegetarian diet, breathing exercises, and running.

Gregory published a number of books at various stages of his career, including From the Back of the Bus (1964) and Write Me In (1972). In 1996 he returned to comedy in a critically acclaimed show, Dick Gregory Live. See also AFRICAN AMERICANS.

GRIFFITHS, MARTHA (1912–2003). A lawyer, judge and feminist, Martha Griffiths (D-MI) represented Michigan in Congress from 1955 to 1974 and was the first woman to serve on the House’s powerful Committee on Ways and Means. She is credited with the inclusion of the prohibition of sex discrimination in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

GRISWOLD V. CONNECTICUT (1965). In this landmark case, the U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of 7–2, ruled that the Constitution protected a “right to privacy” when it overturned a Connecticut law that prohibited the use of contraceptives. The decision was labeled “Judicial activism” by critics. Although there is no mention of a right to privacy in the Bill of Rights, writing for the majority, Justice William O. Douglas argued that the right could be found in the “penumbras” of other constitutional protections. Other concurring opinions found justification in the Ninth Amendment (Justice Arthur Goldberg) and in the due process clause of the Fourteen Amendment (Justice Byron White). Justice Hugo Black dissented because the right to privacy was not spelled out in the Constitution and Justice Potter Stewart voted to uphold the Connecticut law, while calling it “an uncommonly silly law.”
GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION. This 5 August 1964 action by the U.S. Senate authorized President Johnson, “To take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.” Much earlier in the year, the president and members of his administration realized that the survival of South Vietnam was in peril and that only the infusion of substantial numbers of American troops could prevent its collapse. Criticized by his Republican opponent during an election year, Johnson was determined he, and the Democratic Party, not be labeled as responsible “for losing South Vietnam.” On 2 and 4 August, incidents occurred in the Gulf of Tonkin during which North Vietnamese gunboats were alleged to have attacked the American destroyers Maddox and C. Turner Joy. On 4 August, the president condemned the incidents as “deliberate attacks” and “open aggression on the high seas,” and authorized immediate retaliatory air strikes against four North Vietnamese bases. At the same time, he offered a proposed Resolution to the Senate, which approved it with only two dissenting votes—on 30 December 1970, the Senate repealed the Resolution. See also FULBRIGHT, J. WILLIAM, APPENDIX D.

HAIGHT-ASHBURY. This district in San Francisco became famous as the center of the 1960s hippy movement and, especially, for the “Summer of Love” in 1967. The district became popular because of the cheap rent for its old multi-story Victorian houses and, subsequently, its bohemian subculture. It was also known as a center for illegal drugs, mostly marijuana. A number of famous psychedelic rock performers and groups, such as the Jefferson Airplane, the Grateful Dead, and Janis Joplin lived within a short distance of the intersection of Haight and Ashbury streets. They immortalized the hippy scene in song, including the 1967 hit by Scott MacKenzie, San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Some Flowers in Your Hair) written by the Mamas and Papas’ John Phillips. By the mid-1970s, the district was quiet and the hippies were gone. See also COUNTERCULTURE MOVEMENT; MUSIC; ROCK AND ROLL.
HANOI HILTON. During the Vietnam War, American prisoners of war (POWs) placed this label on Hoa Lo prison, one of a dozen North Vietnamese prisons in the Hanoi area, where several hundred of them were held from August 1964 to March 1973. Appalling conditions greeted the arriving POWs as they were starved, beaten, and forced into making anti-American propaganda. Of the hundreds of Americans that became POWs—many were pilots or aircrew members—during the war, 591 were released in 1973. At the end of hostilities, more than 1,000 U.S. soldiers and airmen were listed as missing in action (MIA), not uncommon because there were nearly 80,000 MIAs after World War II and 8,000 after the Korean War; nevertheless, a Vietnam POW/MIA controversy continued to the 1990s.

HARRIMAN, W(ILLIAM) AVERELL (1891–1986). President Franklin D. Roosevelt picked W. Averell Harriman in March 1941 as his special representative in Great Britain to expedite Lend–Lease shipments. In August of the same year, FDR sent Harriman to the U.S.S.R., where he remained until 1946, first as minister and then as ambassador. Harriman attended all of the Big Three wartime conferences, remained in frequent contact with both Churchill and Stalin, and won a permanent place in America’s foreign policy establishment. After a brief period as ambassador to Great Britain in 1946, Harriman helped administer the Marshall Plan in Europe and served as President Truman’s National Security Advisor during the Korean War. In 1954, Harriman won the governorship of New York, but most commentators considered him a poor politician; his crushing defeat by Nelson Rockefeller in 1958 set the stage for almost a generation of Republican rule in the state. Harriman also failed in his attempts to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1952 and 1956.

In large part because of Harriman’s age, 69, John F. Kennedy passed him over for a high diplomatic post in the new administration. Instead, Kennedy offered him a roving ambassadorship. Still vital, hard-working, and ambitious, Harriman accepted, ready, in his own words, “to start at the bottom and work your way up.” The president first assigned Harriman to help resolve the lingering political–military crisis in Laos.

Harriman handled several important diplomatic assignments for the Kennedy administration. When China invaded the mountainous
regions along India’s northern frontier in October 1962, Prime Min-
ister Jawaharlal Nehru asked for Western support. Harriman led an
American delegation to the subcontinent to survey Indian military re-
quirements. Along with U.S. ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith,
Harriman pressed for a resolution of India’s dispute with Pakistan
over Kashmir to ensure that military aid to the subcontinent would
not pit one American-supplied army against another. Before Ameri-
can pressure could win results, the Chinese declared a unilateral
cease-fire, and the incentive for resolving the India–Pakistan dispute
evaporated.

Kennedy promoted Harriman to undersecretary of state for politi-
cal affairs in March 1963 and two months later put him in charge of
negotiating the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviets
in Moscow. On 25 July, Harriman initialed the treaty for the United
States in Moscow, and it was ratified by the Senate and signed by
President Kennedy on 7 October 1963.

As the American role in Vietnam expanded, Harriman maintained
a skeptical attitude toward a purely military solution to the civil war
there. Along with Roger Hilsman, the new assistant secretary of state
for Far Eastern affairs, and Michael Forrestal, a White House aide as-
signed to work on Vietnam, Harriman repeatedly questioned the mil-
tary’s optimistic reports on the progress of the counterinsurgency
in Southeast Asia.

With Kennedy’s assassination and the continuing escalation of the
war in Vietnam, Harriman’s influence in government declined until
President Johnson called on the former governor to serve as a chair-
man of the American delegation to the Paris peace talks on Vietnam
in May 1968.

HARRINGTON, MICHAEL (1928–1989). Michael Harrington was
born on 24 February 1928, in St. Louis, and educated by Jesuits at St.
Louis University High School and at Holy Cross College. In 1951, he
moved to New York, where he began drifting toward socialism. Af-
ter spending a year working with the Catholic Worker movement,
Harrington joined the Young People’s Socialist League and eventu-
ally became a leader of the Socialist Party. In the early 1960s, he be-
came convinced that the anticommunist, socialist movement of
which he was part could be most effective by working within the
Democratic Party in an effort to “realign” it in a more progressive direction.

Harrington was active in civil liberties, civil rights, and peace groups throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. His 1962 book, The Other America: Poverty in the United States, was important in directing public attention toward the large number of people living in chronic poverty within the “affluent society.” These people, Harrington claimed, especially the elderly and rural poor of Appalachia, had become invisible to the larger society. The poor, as he described them, were not just a segment of Americans without money, but actually constituted “a separate culture, another nation with its own way of life.” President John F. Kennedy read Harrington’s book in the fall of 1963, shortly before he ordered the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) to begin planning an antipoverty program.

On Lyndon B. Johnson’s first full day in office, CEA chair Walter Heller advised the president that four days earlier, Kennedy had approved the planning of a major antipoverty program. The new president gave the project his highest priority, and, on 8 January 1964, in his first State of the Union address, Johnson declared an “unconditional war on poverty in America.” Later that month, poverty program planners asked Harrington to Washington. With Paul Jacobs, a former union organizer and West Coast radical, and Peace Corps official Frank Mankiewicz, Harrington began two weeks of meetings with high government officials to prepare proposals for the new program. In their final memo, Mankiewicz, Jacobs, and Harrington argued that the elimination of poverty would require major changes in the allocation of government resources and certain basic structural changes in society. Newly appointed poverty program head R. Sargent Shriver incorporated part of the memo in his report to Johnson, who at the time responded favorably.

As U.S. involvement in Vietnam escalated, Harrington became involved in the growing antiwar movement. In October 1965, he spoke in a national, telephone-linked network of college teach-ins, calling for a more open policy toward the People’s Republic of China and a negotiated settlement on the war in Vietnam. Harrington, however, had little sympathy for the Vietnamese Communists, from whom he felt the antiwar movement should publicly disassociate itself, and he opposed a unilateral U.S. withdrawal. As a member of the
ad hoc committee arranging the 27 November 1965 antiwar march in Washington, Harrington convinced Dr. Benjamin M. Spock, spokesperson for the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, to direct the demand for a negotiated settlement to Hanoi as well as Saigon and Washington.

His opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam led Harrington to support Senator Eugene J. McCarthy’s (D-Minn.) 1968 presidential primary campaign. However, when Senator Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.) announced his candidacy on 16 March 1968, Harrington switched his support to Kennedy, who he thought could attract broader support around a more far-reaching program. At Kennedy’s request, Harrington briefly campaigned during the May 1968 California primary fight. Following Kennedy’s assassination, Harrington supported the Democratic candidate, Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

Harrington served on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party throughout the Johnson administration and wrote two books, The Accidental Century in 1965 and Towards a Democratic Left in 1968 during this period. In 1968, he became chair of the Socialist Party. Harrington was an outspoken critic of repression in the Soviet Union, and, in January 1966, he joined an international protest against the arrest and conviction of dissident Soviet writers Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel.

During the New York City teachers’ strikes of May and September–November 1968, Harrington supported the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) fight against the community school board in the predominantly black Ocean Hill–Brownsville section of Brooklyn. Harrington argued that the city’s school decentralization experiment was fundamentally an attempt by the Ford Foundation, the Urban Coalition, and the New York City Board of Education to manipulate growing Black Power sentiment to preserve the status quo. According to Harrington, the final result would be “black control of black misery and white control of the nation’s wealth.” In 1973, he formed the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in the hopes of uniting the left wing of the Democratic Party, the progressive elements of the Socialist Party, the labor unions, and disillusioned former radicals. He also continued to write until his death from cancer in 1989. See also WAR ON POVERTY.
HAYDEN, TOM (1939– ). Tom Hayden was born on 11 December 1939 in Royal Oak, Michigan. After attending parochial schools, he went to the University of Michigan in 1957 on a tennis scholarship. Majoring in English, he became the editor of the student paper, The Michigan Daily. He was largely apolitical, however, until 1960, when he was inspired by John F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign. In May 1960, Hayden attended a civil rights conference sponsored by the recently revitalized Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). That fall, he would help organize VOICE, a University of Michigan student group affiliated with SDS that soon became its largest chapter.

After graduating from Michigan, Hayden was hired in the fall of 1961 as one of two paid SDS field secretaries. Working out of Atlanta, he wrote articles and a pamphlet, “Revolution in Mississippi,” about the Southern civil rights movement. Hayden himself was beaten in McComb, Mississippi, in October 1961. That December, he was arrested with ten others in a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) effort to desegregate Albany, Georgia, transit facilities.

Hayden wrote the initial drafts of the manifesto produced by the June 1962 SDS convention at Port Huron, Michigan. The Port Huron Statement became the most widely known formulation of New Left ideology. “We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably at the world we inherit,” the Port Huron statement declared. At the same convention, Hayden was elected to a one-year term as SDS president. Hayden helped plan and carry out an SDS experiment in community organizing, the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), which began in September 1963 supported by a $5,000 donation from the United Auto Workers. The following summer, Hayden himself joined an ERAP group in Newark, New Jersey. Attempting to apply SNCC tactics in the North, Hayden and other SDS members spent two years in a predominantly black Newark neighborhood trying to develop local organizations and community campaigns on a broad range of issues. The Newark project, the most successful and long-lasting ERAP effort, ended following the July 1967 Newark riots.
In December 1965, Hayden joined Professor Staughton Lynd and U.S. Communist Party theoretician Herbert Aptheker on a 10-day trip to North Vietnam. During a 90-minute interview, the North Vietnamese premier, Pham Van Dong, told the Americans that in spite of President Johnson’s 20 December statement that the administration would knock on all doors in the quest for peace, the United States had made no direct contact with North Vietnam. Hayden was one of 41 Americans who attended a September 1967 conference with high-level representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF) in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. At the conference, the possibility of the release of American prisoners held by the NLF was discussed. After another trip to Hanoi the next month, Hayden returned to Indochina, and, in ceremonies in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, three American POWs were turned over to Hayden by an NLF representative on 11 November as an indication of sympathy with the American antiwar movement and with American blacks (two of the three prisoners were black).

In January 1968, Hayden attended an International Cultural Congress in Havana. In April of that year, when students at Columbia University occupied campus buildings, Hayden came to the campus to lend his support and became a leader of students in one of five occupied buildings, Mathematics Hall. Hayden, along with other antiwar leaders, had come to believe that it was necessary to move from protests to active resistance, and, in June 1968, wrote, “What is certain is that we are moving towards power—power to stop the machine if it cannot be made to serve human ends.” Hayden and Rennie Davis, another SDS leader, helped organize the August 1968 antiwar demonstrations at the Chicago Democratic National Convention as project directors for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Police attempts to disperse the demonstrators received worldwide publicity. According to the Mobilization Committee chairman David Dellinger, the use of force by police and Hayden’s belief that some form of violent resistance would be necessary combined to make Hayden “ambivalent” about the agreement among demonstration organizers that the protesters should remain nonviolent even if attacked. On 29 August, Hayden told a Grant Park rally, “It may be that the era of organized, peaceful and orderly demonstrations is coming to an end and that other methods will be needed.”
In March 1969, Hayden, Davis, Dellinger, and five others were indicted for conspiracy to incite a riot and crossing state lines to incite a riot in connection with the Chicago events. Their widely publicized trial ended with Hayden and four others convicted on one count, and the seven defendants and their two lawyers receiving prison terms for contempt of court (the case of the eighth defendant, Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, had been severed from the trial earlier). Both the convictions and the contempt sentences were eventually reversed. Hayden continued to be an important radical leader throughout the early 1970s and organized and led the Indochina Peace Campaign. He was elected to the California Assembly in 1982 and the state senate in 1992. He retired in 1999.

HEAD START. This program, known also as Operation or Project Head Start, has been one of the most popular, enduring, and even controversial of Lyndon B. Johnson’s Great Society agenda. It was stimulated in part by the civil rights movement of the 1960s as an early intervention program to compensate for the disadvantaged background of young children of low-income families. As part of the “War on Poverty,” Head Start was authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and was designed by a panel of child-development specialists to meet a range of emotional, social, health, nutritional, and psychological needs. The basic program was launched in 1965 as an eight-week summer project intended to provide youngsters from three to school entry age with a “head start” on school and life. In 1969, Head Start was shifted from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Child Development in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Follow-up studies have provided mixed reviews regarding Head Start’s impact. One study concluded that the program did improve reading and math skills in school, but also led to increased classroom behavior problems. Other reports have shown that the advantage of Head Start’s early intervention has varied among racial and ethnic groups. One study indicated that severely disadvantaged Caucasian youngsters showed larger and longer lasting improvements than African American children. A review of 31 studies found that participants showed an early improvement in IQ scores but, after beginning school, nonparticipating students closed the difference. Nevertheless,
since its introduction, Head Start has served as a model for innovative and high-quality services for low-income children and families, and has enjoyed strong community and bipartisan support through seven presidencies.

HEPBURN, AUDREY (1929–1993). Audrey Hepburn was an Academy Award-winning Dutch–British actress of cinema and theater. Raised under Nazi rule in Arnhem, Netherlands, during World War II, Hepburn trained extensively to become a ballerina before deciding to pursue acting. She first gained notice for her starring role in the Broadway production of *Gigi* (1951). She was then cast in *Roman Holiday* (1953) as Princess Ann, for which she won an Academy Award. She was one of the leading Hollywood actresses during the 1950s and 1960s and received four more Academy Award nominations, including one for her iconic performance as Holly Golightly in *Breakfast at Tiffany’s* (1961). In 1964, she played Eliza Doolittle in *My Fair Lady*, the critically acclaimed film adaptation of the play. From 1988 until her death in 1993, she served as a UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador and was honored with the presidential Medal of Freedom for her work.

HESBURGH, THEODORE (1917– ). Born in Syracuse, New York, on 25 May 1917, and ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1943, Theodore (“Ted”) Hesburgh taught theology at Notre Dame before becoming the school’s president in 1952. He upgraded the academic reputation of the school, long famous for its football teams, and secularized its faculty and administration. An outspoken liberal, Hesburgh typified a new generation of Roman Catholic intellectuals who rejected the traditional conservatism once dominant in the Catholic Church hierarchy. Already active in national education circles, Hesburgh was appointed by President Dwight D. Eisenhower to the newly formed United States Commission on Civil Rights (CRC) in November 1957.

Father Hesburgh came into greater prominence in the 1960s as the movements to extend civil rights to blacks and other minorities and to further ecumenical cooperation between Catholics and other religious groups both gathered momentum. The CRC often recommended legislation more comprehensive than anything Congress or
the president himself was willing to enact, and Hesburgh distin-
guished himself by making especially strong statements on civil
inghts issues. When the commission issued a January 1961 report
charging the “federal government [with] a heavy responsibility for . . .
discrimination against . . . Negroes” and advising that federal aid be
witheld from public colleges and universities that practice discrim-
ination, Hesburgh and two other commission members urged that the
ban also be applied to private colleges. Hesburgh also added his own
statement to a November 1961 CRC report on the shortcomings of
the criminal justice system’s treatment of minority groups. Noting
that the commission had, perhaps, over-emphasized discrimination in
the South, he attacked Northern builders and real estate brokers who
profited from blighted housing while ignoring the “moral dimension”
of their work. Hesburgh scorned the “hypocrisy” of the government’s
propaganda war with the communists in the largely nonwhite under-
developed world, while “democracy and civil liberties were not fully
practiced in the U.S.” He stated that America’s failure to realize na-
tional ideals subverted its institutions and the nation’s moral charac-
ter more effectively than the communists themselves.

During the 1960s, Hesburgh served on a great number of boards
and committees, including those of the Rockefeller Foundation, the
Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the As-
sociation of American Colleges. In February 1969, Hesburgh an-
nounced a “get-tough” policy for dealing with possible campus dis-
orders at Notre Dame, which earned the praise of President Richard
M. Nixon. Named chairman of the CRC in March 1969, Hesburgh
later came into conflict with the president over Nixon’s policy of “be-
ign neglect” in the civil rights field. Angered by Nixon’s use of bus-
ing as a campaign issue, Hesburgh resigned his post in November
1972 following the president’s reelection. He later served on Harvard
University’s Board of Overseers for six years.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT (1965). An integral part of Lyndon B.
Johnson’s Great Society, this legislation, signed on 8 November
1965, was designed “to strengthen the educational resources of our
colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for stu-
dents in postsecondary and higher education.” This would be ac-
complished by providing federal funds to universities, scholarships,
and low-interest student loans. Another feature of the Higher Education Act of 1965 was the National Teachers Corps that was established to provide teachers to poverty areas. The Corps survived until 1981.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT. See JOHNSON, (CLAUDIA ALTA TAYLOR) LADY BIRD.

HIPPY (HIPPIE) MOVEMENT. The hippy or counterculture movement, often seen as an off-shoot of the earlier Beat generation, influenced America’s youth in the late 1960s—eventually spreading to Europe before fading in the late 1970s. In general, hippies rejected the traditional political and social “establishment,” in favor of cooperative, non-doctrine politics that emphasized peace, love, and personal freedom. It was suggested that they were “ethical libertarians and believed that the Ninth and Tenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution guarantee the rights of individual citizens to do as they wish with their own persons and property, as long they do not infringe on the same rights of others.” Hippies revealed strains of Romanticism and Transcendentalist philosophy in their various artistic expressions. The hippies alarmed the older generations with their behavior, beliefs, clothing, hair styles, and music. As part of their rebellion against tradition, they wore unconventional attire and long hair (men grew facial hair), opposed the Vietnam War, corporations, consumerism, and racism, and criticized middle class values. They adopted Eastern philosophies, nomadic lifestyles, sexual liberation, recreational drug use, holistic health, and free speech. See also FASHION; HAIGHT-ASHBURY.

HIRSHHORN MUSEUM AND SCULPTURE GARDEN. As part of the planned expansion of the Smithsonian Institution, Congress in the late 1930s authorized an art museum on the National Mall. In 1939, Eliel Saarinen presented his design for the building but construction was postponed because of the outbreak of World War II. Finally, congressional legislation in 1966 created the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden as part of the Smithsonian Institution with an emphasis on modern art, in contrast to the established National Art Gallery. Although most of the project was essentially federally funded, New Yorker Joseph Hirshhorn contributed one million dol-
HISPANICS. In its original derivation it denotes the people and culture of Spain, much like Anglo indicates a derivation of England and things English. As used in the United States, Hispanic is one of several terms employed to denote the ethnicity of a categorized people and their racial background; however, it has the distinction of being based on culture and language instead of race. Any person of any racial background, of any country, and of any religion who claims at least one ancestor descended from Spain or Spanish-speaking Latin America may be classified as Hispanic. The problem with this categorization is that while Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, and Argentine Americas may speak the same language, they share little cultural similarities. Moreover, many U.S.-born Hispanics do not speak Spanish or have little or no European blood. Consequently, a growing number of “Hispanics” prefer to be called Latino.

Nonetheless, President Lyndon B. Johnson was authorized by Congress in 1968, to proclaim a week in September as National Hispanic Heritage Week; later this observance was extended to a month-long celebration (15 September to 15 October). The rationale behind these dates was that 15 September is the anniversary of the independence of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, while Mexico and Chile celebrate their independence on 16 and 18 September, respectively.

Hispanics or Latinos currently comprise the largest minority group, by place of origin, in the United States, while African Americans make up the country’s largest minority by race. And the number of Hispanics continues to increase making the group a significant factor in the nation’s economy and politics.

HOFFMAN, ABBIE (1936–1989). Born on 30 November 1936 in Worcester, Massachusetts, Abbie Hoffman was expelled from high school at 17 for striking a teacher. Yet he managed to complete his secondary education and to attend Brandeis University, from which he graduated in 1959. He received an M.A. in psychology from the University of California, Berkley, in 1960 and went to work as a psychologist at a Massachusetts state hospital. Hoffman was an early
adherent of the New Left, working on H. Stuart Hughes’s Massachusetts’ senatorial peace campaign in 1962 and later with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Georgia. He also wrote frequently for the underground press, including the East Village Other, the L.A. Free Press, and The Realist.

By 1967, Hoffman had abandoned formal politics and had begun to present himself as an advocate for what he viewed as a growing counterculture of drugs, rock bands, and sexual freedom. He was particularly intrigued with the possibilities of guerrilla theatre as a means of transforming this counterculture into a revolutionary movement. In 1967, he played a major role in orchestrating several protest performances of this genre, among them an invasion of the New York Stock Exchange, in which participants tossed money from the visitors’ gallery to the brokers on the trading floor. In October 1967, Hoffman and Jerry Rubin captured the attention of the media at the antiwar march in Washington, D.C., when they led a ceremony to “levitate” the Pentagon off its foundation. Late in 1967, Hoffman joined with Rubin, Ed Sanders of a rock group called the Fugs, and Paul Krassner, editor of The Realist, to create the Yippies (Youth International Party). In a book entitled Revolution for the Hell of It, published in 1968, Hoffman denied the Yippies’ concept of revolution as street theater, satire, confrontation, put-ons, stealing—anything that displayed irreverence for property and the Establishment. The Yippies’ immediate goal was to communicate an alternative way of life to the young. “Long hair and freaky clothes are total information,” he wrote. “It is not necessary to say that we are opposed to—Everybody already knows. . . . We alienate people. We tear through the streets. Kids love it. They understand it on an internal level. We are living TV ads, movies, Yippie!”

During the summer of 1968, Hoffman and his fellow Yippies planned a massive “festival of life” in Chicago to coincide and contrast with what they interpreted as the “festival of death” at the Democratic National Convention. Their purpose, according to Hoffman, was to “make some statement, especially in revolutionary-action terms, about LBJ [Lyndon B. Johnson], the Democratic Party, electoral politics and the state of the nation.” Largely in response, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) opened a security investigation of Hoffman, which would eventually run beyond 4,000 pages. They
came to Chicago along with hundreds of other protestors from the National Mobilization Committee and Students for a Democratic Society. They applied for permission to use city parks for rallies and for overnight sleeping, but the Chicago city officials denied them the right to remain in the parks after 11 p.m. On 23 August, the Yippies opened their festival by setting up camp in Lincoln Park and nominating a pig for president in the Chicago civic center. Two days later, the police drove them out of Lincoln Park after the 11 p.m. curfew, beating many in the process. The following evening, at about the same time the Democratic convention formally opened, an even larger confrontation took place with several injuries sustained by both demonstrators and police. The remaining days of the convention were full of similar disorder, much of it caught on film by television cameras or by news photographers.

In March 1969, Hoffman was one of eight persons indicted by a federal grand jury in Chicago in connection with the 1968 disorders. The “Chicago Eight,” as they came to be known, were the first defendants tried under the antiriot provisions of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, which made it a federal crime to cross state lines to incite a riot. After a tumultuous trial, five of the eight, including Hoffman, were convicted. In November 1972, the verdicts were overturned by an appeals court on the grounds that the judge in the case had been antagonistic and had committed legal errors.

In 1971, Hoffman wrote Steal This Book, a do-it-yourself manual of “rip-offs,” including instructions on how to shoplift, cheat the telephone company, and make bombs. In 1973, he was arrested for allegedly selling three pounds of cocaine to three New York City police officers. He went underground to avoid imprisonment. He emerged in 1980, and, after a brief stint in prison, he became politically active again, speaking frequently at college campuses and elsewhere. He committed suicide in Pennsylvania in April 1989. See also COUNTERCULTURE MOVEMENT; HIPPIES.

HOOVER, J. EDGAR (1895–1972). J. Edgar Hoover served as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) under every president from Calvin Coolidge to Richard M. Nixon. During the John F. Kennedy years, Hoover clashed frequently with his superior, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who attempted to bring the bureau
under his control. Hoover, nonetheless, maintained his autonomy and continued to dominate the FBI as he had for more than a generation.

Hoover was born on 1 January 1895, in Washington, D.C., and raised in Washington, where his father worked for the Coast and Geodetic Survey. In 1913, he graduated from Central High School as class valedictorian. He then went to work as an indexer for the Library of Congress while studying law at night at George Washington University. After receiving his law degree in 1916, he joined the Justice Department as a clerk. Hoover distinguished himself by his enthusiasm, thoroughness, and willingness to work overtime. In 1919, he was named special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, who was then engaged in rounding up thousands of alleged communists and revolutionaries for possible deportation under the provisions of the Wartime Sedition Act. As head of the newly created General Intelligence Division of the Justice Department’s Bureau of Investigation, Hoover was successful in his efforts to deport well-known anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, as well as Ludwig Martens, the unofficial representative of the new Soviet government.

In 1921 Hoover was appointed assistant director of the Bureau of Investigation (the name was changed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935); three years later, he was named director. He assumed the directorship at a time when the bureau had been demoralized by revelations linking it to the scandals of the Harding administration. Hoover improved morale and recruited an honest and well-disciplined staff. During the 1920s, the bureau’s authority was limited to investigating crimes against the federal government; its agents lacked even the authority to make arrests and carry arms. In May 1932, Congress passed legislation empowering the bureau to investigate bank robberies, kidnappings that were unsolved after seven days, and extortion cases that involved use of the telephone. Bureau agents were also authorized to carry guns and make arrests.

During the 1930s, J. Edgar Hoover became a national hero as the press recorded the exploits of the bureau agents, or “G-men,” who arrested “Baby Face” Nelson, John Dillinger, “Pretty Boy” Floyd, and other “public enemies.” Hoover meanwhile was building the FBI into a major resource and educational center for local police agencies. He established a massive fingerprint file (1925), a major crime labora-
tory (1932), and a police academy (1935) for the training of local law enforcement officials. In 1939, President Roosevelt further increased the authority of the FBI, giving it the power to investigate espionage and sabotage.

After World War II, the FBI became increasingly involved in investigating alleged communist subversion within the United States. Information gathered by FBI agents played an important part in the prosecution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Alger Hiss. In the popular mind, the suppression of communism had become the FBI’s pre-eminent responsibility by the end of the 1950s.

In the Kennedy years, Hoover, as head of a 13,000-man agency, was a formidable political figure. He was virtually immune from criticism on Capitol Hill and maintained close relations with House Speaker John McCormack and Representative John J. Rooney, chairman of the House appropriations subcommittee responsible for approving Justice Department budgets. Throughout the entire postwar period, Hoover’s budget requests were never cut by Congress. Hoover’s position within the FBI was so secure that President-elect John F. Kennedy approved his reappointment before even naming his brother Robert attorney general. Relations between Robert F. Kennedy and Hoover were, at first, cordial. Hoover, for many years, had been a friend of Kennedy’s father, Joseph P. Kennedy. However, as Robert F. Kennedy attempted to exert his authority over the FBI—an agency that absorbed more than 40 percent of the Justice Department’s budget—his differences with Hoover became evident. Hoover, who had been accustomed to speaking directly with presidents, was now forced to communicate through the attorney general’s office. He also resented the rule stipulating that FBI press releases be cleared through the Justice Department Information Office.

One of the major areas of contention between Robert F. Kennedy and Hoover concerned organized crime. The attorney general wished to make a concerted effort to suppress crime syndicates, but Hoover remained skeptical of their very existence. “No single individual or coalition of racketeers,” he said, “dominates organized crime across the nation.” Hoover opposed Kennedy’s suggestion that the Internal Revenue Service be used to investigate taxpayers who possibly might be associated with organized crime. He also thwarted Kennedy’s bid to establish a group within the Justice Department, but outside the
jurisdiction of the bureau, to investigate organized crime. However, Hoover eventually agreed to establish a special division within the bureau to work exclusively on organized crime investigations.

Hoover was unsympathetic to the civil rights movement. At a cabinet meeting in 1956, he suggested that the U.S. Supreme Court's 1934 school desegregation decision had been unfair to the South, and he frequently asserted that communists were attempting to infiltrate the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). When Robert Kennedy announced in 1961 that all branches of the Justice Department should hire more blacks and other minorities, Hoover was reluctant to comply, arguing that the hiring of minorities would force the bureau to lower its standards. The FBI did begin to hire more blacks and Puerto Ricans in the 1960s, but few held the prestigious rank of “agent.”

As the tempo of the civil rights movement rose in the South, the FBI did little to protect civil rights workers—even when they were in great danger. In 1961, during an attempt to integrate a bus depot in Montgomery, Alabama, FBI agents took notes as they watched a mob knock unconscious a special assistant to Robert Kennedy. The agents made no special effort to interfere with Alabama state police, who barred three blacks from registering to vote in 1963. Hoover explained that the FBI was an investigative unit, not a national police force, and that peacekeeping was a matter for local police. In general, members of the Justice Department, including Burke Marshall, head of the civil rights division, accepted this argument. Only after the slaying of three civil rights workers in Meridian, Mississippi, in the summer of 1964 did the FBI begin to make its presence felt in civil rights cases.

One of the most controversial aspects of FBI investigative work concerned its wiretapping of telephones and use of secret electronic listening devices to record private conversations. In 1961 and 1962, Attorney General Robert Kennedy asked Congress to grant him the power to authorize wiretapping without a court order in cases involving national security. The proposed legislation, which had Hoover’s support, failed to win approval on Capitol Hill. Nevertheless, according to a 1976 report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, the Kennedy administration—without explicit legislative or judicial approval—ordered the FBI to wiretap a con-
gressional staff member, three Agricultural Department officials, a lobbyist, and a Washington law firm. In October 1963, the FBI began tapping Martin Luther King Jr’s phone lines; the taps remained in effect until April 1965. Robert F. Kennedy authorized these actions.

According to Sanford J. Ungar, a student of the bureau, Hoover personally detested Dr. King, whom he considered a dangerous demagogue and associate of known communists. He used information acquired from the tap to attempt to discredit King as a civil rights leader. In November 1964, shortly before King was to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, the FBI sent the black leader a note implying that he ought to commit suicide. In an effort to break up King’s marriage, the bureau also sent King’s wife tape-recorded evidence of her husband’s alleged infidelity.

In 1956, the FBI began a program that entailed deliberate efforts to disrupt alleged subversive organizations by creating dissention within them. This Counter Intelligence Program, known as COINTELPRO, was first directed against the Communist Party. In October 1961, Hoover also ordered agents to begin a “disruptive program” against the Socialist Worker’s Party (SWP), a small Trotskyist organization. The FBI frequently attempted to embarrass SWP members, publicizing the prison record of a SWP candidate for the New York City Council, and fabricating evidence that certain SWP leaders had stolen money earmarked for a civil rights defense fund.

At 1:45 P.M., 22 November 1963, Hoover called Robert F. Kennedy at his home in Virginia. According to William Manchester’s Death of a President, Hoover declared, “I have news for you, the President has been shot.” Following the president’s death, the FBI conducted an investigation of the assassination and in December 1963 issued a five-volume report that concluded that a single gunman, Lee Harvey Oswald, acting without accomplices, had murdered the president. The Warren Commission subsequently upheld this finding but criticized the bureau for having failed to inform the Secret Service that the FBI file on Oswald suggested that he might have been a potential assassin. It was later revealed that Oswald had sent a note to the FBI threatening to blow up the Dallas police station if FBI agents did not cease questioning his wife about his Cuban and Soviet contacts. The FBI had withheld the note from the Warren Commission and destroyed it. There was some speculation concerning the possibility that
Hoover had personally ordered the note destroyed to protect the bureau’s reputation. Following the assassination, Robert Kennedy’s relations with Hoover deteriorated rapidly. Indeed, the two men never spoke again. Hoover, thereafter, maintained direct contact with President Lyndon B. Johnson.

During the late 1960s, the FBI under Hoover directed its disruptive COINTELPRO campaign against the Ku Klux Klan, black power groups, and antiwar organizations. It continued a campaign of harassment against Dr. King, and, at the request of President Johnson, it conducted “name checks” on his critics. In May 1964, Johnson waived mandatory retirement for Hoover. President Nixon did likewise in 1971.

In the Nixon years, administration officials argued that the FBI was not sufficiently aggressive in its campaign against antiwar student organizations, and it consequently encouraged the Central Intelligence Agency to infiltrate and disrupt these groups. Hoover’s reputation declined in the years immediately before and after his death as a consequence of revelations of widespread illegal activities carried out by the bureau. He died 2 May 1972.

HOTLINE AGREEMENT (1963). This was the first arms control agreement during the Cold War between the United States and Soviet Union. The difficulties incurred by leaders when seeking to communicate with each other during the Cuban Missile Crisis played a major role in arranging this pact. Not only did the Hotline provide a direct, open communications link between the superpowers, it was an acknowledgment that nuclear weapons and intercontinental delivery systems required better communications and cooperation to prevent an accidental war. The initial system called for two terminal points with teletypes, a full-time duplex telegraph circuit, and a full-time duplex radiotelegraph circuit between Moscow and Washington. It proved its worth early during the Arab–Israeli War in 1967 when President Johnson employed it to eliminate any misunderstanding between the superpowers. See also ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY; ARMS RACE; COLD WAR.

HOWE, IRVING (1920–1993). Irving Howe, the son of immigrant parents from Eastern Europe, was born on 11 June 1920, and was
raised in the slums of the East Bronx. He graduated from the City College of New York in 1940. During the 1940s and 1950s, Howe emerged as a leading American literary and social critic. A prolific writer on a broad range of subjects, he was a frequent contributor to Partisan Review and other “little magazines.” He wrote or coauthored 11 books over a 15-year period and edited 11 more. Among his works were The U.A.W. and Walter Reuther (1949), William Faulkner: A Critical Study (1952), Politics and the Novel (1957), and, with Lewis Coser, The American Communist Party: A Critical History (1957). At the same time, Howe pursued an academic career as a professor of English at Brandeis University from 1953 to 1961 and at Stanford University from 1961 to 1963. In 1963, he was appointed distinguished professor of English at Hunter College of the City University of New York.

As an adolescent during the Depression, Howe had been a Trotskyite. In the 1930s, he was a member of the Workers Party (later called the Independent Socialist League), a small socialist group that combined revolutionary opposition to both capitalism and communism under the difficult circumstances created by World War II and the East–West polarization of the postwar era. By the early 1950s, however, Howe no longer regarded this position as tenable, and he left the organization, arguing for the critical support of the West in the Cold War. In 1953, Howe and several other like-minded socialists founded Dissent, a journal “devoted to radical ideas and the values of socialism and democracy.” During the 1950s, Dissent defended the civil liberties of American communists and criticized the celebration of American society by many formerly radical intellectuals.

In the 1960s, Howe saw Dissent as the organ of an informal and loosely knit group of intellectual members of the “democratic left.” It would be, he hoped, a bastion of defense for left-wing political views, but it would resist being subjugated by a Moscow-directed communism. As editor, Howe thought American social democrats could best influence national politics by working within the Democratic Party. During the early 1960s, when the civil rights movement was growing, Howe shared with many young radicals in the New Left the hope that the Democratic Party could be “realigned” on a more liberal basis through a “new politics” coalition of black, labor, liberal, and church groups.
Political differences between the democratic left and its youthful allies soon emerged over two issues. The first involved what attitude the civil rights movement should take toward the Democratic Party. Howe favored continued work with the party, and he opposed those in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) who rejected the compromise offered to them on their credentials challenge at the 1964 Democratic convention. (The compromise, sponsored by Hubert H. Humphrey and Walter Reuther, would have seated two members of the MFDP but left the segregationist regular Mississippi Democrats in possession of their convention seats.) Howe criticized those in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Students for a Democratic Society, who sought to organize a new political movement outside of and opposed to the Democratic Party. He described these radicals as “those who, in effect, want to ‘go it alone’” with a “strategy of lonely assault, which must necessarily lead to shock tactics and desperation.” He also aroused controversy with a 1963 essay in Dissent that criticized James Baldwin and Ralph Ellison for failing to embrace African American militancy in their writings.

The gulf between Howe and the New Left widened further by the explosive Vietnam War issue. Critical of Washington’s conduct of the war in the mid-1960s, Howe favored a bombing halt and a negotiated peace but supported maintenance of a U.S. military presence in South Vietnam in order to prevent a massacre of anti-National Liberation Front elements. He thought much of the antiwar movement “apocalyptic,” and he opposed its use of civil disobedience, violence, and resistance to the draft. In an important 1965 article in Dissent entitled “New Styles in Leftism,” Howe described adherents of the New Left as “desperadoes” and “kamikaze radicals” who subordinated ideology to personal style, gave explicit or covert support to Communist regimes in developing nations, and rejected the “intellectual heritage of the West, the tradition of liberalism at its most serious, the commitment to democracy as an indispensable part of civilized life.” After the Democratic National Convention in August 1968, Howe supported the presidential candidacy of Hubert H. Humphrey.

With the decline of the New Left after 1970, Dissent turned its attention to the emergence of what Howe called a “new conservatism” among those academic intellectuals associated with Commentary and
the *Public Interest*. With other *Dissent* authors, Howe defended economic liberalism and social egalitarianism and called for a heavier commitment of the nation’s wealth to traditional welfare and education programs. Howe supported the presidential candidacy of George McGovern in 1972 and was closely associated with the left-liberal Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee chaired by Michael Harrington in the mid-1970s. A prolific author, Howe published *World of Our Fathers* in 1976, a best-selling social history of the immigrant Jewish community in New York. He remained active in both political and literary circles, although his influence waned and he confessed to feeling out of place with the newer generation of literary critics. He died on 5 May 1993.

**HUERTA, DOLORES.** See NATIONAL FARM WORKERS ASSOCIATION (NFWA).

**HUMPHREY, HUBERT H. (1911–1978).** Hubert H. Humphrey was Congress’s most outspoken champion of the welfare state. For many, he was the premier symbol of postwar American liberalism, a senator who combined persistent advocacy of domestic social reform with unwavering anticommunism. As Senate majority whip during the Kennedy administration, Humphrey placed his crusading zeal behind passage of the administration’s program.

In the 1950s, he eased his way into the Senate “establishment,” toning down his fervid ideological approach and working closely with Democratic leader Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, who used Humphrey as his liaison with liberals and intellectuals. Humphrey, moreover, outdid some conservatives on anticommunist issues. For example, he introduced the Communist Control Act of 1954, which virtually outlawed the Communist Party. In foreign affairs, he softened his anticommunism with Wilsonian idealism. He became a leading advocate of disarmament and distribution of surplus food to needy nations.

Humphrey reached the peak of his influence in the Senate during the Kennedy administration. With his selection as assistant majority leader, or majority whip, he channeled his kinetic legislative energy in support of the administration’s program. It was the majority whip’s task to round up votes for the administration’s measures, and
Humphrey plunged into the job with characteristic exuberance, becoming a more effective advocate for the Kennedy program, in the eyes of many senators, than Majority Leader senator Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) who was as reserved as Humphrey was extroverted. Humphrey also served on the Foreign Relations, Appropriations, Government Operations, and Small Business Committees.

