The Letters

Letter 1:

"I long to hear that you have declared an independency. And, by the way, in the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors.

"Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands.

"Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation.

"That your sex are naturally tyrannical is a truth so thoroughly established as to admit of no dispute; but such of you as wish to be happy willingly give up -- the harsh tide of master for the more tender and endearing one of friend.

"Why, then, not put it out of the power of the vicious and the lawless to use us with cruelty and indignity with impunity?

"Men of sense in all ages abhor those customs which treat us only as the (servants) of your sex; regard us then as being placed by Providence under your protection, and in imitation of the Supreme Being make use of that power only for our happiness."

Letter 2: Response to Letter 1

"As to your extraordinary code of laws, I cannot but laugh.

"We have been told that our struggle has loosened the bonds of government everywhere; that children and apprentices were disobedient; that

schools and colleges were grown turbulent; that Indians slighted their guardians, and negroes grew insolent to their masters.

"But your letter was the first intimation that another tribe, more numerous and powerful than all the rest, were grown discontented.

"This is rather too coarse a compliment, but you are so saucy, I won't blot it out.

"Depend upon it, we know better than to repeal our masculine systems. Although they are in full force, you know they are little more than theory. We dare not exert our power in its full latitude. We are obliged to go fair and softly, and, in practice, you know we are the subjects.

"We have only the name of masters, and rather than give up this, which would completely subject us to the despotism of the petticoat, I hope General Washington and all our brave heroes would fight."

Letter 3: Response to Letter 2

"I cannot say that I think you are very generous to the ladies; for, whilst you are proclaiming peace and good-will to men, emancipating all nations, you insist upon retaining an absolute power over wives.

"But you must remember that arbitrary power is like most other things which are very hard, very liable to be broken; and, notwithstanding all your wise laws and maxims, we have it in our power, not only to free ourselves, but to subdue our masters, and without violence, throw both your natural and legal authority at our feet."

Source: Letters Between Abigail Adams and her Husband John Adams. *The Liz Library.* 11 August 2011 <http://www.thelizlibrary.org/suffrage/abigail.htm>. (**Letter 1: MARCH 31, 1776,** ABIGAIL ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS; **Letter 2 APRIL 14, 1776,** JOHN ADAMS TO ABIGAIL ADAMS; **Letter 3 MAY 7, 1776,** ABIGAIL ADAMS TO JOHN ADAMS).

Mississippi & Freedom Summer

"This is Mississippi, the middle of the iceberg."
-- Bob Moses

In the early 1960s, Mississippi was the poorest state in the nation. 86% of all non-white families lived below the national poverty line. In addition, the state had a terrible record of black voting rights violations. In the 1950s, Mississippi was 45% black, but only 5% of voting age blacks were registered to vote. Some counties did not have a single registered black voter. Whites insisted that blacks did not want to vote, but this was not true. Many blacks wanted to vote, but they worried, and rightfully so, that they might lose their job. In 1962, over 260 blacks in Madison County overcame this fear and waited in line to register. 50 more came the next day. Only seven got in to take the test over the two days, walking past a sticker on the registrar's office door that bore a Confederate battle flag next to the message "Support Your Citizens' Council." Once they got in, they had to take a test designed to prevent them from becoming registered. In 1954, in response to increasing literacy among blacks, the test, which originally asked applicants to "read *or* interpret" a section of the state constitution, was changed to ask applicants to "read *and* interpret" that document. This allowed white registrars to decide whether or not a person passed the test. Most blacks, even those with doctoral degrees, "failed." In contrast, most whites passed, no matter what their education level. In George County, one white applicant's interpretation of the section "There shall be no imprisonment for debt" was "I thank that a Neorger should have 2 years in collage before voting because he don't under stand." (sic) He passed.

The NAACP went to Mississippi in an effort to register more blacks in the late 1950s. Amzie Moore, a local NAACP leader in Mississippi, met with SNCC worker Robert Parris Moses when Moses traveled through the state in July 1960, recruiting people for a SNCC conference. Moore encouraged Moses to bring more SNCC workers to the state, and the following summer he did, beginning a month-long voter registration campaign in the town of McComb, in conjunction with C.C. Bryant of the NAACP. SNCC organized a voter registration education program, teaching a weekly class that showed people how to register.

SNCC worker Marion Barry arrived on August 18 and started workshops to teach young blacks nonviolent protest methods. Many of the blacks, too young to vote, jumped at the opportunity to join the movement. They began holding sit-ins. Some were arrested and expelled from school. More were expelled when they held a protest march after the murder of Herbert Lee, who had helped SNCC workers, on September 25. In response to these expulsions, Moses and Chuck McDew started Nonviolent High School to teach the expelled students. They were arrested and sentenced to four months in jail for "contributing to the delinquency of minors."

Other protests by blacks were met with violence. At sit-ins which began on May 28, 1963, participants were sprayed with paint and had pepper thrown in their eyes. Students who sang movement songs during lunch after the bombing of NAACP field director Medgar Evers' home were beaten. Evers himself was the most visible target for violence. He was a native of Mississippi and World War II veteran who was greeted by a mob of gun-wielding whites when he attempted to register after the war in his hometown of Decatur. He later said, "We fought during the war for America, Mississippi included. Now, after the Germans and Japanese hadn't killed us, it looked as though the white Mississippians would." After he was denied admission to the University of

Mississippi law school, he went to work for the NAACP. By 1963, Evers was aware that, in the words of his wife Myrlie Evers,

. . . Medgar was a target because he was the leader. The whole mood of white Mississippi was that if Medgar Evers were eliminated, the problem would be solved. . . . And we came to realize, in those last few days, last few months, that our time was short; it was simply in the air. You knew that something was going to happen, and the logical person for it to happen to was Medgar.

