



# Welcome to US History Talks

# Preview : Module 6: A Nation Adrift

Talk	Title	Time Period	Date of Talk
37	The Great Society	1964-1968	May 19th
38	Vietnam	1961-1975	June 2nd
39	US society and culture 1960's	1960-1970	June 16th
40	Return of the Republicans	1968-1976	September 1st
41	The "Me Decade"	1970-1980	September 15th
42	The "Humility Experiment"	1976-1980	September 29th

# Talk 37: Great Society

- 
- Aftermath of an assassination
  - LBJ
  - Civil Rights Act of 1964
  - Great Society Programme
  - War on Poverty and the backlash

Recommended Reading: Robert Dallek: LBJ



# Aftermath of an assassination

Lyndon Baines Johnson taking the oath  
...2 hours after the assassination of JFK



# WE CARRY ON



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Credit: New York Daily News Archive

Relinquishing his mother's hand, John-John salutes his father's flag-draped casket . . . and a nation weeps.  
STORIES BEGIN ON PAGE 2; EIGHT MORE PICTURE PAGES



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Credit: Rolls Press/Popperfoto

# Lee Harvey Oswald



...juvenile delinquent  
...US marine...marksman

Defected to USSR 1959  
...assigned to factory  
..marries East German  
..returns to US disillusioned

Fantasia.....pro Castro  
...visits Mexico city 1962  
...Cubans reject/returns to US

Life in Dallas  
...marital disputes  
..pro Castro demos  
...attempted killing of  
politician

Buys snipers rifle by mail order  
...part time job "Book Depository"  
...smuggles in gun (curtain rods)

# Oswald murder...Sunday



Seen leaving Book  
Depository/ leaves rifle  
Takes bus home

Kills police officer  
(Tibbit) on returning  
Home...goes to movies

Arrested in movie theatre

News conference  
....claims innocence

On way to arraignment  
...then this happens

# Kennedy Assassination

- Rumours and conspiracy theories spread.....and continue
  - Vice President Lyndon Johnson....despised by JFK...feeling mutual
  - CIA..JFK pushing back on Vietnam
  - USSR...revenge vs Cuban missile crisis/Castro.....protection from CIA
  - Mafia...Kennedy brothers' pursuit
- Warren Commission ....Bi Partisan: No conspiracy, one man, one bullet
- The evidence as of today:
  - no evidence of conspiracy despite 60 years of investigations
  - Newly released documents....CIA investigating/paying Oswald ...possible informant....not assassin. Oswald linked to gun. Motive

Impossible to believe one man could end the life of such a notable figure  
.....regardless of any proof that is exactly what happened

# The days after

- ▶ Johnson shaken...returns from Dallas to Washington with Jackie, family
- ▶ Nation in shock....global outpouring of grief (Moscow churches)
- ▶ Lyndon Johnson
  - ▶ Side-lined by JFK Presidency Opposite Kennedy....and ignored
  - ▶ Opposite in character: uneducated ,crude, ideology free
  - .....labelled immoral in politics, business, and personal life

# Johnson "Let us Continue"

Retains Kennedy cabinet

LBJ televised address November 27, 1963



Reaches out to

...Congress..

...Civil Rights Leaders

...Unions

Kennedy "the greatest President Of all time" ....I would give up all I Have not be here today....

"An assassin's bullet has thrust upon me the awesome burden of the Presidency. I am here today to say I need your help; I cannot bear this burden alone.

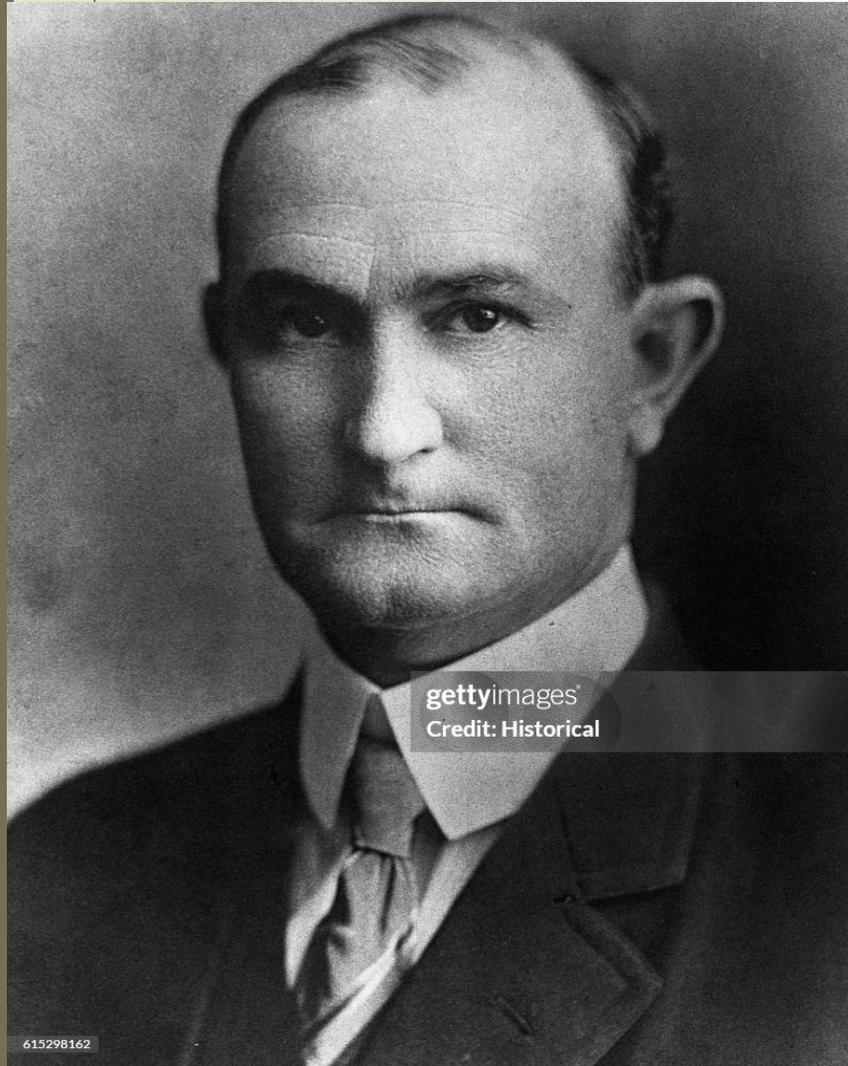
.... Today, in this moment of new resolve, I would say to all my fellow Americans, let us continue"



LBJ

# Lyndon Johnson parent

Samuel  
(1877-1937)



Rebecca  
(1881-1958)



Sam

- ...failed cotton farmer
- ...occasional state representative
- ...hard drinker, violent, reckless
- ...in sight of...but not part of wealth
- ...formerly prosperous family

Rebecca

- ...college educated
- ...ancestors Confederate officers
- ..."married down"
- ...adjust to poverty. No books
- ...5 children...Lyndon oldest
- ...determined Lyndon success

Family

- ...settle Central Texas 1900's
- ...log cabin...
- ...100% white community
- ...dirt poor...most of time

