

The Elections of Our Youth: Presidential Elections 1960-72

Second Lecture (20/27 Sep 2016)

Election of 1960

Greg Cleva, Phd

George Mason University/OLLI

Fall 2016



“...the ideologues will tell you that their doctrines will reshape life. Reshape life! Anyone who says that doesn’t understand a single thing about life. For human life is constantly changing, reshaping and transfiguring itself.”

Adlai Stevenson

The Elections of Our Youth: *Presidential Elections 1960-72*

First Lecture (20/21 Sep 2016)

Election of 1960

- Class Overview
- General Points
- *The 1960 Election*
 - *The Pre-Election Period*
 - *The Primaries/Caucuses*
 - *The Conventions*
 - *The Election*
- Fact Sheets—such as Campaign Financing
- Portraits—Journalists/Historians/Influentials/
Party Leaders/Pollsters
- Election 2016
 1. Money & Politics
 2. “The Phenomenon of Disenchantment”
 3. The Seeming Unimportance of Gender
 4. The Post 2016 Political Realignment—*Possible Scenarios*
- Bibliography

Theodore White

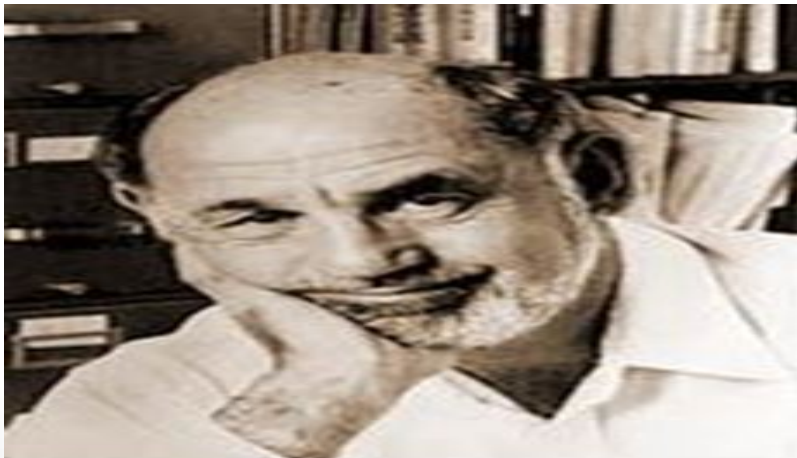


- 1915-1986
- Harvard/Chinese history—student of John K. Fairbanks
- Correspondent in China for *Time*
 - Wrote of the advent of Chinese Communism
- Edited the papers of General Joseph Stilwell
- European correspondent for the Overseas News Agency (1948-50)
- Avoided further writing about Communist China because of the suspicions of the McCarthy era
- ***Making of the President* series, 1960-1972**
- **Pulitzer Prize in 1962**
- Wrote of the Watergate scandal and the end of the Nixon presidency

Nelson Polsby/Aaron Wildavsky



Nelson Polsby



Aaron Wildavsky

- *Nelson Polsby*

- 1934-2007
- Heller Professor of Political Science and the Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the U. Of California, Berkeley
- Specialized in studies of the presidency and Congress

- *Aaron Wildavsky*

- 1930-93
- Professor of Political Science at U. of California, Berkeley and founder of its graduate school of public policy
- Pioneering works in governmental budgeting and public policy
- Implementation

Apart from Electing a President, what purposes does a presidential election have?

- ***Exposure to each of the candidates—relevant facts about them and their experiences and accomplishments; their overall demeanor, and their ability to manage their campaigns and handle problems (their ability to govern)***
- ***The candidates views/philosophies on domestic and international politics***
- ***Electability***
- ***Party Platforms and party positions***
- ***Discussion of the key issues facing the country at this point in its history;***
- ***Proposed solutions/legislative initiatives/programs***
- ***Major speeches and policy papers***
- ***Their advisors and “inner circle”***
- ***Etc.***

Our Public Philosophy

- *What are a society's views of the human nature?*
- *What latitude should a society afford individual freedoms and individual moral conscience?*
- *What role does Government play in society?*
- *How does a society's political and economic system intersect...if at all?*
- *What priority is afforded to education?*
- *What does the term "law and order" mean and what role should it play in a society?*
- *Is equality of opportunity compatible with individual accomplishment?*
- *If individuals achieve at different levels, should the society intervene from keeping inequality from becoming a permanent condition?*
- *How should a society view other nations?*
- *Is internationalism or isolationism to be preferred?*
- *And so forth*

Why Does Someone Run for the Presidency?

- ***JFK Statement***

- ***“I suppose anybody in politics would like to be president—because that is the center of action, the mainspring...of the American system...it is there that you have an opportunity to do something about all of the problems which I would be concerned with anyway as a father or as a citizen.”***
 - ***Kennedy often spoke of all of the “unfulfilled challenges” facing American society***

- ***The Nature of Political Power***

- ***Machiavelli’s The Prince***

- ***Power can be expansive, maintainable, perishable, fungible, etc.***
- ***The pitfalls of power--former Prime Minister Cameron’s Brexit vote (2016)***

- ***Harold Lasswell: observed “politics is the study of influence and the influential...who gets what, when, where and how”***

- ***Henry Kissinger commented that “power is the ultimate aphrodisiac”***

- ***Most importantly for the American system, Richard Neustadt commented in Presidential Power that, “ultimately, presidential power is the power to persuade.”***

General Points: Length of Time of Elections

	# of days		
United States	596 (est.)	historical circumstances	2016
Mexico	147	by law	recent
UK	139	historical circumstances	2015
Canada	78	historical circumstances	2015
Japan	12	by law	recent