At an NAACP rally on June 7, Medgar Evers told the crowd, "Freedom has never been free . . . I love my children and I love my wife with all my heart. And I would die, and die gladly, if that would make a better life for them." Five days later, he was shot and killed as he returned home around midnight. Byron de la Beckwith, a member of the Citizens' Council, was arrested for Evers' murder, but he was set free after two trials ended in hung juries. He later ran for lieutenant governor.

That fall, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella organization of local and national civil rights groups founded in 1962, organized the Freedom Vote. The Freedom Vote had two main goals:

1. To show Mississippi whites and the nation that blacks wanted to vote and
2. To give blacks, many of whom had never voted, practice in casting a ballot

The mock vote pitted the actual candidates against candidates from the interracial Freedom Party. 60 white students from Yale and Stanford Universities came to Mississippi to help spread word of the Freedom Vote. 93,000 voted on the mock election day, and the Freedom Party candidates easily won.

After the success of the Freedom Vote, SNCC decided to send volunteers into Mississippi during the summer of 1964, a presidential election year, for a voter registration drive. It became known as Freedom Summer. Bob Moses outlined the goals of Freedom Summer to prospective volunteers at Stanford University:

1. to expand black voter registration in the state
2. to organize a legally constituted "Freedom Democratic Party" that would challenge the whites-only Mississippi Democratic party
3. to establish "freedom schools" to teach reading and math to black children
4. to open community centers where indigent blacks could obtain legal and medical assistance

800 students gathered for a week-long orientation session at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, that June. They were mostly white and young, with an average age of 21. They were also from well-to-do families, as the volunteers had to bring $500 for bail as well as money for living expenses, medical bills, and transportation home. SNCC's James Forman told them to be prepared for death. "I may be killed. You may be killed. The whole staff may go." He also told them to go quietly to jail if arrested, because "Mississippi is not the place to start conducting constitutional law classes for the policemen, many of whom don't have a fifth-grade education."

On June 21, the day after the first 200 recruits left for Mississippi from Ohio, three workers, including one volunteer, disappeared. Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney

had been taken to jail for speeding charges but were later released. What happened next is not known. Local police were called when the men failed to perform a required check-in with Freedom Summer headquarters, but Sheriff Lawrence Rainey was convinced the men were hiding to gain publicity. The FBI did not get involved for a full day. During the search for the missing workers, the FBI uncovered the bodies of three lynched blacks who had been missing for some time. The black community noted wryly that these murders received nowhere near the same nationwide media attention as the murders of the three workers, two of whom were white.

Meanwhile, Freedom Summer went on. Only a handful of recruits left the orientation session in Ohio. The volunteers helped provide basic services to blacks in the South. "Freedom clinics" provided health care; Northern lawyers worked in legal clinics to secure basic constitutional rights; "freedom schools," though illegal, taught blacks of all ages traditional subjects as well as black history.

One of Freedom Summer's most important projects was the establishment of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to challenge the all-white regular Democratic party in the state. This project actually started before Freedom Summer did, when MFDP won crucial support from the California Democratic Council, a liberal subsection of the state's Democratic party, and Joseph Rauh, head of the DC Democratic Party, vice president of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), and general counsel to the United Auto Workers. President Johnson, however, backed the regular Democratic party because he could not afford to lose their political support.

In June, the names of four MFDP candidates were on the Democratic primary ballot as delegates to be sent to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, but all four lost. Later that month, the regular Democratic Party adopted a platform that explicitly rejected the national party platform in the area of civil rights. This put President Johnson in a difficult position. The national Democratic organization required all delegates to make a pledge of party loyalty, but Johnson had to allow the Mississippi Democrats to be seated because otherwise delegates from five other states would walk out. The Mississippi issue was turning what should have been a quiet, routine convention into a racial battleground.

On August 4, the bodies of the three civil rights workers were found in a dam on a farm near Philadelphia, Mississippi. They had all been shot and the one black, James Chaney, had been brutally beaten. The discovery shifted media attention back to Mississippi just 18 days before the start of the Democratic National Convention. Two days later, the MFDP held a convention and selected a 68-person delegation, which included four whites, to go to the national convention. By now, the party had the support of ADA, delegates from nine states, and 25 congressmen. The delegates wanted to be seated instead of the regular delegates at the convention. To do so, they had to persuade eleven of the more than 100 members of the Credentials Committee to vote in their favor. They decided to provide testimony detailing how difficult it was for blacks to vote in Mississippi. Fannie Lou Hamer, one of twenty children of Mississippi sharecroppers, gave an impassioned speech to the Committee:

> *If the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America? The land of the free and the home of the brave? Where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hook, because our lives be threatened daily?*

President Johnson quickly called a press conference to turn news cameras away from Atlantic City, but the evening news that night showed portions of Hamer's testimony. Her emotional statement moved people around the nation.