In the aftermath of John F. Kennedy’s assassination, Humphrey helped smooth the transition to the Johnson administration by advising the new President and serving again as his link to suspicious liberals and intellectuals within the Democratic Party. In his last year as majority whip, he worked tirelessly to win passage of the Kennedy–Johnson $11 billion tax cut and was floor manager of the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, the climax of Humphrey’s long advocacy of the cause of equal rights.

Chosen by Johnson as his vice presidential running mate in August 1964 and elected in November, Humphrey was an enthusiastic defender of Johnson’s domestic and foreign policies throughout the next four years. His unwavering support for Johnson’s Vietnam policy cost him the support of many antiwar Democrats in his 1968 presidential campaign. Humphrey lost the election to Republican Richard M. Nixon by a narrow margin.

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IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT AMENDMENTS (1965). Popularly known as the Hart-Celler Act or the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) Act of 1965, these amendments, influenced by the Civil Rights Movement,abolished the national-origin quotas that existed since the Immigration Act of 1924. Proposed by Emanuel Celler and heavily supported by Senator Ted Kennedy, an annual limitation of 170,000 visas was established for immigrants from Eastern Hemisphere countries with no more than 20,000 per country. By 1968, the annual Western Hemisphere limitation was set at 120,000 immigrants, with visas available on a first-come, first-served basis. However, the number of family reunification visas was unlimited, and quickly led to chain immigration. One of the 1965 act’s largest effects was to permit immigration to the United
States from Asia and Africa, which had previously been severely limited. This act, contrary to expectations, dramatically changed the face of American society by making it a multicultural, multiethnic nation.

**INDIA–CHINA BORDER CONFLICT.** See Harriman, W. Averell.

**INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY.** See Non-proliferation Treaty; Tlatelolco, Treaty of (1967).

**INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION SATELLITE CONSORTIUM (INTELSAT).** See Communications Satellite Act (1962).

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**JOB CORPS.** The Corps was established under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as part of Lyndon B. Johnson’s War on Poverty—an essential component of the domestic program known as the Great Society. The first director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, R. Sargent Shriver, developed the Corps along the lines of the Franklin Roosevelt administration’s Civilian Conservation Corps, which during the Depression years assisted young men with room, board, and employment. The Job Corps sought to provide disadvantaged young people with academic, vocational, and social skills training in order that they might achieve personal independence and obtain meaningful jobs or further education. See also Manpower Development and Training Act.

**JOHN F. KENNEDY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS.** A national cultural center had been suggested during the Franklin Roosevelt administration, but delayed until it was actually authorized by bipartisan legislation, signed by President Dwight Eisenhower. The original cultural center failed to generate the funds needed for construction and the project languished. Two months after John F. Kennedy’s death, new legislation transformed the center into a memorial for the assassinated president, quickly generating $23 million. The Kennedy Center opened in 1971. See also ART.
JOHNSON, (CLAUDIA ALTA TAYLOR) LADY BIRD (1912–2007).

As a small child, Claudia Alta Taylor was given the nickname Lady Bird when her nurse, Alice Tittle, describing the two-year-old as being “as pretty as a lady bird.” She was born on 22 December 1912 in an antebellum mansion on the Texas–Louisiana border, the daughter of a wealthy Texas merchant and landowner. Her mother died after a fall in September 1918. After taking a degree in journalism from the University of Texas in Austin, she married Lyndon B. Johnson in November 1934. Johnson was then executive secretary to a Texas member of congress. Johnson won a runoff election to Congress in 1937, and he and Lady Bird began a 30-year political career in Washington.

In her early years as a politician’s wife, Lady Bird tried to avoid the limelight. Still, she was effective in a quiet way, especially after her husband left his seat in Congress to serve in World War II, leading Lady Bird to manage his office in his absence. She also helped to stabilize their financial standing, by using money left to her mother to purchase a failing radio station in Austin in 1942. Relying on her hard work and business skills, as well as her husband’s political connections, the station slowly grew until it became the basis for a diverse and highly profitable communications company.

As Lyndon B. Johnson continued to progress up the political ladder, Lady Bird became more and more involved with his operations. She actively campaigned for him in his successful quest for the Senate in 1948. When Lyndon had a heart attack in 1955, Lady Bird performed many of the tasks that the new majority leader was unable to do. In the 1960 election, Lady Bird traveled more than 35,000 miles in support of the Democratic ticket of her husband and John F. Kennedy. In 1963, when Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Lady Bird became the nation’s first lady.

Lady Bird Johnson came to the White House in 1963 with a background as both a business and political professional. During the administration, she stressed her role as wife and mother, summing up her advisory duties with the phrase, “I infiltrate.” But according to the historian and former White House special assistant Eric Goldman, “a good many important figures, in and outside the White House, were advanced, eased out, or went up or down in influence depending on the impression they made on Lady Bird Johnson.”

During the 1964 political campaign, Mrs. Johnson undertook a widely publicized five-day, eight-state, 1,682-mile, whistle-stop
campaign trip through the South in an effort to lure away potential Barry G. Goldwater votes for the president, despite his signing of the Civil Rights Act the previous July. It was the first time that a first lady had ever campaigned on her own.

After the election, Mrs. Johnson used the White House as a public forum for bringing environmental issues to national attention. In February 1965, she created the First Lady’s Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, chaired by the Secretary of the Interior Steward Udall. In October of the same year, at Mrs. Johnson’s urging and under pressure from President Johnson, Congress passed the Highway Beautification Act, which the president declared “does not represent all we want, or all we need, or all the national interests requires. But it is a first step.” The measure, which was widely known as “Lady Bird’s bill,” authorized the use of federal funds to help states control billboards and junkyards along noncommercial sections of interstate and primary highways. In addition, $80 million was appropriated over a two-year period to pay 74 percent of compensatory costs to billboard and junkyard owners. The Highway Beautification Act also gave $240 million in federal funds to the states over two years for landscaping and roadside development. She also served as the honorary chair of the National Head Start Program.

In the middle and the late 1960s, Mrs. Johnson ranked at or near the top of the Gallup poll’s list of “most admired” women. She accompanied the president on many overseas trips and was considered a goodwill asset. However, during the late 1960s, when the Vietnam War provoked strong reactions throughout the nation, Mrs. Johnson was occasionally the target of antiwar protests and demonstrations. In a widely publicized incident at a January 1968 White House luncheon, singer Eartha Kitt accused the Johnson administration of sending “the best of this country off to be shot and maimed.” The next day, Mrs. Johnson said she regretted that “only the shrill voice of anger and discord” had been heard at the luncheon. In March 1968, Mrs. Johnson was instrumental in helping the president make his decision not to seek reelection to the presidency.

Two years after leaving the White House, Mrs. Johnson published A White House Diary, an informal view of her years as first lady. In 1971, she was appointed to a six-year term on the Board of Trustees for the University of Texas. Following Lyndon Johnson’s death in 1973, she involved herself in the operations of the Johnson Library in
Austin and the prosperous family ranch in Johnson City, Texas. She also maintained her strong interest in the environment.

**JOHNSON, LYNDON B. (1908–1973).** Lyndon B. Johnson was born on 27 August 1908, on a farm in Stonewall in the hill country of south-central Texas. He attended local public schools, graduated from Southwest Texas State Teachers College in 1930, and the next year became secretary to a Texas congressman. While in Washington, Johnson was urged to pursue a political career by Representative Sam Rayburn, later Speaker of the House of Representatives. In 1934, he married Claudia Alta Taylor, known as Lady Bird, an accomplished woman who was credited with being a steadying influence on the sometimes-mercurial Johnson.

In 1935, President Franklin Roosevelt appointed Johnson the Texas state administrator of the National Youth Administration, a New Deal relief agency for young people. The job also provided Johnson with a wide political base for his successful congressional campaign in 1937. He also ran on a strong New Deal platform rooted in a strong personal relationship with Roosevelt, who Johnson later declared “was like a daddy to me.” Johnson’s political career was interrupted by service with the navy in World War II. In 1948, he won a bitterly fought Democratic primary runoff election for the U.S. Senate by 87 votes out of 1 million cast and then went on to defeat his Republican opponent in the general election.

Befriended by powerful Senator Richard Russell a member of the Senate “establishment,” Johnson rose quickly through the Senate hierarchy, attaining the post of Senate minority leader in 1953 and majority leader two years later. In 1955, he made a rapid recovery from a massive heart attack. As majority leader, Johnson established a near-legendary reputation for his command of the legislative process and his assessment of the needs, ambitions, and weaknesses of individual senators. As his own national ambitions increased, Johnson’s political stance moved from conservative to moderate. He guided a number of programs through Congress in opposition to the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration during the 1950s and helped gain passage for the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960, despite considerable Southern opposition.

Johnson’s 1960 presidential strategy was to remain aloof from the primaries in the hope that the announced candidates, Senator John F.
Kennedy and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, would either drop out of the race or become deadlocked before reaching the convention. However, it was evident from the start that the kind of personal direct power Johnson exerted in the U.S. Senate was not suitable to a national political campaign. The big-city political machines, labor unions, and black voters were already solidly behind the Kennedy candidacy, and Johnson’s attempts to portray himself as a responsible legislative leader and Kennedy as a youthful dilettante were unsuccessful. Only on 5 July did Johnson announce his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination. On 13 July, Kennedy won the Democratic presidential nomination at the Los Angeles convention with 806 delegates to Johnson’s 409.

With the presidential nomination secured, Kennedy surprised his northern liberal and labor backers by selecting Johnson as his running mate, although Johnson had declared repeatedly that he would not accept the second spot on the running ticket. It was Kennedy’s belief that Johnson would help win Southern and Western votes in the general election. Johnson’s nomination was generally accepted to be a crucial factor in the Kennedy–Johnson ticket’s narrow margin of victory over Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Henry Cabot Lodge in the November election. Immediately after the election, Johnson sought to broaden the powers of the vice presidency by exerting the same control over Senate Democrats that he had exercised as majority leader. Acting on Johnson’s suggestion, the new Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield, proposed at a 3 January 1961 Senate Democratic caucus that the vice president be made the presiding officer of all formal Senate Democratic conferences. However, liberal Democrats balked and quickly tabled the motion.

Shortly after the 20 January inauguration, Johnson attempted to strengthen his powers within the executive branch by drafting an executive order stipulating that the vice president was to have “general supervision” over certain government areas, particularly the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). The president declined to sign the order. According to columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, from then on Johnson “did absolutely nothing to advance the Kennedy legislative program.” Johnson later told biographer Doris Kearns that the vice presidency “is filled with trips around the world, chauffeurs, men saluting, people clapping, chairmanships of councils, but in the end, it is nothing. I detested every minute of it.”
On 6 March 1961, Johnson was designated chairman of the newly created President’s Committee on Equal Opportunity, established to prevent racial discrimination in employment with businesses having contracts with the federal government. In late 1962, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz urged Johnson to move faster in the equal employment field, including a February 1962 agreement by 31 leading defense contractors to eliminate job discrimination. Later that year, Wirtz, angered at Johnson’s reluctance to act, began to systematically reduce the committee’s influence by transferring many of its functions to government agencies that had large defense contracts with private business.

Johnson’s main influence as vice president was as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, which was organized to formulate space policy and mediate disputes between military and civilian leaders. He was instrumental in securing the February 1961 appointment of Texas businessman James E. Webb as director of NASA, and he participated in all major decisions involving the space program during the Kennedy administration.

Replying to critics angered over the cost of the moon program, Johnson warned in October 1963 that abandonment of the effort would be tantamount to a “conspicuous withdrawal and retreat.” He denied that quitting the program “would cost less” than an expensive moon landing and asserted that the United States had paid heavily “in loss of confidence in the dollar and in international prestige for permitting an initial series of Communist successes in space to create the false impression that technological leadership has passed from the West to the East.”

In association with his Space Council duties, Johnson was also chairman of a committee to study the supersonic transport (SST). The question of financing the prototype brought him into direct conflict with the Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and others within the administration who believed that private industry should pay for at least one third of the project. Johnson wanted a large, if not total, federal underwriting of the costs.

During his vice presidency, Johnson visited more than 34 countries on trips likened to domestic campaign swings. Their main function was to spread goodwill rather than initiate policy. The widely publicized 1961 U.S. visit of a camel driver, whom Johnson had met on an
earlier trip to Pakistan, vividly illustrated to many observers Johnson’s decline in power and prestige since his days as majority leader.

The vice president’s most important trip was his May 1961 mission to Southeast Asia to help formulate U.S. aid policy for South Vietnam. On 12 May 1961, Johnson addressed the South Vietnamese General Assembly and declared that the United States was ready “immediately” to help expand South Vietnam’s armed forces and to “meet the needs of your people on education, rural development, new industry and long-range economic development.”

In both 1962 and 1963, there were persistent rumors, denied by President Kennedy, that Johnson would be “dropped” from the 1964 national Democratic ticket. Fuel was added to the rumors in the fall of 1963 when Bobby Baker, former secretary to the majority leader and Johnson protégé, was charged with having used his job and political influence for his own personal gain.

On 21 November 1963, President Kennedy flew to Texas with Johnson on a pre-campaign swing designed to reconcile rival factions of the Texas Democratic Party. The next day, 22 November, Kennedy was assassinated while riding in a Dallas motorcade. At 2:39 P.M. the same day, Lyndon Johnson was sworn in aboard Air Force One as the 36th president of the United States. In a brief address to the nation that evening at Andrews Air Force in Washington, Johnson said, “This is a sad time for all people. We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed . . . . I will do my best, and that is all I can do. I ask for your help and God’s.”

During the early weeks of his administration, Johnson earned unanimous praise for his success in maintaining national stability. He initiated a series of conferences with congressional leaders, cabinet members, and advisors, reaffirmed U.S. commitments in foreign affairs, asked the cabinet and important Kennedy staffers to remain in service, and pledged on 28 November “to work for a new American greatness.” The next month, Johnson established the Warren Commission to investigate the Kennedy assassination. During the following year, Johnson secured congressional passage for several dormant Kennedy legislative proposals, including the tax-cut bill and the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Johnson was elected to a full presidential term in 1964, defeating Republican presidential candidate senator Barry Goldwater by an
electoral margin of 486 to 52. With that mandate and a large Democratic congressional majority, Johnson pushed through a number of Great Society measures over the next two years, including the Medicare bill, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the $1.3-billion aid-to-education bill.

Johnson’s major problem as president was the war in Vietnam. After congressional approval of the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution giving the president the authority to take “all necessary measures” to prevent North Vietnamese attacks against U.S. troops in South Vietnam, Johnson and his advisers increasingly turned their attention from domestic affairs to the conduct of the Vietnam War.

During the mid and late 1960s, a strong antiwar movement gathered momentum in the United States. In March 1968, Minnesota Senator Eugene J. McCarthy barely lost the New Hampshire Democratic presidential primary to President Johnson, in what amounted to a stinging defeat for the president. On 31 March 1968, Johnson announced to the nation that he would not seek a second term but would utilize the remainder of his incumbency to search for peace in Vietnam. In January 1969, after the election of Richard M. Nixon as president, Johnson retired to his Texas ranch to work on his memoirs and to oversee the construction of the Johnson Library at the University of Texas. During the next four years, Johnson’s health declined. He died of a heart attack on 22 January 1973, in Stonewall, Texas.

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KENNEDY, EDWARD M. (1932– ). Edward Kennedy, the youngest of the nine children of multimillionaire financier Joseph Kennedy, was the brother of President John F. Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Like the rest of the Kennedy children, Edward was encouraged from an early age to take a strong interest in public affairs. Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, on 22 February 1932, Kennedy attended schools in England and America before entering Harvard in 1951. During his freshman year, he was suspended for cheating on a Spanish exam and subsequently spent two years in the U.S. Army before returning to Harvard. After his graduation in 1956, Kennedy went on to take his law degree from the University of Virginia Law School in 1959.
Kennedy’s first important participation in politics came when he served as his brother’s campaign manager in Senator John Kennedy’s 1958 reelection race. Already actively seeking the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination, John Kennedy spent fewer than 17 days in Massachusetts but won an impressive victory. During the 1960 presidential campaign Edward Kennedy was put in charge of the Kennedy campaign in the Mountain and Pacific states. Richard M. Nixon took all but three of those states in the November election.

After his victory, John Kennedy negotiated the appointment of staunch Kennedy supporter Benjamin A. Smith to fill his own vacant Senate seat until the next statewide election, by which time his younger brother would be 30, the age required for election to the Senate. Meanwhile, Edward Kennedy began to groom himself for political office. In December 1960, he traveled to Africa on a “fact-finding” mission with three members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; then, too, his first job as a dollar-a-year assistant prosecutor in the Suffolk County (Mass.) district attorney’s office.

Amid Republican and liberal accusations of “nepotism” and charges that the Kennedy family was attempting to start a political dynasty, Edward Kennedy announced his candidacy for the Senate in 1962. His opponent in the Democratic primary was Edward J. McCormack, Massachusetts’ attorney general and nephew of House Speaker John McCormack. According to President Kennedy’s aide Theodore Sorensen, the president’s biggest worry during his brother’s campaign was that it would place a strain on his own cordial relations with the Speaker, but both men remained generally aloof from the contest. The voters’ negative reaction to Edward McCormack’s ferocious personal attacks on Kennedy’s youth and inexperience contributed to an easy Kennedy victory in the Democratic primary. Kennedy went on to win the general election with 57 percent of the vote over the equally inexperienced George Cabot Lodge, son of Henry Cabot Lodge.

According to one of Edward Kennedy’s biographers, Theo Lippman Jr., Kennedy’s “performance in the two years [of his brother’s unexpired term] is barely visible in any records of government activity.” Sworn in on 9 January 1963, Kennedy was determined to fit smoothly into the Senate “establishment” by courting such senior senators as James Eastland and Richard Russell. Appointed to the Judiciary and the Labor and Public Welfare Committees, Kennedy
supported the president on most major issues in 1963. He was particularly interested in securing defense contracts for Massachusetts. Kennedy pursued the matter with such zeal that Senator Kenneth Keating accused him of trying to lure contracts away from New York State. In 1963, Kennedy supported mass transit and wilderness preservation bills and voted for ratification of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. He was presiding over the Senate on 22 November 1963, when word came that his brother had been assassinated in Dallas.

Reelected in 1964 despite severe injuries suffered in a plane crash, Kennedy played a major role during the Lyndon B. Johnson administration in the revision of U.S. immigration laws and in the drive to get 18-year-olds the vote. In the late 1960s, Kennedy was one of the main backers of national health insurance legislation. An opponent of the Vietnam War, he became particularly identified with alleviating the plight of the Vietnamese refugees.

Many observers believed that Kennedy was content to pursue a career in the Senate while helping his brother Senate Robert Kennedy gain national office. But in June 1968, Robert Kennedy, then an active presidential candidate, was assassinated in Los Angeles. At the 1968 Democratic National Convention, Edward Kennedy refused to allow his name to be put into nomination, but he remained a major Democratic presidential contender until he was involved in a July 1969 automobile accident on Chappaquiddick Island, off Martha’s Vineyard, in which a young woman drowned.

In 1969, Kennedy defeated Senator Russell Long for the post of majority whip. He was easily reelected to the Senate in 1970. Aided by a strong political organization in Massachusetts, a competent staff, and the lingering attractions of the Kennedy mystique, Edward Kennedy emerged as one of the most enduring members of the U.S. Senate.

KENNEDY, JACQUELINE (1929–1994). Descended from a French family that came to the United States during the Revolutionary War, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier was born in Southampton, New York, on 28 July 1929, grew up in New York City, and spent her summers in fashionable East Hampton, Long Island. After her parents’ divorce and her mother’s subsequent marriage to wealthy Washington stockbroker Hugh D. Auchincloss in 1942, she lived at the Auchincloss estates
in Newport, Rhode Island, and Virginia. After a junior year of study at the Sorbonne pursuing an interest in art, she graduated from George Washington University in Washington in 1951. First introduced to Senator John F. Kennedy in 1952, the couple married on 12 September 1953, in one of the most publicized weddings of that year.

During Kennedy's campaign for the 1960 Democratic presidential nomination, Mrs. Kennedy often accompanied her husband on campaign trips through primary states. However, due to pregnancy, she did not attend the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in July 1960. During the presidential campaign itself, she gave political tea parties, wrote a newspaper column called “Campaign Wife,” and stressed her private role as a wife of the candidate and mother of three-year-old Caroline Kennedy. John F. Kennedy Jr. was born in November 1960, shortly after the election.

It was Mrs. Kennedy’s stated belief that “whoever lives in the White House must preserve its traditions, enhance it, and leave something of herself there.” During her husband’s tenure, she made an effort to restore the White House as a period mansion of the 18th and 19th centuries. She appointed a curator to catalog historical items and created a Fine Arts Committee for the White House composed of art and historical experts. Her interest and expertise in this area were highlighted on 14 February 1962, when she conducted an hour-long televised tour of the White House, commenting on the furnishings and the history of the rooms. The show subsequently received special Emmy and Peabody awards.

During the administration, Mrs. Kennedy was instrumental in lessening the formality of state occasions by including an admixture of writers, artists, and prominent musicians at White House functions. She was also a trendsetter in fashion and turned out to be a surprising political and diplomatic asset to the president once the public became accustomed to a young and elegant, if somewhat aloof, first lady. Her trip to Paris with the president in June 1961 and a visit to India in March 1962 were accounted goodwill triumphs for the United States.

In November 1963, Mrs. Kennedy accompanied the president to Texas in her first real public appearance since the death of her prematurely born son, Patrick, the previous August. She was sitting
beside the president when he was shot to death in an open car on 22 November 1963, in Dallas. Later that same day, she witnessed the swearing-in of President Lyndon B. Johnson aboard Air Force One. Mrs. Kennedy’s conduct and bearing during the aftermath of the assassination earned her worldwide respect and contributed to the power of the Kennedy mystique in the 1960s.

In 1967, Mrs. Kennedy was involved in legal action concerning William Manchester’s *The Death of a President*, portions of which she regarded as violations of her privacy and wished deleted. In October 1968, she married Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis.

**KENNEDY, JOHN FITZGERALD (1917–1963).** By the end of the 19th century, both of John F. Kennedy’s grandfathers were important figures in the world of Boston Democratic politics. His father, who was the first member of the Irish Catholic family to attend and graduate from Harvard, turned his considerable talents to business. In the 1920s, Joseph Kennedy amassed a fortune in banking, securities speculation, and the new motion picture industry. His social and financial success enabled the Kennedy children to penetrate the bastions of New England and New York society.

John F. Kennedy was born on 29 May 1917, in Brookline, Massachusetts. He attended Choate, spent a year at Princeton, and then went to Harvard, where he graduated in 1940. While John was still in college, his father was appointed ambassador to Great Britain, and John Kennedy spent several vacations and part of a school year in England and on the Continent. Out of these experiences came a senior thesis, which recounted and condemned England’s prewar policy of appeasement. Published as *Why England Slept*, it became a best-seller in 1940.

After a brief attendance at Stanford Business School in 1941, Kennedy enlisted in the U.S. Navy. He served as the commander of a torpedo boat, which was sunk in a 1943 South Pacific engagement heavily publicized in Kennedy’s subsequent political career. Upon his discharge from service, Kennedy worked for a few months as a journalist before he plunged into a campaign for Boston’s 11th district U.S. House seat. Backed by his father, who had long held political ambitions for his sons, Kennedy waged a well-planned, vigorous effort, which proved a prototype for his future campaigns. Elected
Kennedy usually voted with other northern liberals in Congress. His tenure in the lower chamber was conventional, although he created a small furor in 1949, when he attacked President Harry S. Truman and the State Department for what he considered the unnecessary loss of mainland China to the communists.

In 1952, Kennedy ran against popular incumbent senator from Massachusetts, Republican Henry Cabot Lodge. Despite Dwight D. Eisenhower’s easy win in the state, Kennedy demonstrated remarkable popularity by defeating Lodge by approximately 70,000 votes. As a senator, Kennedy’s first few years in office were marked by pivotal personal and political events that shaped his future career. In September 1953, he married Jacqueline Lee Bouvier, a beautiful, cultured woman of 24 who would later gain an immense following as first lady. The next year, Kennedy underwent a long, difficult back operation in October. His hospitalization and lengthy recuperation forced his absence from Senate business when the upper house debated censure of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.). Although Kennedy had earlier opposed some of McCarthy’s methods, he considered the Wisconsin senator popular in heavily Catholic Massachusetts, and he therefore took advantage of his absence to avoid taking a stand when the Senate voted censure in December 1954. Kennedy later endorsed the Senate’s vote, but his equivocation on the issue made him suspect in some sections of the liberal and intellectual community when he ran for president five years later.

During the months when he was convalescing from his back operation, Kennedy wrote Profiles of Courage, a study of fidelity to political principle by seven American politicians over a 150-year period. The book, published in early 1956, was a best-seller and gave Kennedy important national exposure. Kennedy nominated Adlai E. Stevenson for president at the Democratic National Convention in 1956. When Stevenson threw the vice presidential nomination open to the convention, Kennedy and a few aides organized a spirited campaign for the second place on the ticket. They lost to Senator Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) on the third ballot, but Kennedy again achieved widespread political recognition.

Kennedy immediately began to lay the groundwork for a 1960 presidential campaign. Over the next three years, he made 1,000
speeches in all parts of the nation, demonstrating his formidable pop-
ularity by winning reelection to the Senate by almost a million votes
in 1958, and carefully built a national legislative record that would
appeal to Democratic Party liberals and moderates.

By the time he officially announced his candidacy in January 1960,
Kennedy held a slight edge in the opinion polls over his chief rivals,
Senators Hubert H. Humphrey, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Stuart
Symington. In addition to his substantial personal and family wealth,
Kennedy’s greatest asset was a tightly knit, brilliantly staffed cam-
paign organization. His brother Robert F. Kennedy served as cam-
paign manager; legislative aide Theodore Sorensen wrote many of
his speeches; experienced political professionals Lawrence O’Brien
and Kenneth O’Donnell took on the often delicate task of winning the
candidate support among other powerful forces in the Democratic
Party.

Kennedy and his staff decided that the candidate’s youth and his
Catholicism were the two greatest obstacles to his nomination. Their
strategy, therefore, was to prove Kennedy’s electability by entering
and winning a series of Democratic state primaries. Two contests
were crucial—Wisconsin in April and West Virginia in May. Against
Senator Humphrey, Kennedy carried Wisconsin by a relatively close
four-to-three margin, but an analysis of the vote indicated that
Catholics and Protestants divided heavily along religious lines when
marking their ballots. This made West Virginia, with a 95-percent
Protestant population, even more decisive. Kennedy mounted a ma-
jor organizational and financial effort in the state and surprised polit-
ical observers by capturing 61 percent of the vote, thereby convinc-
ing Humphrey to withdraw as an active contender.

By the time the Los Angeles Democratic National Convention
opened in July, Kennedy had won delegates in seven state primaries
and had lined up the vital support of such important political leaders
as Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley, Pennsylvania governor David
Lawrence, and Ohio governor Michael Disalle. On the first ballot,
Kennedy captured the nomination with 806 votes to 409 for his chief
rival, Lyndon Johnson, who received most of his support from the
South and West. To balance the ticket, Kennedy then selected John-
son as his vice presidential running mate, a choice that provoked im-
mediate if transitory anger among many liberals in the party.
In the general election campaign, neither Kennedy nor his Republican opponent, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, could find an issue that sharply divided them. Both thought foreign policy was the overriding issue of the election. Both favored a strong defense and vigorous diplomacy to ensure continued American leadership of the West. Although Kennedy took a somewhat less aggressive stand than did his rival on the need to defend Nationalist China’s island outposts, the Democratic candidate criticized the Republicans for not taking stronger action against Cuba, and he warned of an ominous, but later disproved, “missile gap” between the United States and the Soviet Union. At home, Kennedy promised to “get the country moving again,” although he avoided direct attacks on President Dwight D. Eisenhower because he recognized and feared the incumbent’s immense popularity. “Rarely in American history,” wrote journalist Theodore White, “has there been a political campaign that discusses issues less or clarifies them less.”

Despite a lack of political controversy, Kennedy’s presidential campaign was one of the most effective and resourceful in recent history. He defused the religious issue by declaring his adherence to the “absolute” separation of church and state before a televised meeting of the Houston Ministerial Association in September. Later the next month, Kennedy won new support in the black community when he made a sympathetic phone call to Mrs. Martin Luther King after her husband was jailed in a civil rights incident (meanwhile, Robert Kennedy called the local judge and secured King’s release).

Kennedy’s charm, wit, and sophistication won him the respect of much of the working press, while his boyish good looks and glamorous family and associates excited campaign crowds and brought the word “charisma” into vogue. Many political observers thought that the turning point in the campaign came on 26 September during the first of four televised debates between the two candidates. Kennedy, who had sought the debate, proved confident and vigorous, while his opponent, still recovering from a two-week hospital stay, appeared hesitant and weary. Neither candidate “won” the debate, but Kennedy’s cool, relaxed style proved attractive to many viewers.

In the election, a record turnout gave Kennedy the victory by a mere 113,057-vote margin—the smallest of the 20th century. He carried fewer states than Nixon but defeated his opponent in the electoral
college, 219 to 303, because the Democratic Party carried most of
the big industrial states as well as the Deep South. Political analysts
later reported that the religious issue had had a major impact on vot-
ing patterns. Kennedy lost much of Protestant Appalachia, but prob-
ably more than counterbalanced these defections by capturing a solid
Catholic vote in the urban North.

Kennedy assumed the presidency determined to give the office the
activist orientation he thought it lacked under Eisenhower. The pres-
ident, Kennedy had declared in his campaign, “must be prepared to
exercise the fullest powers of his office—all that are specified and
some that are not.” Decision-making in the White House would be
“tough-minded” and “pragmatic,” unswayed by sentimentality, ide-
ology, or the pull of interest and faction. Kennedy later spelled out
the rationale behind his self-confidence. “Most of the problems . . .
that we now face,” he told a Yale audience in June 1962, “are technical
problems, are administrative problems. They are very sophisti-
cated judgments which do not lend themselves to the great sort of
‘passionate movements’ which have stirred this country so often in
the past.” The new president assembled a cabinet that reflected his
own sense of political realism and pragmatic liberalism. Kennedy ap-
pointed many of his early liberal backers to top domestic policy
posts. Connecticut governor Abraham Ribicoff took over the Depart-
ment of Health, Education, and Welfare, and AFL–CIO counsel
Arthur J. Goldberg was appointed as secretary of Labor. Other lib-
erals like Stewart Udall (Interior) and Orville Freeman (Agriculture)
also joined the cabinet.

But Kennedy ignored the liberal wing of his party when he chose
men to fill the offices he considered sensitive. Amid some contro-
versy, he appointed his brother Robert as attorney general. He un-
hesitatingly reappointed conservatives Allen Dulles and J. Edgar
Hoover to lead the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Federal
Bureau of Investigation (FBI), respectively. Finally, Kennedy gave in-
dividuals closely associated with the Eastern Establishment the posts
he thought most vital. Moderate Republicans Robert S. McNamara
and C. Douglas Dillon were appointed to head the Departments of
Defense and Treasury. Kennedy chose the rather colorless head of the
Rockefeller Foundation, Dean Rusk, as Secretary of State. The new
president planned to conduct American diplomacy himself and saw
In Rusk a man who would administer the State Department without threatening White House dominance in international affairs.

Kennedy considered the conduct of foreign affairs his most important responsibility and his most difficult challenge. In an inaugural address devoted almost exclusively to world affairs, he pledged the nation “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.” Kennedy thought the Cold War was at its “hour of maximum danger,” and he called for sacrifice and commitment by all citizens. In what became the most memorable line in a speech that many historians then considered the best since Abraham Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, Kennedy proclaimed, “Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.”

With his most influential foreign policy advisers, General Maxwell D. Taylor, McGeorge Bundy, and Robert S. McNamara—"the best and the brightest" as David Halbersam would later call them—the president sought a new and more effective strategy for countering the communist military and political threat. These New Frontiersmen held their fiscally conservative and ideologically rigid predecessors responsible for a dangerous overreliance upon the nuclear deterrent. Kennedy foreign policy strategists sought a more "flexible" response to the communists, one that would counter the enemy regardless of the form its offensive took: local brushfire insurgencies, ideological warfare, or diplomatic maneuver.

The Peace Corps, Food for Peace, the Alliance for Progress, and economic aid for underdeveloped nations and for the dissident communist regimes of Yugoslavia and Poland were programs inaugurated or increased by the administration as part of its more flexible strategy in the Cold War. At the same time, Kennedy favored an expanded military establishment possessing sufficient conventional, nuclear, or counterinsurgency forces to effectively oppose any level of communist aggression. During the first six months of his presidency, Kennedy asked for and received $6 billion in additional military appropriations from Congress. In all, the defense budget rose from $43 billion to $56 billion while Kennedy was in office.

During his first year, Kennedy faced a difficult series of diplomatic and military pressures and reverses. He accepted the neutralization of Laos in early 1961 as the most advantageous solution to a troublesome
local situation. In April, the president suffered a personal humiliation when a CIA-planned exile invasion of Cuba was routed at the Bay of Pigs. Later in the spring, the Soviets stepped up their pressure on West Berlin and demanded that the West recognize as permanent the postwar division of Germany. When Kennedy met with Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna in June, the new president appeared shaken by the Russian leader’s intransigence and believed he had failed to make a strong impression on the premier.

Although Kennedy could do little to rectify the American situation in Laos or Cuba, he was determined to demonstrate U.S. firmness in Berlin. In July, the president reaffirmed the American will to defend West Berlin by ordering 250,000 reservists to active duty and asking Congress for another increase in the military budget. At the same time, he outlined a sweeping civil defense program designed to show the Russians America’s willingness to risk nuclear war over the German city. (The U.S.S.R. responded to the crisis by building the “Berlin Wall” in August and letting the issue of a German settlement die by the end of the year.)

By fall, the Communist insurgency in South Vietnam had begun to seriously weaken the American-backed regime there. Kennedy sent two of his most trusted advisers, Walt W. Rostow and Maxwell D. Taylor, to survey the situation. Upon their return, Kennedy agreed to sharply increase the level of American military and economic assistance and to dispatch an additional 400 military counterinsurgency specialists there. Most historians have concluded that the stalemate in Laos, the defeat at the Bay of Pigs, and the Soviet pressure on Berlin contributed to Kennedy’s determination to avoid a defeat in Vietnam. Although he never authorized a full-scale commitment of U.S. ground troops to Vietnam, the number of American military “advisers” there increased from 700 to more than 15,000 during his term in office.

Kennedy confronted his most serious Cold War crisis in October 1962, when American intelligence discovered that the Soviets had begun to install offensive missiles in Cuba. Working closely with his brother Robert, Kennedy rejected the views of his advisers who favored an immediate air strike, but he also opposed an extended period of negotiations or a public tradeoff of Soviet missiles in Cuba for American rockets in Italy or Turkey. Instead, Kennedy and a special
committee of the National Security Council, which met each day to “manage” the crisis, decided to impose a “quarantine” of the island, which went into effect on 24 October. On 28 October, the Soviets turned back from their potential naval confrontation and agreed to move their Cuban missiles. We were “eyeball to eyeball,” said Dean Rusk, “They blinked first.” Kennedy thought the successful resolution of the missile crisis a triumph for the mode of cool, rational decision-making characteristic of the New Frontier. Nevertheless, he had been sobered by the imminence of nuclear war. “I want no crowing and not a word of gloating,” Kennedy told his staff.

When Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev later suggested that negotiations be reopened toward a long-deferred Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, Kennedy quickly assented. Disagreement over on-site inspection of underground nuclear tests stalled the talks, but in a speech delivered at American University on 10 June 1963, Kennedy announced that he was sending W. Averell Harriman to Moscow to negotiate a more limited test ban agreement excluding the controversial underground tests.

The American University speech was one of Kennedy’s most notable addresses. Avoiding the Cold War rhetoric he often had used in the past, Kennedy expressed his admiration for the Russian people and affirmed the common interest of both nations in avoiding nuclear holocaust. In July, a limited nuclear test ban agreement was initialed in Moscow and, with surprisingly little domestic opposition, ratified by the Senate in September. Although the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty did nothing to stop the arms race, it ended the poisonous radioactive pollution of the atmosphere. It was Kennedy’s most enduring achievement in foreign affairs.

Kennedy sought to act boldly in the diplomatic arena, but he was far more timid at home, especially in his relationship with Congress. The election had given him no popular mandate; in fact, the Democrats lost 20 seats in the House in 1960. In Congress, a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans dominated much of the legislative process. Special Assistant Arthur Schlesinger Jr. reported Kennedy “sensitive, perhaps overly sensitive, to the limitations imposed by Congress on the presidential power of maneuver.” The New Frontier, therefore, shaped its legislative program in a cautious fashion. Truman-era programs—such as health insurance for the aged, Medicare, and federal aid to education—were reintroduced, but no
new **civil rights** or labor legislation was sent to Capitol Hill from the White House.

The president began in 1961 with a modest victory: backed by Speaker Sam Rayburn, administration forces in the House succeeded in expanding the Rules Committee by adding three new liberal members, thereby shifting control of that important committee to a majority more favorable to the White House. Despite their success in the Rules Committee fight, Kennedy forces in the House were unable to move a Medicare bill out of the Ways and Means Committee, and they were forced to accept a substantial reduction in coverage under a new minimum wage law passed in March. A modest aid-to-depressed-areas bill was passed in April, but Kennedy suffered a major legislative defeat in July when his aid-to-education bill was bottled up in the Rules Committee. (The Catholic Church hierarchy was instrumental in this setback; it opposed any bill that did not provide aid for parochial school.) With this defeat, wrote Tom Wicker, “Kennedy had lost Congress.” By the time of his assassination, little additional social legislation had been passed.

Taking office in the midst of the fourth postwar recession, Kennedy gave economic recovery and sustained growth a personal priority second only to foreign affairs. His two most important economic advisers were Treasury Secretary Dillon and Walter Heller, the Keynesian economist who headed the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA). During his first two years, Kennedy deferred to Dillon’s conservative fears that an overly stimulated fiscal policy would upset the balance of payments and ignite a round of inflation. The administration’s economic legislation was, therefore, of a limited and orthodox scope, including modest increases in the budget for social programs, a 7-percent investment tax credit for business, and the **Trade Expansion Act** in 1962. Though Congress passed most of these proposals, the economy remained sluggish into early 1963 when Kennedy finally agreed to Heller’s long-deferred suggestion for a $10 billion tax cut to stimulate economic growth. The business community quickly backed the innovation, but fiscal conservatives in Congress delayed its passage until 1964. Combined with mounting military and space expenditures in the mid-1960s, the Kennedy tax cut provided much of the basis for the longest period of sustained economic growth in the postwar era.
Kennedy’s stimulative economic policies made his administration acutely sensitive to inflationary pressures. Because most trade unionists considered Kennedy a friendly chief executive, they agreed to keep wage increases within what the administration considered non-inflationary wage guideposts. Ironically, it was the administration’s downward pressure on wages that led to a dramatic confrontation with the steel industry over prices. Kennedy had personally used his prestige with labor to keep the 1962 round of wage increases in the steel industry the lowest in 20 years. The president was, therefore, enraged when U.S. Steel and other major producers announced a $6-a-ton price increase on 10 April.

“My father always told me that all businessmen were sons of bitches,” Kennedy told his close advisers. By mobilizing the resources of the executive branch and by putting his personal influence on the line, Kennedy forced a rollback in prices during the next 72 hours. The president’s standing rose among liberals but declined among businessmen. After the stock market plunged in late May, Kennedy worked hard to regain the confidence of the business community. When the steel industry “selectively” raised prices in September 1963, Kennedy and his advisers thought it wise to take no action and avoid another confrontation.

Because the president hoped to enlist Southern support for his domestic economic programs, he moved cautiously in the field of civil rights. He made frequent personal efforts to befriend powerful Southern congressmen and appointed several segregationist Southerners to federal judgeships in the Deep South. He also delayed signing for almost two years an executive order, promised in his campaign, to ban segregation in federally subsidized housing. The president was sympathetic to the demands of black Americans, but he mistrusted the passions aroused by the civil rights issue and the unpredictable impact of the movement on his ability to command the political initiative. Kennedy and his brother consistently urged moderation on black leaders, especially with regard to public marches and demonstrations.

The rising tempo of the movement in the South soon forced the administration to put its weight behind African American demands. Federal marshals were used to ensure the integration of the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama. In April and May 1963, massive and tumultuous demonstrations in Birmingham forced Kennedy to
commit himself to the legislative battle over civil rights that he had long sought to avoid. Declaring that the issue was “moral” as well as “legal,” in June, Kennedy submitted a civil rights bill to Congress far stronger than he had contemplated before. Although the bill, chiefly designed to desegregate public accommodations, was blocked by Southern resistance for almost a year, Kennedy enjoyed an unprecedented popularity amongst African Americans at the time of his death.

Looking forward to a sharp, issue-orientated campaign against the probable Republican presidential candidate, Senator Barry M. Goldwater, Kennedy scheduled a series of political trips beginning in the fall of 1963. Among the most important was a four-day visit to Texas, where he hoped to unite the Democratic Party in the state by moderating the long-standing feud between factions identified with conservative governor John Connally and liberal senator Ralph Yarborough. While riding in a Dallas motorcade early on the afternoon of 22 November, Kennedy was shot and killed with a high-powered rifle fired by Lee Harvey Oswald. A series of very public and private investigations over the next decade found no conclusive proof that the president’s assassin, a man of erratic political views, did not act alone.

