

The Elections of Our Youth: Presidential Elections 1960-72

Second Lecture (27/28 Sep 2016)

Election of 1964

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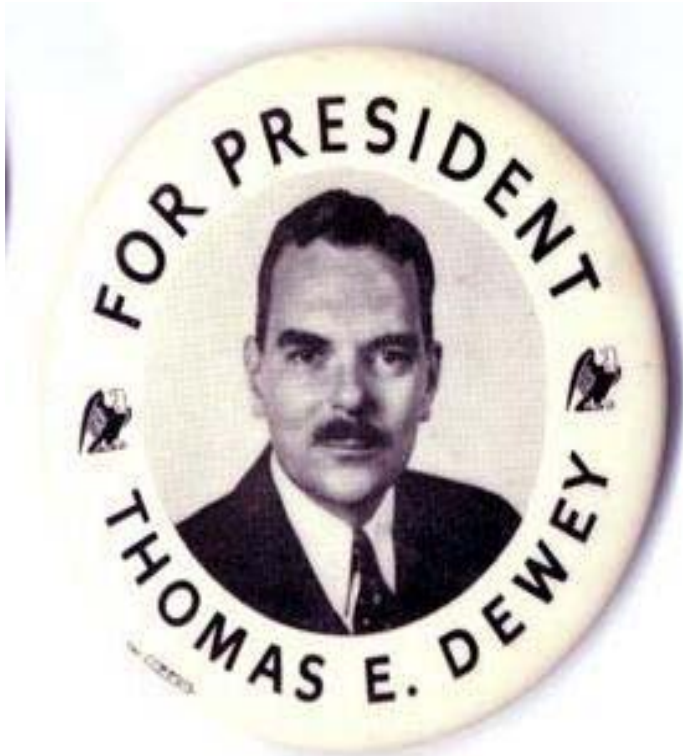
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I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion.

Thomas Jefferson

Campaign Rhetoric (Truman vs. Dewey, 1948)



- *Agriculture is important. Our rivers are full of fish. You cannot have freedom without liberty. And, ladies and gentlemen, the future lies ahead of us."*

The Elections of Our Youth: Presidential Elections 1960-72

First Lecture (27/28 Sep 2016) Election of 1964

- Class Overview
- General Points
- *The 1964 Election*
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The Election of 1964
Johnson-Goldwater
The 1964 Pre-Election Period

The 1960s (Part 1)



The Sixties", as they are known in both scholarship and popular culture, is a term used by historians, journalists, and other objective academics; in some cases nostalgically to describe the [counterculture](#) and revolution in social norms about clothing, music, drugs, dress, sexuality, formalities, and schooling; and in others pejoratively to denounce the decade as one of irresponsible excess, flamboyance, and decay of social order. The decade was also labeled the [Swinging Sixties](#) because of the fall or relaxation of social taboos especially relating to [racism](#) and [sexism](#) that occurred during this time. Commentator [Christopher Booker](#)^[4] described this era as a classical [Jungian](#) nightmare cycle, where a rigid culture, unable to contain the demands for greater [individual freedom](#), broke free of the social constraints of the previous age through extreme deviation from the norm. He charts the rise, success, fall/nightmare and explosion in the London scene of the 1960s. Several [Western](#) nations such as the United States, United Kingdom, France, and [West Germany](#) turned to the [political left](#) in the early and mid-1960s.

In response to [civil disobedience](#) campaigns from groups like the [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee](#) (SNCC) and the [Southern Christian Leadership Conference](#) (SCLC), U.S. President [John F. Kennedy](#), a [Keynesian](#)^[5] and staunch [anti-communist](#), pushed for social reforms. Kennedy's assassination in 1963 was a shock. Liberal reforms were finally passed under [Lyndon B. Johnson](#) including civil rights for [African Americans](#) and healthcare for [the elderly](#) and [the poor](#). Despite his large-scale [Great Society](#) programs, Johnson was increasingly reviled by the [New Left](#) at home and abroad. The heavy-handed American role in the [Vietnam War](#) outraged student protestors around the globe. The [assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) upon working with underpaid [Tennessee garbage collectors](#) and the [anti-Vietnam War movement](#), and [the police response towards protesters of the 1968 Democratic National Convention](#), defined politics of violence in the United States.

In Western Europe and Japan, organizations such as [those present at May 1968](#), the [Red Army Faction](#), and the [Zengakuren](#) tested [liberal democracy's](#) ability to satisfy its marginalized or alienated citizenry amidst [post-industrial age hybrid capitalist economies](#). In Britain, the [Labour Party](#) gained power in 1964.^[6] In France, the [protests of 1968](#) led to President [Charles de Gaulle](#) temporarily fleeing the country.^[7] For some, May 1968 meant the end of traditional collective action and the beginning of a new era to be dominated mainly by the so-called [new social movements](#).^[8] Italy formed its first left-of-center government in March 1962 with a coalition of [Christian Democrats](#), [Social Democrats](#), and moderate [Republicans](#). [Socialists](#) joined the ruling block in December 1963. In Brazil, [João Goulart](#) became president after [Jânio Quadros](#) resigned. In Africa the 1960s was a period of radical political change as 32 countries [gained independence from their European colonial rulers](#).

The Best and the Brightest *(The War in Vietnam) 1*

The Best and the Brightest (1972) is an account by journalist [David Halberstam](#) of the origins of the [Vietnam War](#) published by [Random House](#). The focus of the book is on the erroneous foreign policy crafted by the academics and intellectuals who were in John F. Kennedy's administration, and the disastrous consequences of those policies in Vietnam. The title referred to Kennedy's "whiz kids"—leaders of industry and academia brought into the Kennedy administration—whom Halberstam characterized as arrogantly insisting on "brilliant policies that defied common sense" in Vietnam, often against the advice of career U.S. Department of State employees.

- Halberstam's book offers a great deal of detail on how the decisions were made in the [Kennedy](#) and [Johnson](#) administrations that led to the war, focusing on a period from 1960 to 1965 but also covering earlier and later years up to the publication year of the book.
- *The Democratic party was still haunted by claims that it had 'lost China' to Communists, and it did not want to be said to have lost Vietnam also*
- *The McCarthy era had rid the government of experts in Vietnam and surrounding Far-East countries*
- *Early studies called for close to a million U.S. troops to completely defeat the Viet Cong, but it would be impossible to convince Congress or the U.S. public to deploy that many soldiers*
- *Declarations of war and excessive shows of force, including bombing too close to China or too many U.S. troops, might have triggered the entry of Chinese ground forces into the war, as well as greater Soviet involvement, which might repair the growing Sino-Soviet rift.*
- *or withdrawal.*

The Best and the Brightest

(The War in Vietnam) 2

- The American military and generals were not prepared for protracted guerilla warfare.
- Some war games showed that a gradual escalation by the United States could be evenly matched by North Vietnam: Every year, 200,000 North Vietnamese came of draft age and could be sent down the Ho Chi Minh Trail to replace any losses against the U.S.: the U.S. would be "fighting the birthrate."
- Any show of force by the U.S. in the form of bombing or ground forces would signal the U.S. interest in defending South Vietnam and therefore cause the U.S. greater shame if they were to withdraw
- *President Johnson's belief that too much attention given to the war effort would jeopardize his Great Society domestic programs*
- The effects of strategic bombing: Most people wrongly believed that North Vietnam prized its industrial base so much it would not risk its destruction by U.S. air power and would negotiate peace after experiencing some limited bombing. Others saw that, even in World War II, strategic bombing united the victim population against the aggressor and did little to hinder industrial output.
- *The Domino Theory rationales are mentioned as simplistic.*
- After placing a few thousand Americans in harm's way, it became politically easier to send hundreds of thousands over with the promise that, with enough numbers, they could protect themselves and that to abandon Vietnam now would mean the earlier investment in money and blood would be thrown away.
- The book shows that the gradual escalation initially allowed the Johnson Administration to avoid negative publicity and criticism from Congress and to avoid a direct war against the Chinese, but it also lessened the likelihood of either victory

The Gulf of Tonkin (Resolution)

The Gulf of Tonkin incident involved what were originally claimed to be two separate confrontations involving North Vietnam and the United States in the waters of the Gulf of Tonkin. The original American report blamed North Vietnam for both incidents, but eventually became very controversial with widespread claims that either one or both incidents were false, and possibly deliberately so. On August 2, 1964, the destroyer USS Maddox, while performing a signals intelligence patrol as part of DESOTO operations, was pursued by three North Vietnamese Navy torpedo boats of the 135th Torpedo Squadron.^{[1][5]} *Maddox* fired three warning shots and the North Vietnamese boats then attacked with torpedoes and machine gun fire.^[5] *Maddox* expended over 280 3-inch and 5-inch shells in what was claimed to be a sea battle. One US aircraft was damaged, three North Vietnamese torpedo boats were allegedly damaged, and four North Vietnamese sailors were said to have been killed, with six more wounded. There were no U.S. casualties.^[6] *Maddox* "was unscathed except for a single bullet hole from a Vietnamese machine gun round".^[5]

The outcome of this incidents was the passage by Congress of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which granted President Lyndon B. Johnson the authority to assist any Southeast Asian country whose government was considered to be jeopardized by "communist aggression". The resolution served as Johnson's legal justification for deploying US conventional forces and the commencement of open warfare against North Vietnam.

In 2005, an internal National Security Agency historical study was declassified; it concluded that *Maddox* had engaged the North Vietnamese Navy on August 2, but that there were no North Vietnamese naval vessels present during the incident of August 4. The report stated regarding the first incident on August 2 that "at 1500G,^[note 1] Captain Herrick ordered Ogier's gun crews to open fire if the boats approached within ten thousand yards. At about 1505G,^[note 1] *Maddox* fired three rounds to warn off the communist boats. This initial action was never reported by the Johnson administration, which insisted that the Vietnamese boats fired first."^[5]

Engel v. Vitale, Supreme Court Outlaws Prayer in Public Schools (1962)

- The media and popular culture often erroneously credit atheist [Madalyn Murray O'Hair](#) with removing school prayer from US public schools, when the [case against recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Baltimore schools](#) was decided by the Supreme Court in 1963. A more significant case had reached the Supreme Court one year prior, suddenly changing the legal climate for school prayer in the US.^[3]
- In 1955, the [New York Board of Regents](#) developed a [prayer](#) recommended (but not required) for the school districts under its purview. The prayer was relatively short: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."^{[1][4]} The board stated that the prayer would "combat juvenile delinquency and counter the spread of Communism."^[4]
- Seven years later, Steven I. Engel, a Jew, was upset to see his son's hands clasped and his head bent in prayer. He told his son that this was "not the way we say prayers." Engel, a founding member of the [New York Civil Liberties Union](#), would bring action along with Daniel Lichtenstein, Monroe Lerner, Lenore Lyons, and Lawrence Roth, all parents of children in the Long Island, New York public school system, against [Union Free School District No. 9](#) for its adoption and subsequent prescription of the so-called "[Regent's prayer](#)", arguing that it constituted the state-sponsored establishment of religion in violation of citizens' [First Amendment](#) rights via the [Fourteenth Amendment](#).^[5]
- Use of the Regent's prayer would be initially upheld in both [New York State Court](#) and in the [New York Court of Appeals](#), prompting Engels to petition the [US Supreme Court](#) in the Engel v. Vitale case in 1962. With its 8–1 vote to make public recitation of the Regents' Prayer in public schools unlawful, the U.S. Supreme Court made its first-ever decision on coercive prayer in public schools. It made its second in 1963—the [Abington School District v. Schempp](#) ruling, which made the corporate reading of the Bible and recitation of the Lord's Prayer unlawful in public schools.^[3]