Senator Hubert Humphrey offered a compromise, with the blessing of the president. The white delegates would be seated if they pledged loyalty to the party platform. Two MFDP delegates, Aaron Henry and Ed King would also be seated, but as at-large delegates, not Mississippi delegates. Neither side liked the agreement, but in the end, both sides accepted. The trouble, however, was not over. When all but three of the Mississippi delegates refused to pledge allegiance to the party, the MFDP delegates borrowed passes from sympathetic delegates and took the seats vacated by the Mississippi delegates until they were thrown out. The next day, they returned. The empty seats had been removed, so the delegates just stood and sang freedom songs.

In the end, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, like the Freedom Riders, did not fully accomplish its goals. The MFDP, however, was far from a failure. It showed blacks that they could have political power. It ensured that, in the words of Joe Rauh of ADA, "there will never be a lily-white [delegation] again." It raised the important issue of voting rights, reminding America that the recently-passed Civil Rights Act, which disappointed black leaders because it did not address the right to vote, was not enough. It also helped blacks and other minorities gain more representation in the Democratic party. Freedom Summer, too, was an overall success. Clayborne Carson wrote:

When freedom school students from across the state gathered for a convention early in August, their increased confidence and political awareness were manifest in their approval of resolutions asking for enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, . . . elimination of the poll tax, and many other reforms.

There is no denying the effect that Freedom Summer had on Mississippi's blacks. In 1964, 6.7% of Mississippi's voting-age blacks were registered to vote, 16.3% below the national average. By 1969, that number had leaped to 66.5%, 5.5% above the national average.

Source: Cozzens, Lisa. “Mississippi & Freedom Summer.” African American History. 29 June 1998. 29 January 2014 <http://www.watson.org/~lisa/blackhistory/civilrights-55-65/missippi.html>.

Black Panthers

WHAT WAS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY?

The Black Panther Party was a progressive political organization that stood in the vanguard of the most powerful movement for social change in America since the Revolution of 1776 and the Civil War: that dynamic episode generally referred to as The Sixties. It is the sole black organization in the entire history of black struggle against slavery and oppression in the United States that was armed and promoted a revolutionary agenda, and it represents the last great thrust by the mass of black people for equality, justice, and freedom.

The Party's ideals and activities were so radical; it was at one time assailed by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the United States." And, despite the demise of the Party, its history and lessons remain so challenging and controversial that established texts and media would erase all reference to the Party from American history.

The Black Panther Party was the manifestation of the vision of Huey P. Newton, the seventh son of a Louisiana family transplanted to Oakland, California. In October of 1966, in the wake of the assassination of black leader Malcolm X and on the heels of the massive black, urban uprising in Watts, California and at the height of the civil rights movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Newton gathered a few of his longtime friends, including Bobby Seale and David Hilliard, and developed a skeletal outline for this organization. It was named, originally, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. A black panther was used as the symbol because it was a powerful image, one that had been used effectively by the short-lived voting rights group the Lowndes County (Alabama) Freedom Organization. The term "self defense" was employed to distinguish the Party's philosophy from the dominant nonviolent theme of the civil rights movement, and in homage to the civil rights group the Louisiana based Deacons for Defense. These two, symbolic references were, however, where all similarity between the Black Panther Party and other black organizations of the time, the civil rights groups and black power groups, ended.

Immediately, the leadership of the embryonic Party outlined a Ten Point Platform and Program (see the end of this article for full text). This Platform & Program articulated the fundamental wants and needs, and called for a redress of the longstanding grievances, of the black masses in America, still alienated from society and oppressed despite the abolition of slavery at the end of the Civil War. Moreover, this Platform & Program was a manifesto that demanded the express needs be met and oppression of blacks be ended immediately, a demand for the right to self defense, by a revolutionary ideology and by the commitment of the membership of the Black Panther Party to promote its agenda for fundamental change in America.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY

There was no question that the end of the several centuries of the institution of slavery of blacks had not resulted in the assimilation of blacks into American society. Indeed, there was a violent,

post emancipation white backlash, manifested in the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, endorsed by the benign neglect of the President and the Congress, codified in the so called Black Codes. The rampant lynching of blacks became a way of life in America, along with the de facto denial to blacks of every civil right, including the rights to vote, to worship, to use public facilities.

From that time forward, then, blacks were obliged to wage fierce survival struggles in America, creating at once the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) to promote integration of blacks into society as full, first-class citizens and the UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) of Marcus Garvey to promote independence of blacks and eventually a return to Africa. At the same time, there were the effective efforts of former slave Booker T. Washington to establish a separate socioeconomic scheme for blacks. America's response to all such efforts was violent and repressive and unyielding. Thus, despite the mass uprisings by blacks in resistance to the unrelenting violence and the law's delay, despite tacit urgings by blacks to be afforded some means to survive, despite the bold endeavors by blacks to live separate lives in America or leave America, for the next half century, blacks, in the main, found themselves denied of every possible avenue to either establish their own socioeconomic independence or participate fully in the larger society.

Not until nearly 60 years after Plessy was there even the most minimal relief, in the Supreme Court's holding in the 1954 case of Brown v. Board of Education. In Brown, the Supreme Court stated that "separate" was "not equal" for blacks in America (at least with respect to public education). It is noteworthy that Dr. Kenneth Clark (the black psychologist on whose study the Brown court based its findings as to the negative impact on black children of the separate but equal doctrine) noted in 1994 that American schools were more segregated at that time than in 1954, when Brown was decided.