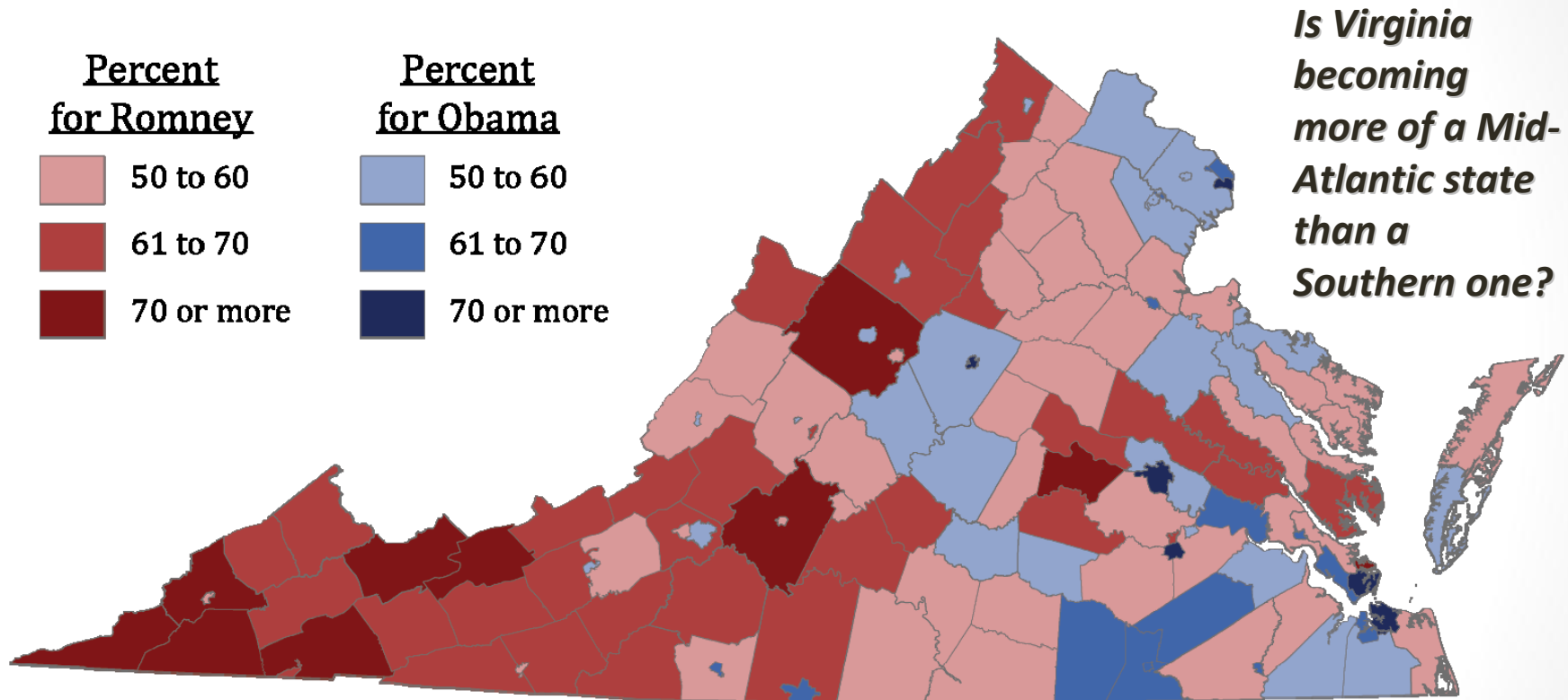
General Points:

Virginia: Presidential Elections, 1960-2016

Republican <i>Red</i>	1960, 1968- 2004			
Democrat <i>Blue</i>	1964, 2008-2012			
1960	Nixon	3.97M Population	800 thousand 52.4% Voting/ Voting%	12 Electoral Votes
2012	Obama	8.38M Population	3.8Million 51.6%Voting/ Voting%	13 Electoral Votes

General Points: *Virginia: Demographic Changes*

2012 Presidential Election Results



Source: Electoral data are from the Virginia State Board of Elections website (www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/Election_Information/Election_Results/Index.html)

General Points: “History Teaches by Analogy”



the Hedgehog



the Fox

Embracing Complexity

The universe is complicated. Whether you are interested in the functioning of a cell, the ecosystem in Amazonia, the climate of the Earth or the solar dynamo, almost all of the systems and their impacts on our lives are complex and multi-faceted

Yet collectively we keep acting as though there are simple answers. We continually read about the search for the one method that will allow us to cut through the confusion, the one piece of data that tell us the 'truth', or the final experiment that will 'prove' the hypothesis.

But almost all scientists will agree that these are fool's errands—that science is method for producing incrementally more useful approximations to reality, not a path to absolute truth.

In contrast, our public discourse is dominated by voices who equate clarity with seeing things as either good or bad, day or night, black or white. They are not simply ignoring the shades of gray, but are missing out on the whole wonderful multi-hued spectrum. By demanding simple answers to complex questions we rob the questions of the qualities that make them interesting, reducing them to clichéd props for other agendas.

The world is complex, and we need to embrace that complexity to have any hope of finding any kind of robust answers to the simple questions that we, inevitably, will continue to ask.

Sfumato (literally “going up in smoke”): a willingness to embrace ambiguity, paradox and uncertainty

The Election of 1960
Kennedy-Nixon
The Pre-Election Period

The "Fifties"

THE G.I. BILL

Provided college for returning World War II veterans (commonly referred to as GIs)

Provided one year of unemployment compensation



Millions of GIs bought homes, attended college, started business venture, or found jobs

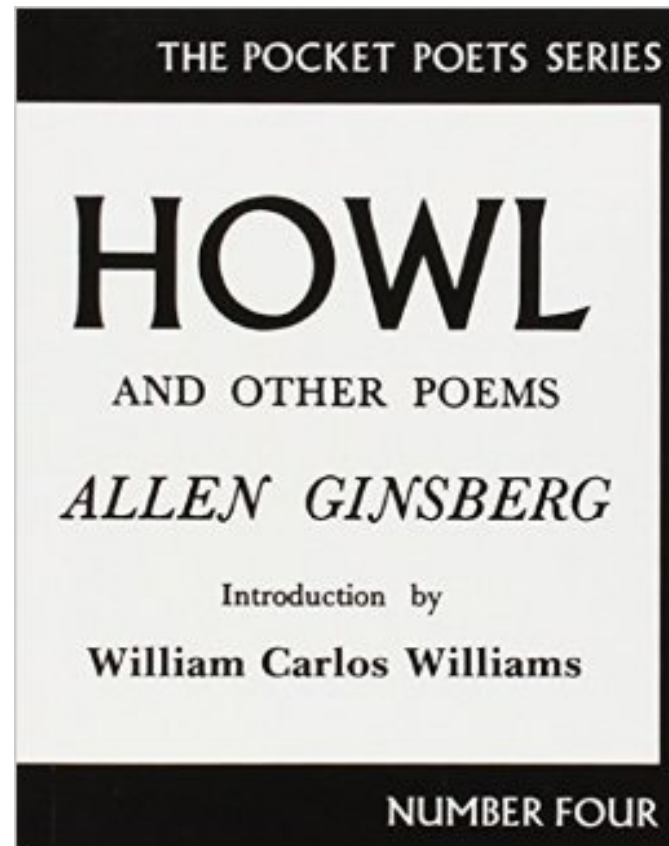


The Fifties—the Sociological Critique

- David Reisman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney. ***The Lonely Crowd***, 1950C.
- Wright Mills. ***White Collar: the America Middle Classes***, 1951
- William H. Whythe and Joseph Nocera. ***The Organization Man***, 1956
- ***Mid-century Existentialism***
 - ***Authenticity***
 - ***Beat Literature***
- Emphasis given to the emergence of a culture of conformance
 - Americans have become “***other directed***” in their work and social life
- The values of the large corporation govern our business culture
 - It is important to be seen as a “company man”
- Critique of middle class, suburban culture and mentality
 - “little boxes...made of ticky-tacky...”