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

- The bill was called for by President John F. Kennedy in his civil rights speech of June 11, 1963,^[7] in which he asked for 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", as well as "greater protection for the right to vote". (*Jim Crow Laws*) Kennedy delivered this speech following a series of protests from the African-American community, the most famous being the Birmingham campaign (including the "Children's Crusade") in which students and children endured attacks by police dogs and high pressure fire hoses during their protests against segregation. Following this a wave of black riots swept the country in spring 1963, and the racial tensions moved Kennedy to action.^[8]
- Emulating the Civil Rights Act of 1875, Kennedy's civil rights bill included provisions to ban discrimination in public accommodations, and to enable the U.S. Attorney General to join in lawsuits against state governments which operated segregated school systems, among other provisions. However, it did not include a number of provisions deemed essential by civil rights leaders including protection against police brutality, ending discrimination in private employment, or granting the Justice Department power to initiate desegregation or job discrimination lawsuits

The Mississippi Freedom Summer

Freedom Summer, or the Mississippi Summer Project, was a volunteer campaign in the [United States](#) launched in June 1964 to attempt to [register](#) as many [African-American](#) voters as possible in [Mississippi](#), which had historically excluded most blacks from voting. The project also set up dozens of Freedom Schools, Freedom Houses, and community centers in small towns throughout Mississippi to aid the local black population.

The project was organized by the [Council of Federated Organizations](#) (COFO), a coalition of the Mississippi branches of the four major civil rights organizations ([SNCC](#), [CORE](#), [NAACP](#) and [SCLC](#)). Most of the impetus, leadership, and financing for the Summer Project came from the SNCC. [Robert Parris Moses](#) (Bob Moses), SNCC field secretary and co-director of COFO, directed the summer project.^[1] Fannie Lou Hammer

Freedom Summer was built on the years of earlier work by thousands of African Americans, connected through their churches, who lived in Mississippi. In 1963, SNCC organized a mock "Freedom Vote" designed to demonstrate the will of Black Mississippians to vote, if not impeded by terror and intimidation. The Mississippi voting procedure at the time required Blacks to fill out a 21-question registration form and to answer, to the satisfaction of the white registrars, a question on interpretation of any one of 285 sections of the state constitution.^[2] This gave freedom to the registrars to rank the applicant as unqualified, which they mostly did.

Over the course of the ten-week project:^[1] 1,062 people were arrested (out-of-state volunteers and locals), 80 Freedom Summer workers were beaten, 37 churches were bombed or burned and 30 Black homes or businesses were bombed or burned.

Volunteers were attacked almost as soon as the campaign started. On June 21, 1964, [James Chaney](#) (a black [Congress of Racial Equality](#) [CORE] activist from Mississippi), [Andrew Goodman](#) (a summer volunteer), and [Michael Schwerner](#) (a CORE organizer) - both [Jews](#) from [New York](#) - were arrested by [Cecil Price](#), a [Neshoba County deputy sheriff](#) and [KKK](#) member. The three were held in jail until after nightfall, then released. They drove away into an ambush on the road by Klansmen, who [abducted and killed](#) them. Goodman and Schwerner were shot at point-blank range. Chaney was chased, beaten mercilessly, and shot three times. After weeks of searching in which federal law enforcement participated, on August 4, 1964, their bodies were found to have been buried in an earthen dam.^[12] The men's disappearance the night of their release from jail was reported on TV and on newspaper front pages, shocking the nation. It drew massive media attention to Freedom Summer and to Mississippi's "closed society."

Backlash, 1964

It was the summer of 1964, and Lyndon Johnson was scared. Having just achieved one of the greatest congressional victories in history by passing the ***Civil Rights Act (CRA)*** over the strident objections of his native South, Johnson was now confronted by ***black riots in several urban centers***. He feared that his Republican opponent, Barry Goldwater, would exploit the racial turmoil by appealing to the white backlash. The riots were even labeled "Goldwater rallies" since the conflagrations helped the GOP so directly. Would racial politics cost LBJ the White House?

Both Johnson and Goldwater would face several tests of their character in the long election season of 1964, tests involving the CRA, urban riots, the George Wallace candidacy, and the white backlash.

The election of 1964 is considered by many to be the most racially polarized presidential contest in modern American history. As such, it has been seen as a watershed in the evolution of our two-party system in recent times.² Yet what has been missed in previous analyses of 1964 is how assiduously both Goldwater and Johnson worked to take race off the agenda. Johnson believed that if the election became a referendum on civil rights, he might lose. Goldwater believed that history would judge him harshly if his campaign blatantly exploited the racial hatred of whites.

Still, despite these efforts, the racial implications of the 1964 campaign would linger for decades.

The Theory of States Rights versus “States Rights”

- Since the 1940s, the term "states' rights" has often been considered a **loaded term** because of its use in opposition to federally mandated racial **desegregation** and more recently, **gay marriage**.^{[35][35][36]}
- During the heyday of the **African-American civil rights movement**, defenders of **segregation**^{[35][37]} used the term "states' rights" as a **code word**—in what is now referred to as **dog-whistle politics**—political messaging that appears to mean one thing to the general population but has an additional, different or more specific resonance for a targeted subgroup.^{[38][39][40]} In 1948 it was the official name of the "**Dixiecrat**" party led by **white supremacist** presidential candidate **Strom Thurmond**.^{[41][42]} Democratic governor **George Wallace** of **Alabama**, who famously declared in his inaugural address in 1963, "Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!"—later remarked that he should have said, "States' rights now! States' rights tomorrow! States' rights forever!"^[43] Wallace, however, claimed that segregation was but one issue symbolic of a larger struggle for states' rights; in that view, which some historians dispute, his replacement of *segregation* with *states' rights* would be more of a clarification than a **euphemism**.^[43]
- In 2010, **Texas** governor **Rick Perry**'s use of the expression "states' rights", to some, was reminiscent of "an earlier era when it was a rallying cry against civil rights."^[44] During an interview with **The Dallas Morning News**, Perry made it clear that he supports the end of segregation, including passage of the **Civil Rights Act**. Texas president of the **NAACP** Gary Bledsoe stated that he understood that Perry wasn't speaking of "states' rights" in a racial context; but others still felt offended by the term because of its past misuse.^[44]



"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."

—Barry Goldwater

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Extremists Groups in American Politics



- The John Birch Society (JBS) is, in its own words, a conservative advocacy group supporting **anti-communism** and **limited government**.^{[2][3][4]} It has been described as a **radical right** and **far-right** organization.^{[5][6][7][7][8]}
- Businessman and founder **Robert W. Welch, Jr.** (1899–1985) developed an organizational infrastructure in 1958 of chapters nationwide. Its main activity in the 1960s, said **Rick Perlstein**, "comprised monthly meetings to watch a film by Welch, followed by writing postcards or letters to government officials linking specific policies to the Communist menace".^[9] After an early rise in membership and influence, efforts by those such as conservative **William F. Buckley, Jr.** and **National Review** led the JBS to be identified as a fringe element of the conservative movement, mostly in fear of the radicalization of the **American right**.^{[10][11]}
- Originally based in **Belmont, Massachusetts**, it is now headquartered in **Appleton, Wisconsin**,^[12] with local chapters throughout the United States. The organization owns American Opinion Publishing, which publishes **The New American**.^[13]

The Other America and the War on Poverty

The War on Poverty

The War on Poverty is the unofficial name for legislation first introduced by [United States President Lyndon B. Johnson](#) during his [State of the Union address](#) on January 8, 1964. This legislation was proposed by Johnson in response to a national [poverty](#) rate of around nineteen percent. The speech led the [United States Congress](#) to pass the [Economic Opportunity Act](#), which established the [Office of Economic Opportunity](#) (OEO) to administer the local application of federal funds targeted against poverty. As a part of the [Great Society](#), Johnson believed in expanding the federal government's roles in education and health care as [poverty reduction](#) strategies.^[1] These policies can also be seen as a continuation of [Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal](#), which ran from 1933 to 1935, and the [Four Freedoms](#) of 1941. Johnson stated "Our aim is not only to relieve the symptom of poverty, but to cure it and, above all, to prevent it".^[2]

The legacy of the War on Poverty policy initiative remains in the continued existence of such federal programs as [Head Start](#), [Volunteers in Service to America](#) (VISTA), [TRIO](#), and [Job Corps](#).

The Other America

The Other America argued that up to 25% of the nation was living in poverty. Many (such as historian [Maurice Isserman](#)^[1]) believe that this book is responsible for President Lyndon B. Johnson's "[War on Poverty](#)." The [Penguin Books](#) paperback editions have sold over one million copies.^[1] The *Boston Globe* editorialized that [Medicaid](#), [Medicare](#), food stamps and expanded social security benefits were traceable to Harrington's ideas. With the book's acceptance, many believe Harrington became the pre-eminent spokesman for [democratic socialism](#) in America. By 1980, Harrington considered a run for President himself, though he threw his support to Democratic candidates instead.^[1]

The Feminist Movement/ Women's Rights

A second wave of feminism in the United States and around the world gained momentum in the early 1960s. While the first wave of the early 20th century was centered on gaining suffrage and overturning *de jure* inequalities, the second wave was focused on changing cultural and social norms and *de facto* inequalities associated with women.

At the time, a woman's place was generally seen as being in the home, and they were excluded from many jobs and professions.

Commercials often portrayed a woman as being helpless if her car broke down. In the US, a [Presidential Commission on the Status of Women](#) found discrimination against women in the workplace and every other aspect of life, a revelation which launched two decades of prominent women-centered legal reforms (i.e., the [Equal Pay Act of 1963](#), [Title IX](#), etc.) which broke down the last remaining legal barriers to women's personal freedom and professional success.

Feminists took to the streets, marching and protesting, writing books and debating to change social and political views that limited women.

In 1963, with [Betty Friedan](#)'s revolutionary book, [The Feminine Mystique](#), the role of women in society, and in public and private life was questioned.

By 1966, the movement was beginning to grow in size and power as women's group spread across the country and Friedan, along with other feminists, founded the [National Organization for Women](#).

In 1968, "[Women's Liberation](#)" became a household term as, for the first time, the new women's movement eclipsed the [Civil Rights Movement](#) when [New York Radical Women](#), led by [Robin Morgan](#), [protested the annual Miss America pageant](#) in [Atlantic City, New Jersey](#). The movement continued throughout the next decades.