Even after Brown, blacks struggled to integrate and become full partisans in American society, to no avail. From the famous 1955, Montgomery (Alabama) bus boycott to the subsequent voter rights efforts to the dangerous sit ins in all white public facilities led by SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) workers, the civil rights movement challenged America. Under the spiritual guidance and the nonviolent philosophy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. millions, blacks and whites, protested and marched for freedom and justice for America's black minority, as so many were murdered or maimed for life along the way. Finally, in 1964, the U.S. Congress passed a civil rights act that outlawed racial segregation in public facilities.

It was too little too late. As the images of nonviolent blacks and other civil rights workers and demonstrators being beaten and water hosed by police, spat on and jailed, merely for protesting social injustices shot across America's television screens (a new and compelling phenomenon in American life and popular culture), young urban blacks rejected nonviolence. The full expression of this was the violent protest to the brutal police beating of a black man in Watts (Los Angeles), California in the 1965 rebellion that shocked America and set off other such responses to oppression. By 1967, there had been more than 100 major black, urban rebellions in cities across the country. In the same time frame of the same year, 1965, the Vietnam war erupted. As television reports revealed the horrible realities of the war, good American soldiers killing Vietnamese children, America's white youth called the question, and rallied against the war. America's youth, black and white, had become openly hostile to the established order.

RISE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

It was against this backdrop that Huey P. Newton was organizing the Black Panther Party for self-defense, boldly calling for a complete end to all forms of oppression of blacks and offering revolution as an option. At the same time, the Black Panther Party took the position that black people in America and the Vietnamese people were waging a common struggle, as comrades-in-arms, against a common enemy: the U.S. government. What was most "dangerous" about this was that young blacks, the same urban youth throwing molotov cocktails on America, were listening.

This message was amplified when a small group of Black Panther Party members, led by Bobby Seale, designated chairman of the Party, marched into the California legislature, in May 1967, fully armed. Defined as protest against a pending gun control bill (which became the Mulford Act) aimed at the Party with the position that blacks had a Constitutional right to bear arms, the Party's message that day became a clarion call to young blacks.

When, therefore, in October of 1967, Huey Newton was shot, arrested, and charged with the murder of a white Oakland cop, after a gun battle of sorts on the streets of West Oakland that resulted in the death of police officer John Frey, it was indeed the spark that lit a prairie fire. Young whites, angry and disillusioned with America over the Vietnam war, raised their voices with young, urban blacks, to cry in unison: "Free Huey!"

It became a movement of itself, the very embodiment of all the social contradictions, between the haves and have nots, the included and excluded, the alienated and the privileged. The freeing of the black man charged with killing a white cop, the oppressed who resisted oppression, was tantamount to the freedom of everyone.

One result was not only the flowering of the Party itself but a rapid proliferation of other, like minded organizations. Chicanos, or Mexican Americans, in Southern California formed the Brown Berets. Whites in Chicago and environs formed the White Patriot Party. Chinese in the San Francisco Bay Area formed the Red Guard. Puerto Ricans in New York created the Young Lords. Eventually, a group of so called senior citizens organized the Gray Panthers to address the human and civil rights abuses of the elderly in society. The Party expanded from a small Oakland based organization to a national organization, as black youth in 48 states formed chapters of the Party. In addition, Black Panther coalition and support groups began to spring up internationally, in Japan, China, France, England, Germany, Sweden, in Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Uruguay and elsewhere, including, even, in Israel.

At the street level, the Party began to develop a series of social programs to provide needed services to black and poor people, promoting thereby, at the same time, a model for an alternative, more humane social scheme. These programs, of which there came to be more than 35, were eventually referred to as Survival Programs, and were operated by Party members under the slogan "survival pending revolution."

The first such program was the Free Breakfast for Children Program, which spread from being operated at one small Catholic church, in the Fillmore district of San Francisco, to every major city in America where there was a Party chapter. Thousands upon thousands of poor and hungry

children were fed free breakfasts every day by the Party under this program. The magnitude and powerful impact of this program was such that the federal government was pressed and shamed into adopting a similar program for public schools across the country, while the FBI assailed the free breakfast program as nothing more than a propaganda tool used by the Party to carry out its "communist" agenda. More insidiously, the FBI denounced the Party itself as a group of communist outlaws bent on overthrowing the U.S. government.

Armed with that definition and all the machinery of the federal government, J. Edgar Hoover directed the FBI to wage a campaign to eliminate the Black Panther Party altogether, commanding the assistance of local police departments to do so. Indeed, as Hoover stated in 1968 that the Party represented "the greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S.," he pledged that 1969 would be the last year of the Party's existence. Indeed, in January of 1969, two Party leaders of the Southern California Chapter, John Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, were murdered at UCLA by FBI paid assassins, with the cooperation of black nationalist Ron Karenga and his US Organization. By the end of that year, nearly every office and other facility of the Black Panther Party had been violently assaulted by police and/or the FBI, culminating, in December, in an FBI orchestrated five hour police assault on the office in Los Angeles and FBI directed Illinois state police assassination of Chicago Party leader Fred Hampton and member Mark Clark.