# Lyndon Johnson (aged 5)

...Rebecca...demands LBJ succeed  
...and ignores him if he doesn't



# Lyndon Johnson...from chaos to

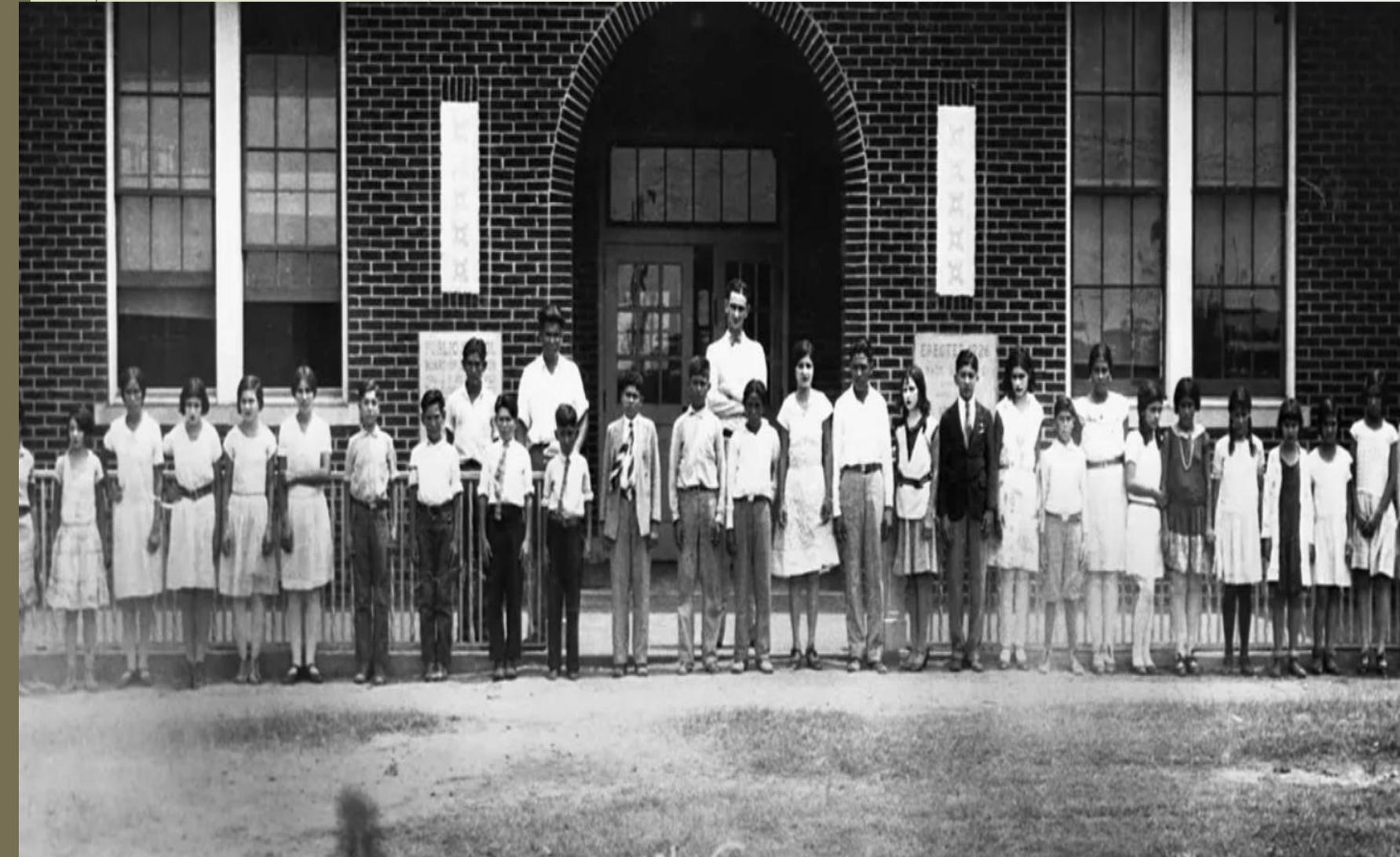
Lyndon teacher....Hispanic segregated school 1928/1929

“Wild youth  
...booze, girls, fails at school  
...runs away to California  
...fails...returns

Community college  
...cheap...disciplined  
..LBJ...networker

Teacher...all Hispanic school  
....driver  
...dedicated

Support father campaign  
....aide to Senator  
...workaholic  
...ambitious  
...introduced to State Rep  
Kullberg...hired as aide  
...moves to Washington





LBJ...the good side  
...memory of teaching @ Cotulla Texas High School  
(interviewed 1965)

“I shall never forget the faces of the boys and the girls in that little Welhausen Mexican School, and I remember even yet the pain of realizing and knowing then that college was closed to practically every one of those children because they were too poor. And I think it was then that I made up my mind that this nation could never rest while the door to knowledge remained closed to any American.”

# LBJ and FDR....1930's

LBJ Texas National Youth Administrator 1936

LBJ

FDR



18 hour day worker  
..Kleberg..booze, golf  
& women

Kleberg arranges  
LBJ Texas National  
Youth Administrator

Highly successful  
....introduced to FDR  
...New Deal believer  
...govt exists to help  
The unfortunate....  
...and make LBJ rich  
..goal...become  
Representative in Congr

Needs wife....and  
money

# Claudia Alta (“Ladybird) Johnson ( Taylor)1912-2007)

Ladybird 1940's



Born to extremely wealthy family East Texas  
Father owner of 15,000 cotton plantation...classic  
Racist..mother socialite...opera lover, who  
“scandalized people for miles around by  
Entertaining negroes in the home”

Educated University of Texas...two degrees  
History& Journalism.

Introduced to LBJ ...proposes on first date  
...marries after 10 weeks  
...2 daughters, 3 miscarriages  
...LBJ serially unfaithful... ongoing affairs, boasts  
...tolerates but humiliated

Invests in \$10,000 (1941) (\$250K). In LBJ first campaign

Purchases Texas Radio station for \$25,000 1943  
....investor in real estate , television, banks  
..worth \$150m before LBJ President (LBJ holdings)

# Democracy “Texas style”

One Party State ( Democrat ...till 1960's Civil Rights)

- White control (Jim Crow) disenfranchise Blacks & Mexicans (25% population)
- Weak Central Government...Governor limited power...till 1960's
- Part time politicians: low salary, attend 4 months every two years
- Politics of money, power, gaming....rampant in 1940's---now?  
....“Correctable votes” ....votes adjusted to fit result by election managers

**Success requires money, networks, ruthlessness.....violence minimal**

# Johnson...the candidate



# Johnson...rise to power

LBJ Victory Night 1937  
("Corrected votes in hand!")

"Johnson's ambition was uncommon – in the degree to which it was unencumbered by even the slightest excess weight of ideology, of philosophy, of principles, of beliefs." [Richard Caro](#)

Runs for Representative 1937

...delivers highway, road grants to Texas

...superb networker

...known, trusted by FDR

....believes in supports "New Deal"

Runs for Senate 1941

....promised no opposition

...tricked....."corrected votes"

...loses election....humiliated



# “War Hero” 1941-1942



Needs military experience to  
Re-launch political career

Joins Navy...appointed by FDR  
....inspect docks  
...sent to Pacific to review progress

Needs “Action”  
...joins air raid New Guinea  
....plane returns/mechanical issues  
....claims attacked by Japanese

Completes report  
....identifies issues/ praises McArthur  
...awarded “Silver Star” (not crew)  
...returns to US...discharged  
...prepares next step...Senator  
...this time...to control vote count

# Senator Johnson 1949-1961



Runs for Senate 1948

....pioneers helicopter use

...controls vote counting

...wins by 87 votes (980,000)

.....the mythical 200

Promoted to committee selection

.....inexhaustible, crude, effective

...Heads Federal Trade Commission

...awards Ladybird radio stations licences

Majority Leader 1954

Compels bi-partisan agreements

Civil Rights Bill (and "jury amendment

Supports...then abandons McCarthy

Supports Space programme,

Promotes "missile gap" myth

# Johnson as Vice President

## Unsuccessful run for President 1960

- JFK selects as VP....to win vote for Texas...and South

## ➤ Relationship with Kennedy

- To LBJ, JFK Spoiled rich boy

- To JFK: LBJ uncouth country boy... brothers compete to humiliate

## ➤ LBJ as VP

- Sent on overseas trips (out of the way..women)