The “Fifties” (cont.)

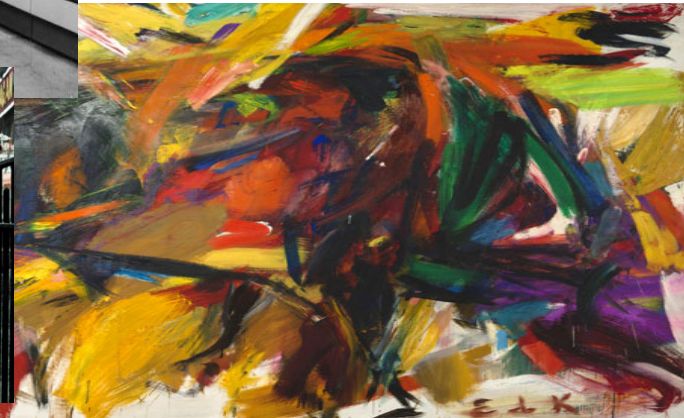
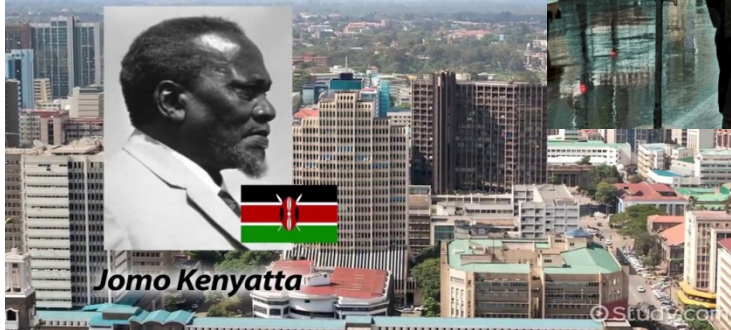
I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by
madness, starving hysterical naked,
dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn
looking for an angry fix,
angelheaded hipsters burning for the ancient heavenly
connection to the starry dynamo in the machinery of night,
who poverty and tatters and hollow-eyed and high sat up
smoking in the supernatural darkness of cold-water flats
floating across the tops of
cities contemplating jazz,
who bared their brains to Heaven under the El and saw
Mohammedan angels staggering on tenement roofs
illuminated,
who passed through universities with radiant cool eyes
hallucinating Arkansas and Blake-light tragedy among the
scholars of war.



The "Fifties" (cont.)



AFRICAN DECOLONIZATION



the Eisenhower Presidency



"Peace and Prosperity"

Korea

The Cold War

McCarthyism

The Economy

Brown vs. Topeka (School Integration)

Little Rock

The Geneva Summit

Personal Health Crises

The Hungarian Revolution

The Suez Crisis

The 1956 Election

Sputnik

The U-2 Incident

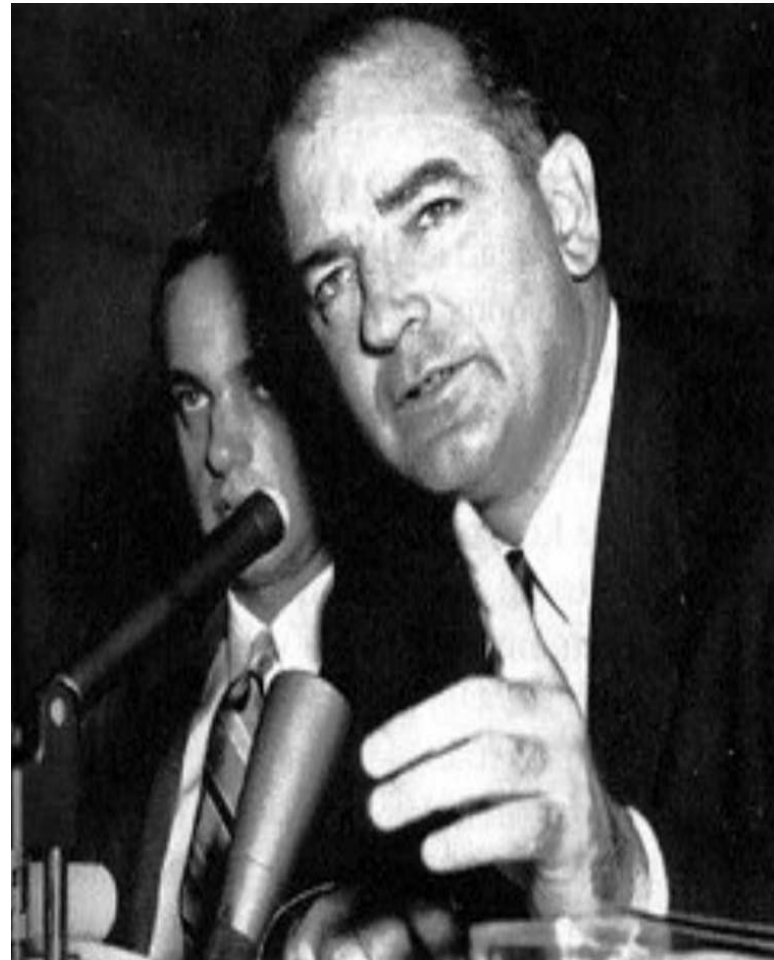
The presidency of [Dwight D. Eisenhower](#), from 1953 to 1961, was a [Republican](#) interlude during the [Fifth Party System](#), following 20 years of Democratic control of the White House. It was a period of peace and prosperity, and interparty cooperation, even as the world was polarized by the [Cold War](#). His main legacy is the [Interstate Highway System](#). He sent the Army to Arkansas to enforce court orders regarding racial integration, created [NASA](#), and made the space race against Russia a high priority. He emphasized advanced technology to keep down the expense of a large military manpower. He supported the conservative fiscal and taxation policies of the Taft Republicans. Ike, as he was popularly known, expanded the Social Security program but otherwise did not try to change the surviving "[New Deal](#)" welfare programs. A self-described "progressive conservative,"^[1] President Eisenhower warned against the [military-industrial complex](#). He is consistently ranked by scholars and political historians as one of the ten greatest American presidents.

the McCarthy Era

- **Joseph Raymond "Joe"**

McCarthy (November 14, 1908 – May 2, 1957) was an American politician who served as a [U.S. Senator](#) from the state of [Wisconsin](#) from 1947 until his death in 1957.