In the interim, there had been the Oakland police murder of 17 year old Party member Bobby Hutton, in April of 1968; the August 1968 Los Angeles police murder of another 17 year old Panther, Tommy Lewis, along with Robert Lawrence and Steve Bartholomew; numerous arrests, from that of Party chairman Bobby Seale on conspiracy charges in connection with anti-war protests at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago to that of chief of staff David Hilliard on charges of assaulting police officers (in the April 1968 police gun battle in which Bobby Hutton was killed) to a conspiracy to kill the President (Nixon) charge arising from an anti-war speech, to the famous New Haven murder conspiracy case of Bobby Seale and veteran Panther Ericka Huggins. There had been every kind of assault imaginable on the Party's social programs and destruction of Party property. From police raiders who smashed breakfast programs eggs on the floors of churches they invaded to those who crushed Party free clinic supplies underfoot to those who caused the destruction of batches of the Party's newspapers. In addition, intimidation and other such tactics were being employed to undermine the Party's support, to break the spirit and commitment of Party supporters and family members. More sinisterly, perhaps, and subtlety were the activities carried out under the FBI's so called counter-intelligence program known as COINTELPRO, whereby the FBI directed its field offices and local police to destroy the Party through the use of informants, agents provocateur, and covert activities involving mayhem and murder.

Nevertheless, the Party survived and continued to build its Survival Programs, which came to include not only the free breakfast programs and free clinics, but also grocery giveaways, the manufacture and distribution of free shoes, school and education programs, senior transport and service programs, free bussing to prisons and prisoner support and legal aid programs, among others.

THE FREE HUEY MOVEMENT AND THE GROWTH OF THE PARTY

Hundreds of thousands of black as well as white youth had marched throughout the streets of Oakland and all over America in support of the Free Huey Movement as it had come to be called.

While Huey was eventually convicted, it was not on the original charge of first degree murder but for simple manslaughter. Soon, however, even that conviction was set aside and a new trial was ordered. In July of 1970, then, Huey was indeed set free from jail. Thousands greeted him.

The celebrations seemed meaningless in light of the July 7, 1970 murder of 17 year old Jonathan Jackson (George Jackson's brother) in the incident that gave rise to the famous arrest and trial of Angela Davis. The question of Huey's freedom was nearly forgotten when well known Party leader Eldridge Cleaver, living in exile in Algeria, challenged the Party's agenda of social programs and proposed a terrorist one. By the end of 1970, Cleaver was expelled from the Party in a nasty riff that culminated in the murder of Party loyalist Sam Napier in New York. Still, the Party continued to build its programs and move its agenda, as it began to consolidate its efforts in its home base of Oakland, California.

Over the next few years, until 1973, the Party maintained and built its agenda, despite the brutal assassination at San Quentin prison in August of 1971 of Party field marshal and author George Jackson. Nevertheless, in 1972-73, the Party entered into electoral politics in Oakland by running Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown for public office, for mayor and city councilwoman respectively. Though that election was lost, per se, it allowed the Black Panther Party to solidify a broad base of support for its future efforts. In 1974, there was great upheaval in the internal affairs of the Party, so much so that by the time Huey Newton went into self-imposed exile, rather than stand trial for the murder of a young prostitute (for which he would be acquitted); most of the original leadership was gone. David Hilliard was expelled while in prison; Bobby Seale was expelled. Elaine Brown took over the chairmanship of the Party during those three years that Newton was in exile, in Cuba.

THE LAST CHAPTER

During that time, Brown ran for Oakland public office again, this time garnering more than 44% of the vote along with the support of every labor union in the area. At the next city election, the Party supported and virtually installed Lionel Wilson as mayor of Oakland, the first black to hold that post in the 100 year history of the city. In the meantime, it further solidified its base by fighting for and obtaining funds to build 300 new, replacement housing units for poor people displaced by a local freeway; by entering into a working partnership with certain developers to build up the dilapidated downtown city center in order to provide 10,000 new jobs for Oakland's poor and unemployed. At the same time, a permanent primary school was instituted, which was highly lauded by the California legislature, among others. On Huey's return from exile, then, in 1977, the Black Panther Party was alive and well in Oakland, California, maintaining a strong constituency base in the black and working communities, and prepared to move forward to carry out its primary goal to make Oakland a base for revolution in America.

Soon after Newton's return to Oakland, in July of 1977, however, a combination of the continued, albeit more subtle and sophisticated, activities of the FBI (despite J. Edgar Hoover's death in 1972) and internal stress and conflict came to erode the Black Panther Party. By the end of the decade, it had come to a slow and unheralded demise.

Source: "What was the Black Panther Party?" Legacy. Huey P. Newton Foundation. 29 January 2014 <http://www.blackpanther.org/legacynew.htm>.

Women's Movement

During the 1950s and 1960s, increasing numbers of married women entered the labor force, but in 1963, the average working woman earned only 63 percent of what a man made. That year author Betty Friedan published *The Feminine Mystique*, an explosive critique of middle-class patterns that helped millions of women articulate a pervasive sense of discontent. Arguing that women often had no outlets for expression other than "finding a husband and bearing children," Friedan encouraged readers to seek new roles and responsibilities, to seek their own personal and professional identities rather than have them defined by the outside, male-dominated society.

The women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s drew inspiration from the civil rights movement. It was made up mainly of members of the middle class, and thus partook of the spirit of rebellion that affected large segments of middle-class youth in the 1960s. Another factor linked to the emergence of the movement was the sexual revolution of the 1960s, which in turn was sparked by the development and marketing of the birth-control pill.