- The “People to People” person...giver of pens



# The “People to People Person” ....LBJ as Vice President

Lyndon and Bashir....LBJ Ranch

LBJ sent to 20 countries  
...500,000 air miles

Pakistan

...sees camel driver  
....”why don’t y’all come & visit

Bashir trip

..LBJ flies Bashir to Washington  
..Grand tour/ gifts/ new truck  
....Trip to Mecca

Epilogue

...Bashir goes into business  
...target, son kidnapped  
...ruined...dies penniless



Used as “bridge” to South/ Civil Rights  
.....balances genuine support/Southern image



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Credit: Bettmann

# Unfinished business: The Kennedy Legacy

## Overseas

- ▶ Vietnam.....situation destabilizing....LBJ increases “advisors” to 23,000
- ▶ Cold War....maintain “Containment Strategy” ....USSR leadership change
- ▶ US image damaged by Civil Rights issue

## ▶ Domestic

- ▶ Tax cuts, welfare increases, expansion of Social Security,
- ▶ Civil Rights.....promises made, blocked by Senate Democrats
- ▶ National Mood: 77% “trusted government to do the right thing” (22% in 2024)
- ▶ Optimistic....success in war, rising affluence, effective Presidents, Bi Partisan
- ▶ Kennedy a “martyr”...legacy must be honoured....opposition “disloyalty”



# Civil Rights Act of 1964

# Black population USA 1960

Black population 19 million ...11% of 220 million

- ▶ 69% in South...but migration to North and West increasing
- ▶ Northern migration concentrated in major cities (New York, Chicago, Newark)
- ▶ Economic status
  - ▶ Income for blacks 50% that of whites....40% lower for similar jobs
  - ▶ Family wealth black family \$9,000 vs \$75,000 (minimal inherited wealth)
- ▶ Discrimination (North & South) ....despite Supreme Court.. case case rulings
  - ▶ Union restrictions....construction, transport, law enforcement, education
  - ▶ Housing/ finance ..zoning/ financial discrimination.... interest rates, loans
  - ▶ Education.. Budget 25% white schools....university restrictions

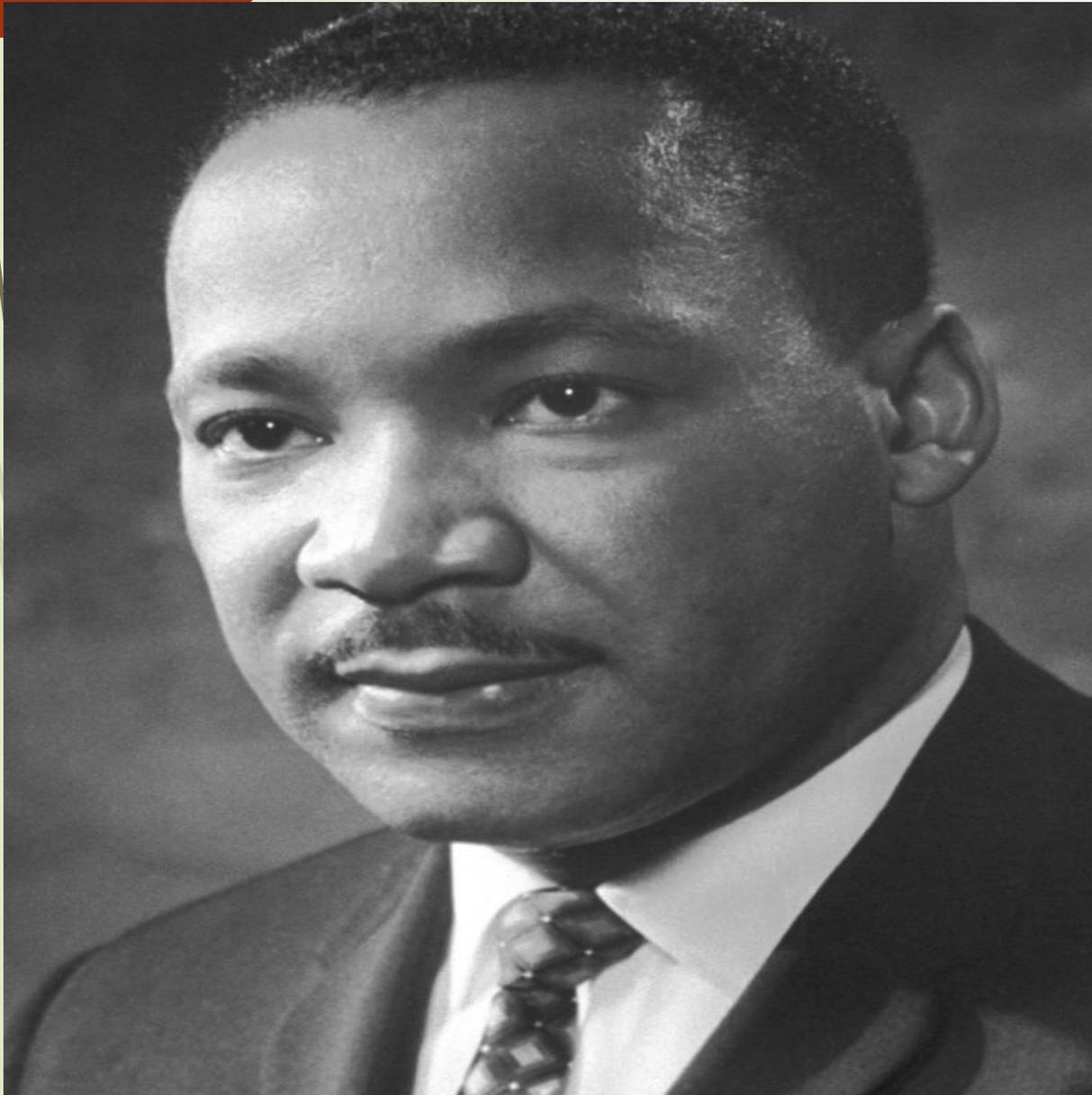
# Civil Rights Status 1960

## Minimal Political Representation

- 4 Representatives in Congress (vs 2 Senators, 14 Reps 1874)
- White only local government across South
- 24<sup>th</sup> Amendment passed...outlaws poll taxes, offset by other techniques
- “Progress limited to National (Federal) Government + case by case rulings
  - Military & Federal Government integrated/ violence reduced to 2/3 lynching's/year
  - Brown vs Board of Education 1954:school discrimination unlawful...but ignored
  - Civil Rights Act passed 1956....ineffective due to “jury amendment”
  - White public opinion changes....60% White support Civil Rights

National Campaign needed to make systematic change

# Martin Luther King (1929-1968)



Born Georgia...father successful minister  
...black colleges

....voracious reader

...studies Marx...rejects due to atheism

...influences: Rauschenbusch ("Social Gospel") & Henry George (Wealth & Poverty)

Private life

....Marries Coretta Scott...4 children

....extra marital affairs/ confessions

Preacher Montgomery Alabama 1956

...expands church 600 -5,000

...participates in Bus Boycott. Leadership role

...arrested, beaten....successful court ruling

# MLK 1956...Released from Jail Montgomery Atlanta



# MLK rise to national prominence

**Joins** black activists to create “Southern Christian Leadership Conference 1957

- Campaign of disciplined non violent marches
- Inspired by Billy Graham...bailed out of jail
- Desegregation marches 1960-1962
  - Lunch counters, use of buses, common seating
  - Arrested sentenced to 4 years hard labour/ Bobby Kennedy intervention
- Birmingham Alabama Campaign 1963
  - Police violence widespread and televised
  - King arrested....Auto Union President funds bail....Bobby Kennedy intervention

City capitulates....MLK organizes “march on Washington”....People’s March”  
.....invited into White House to meet I B.J

# The speech





# I have a dream speech

“I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, 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 the table of brotherhood.”