In the aftermath of the assassination, Kennedy’s popular reputation reached heights unsurpassed in the last century, except by Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt. “He left a myth,” wrote Richard Neustadt in 1964, “[of] the vibrant, youthful leader cut down senselessly before his time.” Award-winning biographies by presidential aides Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Theodore Sorensen ably defended Kennedy as a pragmatic liberal who used a powerful intellect and growing political sensibility to break a new and progressive path in American politics.

Although the public’s warm remembrance of Kennedy hardly wavered over the next decade, scholarly estimates of his policies fell in the late 1960s. Escalation of the Vietnam War cast Kennedy’s early military commitment to Indochina and his administration’s aggressive Cold War posture into an unfavorable light. In the early 1970s, President Nixon’s abuses of executive authority prompted many historians to reconsider Kennedy’s own favorable attitude toward the expansion and use of presidential power. Finally, a series of revelations concerning illegal Central Intelligence Agency and Federal Bu-
reau of Investigation activity during the early 1960s further diminished the luster of Kennedy’s years in office.

KENNEDY, ROBERT F. (1925–1968). The seventh of nine children, Robert F. Kennedy was born on 20 November 1925, in Brookline, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard in 1948 and the University of Virginia Law School in 1951. He then served briefly as an attorney in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, leaving in 1952 to manage his brother John F. Kennedy’s successful campaign for U.S. senator for Massachusetts. In January 1952, he was named an assistant counsel for the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, then chaired by Senator Joseph McCarthy, but he resigned the post in July because of disagreement with the subcommittee’s procedures. Kennedy rejoined the subcommittee in February 1954 as chief counsel for the Democratic minority and became chief counsel in January 1955. From 1957 to 1959, he was chief counsel for McClellan’s Senate Rackets Committee, which investigated crime and corruption in the union movement. Beginning in November 1959, Kennedy served as manager for his brother’s presidential campaign. On 16 December 1960, the president-elect named his brother attorney general. The appointment was widely criticized as nepotistic.

The Justice Department was the center of most civil rights action in the Kennedy administration, and the attorney general and Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, head of the department’s Civil Rights Division, gave special emphasis to securing voting rights for blacks. They significantly increased the number of voting rights suits brought by the department and encouraged civil rights organizations to launch a major voter registration project in the southern states.

Kennedy’s personal involvement in and commitment to civil rights increased as he responded to various crises in the South, beginning with the Freedom Rides in the spring of 1961. After the riders were attacked in Montgomery, Alabama, on 20 May, Kennedy sent in federal marshals to prevent further violence. He petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue an order desegregating interstate bus and rail terminals and ultimately, through negotiation and court action, integrated transportation facilities in the South. In the fall of 1962, Kennedy negotiated with Mississippi governor Ross Barnett
to secure the peaceful admission of James H. Meredith to the University of Mississippi. He dispatched several assistants to the state to aid the desegregation effort and advised the president to call in federal troops when rioting against Meredith’s admission erupted on the university campus 30 September. The attorney general sent Burke Marshall to Birmingham, Alabama, in May 1963 to try to work out a desegregation agreement that would end the demonstrations led by Martin Luther King Jr. Later that spring, he oversaw the effort to enforce court-ordered desegregation of the University of Alabama, opposed by Alabama governor George C. Wallace.

As the brother of the president, Robert Kennedy had influence and power not available to other high administration officials. He had the full confidence of President Kennedy and the strong rapport, friendship, and loyalty between the two made the attorney general the president’s alter ego and his closest adviser and aide. After the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961, President Kennedy included his brother in the decision-making process on all crucial foreign and domestic policy questions. Among other tasks, the attorney general carried out diplomatic missions to Europe and the Far East, encouraged the development of a counterinsurgency force in the military, kept an eye on overseas intelligence operations, advised on civil rights policy, and dealt with many state party chairmen and political bosses around the country. The Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 supplied the best example of Robert Kennedy’s influential advisory role.

His brother’s assassination in Dallas on 22 November 1963 was a shattering loss to Robert F. Kennedy, and he temporarily left most Justice Department duties and decisions to his subordinates. John Kennedy’s death reportedly led the attorney general to reconsider his goals and to redefine his role. He resigned as attorney general on 3 September 1964, to run successfully as the U.S. senator from New York. He built a liberal record in the Senate, giving special attention to the problems of urban poor, and gradually emerged as an outspoken critic of Lyndon B. Johnson’s policies in Vietnam. In March 1968, Kennedy entered the race for the Democratic presidential nomination. He won primaries in Indiana and Nebraska but lost the Oregon primary election. Then on 5 June, while celebrating the victory he had just won in California, Kennedy was shot by Sirhan B.
Sirhan, a Jordanian-born Arab living in California. He died the next day.

KENNEDY ROUND OF GATT NEGOTIATIONS. Sixty-six nations participated in the sixth session of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks conducted between 1964 and 1967. This series of talks was named after the American president who was assassinated the year before. The U.S. Trade Expansion Act of 1962 paved the way for the White House to actively join in the negotiations. Delegates entered these negotiations with four major objectives in mind: to cut national tariffs by 50 percent with few exceptions; to greatly reduce tariffs on agricultural products; to slash regulations other than tariffs impacting trade; and to determine ways of providing assistance to developing countries. The round officially got underway on 4 May 1964 and concluded on 15 May 1967. Although the official GATT communiqué at the end of the round proclaimed the talks a success, serious disagreements over many details remained.

KERNER COMMISSION. The 11-member National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, created in July 1947 by President Lyndon B. Johnson to investigate the causes of the 1967 urban riots, was chaired by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner Jr. and was also known as the “Kerner Commission” and the “riot commission.” The results of the Commission’s findings were released on 29 February 1968 and became known as the “Kerner Report.” The Report looked at all aspects of American society, focusing on the cities, and found that minorities were excluded from the mainstream and that a massive government effort would be required to bring about change. In the 1960s, there were no blacks anchoring television news, indeed, the TV crews filming the riots on the urban streets were entirely white. The Kerner Commission pointed out that with the police and neighborhood school administrations in minority communities staffed almost entirely by whites there was a failure to grasp the basic desires, fears, and needs of these communities. Its lengthy, widely circulated report undertook to address these specific problems. The Report’s bleak conclusion was as follows: “Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”
KERNER, OTTO, JR. (1908–1976). The Democratic governor of Illinois (1961–1968) was best known for chairing the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, also known as the “Kerner Commission.” He graduated from Brown University in 1930, attended Cambridge University in England, 1930–1931, and was awarded a law degree from Northwestern University. A decorated veteran of World War II, he served as a U.S. district attorney and was a judge. The Commission’s report on urban violence, known as the “Kerner Report,” emphasized the need for racial equity.

KHRUSHCHEV, NIKITA SERGEEVICH (1894–1971). Nikita Khrushchev was born in 1894, the son of a coal miner in Kalinovka, Ukraine. After being an apprentice fitter at the Kharkov machine plant in Donbas from 1911–1917, he became chairman of several minor Soviet organizations between 1917 and 1919. During the civil war against the White Armies in the Ukraine, he was political commissar for the Communist Party. From 1922 to 1925, he studied at the Donetsk Industrial Institute and at the Stalin Industrial Institute in Moscow from 1929–1931. After graduating, he served as the secretary of various Communist Party groups, such as the secretary of Moscow’s Oblast from 1935 to 1938. During World War II, he returned to the Ukraine, where he was first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee from 1938 to 1947. He transferred to Moscow in 1948 to again be a member of Moscow’s Oblast from 1949 until Stalin’s death in 1953, after which he was secretary general of the All-Union Communist Party Central Committee. He held this position until Leonid Brezhnev and cohorts removed him from his official positions on 14 October 1964. He lived under virtual house arrest outside Moscow where he began to make tape recordings of his memoirs published and translated into English as Khrushchev Remembers in 1970. Although he died in September 1971, another volume titled Khrushchev Remembers, His Last Testament was published in 1974. Following a series of talks with Khrushchev’s son Sergei, a third volume was published in 1990 as Khrushchev Remembers: The Glasnost Tapes. See CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS; SOVIET UNION.

KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR. (1929–1968). Raised in Atlanta, Georgia, where he was born on 15 January 1929, and where his fa-
ther was pastor of the prestigious Ebenezer Baptist Church, Martin Luther King Jr. enrolled at Morehouse College in 1944. He decided to enter the ministry during his junior year, and was ordained in his father’s church in 1947. After receiving his B.A. from Morehouse in 1948, King studied at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, and was class valedictorian when awarded his divinity degree in 1951. He then began doctoral studies in systematic theology at Boston University and received a Ph.D. in June 1955.

King’s first involvement in the civil rights movement occurred following his September 1954 move to Montgomery, Alabama, to become pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. On 5 December 1955, the black community in Montgomery began a boycott of the city’s segregated buses and formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to continue the protest. King was elected president of the MIA the same day. A dynamic and well-educated minister who would be an effective spokesman for the boycott, King was also new enough in Montgomery to be unidentified with any faction in the black community and young enough to be able to relocate should there be strong retribution against the boycott leader from whites. He led the year-long protest, which ended in victory after the Supreme Court ordered desegregation of the city’s buses in November 1956.

The historic Montgomery boycott made King a national figure and furthered the development of his philosophy of nonviolent resistance. Early in 1957, King helped found and was elected president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), an organization established to coordinate direct action protests in the South and committed to a philosophy of nonviolence.

In January 1960, King left Montgomery for Atlanta, where the SCLC had its headquarters, to become co-pastor at his father’s church. When the student sit-ins began the next month, King welcomed the nonviolent protests. He issued a call for a conference of student leaders to be held in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April 1960; the meeting, financed by the SCLC, ultimately led to the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In October, King was arrested by officials of DeKalb County, Georgia, for allegedly violating a one-year probation he was serving because of a conviction arising from a protest demonstration and was sentenced to four months at hard labor in rural penal camp. His imprisonment caused a
nationwide protest and on October 26 presidential candidate John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert F. Kennedy intervened and helped arrange for King’s release.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) launched the Freedom Ride, a protest designed to challenge segregation at southern bus terminals, in May 1961. When a mob attacked the riders as they arrived in Montgomery, Alabama, on 20 May, King rushed to the city and the next day addressed a mass meeting in support of the riders. With James Farmer of CORE and other civil rights leaders, he announced on 23 May that the protests would continue despite threats of more violence. King was named chairman of the Freedom Rides Coordinating Committee organized in May, and he rejected Attorney General Robert Kennedy’s call for a “cooling off” period at the end of the month. King never went on one of the Freedom Rides, however, and CORE and SNCC were far more active in the protest than King and the SCLC.

In mid-December 1961, King was called into Albany, Georgia, to help direct an anti-segregation campaign there. With the aid of some SNCC organizers, the city’s blacks had formed the Albany Movement in November and had launched a series of demonstrations. King led a march to the county courthouse in Albany on 16 December. When he was arrested, he refused bond and announced he would stay in jail rather than pay a fine if convicted. Two days later, however, a truce was declared and King accepted bail. The truce collapsed in January, and King spent the next six months shuttling back and forth between Atlanta and Albany, where he oversaw a renewal of periodic demonstrations. Late in February, he was tried and found guilty of the charges stemming from his December arrest.

King used lessons learned in Albany to prepare for the next major desegregation campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, during the spring of 1963. Unlike Albany, the campaign in Birmingham was preceded by careful reconnaissance work and planning, by meeting with local black leaders to ensure unity, and by intensive training of the black population in nonviolent techniques. King quietly raised funds and contacted other civil rights organizations, sympathetic religious leaders, and reporters in the months before the campaign. The SCLC decided to focus its efforts on Birmingham’s business community rather than attack all targets of segregation at once as it had in Albany. The starting date was twice delayed until city elections had been held.
The campaign began on 3 April 1963, when the SCLC issued a “Birmingham Manifesto” detailing blacks’ grievances. Demonstrations began at segregated lunch counters and a boycott of downtown stores started the same day. A series of daily mass marches was begun on 6 April. Four days later the city obtained an injunction against further demonstrations that specifically cited King. On 12 April, Good Friday, King led a march toward city hall in defiance of the injunction and was arrested en route, and was placed in solitary confinement. In prison King wrote his later famous “Letter from a Birmingham Jail.” Addressed to some fellow clergymen who had publicly criticized King’s tactics in Birmingham, the letter rebutted charges that the Birmingham campaign was untimely and unwise and detailed the injustices blacks suffered in that city and elsewhere.

The Birmingham campaign reached a turning point on May 2 when King launched a new phase of the protests in which children, ranging in age from six to 16, began mass marches in the city. The same day, the relative restraint exercised by the Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene “Bull” Connor and his police officers ended. Over 900 children were arrested on 2 May and the next day, as nearly 1,000 demonstrators of all ages prepared to march. They were savagely attacked by police with nightsticks, by snarling police dogs, and by high-pressure fire hoses. Similar police actions, occurring over the next four days, were recorded by newspaper and television cameras. National public opinion shifted decisively toward King and the SCLC. President Kennedy sent Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall to Birmingham on 4 May to try to negotiate a settlement but his efforts were unavailing until 7 May. On that day, two demonstrations involving several thousand blacks flared into an open riot in response to police assaults. Faced with the threat of continued civil disorders, white leaders in Birmingham asked for and were granted a truce that evening. On 10 May, an agreement was announced that called for phased integration of the city’s business facilities, the upgrading of black workers, and the establishment of a permanent biracial committee. Late that evening, however, bombs exploded at the home of King’s brother, the Reverend A. D. King, and at the Gaston Motel, headquarters for the SCLC campaign. As news of the bombings spread, a riot broke out in Birmingham, which lasted until the early hours.
Birmingham reestablished King’s leadership in the civil rights movement after the failure of Albany. He went on a triumphal speaking tour from California to New York in June and aided a desegregation drive in Danville, Virginia, during the summer. King endorsed A. Philip Randolph’s proposal for a mass march, and joined other rights leaders in a meeting with President Kennedy on 22 June. At the 28 August march, King addressed 250,000 people assembled at the Lincoln Memorial, delivering a speech that drew heavily on both biblical and American democratic themes. His classic “I Have a Dream” speech eloquently set forth King’s vision of full equality and freedom for black Americans and was the most remembered speech of the March.

On 15 September 1963, a bomb exploded at a black church in Birmingham, killing four young black girls. King immediately called for federal troops to be sent into the city to prevent a “racial holocaust.” He threatened a resumption of demonstrations in Birmingham but was reportedly dissuaded from this by moderate black leaders in the city and by Kennedy’s decision to send an advisory team to Birmingham to conduct negotiations between black and white leaders. Instead, King decided to focus on Atlanta; in October, he joined other local black leaders in a demand that the pace of desegregation in that city be increased. The rejection of the demands led to a series of demonstrations in Atlanta and in December and January in which King joined.

By the end of 1963, King had achieved enormous stature. In January 1963, Time magazine selected King as “Man of the Year.” In December 1964, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. To the general public, King was clearly the symbolic leader of the civil rights movement, and within the movement he occupied a unique position. King was criticized by more conservative blacks for being too militant in forcing confrontations and by more radical blacks, particularly the students of the SNCC, for being too cautious, too compromising, and too willing to settle for only minimal black gains. But throughout the early 1960s, King balanced the demands of each group and served as a powerful bridge between the activist and traditional wings of the black protest movement. King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee, on 4 April 1968.
LATINOS. See HISPANICS.

LEARY, TIMOTHY (1920–1996). The son of an army officer, Timothy Leary was born on 22 October 1920, in Springfield, Massachusetts, and grew up in an atmosphere of devout Catholicism. After a year of Holy Cross College, a Jesuit school in Worcester, Massachusetts, and another year at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, he began his studies in psychology at the University of Alabama. He received a B.A. from Alabama in 1942 and a Ph.D. in 1950 from the University of California, Berkeley. From 1950 to 1955, Leary taught psychology at Berkeley, and from 1955 to 1958, he was director of psychological research at the Kaiser Foundation Hospital in Oakland. While at Kaiser, Leary developed a personality test that was widely used by private and governmental agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency, and was later administered to Leary himself during one of his many incarcerations on drugs charges.

In 1959, Leary became a lecturer at Harvard University. There he began to develop a perspective that viewed social interplay and personal behavior as stylized games. At the same time, Leary and several other clinical psychologists at Harvard became interested in LSD as a consciousness-altering substance that produced hallucinatory effects that seemed to resemble schizophrenia. His firsthand experimentation began in Mexico in 1960, when a friend offered him a local hallucinogenic; “Five hours after eating the mushrooms it was all changed,” he recalled. “The revelation had come. The veil had been pulled back.” Leary began taking exploratory “trips” along with a colleague, Richard Alpert, a number of student volunteers, and occasional collaborators, such as Allen Ginsberg, Richard Watts, Aldous Huxley, and Arthur Koestler. These experiments suggested the drug’s usefulness in treating alcoholism and mental illness, but they also began to alter Leary’s own perception of himself and the world around him. He became an evangelist for LSD, claiming its users became aware of numerous levels of consciousness beyond what Leary called the everyday, ego, or game-level consciousness.

Leary’s notoriety embarrassed the Harvard administration. In December 1962, a Harvard dean publicly accused him of conducting
dangerous experiments with unprepared graduates. Leary, who denied the charge, was eventually fired from the university. After a brief attempt to consider his experiments in Mexico, he moved into a 60-room mansion on an estate in Millbrook, New York, which was owned by William Mellon Hitchcock, a millionaire sympathizer. There, Leary set up the Castalia Foundation, a legal entity under which he carried on his work with psychedelic drugs. “All I’m about,” he later said, “is empowering individuals to explore with your friends the great wonders and mysteries of life.”

Leary soon lost interest in science and began to explore what he viewed as the redemptive potential of LSD. In 1965, he was formally converted to Hinduism during a trip to India. Upon his return in 1966, he founded the League for Spiritual Discovery, a quasi-religious cult that rejected the external physical world for an inner world of self-awareness. Also at this time, Leary publicized his belief that psychedelic drugs and the lifestyle associated with them would produce a political and spiritual revolution in the United States by spreading spontaneously throughout the country. In 1967, he told an interviewer, “It will be an LSD country in 15 years. Our Supreme Court will be smoking marijuana. . . . There’ll be less interest in warfare, in power politics.” Casting his lot with the emerging hippie movement, Leary became an almost messianic figure for thousands of young people in search of spiritual experience. In January 1967, he spoke at the Human Be-In in San Francisco’s Golden Gate Park. Dressed entirely in white and holding a daffodil, he told the audience of 20,000 to “turn onto the scene, tune into what’s happening and drop out—of high school, college and grad school, junior executive, senior executive—and follow me, the hard way.” This message was later shortened to the popular slogan: “Turn on, tune in, drop out.”

In 1965, Leary and his 18-year old daughter were arrested in Laredo, Texas, for possession of several pounds of marijuana. Tried on a charge of failure to pay tax on the drug, he was convicted and sentenced to 30 years in jail. He appealed the case, and, in 1969, the Supreme Court overturned the sentence on the grounds that the marijuana tax law required self-incrimination and was therefore unconstitutional. In 1970, Leary was again arrested on a marijuana charge, this time in California, and was convicted and sentenced to 10 years in jail. Denied bail pending appeal, he entered the minimum-security
prison section of the California State Prison near San Luis Obispo. On the night of 13 September 1970, he escaped. The radical press reported that he had become a political revolutionary and that he had been aided in his escape by members of the Weathermen, an underground revolutionary group.

Shortly afterward, Leary reappeared in Algiers, where he was granted political asylum from the Algerian government. He announced his intention to work with Eldridge Cleaver, the fugitive Black Panther leader. Soon under criticism by the Panthers for his continued use of LSD, Leary also antagonized the Muslim government of Algeria. He went to Switzerland in July 1971, where he was arrested and released on $18,000 bail to await extradition hearings at the request of U.S. authorities. Leary then fled to Afghanistan, where local officials turned him over to U.S. narcotics agents. In April 1973, he was sentenced by a California court to from six months to five years for his 1970 escape. He was released in 1976, reportedly after providing the government with information against those who helped in his escape. In the 1980s, he began to focus more energy on his writing, especially with regard to outer space, cyberculture, and death. He also went on a cross-country speaking tour with conservative figure G. Gordon Liddy. Leary died of cancer in May 1996; the next year, a portion of his essays were taken into space on a rocket.

LIBERALISM. See HUMPHREY, HUBERT H.; WARREN, EARL.

LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST BAN. The spread of radioactive fallout resulting from atmospheric nuclear tests aroused public protests in the 1950s. Albert Schweitzer, Linus Pauling, and a number of peace groups urged President Dwight D. Eisenhower to find a way to halt the testing. Because the Soviets were also testing, the Eisenhower administration insisted continued U.S. testing was vital to maintaining the security of the free world. But when a 1957 Gallup Poll revealed that 63 percent of the American people favored a nuclear test ban, as opposed to 20 percent three years earlier, the president initiated the tripartite (U.S.–British–Soviet) test ban negotiations.

Eisenhower turned to technical experts to develop a verification system, a move that was to have unexpected long-term results, including not only military officers but also scientists and technical
specialists. Unquestionably, the advice of these experts was vital to the proper shaping of negotiating positions; however, these specialists can, and often do, complicate issues to a point where they become technically insoluble. A case in point: seismologists earlier sought a verification system that could distinguish between earthquakes and small underground nuclear explosions. After techniques were developed, acceptable to most scientists and diplomats, technical experts kept searching for more and more refinements to reduce the already low, generally acceptable, error rate. Thus, it became impossible to negotiate a comprehensive test ban because critics would argue that one could not be absolutely certain that no cheating was going on.

Moreover, diplomats undertaking negotiations and senators holding hearings became almost as knowledgeable about the technical features of seismology as the scientists who briefed them. As a result, scientist Freeman J. Dyson argues, “This overemphasis on technical details made the problem of verifying the test ban seem more and more formidable. The negotiation of a comprehensive test ban was abandoned in 1963 for a limited test ban agreement because the verification system demanded by the seismologically expert American politicians was too intrusive to be acceptable to the Soviet Union.”

Although Eisenhower’s efforts resulted only in obtaining an informal test moratorium, John F. Kennedy came to the presidency committed to obtaining comprehensive ban on tests. His sobering encounter with the Soviets at Vienna in 1961 and the subsequent Berlin crisis, however, derailed his plans. The October 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, paradoxically brought Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev closer together and led on 5 August 1963 to the signing of the Limited (or Partial), rather then a comprehensive, test ban.

The 1963 Moscow experience suggests that the successful arms control negotiations cannot be structured as an engineering or technical exercise; they must be essentially a political undertaking. When Ambassador W. Averell Harriman was sent to Moscow to negotiate the test ban, he took scientific advisers with him but deliberately excluded them from the negotiating team. As he later explained, “The expert is to point out all the difficulties and dangers . . . but it is for the political leaders to decide whether the political, psychological and other advantages offset such risks as there may be.”
The Kennedy administration’s inability to provide absolute guarantees of Soviet compliance resulted in the **Limited Nuclear Test Ban’s** eliminating all tests except underground ones. This provided the Department of Defense and its nuclear scientists with a guarantee that the U.S. would continue underground testing, as they put it, to ensure the safety and reliability of nuclear weapons. From 1964–1968, the U.S. conducted 140 announced tests, compared with 25 for the Soviet Union. Washington’s emphasis on the “safeguard” continued to justify testing long after the Cold War was over. *See also Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Conference.*

**LIPPMANN, WALTER (1889–1974).** Because of his calm, impersonal, and almost aloof journalistic style, as well as his access to government decision makers, Walter Lippmann influenced critical taste more than any other journalist of his time. During the 1960 presidential campaign, Lippmann hailed **John F. Kennedy** as the first candidate since Franklin D. Roosevelt who could stir and unite the American people. Many observers felt Lippmann’s endorsement lent the Kennedy campaign a special air of legitimacy. In the early 1960s, however, Lippmann became increasingly critical of the president. Kennedy’s cautious economic policies caused him to write in June 1961 that the president was carrying on “in all its essentials the Eisenhower economic philosophy . . . . It’s like the Eisenhower Administration 30 years younger.”

Lippmann also opposed the administration’s October 1962 decision to blockade **Cuba** to force the removal of Soviet missiles from that island. He suggested that the risk of nuclear confrontation was unnecessary and that the United States should quietly negotiate to exchange the Soviet missiles in Cuba for American missiles in Turkey. In 1963, Lippmann shifted his column from the *Herald Tribune* to *Newsweek*. During the next five years, his fear that the United States would become involved in an Asian land war led him to criticize the **Vietnam** policies of both the Kennedy and **Johnson** administrations. Though often regarded as “the dean of American liberal journalists,” many of his admirers chose to ignore his dislike of popular democracy and his shift from an early liberalism to an almost despairing conservatism in his later years.
Lippmann retired from *Newsweek* in 1968. He died in New York City on 14 December 1974.

**LITERATURE.** Events in the 1960s’ political arena, such as the issue of communism, the *Cold War*, and the *Vietnam War*, gave rise to traditional patriotic and protest literature. These writings had changed significantly between the end of World War II and the early 1960s as they often sought to reflect a “common national essence,” a belief that emerged in the 1950s to combat communism and accumulated materialism. Disillusionment with the system could be found in books such as *Catch-22* and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*, while Laurence Peter captured the individual and bureaucratic incompetence these works displayed in the *Peter Principle*. Ralph Nader’s *Unsafe at Any Speed* revealed a casual corporate attitude toward automobile safety. By the end of the decade, much popular writings focused on the *antiwar movement*, the potential devastation of nuclear war (*On the Beach*), and theories about the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King Jr., and Malcolm X. The fallen were also featured in a spate of the biographical works.

Meanwhile social conflict spawned works seeking to balance conformity and individuality, tradition and innovation, stability and disruption. The *civil rights movement* stimulated a number of works that dealt with various dimensions of race relations, such as Harper Lee’s prize-winning novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* that examined the social distinctions between races in a small Southern town and James Baldwin’s autobiographical accounts. Novels by Gwendolyn Brooks, Margaret Walker Alexander, and Maya Angelou discussed race and gender in a way that helped to provide new insights on feminism as it was developing in America. Going beyond the stories of the traditionally happy wife and mother of the 1950s, Sylvia Plath (*The Bell Jar*) and Mary McCarthy (*The Group*) examined the roles of dissatisfied women. Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, and Gloria Steinem focused on the liberation of women from traditional restrictions.

In *The Gutenberg Galaxy* and *Understanding Media*, Marshall McLuhan popularized his conviction that mass communications were the controlling elements of modern society. Rachel Carson’s *Silent
*Spring* stimulated the public’s interest in preservation of the environment. Truman Capote (*In Cold Blood*) skillfully portrayed a violent and mindless episode that shocked mid-America. In 1963, Maurice Sendak’s controversial illustrated *Where the Wild Things Are* told the story of young Max who had to confront some of his childhood fears. It won the Caldecott Medal in 1964 and subsequently became a children’s classic.

Poets tended to become more politically and socially oriented in the 1960s as they focused on such causes as *black power*, *women’s liberation*, the antiwar movement, and gay rights. Their works were often featured by small presses, such as Broadside Press for *African Americans* in the 1960s and Quinto Sol for Latinos in the 1970s. Their works began to take on new forms in the 1960s, which emphasized “the importance of exposing rather than composing the self.” The poets insisted on more “open forms that were ‘organic,’ spontaneous, and fluid” contrasted with the more formal and stylized forms of the past. *See also* HOWE, IRVING; MAILER, NORMAN.

**LODGE, HENRY CABOT (1902–1986).** In June 1963, President John F. Kennedy, anxious to gain bipartisan support for American involvement in Vietnam, appointed Lodge ambassador to Saigon. While at that post, Lodge served not only as an executor but also as an important formulator of policy. The ambassador arrived in Saigon on 22 August during the crisis precipitated by the Diem regime’s attack on Buddhist dissidents. This attack, carried out by President Ngo Ding Diem’s brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, generated fierce criticism not only from foreign governments but also from elements within Vietnam. Several American observers also thought the attack threatened the military effort in that country. After assessing the situation, Lodge came to the reluctant conclusion that the war could not be won with the unpopular regime. In the ensuing months, he worked to convince Washington that it should be replaced.

In July 1965, Lodge was again appointed ambassador to Vietnam, where he worked to develop the *pacification* program and to find a formula that would bring the North Vietnamese to the negotiating table. He served at that post until April 1967. From April 1968 until January 1969, Lodge was ambassador to West Germany. He served as the U.S. chief negotiator at the Paris Peace Talks from January

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MACDONALD, DWIGHT (1906–1982). Dwight Macdonald was born on 24 March 1906, into a wealthy family in New York City. He graduated from Yale in 1928, worked as a staff writer for *Fortune* over the next seven years, and then became associate editor of *Partisan Review*, a journal that then combined radical politics with an avant-garde approach to the arts. In the late 1930s and 1940s, Macdonald was successively a Trotskyist, anarchist, and pacifist. Always a prolific and witty essayist, he published his own “little magazine,” *Politics*, from 1944 to 1949.

In the early 1950s, Macdonald shifted his attention from politics to social–cultural reporting, chiefly in the pages of the *New Yorker*, for which he became a staff writer in 1951. Macdonald was a caustic critic of what he considered to be the suffocating spread of “mass culture” in American life. Many of his critical essays on culture and society were collected in *Against the American Grain*, published in 1962. The 1950s also saw the transformation of his political views, as his disenchantment with the Soviet Union sparked him to criticism, although he saved his most virulent barbs for his attack on mass culture. Macdonald’s long review-essay of Michael Harrington’s *The Other American* in the *New Yorker* helped establish Harrington’s exposé of poverty amid affluence as one of the most influential books of the decade.

Spurred by the growth of the civil rights and antiwar movements, Macdonald returned to political activism in the 1960s. He attended Lyndon B. Johnson’s White House Festival of the Arts in June 1965 and circulated an antiwar petition among the guests there. Six months later, Macdonald and other intellectuals protested the Soviet imprisonment of writers Andrei D. Sinyavski and Yuli M. Daniel for their publication of allegedly anti-Soviet works abroad. Macdonald defended the tactic of civil disobedience used by the antiwar and student movements. In October 1967, he participated in the March on the Pentagon, where he unsuccessfully courted arrest. Observing the
scene at Columbia University the next spring, when a group of student radicals marched on the Low Library, Macdonald likened the action to the start of the Russian Revolution. Applauding the sense of camaraderie evinced by the student takeover of university buildings, he concluded, “I’ve never been in or near a revolution. I guess I like them.”

In the fall of 1968, Macdonald took part in a bitter exchange of letters with social critic Michael Harrington, whom he once praised so highly, over the New York City teacher’s strike. Writing in the *New York Review of Books*, he opposed the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) strike as one against community control and accused Harrington of misrepresenting the UFT’s strike demands. Macdonald later called UFT president Albert Shanker a “racist demagogue.” Describing himself as a “conservative anarchist” and described in turn by novelist Norman Mailer as “America’s oldest living anti-Stalinist,” Macdonald remained at the end of the 1960s as one of the most prominent critics of contemporary society. He continued writing into the 1970s, although alcohol took its toll on him in the later years of his life. He died in 1982.

MCCARTHY, EUGENE J. (1916–2005). Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.) rose to unexpected prominence in the late 1960s as the foremost critic of Lyndon B. Johnson’s Vietnam policy. The early successes of his unorthodox campaign for the presidency in 1968 helped drive Johnson from office and brought a corps of idealistic young volunteers from the antiwar movement into the Democratic Party, where they had a significant impact on American politics.

MCCARTHY, MARY (1912–1989). Mary McCarthy was born on 21 June 1912, in Seattle, Washington, and orphaned at the age of six, when her parents died in the influenza pandemic of 1918. She and her three brothers were then placed in the care of their paternal grandparents, who arranged to have them looked after by a great uncle she later described as harsh and repressive. After five years, McCarthy went to live with her maternal grandmother in Seattle. Her grandfather, a prosperous lawyer, saw that she received a classical education at the exclusive Forest Ridge Convent in Seattle and the Annie
Wright Seminary in Tacoma. McCarthy later described this upbringing in her vivid, autobiographical *Memoirs of a Catholic Girlhood* (1957).

McCarthy attended Vassar College, and after graduating in 1933 she took up residence in New York City, where she wrote book reviews for the *Nation* and the *New Republic*. In 1937, she joined the editorial staff of *Partisan Review*, for which she wrote theatre criticism until 1948. During the 1940s and 1950s, McCarthy contributed to a number of magazines. The more important of these writings, including essays on such wide-ranging topics as politics, travel, women, and literature, were collected in *On the Contrary: Articles of Belief: 1946–1961* (1961). In *Venice Observed* (1956) and *Stones of Florence* (1959), she combined commentary on contemporary life in these cities with history and art criticism. Her work also examined the role of intellectuals in addressing problems of modern society.

McCarthy reached her largest audience through her fiction. In 1942, she wrote *The Company She Keeps*. This was followed by the short novel *The Oasis* (1949), a collection of short stories entitled *Cast a Cold Eye* (1950), and her full-length novels, *The Groves of Academe* (1952) and *A Charmed Life* (1955). *The Group* (1963), a fictional chronicle of eight Vassar girls from the class of 1993, became a best seller and a movie (1966).

In the late 1930s, McCarthy had been associated with the group of leftist intellectuals around *Partisan Review*, who had broken away from the Communist Party orthodoxy and were briefly attracted to Trotskyism before moving toward some form of liberalism or democratic socialism in the 1940s. Summarizing this experience, McCarthy observed: “For my generation, Stalinism, which had to be opposed, produced the so-called non-Communist Left, not a movement, not even a sect, but a preference, a political taste, shared by an age group resembling a veteran’s organization.” Although she continued to describe her political taste as “libertarian socialist,” she remained for the most part uninterested in political writing during the 1940s and 1950s.

With the escalation of the *Vietnam War* in 1965, McCarthy began to search for a way to contribute personally and dramatically to the antiwar effort. Early in 1966, Robert Silver, the editor of the *New York Review of Books*—which had given Jean Lacouture and Bernard
Fall an early opportunity to present their views on the war to an important American audience—asked her to go to South Vietnam for the magazine. Despite her lack of experience as a reporter, McCarthy went to Saigon in 1967 and Hanoi in 1968. Her reports on these trips—published serially in the *New York Review of Books* and later in pamphlet form as *Vietnam* (1967) and *Hanoi* (1968)—were unique at the time. McCarthy was the first American journalist to go to Hanoi and only the second important literary figure to go to South Vietnam, having been preceded only by John Steinbeck, who supported the war. In her reports, she renounced any claims of journalistic objectivity, declaring that she went “looking for material damaging to American interests.” In particular, she deplored the Americanization of South Vietnam and the moral corruption that followed. Her impressions of North Vietnam, where she was a guest of the government, were generally sympathetic.

In 1973, McCarthy attacked David Halberstam for what she said was an inappropriate stress on the personal failures of high administration figures in explaining America’s involvement with Vietnam. This article was republished, along with *Vietnam, Hanoi*, and a report on the trial of Captain Ernest Medina for his role in the *My Lai massacre*, in *The Seventeenth Degree* (1974). She died of cancer in New York on 25 October 1989.

**MCNAMARA, ROBERT S. (1916—).** Robert S. McNamara, secretary of defense under John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, was one of the most controversial cabinet members of the postwar era. During the Kennedy years he won recognition for his effort to bring the armed forces under strong civilian control. Under President Johnson he became a leading architect of American strategy in *Vietnam*.

Despite McNamara’s reluctance to build new weapons systems, the Defense Department budget rose from $45.9 billion in 1960 to $53.6 billion in 1964. This increase was dictated by two major Defense Department objectives. The first called for the United States to develop the capability to absorb a nuclear attack and still retain the ability to launch a devastating counterattack. This “second strike” capability, McNamara argued, would help prevent accidental nuclear war because it would reduce the pressure on the United States to retaliate on the basis of ambiguous radar information merely suggesting
an enemy nuclear attack. McNamara urged that to ensure second-strike capability, the United States should replace its vulnerable, liquid-fuel intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) with the solid-fuel Polaris and Minutemen ICBMs, which could be widely dispersed and fired quickly from underground or from submarines. McNamara also called for a stepped-up fallout shelter construction program to minimize loss of life following a nuclear attack.

McNamara’s second goal was to develop a large and highly mobile striking force, which would permit the United States to deal with guerrilla or conventional wars without having to resort to nuclear weapons. The Dwight D. Eisenhower administration’s doctrine of “massive retaliation,” he suggested, had limited American foreign policy options and increased the probability of a nuclear confrontation. In developing a “flexible response” capability, McNamara won approval for a 300,000-man increase in U.S. fighting strength and authorization for a vast buildup in U.S. capacity to airlift troops. McNamara considered the administration’s handling of the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 an example of the successful use of a “flexible response” strategy.

As a result of the buildup of conventional armed forces and development of contingency plans for brushfire wars, McNamara was reasonably confident of his department’s ability to deal with communist guerrillas activity in Vietnam. The Defense Department rather than the State Department assumed primary responsibility for Vietnam affairs, because President Kennedy had greater confidence in the abilities of McNamara than in those of Secretary of State Dean Rusk.

At the end of 1961, there were an estimated 2,000 American troops in South Vietnam training Vietnamese military personnel and operating aircraft, transport, and communications facilities. In the spring of 1962, McNamara stated that the United States had no plans for introducing combat forces into South Vietnam, although Americans already there were authorized to fire if fired upon. In the fall of 1963, McNamara and General Maxwell D. Taylor visited Saigon and then advised President Kennedy that the main U.S. military role in Vietnam could be completed by the end of 1965, although there might be a continuing need for U.S. advisers for some time thereafter. At the time of President Kennedy’s death, there were some 15,000 American advisers in South Vietnam. Within a year, however, it had be-
come clear to McNamara that the war against the Communist guerrillas and their North Vietnamese allies could not be won quickly or easily. Vietnam soon became his overwhelming preoccupation. In the spring of 1964, Senator Wayne Morse dubbed the conflict “McNamara’s war.”

“I think it is a very important war,” replied McNamara in April 1964, “and I am pleased to be identified with it and do whatever I can to win it.” McNamara was subsequently involved in the key decisions that led in 1965 to the commitment of U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam and to the sustained U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. Over the next two years, he was caught between the views of his Joint Chiefs of Staff, who urged him to authorize ceaseless and wide-ranging bombing of the North, and the views of civilian advisers, who argued that the bombing was useless and inhumane. By 1967, more than half a million American troops were involved in a conflict that was costing the U.S. $2.5 billion a month.

McNamara announced his resignation as defense secretary late in 1967. In March of the following year, he became president of the World Bank, a largely U.S.-supported organization devoted to lending money to underdeveloped countries. See also NUCLEAR DETERRENCE.

MAILER, NORMAN (1923– ). Born in Long Branch, New Jersey, on 31 January 1923, Norman Mailer grew up in Brooklyn, graduated from Harvard with a degree in aeronautical engineering, and served as an infantryman in the army during World War II. Out of his military experiences in the Philippines came the 1948 best-seller The Naked and the Dead, a massive naturalistic novel about men in combat that catapulted the 25-year-old author to national literary fame. After a brief stint as a Hollywood scriptwriter, Mailer returned in the early 1950s to New York, where he helped to found the Village Voice, a weekly Greenwich Village newspaper for which Mailer wrote essays on the philosophy of “hip” and “American existentialism.” He also published two more novels in the 1950s, Barbary Shore (1951) and The Deer Park (1955), both of which received unfavorable reviews and sold poorly.

A cultural and political radical, Mailer gained a wide reputation in the 1950s and 1960s as a critic of American society, especially for
what he saw as the “totalitarian” aspects of its mass culture. Mailer once wrote, “Every time one sees a bad television show, one is watching the nation get ready for the day a Hitler will come.” Mailer had a volcanic and unpredictable personality. In November 1960, he won widespread notoriety when, after an all-night party, he was arrested for stabbing and seriously wounding his wife with a penknife.

In the early 1960s, Mailer began a monthly political column for Esquire magazine, of which the best-known article was entitled “Superman Comes to the Supermarket,” an evocation and glamorization of John F. Kennedy as well as a report on the 1960 Democratic National Convention. His essay was significant because it explained Kennedy’s appeal not only to Mailer but also to a wide circle of radical and ex-radical intellectuals who shared the author’s distaste for the culture of the 1950s. Mailer, who found little political difference between Kennedy and his Republican opponent Richard M. Nixon, supported the Democratic candidate for nonpolitical reasons. “If I knew that he [Kennedy] became President it would be an existential event,” wrote Mailer, “he would touch the depths in American life which were uncharted . . . Regardless of his overt politics, America’s tortured psychotic search for security would finally be torn loose from the feverish ghosts of its own generals, its MacArthurs and Eisenhowers.”

Many of Mailer’s articles and columns in the early 1960s, collected in the Presidential Papers, criticized the young president for not living up to either his political or his existential greatness. Mailer participated in demonstrations against the administration following the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in April 1961. He later found in Fidel Castro the “existential” qualities he decided were lacking in Kennedy.

With the growth of political and cultural radicalism in the late 1960s, Mailer’s presence in the American left was felt more strongly. His public personality increasingly pervaded his view of politics, both in his award-winning books Armies of the Night and Miami and the Siege of Chicago (both 1968) and in his unsuccessful seriocomic run for mayor of New York in 1969.