Reform legislation also prompted change. During debate on the 1964 Civil Rights bill, conservatives hoped to defeat the entire measure by proposing an amendment to outlaw discrimination on the basis of gender as well as race. First the amendment, then the bill itself, passed, which provided women a legal tool to secure their rights.

Women themselves took measures to improve their lot. In 1966, 28 professional women, including Betty Friedan, established the National Organization for Women (NOW) "to take action to bring American women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now." By the next year, 1,000 women had joined; four years later membership reached 15,000. NOW and similar organizations helped make women increasingly aware of their limited opportunities and strengthened their resolve to increase them.

Feminism, or organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests, reached high tide in the early 1970s. Journalist Gloria Steinem and several other women founded a new magazine, *Ms.*, which began publication in 1972. Between 1971 and 1976, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, a handbook by a woman's health collective, sold 850,000 copies.

Some activists pressed for ratification of an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution. Passed by Congress in 1972, it declared, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Over the next several years, 35 of the necessary 38 states ratified it. The courts also promoted sexual equality. In 1973 the Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade* sanctioned women's right to abortion during the early months of pregnancy -- a significant victory for the women's movement.

In the mid- to late 1970s, however, the women's movement stagnated. It failed to broaden its appeal beyond the middle class. Divisions arose between moderate and radical feminists. Conservative opponents mounted a campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment, and it died in 1982 without gaining the approval of the 38 states needed for ratification.

Source: "The Women's Movement." United States History. US Department of Army. 29 January 2014 <http://countrystudies.us/united-states/history-131.htm>.

The Story of Cesar Chavez

THE BEGINNING

The story of Cesar Estrada Chavez begins near Yuma, Arizona. Cesar was born on March 31, 1927. He was named after his grandfather, Cesario. Regrettably, the story of Cesar Estrada Chavez also ends near Yuma, Arizona. He passed away on April 23, 1993, in San Luis, a small village near Yuma, Arizona.

He learned about justice or rather injustice early in his life. Cesar grew up in Arizona; the small adobe home, where Cesar was born was swindled from them by dishonest Anglos. Cesar's father agreed to clear eighty acres of land and in exchange he would receive the deed to forty acres of land that adjoined the home. The agreement was broken and the land sold to a man named Justus Jackson…

In 1939, he and his family moved to California…Cesar thought the only way to get out of the circle of poverty was to work his way up and send the kids to college. He and his family worked in the fields of California from Brawley to Oxnard, Atascadero, Gonzales, King City, Salinas, McFarland, Delano, Wasco, Selma, Kingsburg, and Mendota. He did not like school as a child, probably because he spoke only Spanish at home…Spanish was forbidden in school. He remembers being punished with a ruler to his knuckles for violating the rule…In 1942, he graduated from the eighth grade. Because his father, Librado, had been in an accident and because he did not want his mother, Juana, to work in the fields, he could not to go to high school, and instead became a migrant farm worker.

While his childhood school education was not the best, later in life, education was his passion. The walls of his office in La Paz are lined with hundreds of books ranging from philosophy, economics, cooperatives, and unions, to biographies on Gandhi and the Kennedys'. He believed that, "The end of all education should surely be service to others," a belief that he practiced until his untimely death.

In 1944, he joined the Navy at the age of seventeen. He served two years and in addition to discrimination, he experienced strict regimentation…Cesar returned to San Jose where he met and was influenced by Father Donald McDonnell. They talked about farm workers and strikes. Cesar began reading about St. Francis and Gandhi and nonviolence. After Father McDonnell came another very influential person, Fred Ross. Cesar became an organizer for Ross' organization, the Community Service Organization CSO. His first task was voter registration.

THE UNITED FARM WORKERS IS BORN

In 1962 Cesar founded the National Farm Workers Association, later to become the United Farm Workers; the UFW…For a long time in 1962, there were very few union dues paying members. By 1970, the UFW got grape growers to accept union contracts and had effectively organized most of that industry, at one point in time claiming 50,000 dues paying members. The reason was Cesar Chavez's tireless leadership and nonviolent tactics that included the strikes, fasts that focused national attention on farm workers problems, and a 340-mile march from Delano to Sacramento in 1966…The marchers wanted the state government to pass laws which would permit farm workers

to organize into a union and allow collective bargaining agreements. Cesar made people aware of the struggles of farm workers for better pay and safer working conditions. He succeeded through nonviolent tactics (boycotts, pickets, and strikes). Cesar Chavez and the union sought recognition of the importance and dignity of all farm workers.

It was the beginning of La Causa, a cause that was supported by organized labor, religious groups, minorities, and students. Cesar Chavez had the foresight to train his union workers and then to send many of them into the cities where they were to use the boycott and picket as their weapon.

Cesar was willing to sacrifice his own life so that the union would continue and that violence was not used. Cesar fasted many times. In 1968, Cesar went on a water-only, 25 day fast. He repeated the fast in 1972 for 24 days, and again in 1988, this time for 36 days. What motivated him to do this? He said, “Farm workers everywhere are angry and worried that we cannot win without violence. We have proved it before through persistence, hard work, faith, and willingness to sacrifice. We can win and keep our own self-respect and build a great union that will secure the spirit of all people if we do it through a rededication and recommitment to the struggle for justice through nonviolence.”