# LBJ and Civil Rights Act

Deeply committed to improving lot of the poor and removing injustice

- Kennedy legacy....turning rhetoric into legislations
- Support US “brand” in developing world
  - Existence of discrimination known world wide
  - Undermines argument that Capitalist West superior to Communist model
- Integral component to creation of emerging “Great Society” vision

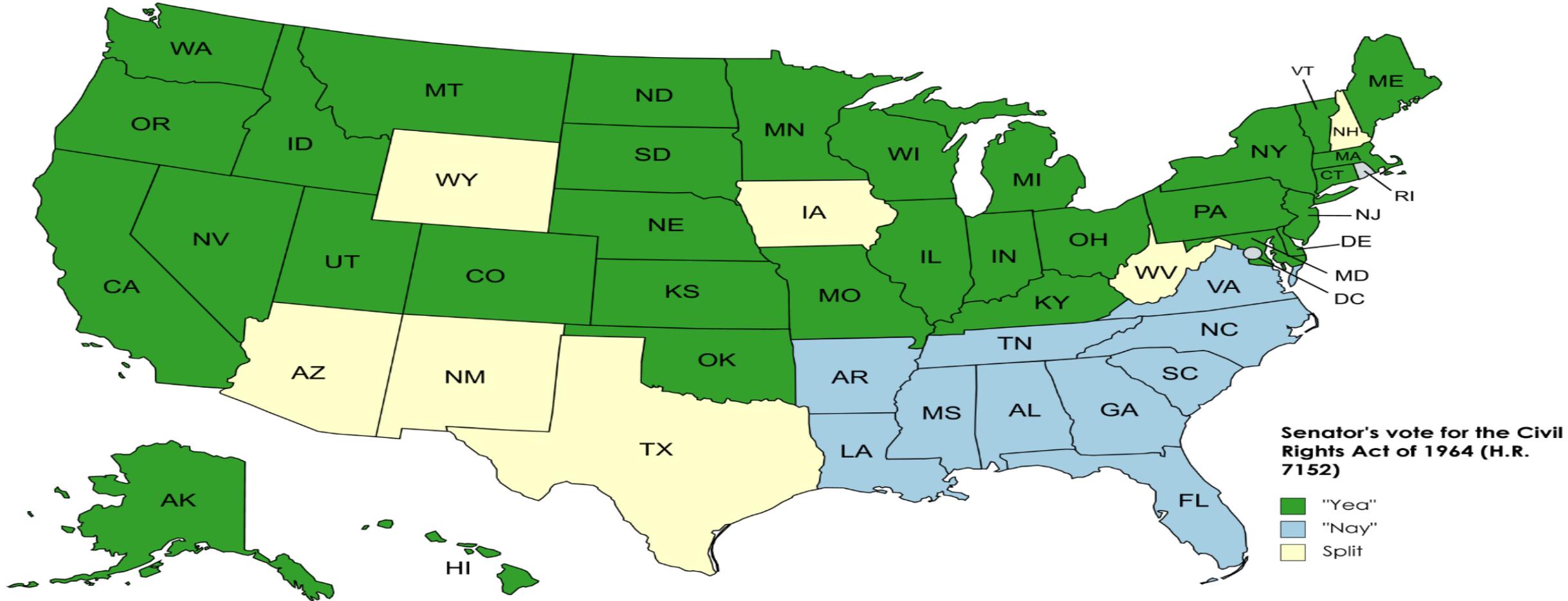
Accepts “loss” of South to Republicans as cost of progress  
....Build coalition Northern Liberals + Blacks + other minorities+ unions

# Civil Rights Act 1964

- ▶ Proposed July 1963 by Kennedy Administration
  - ▶ Outlaws discrimination on basis of race and sex, housing, education, employment, access
  - ▶ Eliminates “jury amendment” ....enforceable by Federal Government
- ▶ Resistance intense....52 day filibuster: ““We will resist to the bitter end any measure or any movement which would tend to bring about social equality and intermingling and amalgamation of the races in our [Southern] states” ....Georgian Senator Russell
- ▶ Resubmitted to Congress by LBJ ....one week after Kennedy funeral

Filibuster overcome by 2/3 vote....just  
....dying Senator wheeled in ...July 1965

# Senate votes for Civil Rights Bill ....."Solid South...last stand



# Signing of Civil Rights Act 1964



For LBJ...just the first step to something much bigger  
the transformation of America

# We shall overcome (origins unknown)

We Shall Overcome, we shall overcome  
We shall overcome someday.  
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,  
We shall overcome someday.

We are not afraid, we are not afraid,  
We are not afraid today.  
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,  
We shall overcome someday.

We are not alone, we are not alone  
We are not alone today  
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,  
We are not alone today.

The truth will make us free, the truth will make us free,  
The truth will make us free someday.  
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,  
We shall overcome someday.

We'll walk hand in hand, we'll walk hand in hand,  
We'll walk hand in hand someday.  
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,  
We shall overcome someday.

The Lord will see us through, the Lord will see us through,  
The Lord will see us through, someday.  
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,  
We shall overcome someday.



# The Great Society Programme

# LBJ “Great Society” Vision: May 1964

“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 honours 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”



# Obstacles

- Winning 1964 Re-election
  - Civil Rights opposition
  - Getting legislation through Congress
- 

# 1964 election

**Democrats:** LBJ secures almost unanimous nomination of Democratic Party

- ▶ **Tonkin Gulf Incident July 1964 (more in Talk 38)**
  - ▶ US claims North Vietnam attacked US destroyer
  - ▶ LBJ “retaliation limited to bombing N Vietnam/ financial support South ( despite secret plan to increase support from 16,000- 180,000)
- ▶ **Republican split**
  - ▶ Progressives (Nelson Rockefeller)...support Great Society/ limited response
  - ▶ Conservatives (Barry Goldwater)...end Great Society/ “active intervention”

**Goldwater wins nomination**

**....present US with radical alternative to post Great Depression consensus**

# Barry Goldwater and “new” Conservatives

Barry Goldwater (1909-1998)



Barry Goldwater

....Jewish father....Department store chain

....Brought up Episcopalian

....Photographer... Air force

...Navajo Indian supporter...admitted to tribe

....Pilot ww2 supplies US to India

Political career

...Enters politics 1945....Senator Arizona

1952...support Civil Rights but only "bottom up

...Civil Rights Act 1964... "overreach" of Big G

..."Great Society" ....road to communism

...Communism must be crushed...everywhere

# Goldwater campaign

In your heart, you know he's right

Goldwater programme

...military ok to use "tactical" A bomb  
.. "extremism in cause of virtue no vice"  
...end "Great Society"

Democratic responses

"In your heart, you know he's nuts"

"in your heart you know he's right...far right"