[Gloria Steinem](#) was a key feminist.

Counterculture Movement

The counterculture of the 1960s refers to an anti-establishment cultural phenomenon that developed first in the United States and the United Kingdom, and then spread throughout much of the Western world between the early 1960s and the mid-1970s, with London, New York City, and San Francisco being hotbeds of early countercultural activity. The aggregate movement gained momentum as the American Civil Rights Movement continued to grow, and became revolutionary with the expansion of the US government's extensive military intervention in Vietnam.^{[3][4][5]}

As the 1960s progressed, widespread social tensions also developed concerning other issues, and tended to flow along generational lines regarding human sexuality, women's rights, traditional modes of authority, experimentation with psychoactive drugs, and differing interpretations of the American Dream.

As the era unfolded, new cultural forms and a dynamic subculture which celebrated experimentation, modern incarnations of Bohemianism, and the rise of the hippie and other alternative lifestyles, emerged. This embracing of creativity is particularly notable in the works of British Invasion bands such as the Beatles, and filmmakers whose works became far less restricted by censorship. In addition to the trendsetting Beatles, many other creative artists, authors, and thinkers, within and across many disciplines, helped define the counterculture movement.

Counterculture Movement (cont.)

Several factors distinguished the counterculture of the 1960s from the anti-authoritarian movements of previous eras. The post-World War II "baby boom"^{[6][7]} generated an unprecedented number of potentially disaffected young people as prospective participants in a rethinking of the direction of American and other democratic societies.^[8] Post-war affluence allowed many of the counterculture generation to move beyond a focus on the provision of the material necessities of life that had preoccupied their Depression-era parents.^[9] The era was also notable in that a significant portion of the array of behaviors and "causes" within the larger movement were quickly assimilated within mainstream society, particularly in the US, even though counterculture participants numbered in the clear minority within their respective national populations.^{[10][11]}

The counterculture era essentially commenced in earnest with the assassination of John F. Kennedy in November 1963. It became absorbed into the popular culture with the termination of U.S. combat-military involvement in Southeast Asia and the end of the draft in 1973, and ultimately with the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in August 1974.

Many key movements were born of, or were advanced within, the counterculture of the 1960s. Each movement is relevant to the larger era. The most important stand alone, irrespective of the larger counterculture.^[12]

¹In the broadest sense, 1960s counterculture grew from a confluence of people, ideas, events, issues, circumstances, and technological developments which served as intellectual and social catalysts for exceptionally rapid change during the era.

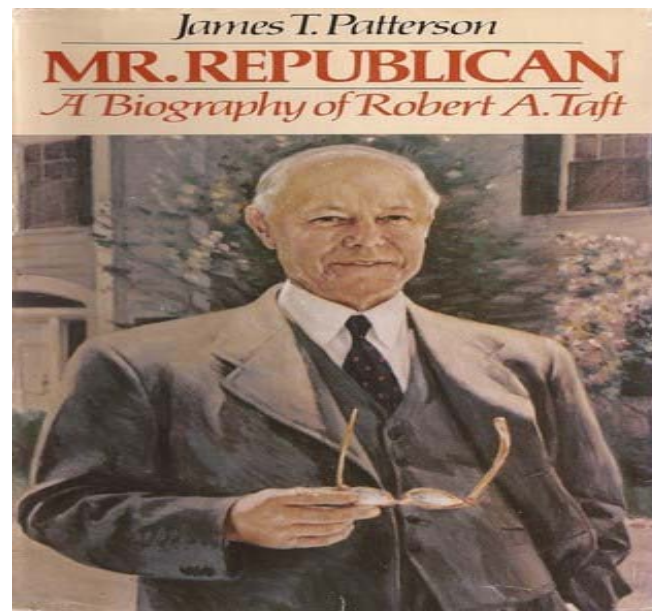
The Fault Lines in the Republican Party

The Eastern Establishment

- ***Wall Street Community***
 - *Major Investment banks*
 - *Major law firms*
- ***Republican Old Guard***

Henry Cabot Lodge
- ***Liberal wing of the Republican party***
 - *Edward Brooke (MA); Jacob Javits (NY); Thomas Keating (NY); Clifford Case (NJ); Thomas Kuchel (CA);*
- ***Nelson Rockefeller***

America First



Governor Knowland of California
Senator Jenner of Indiana
Senator Bricker of Ohio

The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America, since 1945

- ***Serious intellectual movement that emerged in America in the 1940s and 50s centered in the writings and speeches of people in universities and private intellectuals***
- ***Felt that conservatism was not adequately represented in the existing political and social dialogue***
- ***Pessimistic about the state of American society in the post WWII world:***
 - ***Decried the collectivist ethos of modern society***
 - ***Disdain for so-called “liberal” values***
 - ***Questioned the secularist bent of contemporary culture***
 - ***Felt communism—both Soviet advances and domestic subversion were undermining America***
- ***Not a monolithic movement***
- ***Three elements***
 - ***Social, philosophical and cultural Traditionalists***
 - ***Economic liberals***
 - ***Anti-communists***

William F. Buckley, Jr.

National Review



National Review (NR) is a semi-monthly magazine founded by author William F. Buckley, Jr. in 1955. Although the print version of the magazine is available online to subscribers, the free content on the website is essentially a separate publication under different editorial direction.^[3] The online version, *National Review Online*, describes itself as "America's most widely read and influential magazine and web site for conservative news, commentary, and opinion."^[4]

- *Russell Kirk, Frank Meyer, William Rusher, James Burnham, Will Herzog, Peter Vierek,*
- *Thomas Molnar, Eric Voeglin, Eric von Kuehnelt Leddihn*

William F. Buckley, Jr.

Firing Line

- *Firing Line* was an American [public affairs](#) show founded and hosted by [conservative William F. Buckley, Jr.](#), founder and publisher of [National Review](#) magazine. Its 1,504 episodes over 33 years made *Firing Line* the longest-running public affairs show in television history with a single host. The program, which featured many influential public figures in the United States, won an [Emmy Award](#) in 1969.^[1]
- Although the program's format varied over the years, it typically featured Buckley interviewing a guest and exchanging views, with the two seated together in front of a small studio audience. Standing or sitting further away in the studio, an "examiner", typically a political [liberal](#), would ask questions, generally toward the end of the show. Guests were people notable in the fields of politics to religion, literature and academia, and their views could sharply contrast or be in strong agreement with Buckley's. Most guests were intellectuals or those in positions of power, and they were interviewed about ideas and issues of the day.
- Reflecting Buckley's talents and preferences, the exchange of views was almost always polite, and the guests were given time to answer questions at length, slowing the pace of the program. "The show was devoted to a leisurely examination of issues and ideas at an extremely high level", according to [Jeff Greenfield](#), who frequently appeared as an examiner.^[2] [John Kenneth Galbraith](#) said of the program, "*Firing Line* is one of the rare occasions when you have a chance to correct the errors of the man who's interrogating you."^[2]
- The show might be compared in politeness and style of discourse to other national public interview shows, specifically those hosted by [Charlie Rose](#) or [Terry Gross](#), but Buckley was clearly interested in debate.
- In a 1999 [Salon.com](#) article, [The Weekly Standard](#) editor [William Kristol](#) summarized Buckley's approach to the show: "Buckley really believes that in order to convince, you have to debate and not just preach, which of course means risking the possibility that someone will beat you in debate."^[3] Buckley was not averse to asking tough questions of friendly guests, either, according to [Tom Wolfe](#) who recalled the interviewer asking him whether there were really any original insights in his book [The Bonfire of the Vanities](#).^[2]
- Beginning with the move of the program to public television in 1971, the [theme music](#) of *Firing Line* was the [Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F Major](#), Third Movement (Allegro assai), by [Johann Sebastian Bach](#).

The Goldwater Movement and F. Clifton White

Frederick Clifton White, Sr., known as **F. Clifton White** or **Clif White** (June 13, 1918 - January 9, 1993), was an American political consultant and campaign manager for candidates of the [Republican Party](#), the [New York Conservative Party](#), and some foreign clients. He is best remembered as the moving force behind the [Draft Goldwater Committee](#) from 1961 to 1964, which secured a majority of delegates to nominate [U.S. Senator Barry M. Goldwater](#) of [Arizona](#), the first modern [conservative](#) presidential candidate since [Calvin Coolidge](#).^[citation needed]

His Young Republicans activism brought him into collaboration with conservative firebrands, [William A. Rusher](#)^[2] and [John M. Ashbrook](#),^[3] to nominate a conservative Republican for President. The effort began quietly with meetings in 1961 with other party activists. The movement grew to a full-time operation with a [Manhattan](#) office opened in the spring of 1962; its address in the Chanin Building gave White the title of his account of the Goldwater campaign, *Suite 3505*.^[4]

Goldwater's speech at the [1960 Republican National Convention](#) had included the phrase, "Let's grow up, conservatives. If we want to take this party back, and I think some day we can. Let's get to work."^[5] White and other younger activists took this as their rallying cry and ultimately convinced the reluctant Arizonan to run. He announced his candidacy less than two months after the [assassination of John F. Kennedy](#).

White was credited with organizing highly effective grassroots operations in the states that secured enough delegates for a surprising Goldwater victory on the first ballot at the [1964 Republican National Convention](#) held in [San Francisco](#). White's team bested the better-funded Eastern Establishment campaigns of New York [Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller](#), Pennsylvania [Governor William Scranton](#), and several others.