MALCOLM X (1925–1965). Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, on 19 May 1925, where his father was a Baptist
minister and an organizer for Marcus Garvey’s United Negro Improvement Association. Raised primarily in Michigan, Little moved to Boston to live with a half-sister after his father died. He developed a reputation in the black ghettos of Boston and New York City as a “hustler” and was sentenced to prison for burglary in February 1946. In jail, he discovered the teachings of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad and changed his name to Malcolm X in order to get rid of the “slave name” given his family. Released from prison in August 1952, Malcolm X settled in Detroit, where he was appointed assistant minister of Muslim Temple No. 1. He was placed in charge of Muslims’ New York temple in 1954 and in 1963 became the Muslims’ first “national minister.”

During the early 1960s, Malcolm X’s forceful indictment of white society and the Civil Rights movement created an unprecedented amount of public interest in the Black Muslims. Regarded by many as a proponent of “racism in reverse,” Malcolm X was a controversial figure among white and black people alike during this period. When civil rights leader Paul Zuber invited Malcolm X to attend an 18 August 1962, anti-segregationist rally in Eaglewood, New Jersey, the invitation was denounced by white municipal officials and by some black ministers who urged their congregations not to attend the rally. Malcolm X first accepted but then declined the invitation because of what he considered “the narrow-mindedness of some of [Eaglewood’s] . . . negro ministers.”

Several orthodox Muslims urged him to learn more about the basic tenets underlying their religion and he soon converted to traditional Islam and made a Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) in April 1964. His Hajj resulted in several fundamental changes in his philosophy and politics after meeting many devout Muslims of different races. Malcolm set aside his earlier diatribes and returned to the U.S. in May as an orthodox Sunni and with the name El-Malik El-Shabazz. His new message was “Human rights are something you were born with. Human rights are your God-given rights. Human rights are the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth. In the past, yes, I have made sweeping indictments of all white people. I will never be guilty of that again—as I know now that some white people are truly sincere, that some truly are capable of being brotherly toward a black man. The true Islam has shown me that a blanket indictment of all
white people is as wrong as when whites make blanket indictments against blacks.”

Malcolm X replaced the ailing Elijah Muhammad as the main speaker at the Muslims’ national convention in 1963. In his speech, he repeated the traditional Black Muslim demands for “everything we need to start our own independent civilization.” For the first time, he also appealed for unity in the fight for civil rights and for cooperation between the Muslims, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Congress of Racial Equality. Historian William O’Neil maintained that Malcolm X’s increasing desire for a “popular front” contributed to the split between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad.

The rift between the two leading black Muslims became public knowledge in December 1963, when Muhammad publicly silenced Malcolm X for 90 days as punishment for his statement that John F. Kennedy’s assassination was a case of “chickens coming home to roost.” When rumors of indefinite suspension were heard within the Muslim organization, Malcolm X requested the Muhammad clarify his status. Unsatisfied with a subsequent “clarification,” Malcolm X announced on 8 March 1964 that he was leaving the Muslims to form an organization that would stress “black nationalism as a political concept and form of social action against the oppressors.” Malcolm X’s fame apparently had aroused jealously in the Nation of Islam (NOI), leading to his public break with the NOI and the founding of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., on 12 March 1964. Meanwhile, he had increasingly come to regret the tendency to view racism as an issue of “blacks versus whites.” In a 1965 interview, he said he “realized racism isn’t just a black and white problem.”

He was assassinated in New York by men thought to be linked with the Nation of Islam, on 21 February 1965, before his Organization of Afro-American Unity was firmly established. See also AFRICAN AMERICANS.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT (1962).
This legislation authorized the United States’ first major federal job training program. President John F. Kennedy’s initial proposal, sent to Congress in May 1961, was aimed at training and retraining workers who were unemployed because of automation and technological
change. The roots of this bill were deep: they lay in the legacy of the Depression, which raised the nation’s sensitivity to unemployment; the emergence of the Atomic age that signaled the arrival of new technology and threat of workers being replaced by machines; and the emergence of the Cold War that required large numbers of skilled technicians. These considerations came together to persuade officials of the federal government and Congress to join in creating the Manpower Development and Training Act. The initial three-year program did not exclude employed workers from participation; however, it did authorize training allowances up to 52 weeks for the unemployed. On 19 December 1963, Lyndon B. Johnson signed an amendment to the original act that provided basic education to prepare a worker for occupational training. The new legislation recognized that payment of allowances was necessary for younger people, lowering the age limit to 17 and 18 years of age, because of their high rate of unemployment. Over subsequent years, the intent and focus of this legislation was modified several times, beginning with the Job Corps in 1964 and the Work Incentive Program in 1967.

MANSFIELD, MICHAEL J. (1903–2001). In January 1961, Lyndon B. Johnson assumed the vice presidency and the Senate Democratic caucus chose Michael J. Mansfield to succeed him as Senate majority leader. The Montana senator inherited a position that, although unrecognized by either the Constitution or the Senate rules, gave its occupant great potential power. By tradition, the majority leader had nearly total control over the scheduling of bills and considerable influence over the committee appointments and policy through the chairmanship of his party’s Steering and Policy Committees and of the full party conference. Johnson, a forceful and dominant leader, used all of the powers at his disposal to shape legislation and control the votes of his Democratic colleagues. He served as floor manager of almost every major bill and as the Democrats’ chief strategist, parliamentarian, and whip. Mansfield, however, assumed his position as a Democratic administration took office and therefore shared with the White House the role of directing the Senate majority. Furthermore, he had a mild-mannered and scholarly disposition, preferring to win votes by persuasion rather than by cajolery and threats, which were often Johnson’s most effective techniques.
Although Mansfield usually served as a spokesman for Kennedy administration views, his interest in foreign affairs sometimes induced him to present his own ideas in that area. In June 1961, he suggested that Berlin be made a free, neutralized city under international guarantees and protection. American diplomats hastened to assure distraught West German officials that the majority leader was speaking only for himself.

During the Johnson administration, Mansfield became increasingly critical of the Vietnam War and had strained relations with the president. After the Republicans gained control of the White House in 1969, he employed his leadership role somewhat more assertively. Mansfield argued for a retrenchment of American commitments abroad, and in 1971 he pushed through the Democratic Party committee a resolution calling for an end to American involvement in Indochina. He urged the Senate to retrieve from the executive what he believed was its declining power in the conduct of foreign affairs. In March 1976, Mansfield announced that he would not seek reelection that year. He served as ambassador to Japan from 1977 to 1988.

MARSHALL, THURGOOD (1908–1993). Born on 2 July 1908, in Baltimore, Maryland, and valedictorian of the class in 1933 at Howard University Law School, Thurgood Marshall was named assistant special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1936, special counsel in 1938, and director-counsel of the newly created NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in 1940. In the latter two positions, Marshall coordinated the entire NAACP legal program and led the organization to a series of U.S. Supreme Court victories in cases challenging racial segregation and discrimination. Marshall’s most notable success was the 1954 school desegregation decision in Brown v. Board of Education, but his other significant victories included the 1944 Supreme Court decision invalidating white Democratic primaries and a 1949 decision ending state court enforcement of racially restrictive covenants in housing. Marshall argued 32 cases before the Supreme Court as NAACP counsel and won substantive victories in 27.

John F. Kennedy nominated Marshall for a judgeship on the Second Circuit Court of Appeals on 23 September 1961, and Marshall began serving in October under a recess appointment. Under the
marshalls appointment, the Senate Judiciary Committee delayed hearings on
the nomination for nearly eight months and then held six days of
hearings stretched out over four months. The committee finally ap-
proved his appointment on 7 September 1962, by an 11-4 vote, and
the full Senate confirmed the nomination on 11 September by a vote
of 54 to 16.

As a new judge, Marshall had little opportunity to write majority
opinions in significant civil or individual rights cases, and most of his
written decisions concerned such areas as federal tort claims, admi-
ralty law, or patent and trademark cases. However, the votes on the
Court and the opinions he did write identified him as a liberal jurist
who usually granted the government broad powers in economic mat-
ters but barred it from infringing on the constitutional rights of the in-
dividual.

Marshall was not actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement
after his appointment to the court. However, he remained a symbol of
the NAACP’s achievements through legal action. Lyndon B. John-
son appointed Marshall U.S. solicitor general in July 1965 and an as-
sociate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in June 1967. Marshall was
the first African American to hold either post.

MEANS, RUSSELL. See NATIVE AMERICANS; AMERICAN IN-
DIAN MOVEMENT (AIM).

MEDICARE/MEDICAID ACT OF 1965. President Lyndon John-
son signed the Social Security Act Amendments on 30 July 1965 at
the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence, Missouri, with the for-
mer president, who had supported national health insurance, looking
on. House Ways and Means Committee chairman, Wilbur Mills,
stitched together the three-part legislation—the first two parts deal-
ing with Medicare and the third with Medicaid. Medicare expanded
the original Social Security Act’s old age pension program by pro-
viding persons 65 years old or older with basic hospital insurance and
supplementary medical insurance to aid in paying for doctors’ bills
and drug costs. A Medicare trust fund taxed employees based on their
earnings, which employers matched, to finance the program. The
Medicaid program, administered by the individual states, provided
health care for a wide range of individuals, including those on welfare, the blind and disabled, and low-income people who did not qualify for Social Security.

Controversy has always surrounded Medicare and Medicaid. Many supporters of the 1935 Social Security Act criticized it for not including health benefits. John F. Kennedy made health care part of his national agenda in 1960; however, the Democratic landslide in the 1964 elections persuaded Lyndon Johnson to make it a top priority. The Medicaid portions of the new law originated in the early 1960s as a Republican alternative to the Johnson administration’s push for compulsory national health insurance. In later years, Congress has periodically altered all three parts of the Amendment to deal with increasing costs and fraud. See also GREAT SOCIETY.

MENTAL HEALTH MOVEMENT. Another social movement that became very popular toward the end of the decade contributed in no small measure to the mood and ethos of the women’s movement: this was the mental health movement. Part of this general reexamination of American society that so invigorated many young Americans in the 1960s was the effort to democratize the psychiatric profession. Group therapy became common and flourished in this period and beyond. “Consciousness-raising” sessions shared many characteristics with group therapy sessions. Both sought to examine the individual’s life story with the support and help of the group, and to give advice for short-term problems. The assumption underlining this process of self- and group-education was a very American assumption: knowledge will set you free. Before women could go into places of power where they had never trod before, they had to understand how their diffidence, their self-image, and their adult roles had come to be. Before they could challenge the male establishment, they had to develop the self-confidence that was essential to a successful confrontation. Thus, assertiveness training courses for women became extremely popular, too.

MEREDITH, JAMES H. (1933– ). Born on 25 June 1933, in Kosciusko, Mississippi, James H. Meredith grew up on a Mississippi farm and, after graduating from high school in 1951, spent nine years in the Air Force. He returned to Mississippi in August 1960 and en-
rolled that fall at all-black Jackson State College to complete the college studies he had begun while in the military. Sometime during the semester, Meredith decided to try to enter the all-white University of Mississippi at Oxford, the state’s best public university. In his account of this effort, *Three Years in Mississippi*, published in 1966, Meredith wrote that he believed he had a “divine responsibility,” a “mission,” to help “break the system of ‘White Supremacy’” in Mississippi, and direct “civilization toward a destiny of humaneness.” He sent his application for admission to Oxford in January 1961, initiating a 17-month fight to desegregate the University of Mississippi. *See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.*

MINORITIES. *See* AFRICAN AMERICANS; HISPANICS; NATIVE AMERICANS.

MILLER, WILLIAM E. (1914–1983). Following his nomination on 15 July 1964, Barry M. Goldwater chose William E. Miller as his vice presidential candidate, and the Republican convention nominated the New Yorker the next day. In naming Miller, Goldwater hoped to aid his campaign in the South and among Catholic voters.

Although well known among party professionals, Miller never overcame his lack of national recognition. His nomination represented another opportunity lost by Goldwater to placate bitter party liberals and moderates, for Miller held nearly as conservative a voting record as the Arizona senator. The presidential nominee justified his selection by saying that Miller’s partisanship “drives Johnson nuts.” Because of his running mate’s qualities as a “gut fighter,” Goldwater reportedly believed he himself could campaign on a more statesmanlike level.

Miller campaigned in 40 states and traveled over 40,000 miles for the national ticket. On 3 November 1964, however, Goldwater and Miller polled but 38.5 percent of the vote and carried only five Southern states and Arizona. *See PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (1964).*

MINISKIRTS. Worn often as a sign of rebellion, the miniskirt was part of the Women’s Liberation Movement. According to some social commentators, young women wore the short, sometimes quite short, skirt as a way to defy traditional social rules and as their way of
“letting it all hang out.” The miniskirt fad originated in either Britain or France and reached its peak of popularity in America around 1967, at which time it was almost the only skirt available to young women. See also FASHION.

**MIRANDA V. ARIZONA (1966).** This was another landmark case by the Warren Court that agreed (5–4) that criminal suspects must be informed of their right to legal counsel and their right of avoiding self-incrimination prior to being interrogated by law enforcement officials. The case followed closely *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964) that had earlier held that the suspect had the right to an attorney during police questioning. Law enforcement officers had been accused of coercive tactics during interrogation.

The majority opinion was prepared by Chief Justice Earl Warren, himself a former prosecutor, who included several police training manuals to make his point that confessions arrived at could not be admitted under the Fifth Amendment (the self-incrimination clause) and the Sixth Amendment (right of an attorney) unless the suspect was aware of his rights. Warren emphasized the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Uniform Code of Military Justice both be required to inform a suspect of his right to remain silent. The FBI warning also included notice of the right to an attorney.

**MISSILE GAP.** After the Soviet Union launched the world’s first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) in August 1957, followed by Sputnik, the world’s first man-made earth-orbiting satellite, on 4 October 1957, the U.S. seemed to be falling behind as far as technological prowess was considered. The secret conclusions of Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Security Resources Panel, initially chaired by H. Rowan Gaither, appeared to confirm this mounting sense of technological inferiority. Its pessimistic findings soon found its way into the hands of the media, which emphasized the report’s warning that “an increasing threat which may become critical in 1959–1960,” which would find the U.S.’s weapons programs, especially ICBMs, falling behind that of the Soviet Union.

During the presidential campaign of 1960, the Democrats seized upon this perceived strategic deficiency brought on by the Soviet Union’s development of missiles and echoed the concern of writers,
politicians, and military leaders who had begun to speak of a “missile gap.” John F. Kennedy, first as a senator and then as a presidential candidate, urged spending much more on defense to close the gap. Early in his presidency, Kennedy was told by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara that there was no missile gap and, to the contrary, the U.S. possessed more ICBMs than the Soviet Union. See also ARMS RACE.

MODEL CITIES PROGRAM. This ambitious federal urban program was part of the Great Society and War on Poverty, authorized on 3 November 1966 by the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 (which ended in 1974). The Model Cities initiative, established under the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), emphasized comprehensive planning, rebuilding and rehabilitation, social service delivery, and citizen participation. The growth of urban violence led to a disillusionment with the Urban Renewal program and the Model Cities initiative ultimately fell short of its goals. In 1969, HUD retreated from insisting on citizen participation.

MONROE, MARILYN (1926–1962). Norma Jeane Mortensen (Marilyn Monroe) was born in Los Angeles, California, in 1926. Her acting career spanned 16 years and 29 films, and a rise from struggling actress to screen legend. Among her many film credits are included Bus Stop (1956) and Some Like it Hot (1959). Monroe’s two tumultuous marriages to baseball star Joe DiMaggio and playwright Arthur Miller ended in divorce. On 5 August 1962, she was found dead in her Brentwood, California, home of an overdose of sleeping pills. Because of her connection to the John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy, there has been much speculation about the events surrounding her death. See also CINEMA.

MOTION PICTURES. See CINEMA, THEATER.

MOTOWN RECORD COMPANY. The very successful black-owned, Detroit-based Tamla Motown Record Company was founded by Berry Gordy, who had at one-time worked on the assembly line for Ford Motor Company. Motown employed several vocal groups,
songwriters and musicians who provided the “tight orchestrations and catchy lyrics” that became the label’s signature. Gordy and his staff saw to it that young, aspiring vocalists were schooled in dancing and as well as singing; moreover, they introduced these young people from the ghetto with lessons in manners and vocabulary before sending them out on tours. Some of the more famous Motown artists were the Temptations, the Four Tops, Martha Reeves & the Vandellas, and Diana Ross & the Supremes. While Motown claimed its goal was the production of pop music, it was generally acknowledged as making contributions to the soul genre. Its artists, such as Stevie Wonder, Gladys Knight, and Marvin Gaye did contribute to the development of what has been called Northern soul. See SOUL AND FUNK; ROCK AND ROLL.

MOYNIHAN, DANIEL PATRICK (1927–2003). Born in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on 16 March 1927, Moynihan grew up in New York City. His father, a former newspaper journalist, deserted the family when Moynihan was ten. What had been a comfortable childhood abruptly became an uncertain life of poverty, forcing Moynihan to work to pay family expenses. Moynihan remained in school and graduated first in his class from Benjamin Franklin High in Manhattan in 1943. He worked briefly on the Hudson River docks, attended City College for a year, and then enlisted in the Navy in 1944. After his discharge from the service, he earned his bachelor’s degree from Tufts University. He later took an M.A. from Tuft’s Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and did graduate work as a Fulbright scholar at the London School of Economics. He eventually earned a Ph.D. in international relations from Syracuse University in 1961.

During the 1950s, Moynihan served as assistant secretary and later acting secretary to New York governor W. Averell Harriman. From 1958 to 1960, he was secretary of public affairs committee of the New York State Democratic Party. During the 1960 presidential campaign, Moynihan wrote a number of position papers on urban affairs for John F. Kennedy. Shortly after he took office, Kennedy appointed Moynihan special assistant to Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg. In March 1963, Moynihan was promoted to the post of assistant secretary of labor for policy planning and research. In this job, he undertook an extensive study of employment problems throughout
the country. During 1963, President Kennedy appointed Moynihan, **R. Sargent Shriver**, James Sundquist, and Adam Yarmolinsky to draft the legislation that became the 1964 **Economic Opportunity Act**.

In March 1965, Moynihan, Paul Barton, and Ellen Broderick released a Labor Department study called *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. Commonly known as the “Moynihan report,” this study suggested that the high rates of juvenile delinquency and illiteracy among black children could be traced to the fact that the father was absent in nearly 40 percent of black families. Moynihan and his coauthors suggested that **African Americans** stood little chance of improving their position in American society as long as their family structure was unstable. The report proposed that the federal government develop social welfare policies that make it possible for more black fathers to remain with their families. In June 1965, **Lyndon B. Johnson**, relying on Moynihan’s report, delivered a speech at Howard University calling for a White House conference on problems in the black community. Many **civil rights** leaders, including Floyd McKissick and **Martin Luther King Jr.** were critical of the report. They considered the report to be patronizing and condescending.

In June 1965, Moynihan resigned his Labor Department post to seek the Democratic nomination for president of the New York City Council. He was defeated and served for a time as an aide to New York City comptroller Abraham D. Beame in his unsuccessful mayoral campaign against John V. Lindsay. While active in politics, Moynihan built a reputation in academic circles. In 1963, Moynihan and Nathan Glazer completed *Beyond the Melting Pot*, an important study that suggested that the various immigrant groups of New York City were not being assimilated but instead retained striking individual characteristics from one generation to the next. In October 1965, Moynihan won a fellowship to Wesleyan University, where he began work on an extensive study of the black family. In June 1966, he was named director of the Harvard–Massachusetts Institute of Technology Joint Center for Urban Studies.

In the spring of 1968, Moynihan served as an advisor to Senator **Robert F. Kennedy** (D-N.Y.) in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination; after Kennedy was assassinated Moynihan
worked briefly on behalf of the candidacy of Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.). He supported Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey in the fall. Because Moynihan was generally associated with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, his political and academic colleagues were surprised in December 1968, when he joined the Nixon administration as an assistant to the president for urban affairs. Moynihan won administration support for new legislation providing federal assistance to families with incomes below a fixed level. The assistance was intended to supplement or replace local welfare payments. But the proposed legislation met with some considerable resistance from both liberals and conservatives and was defeated in 1970. In a confidential memorandum to the president, Moynihan, in February 1970, suggested that “the time may have come when the issue of race could benefit from a period of ‘benign neglect.’” This statement was leaked to the press and created outrage among black leaders, who suggested that it reflected the administration’s hostility to the pursuit of black social and political equality.

In 1970, Moynihan resigned from his post as a presidential assistant and returned to academic life as a sociology professor at Harvard University. In December 1972, he was named ambassador to India. In May 1975, he was appointed U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. A year later, Moynihan resigned and won the first of four terms as a Senator from New York. He died on 26 March 2003.

MURRAY, PAULI (1910–1985). The Reverend Dr. Anna Pauline (Pauli) Murray had a distinguished career as an American minister, feminist, lawyer, and university professor. She was ordained as the first African American woman Episcopal priest. A champion of civil rights and a feminist, she co-founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in June 1966 with 28 women and men. After her death, the Pauli Murray Human Relations Award was established in recognition of her life’s work. See also BETTY FRIEDAN.

MUSIC. Rock, country, and soul, soon mixed with each other and often other styles over the following years reflecting the changes America society was going through. During this decade, songwriters wrote about the ambitions of the counterculture, sexual liberation, and antiwar and civil rights movements. Radio was the primary means of
listening to one’s favorite artists, but it was supplemented by television’s American Bandstand—watched by teens from coast to coast. From this medium, the young not only heard the latest music, they saw how to dance to it.

When the 1960s began, Elvis Presley returned from the army to join other Caucasian male vocalists at the top of the charts—Bobby Darin, Neil Sedaka, Jerry Lee Lewis, Paul Anka, and Frankie Avalon. Soon, however, the famous black-owned Tamla Motown Record Company popularized the rhythm and blues and introduced female groups, such as Gladys Knight and the Pips, the Supremes, and Aretha Franklin, to a wide, appreciative audience. Some African American male singers were also highlighted, including Smoky Robinson, James Brown, Jimi Hendrix, and the Temptations.

There was also a revival of folk music, often carrying protest messages, led by Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and Peter, Paul and Mary. From California came the Beach Boys (who drew from the Safaris) with music that appealed to teenagers. The British invasion brought the Beatles to American television, along with the Dave Clark Five, with an innovative style of rock music that soon gained wide appeal. The popular white duo, the Righteous Brothers, employed African American styling to create a new sound. In the mid-1960s, a major shift in popular music took place, caused in part because of the counterculture scene. Acid rock, a highly amplified and improvisational form and the gentler psychedelic rock, were drawing large audiences. Such groups as the Jefferson Airplane, the Rolling Stones, the Doors, and the Grateful Dead were representative of the era.

The 1960s also witnessed the utilization of various electronic devices by musicians, such as the modular synthesizer (also know as the Moog synthesizer) developed by Robert Moog and Donald Buchla. Some innovative musicians had been experimenting with electronacoustic music and now were able to go much further in their innovative styles. With computers being employed in music composition and sound synthesis, popular music embraced the electronic revolution. By the time the decade had ended it had witness the passing of doo wop, surf and girl groups, and the first soul singers, and the rise of psychedelic and progressive rock. The latter carried with it the roots of what later would become funk, hip hop, salsa, electronic music, punk rock, and heavy metal. Instead of the standard
three-minute singles, songwriters/musicians were now greatly expanding their lyrics or solos. See also COUNTRY AND FOLK; MOTOWN RECORD COMPANY; ROCK AND ROLL; SOUL AND FUNK.

**MY LAI MASSACRE (1968).** During the Vietnam War, Captain Ernest Medina and Lt. William Calley led Company C, 1st Battalion 20th Infantry, part of Task Force Barker of the 23rd Infantry (Am erical) Division, into Son My, a hamlet of My Lai IV, on 16 March 1968, and killed 175 to 400 civilians. General Peer’s report of 14 March 1970, charged 13 officers—ranging from captain to major general—of covering up the incident; subsequently, only Medina and Calley were tried, Calley was convicted but quickly pardoned by Richard M. Nixon.

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**NADER, RALPH (1934– ).** A consumer advocate and activist for product safety, Ralph Nader graduated from Princeton University at the top of his class and went on to Harvard Law School where he became concerned about automobile accidents. After graduation he practiced law, specializing in auto safety, and worked for Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan. In 1965, he challenged the Detroit automakers by publishing *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-in Dangers of the American Automobile* and continued with his criticism before Senator Abraham Ribicoff’s (D-Conn.) committee on auto safety. The book leveled charges at General Motors, who hired private investigators to rummage though his background in an effort to discredit him, but ended up settling with Nader. He used his royalties and other grants to fund consumer-oriented studies of a wide range of industries. Congress, meanwhile, passed an auto safety law in 1966 due in large measure to Nader’s efforts.

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP).** An organization with a storied past, having begun in 1905 under the leadership of W. E. B. DuBois, it led the struggle to improve the conditions and rights of African Americans. Its legal department, led by Charles Hamilton Houston
Thurgood Marshall, spearheaded a decades long campaign to reverse the 19th-century “separate but equal doctrine.” The NAACP’s efforts culminated in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) in which the U.S. Supreme Court held state-sponsored segregation of elementary schools was unconstitutional. Subsequently, the NAACP pressed for the full desegregation of the South that grew into the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s that initially employed moderate, integrationist goals.

Such leaders as Martin Luther King Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), believed more direct action was required to achieve their objectives. Though the NAACP was opposed to extralegal popular actions, many of its members, such as Mississippi field secretary Medgar W. Evers, participated in nonviolent demonstrations, such as sit-ins, to protest the persistence of Jim Crow segregation throughout the South. Roy Wilkins, who succeeded Walter White as secretary of the NAACP in 1955, cooperated with A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin in organizing the 1963 March on Washington. With the passage of the civil rights legislation in 1964, the NAACP had finally succeeded in accomplishing its historic goals.

With millions of African Americans still living in urban poverty, plagued with crime, job discrimination, and de facto racial segregation, many civil rights activists turned away from the NAACP to more militant, even separatist organizations. These groups—such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Black Panthers—relied on direct action and mass protests, rather than litigation, to advance their causes. The new philosophies often included themes espoused by the Black Power movement.

**NATIONAL ENDOWMENTS FOR ARTS AND HUMANITIES.**

The inspiration for federally funded programs to support the arts and humanities began during the Kennedy administration. In 1963, a National Commission on the Humanities—organized by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Council of Graduate Schools in America, and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa—surveyed the status of the humanities relative to the new emphasis placed on the study of science. The commission’s report the following year argued
that this strong focus on science and technology endangered the study of the humanities from elementary schools through universities and recommended the creation of a National Humanities Foundation. The report generated several proposals but Lyndon B. Johnson’s endorsement of two separate agencies, one for the arts and the other for the humanities, gained the approval of Congress. The National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act, which established a governing board for each agency, was signed on 29 September 1965.

NATIONAL FARM WORKERS ASSOCIATION (NFWA). Founded by Cesar Chavez on 24 December 1962, the organization followed in the footsteps of the Agricultural Workers Association and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) established by the AFL–CIO. Traveling up and down California’s valleys from 1962–1965, Chavez and a small group of organizers talked with migrant workers, held house meetings, discussed local problems and urged farm workers to join their Association. They emphasized “association” rather than union because of the latter’s past history of failed strikes and promises. Progress was slow during these years, until 8 September 1965, when the AWOC struck the Delano table grape growers. The membership of NFWA voted to join the AWOC’s campaign to force the grape growers to improve conditions for its workers and to recognize their dignity. December 1965 saw the beginning of the first grape boycott. The public gradually was won over, in part, because of the farm workers emphasis on a non-violent protest despite the indignities they faced.

In 1966, the NFWA and the AWOC merged—bringing together more formally Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and Gilbert Padilla with Larry Itliong, Andy Lmutan, and Philip Veracruz—shortly after Chavez had led a 300-mile walk from Delano to Sacramento. By 1967, the boycott became a nationwide strike against all table grapes drawing support from union members, students, church goers, and other consumers. The following year, Chavez began a fast at his headquarters in Delano that drew visits from thousands of farm workers and other supporters. In 1969, confronting more than 14 million consumers who would buy grapes and pressure church groups and political leaders, the growers signed contracts with the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.
NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE. See ANTIWAR MOVEMENT.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN (NOW). The National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded on 30 June 1966, in Washington, DC, by 28 frustrated women and men attending the Third National Conference of the Commission on the Status of Women. Among the founders were Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), and Reverend Pauli Murray, the first African American woman Episcopal priest. These two wrote the organization’s initial mission statement proclaiming NOW’s purpose was “to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all privileges and responsibilities there of in truly equal partnership with men.” Friedan served as NOW’s first president and became embroiled with lesbian feminists who argued that NOW failed to appreciate lesbian issues and lesbian members. NOW has continued to promote women’s issues into the 21st century. See also PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (PCSW); WOMEN’S LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

NATIONAL TEACHERS CORPS. See HIGHER EDUCATION ACT (1965).

NATIVE AMERICANS. The Bureau of Indian Affairs devised this term in the 1960s to label the groups it served—American Indians and Alaska Native (Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts of Alaska). Academic circles popularized the term because it was thought to show respect, rather than a dehumanizing stereotype, such as bloodthirsty savage or noble savage. Although for some time the use of Native American was viewed as a progressive innovation, objections arose to this term because of its over simplification of a diverse ethnicity. Whenever possible, an Indian desired to be called by his or her tribal name, such as Cherokee or Lakota.

Activist Russell Means was outspoken in his assertion that “I am an American Indian, not a Native American.” He wrote, “I abhor the term Native American” because it “is a generic government term.” Another objection arose to the term because many saw it as dry and
bureaucratic—the very symbol of government dictation. At an international conference of Indians from the Americas held under the auspicious of the United Nations at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1977, the conferees decided that they would like to be known as “American Indians.” Was not, they reasoned, anyone born in the Western Hemisphere a “native American”? See also AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM).

NEW FRONTIER. John F. Kennedy used this phrase in his acceptance speech in 1960 to the Democratic National Convention at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum: “We stand at the edge of a New Frontier—the frontier of unfulfilled hopes and dreams. It will deal with unsolved problems of peace and war, unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus.” Subsequently, it became a label for his administration’s domestic and foreign programs. These programs were intended to stimulate the domestic economy, provide international aid, boost national defense, and support the space program. The administration sought to control monopoly prices, although this was unpopular with large companies. Kennedy created the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women on 14 December 1961 to investigate questions regarding women’s equality in education, in the workplace, and under the law. He was sympathetic to the civil rights movement; however, he was unable to gain their passage of their proposals during his lifetime. Yet, his efforts clearly paved the way for the reform that would come later.

In March 1961, Kennedy asked Congress to endorse an extensive housing program aimed at stimulating the economy, revitalizing cities, and providing affordable housing for middle-income and low-income families. Congress did provide the administration with the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 that authorized a three-year program to retrain workers displaced by new technology. The legislation included employed workers and it provided a training allowance for unemployed participants, but it had minimal effect on the economy. Additionally, Kennedy increased the minimum wage and signed the Equal Pay Act into law on 10 June 1963 that sought to end sex-based pay discrimination. During the law’s first ten years, 171,000 employees received back pay worth 84 million dollars.
Dealing with health issues, President Kennedy proposed a Medical Health Bill for the Aged (later known as Medicare) but Congress refused to pass it. More successfully, Kennedy, who had a mentally retarded sister, submitted the nation’s first presidential special message to Congress in 1963 asking for federal support to improve mental health facilities. Responding this time, Congress passed the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act with the National Institute of Mental Health assigned responsibility for monitoring community mental health centers programs. Mental Health facilities subsequently saw a six-fold increase in people using their services.

Kennedy launched several international initiatives that sought varied objectives and met with mixed results. The Peace Corps sent teachers to poorer nations seeking to increase education levels and expand their economies. The Alliance for Progress sought to improve economic, political, and living conditions in Latin America. Kennedy successfully concluded negotiations for the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union that stopped all nuclear testing in the atmosphere while limiting it to underground sites. After the Soviet Union launched a cosmonaut into space in 1961, Kennedy entered the space race by challenging American scientists to put a man on the Moon. He supported the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 that authorized the negotiation of reciprocal tariff reductions of up to 50 percent with the European Common Market. Moreover, it provided the basis for U.S. participation in what became know as the Kennedy Round of multilateral trade negotiations from 1964–1967.

NEW LEFT. The “New Left” was a name generally applied to the radical left-wing movement that influenced many of those Americans coming of age in the 1960s with protests against social injustices, the war in Vietnam, racial segregation, and the presumed failure of Lyndon B. Johnson’s Great Society. It provided the intellectual basis of those who sought to alter the emphasis of the “Old Left” parties, which relied on labor activism, by emphasizing a social activism. In 1962, the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) defined the New Left position in its Port Huron Statement that condemned social injustices and challenged the values of the so-called affluent society. Its popularly grew with the 1964 free speech movement at the University
of California, Berkeley, as students protested the restrictions on their participation in on-campus political demonstrations. The New Left played a prominent role in campus teach-ins during the early days of the antiwar movement where it provided a great deal of the intellectual criticism of U.S. participation in the Southeast Asian conflict. Later, it figured in many university demonstrations, perhaps the most prominent took place at Columbia University in 1968 and Harvard University in 1969. Finally, in the 1970s, the movement drifted off into the counterculture activities or alternative lifestyles and became less involved in political activities. See also HOWE, IRVING.

NIXON, RICHARD MILHOUS (1913–1994). Richard M. Nixon was born in Yorba Linda, California, on 9 January 1913, and grew up in Whittier, where he worked in the family grocery store and attended public schools and Whittier College. A competitive student, he won a scholarship to Duke University Law School. After graduation in 1937, Nixon practiced law in Whittier until 1942, when he went to work for the Office of Price Administration in Washington for seven months and then joined the U.S. Navy.

Soon after he left the service, Nixon was nominated as the Republican Party’s candidate for a seat in Congress from California’s 12th district. He conducted an aggressive, personal campaign in which he capitalized on anticommunist sentiment by questioning the patriotism of his opponent, Representative Jerry Voorhis (D-Calif.). Nixon defeated Voorhis and in Congress became identified with a new postwar brand of Southern California conservatism. As a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Nixon gained national recognition in the sensational investigation of Alger Hiss, a former State Department official, which eventually led to Hiss’s conviction on perjury charges. Nominated as the Republican candidate in the 1950 U.S. Senate race against Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D-Calif.), Nixon won a bitter campaign in which he accused his opponent of being “soft on communism.” Nixon’s questionable campaign tactics earned him the nickname of “Tricky Dick” in liberal circles, but his vehement anticommunism made him a respected national figure in the Cold War climate of the early 1950s. At the 1952 Republican National Convention, Nixon was nominated for vice president to give a conservative balance to a ticket headed by
former general Dwight D. Eisenhower, the choice of the Republican Eastern Establishment.

Elected in 1952 and reelected in 1956, Nixon wielded very little real power, but he received more public exposure than most vice presidents. Partly because of Eisenhower’s desire to appear “above” politics, Nixon acted as the chief Republican Party spokesman and campaigned extensively for state and local candidates in year-off elections. When Eisenhower was incapacitated by illness, Nixon assumed many of the ceremonial functions of the presidency. He also acted as a liaison between the White House and Congress and traveled abroad as Eisenhower’s representative. An attack on Nixon and his wife by a left-wing mob in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1958 and Nixon’s “kitchen debate” with Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow in 1959 reinforced the vice president’s stature as a spokesman for the West. By 1958, when he began to lay plans for a 1960 presidential race, polls showed that Nixon was already the overwhelming choice of a majority of registered Republicans.

Only New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller constituted an obstacle to an easy Nixon victory at the 1960 Republican National Convention. Although Rockefeller decided not to challenge Nixon’s nomination, success in November still required the full support of the New York governor and the liberal wing of the party, which had long been hostile to Nixon. In July 1960, only a few days before the convention, Nixon visited Rockefeller at the governor’s New York City triplex to discuss their differences and offer him the vice presidential nomination. The governor turned down the offer but insisted upon a rewriting of the Republican Party platform. Although the “Treaty of Fifth Avenue” was termed “Munich” by conservative Senator Barry M. Goldwater, Nixon in fact conceded only minor changes in the platform—mainly stronger commitments to military preparedness and a greater emphasis on economic growth—while winning the backing of Eastern liberals and moderates. He easily quieted disension on the Platform Committee, won the nomination and chose Henry Cabot Lodge, ambassador to the United Nations and an Easterner, as his running mate.

Public opinion polls taken in early August 1960 showed that a slim majority of voters preferred Nixon to Senator John F. Kennedy in the presidential contest. Nixon had the advantage of greater national
recognition, claimed to possess executive experience, and had the personal blessing of the still-popular incumbent president. Yet Nixon’s campaign failed to develop as he had hoped. He could find no issue on which he sharply disagreed with Kennedy. On foreign policy questions, Nixon was unable to outflank Kennedy on the right because both candidates accepted the basic tenets of U.S. Cold War strategy and employed similar rhetoric. Not only was Nixon unable to accuse Kennedy of “softness” toward the communist threat, but he found himself on the defensive when Kennedy called for tougher policies against Fidel Castro’s Cuba and a strengthening of U.S. nuclear defenses. Nixon took a more aggressive stance on defense of Nationalist China’s island outpost, but the issue excited little voter interest.

According to most political observers, the turning point of the campaign came on 26 September, when the candidates met for the first of four nationally televised debates. At the time, Nixon was still leading in the public opinion polls, but on television, he projected a tired appearance, which contrasted sharply with Kennedy’s crisp style and good looks. Neither candidate “won” the debate, but the verbal confrontation proved a distinct advantage to Kennedy because it enabled some 70 million viewers to see the Democratic candidate as the mature and forceful equal of the vice president in face-to-face debate.

After the first television debate, the momentum of the Nixon campaign slowed considerably. Increased unemployment in October and the absence of Eisenhower on the campaign trail damaged Nixon’s chances. The president’s response to a question from the press that, if given a week, he might be able to cite one contribution Nixon had made to his administration, was used by Democrats to imply that the president lacked confidence in Nixon’s ability. Nixon supporters claimed that poor health kept Eisenhower from active campaigning. When Eisenhower spoke publicly on Nixon’s behalf during the last week of the campaign, it was already too late to reverse the trend.

In the election a record turnout gave Kennedy a plurality of 113,507—the smallest of the century—but a comfortable electoral vote margin of 303 to 219. Nixon won more states, but Kennedy took the industrial North and most of the South. Although there was post-election evidence that fraud in Illinois and Texas had given the votes of those key states to Kennedy by narrow margins, Nixon recognized
that any investigation would be both time consuming and divisive. He therefore conceded defeat. He later declined Kennedy’s offer of a temporary foreign assignment. In January 1961, he retired to private life.

From a multitude of attractive employment offers, Nixon chose to join the Los Angeles law firm of Adams, Dugue, and Hazeltine. His annual income of $200,000 far exceeded the salaries he received in government. In addition, his new position was politically advantageous because Earl Adams was one of his oldest political allies, and the firm’s clients included some of California’s largest corporations. Nixon retained part of his old power base in his home state and, as titular leader of the Republican Party, continued to receive national media coverage. Between June 1961 and April 1962, he wrote a series of newspaper columns for the Los Angeles Times-Mirror syndicate, which afforded him a public forum from which to criticize the Kennedy administration.

Nixon also worked on a book, published in March 1962 as *Six Crises*. The work focused on the major political events of his career and included a defense of his role in the Hiss case and an analysis of his 1960 defeat. Some reviewers found it a revealing exposure of the “real” Nixon hidden under a wholly political exterior. *New Republic* writer William Costello called it a “stark revelation of the restless, frustrated, diffident psyche of the protagonist” who “wraps himself in a cloak of masochism.” *Six Crises* was a financial success and helped keep Nixon’s name in the national spotlight.

Encouraged by political friends and convinced that he needed an important elective office from which to launch another presidential campaign, Nixon announced his candidacy for the governorship of California in September 1961. Since he was leader of the national Republican Party and had cultivated a new image as a centrist and conciliator of party factions, Nixon expected unified support from the state party. However, three other Republicans, including former governor Goodwin Knight, an old Nixon rival, declared their intention to enter the June 1962 primary. Extreme right-wing Republicans attacked Nixon for being “soft on communism,” partly because of his criticism of the John Birch society. Knight and another candidate dropped out in the course of the race, but Nixon did not defeat his conservative opponent in June by as large a vote as he had hoped.
Still, he expected to win in November against a colorless Democratic opponent, Governor Edmund G. Brown.

Nixon was unable to find a controversial issue upon which to peg his campaign. His promise to clean up “the mess in Sacramento” proved ineffective; Brown was generally considered both an honest politician and a successful practitioner of the legislative process. Nixon attempted to identify Brown with leftist elements late in the campaign, but this aggressive use of the anticomunist issue probably worked to his opponent’s advantage. The Democrats, in turn, asserted that Nixon only wanted to use the governorship to become president. They also embarrassed Nixon by publicizing a huge loan made by millionaire Howard Hughes to Nixon’s brother, Donald, in 1956. Nixon lost badly in the November election—by about 300,000 votes—and many commentators asserted that his political career was finished.

In his concession speech the following morning, Nixon shocked assembled reporters with an emotional and confused outburst in which he attacked the press for biased reporting throughout his career. Nearing the end of his speech, he said, “I leave you gentlemen now, and you will now write it. You will interpret it. That’s your right. But as I leave you I want you to know—just think how much you’re going to be missing. You won’t have Nixon to kick around any more, because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference. . . .” Many thought that this speech, as much as the electoral defeat, finished Nixon’s political career and permanently ruined his relationship with the press.

In June 1963, Nixon moved to New York City and joined the prestigious law firm of Mudge, Stern, Baldwin, and Todd. He continued to speak out on national issues and to visit political leaders abroad. He assumed the role of an “elder statesman” in the Republican Party and attempted to conciliate its liberal and conservative factions.