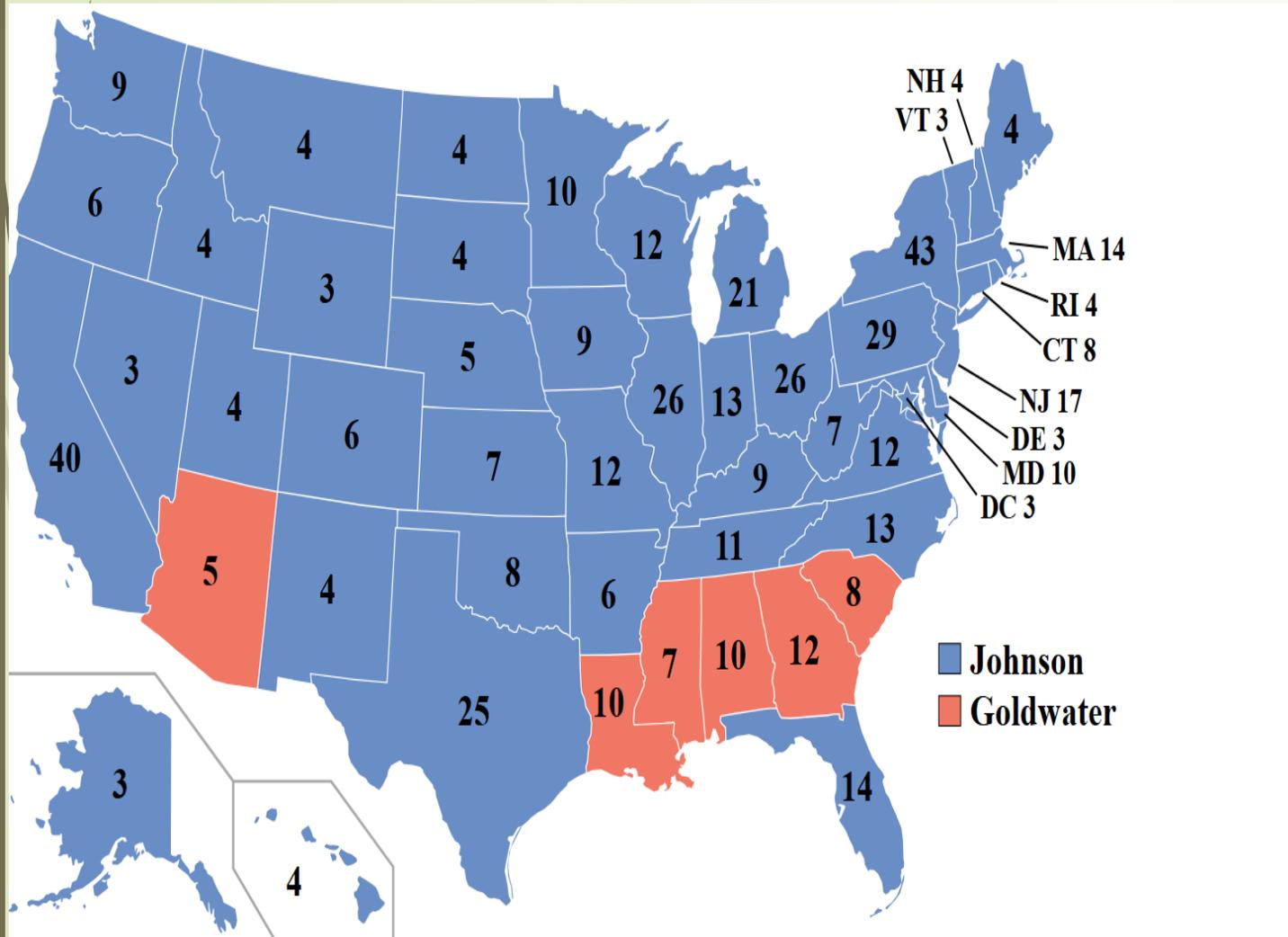
LBJ... "We are not about to send American  
boys..away from home to do what Asian  
boys ought to do themselves"



“Daisy Ad” ...most successful 90 second ad



# 1964 Election .....Democrat LBJ Landslide



LBJ Wins 68% vote  
486 to 50 electoral votes  
Democrat “supermajority”  
...2/3 control of Congress  
...no “filibusters”

“Political Realignment  
...”Solid South” Republicans

New political division  
...Democrats: Big Government,  
civil rights, unions, equality,  
regulation, contain Communism

...Republicans: small government  
state’s rights, Business, inequality,  
deregulation, active intervention

# Civil Rights opposition

## Opposition widespread across the South

- ▶ Local politicians determined to retain power/ Civil Rights ignored by states
- ▶ Zero black political representation. 100% White police most southern states
- ▶ Resistance often violent (16<sup>th</sup> St Baptist Church bombing Sep 1963...4 girls killed, no prosecutions till 1977)
- ▶ Selma Alabama a test case
  - ▶ City population 29,000, 50% black. 15,000 eligible black voters, 300 able to vote
  - ▶ Drive to secure voting rights for blacks resisted
  - ▶ Civil Rights ignored...continued segregation of public places

Local Activists decide to lead marches to state capital Montgomery Alabama...need to cross Selma Bridge

# Series of marches, violent police...widens support Rev James Beeb, MLK, Robert Abernathy..March 1965



Rev Beeb dragged out of mixed race diner and beaten to death that night

# Marches resume...covered by Life Magazine & news media...violence disgusts public

**LIFE**

Vol. 58 No. 11 March 28, 1965

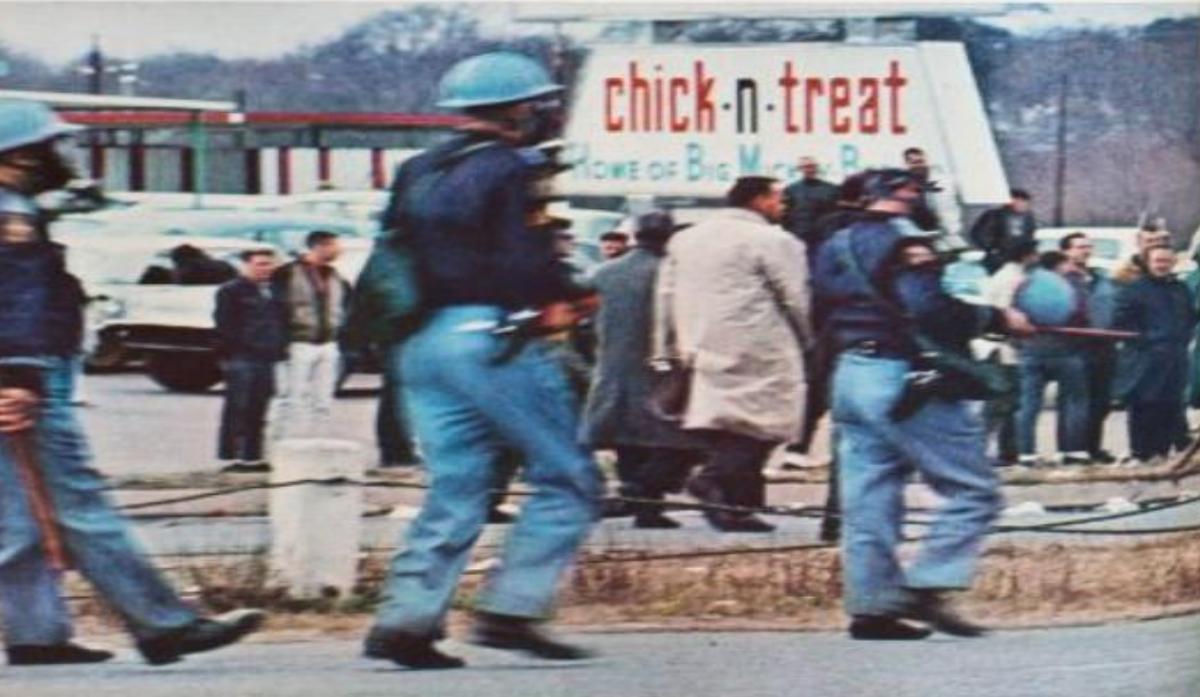


## SELMA: BEATINGS START



## THE SAVAGE SEASON

**THE CLASH.** Moments after the first tear-gas flare caused a job cut-off Selma, Ala., protesters attack Negro marchers. At top left, a trooper pushes down the front ranks. At top right, the troopers—some in gas masks—start beating about thirty white boys, clubs, hitting Negroes to the ground. As the march moves back down the road, troopers (below) follow white teenagers who, ahead of them, chanted and waved their fists furiously about aid.