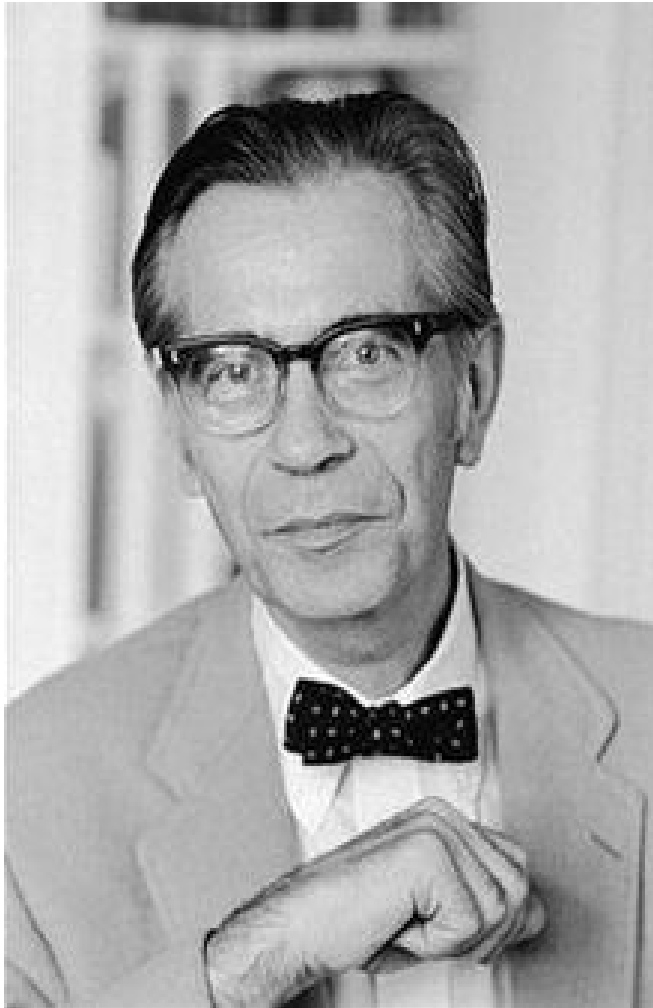
- Beginning in 1950, McCarthy became the most visible public face of a period in which [Cold War](#) tensions fueled fears of widespread [Communist subversion](#).^[1] He was noted for making claims that there were large numbers of Communists and [Soviet](#) spies and sympathizers inside the United States federal government and elsewhere.
- Ultimately, the controversy he generated led him to be [censured](#) by the United States Senate.
- The term "[McCarthyism](#)", coined in 1950 in reference to McCarthy's practices, was soon applied to similar [anti-communist](#) activities. Today, the term is used by critics of McCarthy in reference to what they consider [demagogic](#), reckless, and unsubstantiated accusations, as well as public attacks on the character or patriotism of political opponents.^[2]



The Paranoid Style & Anti-Intellectualism in American Political Life

- ***The Paranoid Style in American Politics***^[1] is an essay by American historian [Richard J. Hofstadter](#), first published in [Harper's Magazine](#) in November 1964; it served as the title essay of a book by the author in the same year. Published soon after [Senator Barry Goldwater](#) had won the [Republican](#) presidential nomination over the more moderate [Nelson A. Rockefeller](#), Hofstadter's article explores the influence of [conspiracy theory](#) and "movements of suspicious discontent" throughout [American history](#).
- ***Anti-Intellectualism in America Politics***: Hofstadter argued that both [anti-intellectualism](#) and [utilitarianism](#) were consequences, in part, of the democratization of knowledge. Moreover, he saw these themes as historically embedded in America's national fabric, an outcome of its [colonial](#) European and [evangelical Protestant heritage](#). Anti-intellectualism and utilitarianism were functions of American [cultural heritage](#), not necessarily of [democracy](#).

Richard Hofstadter



- **Richard Hofstadter** (6 August 1916 – 24 October 1970) was an American [historian](#) and [public intellectual](#) of the mid-20th century.
- Hofstadter was the DeWitt Clinton Professor of American History at [Columbia University](#). Rejecting his earlier approach to history from the far left, in the 1950s he embraced [consensus history](#), becoming the "iconic historian of postwar liberal consensus", largely because of his emphasis on ideas and political culture rather than the day-to-day doings of politicians.
- His influence is ongoing, as modern critics profess admiration for the grace of his writing, and the depth of his insight.^[1]
- His most important works are *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (1944); *The American Political Tradition* (1948); *The Age of Reform* (1955); *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (1963), and the essays collected in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1964). He was twice awarded the [Pulitzer Prize](#): in 1956 for *The Age of Reform*, an unsentimental analysis of the [populism movement in the 1890s](#) and the [progressive movement of the early 20th century](#); and in 1964 for the cultural history *Anti-intellectualism in American Life*.^[2]

Some Other “Isms” in American History

- ***American Exceptionalism***
 - ***Nativism***
 - ***the Isolationist Impulse***



The Pre-Election Period
Major Demographic Elements Associated
with the late 1940s and 1950s

Leading Forces: A look at the new types of factors underlying the transformation

The Mass Migration

The United States has shifted its center of population from the rural Midwest to the urban Northeast and West. The shift was driven by a combination of factors, including the desire for better living conditions, the availability of jobs in the cities, and the influence of the federal government's New Deal policies.

The Great Migration

The Great Migration was a period of mass migration of African Americans from the rural South to the urban North and West. This movement was driven by the desire for better living conditions, the availability of jobs in the cities, and the influence of the federal government's New Deal policies.

SHIFTS IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1940-1970

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	
Cities	31.6%	32.3%	32.6%	
Suburbs	19.5%	23.8%	30.7%	40 Million
Rural Areas	48.9%	43.9%	36.7%	

The 1950s: Suburbs

- Suburbs boomed in the 1950s:
 - The majority of Americans worked in cities but wanted the security of suburbs for their families
 - Suburbs offered peace of mind, affordable homes, & good schools
 - The GI Bill of Rights offered returning soldiers cheap loans for new homes & tuition for college

Rise of the Sunbelt

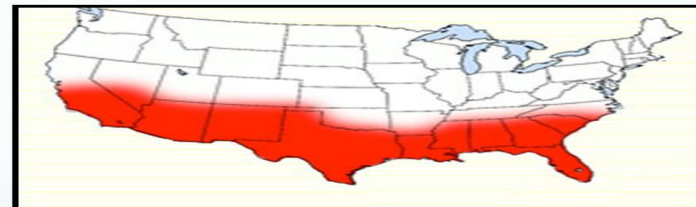
Population shift from the
Northeast and Rust belt

Causes:

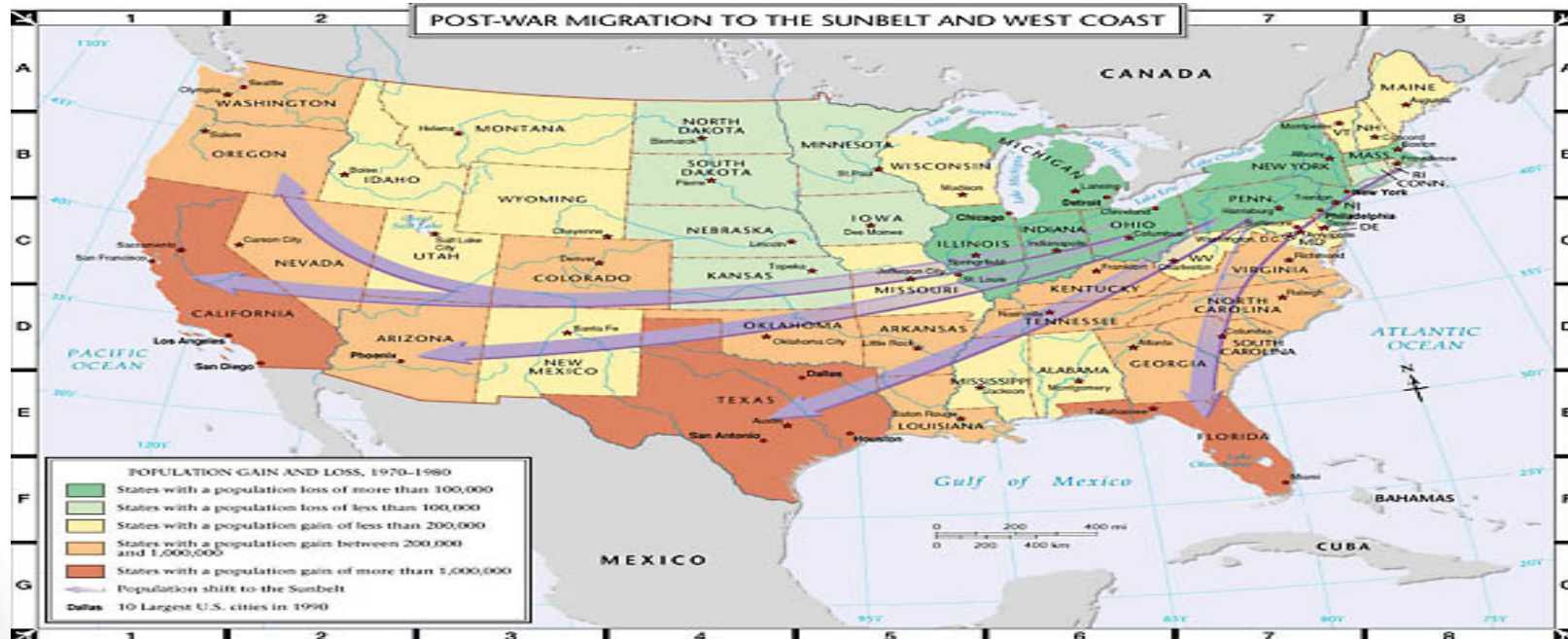
Defense and space industries
located in the Sunbelt

Development of air conditioning

“white flight” from the cities

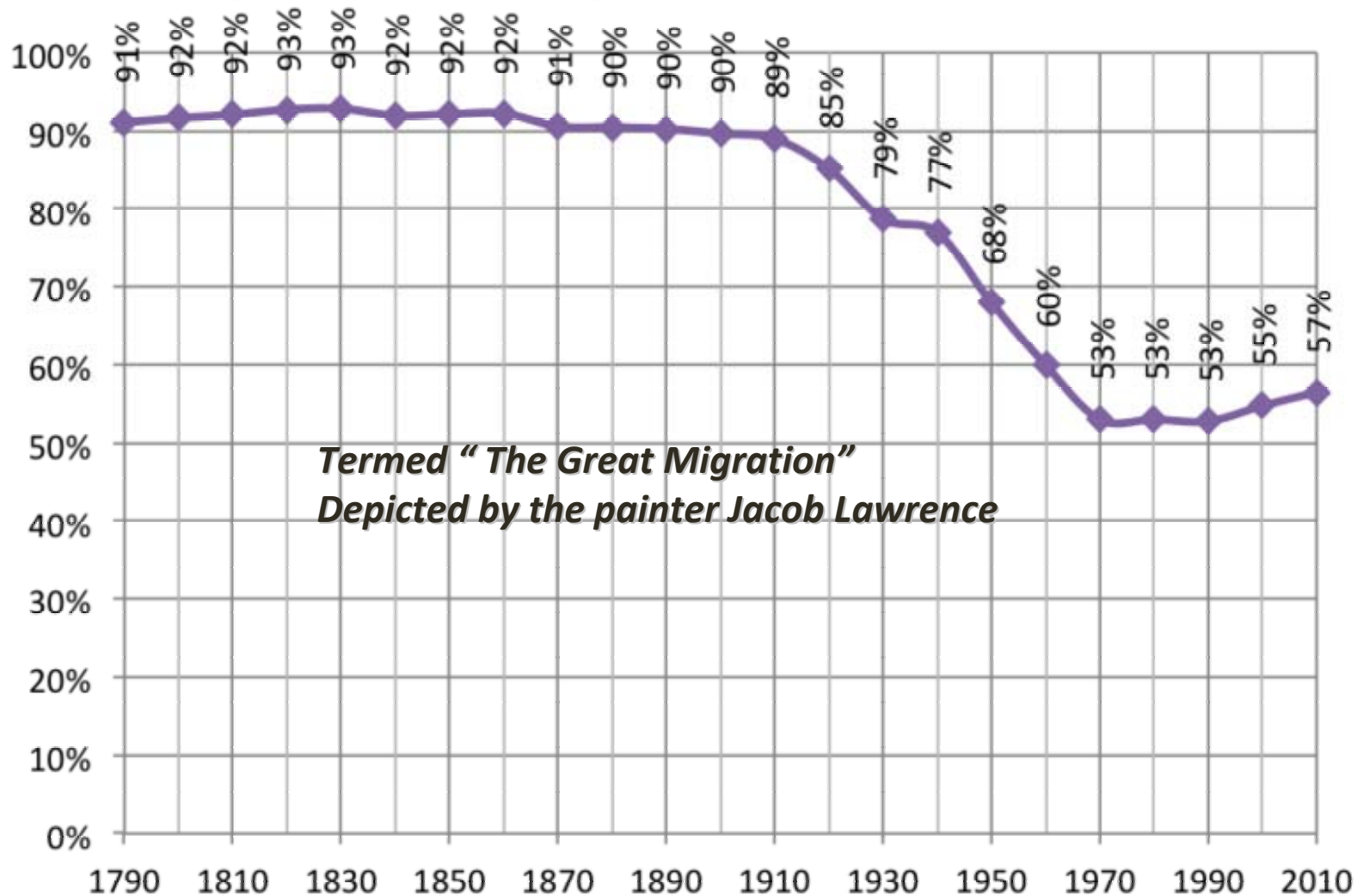


Sunbelt



Copyright © 2003 by Pearson Education, Inc.