Nixon campaigned loyally for the party’s national ticket in 1964 and, following the disastrous Republican defeat that year, became the party’s leading fundraiser. He worked hard for Republican candidates in 1966, captured the party’s nomination in 1968, and in a three-way race, won the presidential election in November. Although Nixon was reelected by a landslide in 1972, revelations of criminal misconduct by him and his staff in the cover-up of the Watergate affair forced

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT). The People’s Republic of China’s first nuclear test on 16 October 1964 focused President Lyndon B. Johnson’s attention on the dangers of nuclear proliferation. In 1965, both the U.S. and Soviets responded to the UN’s call to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons by submitting their own draft treaties to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, which after resolving a few differences, became identical by 1967. The committee’s nonaligned members argued that a non-proliferation treaty must not simply divide the world into nuclear “have” and “have nots,” but must balance mutual obligations. Thus, to stop states from engaging in “horizontal” proliferation (the acquisition of nuclear weapons), the nuclear powers should agree to end their “vertical” proliferation (the increasing quantity and quality of their weapons). The non-aligned nations specified the necessary steps, in order of priority: signing a comprehensive test ban; halting the production of fissionable materials designed for weapons; freezing, and gradually reducing, nuclear weapons and delivery systems; banning the use of nuclear weapons; and assuring the security of non-nuclear states. Johnson wrote in his memoirs that he considered the NPT to be one of his greatest contributions.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed on 1 July 1968 after the United States and Soviet Union reluctantly agreed “to pursue negotiations in good faith” to halt the nuclear arms race “at the earliest possible date” (the fig leaf they tried to hide behind), and to seek “a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.” The dubious adherence to this pledge has been a point of serious contention at each subsequent review conference.

The NPT became the cornerstone of a carefully structured regime that emphasizes the banning of nuclear tests and the following elements. The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency was created in 1957—as the coordinating body for Eisenhower’s Atoms for Peace project—to promote and safeguard peaceful uses of atomic energy. It has established a system of international safeguards aimed at preventing nuclear materials from being diverted to military uses. During 1974 and 1975, a Nuclear Suppliers Group was established in
London to further ensure that nuclear materials, equipment, and technology would not be used in weapons production. Finally, nuclear-weapons-free zones sought to further the non-proliferation effort.

NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. With the advent of thermonuclear devices (H-bombs) and the introduction of nuclear-tipped, long-range ballistic missiles by the late 1950s, the concept of nuclear deterrence gained widespread currency. As the nuclear arsenals expanded in the 1960s, phrases deterrence policy and deterrence strategy were used as euphemisms for nuclear policy (short for nuclear weapons policy) and nuclear strategy. And strategic theorists gradually linked such words as credible, effective, stable, and mutual to the concept of a nuclear balance or deterrence.

These theorists also speculated about possible methods of employing the expanding nuclear arsenals. A “first strike” could take place when a nation thought it had sufficient nuclear forces to overwhelm its foe and thus achieve victory, while a closely related “preemptive strike” would call for launching a nuclear strike when a nation anticipated its enemy was preparing a first strike. A “retaliatory strike” or “second strike” capability referred to a nation’s ability to absorb a nuclear first strike and still retain sufficient weapons to inflict unacceptable damage on its attacker.

The policy of massive retaliation was formally replaced in September 1967 by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara’s blunt recognition that the Soviet nuclear buildup was approaching parity, thus creating a situation of “assured destruction” (critic Donald Brennen added “mutual” to get the acronym of MAD). The idea of MAD did not sit well with American military chiefs preaching “Peace through Strength.” The “first principle of deterrence,” General Thomas S. Powers wrote in 1965 was “to maintain a credible capability to achieve a military victory under any set of conditions or circumstances.” An angry General Curtis LeMay insisted, “The deterrent philosophy we now pursue has drained away our red military blood.”

Policy makers and the public, however, rarely saw strategies in such stark forms. However, deterrence was not either a military strategy or policy; it was simply recognized as a political reality. Thus, when the U.S. and U.S.S.R. governments believed their military ser-
vices were able to absorb a nuclear first strike and still possess sufficient forces for retaliatory strikes—as they did by the end of the 1960s—mutual deterrence had arrived, in fact, if not formal policy. See also ARMS RACE.

NUCLEAR TESTS. See LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST BAN; OPERATION DOMINIC I & II.

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OPERATION BREADBASKET. During Martin Luther King Jr.’s “second phase” of the civil rights movement, activities spread to Northern cities. Headed by Jesse Jackson, Operation Breadbasket was launched on 11 February 1966 with its objective to increase the hiring of African American workers by companies doing business in the black communities and to assist in the expansion of black-owned businesses. “The fundamental premise of Breadbasket,” explained Dr. King, was “a simple one. Negroes need not patronize a business which denies them jobs, advancement or plain courtesy.” The strategy of their first campaign was to use “selective patronage,” which was aimed at dairy companies and supermarket chains. The activists picketed and boycotted stores that carried products of the selected company.

In 1967, Operation Breadbasket was established on a national basis with King appointing Jackson as the national director. By the following year, the organization had undertaken more than 40 boycotts that had persuaded companies to hire more than 8,000 African American workers. Unfortunately, while the Operation succeeded in gaining hiring agreements with several major corporations, it was not able to monitor whether the companies actually followed through on their commitments. Overextension and internal squabbles between Jackson and the new leaders following King’s assassination resulted in the termination of Operation Breadbasket in December 1971. See also CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

OPERATION DOMINIC I & II. This was the largest nuclear weapon’s testing program (1962–1963) ever conducted by the United
States and the last atmospheric test series conducted because the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed the following year. The Soviets terminated a three-year testing moratorium on 30 August 1961 and immediately launched a series of tests. John F. Kennedy responded by authorizing Operation Dominic, which consisted of 105 nuclear test explosions. The tests conducted in the Pacific have been labeled Dominic I, while those conducted in Nevada were known as Dominic II. Most of the nuclear tests utilized free-fall bombs dropped by B-52 aircraft. Twenty of these “shots” were to test new weaponry, six to test weapons effects, and others to determine the reliability of the current nuclear inventory. Thor missiles carrying warheads were also employed to experiment with high altitude (30–248 miles) nuclear explosions. These tests were called Operation Fishbowl.

OSWALD, LEE HARVEY (1939–1963). According to the Warren Commission, which investigated the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Lee Harvey Oswald stood at the sixth-floor window of the Texas School Book Depository at about 12:30 P.M. on 22 November and fired three shots that killed President Kennedy and wounded Texas governor John Connally, who was riding with him in the same car. An elevator operator who had taken Oswald to the top of the building gave the police his description. Forty-five minutes after the assassination, Dallas police officer J. D. Tippit, attempting to arrest a man fitting Oswald’s description, was shot four times and died instantly. Oswald was arrested in a Dallas movie theater at 2:15 P.M. He was armed with a revolver later identified as the one that killed Tippit. At 7:10 P.M. he was charged with the murder of Tippit and, at 1:30 A.M. the next morning, with the murder of the president. Oswald denied that he had committed either crime. On Sunday 24 November 1963, as Oswald was being taken to a car to take him from the city jail to the Dallas County Jail, Jack Ruby, a Dallas nightclub proprietor, brushed past Oswald’s escort and fatally shot Oswald in the stomach. The incident was televised live around the country.

Appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson, a commission under the chairmanship of Chief Justice Earl Warren began an investigation of the assassination on 29 November 1963. A year later, it issued a report that declared that Oswald, acting entirely alone, had murdered the president and Tippit and wounded Governor Connally.
OUTER SPACE TREATY (1967). The result of a decade-long United Nations-sponsored, multilateral arms control negotiations, the treaty dealt with many aspects of activities in outer space. Article IV committed signatories “not to place in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner.” In addition, the article prohibits “the establishment of military bases, installations and fortifications, the testing of any type of weapons and the conduct of military maneuvers on celestial bodies.”

The employment of military personnel and any equipment or facility needed in the pursuit of peaceful purposes, however, was permitted. This treaty is the basic arms control agreement governing outer space, but the limited nuclear test ban accords—and the abrogated Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (1972–2002)—have constraints against testing or deploying various weapons in outer space. The SALT and START treaties prohibit interference with the monitoring of space vehicles. Anti-satellite weapons were not banned by any of these treaties and pose a major concern; moreover, the U.S. missile defense program accelerated by President George W. Bush proposes to place devices in orbit that could contravene the Outer Space Treaty.

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PACIFICATION. The initial pacification program, modeled after earlier British successes in Malaya, was launched in 1961 when the U.S. Military Assistance and Advisory Group—Vietnam and the South Vietnam government began surrounding villages with barbed wire and other various defenses. The Strategic Hamlet program focused on rural areas, where armed, trained, and secure villagers in “anti-guerrilla bastions” would be able to isolate the insurgents and deprive the Viet Cong of intelligence, recruits, and supplies. After a year, Saigon authorities were supplying 3,235 such villages and claimed to control 34 percent of the population. However, by 1963, the hamlet system was disbanded because it had proved to be unworkable. The peasants disliked the restraints and the Viet Cong had only to
concentrate its forces to capture an individual village. Thus, while most American officials acknowledged the importance of pacification as a counterinsurgency strategy, they never agreed on how to achieve it.

**PEACE CORPS.** John F. Kennedy raised the idea of the Peace Corps during the 1960 presidential campaign and it became popular among college students. Such academics as Max Millikan and Chester Bowles assisted in formulating the nature of the organization and its goals. The Peace Corps was established by executive order on 1 March and formally authorized by Congress on 22 September 1961. The job of developing the organizational structures and its goals fell to R. Sargent Shriver, Kennedy’s brother-in-law and the Corps first director. A major objective, as seen by Washington’s Cold Warriors, was for the Peace Corps to meet the Chinese and Soviet challenge to Western influence in the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. Within two years, more than 7,000 volunteers had joined the Corps and were serving in 44 countries.

**POVERTY.** See FOOD STAMP ACT OF 1964; HARRINGTON, MICHAEL; WAR ON POVERTY.

**PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (PCSW).** John F. Kennedy created the Commission by executive order on 14 December 1961 to advise him on issues concerning the status of women. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, chaired the Commission until her death in 1962. Congress was considering 432 proposals related to women’s issues when the Commission began its work, providing an incentive for the federal government to focus its attention on women’s status. The Supreme Court, meanwhile, handed down rulings that allowed women to serve on juries and married couples to use contraceptives. The administration viewed it as a compromise measure that would gain the support of people concerned about women’s status, but avoid upsetting Kennedy’s labor allies who were displeased with any talk about an Equal Rights Amendment. Consequently, the administration publicly promoted the PCSW as a Cold War initiative seeking to expand women’s talents for the purpose of national security—to defeat the
communists, the U.S. needed everybody to participate. If the country was not informed about women’s socio-legal status, however, then America might not have the support of everybody. The PSCW’s October 1963 report condemned the inequalities facing an American woman in a “free” society, while paradoxically it praised as anticommunist the traditional gender roles. Respecting the administration’s concerns, the report avoided mentioning an Equal Rights amendment as a possible remedy while suggesting other possible reforms.

The process of researching women’s status had an unexpected effect, it subsequently radicalized many of the commission members and led to the expansion of an underground activist network concerned with women’s rights. In 1966, members of the Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW), which replaced the PSCW, criticized the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission’s (EEOC) failure to act on charges of sex discrimination. The Third National Conference of the Commission on the Status of Women and successor to PCSW met at Washington, D.C., in June 1966, but the delegates were restricted by the administration’s guidelines from even passing resolutions urging that the EEOC be required to enforce its mandate to end sex discrimination. On 30 June 1966, 28 women and men attending the Conference, many former members of the CACSW and PCSW, created the National Organization for Women (NOW). See also WOMEN’S LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1960. This political contest pitted Richard M. Nixon and Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. as Republican Party nominees and John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson as Democratic nominees. Kennedy criticized the Eisenhower administration for permitting America to fall behind militarily—the missile gap—and economically during the Cold War, a campaign tactic frequently used by both parties during the four-decade contest with the Soviet Union. The presidential race was one of the closest in history and featured the first television debates and, finally, resulted in the first Catholic being elected to the nation’s highest office. For specific election data, see Appendix A.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1964. One of the more lopsided elections in American history, this contest pitted President Lyndon B.
Johnson, who had been in office less than a year following the assassination of John F. Kennedy, against Republican Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona. A favorite of the conservative wing of the party, Goldwater gained the nomination over New York governor Nelson A. Rockefeller who represented the Eastern liberal wing. In his speech accepting the nomination, Goldwater declared: "I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue." Because of his many previous unpopular votes and blunt statements, the Arizona senator was easily portrayed as an extremist, while Johnson evoked the memory of Kennedy and positioned himself as a moderate. Data on the Johnson victory is available in Appendix A.

RADICALS (RADICALISM). See HARRINGTON, MICHAEL; HOFFMAN, ABBIE; HOWE, IRVING; MAILER, NORMAN; NEW LEFT; STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

RAY, JAMES EARL (1928–1998). James Earl Ray, one of nine children, was born on 10 March 1928 in Alton, Illinois, and grew up in poverty. Ray left school in the eighth grade. After working at several jobs, he enlisted in the army in 1946. He served with the military police in Germany but was given a general discharge in December 1948 because of "ineptness and lack of adaptability to military service." Over the next decade, Ray drifted back and forth between Chicago and the West Coast. He was arrested several times and charged with vagrancy, burglary, and armed robbery. In 1955, he was found guilty of forging a Post Office money order and served three years in Leavenworth federal penitentiary. In October 1959, he was arrested for armed robbery in connection with a St. Louis supermarket holdup and was sentenced to 20 years at the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City. In April 1967, he concealed himself in a large bread-box being sent from the prison bakery and made a successful escape.

On 4 April 1968, Ray registered at a rooming house across from the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, where Martin Luther
King Jr. was staying. Around 6:00 P.M., Ray shot the civil rights leader as King was standing on the second floor balcony of his motel room. King was rushed to the hospital and pronounced dead. Ray fled the murder scene in a white Mustang. On 20 April, Ray was placed on the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s (FBI) 10 most wanted list. On 8 April, Ray had entered Canada, and on the 24th he obtained a Canadian passport. He flew from Toronto to London on 6 May and then, a day later, on to Lisbon. He returned to London on 17 May. On June 8, Scotland Yard detectives seized Ray at Heathrow Airport in London. In July, he was extradited and returned to Memphis, where he was charged with murder.

On 10 March 1969, Ray pleaded guilty to murdering King and was sentenced to serve 99 years in prison. Within days, however, Ray attempted to reverse his plea. Ray stated that he had sold the rights to his life story to a journalist William Bradford Huie, to raise money for his legal defense. He charged that Huie and Percy Foreman, his attorney, had both pressured him to plead guilty. According to Ray, Huie had told him that a book about a man who did not kill King would not sell. Ray also stated that Foreman had promised that he would be pardoned after John Jay Hooker Jr., son of a Foreman law associate, was elected governor of Tennessee. Ray later told one reporter that he had been “brow-beat, badgered and bribed into pleading guilty.” Foreman denied that Ray had been coerced into pleading guilty. He also suggested that Ray, a racial bigot, had slain Dr. King because “he wanted recognition and praise from his old inmates back at Jefferson City [site of the Missouri State Penitentiary].” Ray dismissed Foreman, but his new defense team was unable to win a trial on appeal.

For the rest of his life, Ray maintained that he was part of a conspiracy to murder King. The key figure in the plot was someone named Raoul, and Ray wrote two books in which he insisted that others were involved. The House Select Committee on Assassinations concluded in 1979, however, that Ray was the lone shooter. The King family thought that Ray was part of a conspiracy and asked for further investigation into the murder. A report by the Justice Department concluded in 2000 “that the allegations relating to Raoul’s participation in the assassination, which originated with James Earl Ray, have no merit.” Ray briefly escaped in 1977 from the Tennessee penitentiary
where he was serving his sentence. In 1981, he survived a knife attack by several inmates. He died on 23 April 1998.

**REPUBLICAN PARTY.** In the 1960 presidential election, the Republican Party, led by former Vice President Richard M. Nixon, lost to the Democrats and Senator John F. Kennedy by the astonishing margin of just under 120,000 votes out of a record 68.8 million votes cast, a plurality of less than 0.05 of the total vote, the smallest percentage difference since 1880. The next time was far worse. In the 1964 presidential election, under the direction of Arizona conservative Senator Barry Goldwater, the Republican Party lost in a landslide to President Lyndon B. Johnson, becoming the party of irrelevance for the next four years. But in 1968, with law and order the main issue and the war in Vietnam lost, Richard M. Nixon returned from the political wilderness to edge out Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey in a close and tumultuous campaign. In the popular column, victory held the barest of margins: 31,710,470 votes (43.4 percent) to 30,898,055 (42.3 percent) or only four-tenths of a percentage point. The Republican Party promised to restore respect for the law at home and an honorable departure from the Vietnam imbroglio. Neither would happen in Nixon’s time in the White House. However, the shift of white voters from the Democratic Party in the South was a harbinger of what was to come, as race became a major issue in their switch to the Republican Party.

**REUTHER, WALTER (1907–1970).** Walter Reuther was a leading American union leader and supporter of the New Deal coalition who began his adult life as a committed socialist, but never a communist. After being laid off by the Ford Motor Company during the Great Depression, he went to Europe and worked, from 1933–1935, in an auto plant at Gorky in the Soviet Union. Feeling deprived of political freedom in Soviet Russia, Reuther returned to the U.S. and took a job at General Motors, where he joined the United Automobile Workers (UAW). After World War II, he succeeded in negotiating employer-funded pensions, medical insurance, and supplementary unemployment benefits.

During the 1960s, near the end of his life, he marched with the United Farm Workers at Delano, California, and strongly supported
the civil rights movement. He took part in both the March on Washington for Freedom and Jobs (August 1963) and the Selma to Montgomery March (March 1965). Critical of the Vietnam War, he nevertheless endorsed Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968. He, his wife May, architect Oscar Stonorov, and a bodyguard, pilot, and copilot were killed in a chartered Lear jet that crashed in 1970.

REYNOLDS V. SIMS (1964). See BAKER V. CARR; WARREN COURT.

ROCK AND ROLL. There is no precise way in which to divide rock and roll between the 1950s and 1960s; however, one method of “dating” the ’60s could be with the invasion of numerous British groups that admired and emulated American rock and roll. The Beatles debuted on the Ed Sullivan Show on 9 February 1964 to an estimated 73 million television viewers. Later, The Dave Clark Five (“Glad All Over”), Petula Clark (“Downtown”), and several others followed. By 1963, the Detroit-based African American owned record company, Motown, had made an impact on the rock and roll scene with such stars and hits as The Temptations (“Ain’t Too Proud to Beg”), The Four Tops (“I Can’t Help Myself”), and Diana Ross and The Supremes (“Stop in the Name of Love” and “You Can’t Hurry Love”). At mid-decade, the counterculture movement gave birth to a variety of folk, psychedelic, and hard rock (now primarily known as classic rock) that featured such groups as the Jefferson Airplane (“Somebody to Love”), Mamas and the Papas (“California Dreaming”), Lovin’ Spoonful (“Do You Believe in Magic?”), Steppenwolf (“Born to Be Wild”), Bonnie Raitt (“Runaway”), and Simon and Garfunkel (“America”). The three-day music festival at Woodstock drew 400,000 hippies and highlighted the desire for happiness, love, peace, and drugs in a visceral and emotional cultural reaction to the images of violence reported daily on the television—images of the national guard shooting college student demonstrators, white cops beating black demonstrators, and cops beating demonstrators at the Democratic convention in Chicago.

The emphasis on the culture of drugs was illustrated by the death from overdoses of Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and the lead singer of
The Doors, Jim Morrison. The sound of psychedelic rock had been around for more than a year when the term appeared in the title of the 13th Floor Elevators’ 1966 album *The Psychedelic Soul of the 13th Floor Elevators*. The Beatles’s singles, “Day Tripper,” “Rain,” and “Paperback Writer” became landmark songs that entered into the youth culture, as did the music of the Grateful Dead and Pink Floyd.

The emergence of psychedelic rock gave rise to the importance of studio production as musicians, engineers, and producers explored the possibilities of multi-track recording and the new electronic sound equipment. The significance of the “studio as instrument” was demonstrated by the Beatles. They recorded their initial 1963 American album (*Please Please Me*) in a single day; but spent more than 700 hours in studio sessions during six months to develop their 1967 famous *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*. In addition, popular musicians began to emphasize the visual presentation of their recordings, especially long-playing albums (LPs), with elaborately designed and costly covers.

Many of the themes that found their way into rock and roll dealt with love and errant relationships. In the 1960s social and political messages reflecting the popular unrest over civil rights, the Vietnam conflict, feminism, and environmentalism also entered into the songs. Although these lyrics were often rather simplistic, they nonetheless gained substantial audiences and became the featured songs at concerts and rallies. See also BAEZ, JOAN; COUNTRY AND FOLK MUSIC; DYLAN, BOB; MUSIC.

ROCKEFELLER, NELSON A. (1908–1979). In 1956, Nelson A. Rockefeller decided to run for the governorship of New York. For the next two years, he cultivated contacts with Republican state and local leaders in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on the Preparation of the State Constitutional Convention. Some influential Republicans believed that the Rockefeller name would be an insuperable bar to his election. The negative impact of Rockefeller’s wealth upon his 1958 campaign, however, was blunted by the fact that incumbent governor W. Averell Harriman was also a multi-millionaire. Rockefeller, outspending his rival by nearly a million dollars, won the election by over half-a-million votes. Because of his tax proposals, Rockefeller gained a reputation across the country for
fiscal responsibility. In 1959, Rockefeller sent out political feelers to ascertain his chances for heading a 1960 national Republican ticket. Discovering that Vice President Richard M. Nixon had overwhelming support, Rockefeller announced on 26 December 1959, that he was withdrawing his name from consideration for the Republican presidential nomination.

However, Rockefeller had established himself as a leader of the Eastern, liberal wing of the Republican Party, and he attempted to influence the formation of the party’s national platform for 1960. On 19 July, shortly before the Republican Convention, he presented a program of his own to the Platform Committee. He asserted that the Soviet Union had surpassed the United States in a number of key areas of weaponry and called for increased defense spending. He also proposed tax revision to promote investment, a compulsory arbitration system for strikes threatening the national welfare, an acceleration of desegregation in all areas, federal aid to education, and a health insurance program within the Social Security system. Rockefeller warned that if his proposals were not adopted by the Platform Committee, he would fight for them on the convention floor. On 25 July, Nixon conferred with the governor at the latter’s Fifth Avenue apartment in New York City and accepted almost all of the proposals. Outraged conservatives, regarding the agreement as symbolic of the Eastern Establishment’s power within the Republican Party, denounced what became known as the “Treaty of Fifth Avenue.” Senator Barry M. Goldwater described it as “the Munich of the Republican Party.”

From 1960 onward, Rockefeller had his sights on the 1964 Republican presidential nomination. In October 1961, polls showed him ahead of conservative Republican leader Barry Goldwater as a choice of the party’s voters, but they also showed Nixon leading both men. In November 1961, he and his wife, Mary Todhunter Clark Rockefeller, announced their separation and planned divorce. The governor’s popularity dipped sharply but soon recovered. His reelection as governor in 1962, combined with Nixon’s defeat in his bid for the California governorship, made Rockefeller the front-runner in the polls. But in May 1963, Rockefeller married Margaretta “Happy” Fitler Murphy, who was almost 20 years younger than the governor and who had received a divorce one month earlier without gaining
custody of her children. His remarriage provoked an extremely unfavorable popular reaction that dogged Rockefeller for the remainder of his presidential race.

Meanwhile, right-wing supporters of Senator Goldwater gained strength within the party, dominating the Young Republicans convention in San Francisco in June 1963. The following month, Rockefeller issued a manifesto warning that “the Republican Party is in real danger of subversion by a radical, well-financed and highly disciplined minority.” He charged that this minority was led by “the Birchers and others of the radical right lunatic fringe—every bit as dangerous . . . as the radical left . . . .” On 7 November, he formally announced his candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination.

Rockefeller’s drive for the nomination, culminating in a narrow loss to Goldwater in the 1964 California primary, was unsuccessful. The governor refused to endorse Goldwater in the 1964 general election. Another Rockefeller bid for the presidency in 1968 also failed. See also PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 1960, 1964.

ROWAN, CARL T. (1925–2000). Carl Rowan became senior press officer for the State Department in February 1961, when he assumed the position of deputy assistant secretary of state for public affairs. During his tenure at the State Department, Rowan became a leading advocate of improving relations between the press and American officials in Saigon. At his urging, the administration appointed Charles Davis, a man sympathetic to press problems, as head of the U.S. Information Service in South Vietnam in February 1962. On 21 February 1962, Rowan, in conjunction with Pierre Salinger and Arthur Sylvester, drafted a memorandum designed to liberalize the administration’s press policy. The document, known as Cable 1006, urged the ambassador and commanding general to see the press as frequently as possible. It also noted that although criticism of the Diem regime could not be cut off, it should be pointed out to the press that this type of reporting made the American task in Vietnam difficult. The memo concluded by warning that press descriptions of certain battles as “decisive” were inaccurate and likely to give a false impression of the growing war.

In January 1963, Rowan was appointed ambassador to Finland. There, he won the admiration of the Finnish people by candidly talk-
ing about racial problems in the United States. A year later, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Rowan director of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) after the death of Edward R. Murrow. By accepting the job, Rowan became the first African American to hold a seat on the National Security Council.

RUBY, JACK (1911–1967). Jack Ruby was born on 25 March 1911 in Chicago, and grew up in a troubled home. Ruby quit school at 16 and worked as a ticket scalper, a hawker of racetrack tip sheets, and an organizer for the Scrap Iron and Junk Handlers Union. In the early 1940s, he established the Spartan Novelty Company in Chicago. After service in the U.S. Army Air Forces, Ruby went to Dallas in 1947 to help his sister open a nightclub. He remained in Dallas, where he owned and managed various clubs for the next 16 years.

On the morning of 24 November 1963, Ruby made his way to the base of the Dallas Police and Courts Building where Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged assassin of President John F. Kennedy, was being held. At 11:20 A.M., Oswald, surrounded by police, reporters, and camera operators, was being escorted to the car that was to take him to the county jail. Ruby approached, drew his pistol, and fired one shot into Oswald’s abdomen. The shooting was witnessed by millions on live television. Oswald died within two hours. Ruby said he killed Oswald in a temporary fit of depression and rage over the death of the president. He denied that he had ever known Oswald or had been connected in any way with a plot to assassinate the president. Ruby’s defense team, headed by flamboyant San Francisco attorney Melvin Belli, contended that the defendant could not get a fair trial in Dallas, but requests to move the proceedings were denied by Judge Joseph Brantley Brown.

In February 1964, after two weeks of difficult questioning in which the defense exhausted all its preemptory challenges, a jury was selected. All but two of the jurors had seen the shooting on television. During the trial, which began on 4 March, the defense pleaded that Ruby, suffering from psychomotor epilepsy, was not guilty by reason of insanity. Psychologists and neurologists for the prosecution contended the evidence, including the electroencephalograms, introduced by the defense was insufficient to support the plea. On 14 March, the jury found Ruby guilty and directed that he be sentenced
to death. Belli called the proceedings a kangaroo court and charged that the Dallas “oligarchy wanted to send Ruby to the public abattoir . . . to cleanse this city of its shame.”

In June 1966, a state court jury in Dallas ruled that Ruby was sane and competent to dismiss his lawyers. A new defense team, which included New York attorney William Kunstler, took the case to the Texas Court of Appeals. In October 1966, that court’s three judges—in separate opinions—agreed that Ruby’s conviction should be reversed. The holding of Ruby’s trial in Dallas had been an error, said the court, and it ordered that he be retried outside Dallas County. Before he could be tried again, Ruby, who was suffering from cancer, died of a blood clot in the lungs on 3 January 1967.

Ruby consistently denied that he knew Oswald and that he was connected to a plot to murder President Kennedy. Assassination theorists have nonetheless connected Ruby, despite the lack of evidence, with various conspiracies to kill Kennedy.

RUDD, MARK (1947–). Born on 2 June 1947 in Irvington, New Jersey, Mark Rudd grew up in an upper-middle-class family. His father was in real estate business and lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army Reserve. During his first year at Columbia University (1965–66), Rudd became active in a campus antiwar group, the Independent Committee on Vietnam. In the fall of 1966, he joined the newly formed Columbia chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Rudd was among 46 people arrested at a large demonstration protesting Secretary of State Dean Rusk’s appearance at the New York Hilton Hotel in November 1967. Throughout 1967 Columbia SDS was led by members of the so-called praxis axis, who stressed research, education, and propaganda, avoiding confrontations in hopes of building a broad base of student support. Rudd and others, labeled the “action faction,” advocated more militant tactics. After returning from a three-week SDS trip to Cuba in February 1968, Rudd was elected chair of Columbia SDS.

SDS had long opposed Columbia’s participation in the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), a 12-university consortium conducting weapons evaluation and research for the Department of Defense. The radical organization had more recently joined the opposition to Columbia’s proposed new gym, to be built in city-owned Morningside
Park. Plans for the gym included limited facilities for use by local residents. On 27 March, Rudd led a noisy demonstration inside Columbia’s main administration building, Low Library, demanding severance of all university ties with IDA. The protest violated a recent university ban on indoor demonstrations, and, on 22 April, Rudd and five others, the “IDA six,” were placed on disciplinary probation after their request for an open hearing had been denied. That day, in an open letter to Columbia president Grayson Kirk, Rudd wrote: “We, the young people, whom you so rightly fear, say that society is sick and you and your capitalism are the sickness. You call for order and respect for authority, we call for justice, freedom and socialism.”

The next afternoon, following speeches by Student Afro-American Society (SAS) and SDS leaders, several hundred students marched to Low Library to demand an open hearing for the six students. Finding Low locked, part of the crowd went to the site of the gym. There, in a scuffle with police, one person was arrested. Returning to the campus, the students went to Hamilton Hall, where they vowed to stay and block the exit of a Columbia dean until the university cut all ties with IDA, canceled the gym project, and agreed to take no disciplinary action against the “IDA six.” Late that night, at the request of SAS leaders, the white students at Hamilton Hall left the building and occupied Low Library. Throughout the week-long occupation, Rudd was a key leader and chief spokesperson for the white protestors. (The black students in Hamilton acted independently.) On 30 April, after the Columbia administration refused to agree to demands, 1,000 New York City police, at Columbia’s request, cleared the occupied buildings. Seven hundred persons, 80 percent of them students, were arrested and 148 injured. Rudd himself avoided arrest.

Rudd ran for the SDS National Interim Committee in June 1968 but was elected only as an alternate. That fall, Rudd went on several national speaking and fund-raising tours for SDS. At a December 1968 SDS conference, Rudd supported a “Revolutionary Youth Movement” proposal that committed SDS to organizing working-class youth as well as students. When the organization split, Rudd became a leader of the faction supporting and named for the statement. Rudd was a leader of the Weatherman “Days of Rage” demonstrations in Chicago in October 1969 and was later indicted for his role. Rudd vanished from public view until 1977. After working in construction
in New Jersey, he taught mathematics at Albuquerque Technical Vocational Institute.

RUSK, DEAN (1909–1994). Following his election in 1960, John F. Kennedy appointed Rusk his secretary of state. Kennedy, who considered foreign affairs his personal responsibility, was determined to dominate foreign policy formulation during his administration. He did not want a secretary who might overshadow him and so rejected such prominent individuals as Adlai E. Stevenson and Chester Bowles for the position. Instead, he selected the relatively obscure Dean Rusk, a man, moreover, who agreed with the president’s concept of policy making. During the Kennedy administration, Rusk attempted to make the department more responsive to new policy trends and to the wishes of the president. Although he had only limited success in reforming the bureaucracy, Rusk, at the urging of the president, did permit such subordinates as Roger Hilsman, G. Mennen Williams, and Theodoro Moscoso to tentatively explore new policies toward Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In addition, Rusk quietly improved relations among State, Congress, and the Central Intelligence Agency and moderated the rivalry between the State and Defense Departments. Critics claimed, however, that Rusk’s cooperation with Defense was not so much the result of a conscious effort as it was of his inability to assert himself.

Despite his position and long tenure—he served the second-longest term of any secretary of state in the 20th century—Rusk had relatively little impact on foreign policy formulation. During the Johnson administration, Rusk helped implement the president’s Vietnam policy and became one of its most eloquent defenders. Rusk left office in January 1969 and later became a professor of international law at the University of Georgia. See also COLD WAR; FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

SALINGER, PIERRE (1925–2004). Pierre Salinger was born in San Francisco on 14 June 1925. After service in the Navy during World War II, Salinger graduated from the University of San Francisco in
1947. He became night city editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1950 and then was appointed West Coast editor and contributing editor to *Collier’s* magazine in 1955. During the 1950s, Salinger established a reputation as an investigative reporter and also became active in state and national politics. He served as press officer for Adlai Stevenson’s California campaign in 1952 and supported Robert Graves for California governor in 1954.

Salinger first became acquainted with the Kennedys when Robert F. Kennedy hired him as an investigator for the Senate Rackets Committee in 1957. Senator John F. Kennedy served on this committee and, during his 1960 presidential campaign, made Salinger his press secretary. On 10 November 1960, Salinger, at 35, became the youngest White House press secretary in history. Columnist William White noted in a 1961 article for *Harper’s* that Salinger’s predecessor, James Hagerty, ran the White House pressroom during the Eisenhower administration “like an Army orderly room.” Salinger, on the other hand, conveyed “an essentially light-hearted atmosphere.”

Early in the Kennedy administration, Salinger recommended the use of “live” television and radio broadcasts of presidential press conferences, a completely fresh idea at the time. Kennedy policy dictated greater centralization of top-level information. In the wake of the Cuban Missile Crisis, this led to the charges of “new management.” Salinger vigorously denied these charges, but in early 1963 the House Government Information Subcommittee conducted hearings on the news information, especially during the recent crisis. An invited witness, James Reston of the *New York Times*, testified that the problem of news management was not as bad as some newsmen had indicated during the crisis, but Charles S. Rowe of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association said, “The public has never been told the full story of the Cuba blockade.” In a speech before the National Press Club on 22 March 1963, Salinger denied that the administration had lied to the public during the Cuban missile crisis and proposed a “fundamental study” to determine whether the media was managing news.

Unlike James Hagerty, Salinger had virtually no influence on either domestic or foreign policy. After President Kennedy’s death, he stayed on as White House press secretary until March 1964, when he resigned to assume the Senate seat in California vacated by Democrat...
Clair Engle. In the 1964 senatorial race, Salinger lost decisively to Republican George Murphy.

SEALE, BOBBY (1936– ). Bobby Seale was born into a poor family on 22 October 1936 in Dallas, Texas. The family moved several times before settling in Oakland, California. He dropped out of high school to enlist in the Air Force but was court-martialed and given a dishonorable discharge. After returning to Oakland, Seale finished high school and enrolled in Merritt College, a two-year institution. While attending Merritt, Seale met Huey Newton, a fellow student who shared Seale’s outrage over racial discrimination and police brutality. They borrowed the name of the black political party in Lowndes County, Alabama, that Stokely Carmichael had created a few months earlier. In October 1966, they founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, with Seale as chair and Newton as minister of defense.

Begun as a grassroots organization in Oakland, the Panthers sought to protect African Americans from police intimidation and violence and to improve conditions of life in the black community. They demanded improved housing, education, and employment opportunities. They also compared the condition of African Americans to colonial peoples and called for liberation through revolution, if necessary. Wearing black berets and leather jackets and openly carrying guns (which was legal at the time under Californian law), the Black Panthers patrolled Oakland streets to monitor police. The party was generally unknown outside the Bay Area until 2 May 1967, when 30 armed Panthers marched into the California Assembly to protest a gun-control measure then under consideration. Such defiant and confrontational actions gained national attention and helped the Panthers establish chapters in more than 30 cities by the end of the 1960s. Though an all-black organization, the Panthers welcomed cooperation with white radicals. Seale sought to establish contacts with other radical movements. In 1968, the Panthers joined several white radical groups to form the Peace and Freedom Party.

Seale went to Chicago in August 1968 to participate in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention; he later became one of the famous “Chicago Eight,” indicted for violating the antitriot provision of the new Civil Rights Act. The trial, which began in 1969,
became a radical cause celebre. For his repeated outbursts against the judge, Seale was at one point ordered gagged and bound to his chair. On 5 November, Seale was sentenced to four years in prison for contempt of court, and his case was severed from that of the others. The government later requested, however, that the charges against him be dropped. With Newton in jail from 1968 to 1970 for the shooting of a police officer, Seale took a greater part in internal Panther affairs. In early 1969, he announced a drive to rid the Panthers of "provocateur agents, kooks and avaricious fools" seeking to use the organization for their own purposes. It was later revealed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had, in fact, placed agents in the Panthers in an attempt to disrupt the organization. In 1971 Seale went on trial in New Haven, Connecticut, on charges of ordering the 1969 execution of a Panther member suspected of being a government informant. The trial began in March and again aroused the anger of many radicals, who accused the government of trying to "get Bobby." When the jury failed to reach a verdict in May, the judge dismissed the charges against Seale, claiming that "massive publicity" made a new trial impossible.

Free from legal entanglements, Seale returned to Oakland and leadership of the Panthers. He cooperated with Newton in re-orientating the party from "armed defense" to community-action projects, such as health clinics for inner-city residents and a free breakfast program for school children. In 1973, Seale ran for mayor of Oakland as a Democrat, finishing second among nine candidates with 43,710 votes. Although the Black Panther Party ceased to exist by the early 1980s, Seale continued to be involved with various groups opposing political or social injustices.

SEARCH AND DESTROY POLICY. This policy, urged by General William C. Westmoreland and the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by Lyndon B. Johnson in July 1965, was the tactical implementation of the attrition strategy. It involved the aggressive patrolling of the countryside in hopes of engaging Viet Cong guerrillas in battle and then after the fighting "we went in and destroyed their homes. They weren't really homes, they were just hooches." The frequently indiscriminate destruction of hamlets and homes often worked against other American efforts at counterinsurgency or pacification. See also VIETNAM WAR.
SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM. As Washington increased its troop strength in Vietnam, the nearly 27,000,000 American men of draft age accepted involuntary military service, enlisted, or sought methods of avoiding conscription. At the height of the conflict, draftees were getting killed at twice the rate of enlistees, with the result that avoiding the draft became the preoccupation of an entire male generation or at least that part of it which had the means and wit to manipulate the Selective Service System to its advantage. Because college students, especially those preparing for the ministry or rabbinate, generally obtained deferments, the classrooms of institutions of higher education were packed. This was the source of considerable resentment among poor and working class young men, who could not afford a college education. (“If you have the dough, you don’t have to go.”) Some 15,000,000 were deferred, exempted, or disqualified, including Sylvester Stallone, who spent his time as a coach at a private girls’ school in Switzerland and then as an acting student at the University of Miami.

A volunteer enlistee might secure a relatively safe alternative, service in the U.S. Navy, Air Force, or Coast Guard, while those with connections might find refuge in the National Guard or Reserve units of which few were sent to Vietnam. As a last resort, many thousands of young men migrated to Canada and other foreign countries to avoid the draft. In the Vietnam era, there were 570,000 apparent draft evaders (President Gerald Ford proclaimed amnesty for draft evaders in 1974). The draft was unpopular both for its impact on those drafted and as a focal point for opposition to a controversial war. The majority of men who fought and died in Vietnam were frequently society’s losers—blacks, browns, and rednecks—the very men who often got left behind in school and work. The war and the draft that served it tormented American society and led to the end of conscription with the establishment in 1973 of the all-volunteer military.

SHEPARD, ALAN. See SPACE RACE.

SHRIVER, R. SARGENT (1915– ). In April 1960, Shriver joined John F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign staff. Although not one of Kennedy’s top advisers, he was important as a liaison between the field forces and the Democratic National Committee and between the
Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson staffs. Shriver also functioned as a fundraiser and was active in promoting the candidate in urban areas. Following Kennedy’s election, Shriver headed the administration’s talent hunt, a systematic attempt to recruit personnel for high government posts. During the new administration, Shriver served as organizer and first director of the Peace Corps. The establishment of such a volunteer group, first suggested by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, was promised during the last days of Kennedy’s campaign. After the inauguration, Shriver immediately began developing plans for the agency. According to proposals outlined in the first two months of 1961, the Peace Corps would serve two purposes. It would present the inhabitants of underdeveloped countries with a more balanced picture of Americans and counteract the prevalent stereotypes of complacent Americans afraid to do manual work. It would also give young Americans a firsthand view of conditions in other parts of the world and provide a future core of knowledgeable individuals for foreign affairs positions. The corps, staffed primarily by college and post-college-age volunteers, would serve in a country only at the invitation of its government. Peace Corps members would work as teachers, nurses, and construction workers and would adopt the living standard of their counterparts in the host country. Congress established a permanent Peace Corps in September 1961 and funded it with a $40 million appropriation. The Peace Corps became one of the most popular programs of the Kennedy administration. By 1964, more than 100,000 men and woman had applied to join the organization, and the program had indeed expanded from 500 to 1,000 members in 1961 to 10,000 in 1964. Many of the men and women who served in the corps believed that it provided a way of putting their idealism to work by doing something worthwhile for others.