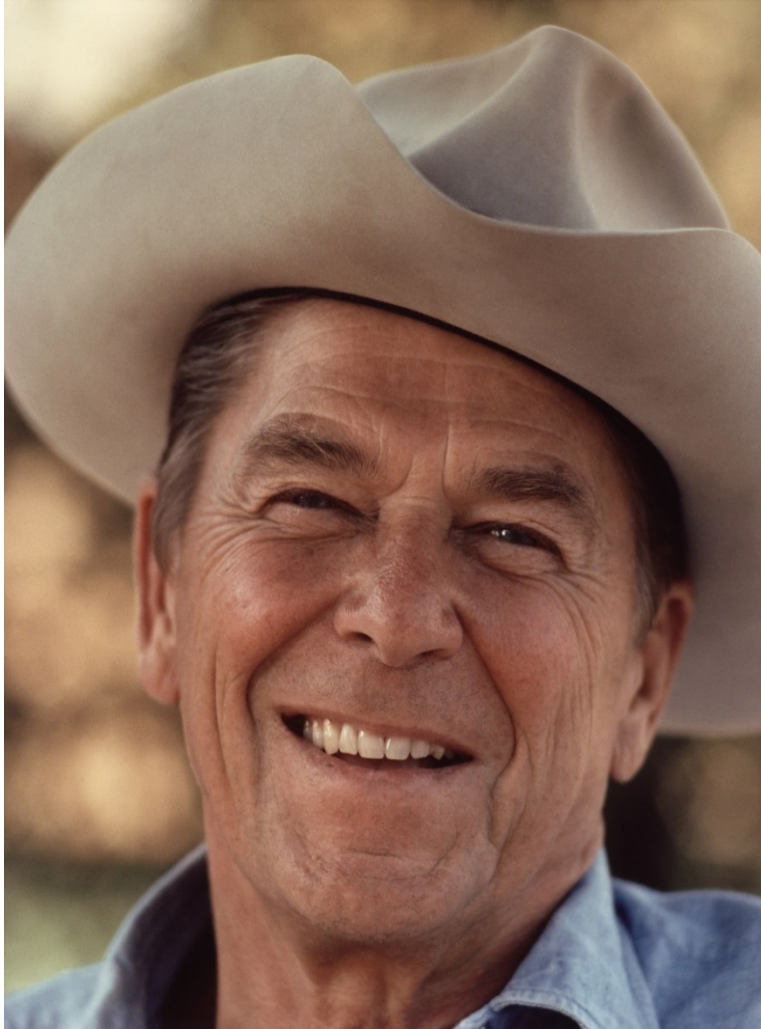
However, after the convention, Goldwater declined to give White the lead role of chairman of the [Republican National Committee](#), a designation which went instead to [Dean Burch](#) of Arizona. Goldwater named his personal friend of nearly three decades, [Denison Kitchel](#), a [Phoenix](#) lawyer, as the national campaign manager. According to author [Theodore H. White](#) (no relation), Clif White was "dismissed" to "an outer circle of advisers."^[6] White was left to organize an independent campaign, Citizens for Goldwater-[Miller](#). (This was the group that sponsored the national broadcast of October 27, 1964, "A Time for Choosing", featuring a moving speech by actor [Ronald W. Reagan](#) warning of the dire national consequences unless Goldwater were elected. "The speech," as it is now known, is considered the launching pad of Reagan's own career in politics. Inexplicably, several of Goldwater's close advisers tried to halt the Reagan broadcast.)^[7] As widely predicted, Goldwater was overwhelmed by incumbent President [Lyndon B. Johnson](#).

New York City Mayoralty Race, 1965



- The **New York City** mayoral election of 1965 occurred on Tuesday, November 2, 1965, with **Republican Congressman John Lindsay** winning a close plurality victory over the **Democratic** candidate, **New York City Comptroller Abraham Beame**.
- Lindsay received 44.99% of the vote to Beame's 40.98%, a victory margin of 4.01%.^[1]
- Finishing in a distant third was the candidate of the recently formed **Conservative Party**, conservative author and commentator **William F. Buckley, Jr.**, who received 13.36% of the vote.
- Lindsay, a **liberal** Republican, also was the nominee of the **Liberal Party**.
- Beame also received the Civil Service ballot line.
- Lindsay won a decisive majority in **Manhattan**, while winning comfortable plurality victories in **Queens** and **Staten Island**. Beame won pluralities in the **Bronx** and **Brooklyn**.
- Lindsay would be sworn in to office in January 1966,

Reagan and the Reagan Presidency



An icon of the American conservative movement, Reagan is credited by his supporters with transforming the politics of the United States, galvanizing the success of the Republican Party. He brought together a coalition of economic conservatives, who supported his supply side economics; foreign policy conservatives, who favored his staunch opposition to Communism and the Soviet Union; and social conservatives, who identified with his religious and social ideals. Reagan labeled the Soviet Union the "evil empire." Conservatives also supported the Reagan Doctrine, under which the U.S. provided military and other aid to insurgency movements resisting governments aligned with the Soviet Union. For these and other efforts, Reagan was attacked by liberals at the time as a dangerous warmonger, but conservative historians assert that he decisively won the Cold War.^[205]

The Kennedy Presidency



The New Frontier

JFK's domestic programs became known as the



Main goals of the New Frontier:

- **Increase federal aid to**



The Kennedy Presidency 1960-63

- ***Domestic Affairs***

- Promoted “New Frontier” programs: funding for education, medical care for the elderly, economic aid to rural regions, counter-recession spending (Keynesian fiscal and monetary policy)
- Celebrated the arts and cultural accomplishments in public life/Camelot
- Signed Executive Orders prohibiting racial discrimination and laid the groundwork for the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Encouraged involvement in Government and voluntary service
- Initiated the Apollo space program which sought to put a man on the moon by the end of the decade
- Abolished the federal death penalty

- ***International Efforts***

- Successfully dealt with the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Signed the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in order to limit nuclear testing
- Established the Alliance for Progress with Latin America
- Created the Peace Corps
- Support for independent states in Africa
- Continued support for NATO and freedom of the Eastern European nations
- Kennedy Rounds under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
 - Trade Expansion Act

Great Speeches

President Kennedy's 1963 Speech on Peace at American University

The American University speech, titled A Strategy of Peace, was a [commencement address](#) delivered by President [John F. Kennedy](#) at the [American University](#) in [Washington, D.C.](#), on Monday, June 10, 1963.^[1]

^[1] Delivered at the height of his rhetorical powers and widely considered one of his most powerful speeches,^[2] Kennedy not only outlined a plan to curb nuclear arms, but also "laid out a hopeful, yet realistic route for world peace at a time when the U.S. and Soviet Union faced the potential for an escalating nuclear arms race."^[3]

^[3] In the speech, Kennedy announced his agreement to negotiations "toward early agreement on a comprehensive test ban treaty" (which resulted in the [Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty](#)) and also announced, for the purpose of showing "good faith and solemn convictions", his decision to unilaterally suspend all US atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons as long as all other nations would do the same.

Noteworthy are his comments that the US was seeking a goal of "complete disarmament" of nuclear weapons and his vow that America "will never start a war"

. The speech was unusual in its peaceful outreach to the [Soviet Union](#) at the height of the [Cold War](#), and is remembered as one of Kennedy's finest and most important speeches.

What kind of peace do I mean and what kind of a peace do we seek? Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, and the kind that enables men and nations to grow, and to hope, and build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women, not merely peace in our time but peace in all time."

The Liberal Hour

- *The “liberal hour” lasted only a few years, from 1963 to 1966, from the final days of John F. Kennedy’s presidency through the first three years of Lyndon B. Johnson’s, but in that brief period of time came:*
 - two civil rights acts that remade politics not only in the South but also across the entire country;
 - the unassailable edifices of Medicare and Medicaid;
 - pioneering environmental laws;
 - education and immigration bills;
 - stronger protections for consumers;
 - a host of antipoverty programs, including food stamps and Head Start;
 - new federal departments of transportation and housing and urban development;
- (If it was poverty and want that drove the New Deal, it was prosperity that provided the momentum for the '60s, and with it the confidence to take on any challenge.)*

Johnson/Goldwater (1961-64)

Johnson

- Vice President 1961-63
- Assumes Presidency in November 1963 in the wake of Kennedy assassination
- Pledges continuity with Kennedy Administration and continues to implement the New Frontier policies
- Establishes control over the Democratic party
- Reinvigorates Executive-Congressional relations that had stalled under JFK
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Spars with Robert Kennedy
- Emerges as uncontested candidate for 1964 Democratic ticket
- Selects Hubert Humphrey as his Vice President

Goldwater

- Attracts attention in 1960 election for Conservative views
- Writes ***Conscience of a Conservative*** in 1960 which becomes the “Bible of the American conservative political movement”
- 1960 Sharon Statement and the creation of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)
- Republican party moves to the right in the wake of Nixon’s defeat and in opposition to the liberal views of Nelson Rockefeller and other Republican liberals
- F. Clifton White’s significant efforts to organize state and national support for the “Goldwater Movement” to capture the Republican party (activities of the Young Republicans)
- Foreign Affairs: heightening of tensions with the Soviet Bloc/deepening involvement in Vietnam
- Domestic Affairs: Various Movements that unsettle American society and result in a spirit of Backlash
- Demographic changes

THE 1964 PRIMARIES/CAUCUSES
THE 1964 DEMOCRATIC & REPUBLICAN
CANDIDATES

LBJ



36.

Lyndon B. 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.

George Wallace



George Corley Wallace, Jr. (August 25, 1919 – September 13, 1998) was an American politician and the 45th Governor of Alabama, having served two nonconsecutive terms and two consecutive terms as a Conservative Democrat: 1963–1967, 1971–1979 and 1983–1987. Wallace has the third longest gubernatorial tenure in post-Constitutional U.S. history, at 16 years and four days.^[1] He was a U.S. Presidential candidate for four consecutive elections, in which he sought the Democratic Party nomination in 1964, 1972, and 1976, and was the American Independent Party candidate in the 1968 presidential election. He remains the last third-party candidate to receive a state's electoral college votes.

Wallace is remembered for his Southern populist^[2] and segregationist attitudes during the mid-20th century period of the Civil Rights Movement, declaring in his 1963 Inaugural Address that he stood for "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever," and standing in front of the entrance of the University of Alabama in an attempt to stop the enrollment of black students. He eventually renounced segregationism but remained a populist.^{[3][4]} A 1972 assassination attempt left Wallace paralyzed, and he used a wheelchair for the remainder of his life.

Barry M. Goldwater



Barry M. Goldwater

(January 1, 1909^[1] – May 29, 1998) was an American politician and businessman who was a five-term [United States Senator](#) from [Arizona](#) (1953–65, 1969–87) and the [Republican Party](#)'s nominee for [President of the United States](#) in the [1964 election](#). Despite losing the election by a landslide, Goldwater is the politician most often credited for sparking the resurgence of the [American conservative](#) political movement in the 1960s. He also had a substantial impact on the [libertarian movement](#).^[2]

Goldwater rejected the legacy of the [New Deal](#) and fought through the [conservative coalition](#) against the [New Deal coalition](#). He mobilized a large [conservative](#) constituency to win the hard-fought Republican primaries. He was an [Episcopalian](#) like his parents. His mother was from an old Yankee family but attention focused on his father, who was of Jewish descent.^[3] He was the first candidate with [ethnically Jewish](#) heritage to be nominated for President by a major American party.^{[4][5]} Goldwater's conservative campaign platform ultimately failed to gain the support of the electorate^[6] and he lost the [1964 presidential election](#) to incumbent [Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson](#), bringing down many conservative Republican office-holders as well. Jeff Fishel says, "The conservative faction of the party was on the defensive as a result of the magnitude of the election losses."^[7]

Goldwater returned to the Senate in 1969, and specialized in defense policy, bringing to the table his experience as a senior officer in the [Air Force Reserve](#). In 1974, as an elder statesman of the party, Goldwater successfully urged President [Richard Nixon](#) to resign when evidence of a cover-up in the [Watergate scandal](#) became overwhelming and impeachment was imminent. By the 1980s, the increasing influence of the [Christian right](#) on the [Republican Party](#) so conflicted with Goldwater's views that he became a vocal opponent of the religious right on issues such as [abortion](#), [gay rights](#), and the role of religion in public life. After narrowly winning re-election to the Senate in 1980, he chose not to run for a sixth term in 1986, and [was succeeded](#) by fellow Republican [John McCain](#). A significant accomplishment in his career was the passage of the [Goldwater–Nichols Act](#) of 1986, which restructured the higher levels of the [Pentagon](#) by placing the chain of command from the [President](#) to the [Secretary of Defense](#) directly to the commanders of the [Unified Combatant Commands](#).