Percentage of African American population living in the American South

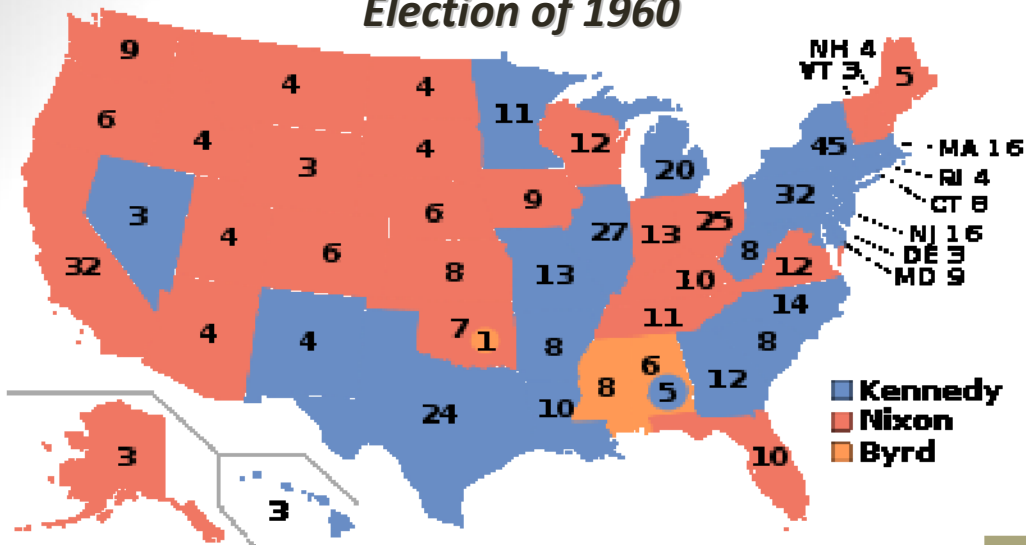


AFRICAN AMERICAN MIGRATION, 1915-1970



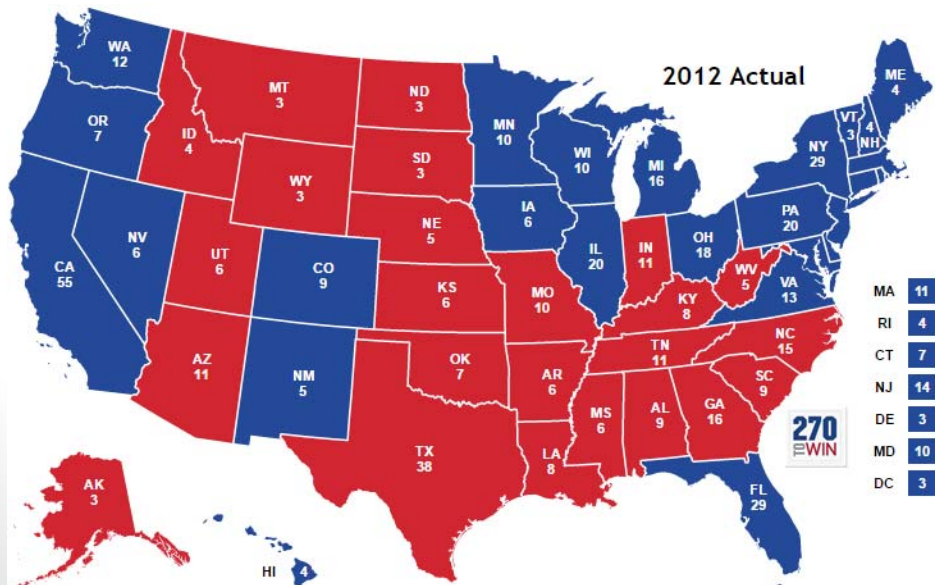


Election of 1960



Significance of Demographic Changes (the Sunbelt)

Election of 2012

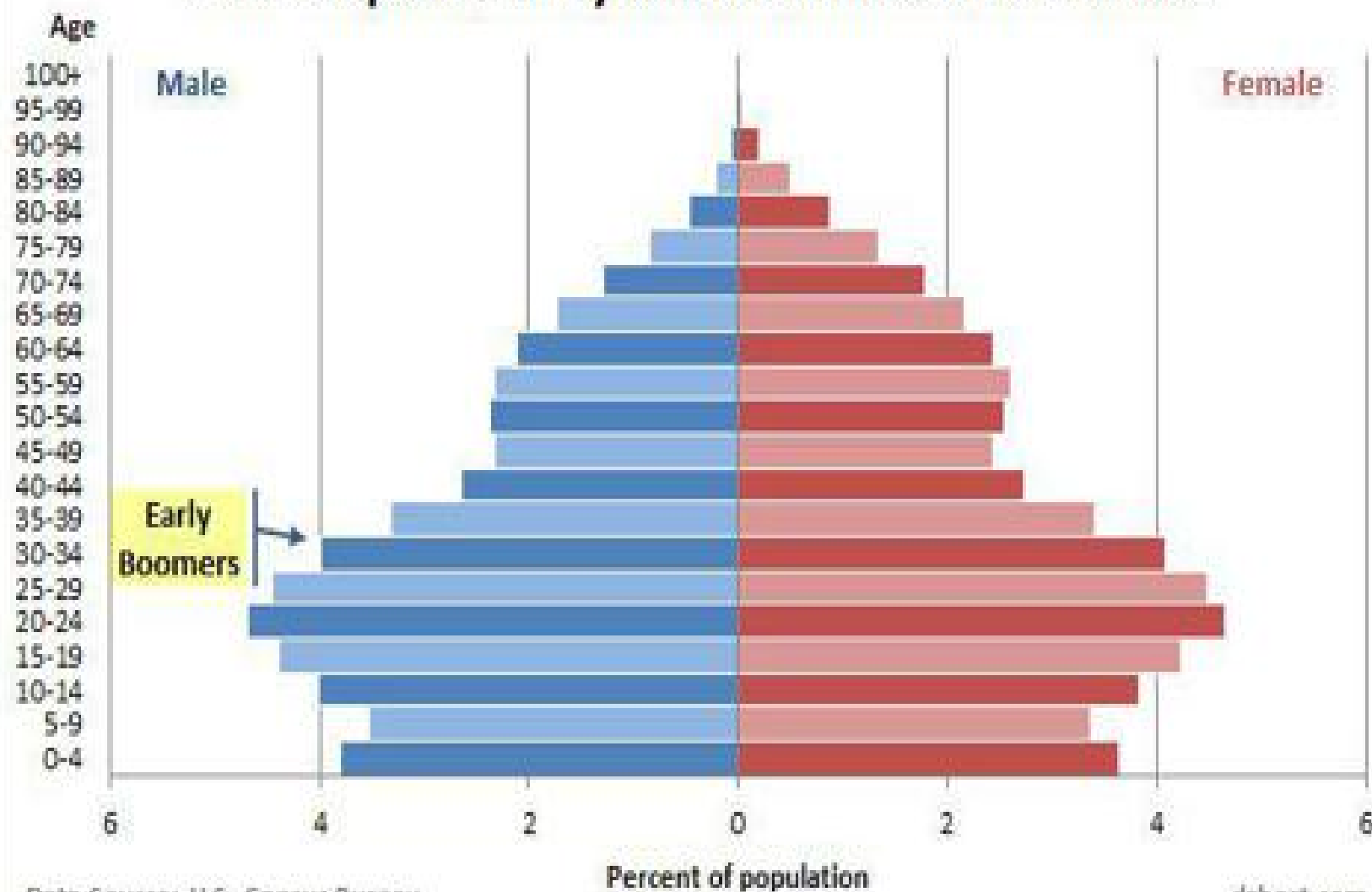


	1960	2016
NE/NEngland	40	33
Mid Atlantic	112	91
Midwest	170	138
South	133	168
West	82	110