THE FAST

Many events precipitated the fast, especially the terrible suffering of the farm workers and their children, the crushing of farm worker rights, the dangers of pesticides, and the denial of fair and free elections.

Cesar said about the fast, "A fast is first and foremost personal. It is a fast for the purification of my own body, mind, and soul. The fast is also a heartfelt prayer for purification and strengthening for all those who work beside me in the farm worker movement. The fast is also an act of penance for those in positions of moral authority and for all men and women activists who know what is right and just, who know that they could and should do more. The fast is finally a declaration of non-cooperation with supermarkets who promote and sell and profit from California table grapes. During the past few years I have been studying the plague of pesticides on our land and our food," Cesar continued "The evil is far greater than even I had thought it to be, it threatens to choke out the life of our people and also the life system that supports us all. This solution to this deadly crisis will not be found in the arrogance of the powerful, but in solidarity with the weak and helpless. I pray to God that this fast will be a preparation for a multitude of simple deeds for justice. Carried out by men and women whose hearts are focused on the suffering of the poor and who yearn, with us, for a better world. Together, all things are possible."

Cesar Chavez completed his 36-day Fast for Life on August 21, 1988. The Reverend Jesse Jackson took up where Cesar left off, fasting on water for three days before passing on the fast to celebrities and leaders. The fast was passed to Martin Sheen, actor; the Reverend J. Lowery, President SCLC; Edward Olmos, actor; Emilio Estevez, actor; Kerry Kennedy, daughter of Robert Kennedy, Peter Chacon, legislator, Julie Carmen, actress; Danny Glover, actor; Carly Simon, singer; and Whoopi Goldberg, actress.

THE DEATH OF CESAR CHAVEZ

Cesar Estrada Chavez died peacefully in his sleep on April 23, 1993 near Yuma, Arizona, a short distance from the small family farm in the Gila River Valley where he was born more than 66 years before.

The founder and president of the United Farm Workers of America, AFLCIO was in Yuma helping UFW attorneys defend the union against a lawsuit brought by Bruce Church Inc., a giant Salinas, California based lettuce and vegetable producer. Church demanded that the farm workers pay millions of dollars in damages resulting from a UFW boycott of its lettuce during the 1980's. Rather than bring the legal action in a state where the boycott actually took place, such as California or New York, Church "shopped around" for a friendly court in conservative, agribusiness dominated Arizona where there had been no boycott activity.

"Cesar gave his last ounce of strength defending the farm workers in this case," stated his successor, UFW President Arturo Rodriguez, who was with him in Arizona during the trial. He died standing up for their First Amendment right to speak out for themselves. He believed in his heart that the farm workers were right in boycotting Bruce Church Inc. lettuce during the l980's and he was determined to prove that in court."

The UFW founder went to bed at about 10 or 10:30 p.m. A union staff member said he later saw a reading light shining from Cesar's room. The light was still on at 6 a.m. the next morning. That was not seen as unusual. Cesar usually woke up in the early hours of the morning well before dawn to read, write or meditate. When he had not come out by 9 a.m., his colleagues entered his bedroom found that Cesar had died apparently, according to authorities, at night in his sleep.

He was found lying on his back with his head turned to the left. His shoes were off and he still wore his clothes from the day before. In his right hand was a book on Native American crafts. There was a peaceful smile on his face.

THE LAST MARCH WITH CESAR CHAVEZ

On April 29, 1993, Cesar Estrada Chavez was honored in death by those he led in life. More than 50,000 mourners came to honor the charismatic labor leader at the site of his first public fast in 1968 and his last in 1988, the United Farm Workers Delano Field Office at "Forty Acres."

It was the largest funeral of any labor leader in the history of the U.S. They came in caravans from Florida to California to pay respect to a man whose strength was in his simplicity.

Farm workers, family members, friends, and union staff took turns standing vigil over the plain pine coffin which held the body of Cesar Chavez. Among the honor guard were many celebrities who had supported Chavez throughout his years of struggle to better the lot of farmworkers throughout America.

Many of the mourners had marched side by side with Chavez during his tumultuous years in the vineyards and farms of America. For the last time, they came to march by the side of the man who had taught them to stand up for their rights, through nonviolent protest and collective bargaining.

Cardinal Roger M. Mahoney, who celebrated the funeral mass, called Chavez "a special prophet for the worlds' farm workers." Pall bearers, including crews of these workers, Chavez children and grandchildren, then carried their fallen leader, resting at last, from the Memorial Park to Forty Acres.

The death of Chavez marked an era of dramatic changes in American agriculture. His contributions would be eroded, and others would have to shoulder the burden of his work. But, Cesar Chavez, who insisted that those who labor in the earth were entitled to share fairly in the rewards of their toil, would never be forgotten.

As Luis Valdez said, "Cesar, we have come to plant your heart like a seed . . . the farm workers shall harvest in the seed of your memory."