Nelson A. Rockefeller



Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller (July 8, 1908 – January 26, 1979) was an American businessman, philanthropist, public servant, and politician. He served as the [41st Vice President of the United States](#) (1974–77) under [President Gerald Ford](#), and as the [49th Governor of New York](#) (1959–73). He also served in the administrations of Presidents [Franklin Roosevelt](#) regarding Latin America and [Dwight Eisenhower](#) regarding welfare programs. A member of the wealthy [Rockefeller family](#), he was also a noted art collector, as well as administrator of Rockefeller Center.

Rockefeller, a [Republican](#), was often considered politically [liberal](#) and [progressive](#),^[1] or in other cases [moderate](#). He successfully altered the political platform of the Republican Party just prior to the 1960 Republican Convention in what is termed the [Treaty of Fifth Avenue](#). In his time, liberals in the Republican Party were called "[Rockefeller Republicans](#)". As Governor of New York from 1959 to 1973 his achievements included the expansion of the [State University of New York](#), efforts to protect the environment, the building of the [Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller Empire State Plaza](#) in [Albany](#), increased facilities and personnel for medical care, and creation of the New York State Council on the Arts.

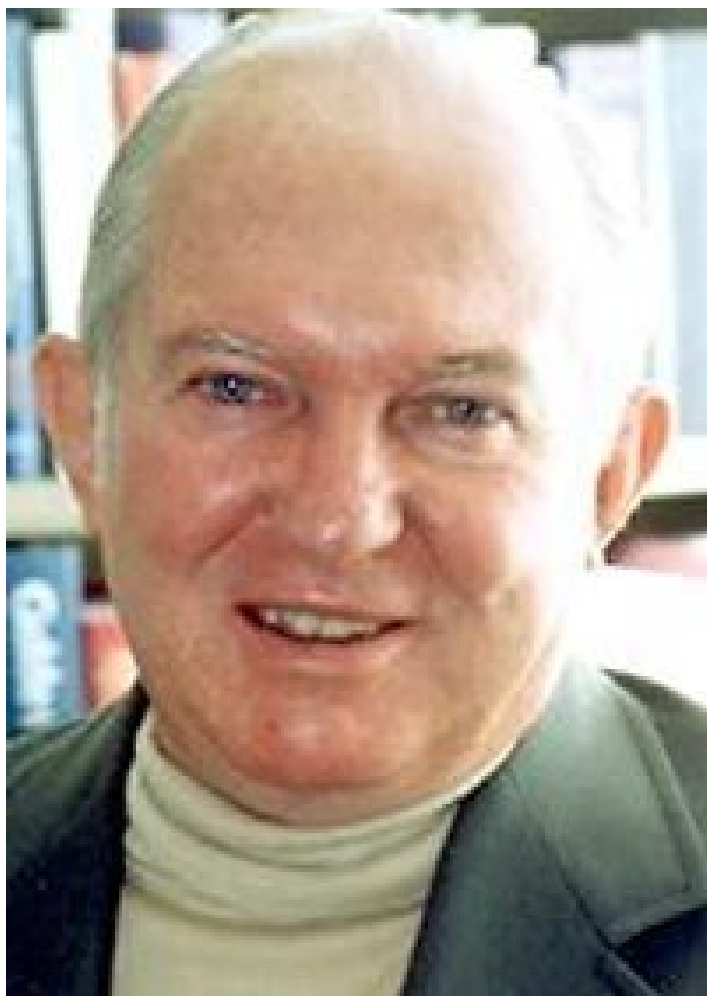
After unsuccessfully seeking the Republican presidential nomination in 1960, 1964, and 1968, he served as Vice President from 1974 to 1977 under President [Gerald R. Ford](#). Ford ascended to the presidency following the August 1974 resignation of [Richard Nixon](#) over the [Watergate Scandal](#), and Ford selected Rockefeller as his replacement, only the second vice president to be appointed under the provisions of the [25th Amendment](#), Ford having been the first. However, Rockefeller did not join the 1976 Republican national ticket with President Ford, marking his retirement from politics.

William Scranton



- **Warren "Bill" Scranton** (July 19, 1917 – July 28, 2013) was an [American Republican Party](#) politician. Scranton served as the [38th Governor of Pennsylvania](#) from 1963 to 1967. From 1976 to 1977, he served as [United States Ambassador to the United Nations](#).
- Although he did not actively seek the 1964 Republican nomination for [President of the United States](#) in the beginning, a "Draft Scranton" movement quickly gathered momentum among moderate and liberal Republicans who saw him as an alternative to conservative frontrunner, Senator [Barry Goldwater](#), and other Republicans who feared that Goldwater's polarizing views would lead to defeat, after the campaign of Goldwater's liberal opponent, New York governor [Nelson Rockefeller](#), had lost steam. Early in the campaign, he announced that he would be willing to accept the nomination for Vice President. Scranton first declined to enter the race but later threw his hat into the ring on June 12, 1964. Scranton won the support of ten state delegations, but Goldwater went on to win the nomination on the first ballot. [Republican National Committee](#) Chairman and US Representative [William E. Miller](#) of [New York](#) was nominated for Vice President. Although he did not actively seek the 1964 Republican nomination for [President of the United States](#) in the beginning, a "Draft Scranton" movement quickly gathered momentum among moderate and liberal Republicans who saw him as an alternative to conservative frontrunner, Senator [Barry Goldwater](#), and other Republicans who feared that Goldwater's polarizing views would lead to defeat, after the campaign of Goldwater's liberal opponent, New York governor [Nelson Rockefeller](#), had lost steam. Early in the campaign, he announced that he would be willing to accept the nomination for Vice President. Scranton first declined to enter the race but later threw his hat into the ring on June 12, 1964. Scranton won the support of ten state delegations, but Goldwater went on to win the nomination on the first ballot. [Republican National Committee](#) Chairman and US Representative [William E. Miller](#) of [New York](#) was nominated for Vice President.

James Jackson Kilpatrick



James Jackson Kilpatrick

(November 1, 1920 – August 15, 2010) was an American newspaper journalist, columnist, author, writer and grammarian. During the 1950s and early 1960s he was editor of *The Richmond News Leader* in Richmond, Virginia and encouraged Massive Resistance to the U.S. Supreme Court's decisions in *Brown v. Board of Education* which outlawed racial segregation in public schools. For three decades beginning in the mid 1960s, Kilpatrick wrote a nationally syndicated column "A Conservative View", and for years also sparred with liberals Nicholas von Hoffman and later Shana Alexander on the television news program 60 Minutes.^{[1][2]}

1964 Primary Strategy (Republicans)

“Duel to the Death”

Goldwater:

- ***Many of the same forces that would defeat Goldwater in the general election are apparent in California: Unbridled candor; reluctance to distance himself from extremists; absence of informed advice, and so forth***

Rockefeller:

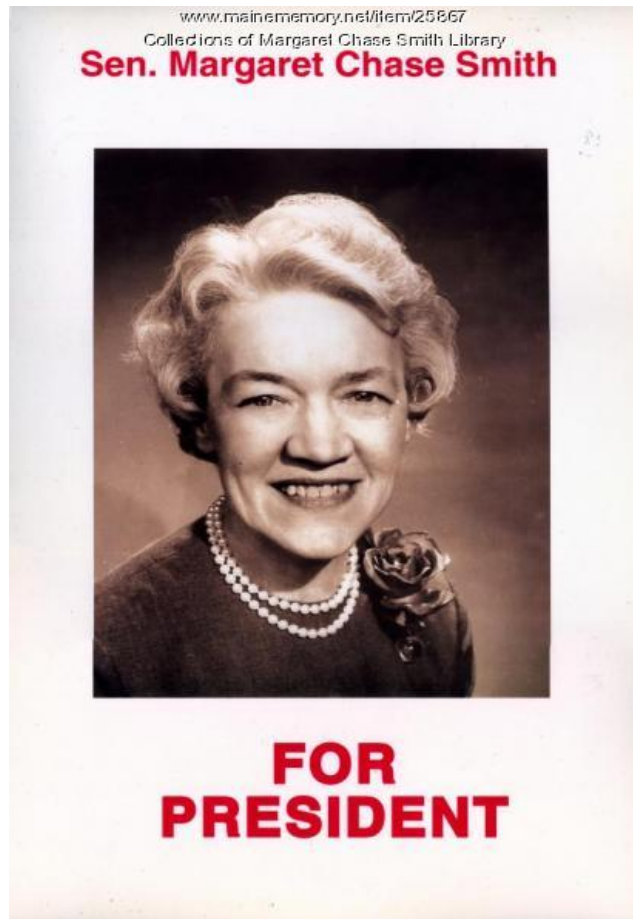
- ***Rallying point for Republican liberals and moderates***
- ***Marital Situation plays a very large role***

In reality, It was more that Rockefeller lost California rather than Goldwater won

Other Republicans

- ***New Hampshire: Both Goldwater and Rockefeller campaign actively. Unexpectedly, Henry Cabot Lodge (Ambassador to Vietnam) wins as a write-in candidate with Goldwater & Rockefeller finishing a distant second/third and Nixon (also a write-in) finishing fourth***
- ***Oregon: Similar to New Hampshire –an all-out contest. Rockefeller defeats Goldwater with Lodge finishing second and Nixon fourth. Lodge & Nixon did not actively campaign***
- ***California: All-out campaigns by both leading candidates; Goldwater has a massive volunteer organization; divisions in California electorate : conservative-liberal; Northern & Southern California; Republican party in California— Goodwin Knight & William Knowland-Earl Warren***
- ***Ronald Reagan—emergence in electoral politics—“The Speech”***
- ***Goldwater wins California by 70 thousand votes out of the 2.1 million votes cast and essentially locks up the nomination***

The First Woman to Run for the Presidency from a Major Political Party



- Margaret Madeline Chase Smith (December 14, 1897 – May 29, 1995)^[1] was an American politician. A member of the Republican Party, she served as a U.S Representative (1940-1949) and a U.S. Senator (1949-1973) from Maine.^[2] She was the first woman to serve in both houses of the United States Congress, and the first woman to represent Maine in either.^[3] A moderate Republican, she is perhaps best remembered for her 1950 speech, "Declaration of Conscience," in which she criticized the tactics of McCarthyism.^[4]
- Smith was an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican nomination in the 1964 presidential election, but was the first woman to be placed in nomination for the presidency at a major party's convention.^[2] Upon leaving office, she was the longest-serving female Senator in history, a distinction that was not surpassed until January 5, 2011, when Senator Barbara Mikulski was sworn in for a fifth term.^[5] To date, Smith is ranked as the longest-serving Republican woman in the Senate.^[6] (If Susan Collins, who holds Smith's former Senate seat, completes her current term, she will tie Smith for that title.)