March 1965...25,000 march

...MLK arrested. Retains non violent commitment

...LBJ orders Governor to release MLK protect marchers, not beat them



Alabama troopers  
await marching Negroes  
in Selma

# LBJ and Selma Aftermath

- Great Society under threat
  - Civil Rights Act ineffective unless all voting restrictions removed
  - Threat of violence undermining government
    - Conservatives (MLK) losing influence and need support
    - Rise of “Black Power” movements (Nation of Islam, Malcolm X)
- Solution: Voting Rights Act
  - LBJ submits “Voting Rights” Act to eliminate ALL voting restrictions
  - Opposition by White Democrats intense....existential threat to power

Getting Great Society legislation passed....will need LBJ “Treatment”



# Overcoming Congressional opposition



# LBJ...how to get things done ...."The Treatment"

“The Treatment could last ten minutes or four hours. It came, enveloping its target, at the Johnson Ranch swimming pool, in one of Johnson's offices, in the Senate cloakroom, on the floor of the Senate itself – wherever Johnson might find a fellow Senator within his reach..... He moved in close, his face a scant millimetre from his target, his eyes widening and narrowing, his eyebrows rising and falling. From his pockets poured clippings, memos, statistics. Mimicry, humour, and the genius of analogy made The Treatment an almost hypnotic experience and rendered the target stunned and helpless.” (Evans and Roebuck “The Exercise of Power 1965)

# Administering the treatment

Not so friendly



..and friendly





.....It works

➤ Voting Rights Act Passed

➤ Great Society and “War on Poverty” launched



# War on Poverty and Backlash

# Social Security Expansion Act 1965

## ➤ Medicare

- Low cost insurance for the retired
- Complex rules on care types duration
- Paid by payroll taxes and deductions from Social Security

## ➤ Medicaid

- Low cost insurance for those 130% poverty level
- Complex eligibility, care provisions

Government welfare costs rise from 1% to 8% of US Budget  
Expansion of Administration/ Insurance/ Compliance “industry”

# Immigration and Nationality Act

- Immigration prior to 1965 based on “national origins”. Established 1920
  - Retain ethnic mix based on 1900 census
  - Immigration from Asia, Africa, South America banned
  - US population 90% “white” 1900....90% white 1965
- Replace “national origins with “new categories” ....eliminate racial bias
  - Family background
  - Job skills
  - Refugees
  - Limits set by hemisphere
  - “Mentally defective” ....LGBTQ labelled as such....and banned from entry

Not expected to change population mix.....

# Other

- ▶ Education Act....Funding for “Head Start” ....primary school education
- ▶ Clean Air Act...remove pollution from vehicles
- ▶ Highway Beautification (Lady Bird Johnson) vs billboards state highways
- ▶ Gun control....mentally ill, convicted felons banned from owning guns

Most ambitious programme “War on Poverty”

# Economic Opportunity Act: ...a “hand up, not hand down”

- Objectives: End poverty by eliminating its causes:
- Education and lack of skills
  - Head Start....free education for underprivileged Primary School
  - Youth apprenticeships/ Job Corps for unemployed 18-15 year olds
- Resolving disempowerment
  - Create “Community Action Programmes”...bottom up change
  - Integrate “experts” with “underprivileged”....mix of volunteers and employees paid directly by national government

Programme to be managed by “Office of Economic Opportunity”

# Warnings.....social change



## Increasing internal migration

- blacks from South to North and West
- Mexican migration to booming agricultural industries of west
  
- Rising levels of automation: mining, industry, loss of “unskilled” jobs
  
- “White flight” to suburbs, zoning restrictions vs blacks
  - Reduced tax base, local government increasingly unrepresentative
  - Reduced employment opportunities
  
- Consumerism feeding expectations...participation in “good life”

Rising tensions.....triggers for violence...unexpected places

# Los Angeles 1965

A growing and changing city 1.5million 1940m, 2.6 million 1960

- 1940 90% white, 8% Latino, 2 % black

- 1965 65% whit, 18% Latino, 15% black, 2% Asian

- Segregated suburbs

- 95% housing restricted to “whites only”...over crowded/ absentee landlords

- 95% police and local government white...rampant corruption

- Reforms blocked

- Housing reforms passed by Democratic Governor

- Over-ruled by state “referendum”...Proposition 14

August 1965...black drunk driver white police in Watts area

...violent confrontation.....rumour....crowds.....violence

“City of Angeles August 1965”  
34 dead (23 shot by police)  
800 buildings, \$400m (\$2024) damaged



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Credit: Bettmann

# National Guard occupies city



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Credit: Bettmann

# Watts Aftermath

## Official Response

- Supreme Court rules Proposition 14 unconstitutional....ends housing restrictions
- State Government report blames police...80% white public reject findings

## ➤ Public Response.

- White public rejects State Report...80% blame radicals/ communists
- Black militant groups blame police (23 of 24 deaths....shot by police)
- Rising power of Conservatives
  - Ronald Reagan elected Governor of California 1967: Government the problem

LBJ view.....problem “systemic”, reforms must be in place before 1968 elections. And before public support lost

# Poverty USA mid 1960's

## “Poverty”

- ▶ living below poverty line, unable to meet basic conditions
- ▶ No health care, food 33% income, no phone, television, indoor plumbing
- ▶ Existence “national disgrace” ...contrary to US image “leader free world”
- ▶ Steady decline during 1950's
  - ▶ 17% population, concentrated in pockets (30% 1940, 1950)
  - ▶ Not a “race” problem, concentrated in “pockets”
    - ▶ Appalachia (98% white)/ Urban centres (60% black)

LBJ declares “War on Poverty  
...needs an organisation: Office of Economic Opportunity  
.....and someone to lead it