Net Change of 60+ electoral Votes from North and Midwest To South and West (25% of Electoral votes needed to win)

(30)

1982 Population Pyramid for the United States



Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau

dshort.com

The 1956 Conventions

Republicans

•The **1956 Republican National Convention** was held by the Republican Party of the United States at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, California, from August 20 to August 23, 1956. U.S. Senator William F. Knowland was temporary chairman and former speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin, Jr. served as permanent chairman. It renominated President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon as the party's candidates for the 1956 presidential election.

Democrats

•The **1956 National Convention of the Democratic Party** nominated former Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois for President and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee for Vice President. It was held in the International Amphitheatre on the South Side of Chicago, Illinois August 13–August 17, 1956. Unsuccessful candidates for the presidential nomination included Governor W. Averell Harriman of New York, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, and Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri.

•As the unsuccessful 1952 Democratic Party presidential nominee, Stevenson had the highest stature of the active candidates and was easily renominated on the first ballot. Former President Harry S. Truman, whose support for Stevenson in '52 helped secure him the nomination, was opposed to his renomination in 1956, instead favoring Harriman. It did no good, as Truman was no longer a sitting President, and Stevenson was nominated on the first ballot.

•After Stevenson decided not to reselect his 1952 running mate John Sparkman, the convention was marked by a "free vote" for the vice presidential nomination in which the winner, Kefauver, defeated Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. The vice presidential nomination vote, which required three separate ballots, was (as of 2016) the last multi-balloted contest held at a quadrennial political convention of any major U.S. political party for the presidency or vice presidency.

•The Democratic convention preceded the Republican convention in the Cow Palace, San Francisco, California. At the GOP gathering, President Dwight D. Eisenhower was nominated for reelection.

Kennedy/Nixon (1956-60)

Nixon

- *Nixon declined Eisenhower's offer to make him Secretary of State or Defense*
- *Moved more towards a centrist position (Eisenhower's "modern Republicanism")*
- *More prominent role as Vice President*
- *International travel*
- *Kitchen debate with Khrushchev*
- *Organizational efforts, 1959-60*

Kennedy

- *1956-1960 began nation-wide efforts to introduce himself to the American electorate (similar to his efforts to become known among Massachusetts voters prior to his 1952 Senate victory)*
- *Nation-wide travel*
- *Became known to party leaders/political machines*
- *Formation of political alliances*
- *Senate Foreign Relations Committee*
- *1958 Senate re-election campaign*
- *Positions that reflect national leadership*
 - *St Lawrence Seaway*
 - *Algerian independence*
- *Profiles in Courage*
- *Organizational efforts for key primary states began in 1958*
- *Inner circle of advisors and ties to Cambridge*
- *Campaign strategy meeting in April 1959*
- *Announcement on 2 Jan 1960*

THE 1960 PRIMARIES/CAUCUSES
THE 1960 DEMOCRATIC & REPUBLICAN
CANDIDATES



John F. Kennedy

- **John Fitzgerald "Jack" Kennedy** (May 29, 1917 – November 22, 1963), commonly referred to by his initials **JFK**, was an American politician who served as the [35th President of the United States](#) from January 1961 until [his assassination](#) in November 1963. The [Cuban Missile Crisis](#), [The Bay of Pigs Invasion](#), the [Nuclear Test Ban Treaty](#), the establishment of the [Peace Corps](#), developments in the [Space Race](#), the building of the [Berlin Wall](#), the [Trade Expansion Act](#) to lower tariffs, and the [Civil Rights Movement](#) all took place during his presidency. A member of the [Democratic Party](#), his [New Frontier](#) domestic program was largely enacted as a memorial to him after his death.
- After military service in the [United States Naval Reserve](#) in [World War II](#), Kennedy represented [Massachusetts's 11th congressional district](#) in the [U.S. House of Representatives](#) from 1947 to 1953. He was elected subsequently to the [U.S. Senate](#) and served as the junior Senator from Massachusetts from 1953 until 1960. Kennedy defeated Vice President, and Republican candidate, [Richard Nixon](#) in the [1960 U.S. Presidential Election](#). At age 43, he became the youngest elected president ^{[2][a]} and the second-youngest president (after [Theodore Roosevelt](#), who was 42 when he became president after the assassination of [William McKinley](#)). Kennedy was also the first person born in the 20th century to serve as president. ^[3] To date ^[update], Kennedy has been the only [Roman Catholic](#) president and the only president to have won a [Pulitzer Prize](#) (for his biography [Profiles in Courage](#)). ^[4] Kennedy was [assassinated](#) in [Dallas](#), Texas on November 22, 1963

Lyndon Johnson



Lyndon Baines Johnson: August 27, 1908 – January 22, 1973), often referred to as **LBJ**, was the [36th President of the United States](#) from 1963 to 1969, assuming the office after serving as the [37th Vice President of the United States](#) under President [John F. Kennedy](#), from 1961 to 1963. Johnson was a [Democrat](#) from [Texas](#), who served as a [United States Representative](#) from 1937 to 1949 and as a [United States Senator](#) from 1949 to 1961. He spent six years as [Senate Majority Leader](#), two as Senate Minority Leader, and two as [Senate Majority Whip](#).

Johnson designed the "[Great Society](#)" legislation upholding [civil rights](#), [public broadcasting](#), [Medicare](#), [Medicaid](#), aid to education, the arts, urban and rural development, public services, and his "[War on Poverty](#)". Civil rights bills signed by Johnson banned racial discrimination in public facilities, interstate commerce, the workplace, and housing; and the [Voting Rights Act](#) banned certain requirements in southern states used to disenfranchise African Americans. With the passage of the [Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965](#), the country's immigration system was reformed and all racial origin quotas were removed (replaced by national origin quotas).