The 1964 Conventions

Boardwalk Hall, Atlantic City, NJ (1964 Democratic Convention)



- **Boardwalk Hall**, formally known as the **Historic Atlantic City Convention Hall**, is an arena in Atlantic City, Atlantic County, New Jersey, United States. It was Atlantic City's primary convention center until the opening of the Atlantic City Convention Center in 1997. Boardwalk Hall was declared a U.S. National Historic Landmark in 1987.^{[3][4]} The venue seats 10,500 people for ice hockey, and at maximum capacity can accommodate 14,770 for concerts. Boardwalk Hall is the home of the Miss America Pageant.

The Cow Palace San Francisco (1964 Republican Convention)



- Cow Palace (originally the California State Livestock Pavilion) is an indoor arena located in Daly City, California, situated on the city's border with neighboring San Francisco.
- The Cow Palace twice hosted the Republican National Convention. Republicans gathered at the Cow Palace for the 1956 Republican National Convention to renominate Dwight D. Eisenhower for President and Richard Nixon for Vice President. The ticket won in a landslide.
- The Republicans came back eight years later for the 1964 Republican National Convention at which Barry Goldwater was nominated for President and William Miller was nominated for Vice President. Both of them would go on to lose to Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, also in a landslide.
- Concerts[[edit](#)]
- On August 19, 1964, The Beatles opened their first North American concert tour playing at the Cow Palace. They also played two shows at the arena on August 31, 1965, their 10th and final stop on their 1965 North American tour

The History & Role of Political Conventions

History

In the early 19th century, members of Congress met within their party caucuses to select their party's nominee. Conflicts between the interests of the Eastern Congressional class and citizens in newer Western states led to the hotly contested [1824 election](#), in which factions of the [Democratic-Republican Party](#) rejected the caucus nominee, [William H. Crawford](#) of [Georgia](#), and backed [John Quincy Adams](#), [Henry Clay](#), and [Andrew Jackson](#) (all of whom carried more states than Crawford in the election) instead.

In 1831 the [Anti-Masonic Party](#) convened in [Baltimore, Maryland](#) to select a single presidential candidate agreeable to the whole party leadership in the [1832 presidential election](#). The [National Republican](#) and [Democratic Parties](#) soon followed suit.

Purpose

Candidates/platforms

Conventions were often heated affairs, playing a vital role in deciding each party's nominee. The process remained far from democratic or [transparent](#), however. The party convention was a scene of intrigue among [political bosses](#), who appointed and otherwise controlled nearly all of the delegates. Winning a nomination involved intensive negotiations and multiple votes; the [1924 Democratic National Convention](#) required a record 103 ballots to nominate [John W. Davis](#). The term "[dark horse](#) candidate" was coined at the [1844 Democratic National Convention](#), at which little-known [Tennessee](#) politician [James K. Polk](#) emerged as the candidate after the failure of the leading candidates—former President [Martin Van Buren](#) and Senator [Lewis Cass](#)—to secure the necessary two-thirds majority.

The 1964 Democratic Convention

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was an American [political party](#) created in 1964 as a branch of the [populist](#) Freedom Democratic organization in the [state](#) of [Mississippi](#) during the [Civil Rights Movement](#). It was organized by [African Americans](#) and [whites](#) from [Mississippi](#) to challenge the legitimacy of the regular [Mississippi Democratic Party](#), which allowed participation only by whites, when African Americans made up 40% of the state population

1964 Democratic National Convention[\[edit\]](#)

The MFDP sent its elected delegates by bus to the convention. They challenged the right of the Mississippi Democratic Party's delegation to participate in the convention, claiming that the regulars had been illegally elected in a completely segregated process that violated both party regulations and federal law, and that the regulars had no intention of supporting [Lyndon B. Johnson](#), the party's presidential candidate, in the November election. They asked that the MFDP delegates be seated rather than the segregationist regulars

The 1964 Republican Convention Rockefeller and the Issue of Extremism

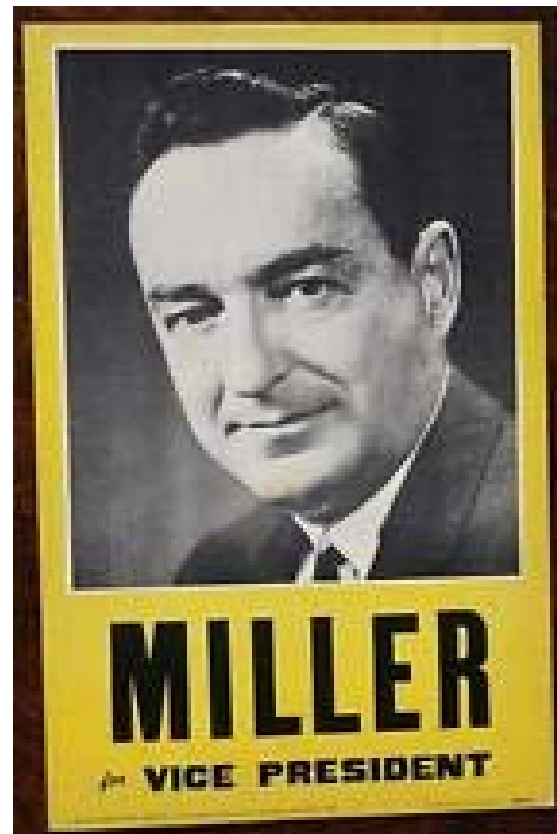
- *Goldwater was reluctant throughout the entire campaign to distance himself from extremist elements in America*
- *His acceptance speech is marked by the oft-repeated quote that: “extremism in the defense of liberty...”*
- *Rockefeller confronts the gathered delegates in a speech that calls attention to extremism*
 - *The convention erupted in violent shouting that prevented Rockefeller from speaking*
- *This outburst shocked the nation wide audience and led to Goldwater being branded as an extremist himself*
- *Rockefeller clearly relished his role in exposing the “extreme” right movement in the party, and was regarded by many Republicans as a “wrecker”*
- *This effectively ended any possibility in the future to be the republican nominee*
- *Rockefeller would become President Ford’s Vice President in 1974*

Vice Presidential Choices

- *Hubert Humphrey*



- *William Miller*



Walter Cronkite



Walter Leland Cronkite, Jr.

(November 4, 1916 – July 17, 2009) was an American [broadcast journalist](#), best known as [anchorman](#) for the [CBS Evening News](#) for 19 years (1962–81).

During the heyday of [CBS News](#) in the 1960s and 1970s, he was often cited as "the most trusted man in America" after being so named in an opinion poll.^{[1][2][3]}

He reported many events from 1937 to 1981, including bombings in [World War II](#); the [Nuremberg trials](#); combat in the [Vietnam War](#);^[4] the [Dawson's Field hijackings](#); [Watergate](#); the [Iran Hostage Crisis](#); and the assassinations of [President John F. Kennedy](#), civil rights pioneer [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#), and [Beatles](#) musician [John Lennon](#).

He was also known for his extensive coverage of the U.S. space program, from [Project Mercury](#) to the [Moon landings](#) to the [Space Shuttle](#).

He was the only non-NASA recipient of a Moon-rock award. Cronkite is well known for his departing catchphrase "And that's the way it is," followed by the broadcast's date

THE 1964 ELECTION

Joseph Rauh



Joseph Louis Rauh, Jr. (January 3, 1911 - September 3, 1992) was one of the United States' foremost [civil rights](#) and [civil liberties](#) lawyers. He was posthumously awarded the [Presidential Medal of Freedom](#), the nation's highest civilian honor, by [President Bill Clinton](#) on November 30, 1993.

Rauh was born in [Cincinnati, Ohio](#), the son of a German immigrant shirt manufacturer. He did not follow in his father's footsteps, however, shirking textiles for [Harvard University](#). There, he played center for the [Ivy League](#) school's basketball team. He graduated [magna cum laude](#) with a degree in economics in 1932, continuing his education at [Harvard Law School](#), where he finished first of his class.^[1]

After clerking at the [Supreme Court](#), Rauh eventually was commissioned into the Army at the rank of lieutenant in 1942, working as a [lend-lease](#) expert in the midst of [World War II](#). He ultimately reached the rank of lieutenant colonel. He returned to Washington after the war and worked in private practice, focusing his efforts on fighting for civil liberties.

Rauh is best known for his championing of various civil rights causes. In 1947, he helped found [Americans for Democratic Action](#), alongside [Eleanor Roosevelt](#) and [Hubert Humphrey](#), among others. Starting as a [Democratic National Convention](#) delegate in 1948, he was a leader that year in writing up the civil rights plank for Humphrey. In the letter of support promoting his award of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, its authors described the plank as "the foundation for all of the human rights and equal protection laws that have since been enacted".^[2]

In 1959, Rauh successfully represented Quaker printer David H. Scull before the United States Supreme Court in [Scull v. Virginia ex rel. Committee on Law Reform & Racial Activities](#), which concerned aggressive and unclear questioning by the pro-segregation chairman of a Virginia legislative committee, which had led to a contempt citation the Supreme Court overturned.

Rauh also lobbied [Congress](#) for the passage of many civil rights bills, having a hand in the passing of the [Civil Rights Act of 1964](#), the [Voting Rights Act of 1965](#) and the [Civil Rights Act of 1968](#). In addition, he fought against [McCarthyism](#) and was a long-time executive board member of the [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People](#).^[3]

The Advisors

Johnson

- **Bill Moyers**
- **Abe Fortas**
- **Horace Busby**
- **Walter Jenkins**
- **Jack Valenti**
- **Harry McPherson**
- **George Reedy**
- ***New Frontiersmen***
 - ***Larry O'Donnell***
 - ***Ken O'Donnell***
 - ***David Powers***
 - ***Richard Goodwin***

Goldwater

Richard Goodwin



- **Richard Naradof Goodwin** (born December 7, 1931) is an American writer who may be best known as an advisor and [speechwriter](#) to Presidents [Kennedy](#) and [Johnson](#) and to Senator [Robert F. Kennedy](#).
- He went on to study at [Harvard Law School](#), graduated *summa cum laude* in 1958 and joined the Massachusetts State bar the same year.. After [clerking](#) for [United States Supreme Court](#) Justice [Felix Frankfurter](#) in 1958, Goodwin came to Senator [John F. Kennedy](#)'s attention in 1959 while working as special counsel to the Legislative Oversight Subcommittee of the [U.S. House of Representatives](#).)
- Goodwin joined Kennedy's speech writing staff in 1959, and after Kennedy's successful presidential bid, served as assistant special counsel to the President in 1961. Goodwin was also a member of Kennedy's Task Force on [Latin American](#) Affairs and in 1961, was appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, a position he held until 1963. In 1964 became special assistant to President [Lyndon B. Johnson](#). Goodwin was specifically named by Johnson to write Johnson's 1965 civil rights speech, a speech considered one of the best, if not the best of Johnson's speeches. ^[2] He has been credited with naming Johnson's legislative agenda "the [Great Society](#)." Goodwin left government service in 1965, though he returned briefly in 1968 to write speeches for presidential candidates [Robert F. Kennedy](#), [Eugene McCarthy](#) and [Edmund Muskie](#). After leaving government, Goodwin served as a Fellow on the faculty in the Center for Advanced Studies at [Wesleyan University](#) in [Middletown, Connecticut](#) from 1965 to 1967 and as a visiting professor of public affairs at the [Massachusetts Institute of Technology](#) in 1968.