In February 1964, Shriver was appointed to head President Johnson’s war on poverty. From 1968 to 1970, he served as ambassador to France. Shriver was Senator George McGovern’s running mate during the 1972 presidential race. In 1976, he made a brief, unsuccessful attempt to win the Democratic nomination for president.

SIRHAN, SIRHAN B. (1944– ). Sirhan Sirhan was born on 19 March 1944 in Jerusalem, then part of Palestine. He experienced the violence that occurred between Arabs and Jews in the struggle over the
establishment of a Jewish state in Israel. Following the founding of Israel in May 1948 and the ensuing war between the new state and its Arab neighbors, Sirhan’s family fled their home. In 1957, his family came to the United States. Sirhan attended high school in Pasadena, California, and then entered Pasadena City College. He left college in 1966. Sirhan was distressed over Israel’s victory in the Six-Day War of June 1967. During the spring of 1968 Senator Robert F. Kennedy, a supporter of Israel, became the focus of his rage. In May 1968, as Kennedy campaigned in the California presidential primary, Sirhan considered assassinating him. On 18 May, he wrote in his diary that “my determination to eliminate R.F.K. is becoming more of an unshakeable obsession . . . R.F.K. must die . . . Robert F. Kennedy must be assassinated before 5 June.”

On 4 June, Sirhan went to the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, the Kennedy headquarters during the California campaign. Late in the evening, when it became clear that he had won the primary, Kennedy left his suite and made his way to the hotel ballroom to address his cheering campaign workers. After speaking briefly, Kennedy headed for the pressroom, taking a shortcut through the hotel kitchen. Kennedy was shaking hands with the kitchen workers when Sirhan approached him. Shortly after midnight on 5 June, Sirhan opened fire with a .22 caliber pistol. Kennedy, shot in the head and armpit, fell to the floor.

Early in the morning of 6 June, 25 hours after the shooting, Kennedy died in Good Samaritan Hospital in Los Angeles. Sirhan was charged with first-degree murder. At his trial, defense attorneys argued that Sirhan had diminished mental capacity and therefore was not capable of the premeditation required to convict him of first-degree murder. On 17 April, however, the jury found Sirhan guilty of murder. The judge sentenced him to death in the gas chamber. Robert Kennedy’s brother, Senator Edward Kennedy, requested that the death penalty be set aside, but Judge Herbert Walker, who had the power to reduce the sentence to life imprisonment, refused to do so.

In June 1972, the Supreme Court suspended all executions until state legislatures drastically revised their capital punishment statutes. This ruling led to the commutation of his sentence to life imprisonment.

**SOCIAL SECURITY.** See MEDICARE/MEDICAID ACT OF 1965.
SOUL AND FUNK MUSIC. In the early 1960s, Solomon Burke’s “Cry to Me,” “Just Out of Reach,” and “Down in the Valley” are considered classics of soul style and established the soul genre. However, “it was only with the coming together of Burke and Atlantic Records,” Peter Guralnick has written, “that you could see anything resembling a movement.” Joe Tex’s “The Love You Save” in 1965 is another soul classic recording. Stax Records, located in Memphis, Tennessee, is noted for recording such prominent artists as Otis Redding, Eddie Floyd, Johnnie Taylor, Wilson Pickett, and Don Covay. Florence, Alabama’s Fame Studios, sometimes called Muscle Shoals—after a nearby town—became a significant center of soul with its production of recordings of Jimmy Hughes, Percy Sledge, Arthur Alexander, and, in the late 1960s, Aretha Franklin. A close relationship developed between Stax and Fame as artists and record producers who worked in Memphis contributed to the productions emerging from Fame. Other important Memphis labels were Goldwax Records, Royal Recordings, American Sound Studios, who produced records by O. V. Wright and James Carr.

Although the Motown sound contributed to what became known as Northern soul, it was Curtis Mayfield in Chicago who created the “sweet soul” that confirmed him the Godfather of Northern soul. Mayfield developed an influential “call and answer” style that drew from Gospel music. In 1968, James Brown and Sly & the Family Stone’s musical innovations, together with the death of Martin Luther King in April, led to the end of the era of soul and established funk. Brown and others had been experimenting with a new form, influenced by psychedelic rock, that was a rhythmic, danceable variety of soul that was labeled funk. Sly & the Family Stone later split funk into two branches: his pop-funk and George Clinton’s heavy metal-influenced avant-garde funk.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC). See KING, MARTIN LUTHER, JR.

SOVIET UNION. See COLD WAR; CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS; FOREIGN AFFAIRS; HOTLINE AGREEMENT; MISSILE GAP; NONPROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT); NUCLEAR DETERRENCE; SPACE RACE.
**SPACE RACE.** The Soviet Union’s successful launch of Sputnik on 4 October 1957 sparked the informal space competition between the two superpowers that lasted until 1975. The parallel efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union to be the first to employ artificial satellites to explore outer space, to send human beings into space and to land people on the Moon was labeled the “Space Race.” This competition was significant during the Cold War as each party sought cultural and technological advantages. In the geopolitical realm, being first in space offered special propaganda advantages for, as the John F. Kennedy administration saw it, “In the eyes of the world, first in space means first, period; second in space is second in everything.” After initially being intimidated by Sputnik, the American public became fascinated with rockets and satellites and agreed with President Kennedy that U.S. dollars spent on space projects was a worthwhile investment. The military aspects of space technology found immediate practical use in spy satellites that could effectively conduct and supply vital information of Soviet activities. The technical development required for space travel applied also to the power plants that lifted intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Soviets had the early “firsts” Yuri Gagarin was the first man in space when he orbited Earth on 12 April 1961. The Soviets launched the first dual-manned flight on 11–15 August 1962, and sent the first woman into space on 16 June 1963. The first flight involving multiple crewmembers lifted off Soviet soil on 13 October 1964 carrying three men; it also was the first flight on which the crew did not wear space suits. In a mission that could have ended disastrously, Aleksei Leonov took the first space walk in March 1965, but had difficulty returning to the Voskhod 2 capsule and, because of a faulty retrorocket, the capsule landed nearly 1,000 miles from its scheduled destination.

America’s Alan Shepard followed Gagarin into space 23 days later, but John Glenn became the first American to successfully orbit Earth on 20 February 1962. The following year, on 2 July, the U.S. placed the first geosynchronous satellite in space, the success of which meant that its orbit would remain geostationary and satellite transmissions for television broadcasts were practical. Meanwhile, Kennedy proposed a number of joint ventures, such as a Moon landing by Soviet and American astronauts and improved weather moni-
toring satellites, but Nikita Khrushchev rejected the suggestion, fearing it was an attempt to gain access to Moscow's superior space technology.

After the Soviet's early firsts, President Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson searched for a space project that would fascinate the American public, provide technical and scientific spin-offs, and gain congressional funding. They found it in the Apollo program, designed to land a man on the moon. On 25 May 1961, at a special joint session of Congress, Kennedy announced the Apollo project. "I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to the Earth," he said. "No single space project in this period will be more impressive to mankind, or more important in the long-range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. . . ." Having chosen the Moon as the goal, the Apollo planners sought to design a program that would minimize the risks to the crew, the fiscal burden, and the requirement on technology and astronaut skill.

The initial step was adopting John Houbolt's Lunar Orbit Rendezvous plan. The spacecraft was composed of a Command/Service Module and a Lunar Module that would separate in lunar orbit and carry two astronauts to the Moon's surface and back. Kennedy's goal of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to Earth was achieved with the Apollo 11 mission in July 1969. Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, the crew of Apollo 11, became the first men to walk on the moon. The lunar program continued into the early 1970s to carry out the initial hands-on scientific exploration of the Moon, with a total of six successful landings.

SPOCK, BENJAMIN (1903–1998). Benjamin Spock was born into a wealthy family in New Haven, Connecticut, on 2 May 1903. His father was a successful corporation lawyer, and his mother ran a home that Spock later characterized as "plain, repressed and strict." Spock studied medicine at Yale and Columbia and completed residencies in pediatrics and psychiatry. In 1933, he started a private practice that continued until entering the Navy during World War II. In 1946, he published The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care. An immediate success, it went through many editions and made him the
best-known expert on child care during the last half of the 20th century. By the time of his death, “Dr. Spock,” as his manual was commonly known, had sold 50 million copies, more than any other book except the Bible. He also reached a large audience with a regular column in Ladies’ Home Journal and, later, Redbook magazine. During the 20 years beginning in 1947, he held positions, successively, with the Mayo Clinic, the University of Pittsburgh, and Case Western Reserve University.

Until 1960, Spock had taken public positions only on medical and public health issues, but that year, he endorsed John F. Kennedy’s presidential candidacy. After Kennedy’s announcement in March 1962 that the United States was resuming nuclear testing, Spock accepted a previously rejected offer to become a national board member of the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). The next year, he was elected national co-chair of the organization. Spock campaigned for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 and, in January 1965, became a member of the National Advisory Council to the Office of Economic Opportunity. However, Spock became increasingly critical of the president after Johnson approved the beginning of sustained bombing of North Vietnam and the commitment of U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam shortly after his reelection. Spock was a principle speaker at the 27 November march in Washington initiated by SANE, where he called on both the United States and Vietnam to seek negotiated settlement.

Within SANE, there was often bitter debate over the extent to which the organization should cooperate with more radical elements in the antiwar movement. Spock favored a broadly inclusive and militant movement. Although SANE declined to work with the newly formed Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, Spock accepted the post of co-chair of the coalition’s planned 15 April 1967 march. In a letter to A. J. Muste, he wrote: “I now believe in leaning in the direction of recruiting more militant people into the peace movement rather than worrying over scaring off the timid ones . . . . I believe in solidarity.” On 15 April, Spock, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., and Harry Belafonte led an estimated 300,000 marchers from New York’s Central Park to the United Nations in the largest antiwar demonstration to date. In the fall of 1967, Spock, recently retired from teaching, was increasingly active in opposition to
the war. He was one of the original signers of “A Call to Resist Ille-
gitimate Authority,” published in September 1967, which supported
draft resistance and the refusal of troops to obey “illegal and immoral
orders.” He was part of a group that visited the Justice Department on
20 October and handed over several hundred draft cards turned in by
draft resisters.

Spock, Marcus Raskin, codirector of the Institute for Policy Stud-
ies, the Reverend William Sloan Coffin Jr., Yale University chaplain,
writer Mitchell Goodman, and Harvard graduate student Michael
Ferber were indicted on 5 January 1968 for conspiring to “counsel,
aid and abet” young men to “refuse and evade service in the armed
services. . . .” In pretrial motions, Spock’s lawyer, Leonard Boudin,
argued that the war in Vietnam was illegal. Therefore, the defendants
had committed no crime in advising potential draftees to refuse to
participate in the war and in the war crimes committed as part of it.
Judge Francis J. W. Ford ruled that the legality of the war or the draft
was not relevant to the case. The trial, therefore, took place over the
narrower legal issue of whether or not a conspiracy had existed. All
of the defendants except Raskin were convicted in June 1968 of one
conspiracy count; they were sentenced the next month to fines and
two-year prison sentences. However, in July 1969 the First U.S.
Court of Appeals set aside the verdicts, citing the prejudicial error in
Judge Ford’s charge to the jury. Charges against Spock and Ferber
were dismissed.

Spock continued his antiwar activities in the early 1970s, but be-
came controversial in a new way, when Vice President Spiro T. Ag-
new asserted that Spock’s counsel to parents had helped to create a
climate of permissiveness that led to counterculture and radical po-
litical protests. Spock rejected Agnew’s charges. He remained en-
gaged with social and public health issues as long as his health al-
lowed. He died on 15 March 1998.

SPORTS. Several sports, both amateur and professional, flourished
during the 1960s. Arnold Palmer dominated the professional golf cir-
cuit during the decade, until his chief rival, Jack Nicklaus, began his
own great golf career. Meanwhile, Arthur Ashe became the first
African American to win the U.S. Tennis Championship title in 1968.
Matching these champions in national prominence was the boxer,
Muhammad Ali, formerly Cassius Marcellus Clay. At 18 years of age at the 1960 Rome Olympics, he won the light heavyweight division; in 1964, he defeated Sonny Liston to become the World Heavyweight champion.

The most popular collegiate sport was football with such powerhouses as the Universities of Washington, Alabama, Southern California, Texas, Arkansas, Michigan State, Notre Dame, Ohio State, and Nebraska dominating the decade. Although it took until the 1950s for professional football to be recognized as a major sport, the National Football League’s (NFL) skillful use of television expanded its number of fans and gave them an opportunity to follow its stars, such as Bobby Layne, Paul Hornung, Otto Graham, Abner Haynes, Jim Nance, Joe Namath, and Johnny Unitas. Its rise in popularity was so rapid that, by the mid-1960s, some surveys suggested it surpassed baseball as America’s favorite spectator sport. Lamar Hunt was the driving force behind the rival American Football League (AFL) in 1960. The ensuing costly battle for players between the AFL and NFL prompted the leagues to agree to a merger as of the 1970 season. One result of the merger of the two leagues was the creation of an annual championship game—the Super Bowl.

Major league baseball (MLB), the highest professional level, consisted of two leagues—the American and National—which drew players from an extensive minor league system. MLB teams found their annual schedule expanded in the early 1960s from 154 to 162 games, with the layout of the games altered in 1969 when teams were scheduled to play more games against opponents within their own division. At the season’s mid-point, in early July, selected players from each league took part in the All-Star Game. Pitcher Sandy Koufax, National League, won the Cy Young award in baseball in 1963, 1965, and 1966. Other baseball greats of the decade included Willie Mays, Roberto Clemente, and Bob Gibson. The road to the annual World Series was changed in 1969 with the reorganization of each league into two divisions that required an additional series between division winners. The decade’s World Series winners were Yankees (1961, 1962), Dodgers (1963, 1965), St. Louis Cardinals (1964, 1967), Pittsburgh Pirates (1960), Detroit Tigers (1968), Baltimore Orioles (1966), and New York Mets (1969).
College basketball, with a substantial public following, was dominated during the 1960s by teams from the Universities of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Cincinnati and Loyola (Chicago), and Ohio State. During the decade, Coach John Wooden of UCLA became a legend for his team's series of national championships. The National Basketball Association (NBA) gained prominence in the late 1950s and 1960s, when a rival organization, the American Basketball Association created in 1967, briefly challenged the NBA. The two leagues merged in 1976. Basketball greats that starred in college and also as professionals included Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain, Elvin Hayes, Jerry West, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, and Elgin Baylor.

Three sets of Olympic Games were held during the sixties. During the winter games of 1960, held at Squaw Valley—the first held in the U.S.—David Jenkins and Carol Heiss won the gold medal in figure skating in the first ever televised winter games. Perhaps the most unlikely accomplishment was by the U.S.'s ice hockey team that defeated the perennial champions from the Soviet Union and won a gold medal. At the 1960 summer games held in Rome, U.S. gold medalists were Otis Davis with a world record in the 400-meter run, Glenn Davis's 400-meter victory in the hurdles, Willam Nieder in the shot put, and Al Oerter in the discus. Other gold medals were by determined Wilma Rudolph in both the 100- and 200-meter runs, the women's 400-meter relay, the men's basketball team, and young Cassius Clay (Muhammad Ali) with the light-heavy weight title.

The winter games of 1964 were held at Innsbruck, Austria, without much success for American athletes. The track-and-field events at the Tokyo summer games saw a gold medal and world record for Bob Hayes in the 100-meter run and the men's 400-meter relay team, Olympic records for Henry Carr in the 200-meter run, Billy Mills in the 10,000-meter run, Dallas Long in shot put, and Al Oerter in discuss. Other gold medalists included Wyomia Tyus in the 100-meter run, Edith McGuire in the 200-meter run, Don Schollander in the 100-meter and 400-meter freestyle swims, and again the men's basketball team.

The 1968 winter games, held at Grenoble, France, saw figure skating star Peggy Fleming win the gold. Mexico City's altitude (30% less oxygen than at sea level) presented a challenge to the athletes
involved in endurance events at the summer games. Yet, the rarified air resulted in world records in all of the men’s races of 400 meters or shorter, in the 400-meter hurdles and the long and triple jump. America’s Al Oerter won the discus for the fourth time, while Bob Beamon set a world record in long jump that lasted 22 years. Other U.S. track-and-field achievements included world records for Jim Hines (100-meter run), Tommie Smith (200-meter run), Lee Evans (400-meter run), and the men’s 400-meter relay team. Wyomia Tyus set a world record in the 100-meter run, Debbie Meyer won three gold medals for the 200-, 400-, and 800-meter freestyle swimming events, and the women’s 400-meter relay team set a world record.

STEEL INDUSTRY. In 1955, Robert M. Blough was elected chairman of the board of U.S. Steel. The corporation was the world’s largest maker of steel and provided one-third of total steel capacity in the United States. Historically, U.S. Steel had been the pacesetter throughout the steel industry in setting prices. In part because of his cordial relations with the John F. Kennedy administration, Blough, in 1961, replaced Ralph J. Cordiner, chairman of the board of General Electric Company as head of the prestigious Business Advisory Council. In March 1962, after intensive negotiations between Blough and the United Steelworkers president David J. MacDonald, an anti-inflationary wage package was ratified by the union that provided for a modest 10-cents-an-hour increase in fringe benefits and did not include a wage increase. Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, who helped negotiate the settlement, felt that the steel industry could absorb the small rise in wage costs without the necessity of a price increase. Most important, Goldberg believed that he had the tacit agreement of Blough and other major steel executives not to raise prices. After the pact was ratified on 31 March, President Kennedy praised both management and labor for their “high industrial statesmanship.” The settlement was generally regarded as a collective bargaining triumph for the administration and one that would be a major factor in preventing an inflationary spiral as the recession of 1960–1961 ended.

On the afternoon of 10 April, Blough met briefly met with President Kennedy and unexpectedly announced that U.S. Steel was raising its prices by $6 a ton. The reaction within the administration af-
ter Blough’s announcement was one of outrage. President Kennedy called it “a wholly unjustifiable and irresponsible defiance of the public interest.” Secretary Goldberg called the action a “double cross” and offered to submit his resignation. After seven other major steel companies announced on 11 April that they would follow U.S. Steel’s traditional lead by also raising prices, the administration took drastic and unparalleled measures to pressure the steel companies into a price rollback. These actions included investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Internal Revenue Service (IRS), and Federal Trade Commission (FTC); shifting defense contracts to smaller companies; and launching an antitrust investigation by the Senate Judiciary subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, chaired by Senator Estes Kefauver.

After his 10 April announcement to the president, Blough stated that while inflation was a matter of serious concern to the steel industry, its causes stemmed from poor government fiscal policies. Blough offered several reasons for the price increase, including serious inadequacies in depreciation allowances, the need to repay borrowings and pay dividends, as well as the need for extensive modernization of steel plant facilities. Blough also noted that U.S. Steel’s profits as a percentage of sales had declined from 9.5 percent in 1957 to 5.7 percent in 1961. He conceded that the March 1962 agreement with labor was modest but felt that it exceeded productivity gains and thus would further squeeze U.S. Steel’s profits. Blough declared that there had been no tacit agreement with the administration not to raise prices and cited a September 1961 letter to President Kennedy, written in response to Kennedy’s request that steel companies hold the price line, indicating in general terms the financial pressures that U.S. Steel felt obligated to meet in the pricing area.

The key to the administration’s strategy for rolling back the price increase lay in the fact that several small but profitable steel companies had not immediately followed U.S. Steel’s lead. After Inland Steel, whose chairman was friendly with Secretary Goldberg, agreed to raise prices, Kaiser Steel Company and Armco Steel Corporation followed suit. Then on 12 April, with the outcome of the steel crisis still in doubt, Blough made his first public concession to both administration pressure and generally unfavorable public reaction.
Blough defended the price increase and denied making “any commitment of any kind” to the administration not to raise prices. However, Blough conceded that it would be a “very difficult” situation for U.S. Steel if some other major steel producer did not also raise its prices. Early on April 13 Bethlehem Steel Company, the nation’s second-largest steel maker, announced it was rescinding its price increase “in order to remain competitive” with Inland, Armco, and Kaiser Steel. Bethlehem had lost a $5 million Pentagon defense contract to Lukens Steel Company and its president had been criticized for earlier statements made to stockholders that a price rise would not be necessary. After a tense meeting on 13 April between Goldberg and Blough, in which Goldberg presented a list of measures the administration planned to take against the steel industry, Blough agreed to rescind U.S. Steel’s price increase, which he did in a terse public announcement the same day. The steel crisis sent shock waves through the business community and revived the “antibusiness” label that the administration had hoped to avoid.

STEVENSON, ADLAI E. (1900–1965). John F. Kennedy appointed Adlai E. Stevenson as ambassador to the United Nations (UN). The ambassadorship was a post of cabinet rank, but it was not a policy-making office. The White House did not consult the ambassador during the planning stages of the Cuban Bay of Pigs operation in April 1961 and misinformed him about the invasion’s American character. As a consequence, Stevenson told the Security Council on 17 April that the United States had committed no aggression against Cuba. When it became apparent that the United States had been heavily involved in training and equipping the Cuban exile group, Stevenson was enraged. President Kennedy later described his failure to inform Stevenson as a “communications failure.” To placate the unhappy ambassador, Kennedy included Stevenson in policy-making discussions during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Stevenson strongly opposed a “surgical” air strike to eliminate the missiles and recommended that Cuba be demilitarized and its integrity guaranteed by the United Nations. After Kennedy’s assassination President Lyndon B. Johnson asked Stevenson to remain at the UN. Stevenson agreed, and during the next two years he defended American policy in Viet-
nam and the Dominican Republic before the increasingly unfriendly world body. In failing health, Stevenson suffered a fatal heart attack on a London street on 14 July 1965.

**STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC).** Known by its initials, SNCC (pronounced “snick”), played a major role in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Beginning with a modest grant from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Ella Baker launched a series of student meetings at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, that resulted in the formation of Coordinating Committee. Some students organized the sit-ins at segregated lunch counters throughout the South and participated in other nonviolent direct confrontation assaults upon various forms of racism. SNCC took part in the Freedom Rides, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (1963), the Freedom Summer in Mississippi. In the later 1960s, SNCC’s leadership and emphasis began to change under the leadership of fire-brands, such as Stokely Carmichael, and it became heavily involved in the Black Power Movement. The organization officially changed its name to the Student National Coordinating Committee in 1969.

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS).** In 1961, two radical students at the University of Michigan, Al Haber and Tom Hayden, relaunched the League for Industrial Democracy, which had played a similar role in the 1930s, as the Students for a Democratic Society. The following year, in June 1962, 59 members, representing 11 SDS chapters, met at Port Huron, Michigan, where they drafted a New Left manifesto—labeled the Port Huron Statement—that emphasized the failure of liberal ideals and denounced the military-industrial-academic establishment. Written by Hayden, the 64-page document argued that colleges and universities were not doing enough to awakening students from the prevailing atmosphere of apathy. Initially focusing on domestic issues, the SDS worked with the Old and New Left for Lyndon B. Johnson in the 1964 presidential campaign and was actively involved in the civil rights movement. It was not until the Richard M. Nixon presidency that the SDS joined the antiwar protestors. See also RUDD, MARK.
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES. This body of nine Justices—the Chief Justice and eight Associate Justice—is the highest judicial body in the United States. It is the only court specifically created by the Constitution, for as Article III states:

“The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.”

The Supreme Court has both original and appellate jurisdiction; the latter, however, makes up most of the Court’s caseload since the Constitution narrowly defined its original jurisdiction. The president may nominate anyone, since there are no qualifications of any kind stated in the Constitution, but the appointment requires the “advice and consent” of the Senate. While the Senate Judiciary Committee conducts hearings on candidates to determine their suitability, the entire Senate decides on confirmation. The Committee’s recommendation is usually necessary to advance a candidate.

The Warren Court (1953–1969) was responsible for a number of both celebrated and controversial judgments that expanded the application of the Constitution to civil liberties. In its most famous case, Brown v. Board of Education, it declared segregation unconstitutional, in Griswold v. Connecticut it held the Constitution protected a general right to privacy, in Miranda v. Arizona it greatly expanded the rights of those accused of crimes, and in Reynolds v. Sims it held that states could not apportion their senior legislative body in a manner that the U.S. Senate is apportioned.


SYMINGTON, W. STUART (1901–1988). Symington was elected to the Senate from Missouri in 1952. While in the upper chamber, he
supported many domestic social welfare proposals but was primarily known as a “single interest man” devoted to protecting the interests of the Defense Department and the Air Force. He opposed Eisenhower administration defense cuts and pushed for an increased spending on missile development and satellite research in light of the Soviet superiority, he believed existed in these fields. In 1960, Symington entered the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, running on a platform that attacked the defense policies of the Eisenhower administration. He eventually supported the unsuccessful candidacy of Lyndon B. Johnson at the Los Angeles convention.

In 1962, Symington was a member of the Special Preparedness Investigation Subcommittee probing charges that military education programs were “soft on communism” and that military officers were being “muzzled” by White House and State Department officials. The senator endorsed the subcommittee report that found troop information and education programs generally adequate but declared the operation of the speech review system capricious and criticized the practice of State Department review of military officers’ statements before congressional committees. One year later, Symington supported the development of the controversial TFX multi-service fighter/bomber and opposed hearings probing the granting of TFX contracts. Symington believed the investigation lowered the morale of the armed forces and was, therefore, “detrimental” to U.S. security. During 1962 and 1963, Symington headed the Armed Services National Stockpile and Naval Petroleum Reserves Subcommittee’s investigation of stockpiling practices during the Eisenhower administration.

Although an early supporter of the Vietnam War, Symington became a critic of the conflict after 1967. Believing that Congress had lost control of foreign policy and that this had led to the overextension of American defense and economic commitments throughout the world, Symington campaigned for greater congressional power over foreign policy in the early 1970s.

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T-SHIRT. The T-shirt—so named because it resembled the letter T—had started out as an undergarment but during World War II American
soldiers, particularly in warmer climates, started wearing them in place of regular shirts. This new look caught the attention of Hollywood and soon movie stars were seen wearing them as outer garments despite much initial public misgiving. By the 1960s, the T-shirt was deemed an acceptable item of clothing and was being worn by children and adults alike. Soon designers began applying a wide variety of colors, illustrations, and slogans and the ordinary T-shirt became not only a regular garment, but also an institution. See also FASHION.

TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT). See KENNEDY ROUND OF GATT NEGOTIATIONS; TRADE EXPANSION ACT OF 1962.

TAYLOR, MAXWELL D. (1901–1987). As the army’s principal spokesman of defense strategy, General Taylor vigorously opposed the Eisenhower administration’s reliance on massive nuclear retaliation, arguing that there was a continuing need for strong ground forces capable of fighting a conventional war. Taylor forcefully took his case to the public in his book The Uncertain Trumpet, published in 1959 after he retired from the army. John F. Kennedy was impressed by The Uncertain Trumpet and used its arguments to support his own attacks on the Eisenhower administration’s defense policies during the 1960 presidential campaign. When the exile invasion of Cuba sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was crushed at the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy asked Taylor to lead an investigation of the CIA’s role in the fiasco and to evaluate America’s capability for conducting unconventional warfare. The central conclusion of the Taylor report was that the Defense Department, rather than the CIA, should be responsible for major operations. On 26 June, Kennedy named Taylor to a newly created White House post as a military representative to the president. The post was an interim appointment until there was an opportunity to name Taylor chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Kennedy was anxious to have a source of independent military advice from a professional detached from the inter-service rivalries of the Pentagon. In his new position, Taylor undertook a study for the president of psychological warfare, which led to a special committee on counterinsurgency.
Taylor’s most important assignment was to lead a special mission to South Vietnam in the wake of major communist victories in the autumn of 1961 to assess the military situation and recommended how the United States should respond. Although it was kept a secret at the time, on his return to Washington 3 November, Taylor recommended—to the surprise of President Kennedy—sending some 8,000 U.S. combat troops to Vietnam. Taylor told Kennedy the troops were necessary to reassure Diem of the American commitment and to provide the South Vietnamese with a reserve force for emergencies. He acknowledged that it would be difficult to resist pressure for reinforcements once U.S. troops committed American prestige to the war and conceded the danger of backing into a major war, but he concluded U.S. ground troops were necessary to deter the communists from escalating the conflict. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara backed Taylor’s recommendation. Resistance from the State Department, however, was strong. A compromise devised by McNamara emerged on 11 November—the United States would increase military aid, send more military advisers and helicopter pilots, and pressure Diem to carry out political reforms, all measures suggested in the Taylor–Rostow report. As a concession to Taylor’s request for combat forces, the Pentagon was directed to prepare a plan for sending in troops on a contingency basis.

Taylor continued to advise the president on Laos, Vietnam, Berlin, and other foreign policy crises during early 1962, until Kennedy appointed him on 20 July to serve as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After denying in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee that his appointment signaled any American reluctance to use nuclear weapons in the defense of Europe, Taylor was approved unanimously by the Senate on 8 August. Taylor returned to South Vietnam on 10–13 September to review the military situation. Meeting newsmen in Manila on 19 September, he declared that “the Vietnamese are on the road to victory.” Taylor was a major participant in the crucial White House meetings during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962, advocating a strong response to eliminate Soviet missiles from the island.

During his term as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Taylor loyally followed administration policies in contrast to the other joint
chiefs who were often at odds with President Kennedy’s policies. He was the only member of the JCS to join the administration in opposing the development of the RS-70 manned-bomber program. Taylor’s support proved essential when the administration sought Senate ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. His testimony before the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on 14 and 15 August 1963 that the treaty would not endanger U.S. security and his denial that the Pentagon had been dragooned into supporting the test ban effectively rebutted the arguments of the treaty’s most vociferous opponents.

Reports that the Diem government’s repression of the Buddhists was hampering the war effort prompted Kennedy to send Taylor and Defense Secretary McNamara on another mission to Vietnam in September 1963. On the surface, their joint report to the president 2 October continued to express optimism about the military effort and predicted a victory over the communists by 1965. McNamara, however, reportedly had begun to question Taylor’s sanguine confidence that the political situation had not affected the war effort. Taylor continued to serve as chairman of the JCS after Kennedy’s assassination until June 1964, when Lyndon B. Johnson appointed his ambassador to South Vietnam, a post he filled until July 1965.

TEACH-INS. See CAMPUS TEACH-INS.

TELEVISION (TV). The programming sought to both inform and entertain, which led to wider audiences in the 1960s. Particularly noteworthy were the four, face-to-face encounters between presidential candidates John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon on national television in late September and October 1960. In the first television debates of their kind—actually, newsmen questioned the candidates and they in turn were allowed to challenge each others’ comments—the widespread public view was that the telegenic Kennedy came out ahead; at the very least, he showed he could handle himself. The social and political traumas of American society in the 1960s also appeared on TV news and special programs ranging from civil rights and antiwar demonstrations to the emerging counterculture movement. The protestors and hippies were routinely embraced and con-
demned. Overseas in the Vietnam War, TV cameras were filming what they could of the conflict, rushing it back for the evening news hour and giving a face and voice to military and civilian activities—what some observers called the Living Room War. TV journalism and news unquestionably played a significant role in arousing popular feelings toward these events and influenced the ultimate political decisions reached.

Also there was the entertainment side of TV. The most successful prime-time family program was the Andy Griffith Show, which ran for most of the decade. Popular adult shows included a blend of the supernatural and science fiction in Bewitched, The Addams Family, My Favorite Martian, I Dream of Jeannie, Star Trek, the Outer Limits, and Twilight Zone. One popular sitcom was Beverly Hillbillies; in the late 1960s, Rowan and Martin’s Laugh In put a hip spin on television humor. Children’s shows featuring cartoon characters appeared in 1959 with Rocky and His Friends, followed a year later with the Flintstones. The success of the cartoon programs led to a trend that featured Alvin and the Chipmunks, the Jetsons, and Mr. Magoo.

TET OFFENSIVE (1968). See VIETNAM WAR.

THEATER. In the 1960s, experimentation in the Arts spread into the theater and eventually reached into the movies. Perhaps the most famous playwright of the decade was Edward Albee who wrote Who’s Afraid of Virginia Woolf, which was the highlight of the Broadway stage and, later, a popular movie. The impact of counterculture movement appeared in such Broadway plays as Hair that included nudity and references to the drug scene. But, by 1960, Broadway shows had become prohibitively expensive for experimental offerings and producers stayed with proven traditional shows and musicals. The decade’s musical offerings were outstanding—these included not only Hair, but Camelot, Hello Dolly, Oliver, Man of La Mancha, Funny Girl, Westside Story, and A Chorus Line (the latter two broke previous records). Even off-Broadway theater felt the economic pinch, thus new writers and actors began to appear in off-off-Broadway theater outside of New York City. This expansion of theater activity by 1966 led to more actors being employed outside New York City than in it. See also CINEMA.
TLATELOLCO, TREATY OF (1967). Latin American signatories, absent Guyana and Cuba, pledged not to test, develop, or import nuclear weapons; to prevent foreign-controlled nuclear weapon bases in the region; and to negotiate International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. All nuclear powers, including France and China, ratified the additional two protocols requiring non-Latin American nation’s approval. Protocol I asked nations having territorial interests in the region “to apply the status of denuclearization in respect to warlike purposes” to these territories. Protocol II required nuclear weapon states “not to use or threaten to use, nuclear weapons against” Treaty of Tlatelolco signatories or to engage in any activities that might lead to treaty violations. See also ARMS CONTROL; NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT).

TRADE EXPANSION ACT (1962). This act gave the administration of John F. Kennedy unprecedented authority to negotiate tariff reductions—up to 50 percent. The president created the office of the Special Trade Representative (STR) in 1963 with two deputy representatives, one in Washington, D.C., and the other in Geneva, Switzerland, where trade negotiations would be conducted. The STR also was responsible for coordinating interagency interests in the preparation of trade policy. The Trade Expansion Act was “the most important international piece of legislation, I think, affecting economics since the passage of the Marshall plan,” Kennedy declared. “It marks a decisive point for the future of our economy, for our relations with our friends and allies, and for the prospects of free institutions and free societies everywhere.” The legislation and the appointment of a Special Trade Representative prepared the way for the United States to participate in the Kennedy Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (know as GATT) negotiations which concluded on June 30, 1967—the day before the Act expired.

TRANSPORTATION. See DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION (1966); JOHNSON, (CLAUDIA TAYLOR) LADY BIRD (BEAUTIFICATION); URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION.

TRUTH IN LENDING ACT, THE (1968). Although Congress did not wish to interfere with the freedom of creditors and debtors to enter
into contracts, it sought to create protection for borrowers from deceitful and misleading terms written into loan agreements. Basically, the Act’s sponsors sought to ensure that borrowers understood the terms of their loans, especially the interest rates being charged, so that the borrowers would be able to compare the loans of various institutions. A major difficulty confronted by the lawmakers was how to devise a reasonable remedy for violations of the Act. The solution in 1968 was to limit the penalties to be paid to a successful plaintiff to the amount of $1,000 plus lawyer’s fees. From the beginning, it was understood that the basic enforcement instrument would be class action lawsuits that had been established by the Supreme Court in 1966. The Federal Reserve Board advocated passage of the legislation and endorsed the class action method as vital to enforcement, noting that a threat of such legal action “elevates a possible Truth in Lending lawsuit from the ineffective ‘nuisance’ category to the type of suit which has enough sting in it to assure that management will strive with diligence to achieve compliance.” To protect lenders from being exposed to huge penalties for trivial errors, a cap of $100,000 was set.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. In an effort to clarify the issues regarding the death, removal, or resignation of a president, this amendment—proposed by Congress on 6 July 1965 and ratified on 23 February 1967—sets out certain steps. The most difficult problem is what to do when the president falls into a coma or becomes an invalid. For the text, see Appendix B.

TWENTY-FOURTH CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. Ratification of this amendment effectively ended state use of poll taxes, which had been used as a qualification for voting in 11 Southern states. A major objective of the poll tax was to limit African American participation in the voting process. For text, see Appendix B.

TWENTY-THIRD CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. This amendment to the Constitution permits the District of Columbia to choose electors for president and vice president. It was proposed by Congress on 17 June 1960 and ratified by the states on 29 March 1961. For text, see Appendix B.
UNIONS. The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL–CIO) merged in 1955 after a long disruptive relationship. The AFL–CIO is a voluntary federation and, consequently, had little authority to regulate the affairs of member unions except in extreme conditions. George Meany served as president of the American Federation of Labor from 1952 until the merger, and subsequently, he became president of the united AFL–CIO until 1979.

Unions in the private sector were regulated by the National Relations Board, a part of the U.S. Department of Labor, while public sector unions were governed by a combination of federal and state laws. During the 1960s, the AFL–CIO represented virtually all unionized workers who belonged to some 53 national and international unions until the unions began to decline in the 1970s. The largest of the unions is the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees with over one million members.

During the 1960s, the major private sector collective bargaining actions included the Delano grape strike and boycotts from 1965–1970 conducted by the United Farm Workers of America under the direction of Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta. However, it was the public sector unions that undertook the most actions, especially the American Federation of Teachers and, later, the National Education Associations’ (NEA) affiliates. Walter P. Reuther, the long-time leader of the United Auto Workers, marched with the farm workers at Delano and supported the civil rights movement. He upset some union leaders when he briefly took the UAW out of the AFL–CIO in the mid-1960s in a mild protest of Meany’s probusiness outlook.

In New York City, public employees were extended collective bargaining rights in 1958 effectively shifting political power from Tammany Hall to the public sector unions. The day reformist Republican mayor John Lindsay took office, the city’s contract with transit workers expired, setting the stage for confrontation. On New Year’s Day, 1966, the Transport Workers Union and Amalgamated Transit Union, led by Michael J. Quill, terminated service on the city’s subways and
buses affecting millions of commuters. Quill was arrested, but the
strike continued for 12 days until the city met many of the unions’ de-
mands. Later, in 1968, sanitation workers conducted a collective bar-
gaining action.

In 1967 and 1968, New Yorkers were confronted by successful
strike actions conducted by the American Federation of Teachers who
won collective bargaining rights for teachers and formed the United
Federation of Teachers. Subsequently, in 1961, members of the Na-
tional Education Association (NEA) began pressuring the national
leadership to take more aggressive positions and act like a union. In
response, the national organization issued guidelines for a program of
"professional negotiations" similar to collective bargaining and, by
1965, was providing nearly $900,000 a year to local chapters to re-
move prohibitions against strikes. They were largely unsuccessful but
did gain the right to conduct "sanctions" and public education pro-
grams. Florida schools confronted the post-World War II baby boom
in 1967 that increased enrollment by more than 50 percent, yet little
or no school building or hiring of new personnel had been provided.
In typical fashion, the new governor had campaigned on a promise to
improve education, but also pledged not to raise taxes. When the leg-
islature’s attempt to provide additional funding through an increase
in the sales tax was stymied by the governor’s veto, the teachers de-
cided to act. In the first statewide strike, the Florida Education Asso-
ciation (FEA) walked out of the classrooms in February and March
1968. A special session of the state legislature approved higher taxes
to pay for increased funding for schools and, although many FEA
members felt it was not sufficient, most local chapters settled their
contracts. But the long-term effect of the teacher’s strike was to rad-
cialize Florida teachers and to bring continued pressure on the state
to provide adequate funding for schools. See also GOLDBERG,
ARTHUR J.; STEEL INDUSTRY.

UNITED FARM WORKERS. See CHAVEZ, CESAR; NATIONAL
FARM WORKERS ASSOCIATION.

UNITED NATIONS. See CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS; EIGHTEEN-
NATION DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE (ENDC); GOLDBERG,
ARTHUR J.; STEVENSON, ADLAI E.
UPWARD BOUND. This program, established under the United States Department of Education, had as its objective to provide those high school students less likely to attend college with the tools they needed to get into, pay for, and succeed in college. Launched in 1965 as part of the War on Poverty, with an annual budget of circa 250 million, colleges, universities, and some other non-profit organizations were allocated an average of nearly $4,700 per student with awards lasting for four to five years. High school students seeking a competitive award usually first attended a summer program taking preparatory classes on a college campus. If successful, they met weekly with counselors during the school year. See EDUCATION.

URBAN MASS TRANSPORTATION ADMINISTRATION. On 9 July 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Urban Mass Transportation Act that created the Urban Mass Transportation Administration. The purpose of this agency was to allocate federal funding for mass transit projects, beginning with an initial $375 million allotment, over the three years established by the act. Later, in 1991, the agency was renamed the Federal Transit Administration.

URBAN RIOTS OF THE 1960s. Except for the riots breaking out after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on 4 April 1968, the circumstances prompting the other riots were unique, but the fundamental causes were the same. These riots involved largely African Americans who were confronted with unemployment, decaying neighborhoods, inadequate schools, disenfranchisement, and discrimination. From 1964–1968, a pattern of rioting occurred in 25 of the nation’s major cities as deeply felt, long-simmering grievances in the black ghettos exploded. The riots often were ignited by a confrontation between African Americans and local police, who were deeply resented by the black community because of officers’ insensitive, occasionally brutal, behavior. Earlier civil rights activities—speeches and legislation—promised much but delivered little to the more desperate communities. Black Power leaders believed that one remedy to white racism was demonstrations of black outrage, such as H. Rap Brown declared in Detroit foreshadowing the violence—if “Motown” didn’t come around, “we are going to burn you down.”

The more serious outbreaks occurred in Watts (1965), Detroit, and Newark. See the accompanying chart.
Summary of major 1960s Riots—

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See also KERNER COMMISSION; WATTS RIOT.