# Sargent Shriver (1915-2011): Director of OEO



Devout Catholic  
...wealthy family.  
..signers of Independence

Lawyer, US navy WW2  
..wounded Guadalcanal

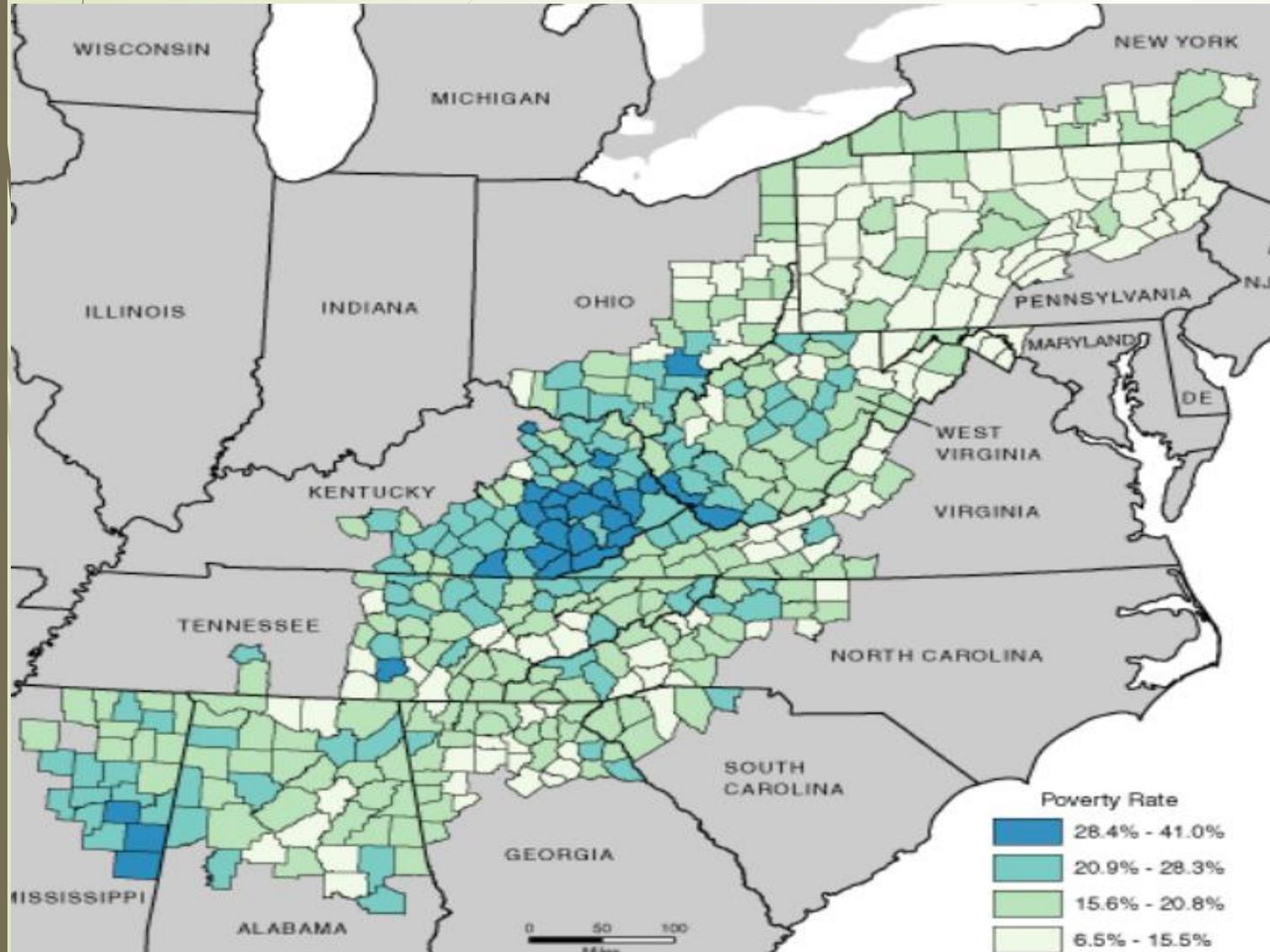
Friend of Kennedy's  
..marries Eunice JFK s

Director OEO 1964-1969  
...supporter of MLK

Future ambassador  
....dedicate to good  
...anti war activist  
...pro life campaigner

# War on Poverty: Appalachia

## Appalachia



Rapid growth 19<sup>th</sup> century

....coal mining/ ...small farming

....settler from "Borders"

....culture of distrust/ violence

....anti education/...large families

20<sup>th</sup> century industrialisation

....geographic isolation

....reliance on coal

.... Automation eliminating jobs

Coal miner "aristocracy"

...Corrupt politics/election rigging

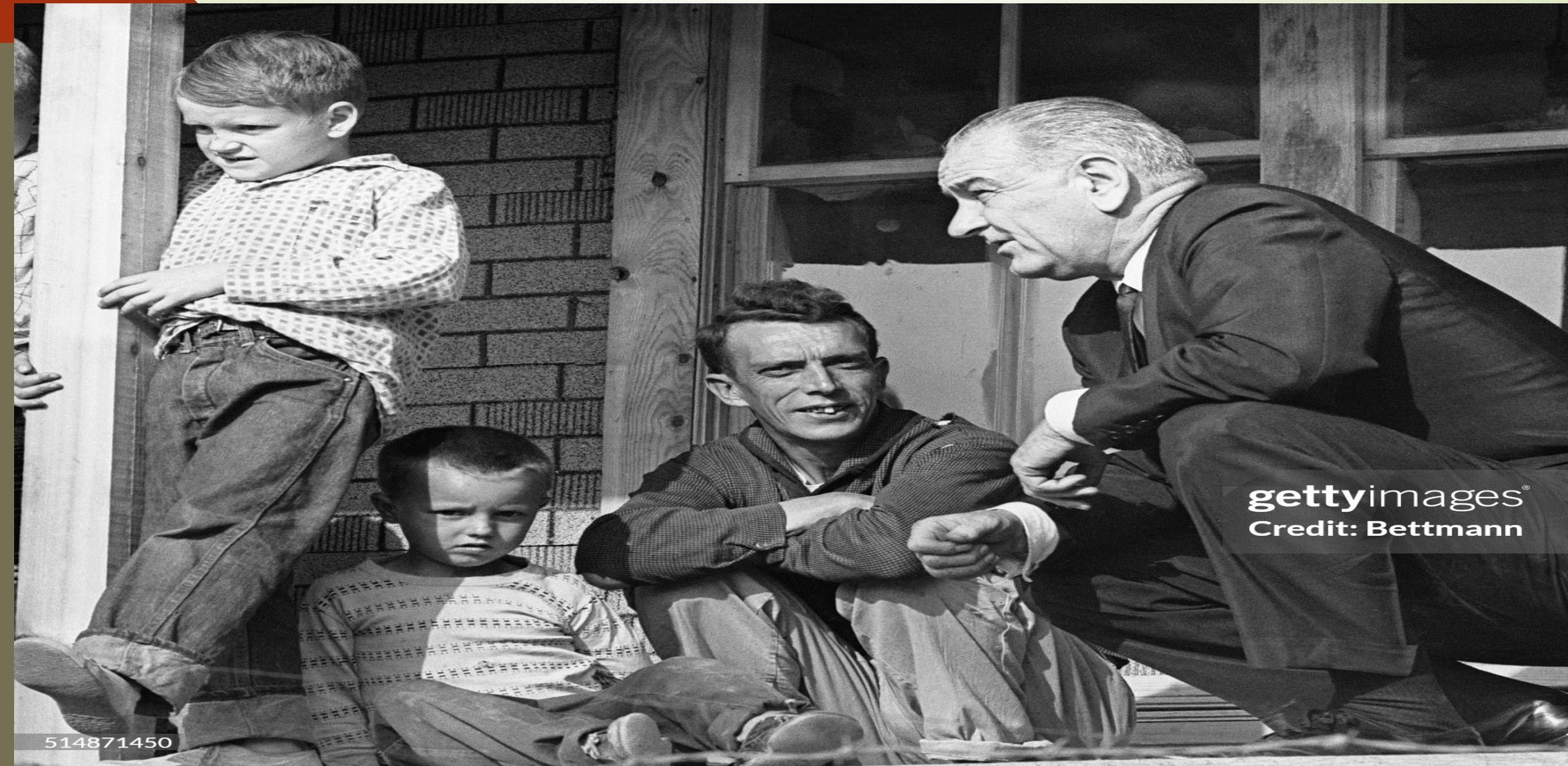
...company stores (50% + price)

...salary liens

# War on Poverty Appalachia

- Community Action Programmes
  - 1000's of experts despatched to establish
  - Creates “alternate governments” and sources of employment
  - CAPs created in every county Georgia to Ohio
- Programmes
  - New Schools/ Training Centres
  - Health Clinics/ family planning
  - Job Corps training centres
  - Voter registration

# LBJ Tour of Appalachia 1964



gettyimages®  
Credit: Bettmann

# Appalachia home 1964



# Appalachia Family 1964



# Appalachia family dinner 1964



# War on Poverty Appalachia: impact & backlash

## Impact

- 70% reduction infant mortality/ 50% increase high school education by 1980
- Wage gap reduction from 40% to 60% national average
- Population decline from 5 to 3 million as young/educated leave

## ➤ Backlash

- Mining companies/ local government threatened ..experts labelled “communists”
- Automation continued, new jobs not created
- Culture war Resentment vs “outsiders” ...loss of young