1964 Election Strategy

Johnson

- Stresses all of the powers of an incumbent President
 - Experience
 - Working relations with world leaders
 - Nationwide organization
 - Funding
- Adherence to the main tenets of New Deal liberalism
- Electoral strategy concentrates on the Democratic “FDR Coalition” that won the 1960 election
- Paints Goldwater as an extremists
 - An unstable elements in a world of nuclear weapons
 - An ideological foe of the Soviets that would deepen the Cold War
- Nationwide surrogates of popular Senator and Governors to campaign for the ticket

Goldwater

- **Theory:** *for generations, Americans had not been offered a clear choice in their selection of the president (“a choice not an echo”)*
- **Theme:** *“what is happening to this country of ours?”*
- **Electoral strategy:**
 - *Strive for all 11 Southern States (127 electoral votes)*
 - *Add Arizona, Oklahoma and Kentucky (22)*
 - *Campaign vigorously for traditionally Republican Mountain and Midwest states—Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Colorado, Dakotas & others (50-60)*
 - *Battleground states: Ohio, Illinois, California (92)*
 - *The “Democratic Quadrangle” was written off*

Major Issues in the 1964 Election

- Economic issues
- The Cold War with the Soviet Union
 - Rollback vs. Containment
- Vietnam
- Civil Rights
- Backlash
- Political Extremism

The Johnson Juggernaut

“Come down and hear the speakin...”

- ***The Inner Circle (Team A):***
 - ***Bill Moyers, Jack Valenti and Walter Jenkins***
- ***Team B (Senior Court of Review)***
 - ***Clark Clifford, Abe Fortas, James Rowe***
- ***Team C: (JFK New Frontiersmen):***
 - ***Larry O'Brien; Ken O'Donnell***
- ***Team D: The 5 o'clock Club***
- ***Team E: The Democratic National Committee***

Goldwater Against Himself

“I am no baby-kissing, handshaking, blintz-eating candidate!”

- *“If I had a pint of brains, I should have known in San Francisco that I had won the nomination and lost the election right there.” (Goldwater/Dec 1964)*
- *Americans viewed the Republican Convention as controlled by extremists and Goldwater, himself, as endorsing extremism and extremist groups*
- *Organizationally: Clifton White & his supporters were pushed aside in favor of inexperienced Arizona supporters—Denison Kitchel and Richard Kliendienst (campaign directors) and Dean Burch (head of the Republican Party)*
 - *Party leaders/regulars were also viewed with suspicion*
- *The selection of William Miller (almost completely unknown) as Vice President brought little electoral strength to the ticket*
- *The Goldwater electoral strategy was seriously flawed—hoping to win all of the South while running against LBJ was wholly unrealistic; similarly, his estimate of strength in the Midwest was widely optimistic*
- **GOLDWATER’S WORST ENEMY WAS HIMSELF:**
 - *He spoke to Southern and agricultural audiences and opposed the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and the Rural Electrification program*
 - *He supported Taft-Hartley “right-to-work” efforts while asking for union votes*
 - *He spoke of dismantling Social Security and opposed establishing a MEDICARE program*
 - *He favored States Rights and voted against the 1964 Civil Rights Act*
 - *He called for theater based commanders in NATO to be given access to tactical nuclear weapons and supported the doctrine of limited nuclear war*
 - *He had urged JFK to launch a nuclear first strike against the Soviets in Cuba during the 1962 Cuban Missile crisis*
 - *He was quoted as saying: “he would like to lob one into the men’s room of the Kremlin” if given the opportunity*

The Evolution of a Theme and a Campaign



“In your heart, you know he’s right” (Aug 1964)

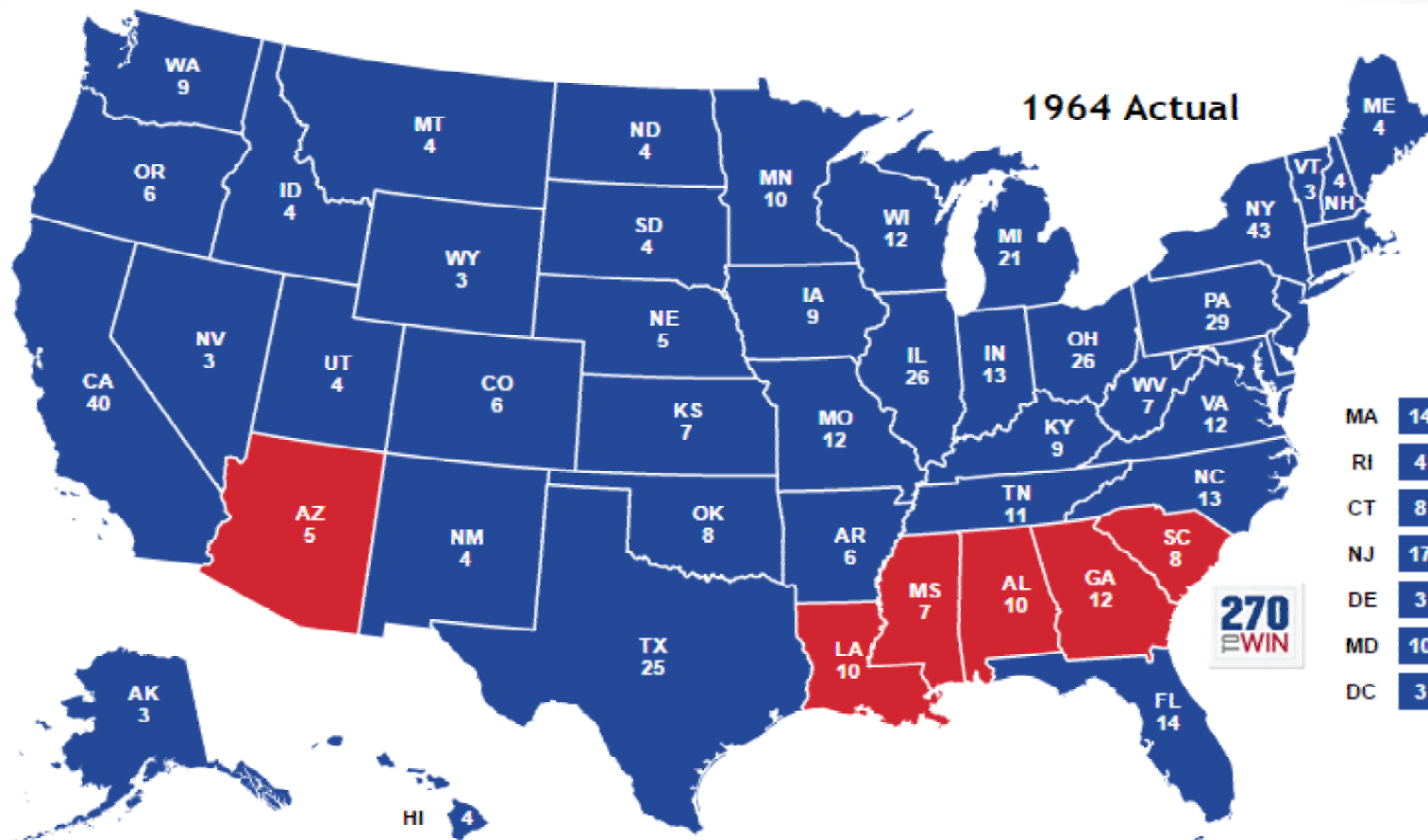
“In your heart, you know he’s far right” (Sep 1964)

“In your heart, you know he might” (Oct 1964)

“In your heart, you know he’s white’ (Nov 1964)

“ In your guts, you knew he was nuts” (Dec 1964)

The 1964 Electoral Map



	<i>Johnson</i>	<i>Goldwater</i>	
Popular Vote	43.1 M (61.1%)	27.2 M (38.5%)	
Electoral Vote	486 (90%)	52(10%)	
States	44	6	

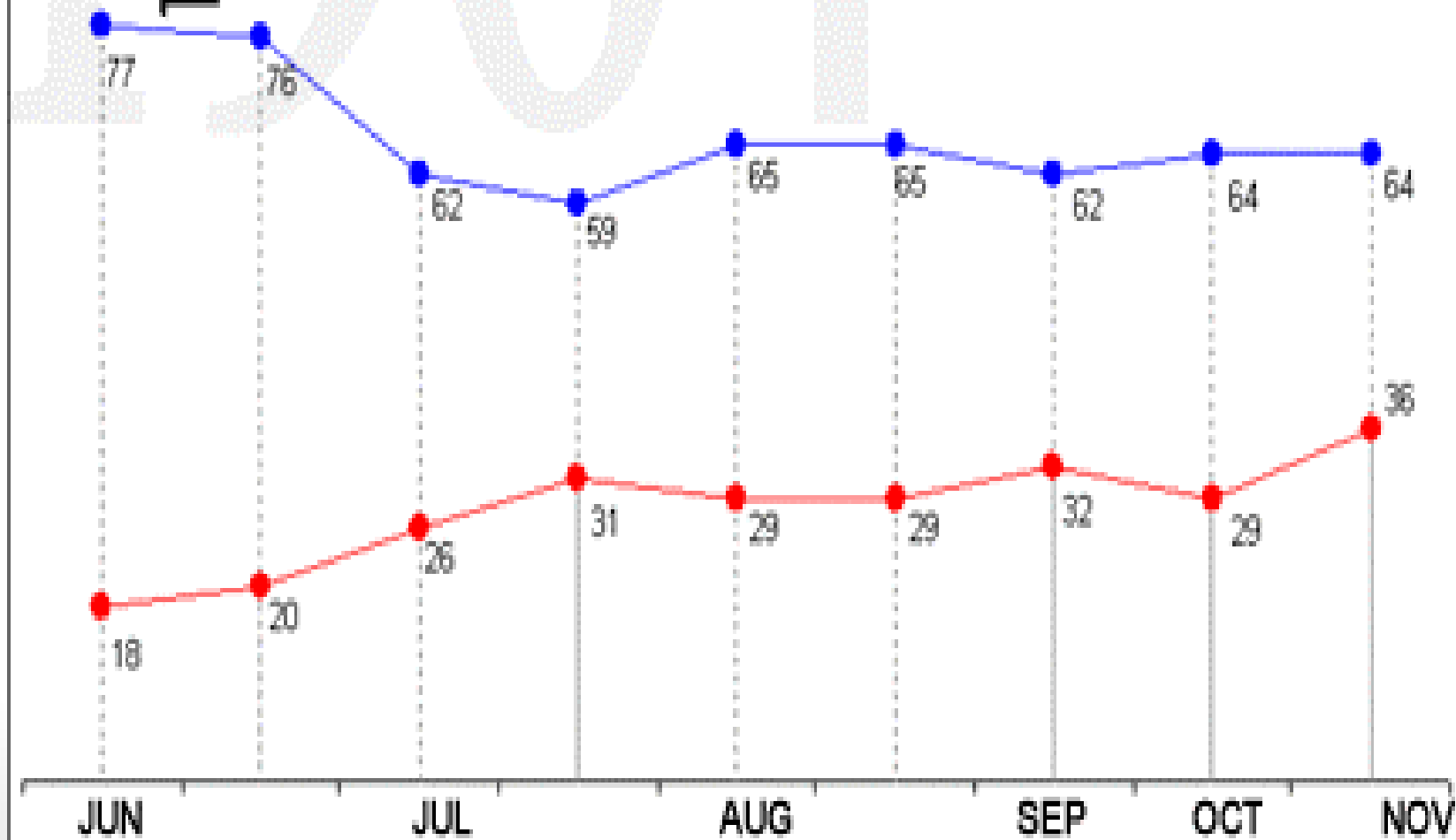
1964

Johnson
Goldwater

Winning
Candidate
Johnson

Final
Gallup Survey
64.0%

Election
Result
61.3%



	Johnson	Goldwater
Men	60	40
Women	62	38
White	59	41
Nonwhite	94	6
College	52	48
White Collar	57	43
50 years and over	59	41
South	52	48
West	60	40