VIETNAM WAR. World War II stimulated nationalist movements in many Asian countries that led to native efforts to gain their independence. France, however, refused to grant genuine autonomy to Indochina. When Japan withdrew from Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed that nation’s independence on 2 September 1945, but he could not prevent the French from occupying Saigon with British aid and Hanoi with Chinese assistance, pushing the Vietminh forces into the hills. By November 1946, large-scale fighting had broken out in Hanoi, launching a conflict that continued until the French surrendered the besieged outpost of Dienbienphu on 7 May 1954. During the following peace negotiations at Geneva, Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel and the French withdrew by the end of 1955.

Dwight D. Eisenhower’s 1954 commitment to assist South Vietnam was grounded on the domino theory—should South Vietnam
fall, communists would seize all of Southeast Asia—a rationale subsequently endorsed by Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon. Eisenhower’s assistance had been contingent on Saigon’s making reforms to obtain public support, an objective that President Ngo Dinh Diem did not seek or achieve. By 1960, Diem faced serious opposition from communist-led Viet Cong (often former Vietminh) guerrillas who began insurgency operations with the assistance of Hanoi.

President John Kennedy’s response to Diem’s problems was to escalate the American military role in 1961 beyond its previously limited advisory duties. Only one of Kennedy’s key advisers, Secretary of State for Economic Affairs George Ball, warned the president that Vietnam would not easily bend to America’s will. To maintain the independent South Vietnam, Ball insisted, would mean that in “five years there will be 300,000 American soldiers fighting in Vietnam.” To this prediction, Kennedy replied, “George you’re crazier than hell.”

The Kennedy administration’s disenchantment with unpopular Diem grew in 1963 and the search for alternatives led to Diem’s overthrow and assassination. It also committed the U.S. to a revolving military clique in Saigon that changed leaders several times until General (and subsequently President) Nguyen Van Thieu consolidated his power after 1967. When Lyndon Johnson became president, he concluded that only a full-scale American military intervention would force Hanoi to accept an independent South Vietnam and, with Congressional authorization via the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, dispatched American troops. He sent the first large contingent of American forces ashore at Danang on 6 May 1965. Although President Kennedy had emphasized a counterinsurgency approach in 1961, the decisions he and Johnson made actually emphasized conventional warfare that included search-and-destroy missions and free-fire zones in an effort to deal with the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese troops. The bombing of North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Minh Trail, together with a war of attrition, waged against the North Vietnamese army and the Viet Cong, failed to produce negotiations to end the hostilities.

President Johnson’s decision to greatly escalate American military participation in Vietnam came at the same time that he sought to initiate his Great Society program that expanded civil rights and cre-
ated a “war on poverty.” After 1965, these dual policies became incompatible because the costs of the war threatened domestic programs. Even more seriously, the war divided the liberal-center consensus that had governed the nation since the 1930s and contributed to the rise of the conservative-right forces.

Between 1965 and 1973, the antiwar movement became enmeshed with other protest movements, especially the various branches of the radical New Left, whose countercultural program for American society demanded reorganizing American values and tradition. Although these radical activities diverged from more moderate, non-violent methods for evolving changes in American society, television reports usually failed to differentiate between groups.

Although General William C. Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in Vietnam, believed the conflict was being won in 1968, after nearly four years of bombing and ground fighting, the communist’s Tet Offensive in January–February 1968 appeared to deny Westmoreland’s claims. It also influenced President Johnson’s 31 March decision to seek effective negotiations with Hanoi, rather than be a presidential candidate. President Richard Nixon finally accepted a Paris cease-fire agreement, initialed on 23 January, which became effective on 28 January 1973. The withdrawal of the last U.S. combat units and Hanoi’s return of American prisoners-of-war was completed by 1 April 1973.

American involvement in Vietnam was, by any standard of judgment, the most disastrous episode in the history of U.S. foreign policy. The loss in national treasure and blood was staggering. From 1961 until the collapse of the Thieu regime in late April 1975, U.S. expenditures in Indochina amounted to a total in excess of $141 billion or, to put it another way, $7,000 for each of South Vietnam’s twenty million people. After finally breaking their silence in 1965, civil rights leaders pointedly observed that it cost something near $30,000 to kill a single enemy soldier; about three times what was spent to rehabilitate a Job Corps trainee. The loss of life was equally staggering. From the time of death in 1961 Specialist James Thomas Davis, of Livingston, Tennessee, the man later designated by Johnson as “the first American to fall in defense of our freedom in Vietnam,” until the Paris Peace Accords of 1973, American casualties alone reached a figure of 350,000 with approximately 58,000 killed, 40,000
of whom were killed in combat, 304,000 wounded with 74,000 surviving as quadriplegics or multiple amputees.

Vietnamese casualties (North and South) reached a figure of more than two million, with more than 241,000 South Vietnamese combat deaths and more than one million combined North Vietnamese and Viet Cong combat deaths. In addition to the known dead, there are 300,000 North Vietnamese MIAs, in contrast to the famous 2,000 Americans still missing. The war, which was daily televised and made “napalm” and “free-fire zones” household words, witnessed a number of dubious precedents, including bombing tonnage and the first known use of weather warfare. See also CHURCH, FRANK; FREE FIRE ZONES; FULBRIGHT, J. WILLIAM; HANOI HILTON; LODGE, HENRY CABOT; MY LAI MASSACRE; PACIFICATION; RUSK, DEAN; TAYLOR, MAXWELL D.

VISTA. Volunteers in Service to America was created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as the domestic version of the Peace Corps. Initially, the idea of the program was to use volunteers to enhance employment opportunities of the nation’s underprivileged and contribute to the War on Poverty. Volunteers served in communities across America concentrating their efforts on enriching educational programs and vocational training for the underprivileged. The program has been modified over the years but the basic goals remain unchanged—to improve low-income communities.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT (1965). Following the 1964 election, a variety of civil rights organizations banded together to push for the passage of legislation that would ensure African American voting rights once and for all. Federal intervention came after the Selma to Montgomery marches and the murder of Viola Liuzzo. In a dramatic joint-session address, Lyndon B. Johnson requested Congress to enact a strong voting rights bill that would enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, by eliminating various previously legal strategies to prevent blacks and other minorities from voting. He signed the National Voting Rights Act on 6 August 1965. (Its temporary provisions have been renewed in 1970, 1975, 1982, and 2006.)

The Act banned literacy tests in order for citizens to qualify to register to vote and provided for federal registration of voters in areas
where fewer than 50 percent of eligible minority voters were registered. The Department of Justice could supervise registration and the Department’s approval was needed for any change in voting laws in districts whose populations were at least 5 percent African American because many Southern blacks were disenfranchised in the early 1960s.

W

WALLACE, GEORGE C. (1919–1998). By 1963, Alabama was the only Southern state without any desegregated schools. During his campaign for governor, George C. Wallace had promised to “resist any illegal federal court orders” for school desegregation “even to the point of standing at the schoolhouse door in person.” He fulfilled the pledge on 11 June 1963, at the University of Alabama. On 21 May, a federal district court had ordered the enrollment of two black students at the university’s main campus in Tuscaloosa, and Wallace immediately announced he would “be present to bar the entrance of any Negro” who attempted to enroll. Hoping to avoid the violence that accompanied James Meredith’s entry into the University of Mississippi in September 1962, the Justice Department secured a federal court injunction prohibiting Wallace from interfering with the students’ enrollment and sent a team headed by Deputy Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to Tuscaloosa to help arrange for the peaceful entry of the students. President John F. Kennedy placed nearby Army troops on alert and issued an executive proclamation ordering Wallace and all others to “cease and desist” from obstructing justice.

Despite the court injunction, Wallace stood in the doorway of Foster Auditorium, the university’s registration center, on 11 June, blocking the entrance of the two students, Katzenbach, and other Justice Department officials who accompanied them. Katzenbach read the president’s proclamation and demanded that Wallace comply with the federal court orders. Standing before a lectern, Wallace responded with his own proclamation, claiming that the federal government was usurping the state’s authority to control its own school system. He was barring the doorway, he said, not “for defiance’s sake, but for the
purpose of raising basic and fundamental constitutional questions. My action is a call for strict adherence to the Constitution.” Katzenbach withdrew; the two students were accompanied to their dormitory rooms. President Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard and ordered several units onto the campus. At a second confrontation late in the afternoon, the National Guard commander escorted the two students to the registration center, where Wallace was again blocking the doorway. He told the governor, “It is my sad duty to ask you to step aside, on order of the President of the United States.” Wallace stepped aside. The two students registered, and two days later another black student enrolled at the University Center at Huntsville without incident.

Wallace again tried to forestall integration in the fall of 1963. Federal courts had ordered school desegregation at the elementary and secondary levels in Mobile, Tuskegee, Birmingham, and Huntsville, and local authorities were prepared to comply when the schools opened in September. On 2 September, however, Wallace began eight days of defiance in which he issued executive orders delaying the opening of the schools and sent state troopers to physically keep them closed. On 9 September, Wallace opened the schools but used the troopers to keep blacks from entering them in three cities. On the same day, all five federal district court judges in Alabama issued injunctions ordering Wallace and the state’s forces not to interfere further with desegregation. Wallace replaced the state troopers with National Guardsmen, but on 10 September Kennedy federalized the guard and ordered all the troops back to their barracks. The black students finally entered the schools. See CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

**WAR ON POVERTY.** The initiative to end poverty was the most ambitious and controversial part of the Great Society. President Lyndon B. Johnson outlined his ideas during his State of the Union address on 8 January 1964, as a response to the poverty of over 35 million Americans that year. He appointed R. Sargent Shriver to design legislation aimed at reducing the national poverty rate of around 25 percent. Shriver’s proposals led Congress to pass the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a law that established the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to administrate Federal funds sent to local
communities to target poverty. The OEO was charged with administering most of the War on Poverty programs, including VISTA, placing volunteers with community-based agencies seeking empowerment of the poor; the Job Corps, aiding disadvantaged youths in developing marketable skills; the Neighborhood Youth Corps, providing poor urban youths with summer jobs, work experience, and encouraging them to stay in school; and Head Start (later transferred to the Department of Health Education and Welfare). Also, the OEO supervised the Model Cities Program, assisting urban redevelopment; Upward Bound, helping poor high school students enter college; legal services, aiding the poor; the Food Stamps program; and the Community Action Program, initiating local Community Action Agencies aimed at helping the impoverished become self-sufficient.

Johnson believed the directed application of federal resources, through the Great Society’s social welfare programs from education to health care, was a continuation of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal of the 1930s. However, basic to its charge was the idea of “community action,” the participation of the poor themselves in framing and administering the programs. The OEO promptly became subject to criticism. Such as economists Milton Friedman believed that Johnson’s policies actually had a negative impact on the economy and thought the best way to fight poverty was not through government welfare but with economic growth. Interestingly, during the decade following the 1964 focus on poverty, the rate for poverty in America that had historically ranged from 20 to 25 percent, fell to 11.1 percent.

Nonetheless, support for the war on poverty waned after the 1960s. Deregulation, growing criticism of the welfare state, and an ideological shift to reducing federal aid to impoverished people culminated in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996. Nonetheless, portions of the War on Poverty continued to exist—such as Head Start and Job Corps.

WARREN COMMISSION. Only one week after assuming office, on 29 November 1963, President Lyndon B. Johnson issued Executive Order No. 11130, which established a special investigative commission to “ascertain, evaluate, and report about the facts relating to the assassination of late President John F. Kennedy.” It was headed by
Chief Justice **Earl Warren** and was therefore popularly referred to as the Warren Commission. Other members included Senator Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), Senator John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), Representative Hale Boggs (D-La.), Representative Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.), former Central Intelligence Agency director Allen Dulles, and John J. McCloy, former U.S. high commissioner for Germany.

The commission had hoped to complete its work within three months, but it was not until 24 September 1964, that what had become known as the Warren Report was submitted to Johnson. It basically concluded that there was no evidence to support the rumors that Kennedy had been the victim of an assassination conspiracy. “The shots which killed President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally were fired from the sixth-floor window at the south-east corner of the Texas School Book Depository . . . by **Lee Harvey Oswald** . . .” The report further concluded that there was no evidence to link Oswald to **Jack Ruby**, the nightclub operator who had gunned the assassin down in the Dallas County Jail on November 24, 1963. The motives for the presidential assassination, it stated, were to be found in the killer himself, but the commission had been unable to make any “definitive determination” of them.

Senator Russell had objected to the categorical rejection of the possibility of conspiracy and had originally been unwilling to go beyond the statement that it had indeed been Oswald who had fired the shots at President Kennedy and wounded Governor Connally. He had desired to append a dissent to the report, but was eventually won over by Chief Justice Warren, who was insistent that the report be unanimous. When it was made public on 27 September 1963, the report was generally accepted by the public and the press.

**WARREN COURT.** See **WARREN, EARL; BAKER V. CARR; GRISWOLD V. CONNECTICUT; REYNOLDS V. SIMS.**

**WARREN, EARL** (1891–1974). When Earl Warren was named chief justice of the United States in September 1953, most observers expected him to be a moderate jurist with a cautious approach to the use of judicial power. Although no one could anticipate it at the time, Warren’s appointment to the **Supreme Court**, as Archibald Cox later stated, “marked the beginning of an era of extraordinarily rapid de-
velopment in our constitutional law,” during which the Court broke new ground in a variety of fields. The first sign of this came on 17 May 1954, when Warren, speaking for a unanimous Court, delivered the opinion in Brown v. Board of Education that held racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional. The decision sparked the first major controversy over the Warren Court, helped launch a significant change in American race relations, and also served as the base from which the Supreme Court went on to outlaw all public discrimination during the 1960s.

Under Warren, the Supreme Court also rewrote the law on the administration of criminal justice and extended its rulings to the state as well as the federal government. It also changed the operation of the political system by ordering legislative reapportionment on a “one-man, one-vote” basis, prohibited religious exercises in public schools, significantly broadened the rights of free speech and artistic expression, and restricted the government’s power to penalize individual beliefs and associations. Especially after a solid liberal majority emerged in the early 1960s, the Warren Court became synonymous with a libertarian variety of judicial activism, one with egalitarian ideas and devoted to the protection of individual rights and liberties. Aside from the Brown decision, Warren himself took a middle-of-the-road stance in his earliest years on the Court. By the late 1950s, he had clearly aligned himself with such liberal justices as Hugo Black and William O. Douglas. With the exception of the obscenity rulings, he supported every major change in constitutional law ultimately made by the Court.

During the Kennedy years, when the civil rights movement entered a new phase with the widespread use of nonviolent protest, Warren delivered the Court’s first ruling on sit-in demonstrations. In a December 1961 opinion, he overturned the breach-of-the-peace convictions of 16 black protesters on the grounds that there was no evidence to support the original charge. He again spoke for the Court in a May 1963 ruling that voided the convictions of civil rights demonstrators in six cases and concurred in similar rulings in June 1962 and February 1963. Warren also joined the majority in decisions that prohibited the exclusion of blacks from private restaurants situated on state-owned property and held invalid pupil-transfer plans designed to thwart school desegregation.
In a series of cases involving communism, the Chief Justice repeatedly voted against the government. He dissented in June 1961, when a five-man majority sustained provisions in two federal anti-subversive laws. Warren also opposed February 1961 rulings upholding the contempt of Congress convictions of individuals who refused to answer questions before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He joined with the majority to overturn similar convictions in June 1961, May 1962, and June 1963. Later Warren Court decisions further undermined the force of federal and state anti-subversive legislation and expanded the individual’s freedom to hold and express dissident political views.

In March 1962, Warren was part of a six-man majority that overturned a 1946 precedent and held that federal courts could try legislative appointment cases. Two years later, the Court went on to mandate a “one-man, one-vote” standard of appointment for congressional and state legislative districts. The cases resulted in reapportionment in nearly every state of the Union. In later years, Warren labeled them the most significant actions taken by the Court during his tenure. The Court also advanced the rights of criminal defendants during the Kennedy years. In June 1961, with Warren in the majority, it held that illegally seized evidence could not be used in state courts. A unanimous Supreme Court also ruled that the Sixth Amendment’s right to counsel applied to the States in June 1963. The Court placed limits on the use of evidence obtained by electronic eavesdropping in a March 1961 ruling and overturned a California law making drug addiction a crime in June 1962.

In November 1963, at the urging of President Lyndon B. Johnson, Warren accepted the chairmanship of a commission to investigate the assassination of John F. Kennedy. The Warren Commission’s report of September 1964 concluded that Lee Harvey Oswald had killed President Kennedy and that he had acted alone. Widely acclaimed when it was first published, the report soon became a target of criticism for those who believed that Kennedy’s assassination was the result of a conspiracy. See BAKER v. CARR; GRISWOLD v. CONNECTICUT; REYNOLDS v. SIMS.

WATTS RIOT (1965). For six days, beginning on 11 August, a widespread riot disrupted the predominately African American commu-
nity of Watts, a neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. The arrest of Marquette Frye for driving erratically and, following a brief struggle, his brother Ronald and their mother Rena, sparked the incident as the community erupted at what it perceived as another example of police misconduct. Soon, roving bands of African Americans looted stores, set fires, stopped cars (pulling out white passengers and beating them), fired shots at police officers, and prevented firemen from reaching the blazes. According to official reports, 34 people died, 1,100 were injured, and some 4,000 were arrested, along with the destruction and damage of 600 buildings, costing an estimated $35 million. Businesses owned and operated by individuals living outside the community that had aroused local resentment suffered heavy damage caused by looting and fire, with a few houses being burned due to their close proximity. With local law enforcement officers unable to contain the rampage, the state’s National Guard was called upon to cordon off South Central Los Angeles and calm the rioters. Los Angeles television station, KTLA, covered the riots live from the station’s helicopter, the only station to show rioters and arsonists destroying the neighborhoods businesses. Not long afterward, other stations and law enforcement were using helicopters to cover news events and track fleeing suspects.

California’s governor appointed John McCone, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, to head a Commission on the Los Angeles Riot charged with determining the cause of the riot and suggesting needed reforms. In the first major report on one of the largest race riots in American history, the McCone Commission concluded that the disadvantaged, segregated community in and around Watts suffered from high unemployment, inferior living conditions, inadequate public schools, overpriced food stuffs and other merchandise, little public transportation, and denial of federal assistance promised in its poverty programs. The Commission’s report has been criticized for failing to stress African Americans’ complaints about the behavior of the Los Angeles police department—allegations of the rape of black women, wide usage of racial epithets, and the use of excessive force in making arrests. Moreover, there were only five African Americans among the 205 police officers patrolling the neighborhood. Unfortunately, the advent of the costly Vietnam War and the declining interest of the white middle class failed to provide much
reconstruction of the Watts area or to act on many of the McCone Commission’s recommendations. See also URBAN RIOTS.

WEAVER, ROBERT C. (1907–1997). Robert C. Weaver, the highest-ranking black in the Kennedy administration, was born in Washington, D.C., on 29 December 1907, and raised in a middle-class, largely white suburb of Washington, D.C. In December 1955, New York governor W. Averell Harriman named Weaver state deputy rent commissioner. In this post, which he held for three years, Weaver earned a reputation for his expertise in city housing problems. In the latter half of 1960, Weaver served as head of the New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board. In December 1960, President John F. Kennedy announced that he would appoint Weaver administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA). The appointment of a black to the high post proved controversial, particularly with Southern members of Congress who opposed Weaver’s advocacy of integrated housing. Testifying before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in January 1961, Weaver stated that he favored integrated housing but denied he would order integration immediately in federal projects. “I don’t think I could if I wanted, and I don’t think I should if I could,” he said.

As head of the HHFA, Weaver was responsible for management of federal housing, home finance, slum clearance, and community development programs. These were of such importance, particularly to the welfare of the nation’s cities, that President Kennedy urged that they be dealt with at the cabinet level. In March 1961, he proposed that Congress authorize creation of a new department of housing and urban affairs headed by Weaver. The Kennedy proposal made no headway in Congress during 1961 because Southern Democrats opposed elevating Weaver to cabinet rank, conservative Republicans viewed the creation of a new cabinet department as a needless expansion of government, and rural congressman could see no benefit for their constituents. In February 1962, the House rejected the new department, 264 to 150. It remained for the Johnson administration to win approval of a cabinet-rank department.

Weaver was one of the architects of the administration’s omnibus housing bill, which became law in June 1961. The new law, the most important piece of housing legislation passed since 1949, authorized
expenditure of up to $2 billion for construction of low-income public housing, farm dwellings, and housing for the elderly. It increased funds available for the Federal National Mortgage Association for new low-interest home mortgages and authorized substantial low-interest loans to colleges, universities, and hospitals for the construction of dormitories, dining halls, and student centers. The measure won broad congressional approval because it promised to rejuvenate the depressed home building industry.

Weaver lobbied successfully on behalf of the 1962 Senior Citizens Housing Act and for the Johnson administration’s 1964 Housing Act. He was less successful in his efforts to win congressional subsidies for urban mass transit systems. In January 1966, Weaver attained cabinet rank when named secretary of the newly created Department of Housing and Urban Development.

WELFARE. See MEDICARE/MEDICAID ACT OF 1965; WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM OF 1967.

WESTMORELAND, WILLIAM C. (1914–2005). In January 1964, General William C. Westmoreland went to South Vietnam as deputy to General Paul D. Harkins, the head of the U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam. In June, he succeeded Harkins. At that time, U.S. troops in South Vietnam were serving in the declared role of advisers to the South Vietnamese forces. Some of the American advisers, however, had experienced combat and a few had died in action. Westmoreland was determined to raise the effectiveness of the pacification programs and the anti-guerrilla operations of the Saigon government. Yet he complained about a lack of South Vietnamese cooperation that was harming the war effort against the National Liberation Front (NLF). He wrote to the U.S. ambassador, General Maxwell Taylor, that the Saigon government suffered from “inefficiency, corruption, disinterest and lack of motivation.” As a result, the South Vietnamese “were not winning the war.” Westmoreland thought it was essential “to lay things on the line,” in order to make clear the increases in U.S. aid required Saigon’s cooperation and reform.

During the end of 1964 and early 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson’s top national security advisers wrestled with the question of how to reverse the deterioration in the war effort and raise the effectiveness of
the South Vietnamese government. In February 1965, Johnson approved a recommendation for a graduated bombing campaign against North Vietnam, one aimed both at applying pressure that would induce the North Vietnamese to halt its support of military operations in the South and at reassuring Saigon leaders of U.S. support so that they would invigorate their efforts to fight the Communists. Soon after the beginning of this sustained air campaign, Westmoreland secured approval for the dispatch of two U.S. marine combat units, which landed at Danang on 8 March 1965, to protect the American airbase. During the next several months, Westmoreland pressed for the dispatch of more U.S. troops to take the offensive against the enemy. On 28 July 1965, Johnson announced at a press conference that he was ordering an increase in the U.S. troop strength in South Vietnam to 125,000. “Additional forces will be needed later,” the president declared, “and they will be sent as requested.” Although Johnson maintained that there had been no change in policy, his actions had transformed an advisory mission into a combat effort. By the end of 1965, Westmoreland commanded 184,000 U.S. troops.

Westmoreland used the growing number of U.S. forces to undertake “search-and-destroy” operations against the main enemy units. He insisted that the enemy’s big units, not its guerrilla fighters, posed the greatest danger to South Vietnamese security. Westmoreland waged a war of attrition, hoping to use advantages in mobility and firepower to inflict casualties faster than the enemy could replace them. By early 1967, more than 400,000 U.S. troops were in Southeast Asia. As U.S. casualties mounted, Westmoreland’s search-and-destroy tactics came under increasing criticism. Some critics charged that Westmoreland’s troops became easy targets for enemy ambush when they went into jungles.

Throughout the course of the war, Westmoreland issued optimistic progress reports, and he became a symbol of American determination in Southeast Asia. Amidst growing concern about the war, President Johnson brought him home in April 1967 to address a joint session of Congress. “Backed at home by resolve, confidence, patience and determination,” he said, “we will prevail over the Communist aggressor.” Some senators and representatives stood and applauded. In November, at a time when the Johnson administration was making a determined effort to reverse the decline in public support for the pres-
ident’s Vietnam policies, Westmoreland spoke at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., and declared that “we have reached an important point when the end begins to come into view.” Westmoreland predicted that U.S. troops would start to come home within two years if the progress in the war effort continued. The enemy offensive on 30 January 1968, at the start of the traditional Tet holiday season in Vietnam, seemed to belie Westmoreland’s claims of progress.

WILDERNESS ACT OF 1964. The original bill of 3 September 1964 created the National Wilderness Preservation System, placing 9.1 million acres of wilderness currently in national forests under federal protection. The initial version of the act was introduced by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) in 1957 but languished until the Senate acted (73–12) in April 1963, and the House (373–1) in July 1964. The National Wilderness Preservation System was charged with keeping “untrammeled by man” those pristine lands already owned by the American people and set aside by the 1964 Act. The acreage was to be maintained “for the use and enjoyment of the American people in such manner as will leave them unimpaired for future use and enjoyment as wilderness.” Thus, there were to be no roads or structures built in these areas, nor were vehicles or other mechanical equipment to be used there.

WILKINS, ROY (1901–1981). Roy Wilkins was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on 30 August 1901, and raised by an aunt and uncle in an integrated neighborhood in St. Paul, Minnesota. In 1923, while working his way through the University of Minnesota, Wilkins became secretary of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter. He left St. Paul the following year to become a reporter for the Kansas City Hall. His leadership in local NAACP affairs persuaded the organization’s national leadership to hire Wilkins in 1931 to work as an assistant secretary in its New York headquarters. Upon the death of NAACP executive secretary Walter White in 1955, Wilkins was unanimously elected as his successor. Wilkins had provided U.S. Senator John F. Kennedy with a letter during his 1958 reelection campaign, endorsing his record as one of the best in the Senate. In his campaign for the presidency, Kennedy pledged executive action, particularly in the field of housing,
to end discrimination “by a stroke of the president’s pen.” Executive actions were taken soon after his inauguration to end discrimination in federal employment, but they fell short of what civil rights leaders believed Kennedy had promised. There was no stroke of the pen ending discrimination in federally financed housing until November 1962. Wilkins and his colleagues were also disappointed in Kennedy’s refusal to back civil rights legislation introduced by congressional liberals to fulfill the 1960 Democratic platform pledges.

At the president’s request, Wilkins submitted a 61-page memorandum in 1961 urging Kennedy to sign an across-the-board executive order—to govern “the whole executive branch of government”—barring employment discrimination throughout the federal government and in all state programs receiving federal aid. Federal expenditures in excess of $1.1 billion, the civil rights leader noted, continued to “require, support or condone” discrimination in 11 Southern states. Sensitive to the political repercussions of cutting off aid to state programs, President Kennedy never issued the sweeping order. During 1961, the administration pressed voting rights and school discrimination cases in the courts and used federal marshals to defend freedom riders in Alabama. Addressing the annual meeting of the NAACP in January 1962, Wilkins praised Kennedy for “his personal role in civil rights” but declared his “disappointment with Mr. Kennedy’s first year” because of his failure to issue the housing order and his strategy of “no legislative action on civil rights.”

The rapid spread in early 1963 of the direct-action movement and the repression it met in many Southern communities forced the administration to revise the “no legislation” strategy. In June, President Kennedy sent Congress a draft civil rights act aimed at ending discrimination in public accommodations, permitting federal initiation of school desegregation suits, and eliminating racial bias in voter registration. Earlier in the month, Wilkins, widely regarded as the most moderate of all prominent civil rights leaders, had been arrested with the NAACP’s Mississippi field secretary, Medgar W. Evers, during a demonstration in Jackson. Evers was shot to death outside his home less than two weeks later. Civil rights leaders feared that even the momentum generated by events in the South and the administration’s support would prove insufficient to overcome congressional resistance. Reflecting the mood of militancy among delegates to the
NAACP’s Chicago convention in early July, Wilkins endorsed the idea of a peaceful mass march on Washington. Addressing the throng of over 200,000 that assembled on 28 August at the Lincoln Memorial, he demanded not only passage of the Kennedy bill but also the inclusion of a fair employment practices provision.

Wilkins’s and the NAACP’s long preeminence in the struggle for equality was increasingly challenged during the early 1960s by more militant leaders and organizations. Dry and somewhat aloof in manner, Wilkins lacked the evangelical fervor of such Southern leaders as Martin Luther King Jr. and rejected the stridency of the student leaders. Wilkins remained the leader of the nation’s largest and most active civil rights organization with some 500,000 members and 1,600 local chapters. By virtue of its size and stable leadership, the NAACP was a significant factor in the growth of the direct action movement. Wilkins, impatient with those who disparaged the NAACP, once remarked that the more militant organizations tended to garner “the publicity while the NAACP furnishes the manpower and pays the bills.” Wilkins continued to lead the NAACP during the tumultuous period of urban riots and escalating rhetoric after Kennedy’s assassination, consistently repudiating the strategies and language of black nationalism and urging the complete integration of blacks into American society.

WOMEN. During the late 1960s, the women’s liberation movement, the phrase itself taken from the Viet Cong and Black Liberation Movement, became, simply, the women’s movement, a more benign term to encompass the entire spectrum of women’s beliefs. It was also designed to remove the aura of radicalism from the women’s movement. The title change, which was never formally declared, symbolized a new hope that conspicuously absent groups, such as African American and Hispanic women, would be recruited to the new movement. The women’s movement since congressional passage of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would have prohibited discrimination based on sex by any law or action of government (federal, state, or local), has not had a single focus. There were just too many political, philosophical, and social differences among movement leaders. The multigenerational feature of the women’s movement was preserved in the National Organization for Women.
for Women (NOW), founded in 1966 by Betty Friedan, but in few of the other single-cause feminist groups.

Topics relating to women’s sexuality, for example, occupied a great deal of attention within the women’s movement: rape, abortion, and battered women all became highly publicized issues. The high incidence of rape in American had made rape-counseling centers a major priority for many feminists. Similarly, many women lawyers worked with urban police departments to get them to treat women victims of rape respectfully and not to deprive them of their civil rights or their dignity. Abortion has been one of the most controversial issues in the feminist debate for more than 100 years. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Victoria Woodhull, earlier reformers, discussed this issue at women’s meeting in the 1880s only to scandalize their Victorian sisters. Others, such as Emma Goldman and Margaret Sanger, were arrested for distributing birth-control pamphlets in the early 1900s in New York City. Many later feminists argued that women had to have reproductive freedom and the right to end a pregnancy safely if all other forms of prevention failed.

In the 1960s, the pill provided the first effective form of contraception for women, but many women could not afford the pill or could not take it without endangering their lives, mostly along the lines of potential blood clotting. In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled, in Roe v. Wade, that women had the legal right to an abortion in the first trimester of a pregnancy and in the second trimester under certain medically approved circumstances. The ruling was the first action that the Court had taken recognizing the woman’s right to privacy and control over her own body. But the victory was severely restricted when, four years later, in Beal v. Anne Doe, the court ruled that states were not required to use public funds to perform abortions, thereby making it very difficult for poor women to fund abortions. Although states could still fund welfare women’s abortions, they were not compelled to do so, and in difficult economic times, many used this decision to deny women funds for that purpose. Indeed, the Supreme Court in the 1970s played the role of evaluator of much of the civil rights legislation that benefited women in the 1960s. Furthermore, its decisions have not always been clear.

For example, in the area of affirmative action programs, one of the essential goals of the 1960s, the Court ruled in 1978 in Bakke v. The Regents of the University of California that Alan Bakke, a white ap-
plicant previously rejected by the University of California, be admitted to medical school but also that "race" may be a factor in affirmative action programs at universities. These challenges endangered special efforts made by Federal agencies, education institutions, and private sector companies to recruit women into traditionally all-white, male job categories. Although the Court had been called upon to assess the meaning and constitutionality of legislation passed in the 1960s, Congress showed itself less ambitious in the area of women's rights. The most notable accomplishments included the 1972 Education Amendments, Title XI, and the 1977 Equal Employment Opportunity Reorganization Act, which, among other things, amended Title VII (of the Civil Rights Act), broadened Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) jurisdiction to include the Equal Pay Act and the Age Discrimination Act. Otherwise, the Congress of the 1970s, consumed with Watergate in 1973–1974, and a worsening economy after that, provided little in the way of social legislation generally and women's rights legislation particularly.

Women's groups tended to work in their own communities to provide counseling for single mothers, battered women, rape victims, and pregnant teenagers. Though most of the groups supported the ERA, the organization created to push for its passage found itself floundering after 1975. From 1972 to 1975, thirty-five of the needed thirty-eight states ratified the amendment, but then the movement lost its momentum. Representative Elizabeth Holtzman, with the support of President Jimmy Carter, persuaded Congress to take the unprecedented step of extending the deadline for ratification by two years. In June 1982, the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution died, three states shy of the number required for ratification. Despite the failure of the ERA to pass, just as women's reform groups had focused upon local bases within which to work, so individual women went about improving their status in American society. The most notable example of success in this area was the increased education and professional entry of women into traditionally male-dominated fields. One has only to consider these figures:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Field</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1977</th>
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<tr>
<td>law</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher education</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>31.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accounting</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>27.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life &amp; physical sciences</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So, for the younger women coming of age in the 1970s and beyond, new professions were entered: indeed, more women went to college than ever before. In 1979, for the first time in American history, there were more women in colleges and universities than men. Obviously, older generations of women did not share in this good fortune, nor did many younger women of minority groups, most notably blacks and Hispanics whose infant mortality rate was about where the white rate was 25 years earlier. But, all women’s share of education was definitely on the increase at a faster pace than men’s, and this factor suggested material changes in lifestyle and the character of the American family that would manifest themselves in the 1980s.

Women also had fewer children, delaying having the first child until their late 20s or early 30s, utilizing birth-control methods, experimenting with different lifestyles, and generally living lives very different from their mothers’ and grandmothers’. The longevity of American women allowed for comparisons never before made: 60-year-old grandmothers could view their daughters’ and granddaughters’ lives and find themselves participating in aspects of the new feminism as well. Grandmothers worked part time and continued to be the backbone of volunteer organizations while their daughters returned to school and to careers, and their granddaughters contemplated becoming nuclear physicists.

At the same time, one could not avoid the observation that most American women still appeared to work in sex-segregated fields: clerks and secretaries in offices and salespersons in shops represent the overwhelming majority of women workers. Though women had increased their share in professional work, they were clustered in education, social work, and librarianship. Administrators in schools, nursing schools, and social work schools were predominantly male. Women in the private sector slowly edged their way toward management positions by increasingly earning MBA degrees at major universities.

The goals for women’s liberation, first articulated in the 1960s were slowly being enacted, sometimes in very different ways from the original intention. For example, 1960s feminist critiques of marriage expressed themselves among the populace as later entries into marriage, more divorces, and remarriages, fewer children, or childless marriages. Though “open” marriage was discussed frequently in
the 1960s, monogamous marriage remained a value for most Americans. Redefinition and examination of marriage and the family, because of the women’s movement, has not resulted in wholesale destruction of the institution, as feared by the critics; nor has it resulted in total reconstruction into communal or group marriage, as some feminists wished. Americans have in fact picked and chosen those aspects of feminist philosophies that appeared meaningful to them and applied and shaped them to their own unique needs, a typical example of a healthy cultural adjustment in a changing America.

WOMEN’S LIBERATION MOVEMENT. At least three categories of women merged in the late 1960s to become known as the Women’s Liberation Movement: the group of mature, professional women, such as sociologist Alice Rossi and Democratic congresswoman Martha Griffiths of Michigan, who had been working behind the scenes in the late 1950s for legislation benefiting women (favorable clauses in the Social Security Act as well as antidiscriminatory legislation in general); the college-educated white, middle-class housewives who lived in the suburbs at the opening of the decade and who responded dramatically to Betty Friedan’s *Feminine Mystique* published in 1963; and the new generation of college-age women who represented the largest single group of women ever to gain higher education. Many in this latter group worked in the civil rights movement at the beginning of the decade and the anti-Vietnam movement in the middle of the decade. After 1967, they moved on to form the radical wing of the women’s movement. These three distinct groups came together at the end of the decade because they recognized that they shared more complaints than they had ever imagined, principally that the “oppression of women” was universal and not restricted to one class or race and that expressive politics—demonstrations, rallies, and confrontations—that had characterized all of the other social movements of the decade could well be applied to women’s issues.

The leaders of the movement were drawn from all three groups: Betty Friedan became the spokeswoman for the frustrated suburban housewife; Alice Rossi, Esther Peterson, and Martha Griffiths became the representatives of the professional woman; and Shulamith Firestone, Robin Morgan, and Kate Millett became key speakers for the militant women’s liberationist. Gloria Steinem and Jane Fonda,
attractive celebrities with reputations established in other areas outside women’s liberation, also became speakers for women’s issues. The speeches and writings of these and many other women were widely circulated and received a great deal of headline and front-page coverage by the end of the decade and into the early 1970s. They all generally agreed that women had been segregated into the lowest-paying jobs in the marketplace; that many had been consigned to the role of domestic servant and baby machine; and that neither universities, businesses, nor the government took women seriously as equal human beings with the same rights and opportunities as men.

They differed, however, in their methods and ultimate goals for the women’s movement. While the radicals preached separatism and lesbianism, the liberal middle, including the National Organization for Women (NOW), advocated legislative remedies, scrupulous advocacy of equal opportunity laws, and the improvement of man–woman relations. Some women in the movement identified with the “equal pay–equal work” slogan; others insisted on equal admission of women into professional schools; still others experimented with new marriage relationships in which men shared the homemaking and child-rearing tasks with women and in which they shared paid employment (either both part-time or alternating full-time work). Still others insisted that men and women could never live harmoniously in Western, capitalistic culture. Some radical feminists shared the Marxist critique of Western society and, though they were often hard-pressed to find a desirable alternative in the Socialist world, they envisioned a more ideal future. Some feminists espoused Maoism in the 1960s and defended China’s Mao Zedong’s versions of the egalitarian society until the drastic consequences of the Cultural Revolution made this claim impossible to hold any longer.

The climate within which the women’s movement thrived after 1967 was one in which a wide variety of social reforms were promulgated. Feminism has always had the most success in times when other social reforms have been proposed (the Progressive period is the closest example; the Abolitionist period the most distant example). Criticism of American foreign policy in Vietnam, the well-organized protests of the civil rights movement, the critique of higher education, and the ecology movement that was getting underway provided a sympathetic environment for a discussion and examination of women’s role in Amer-
ican life. After all, women were the numerical majority in the country, yet they seemed more deprived culturally and legally than any minority whose rights were being vigorously espoused.

Even before these three groups merged into an uneasy coalition at the end of the decade (and the coalition did not last beyond the mid-1970s), there was evidence in the national administration of concern over women’s issues. At the beginning of the decade, President John F. Kennedy had appointed a number of prominent women, including Eleanor Roosevelt and Esther Peterson (assistant secretary of labor), to the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. This illustrious commission investigated the working conditions of women in government, industry, and education, as well as the prevailing laws regarding women’s opportunities in higher education, and it prepared a major report called “American Women” that was published in 1963. In particular, the report called attention to the fact that one of the worst discriminators against women was the federal government, and Kennedy called for all federal agencies to examine their practices and procedures and eliminate all discriminatory forms.

WOODSTOCK MUSIC AND ART FESTIVAL. This rock festival exemplified the counterculture and hippy movements of the 1960s. The festival carries the name “Woodstock” because it was originally planned to be held in the town of Woodstock, in Ulster County, New York, but the town did not have an area sufficiently large to host a concert that might draw hundreds of thousands of people. The event eventually took place on the Max Yasgur farm near the rural town of Bethel, New York, on a rainy weekend (15–18 August 1969) with perhaps more than 500,000 people camping on the muddy ground. The facilities were overwhelmed, however, the participants shared food, water, alcoholic drinks, and recreational drugs (mostly LSD and marijuana). Local residents aided some attendees by giving them blankets and food. Three people died at the concert: one from an overdose of heroin, one from falling off a scaffold, and one from being run over by a tractor while sleeping in a nearby hay field. It is believed that two births also took place during the festival.

Many popular musicians appeared during the cloudy, wet weekend, including The Who and Jimi Hendrix. The Who did not appear until nearly four o’clock in the morning and aroused the crowd with
See Me, Feel Me. Hendrix provided the audience with his unique, controversial version of The Star Spangled Banner. The event later became a successful movie, Woodstock, while Joni Mitchell’s song Woodstock memorialized the concert and became a major hit. Although later attempts were made to recreate the festival, they could not recapture the unique feeling of the original event. See MUSIC; ROCK AND ROLL.

WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM OF 1967. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which fostered several programs designed to encourage work, launched the Work Experience and Training Program. Throughout the 1960s, there were several spirited public policy debates regarding the nature and scope of welfare programs, especially the assistance to dependent children. Amendments to the Social Security Act in 1967 included the voluntary Work Incentive Program (WIN) that for the first time required states to create employment and training for welfare recipients. The state programs consisted of several services, including job training, education, and formal job searches, which required recipients to report on their efforts to find work. Some of the programs also found jobs for participants in public agencies. In 1971, WIN became mandatory for welfare recipients, but was inadequately funded. In subsequent years, there have been several modifications of this program.

– X – Y – Z –

YIPPIES. See COUNTERCULTURE; HIPPIES; HOFFMAN, ABBIE.