## ➤ Legacy:

- Progress real but slow and marginal as coal and population declines
- National indifference...geographical isolation---”invisible”. Trouble in the cities

# War on Poverty: the US inner city 1965

- ▶ Rapidly changing populations: Black migration from South to North

## Black Population

	1960	1970
New York	6%	14%
Chicago	8%	33%
Detroit	9%	44%

- ▶ City Government structures non representative of changing community
  - ..... “White flight” ...whites move to suburbs, administration remains “white”
  - ..... Focus on control of costs/minimising welfare (Social Security Act 1935)
  - ..... Police Forces 95%+ white ...enforcing segregation rising unemployment



# War on Poverty: fixing the cities

- Fix the housing problem

- Create “affordable housing” for increasing population (Great Migration from South)

- Develop “model cities” to increase liveability of cities (parks, recreation)

- Provide local empowerment & Community Action Programmes

- CAPS lawyers expand role ...securing of welfare rights for clients

- Overcome State/ City Governments (50% Social Security funded locally)

# Head Start School



gettyimages®  
Credit: Afro Newspaper/Gado

# Job Corps at work



gettyimages®

Credit: Afro Newspaper/Gado

# Job Training School

...focus on work and creating ability to work



gettyimages  
Credit: Historical

# Model Cities Programme ...redesigning the city



Emergency Repairs



Youth Tutorial



Day Care



Health Careers Training



Parent Leadership Training



Housing Assistance



Ambulatory Detoxification



Drug Abuse Centers



Housing Maintenance



Recreation



Sanitation



Fire Cadet



Open Space



Around-the-Clock Schools



## PART I

### Model Cities' Funded Program

The question how one lives is as important as where. The interplay between the social and physical realms of community environment makes it advance or decline together. In devising Supplemental Fund programs therefore, Bronx Model Cities subcommittees planned social action programs side-by-side programs for physical development.

Model Cities Supplemental Funds give muscle to Neighborhood Programs, while program plans, drawn up by community residents, give pose and direction to Neighborhood advocacy and coordinating activities which help steer program implementation by city agencies. Community involvement beyond the initial planning phase continues, as community representatives meet with city agencies to insure that the merits of various programs are understood and implemented as intended by the Model Neighborhood.

Usually, little advocacy is needed in this area because the need for all five programs is widely agreed upon and city agencies are eager to have the opportunity to put Model Cities Funds to work. Significantly, however, the agencies are obliged to reach agreement with Bronx Model Neighborhood representatives on decisions affecting implementation. Once Supplemental Funds are allocated by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development for use by a city agency, the Neighborhood's participation continues in a monitoring capacity. Designated agencies directly receive and administer the monies in a guardian relationship to the Model Neighborhood.

Each Model Cities program described below is put into effect by a city agency and becomes, in practice, a special service assignment for it. In this way the knowledge and experience within operating city agencies is fully utilized.

## CHAPTER 1

### Social Action Programs

Bronx Model Neighborhood Social Action Programs stresses both personal advancement of community members and service to the community as a whole. Within that context, "career-ladder" training programs and other community service programs form two general categories of social involvement. As a guide to reading this chapter, programs in safety and sanitation and in technical, clerical and professional opportunities are discussed under career ladder training, while programs in education, recreation, health, delinquency-rehabilitation are elaborated under community service programs.

The expression "career ladder" refers to the job-rung structure of Civil Service positions. A goal of many programs is to afford residents the chance to complete a requisite high school diploma, to pass Civil Service exams and to gain advancement on the Civil Service career ladder.

Four career ladder programs are designed to meet the safety and sanitation needs manifest in high crime rates, inadequate garbage disposal, general clean-up services and fires which have been rampant, especially in the Neighborhood's numerous, abandoned tenements.

### Police Community Service Officer

This program prepares local residents to qualify in the Civil Service exam for patrolmen. The program is designed also to increase minority representation on the police force, to improve community police relations and to provide Neighborhood residents with a career ladder in police work. The implementing agency is the New York City Police Department. The program was allocated some \$1-million in Model Cities Supplemental Funds and began operating in the Bronx in August, 1971.

During the first six months of training, spent at the Police Academy, candidates received intensive coursework to prepare for high school and Civil Service exams. In February of this year 72 Community Service Officers were graduated from the Police Academy and assigned to their Neighborhood.

Their next phase of training in the program will include 15 months of training during which half-a-day will be spent in the community on part

# War on poverty cities: impact and backlash

## ➤ Progress

- Local empowerment.....enforcement of Civil Rights act
- Rise of black middle class/ reduced poverty, child deaths
- Constraints placed on developers, urban improvements
- Successful expansion of support to the most need

## ➤ Backlash

- Power struggle city (local tax funded) government vs CAPs
- Rise in black expectations vs reducing budgets due to Vietnam war
- Reduced support from white voters: “War on Poverty”= Welfare & Entitlement
- “Welfare Queen” myth ....as job availability in cities decline

# The problem

- ... Lowering unemployment/Rising welfare payments
- .....Reduced budgets due to Vietnam War

## US employment and welfare

	1960	1968	% Increase
US population	179 million	199 million	+11%
Unemployed	3.6m	2.3m	-36%
Welfare Recipients	3.0m	5.7m	+90%

Poverty and welfare relationship complex with solutions elusive, long term

US politics and society....not good at "long term"

# The “long hot summer” of 1967

- ▶ Expectations rising/ response declining
  - ▶ MLK non violent demonstrations losing credibility
  - ▶ Increasing toxic environment
- ▶ Urban police forces as Los Angeles
  - ▶ 95% White (Detroit 95 out of 4,000 police black.)
  - ▶ Single point of contact urban government and community
- ▶ Riots break out 150 cities: 85 deaths, 2,500 buildings \$1Bn property damage

....No central plan....every city a different “trigger”  
...usually police incident followed by rumour

Detroit...44 deaths (30 killed by police)



# Newark New Jersey ( 40 deaths)



# National Guard attacking looters. .Detroit 1967



# “Long Hot Summer” aftermath

## Public reaction

- Riots airwaves....US cities “on fire” message..
- Conflate urban riots with Vietnam
- Press (almost) universally blame riots on “agitators”, radicals”
- LBJ emergency meetings .....losing popularity 60% 1965 to 40% end 1967
- LBJ commissions Bi Partisan Kerner Commission: issues best seller 1969 Report “Systemic Racism” as cause....police brutality, profiling: “ “Our society is moving toward two societies one black, one white, separate and unequal”
- MLK “voice of the unheard”...relocates to ghetto Chicago, joins anti war protests

# End of “Big Society” Vision

- ▶ January 1968...Tet Offensive Vietnam
  - ▶ Message to date war about to end, troops about to return collapses
  - ▶ Anti war demonstrations escalate “Hey Hey LBJ, how many kids you kill today”
  - ▶ “Great Society” vision in collapse...approval ratings sink to 35%
- ▶ March 1968 LBJ agrees to resign and not run for re-election March 1968
- ▶ April 4, 1968...2 sanitation workers crushed to death in Memphis
  - .....cause lack of safety equipment & indifference
  - .....riots break out in Memphis....city neglect
  - .....MKJ leaves Chicago to give speech in Memphis



# MLK Memphis Speech

“Like anybody, I would like to live a long life; longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now.

I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the Promised Land!

I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land!

...and is killed that afternoon





# Aftermath of MLK assassination

- Riots break out in 100 US cities....45 deaths
- US appears to be falling apart law and order collapsing
- Vision of “Great Society” forgotten
- US losing its first war



Next Talk: The Vietnam War  
Monday June 2<sup>nd</sup> 10:00 am