Elmo Roper



- **Elmo Burns Roper, Jr.** (July 31, 1900 in [Hebron, Nebraska](#) – April 30, 1971 in [Redding, Connecticut](#)) was a [pollster](#) known for his pioneering work in [market research](#) and [opinion polling](#). In 1933, he cofounded Cherington, Wood, and Roper, a marketing research firm.^[1] When that partnership fell apart, he founded his own research company, Elmo Roper, Inc.^[2] He was hired by [Henry Luce](#) in 1935 to run surveys for [Fortune](#), continuing these surveys for 15 years. His prediction of [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#)'s electoral victory over [Alf Landon](#) in 1936 was correct to within 0.9%; his 1940 prediction of Roosevelt's victory was correct to within 0.5%, further solidifying the reputation of Roper's techniques.^[3] In 1940, Roosevelt hired Roper to assess public opinion of [Lend-Lease](#) prior to its implementation.^[4] In 1942 he was hired by [William Joseph Donovan](#) to be the deputy director of the [Office of Strategic Services](#); Roper subsequently worked with the [Office of War Information](#). After leaving the OWI he founded the [Roper Center for Public Opinion Research](#) at the [University of Connecticut](#) in 1947.
- Roper Opinion Research Company (the "Roper Poll") was later renamed Roper Starch Worldwide Company and eventually acquired by NOP World and then [GfK](#) in 2005.

Public Interest Groups

- ***American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)***
 - ***Amnesty International***
 - ***Common Cause***
 - ***Family Research Council***
 - ***National Organization for Women***
 - ***Sierra Club***
- ***A public interest group*** (also called an advocacy group, lobbying group, pressure group, or special interest) is a group, however loosely or tightly organized, that is determined to encourage or prevent changes in public policy without trying to be elected. The textbook used in class defines this as "An organization of people with shared ideas and attitudes who attempt to influence public policy."

Special Interests/Lobbyists (the K Street Corridor)

Publically traded companies lobbying efforts (2009-2016)

- General Electric ([GE](#)): \$134 million
- 2. AT&T: ([T](#), [Tech30](#)) \$91.2 million
- 3. Boeing Co ([BA](#)): \$90.3 million
- 4. Northrop Grumman ([NOC](#)): \$87.9 million
- 5. Comcast Corp ([CMCSA](#)): \$86.4 million
- 6. Verizon Communications: ([VZ](#), [Tech30](#)) \$86.4 million
- 7. FedExCorp ([FDX](#)): \$85.7 million
- 8. Exxon Mobil ([XOM](#)): \$85 million
- 9. Lockheed Martin ([LMT](#)): \$78.8 million
- 10. Pfizer ([PFE](#)): \$77.8 million

- **Lobbying in the United States** describes paid activity in which [special interests](#) hire well-connected professional advocates, often lawyers, to argue for specific legislation in decision-making bodies such as the [United States Congress](#). It is a highly controversial phenomenon, often seen in a negative light by journalists and the American public.^[1] While lobbying is subject to extensive and often complex rules which, if not followed, can lead to penalties including jail, the activity of lobbying has been interpreted by court rulings as constitutionally-protected [free speech](#) and a way to petition the government for the redress of grievances, two of the freedoms protected by the [First Amendment](#) of the [Constitution](#). Since the 1970s, lobbying activity has grown immensely in the United States in terms of the numbers of lobbyists and the size of lobbying budgets, and has become the focus of much criticism of American governance.
- Since lobbying rules require extensive disclosure, there is a large amount of information in the [public sphere](#) about which entities lobby, how, at whom, and for how much. The current pattern suggests much lobbying is done primarily by corporations, although a wide variety of coalitions representing diverse groups also occurs. Lobbying takes place at every level of government, including federal, state, county, municipal, and even local governments. In [Washington, D.C.](#), lobbying usually targets [Member of Congress](#), although there have been efforts to influence executive agency officials as well as [Supreme Court](#) appointments. Lobbying can have an important influence on the [political system](#); for example, a study in 2014 suggested that special interest lobbying enhanced the power of elite groups and was a factor shifting the nation's political structure toward an [oligarchy](#) in which average citizens have "little or no independent influence".^[2]

The Election of 2016

The “Phenomenon of Disenchantment”

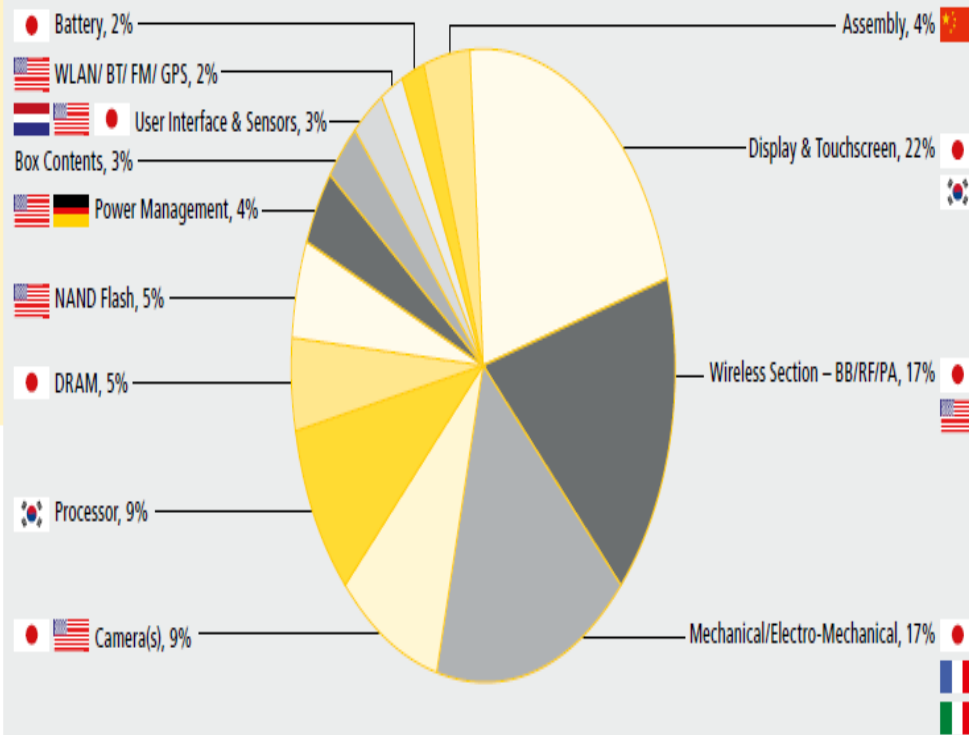
- ***Profound disillusionment with the American System (political-economic)***
- ***60% of Americans believe special interest lobbies control American politics***
- ***66% of Americans believe that the economic system favors the wealthy***
- ***The American political system no longer works***
 - ***Executive-Congressional gridlock***
 - ***Political banality (political correctness)***
- ***Job and wage stagnation***
- ***Economic inequality***
- ***The decline of trade unionism***
- ***Globalization as “something being done to America”***
- ***Free trade and trade pacts have stolen jobs from the American economy***
- ***Social issues threaten the American way of life***
 - ***Same-sex marriage***
 - ***Abortion***
- ***The belief that Trump is only supported by “angry white males” further marginalizes and confirms his supporters***
- ***Social/psychological explanations:***
 - ***The Stockholm syndrome***
 - ***Trauma response syndrome***
- ***Hillbilly Eulogy***

Globalization as “something be done to the United States”



Figure 3.10

iPhone 5 Component Costs by Supplier Headquarters Location and China Assembly Cost



While the iPhone 5 is assembled in China, it consists, almost entirely, of components produced by firms headquartered in Korea, the United States, and Japan. Assembly accounts for only 4% of the iPhone's total manufacturing cost. Source: Based on data reported in Andrew Rassweiler, "Many iPhone 5 Components Change, But Most Suppliers Remain the Same, Teardown Reveals," IHS iSuppli Press Release, September 25, 2012.

Globalization: the U.S.-Technology

<i>Highest # of Tech Jobs 2015</i>	<i>Highest % Increase 2015 (2010-2015)</i>	<i>%</i>
SF/Oakland/San Jose	San Francisco	71.6%
NY/Nassau County	Raleigh	38.5%
DC/MD/VA	Austin	37.2%
Cambridge/Boston	Nashville	30.0%
Chicago/Lake County	San Jose	28.7%
LA/Anaheim	Charlotte	28.0%
Dallas	Boston	27.3%
Minneapolis	Detroit	27.2%
Seattle	Atlanta	22.6%
Atlanta	Salt Lake City	22.0%

Populism & Plato's Republic

- In the United States, populism has historically been associated with the left, whereas in European countries, populism is more associated with the right. In both, ***the central tenet of populism—that democracy should reflect the pure and undiluted will of the people***—means it can sit easily with ideologies of both right and left. The American founders had the same fears, and so built our republic to contain such outbursts whenever they might arise.
- ***Our view of classical populism is shaped by both the warnings of philosophers and the experiences of some democracies, ancient and modern.***
- ***In the Politics, Aristotle defines a demagogic democracy as one in which "the decrees of the assembly override the law" and a popular faction "takes the superior share in the government as a prize of victory." The people's leader, the demagogue, incites them to pursue such despotism through extravagant rhetoric, playing on the people's basest desires and fears. The result is laid out ominously in Plato's Republic: The people — "an obedient mob" — "set up one man as their special leader...and make him grow great."***
- ***The Athenian philosophers were not merely theorizing such scenarios: Their city had lived through them, during the reigns of the 5th century B.C. demagogues Alcibiades and Cleon.***

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