ZINN, HOWARD (1922– ). Howard Zinn was born on 4 August 1922, in New York City, served in the U.S. Army Air Forces in World War II and then attended New York University, where he earned a bachelor’s degree in 1951 and Columbia University, where he completed a Ph.D. in political science in 1958. He began teaching history in 1956 at Spelman College, a small African American women’s school in Atlanta, where he became professor and chair of the department of history and social sciences. In 1964, Zinn took a position at Boston University, where he became professor of political science. Zinn
combined political conviction and social activism with his scholarly work. He became involved in the civil rights movement while teaching at Spelman and worked closely with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In 1962, he participated in an unsuccessful desegregation drive in Albany, Georgia, and subsequently wrote a SNCC report that attacked the federal government for “abandoning its responsibility” to protect black demonstrators against white violence. Zinn’s experience in the civil rights movement encouraged him to write SNCC: The New Abolitionist, published in 1964. The book’s enthusiastic description of SNCC activities in the Deep South helped popularize the organization.

During the mid-1960s, Zinn joined the growing peace movement, participating in the National Mobilization Committee to end the war in Vietnam. His book Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal appeared in 1967. Zinn was also known for his continuing activism. In February 1968, he flew to Hanoi with the Reverend Daniel Berrigan to receive three U.S. prisoners of war released by the North Vietnamese government. One year later, Zinn participated in a conference of antiwar scientists and scholars at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he urged researchers to stop work on federally funded projects as a means of resisting “the lawlessness of government.”

Zinn’s efforts to stimulate campus activism during the 1960s made him increasingly impatient with the traditional “ivory tower” detachment of academics. He argued in numerous articles that the separation of knowledge from action is “immoral”; scholars make a personal statement in their choice of subject matter, he claimed, for by ignoring controversial issues, they play into the hands of reactionary forces. He elaborated those arguments in The Politics of History, published in 1970.


disarmament on 20 September 1961. Also referred to as the Zorin–McCloy agreement, it stated that the goal of negotiation was to assure that war would not be used as a way of settling international disputes. The statement recommended that a program for disarmament or arms control applying to all countries should comprise the following principles as a basis for new negotiations:

1. that disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems;
2. that such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;
3. that States have at their disposal only such non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities, and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens;
4. that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force;
5. the disbanding of armed forces;
6. the dismantling of military establishments including bases;
7. the cessation of arms production;
8. the liquidation of armaments or their conversion for peaceful purposes;
9. the elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as their means of delivery;
10. the abolition of military institutions;
11. the cessation of military training and the discontinuance of military expenditures;
12. that the disarmament program should be implemented in stages within specified time limits until completion; and
13. that no State or group of States gain military advantage over another. The statement also called for the creation of an international disarmament organization within the framework of the United Nations. Its inspectors would have unrestricted access to all places, as necessary for verification of disarmament measures.
As a result of the Zorin–McCloy statement, two draft proposals were submitted to the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee in 1962. They were the “Draft treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict international control” submitted by the Soviet Union on 15 March 1962, and the “Outline of basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world” submitted by the United States of America on 18 April 1962.
APPENDIX A
Lists of Officials, Elections, Congresses

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 35TH PRESIDENT (1961–1963)
Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson (1961–1963)

Cabinet
Dean Rusk, secretary of state (1961–1963)
C. Douglas Dillon, secretary of the treasury (1961–1963)
Robert S. McNamara, secretary of defense (1961–1963)
Robert F. Kennedy, attorney general (1961–1963)
John A. Gronouski, postmaster general (1963)
Stewart L. Udall, secretary of the interior (1961–1963)
Orville L. Freeman, secretary of agriculture (1961–1963)
Luther H. Hodges, secretary of commerce (1961–1963)
W. Willard Wirtz, secretary of labor (1962–1963)

Supreme Court Appointments
Byron R. White (1962–1993)
Arthur J. Goldberg (1962–1965)

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, 36TH PRESIDENT (1963–1969)
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey (1965–1969)

Cabinet
Dean Rusk, secretary of state (1963–1969)
C. Douglas Dillon, secretary of the treasury (1963–1965)
Henry H. Fowler, secretary of the treasury (1965–1968)
Joseph W. Barr, secretary of the treasury (1968–1969)
Robert S. McNamara, secretary of defense (1963–1968)
Clark M. Clifford, secretary of defense (1968–1969)
Robert F. Kennedy, attorney general (1963–1964)
Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, attorney general (1965–1966)
Ramsey Clark, attorney general (1967–1969)
John A. Gronouski, Jr. postmaster general (1963–1965)
Lawrence F. O’Brien, postmaster general (1965–1968)
W. Marvin Watson, postmaster general (1968–1969)
Stewart L. Udall, secretary of the interior (1963–19)
Orville L. Freeman, secretary of agriculture (1963–1969)
Luther H. Hodges, secretary of commerce (1963–1965)
Anthony J. Celebrezze, secretary of health, education, and welfare (1963–1965)
John W. Gardner, secretary of health, education, and welfare (1965–1968)
Robert C. Weaver, secretary of housing and urban development (1966–1968)
Robert C. Wood, secretary of housing and urban development (1969)

*Supreme Court Appointments*
Abe Fortas (1965–1969)

*Election of 1960*

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<th>Party</th>
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<td>John F. Kennedy</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>49.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard M. Nixon</td>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
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ELECTION OF 1964
Lyndon B. Johnson Democrat  486  61.1%
Barry M. Goldwater Republican  52  38.5%

CONGRESSES

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<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>177</td>
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<td>88th Congress (1963–1965)</td>
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<td>House</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>90th Congress (1967–1969)</td>
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Appendix B
Constitutional Amendments

TWENTY-THIRD AMENDMENT
The amendment was proposed by Congress on 17 June 1960 and ratified by the states on 29 March 1961.

Section 1
The District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a state, but in no event more than the least populous state; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the states, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a state; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2
The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TWENTY-FOURTH AMENDMENT
This amendment was proposed by Congress on 27 August 1962 and ratified by the states on 4 February 1964.

Section 1
The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.
Section 2
Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TWENTY-FIFTH AMENDMENT
The amendment was proposed by Congress on 6 July 1965 and ratified by the states on February 23, 1967.

Section 1
In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2
Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3
Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice President as Acting President.

Section 4
Whenever the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Repre-
sentatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.
Appendix C  
John F. Kennedy’s Addresses

JOHN F. KENNEDY’S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Washington, DC, 20 January 1961

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens, we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.
To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.
But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind’s final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens . . . and to let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?
In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God’s work must truly be our own.

REPORT ON THE SOVIET ARMS BUILDUP IN CUBA

White House, 22 October 1962,

Good evening my fellow citizens:

This Government, as promised, has maintained the closest surveillance of the Soviet military buildup on the island of Cuba. Within the past week, unmistakable evidence has established the fact that a series of offensive missile sites is now in preparation on that imprisoned island. The purpose of these bases can be none other than to provide a nuclear strike capability against the Western Hemisphere.

Upon receiving the first preliminary hard information of this nature last Tuesday morning at 9 a.m., I directed that our surveillance be stepped up. And having now confirmed and completed our evaluation of the evidence and our decision on a course of action, this Government feels obliged to report this new crisis to you in fullest detail.

The characteristics of these new missile sites indicate two distinct types of installations. Several of them include medium range ballistic missiles capable of carrying a nuclear warhead for a distance of more than 1,000 nautical miles. Each of these missiles, in short, is capable of...
striking Washington, D.C., the Panama Canal, Cape Canaveral, Mexico City, or any other city in the southeastern part of the United States, in Central America, or in the Caribbean area.

Additional sites not yet completed appear to be designed for intermediate range ballistic missiles—capable of traveling more than twice as far—and thus capable of striking most of the major cities in the Western Hemisphere, ranging as far north as Hudson Bay, Canada, and as far south as Lima, Peru. In addition, jet bombers, capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now being uncrated and assembled in Cuba, while the necessary air bases are being prepared.

This urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence of these large, long range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction—constitutes an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas, in flagrant and deliberate defiance of the Rio Pact of 1947, the traditions of this Nation and hemisphere, the joint resolution of the 87th Congress, the Charter of the United Nations, and my own public warnings to the Soviets on September 4 and 13. This action also contradicts the repeated assurances of Soviet spokesmen, both publicly and privately delivered, that the arms buildup in Cuba would retain its original defensive character, and that the Soviet Union had no need or desire to station strategic missiles on the territory of any other nation.

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it has been planned for some months. Yet only last month, after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive antiaircraft missiles, the Soviet Government publicly stated on September 11, and I quote, “the armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes,” that, and I quote the Soviet Government, “there is no need for the Soviet Government to shift its weapons . . . for a retaliatory blow to any other country, for instance Cuba,” and that, and I quote their government, “the Soviet Union has so powerful rockets to carry these nuclear warheads that there is no need to search for sites for them beyond the boundaries of the Soviet Union.” That statement was false.

Only last Thursday, as evidence of this rapid offensive buildup was already in my hand, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko told me in my office that he was instructed to make it clear once again, as he said his government had already done, that Soviet assistance to Cuba, and I
quote, “pursued solely the purpose of contributing to the defense capabilities of Cuba,” that, and I quote him, “training by Soviet specialists of Cuban nationals in handling defensive armaments was by no means offensive, and if it were otherwise,” Mr. Gromyko went on, “the Soviet Government would never become involved in rendering such assistance.” That statement also was false.

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation’s security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and ballistic missiles are so swift, that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace.

For many years both the Soviet Union and the United States, recognizing this fact, have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history—unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II—demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the Bull’s-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines.

In that sense, missiles in Cuba add to an already clear and present danger—although it should be noted the nations of Latin America have never previously been subjected to a potential nuclear threat.

But this secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country, if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

The 1930’s taught us a clear lesson: aggressive conduct, if allowed to go unchecked and unchallenged ultimately leads to war. This nation is
opposed to war. We are also true to our word. Our unswerving objective, therefore, must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country, and to secure their withdrawal or elimination from the Western Hemisphere.

Our policy has been one of patience and restraint, as befits a peaceful and powerful nation, which leads a worldwide alliance. We have been determined not to be diverted from our central concerns by mere irritants and fanatics. But now further action is required—and it is under way; and these actions may only be the beginning. We will not prematurely or unnecessarily risk the costs of worldwide nuclear war in which even the fruits of victory would be ashes in our mouth—but neither will we shrink from that risk at any time it must be faced.

Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, and under the authority entrusted to me by the Constitution as endorsed by the resolution of the Congress, I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. The foreign ministers of the OAS, in their communiqué of October 6, rejected secrecy in such matters in this hemisphere. Should these offensive military preparations continue, thus increasing the threat to the hemisphere, further action will be justified. I have directed the Armed Forces to prepare for any eventualities; and I trust that in the interest of both the Cuban people and the Soviet technicians at the sites, the hazards to all concerned in continuing this threat will be recognized.

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Fourth: As a necessary military precaution, I have reinforced our base at Guantanamo, evacuated today the dependents of our personnel there, and ordered additional military units to be on a standby alert basis.
Fifth: We are calling tonight for an immediate meeting of the Organ of Consultation under the Organization of American States, to consider this threat to hemispheric security and to invoke articles 6 and 8 of the Rio Treaty in support of all necessary action. The United Nations Charter allows for regional security arrangements—and the nations of this hemisphere decided long ago against the military presence of outside powers. Our other allies around the world have also been alerted.

Sixth: Under the Charter of the United Nations, we are asking tonight that an emergency meeting of the Security Council be convoked without delay to take action against this latest Soviet threat to world peace. Our resolution will call for the prompt dismantling and withdrawal of all offensive weapons in Cuba, under the supervision of U.N. observers, before the quarantine can be lifted.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man. He has an opportunity now to move the world back from the abyss of destruction—by returning to his government’s own words that it had no need to station missiles outside its own territory, and withdrawing these weapons from Cuba—by refraining from any action which will widen or deepen the present crisis—and then by participating in a search for peaceful and permanent solutions.

This Nation is prepared to present its case against the Soviet threat to peace, and our own proposals for a peaceful world, at any time and in any forum—in the OAS, in the United Nations, or in any other meeting that could be useful—without limiting our freedom of action. We have in the past made strenuous efforts to limit the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proposed the elimination of all arms and military bases in a fair and effective disarmament treaty. We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides—including the possibility of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union—for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat—or any other threat which is made independently or in response to our actions
this week—must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed—including in particular the brave people of West Berlin—will be met by whatever action is needed.

Finally, I want to say a few words to the captive people of Cuba, to whom this speech is being directly carried by special radio facilities. I speak to you as a friend, as one who knows of your deep attachment to your fatherland, as one who shares your aspirations for liberty and justice for all. And I have watched and the American people have watched with deep sorrow how your nationalist revolution was betrayed—and how your fatherland fell under foreign domination. Now your leaders are no longer Cuban leaders inspired by Cuban ideals. They are puppets and agents of an international conspiracy which has turned Cuba against your friends and neighbors in the Americas—and turned it into the first Latin American country to become a target for nuclear war—the first Latin American country to have these weapons on its soil.

These new weapons are not in your interest. They contribute nothing to your peace and well-being. They can only undermine it. But this country has no wish to cause you to suffer or to impose any system upon you. We know that your lives and land are being used as pawns by those who deny your freedom.

Many times in the past, the Cuban people have risen to throw out tyrants who destroyed their liberty. And I have no doubt that most Cubans today look forward to the time when they will be truly free—free from foreign domination, free to choose their own leaders, free to select their own system, free to own their own land, free to speak and write and worship without fear or degradation. And then shall Cuba be welcomed back to the society of free nations and to the associations of this hemisphere.

My fellow citizens: let no one doubt that this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can see precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred. Many months of sacrifice and self-discipline lie ahead—months in which our patience and our will will be tested—months in which many threats and denunciations will keep us aware of our dangers. But the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing.

The path we have chosen for the present is full of hazards, as all paths are—but it is the one most consistent with our character and courage as
a nation and our commitments around the world. The cost of freedom is always high—and Americans have always paid it. And one path we shall never choose, and that is the path of surrender or submission.

Our goal is not the victory of might, but the vindication of right—not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom, here in this hemisphere, and, we hope, around the world. God willing, that goal will be achieved.

Thank you and good night.

CIVIL RIGHTS ANNOUNCEMENT

White House, 11 June 1963

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama. This order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happen to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama, who met their responsibilities in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents. This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. When Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops.

It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstration in the street. It ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.
It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case today.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the nation in which he is born, has about one half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one third as much chance of completing college, one third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year or more, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every state of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety. Nor is this a partisan issue. In a time of domestic crisis men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics. This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these methods in the courts than on the streets, and new laws are needed at every level, but law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution.

The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would be content with the counsels of patience and delay?

One hundred years have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet freed from social and economic oppression. And this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.
We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home; but are we to say to the world, and, much more importantly, for each other, that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race, except with respect to Negroes?

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore the facts that we face. A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all.

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality.

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The federal judiciary has upheld that proposition in the conduct of its affairs, including the employment of federal personnel, the use of federal facilities, and the sale of federally financed housing.

But there are other necessary measures which only the Congress can provide, and they must be provided at this session. The old code of equity law under which we live commands for every wrong a remedy, but in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens and there are no remedies at law. Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy is in the streets.

I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the
public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure. But many do.

I have recently met with scores of business leaders urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination, and I have been encouraged by their response. In the last two weeks over seventy-five cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities. But many are unwilling to act alone, and for this reason, nationwide legislation is needed if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

I am also asking Congress to authorize the federal government to participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in persuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence. Today, a negro is attending a state-supported institution in every one of our fifty states. But the pace is very slow.

Too many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court’s decision nine years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored. The lack of an adequate education denied the Negro a chance to get a decent job.

The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision, therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry the legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Other features will also be requested, including greater protection for the right to vote. But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens, North and South, who have been working in their communities to make life better for all. They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency. Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom’s challenge on the firing line, and I salute them for their honor and courage.

My fellow Americans, this is a problem which faces us all—in every city of the North as well as the South. Today there are Negroes, unemployed—two or three times as many compared to whites—with inadequate education, moving into the large cities, unable to find work,
young people particularly out of work and without hope, denied equal rights, denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter or go to a movie theater, denied the right to a decent education…. It seems to me that these are matters which concern us all, not merely Presidents or congressmen or governors, but every citizen of the United States.

This is one country. It has become one country because all the people who came here had an equal chance to develop their talents…. We have a right to expect that the Negro community will be responsible and will uphold the law; but they have a right to expect that the law will be fair, that the constitution will be color blind, as Justice Harlan said at the turn of the century.

This is what we are talking about. This is a matter which concerns this country and what it stands for, and in meeting it I ask the support of all our citizens.

**NATION’S SPACE EFFORT**

Rice University, Houston, Texas

12 September 1962

Mr. Bell, scientists, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen:

I appreciate your president having made me an honorary visiting professor, and I will assure you that my first lecture will be very brief.

I am delighted to be here and I’m particularly delighted to be here on this occasion.

We meet at a college noted for knowledge, in a city noted for progress, in a state noted for strength, and we stand in need of all three, for we meet in an hour of change and challenge, in a decade of hope and fear, in an age of both knowledge and ignorance. The greater our knowledge increases, the greater our ignorance unfolds.

Despite the striking fact that most of the scientists that the world has ever known are alive and working today, despite the fact that this nation’s own scientific manpower is doubling every 12 years in a rate of growth more than three times that of our population as a whole, despite that, the vast stretches of the unknown and the unanswered and the unfinished still far outstrip our collective comprehension.

No man can fully grasp how far and how fast we have come, but condense, if you will, the 50,000 years of man’s recorded history in a time
span of but a half-century. Stated in these terms, we know very little about the first 40 years, except at the end of them advanced man had learned to use the skins of animals to cover them. Then about 10 years ago, under this standard, man emerged from his caves to construct other kinds of shelter. Only five years ago man learned to write and use a cart with wheels. Christianity began less than two years ago. The printing press came this year, and then less than two months ago, during this whole 50-year span of human history, the steam engine provided a new source of power.

Newton explored the meaning of gravity. Last month electric lights and telephones and automobiles and airplanes became available. Only last week did we develop penicillin and television and nuclear power, and now if America’s new spacecraft succeeds in reaching Venus, we will have literally reached the stars before midnight tonight.

This is a breathtaking pace, and such a pace cannot help but create new ills as it dispels old, new ignorance, new problems, new dangers. Surely the opening vistas of space promise high costs and hardships, as well as high reward.

So it is not surprising that some would have us stay where we are a little longer to rest, to wait. But this city of Houston, this State of Texas, this country of the United States was not built by those who waited and rested and wished to look behind them. This country was conquered by those who moved forward—and so will space.

William Bradford, speaking in 1630 of the founding of the Plymouth Bay Colony, said that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and both must be enterprised and overcome with answerable courage.

If this capsule history of our progress teaches us anything, it is that man, in his quest for knowledge and progress, is determined and cannot be deterred. The exploration of space will go ahead, whether we join in it or not, and it is one of the great adventures of all time, and no nation which expects to be the leader of other nations can expect to stay behind in the race for space.

Those who came before us made certain that this country rode the first waves of the industrial revolutions, the first waves of modern invention, and the first wave of nuclear power, and this generation does not intend to founder in the backwash of the coming age of space. We mean to be a part of it—we mean to lead it. For the eyes of the world
now look into space, to the moon and to the planets beyond, and we have vowed that we shall not see it governed by a hostile flag of conquest, but by a banner of freedom and peace. We have vowed that we shall not see space filled with weapons of mass destruction, but with instruments of knowledge and understanding.

Yet the vows of this Nation can only be fulfilled if we in this Nation are first, and, therefore, we intend to be first. In short, our leadership in science and in industry, our hopes for peace and security, our obligations to ourselves as well as others, all require us to make this effort, to solve these mysteries, to solve them for the good of all men, and to become the world’s leading space-faring nation.

We set sail on this new sea because there is new knowledge to be gained, and new rights to be won, and they must be won and used for the progress of all people. For space science, like nuclear science and all technology, has no conscience of its own. Whether it will become a force for good or ill depends on man, and only if the United States occupies a position of pre-eminence can we help decide whether this new ocean will be a sea of peace or a new terrifying theater of war. I do not say the we should or will go unprotected against the hostile misuse of space any more than we go unprotected against the hostile use of land or sea, but I do say that space can be explored and mastered without feeding the fires of war, without repeating the mistakes that man has made in extending his writ around this globe of ours.

There is no strife, no prejudice, no national conflict in outer space as yet. Its hazards are hostile to us all. Its conquest deserves the best of all mankind, and its opportunity for peaceful cooperation many never come again. But why, some say, the moon? Why choose this as our goal? And they may well ask why climb the highest mountain? Why, 35 years ago, fly the Atlantic? Why does Rice play Texas?

We choose to go to the moon. We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not only because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too.

It is for these reasons that I regard the decision last year to shift our efforts in space from low to high gear as among the most important de-
cisions that will be made during my incumbency in the office of the Presidency.

In the last 24 hours we have seen facilities now being created for the greatest and most complex exploration in man’s history. We have felt the ground shake and the air shattered by the testing of a Saturn C-1 booster rocket, many times as powerful as the Atlas which launched John Glenn, generating power equivalent to 10,000 automobiles with their accelerators on the floor. We have seen the site where the F-1 rocket engines, each one as powerful as all eight engines of the Saturn combined, will be clustered together to make the advanced Saturn missile, assembled in a new building to be built at Cape Canaveral as tall as a 48 story structure, as wide as a city block, and as long as two lengths of this field.

Within these last 19 months at least 45 satellites have circled the Earth. Some 40 of them were in the United States of America; and they were far more sophisticated and supplied far more knowledge to the people of the world than those of the Soviet Union. The Mariner spacecraft now on its way to Venus is the most intricate instrument in the history of space science. The accuracy of that shot is comparable to firing a missile from Cape Canaveral and dropping it in this stadium between the 40-yard lines.

Transit satellites are helping our ships at sea to steer a safer course. Tiros satellites have given us unprecedented warnings of hurricanes and storms, and will do the same for forest fires and icebergs. We have had our failures, but so have others, even if they do not admit them. And they may be less public.

To be sure, we are behind, and will be behind for some time in manned flight. But we do not intend to stay behind, and in this decade, we shall make up and move ahead.

The growth of our science and education will be enriched by new knowledge of our universe and environment, by new techniques of learning and mapping and observation, by new tools and computers for industry, medicine, the home as well as the school. Technical institutions, such as Rice, will reap the harvest of these gains.

And finally, the space effort itself, while still in its infancy, has already created a great number of new companies, and tens of thousands of new jobs. Space and related industries are generating new demands
in investment and skilled personnel, and this city and this State, and this region, will share greatly in this growth. What was once the furthest outpost on the old frontier of the West will be the furthest outpost on the new frontier of science and space. Houston, your City of Houston, with its Manned Spacecraft Center, will become the heart of a large scientific and engineering community. During the next 5 years the National Aeronautics and Space Administration expects to double the number of scientists and engineers in this area, to increase its outlays for salaries and expenses to $60 million a year; to invest some $200 million in plant and laboratory facilities; and to direct or contract for new space efforts over $1 billion from this Center in this City.

To be sure, all this costs us all a good deal of money. This year’s space budget is three times what it was in January 1961, and it is greater than the space budget of the previous eight years combined. That budget now stands at $5,400 million a year—a staggering sum, though somewhat less than we pay for cigarettes and cigars every year. Space expenditures will soon rise some more, from 40 cents per person per week to more than 50 cents a week for every man, woman and child in the United States, for we have given this program a high national priority—even though I realize that this is in some measure an act of faith and vision, for we do not now know what benefits await us. But if I were to say, my fellow citizens, that we shall send to the moon, 240,000 miles away from the control station in Houston, a giant rocket more than 300 feet tall, the length of this football field, made of new metal alloys, some of which have not yet been invented, capable of standing heat and stresses several times more than have ever been experienced, fitted together with a precision better than the finest watch, carrying all the equipment needed for propulsion, guidance, control, communications, food and survival, on an untried mission, to an unknown celestial body, and then return it safely to earth, re-entering the atmosphere at speeds of over 25,000 miles per hour, causing heat about half that of the temperature of the sun—almost as hot as it is here today—and do all this, and do it right, and do it first before this decade is out—then we must be bold.

I’m the one who is doing all the work, so we just want you to stay cool for a minute.

However, I think we’re going to do it, and I think that we must pay what needs to be paid. I don’t think we ought to waste any money, but
I think we ought to do the job. And this will be done in the decade of the sixties. It may be done while some of you are still here at school at this college and university. It will be done during the term of office of some of the people who sit here on this platform. But it will be done. And it will be done before the end of this decade.

I am delighted that this university is playing a part in putting a man on the moon as part of a great national effort of the United States of America.

Many years ago the great British explorer George Mallory, who was to die on Mount Everest, was asked why did he want to climb it. He said, it is there, well, space is there, and we’re going to climb it, and the moon and the planets are there, and new hopes for knowledge and peace are there. And, therefore, as we set sail we ask God’s blessing on the most hazardous and dangerous and greatest adventure on which man has ever embarked.

Thank you.

THE BERLIN WALL

“Ich bin ein Berliner” (“I am a ‘Berliner’”)
West Berlin, 26 June 1963
I am proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud—And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who—who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.

Two thousand years ago, two thousand years ago, the proudest boast was “civis Romanus sum.” Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is “Ich bin ein Berliner.” (“I am a Berliner.”)
(I appreciate my interpreter translating my German.)

There are many people in the world who really don’t understand, or say they don’t, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world.
Let them come to Berlin.
There are some who say—There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future.
Let them come to Berlin.
And there are some who say, in Europe and elsewhere, we can work with the Communists.
Let them come to Berlin.
And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress.

Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. Let them come to Berlin.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect. But we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in—to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say on behalf of my countrymen who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride, that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope, and the determination of the city of West Berlin.

While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system—for all the world to see—we take no satisfaction in it; for it is, as your Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany: Real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people.

You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.
Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we look—can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All—All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin.
And, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words “Ich bin ein Berliner.”
Appendix D
Lyndon B. Johnson’s Addresses

GREAT SOCIETY SPEECH

Remarks at the University of Michigan
22 May 1964

President Hatcher, Governor Romney, Senators McNamara and Hart, Congressmen Meader and Staebler, and other members of the fine Michigan delegation, members of the graduating class, my fellow Americans:

It is a great pleasure to be here today. This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said, “In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school.”

Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours.

I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son’s education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him.

I have come today from the turmoil of your Capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country.

The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a Nation.

For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.
Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society—in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms.

Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans—four-fifths of them in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States.

Aristotle said: “Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life.” It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today.

The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated.
Worst of all expansion is eroding the precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference.

Our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders.

New experiments are already going on. It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life.

I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life.

This is the place where the Peace Corps was started. It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people.

A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the “Ugly American.” Today we must act to prevent an ugly America.

For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted.

A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children’s lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal.

Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million—more than one-quarter of all America—have not even finished high school.

Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it. And if we cannot educate today’s youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. College enrollment will increase by more than 3 million.
In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation.

These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems.

But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America. I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings—on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society.

The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

Woodrow Wilson once wrote: “Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time.”

Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.

So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin?
Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?
Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace—as neighbors and not as mortal enemies?
Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

There are those timid souls who say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will, your labor, your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society.

Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.

Thank you.

REMARKS UPON SIGNING THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Broadcast from the White House, 2 July 1964

My fellow Americans:
I am about to sign into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I want to take this occasion to talk to you about what that law means to every American.

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago this week a small band of valiant men began a long struggle for freedom. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor not only to found a nation, but to forge an ideal of freedom—not only for political independence, but for personal liberty—not only to eliminate foreign rule, but to establish the rule of justice in the affairs of men.

That struggle was a turning point in our history. Today in far corners of distant continents, the ideals of those American patriots still shape the struggles of men who hunger for freedom.

This is a proud triumph. Yet those who founded our country knew that freedom would be secure only if each generation fought to renew and enlarge its meaning. From the minutemen at Concord to the soldiers in Viet-Nam, each generation has been equal to that trust.
Americans of every race and color have died in battle to protect our freedom. Americans of every race and color have worked to build a nation of widening opportunities. Now our generation of Americans has been called on to continue the unending search for justice within our own borders.

We believe that all men are created equal. Yet many are denied equal treatment.

We believe that all men have certain unalienable rights. Yet many Americans do not enjoy those rights.

We believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty. Yet millions are being deprived of those blessings—not because of their own failures, but because of the color of their skin.

The reasons are deeply imbedded in history and tradition and the nature of man. We can understand—without rancor or hatred—how this all happened.

But it cannot continue. Our Constitution, the foundation of our Republic, forbids it. The principles of our freedom forbid it. Morality forbids it. And the law I will sign tonight forbids it.

That law is the product of months of the most careful debate and discussion. It was proposed more than one year ago by our late and beloved President John F. Kennedy. It received the bipartisan support of more than two-thirds of the Members of both the House and the Senate. An overwhelming majority of Republicans as well as Democrats voted for it.

It has received the thoughtful support of tens of thousands of civic and religious leaders in all parts of this Nation. And it is supported by the great majority of the American people.

The purpose of the law is simple.

It does not restrict the freedom of any American, so long as he respects the rights of others.

It does not give special treatment to any citizen.

It does say the only limit to a man’s hope for happiness, and for the future of his children, shall be his own ability.

It does say that there are those who are equal before God shall now also be equal in the polling booths, in the classrooms, in the factories, and in hotels, restaurants, movie theaters, and other places that provide service to the public.

I am taking steps to implement the law under my constitutional obligation to “take care that the laws are faithfully executed.”
First, I will send to the Senate my nomination of LeRoy Collins to be Director of the Community Relations Service. Governor Collins will bring the experience of a long career of distinguished public service to the task of helping communities solve problems of human relations through reason and commonsense.

Second, I shall appoint an advisory committee of distinguished Americans to assist Governor Collins in his assignment.

Third, I am sending Congress a request for supplemental appropriations to pay for necessary costs of implementing the law, and asking for immediate action.

Fourth, already today in a meeting of my Cabinet this afternoon I directed the agencies of this Government to fully discharge the new responsibilities imposed upon them by the law and to do it without delay, and to keep me personally informed of their progress.

Fifth, I am asking appropriate officials to meet with representative groups to promote greater understanding of the law and to achieve a spirit of compliance.

We must not approach the observance and enforcement of this law in a vengeful spirit. Its purpose is not to punish. Its purpose is not to divide, but to end divisions—divisions which have all lasted too long. Its purpose is national, not regional.

Its purpose is to promote a more abiding commitment to freedom, a more constant pursuit of justice, and a deeper respect for human dignity.

We will achieve these goals because most Americans are law-abiding citizens who want to do what is right.

This is why the Civil Rights Act relies first on voluntary compliance, then on the efforts of local communities and States to secure the rights of citizens. It provides for the national authority to step in only when others cannot or will not do the job.

This Civil Rights Act is a challenge to all of us to go to work in our communities and our States, in our homes and in our hearts, to eliminate the last vestiges of injustice in our beloved country.

So tonight I urge every public official, every religious leader, every business and professional man, every workingman, every housewife—I urge every American—to join in this effort to bring justice and hope to all our people—and to bring peace to our land.

My fellow citizens, we have come now to a time of testing. We must not fail.
Let us close the springs of racial poison. Let us pray for wise and understanding hearts. Let us lay aside irrelevant differences and make our Nation whole. Let us hasten that day when our unmeasured strength and our unbounded spirit will be free to do the great works ordained for this Nation by the just and wise God who is the Father of us all.

Thank you and good night.

GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION

Joint Resolution of Congress H.J. RES 1145
7 August 1964

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Section 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in Southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Section 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.
Appendix E

Martin Luther King Jr. “I Have a Dream” Speech

The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.
28 August 1963

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.

But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.

In a sense we have come to our nation’s capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check which has come back marked “insufficient funds.” But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice. We have also
come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to open the doors of opportunity to all of God’s children. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro’s legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny and their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, “When will you be satisfied?” we can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro’s basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as a Negro in
Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.”

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four 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.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor’s lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain,
and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, “My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim’s pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.”

And if America is to be a great nation this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania!

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado!
Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California!

But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia!
Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee!

Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, “Free at last! free at last! thank God Almighty, we are free at last!”
Selected Bibliography

Introductory Note 354
John F. Kennedy 360
Lyndon B. Johnson 361
Other Personalities 362
New Frontier/Great Society 363
Culture 365
Domestic Affairs 366
Judicial System 368
Politics 369
Sports 370
Civil Rights Movement 371
   African Americans 373
   American Indian Movement 375
   Mexican Americans 376
Riots 378
Women 378
Antiwar Movement 379
Foreign Affairs 380
   Africa/Asia 381
      Caribbean, Central & South America 381
      Europe 382
      Middle East 383
      Southeast Asia 383
The Cold War 384
Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) 385
Vietnam War 386
Military Affairs 389
Arms Control 390
   Limited Nuclear Test Ban 391
   Non-Proliferation Treaty 392
Reference Works 392
INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Although the bibliographical resources focusing on the presidential administrations of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson are substantial, there are vastly more sources dealing with themes that originate during earlier years, affect the 1960s, and continue in the following decade, even decades. These broad issues include the Civil Rights movements involving ethnic and gender demands for equality, the Cold War, arms control issues, and the Vietnam conflict.

John F. Kennedy has drawn many biographers looking at different aspects of his life and brief presidency. Theodore White recounts Kennedy’s presidential campaign in *The Making of the President, 1960*. Three early close admirers have written laudatory accounts of the Kennedy they knew: Arthur Schlesinger’s *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*, Theodore Sorenson’s *Kennedy* and *The Kennedy Legacy*, and Pierre Salinger’s *With Kennedy*. James Giglio’s *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* provides a useful introduction to the study of Kennedy’s presidency, while Herbert Parmet’s earlier balanced account, *JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*, records the limitations of leadership despite personal popularity. A critical view of Kennedy’s private life is provided in Thomas Reeves’ *A Question of Character: A Life of John F. Kennedy*. Meanwhile, Robert Dallek’s *An Unfinished Life: John F. Kennedy, 1917–1963* offers a judicious and balanced account of Kennedy’s life and presidency based, in part, on newly opened medical files that suggest JFK had suffered far more dire health problems than was publicly known. Timothy Naftali’s editorial team has provided a unique look into the real workings of the Kennedy White House by drawing upon his presidential recordings. *The Presidential Recordings*, dealing with both domestic and foreign policy issues, may present the most reliable record of the Kennedy presidency ever published. Kennedy’s assassination has been told and retold. Norman Mailer, *Oswald’s Tale: An American Mystery*, argues that Lee Harvey Oswald had motive, opportunity, and “the soul of a killer.” Gerald L. Posner, *Case Closed: Lee Harvey Oswald and the Assassination of JFK*, reviews and refutes many of the prominent conspiracy theories.

In a brisk, synthetic account, Irwin and Debi Unger’s *LBJ: A Life* provides an overview of Johnson’s life and public career in Congress and the presidency. Paul Conkin’s *Big Daddy from the Perdernales: Lyndon Baines Johnson* is a brief and useful, if at times thin, biography. Careful, extensively researched accounts by Robert Dallek, *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960* and *Flawed Giant: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1961–1973*, present a fine, balanced study of Johnson and his presidency. A political ally, Joseph Califano provides additional insights in *The Triumph & Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson: The White House Years*. However, Robert Caro’s two volumes, *The Years of Lyndon Johnson*, take a critical, unflattering look at Johnson as his political fortunes rose.

Another interesting study of Johnson’s presidency and life was authored by a former White House fellow and postpresidential aide, Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Lyndon

The political-economic policies of the 1960s have been studied in the essays collected by Mark White, Kennedy: The New Frontier Revisited, while John Andrew examines Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society and Paul Burstein looks at Discrimination, Jobs and Politics: The Struggle for Equal Employment Opportunity in the United States since the New Deal. Hugh Davis Graham’s The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years looks thoughtfully and critically at both presidents’ education policies. Charles Pellegrino and Joshua Stoff review the decade’s space program in Chariots for Apollo: The Untold Story Behind the Race to the Moon and David Greenstone examines the role of Labor in American Politics.


Competing pressures from various groups with often quite different agendas complicated domestic affairs in the 1960s. The civil rights movement played a major role in disturbing the political processes of the 1960s. The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement by Aldon Morris emphasizes the economics and leadership of African American churches in launching the crusade; while Hugh Davis Graham’s The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960–1975 focuses on the roles of the executive and congressional branches. Reverend Martin
Luther King, Jr.’s participation during the critical first years has been told by Taylor Branch in *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* and David Garrow’s *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* deals more generally with his life and the group that support his efforts. Nick Bryant, *John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality*, and Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, present well-researched accounts of the president’s record on civil rights. Robert Mann, *The Walls of Jericho: Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Richard Russell and the Struggle for Civil Rights* focuses on the role of the Johnson administration in the civil rights era.


Foreign affairs also occupied a considerable amount of both presidents and their administrations. A collection of essays, *The Diplomacy of the Crucial Decade: American Foreign Relations during the 1960s*—edited by Diane Kunz—examine many different dimensions of Kennedy and Johnson’s Cold War policies. Two enlightening accounts of the Cold War by individuals include Anatoly Dobrynin, *In Confidence: Moscow’s Ambassador to America’s Six Cold War Presidents* and Raymond Garthoff, *A Journey through the Cold War*. In *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960–1963*, Michael Bechloss provides a detailed examination of the crises faced by the young president—the Bay of Pigs, the Vienna Conference, Berlin and Cuban missile episode; Thomas Schoenbaum looks at these events from the standpoint of the secretary of state in *Waging Peace and War: Dean Rusk in the Truman, Kennedy and Johnson Years*. Thomas Patterson’s collected essays, *Kennedy’s Quest for Victory: American Foreign Policy, 1961–1963* and Richard Walton’s *Cold War and Counter-Revolution: The Foreign Policy of John F. Kennedy* present critical interpretations of Kennedy and his administration’s handling of foreign policy issues.

Of the several accounts of the Cuban missile affair, Graham Allison and Philip Zelikow’s *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile*, 2nd ed. is a standard read. Alexandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, “*One Hell of a Gamble*: *Khrushchev, Castro and Kennedy, 1958–1964*, had unprecedented access to former Soviet archives, while Ernest May and Philip Zelikow, *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis*, provides transcripts of most audio recordings JFK secretly made during the episode.

Focusing on both Johnson’s international policies and his relationships with his foreign policy advisers, H. W. Brands provides useful analysis in *The Wages of Globalism: Lyndon Johnson and the Limits of American Power*. Thomas Schwartz’s *Lyndon Johnson and Europe: In the Shadow of Vietnam*, engaging study portrays Johnson as an effective leader of the Western alliance. Warren Cohen and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker’s collected essays—*Lyndon Johnson Confronts the World: American Foreign Policy, 1963–68*—probe aspects of Johnson’s foreign policy beyond the Vietnam conflict. Johnson’s last year in the White House was also unsettled by the hostage crisis posed in *The Pueblo Incident: A Spy Ship and the Failure of American Foreign Policy*.


Arms control efforts to limit the potential threat of strategic weaponry can be found in McGeorge Bundy, Danger and Survival: Choices about the Bomb in the First Fifty Years; J. P. G. Freeman, Britain’s Nuclear Arms Control Policy in the Context of Anglo-American Relations, 1957–68; Martin Goldstein, Arms Control and Military Preparedness from Truman to Bush; and Robin Ranger, Arms and Politics, 1958–1978: Arms Control in a Changing Political Context. Kennedy’s creation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is described by Duncan Clarke, Politics of Arms Control: The Role and Effectiveness of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

JOHN F. KENNEDY


**LYNDON B. JOHNSON**

OTHER PERSONALITIES


**NEW FRONTIER/GREAT SOCIETY**


CULTURE


**DOMESTIC AFFAIRS**


**JUDICIAL SYSTEM**


**POLITICS**


**SPORTS**


**CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT**


**AFRICAN AMERICANS**


Evers, Mrs. Medgar. *For Us, the Living*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967.


**AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT**


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**MEXICAN AMERICANS**


RIOTS


WOMEN


**ANTIWAR MOVEMENT**


**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**


AFRICA/ASIA


CARIBBEAN, CENTRAL & SOUTH AMERICA


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EUROPE


**MIDDLE EAST**


**SOUTHEAST ASIA**


**THE COLD WAR**


**CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS (1962)**


**VIETNAM WAR**


**MILITARY AFFAIRS**


ARMS CONTROL


LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST BAN


**NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY**


**REFERENCE WORKS**


About the Authors

Richard Dean Burns is professor emeritus and former chair of the History Department at California State University, Los Angeles. Born at Des Moines, Iowa, and after several years military service, he received a B.A. in 1957, M.A. in 1958, and Ph.D. in 1960 at the University of Illinois. He has authored and edited more than a dozen books and two-dozen in-depth articles covering arms control, diplomatic history, international law, and American foreign policy, and most recently co-authored The Quest for Missile Defense, 1944–2003 (2004). A bibliographer, essayist, and editor, Burns long has been involved in preparing reference books such as the internationally recognized A Guide to American Foreign Relations Since 1770 (1983) and the critically acclaimed Twentieth Century Presidential Bibliography Series. Dr. Burns designed and edited a three-volume Encyclopedia of Arms Control and Disarmament (1993) that also received two national awards, co-edited the three-volume Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy, 2nd edition (2002), edited a three-volume Chronological History of United States Foreign Relations (2002) and a Cold War Chronology, 1917–1992 (2005).

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Queensland, and for three years served as visiting fellow in the Key Centre for Ethics, Law, Justice and Governance, Griffith University. Among his numerous books are *A History of United States Foreign Policy*; *Depression to Cold War: A History of America from Herbert Hoover to Ronald Reagan* (with David G. Coleman); *Presidential Profiles: The Kennedy Years* and *Real-World Nuclear Deterrence: The Making of International Strategy* (with David G. Coleman).