Johnson escalated American involvement in the [Vietnam War](#). In 1964, Congress passed the [Gulf of Tonkin Resolution](#), which granted Johnson the power to use military force in Southeast Asia without having to ask for an official declaration of war. The number of American military personnel in Vietnam increased dramatically, from 16,000 advisors in non-combat roles in 1963,^[3] to 550,000 in early 1968, many in combat roles. In 1968, the Democratic Party factionalized as antiwar elements denounced Johnson; he ended his bid for renomination after a [disappointing finish](#) in the New Hampshire primary. In 1968, the Democratic Party factionalized as antiwar elements denounced Johnson; he ended his bid for renomination after a [disappointing finish](#) in the New Hampshire primary.

Hubert Humphrey



Hubert Horatio Humphrey Jr. (May 27, 1911 – January 13, 1978) was an American politician who served as the [38th Vice President of the United States](#) under President [Lyndon B. Johnson](#), from 1965 to 1969. Humphrey twice served in the [United States Senate](#), representing [Minnesota](#) from 1949 to 1964 and 1971 to 1978. He was the nominee of the [Democratic Party](#) in the [1968 presidential election](#), losing to the [Republican](#) nominee, [Richard M. Nixon](#).

Humphrey helped found the [Minnesota Democratic–Farmer–Labor Party](#) (DFL) in 1944, and in 1945, became the DFL candidate for [Mayor](#) of Minneapolis for a second time, winning with 61% of the vote. Humphrey served as mayor from 1945 to 1948, he was reelected and became the co-founder of the [liberal anti-communism](#) group [Americans for Democratic Action](#) in 1947.

Humphrey was elected to the Senate in [1948](#), the year his proposal of ending [racial segregation](#) was included in the party platform at the [Democratic National Convention](#), where he gave one of his most notable speeches on the convention floor, suggesting the Democratic Party "walk into the sunshine of human rights."^[1] He served three terms in the Senate from 1949 to 1964 and was the Democratic [Majority Whip](#) from 1961 to 1964.

After Johnson made the surprise announcement that he would not seek reelection in March 1968, Humphrey launched his [campaign for the presidency](#) the following month. Humphrey's main Democratic challengers were [anti-Vietnam War](#) Senators [Eugene McCarthy](#) and [Robert F. Kennedy](#). Humphrey, who was loyal to the Johnson administration's policies on the [Vietnam War](#) as Vice President, saw opposition from many within his own party and avoided the [primaries](#) to focus on receiving the delegates of non-primary states at the [Democratic Convention](#).

On November 5, 1968, Humphrey lost to former Vice President [Richard Nixon](#) in the general election.

Stuart Symington

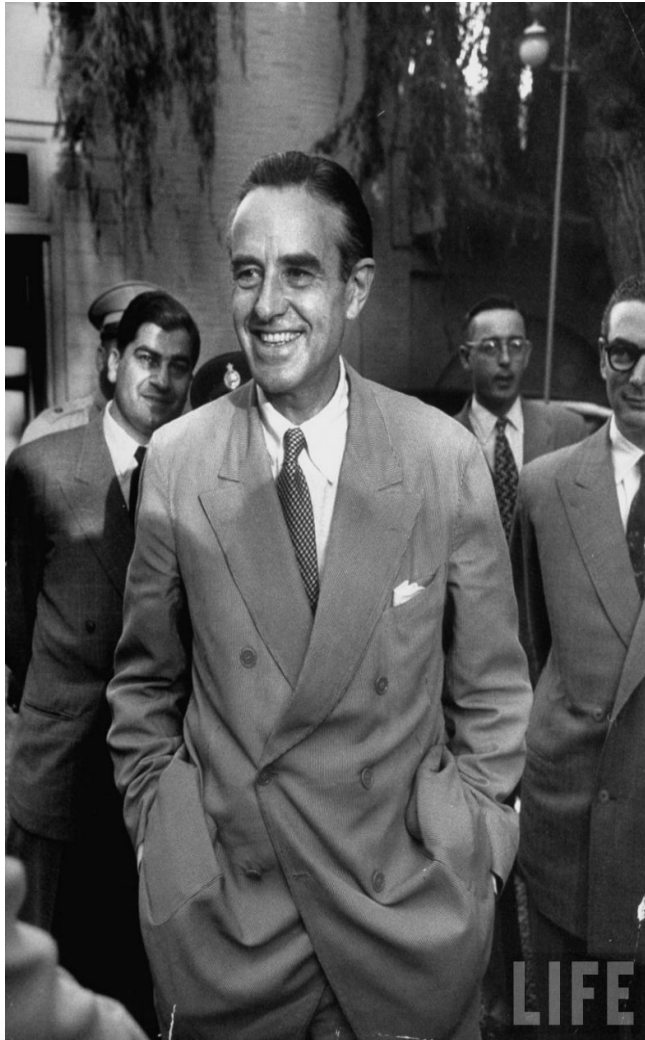


William Stuart Symington, Jr. (1896, 1901 – December 14, 1988) was an American businessman and politician from [Missouri](#). He served as the first [Secretary of the Air Force](#) from 1947 to 1950 and was a [Democratic United States Senator](#) from Missouri from 1953 to 1976

In 1959, Symington, then Chairman of the [National Security Resources Board](#) in Washington, D.C., was preparing to run in the [1960 presidential election](#) and won the backing of former President and fellow Missourian [Harry Truman](#), but eventually lost the nomination to Senator [John F. Kennedy](#). On July 2, 1960, Truman announced that he would not be attending the [Democratic National Convention](#) in Los Angeles. Truman was miffed that the convention was being controlled by the "overzealous" supporters of Kennedy. Announcing his decision, Truman restated his support for the candidacy of Symington and added, "I have no second choice".^[8]

Symington, unlike Kennedy or [Lyndon B. Johnson](#), refused to speak to segregated audiences in the southern United States and this hurt his chances. Additionally, having concluded that the nomination would be determined by party bosses at the convention, Symington declined to enter any of the Democratic primaries, clearing the way for Kennedy to win enough primaries to be the frontrunner and probable nominee as the convention opened. He was Kennedy's first choice for Vice President but was dropped in favor of Texas Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. He advised President Kennedy as a member of [EXCOMM](#) during the October 1962 [Cuban Missile Crisis](#)

W. Averell Harriman



- William Averell Harriman (November 15, 1891 – July 26, 1986) was an American Democratic politician, businessman, and diplomat. He was the son of railroad baron E. H. Harriman. He served as Secretary of Commerce under President Harry S. Truman and later as the 48th Governor of New York. He was a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952, and again in 1956 when he was endorsed by President Truman but lost to Adlai Stevenson both times.
- Harriman served President Franklin D. Roosevelt as special envoy to Europe and served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and U.S. Ambassador to Britain. He served in numerous U.S. diplomatic assignments in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. He was a core member of the group of foreign policy elders known as "The Wise".