FINAL RESTING PLACE/FINAL RECOGNITION

The body of Cesar Chavez was taken to La Paz, the UFW's California headquarters, by his family and UFW leadership. He was laid to rest near a bed of roses, in front of his office. On August 8, 1994, at a White House ceremony, Helen Chavez, Cesar's widow, accepted the Medal of Freedom for her late husband from President Clinton. In the citation accompanying America's highest civilian honor which was awarded posthumously, the President lauded Chavez for having "faced formidable, often violent opposition with dignity and nonviolence…"

The citation accompanying the award noted how Chavez was a farm worker from childhood who "possessed a deep personal understanding of the plight of migrant workers, and he labored all his years to lift their lives." During his lifetime, Chavez never earned more than $5,000 a year. The late Senator Robert Kennedy called him "one of the heroic figures of our time."

Chavez's successor, UFW President Arturo Rodriguez, thanked the president on behalf of the United Farm Workers and said, "Every day in California and in other states where farm workers are organizing, Cesar Chavez lives in their hearts. Cesar lives wherever Americans' he inspired work nonviolently for social change."

--Biography supplied by the United Farm Workers.

Adapted from: “The Story of Cesar Chavez.” United Farm Workers. History. 29 January 2014 <http://www.ufw.org/_page.php?inc=history/07.html&menu=research>.

Students for a Democratic Society

During the 1960s, the political landscape saw the rise and rapid growth of many radical groups, collectively called "The Movement" or the "New Left" (in contrast to the old labor-oriented left or liberal Democrats). A handful of activist groups form the core of the New Left, including the Students for a Democratic Society, or SDS.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was conceived as an organization intended to establish a strong New Left movement. The New Left was a term used to describe a generation of Americans, mostly college and university students, motivated by social injustices, the war in Vietnam and the Civil Rights Movement in the South. In 1962 members of the association met in Port Huron, Michigan and drafted "The Port Huron Statement"-- a document outlining the political tenets of group. In it, SDS criticized the materialistic, discriminating American society and described how universities should be the center of the action to establish a "participatory democracy". In June 1962, fewer than 100 people attend the first SDS convention at Port Huron, Michigan. The group adopted an official political manifesto, the Port Huron Statement, based largely on a draft by Tom Hayden (later of the Chicago Seven).

The Port Huron Statement included the following statements:

> INTRODUCTION: AGENDA FOR A GENERATION
>
> We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.
>
> When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world: the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people -- these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.
>
> As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.
>
> While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concerns, we began to see complicated and disturbing paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration "all men are created equal . . . rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo. . . .
>
> As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.
>
> In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles: that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings; that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations; that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life; that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be

> organized so as to illuminate choices and facilities the attainment of goals; channels should be commonly available to related men to knowledge and to power so that private problems -- from bad recreation facilities to personal alienation -- are formulated as general issues.
>
> The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles: that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-direct, not manipulated, encouraging independence; a respect for others, a sense of dignity and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics; that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination; that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation.
>
> Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions -- cultural, education, rehabilitative, and others -- should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.
>
> In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions -- local, national, international -- that encourage nonviolence as a condition of conflict be developed. . . .

With regard to the war, SDS ranged itself among those anti-war groups which called for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Rather than view the war as a mistaken decision of an essentially good government, SDS considered it to be a form of U.S. economic imperialism and a means of containing revolutionary change in Third World nations. SDS consequently aligned itself with the National Liberation Front (Vietcong, or South Vietnamese Communists) as allies in the battle against U.S. imperialism.

By 1968, SDS had become the largest and most infamous student radical organization of the 1960s. It had graduated from its initial left-liberal stance to embrace, by 1968, an anti-capitalist critique and revolutionary politics. In 1968, SDS was catapulted into the national spotlight when Columbia University's SDS faction led an unprecedented antiwar demonstration in which students occupied campus buildings and virtually shut down the school. The protest ended after several days when NYC police were called in. SDS became increasingly divided by factional disputes, the organization collapsed, leaving behind a small faction known as the Weathermen that advocated violent revolutionary action. By the 1970s, the divided SDS eventually faded away.

Adapted from the following sources:
Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society, 1962. 29 January 2014 <http://www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/huron.html>.

"Students for a Democratic Society." *The Sixties: Politics, Newsmakers*. PBS. Oregon Public Broadcasting. 2005. 29 January 2014 <http://www.pbs.org/opb/thesixties/topics/politics/newsmakers_1.html>.

Notes Organizer

Topic	What or who was it?	Purpose/Goals	Impact
Mississippi/ Freedom Summer			
Black Panthers			
Women's Movement			
United Farm Workers and Cesar Chavez			
Student Movement			

Notes Organizer-Teacher Resource

Topic	What or who was it?	Purpose/Goals	Impact
Freedom Summer	An attempt by various groups to organize southern blacks for the purposes of combating segregation. Met with increasing violence by segregationists.	To organize southern blacks for the purposes of getting the vote and pursuing other civil rights goals.	Multifaceted. Much of the nation was appalled by the violence of the segregationist and began supporting civil rights. Some of the younger supporters decided that non-violence wasn't working and they needed to resort to violence themselves.
Black Panthers	Black revolutionary organization which rejected non-violent approach of main stream civil rights groups. Founded by Huey Newton.	Escalating violence in response to the civil rights movement convinced some young African-Americans that they needed to promote self protection, i.e. accept violence as a possible solution to the problem of racism in American society.	Promoted some sense of self help and pride in poorer areas of the African-American communities. Provoked a very hostile response from the law enforcement community and caused some white liberals to become anxious about the direction in which civil rights was going.
Women's Movement	A collection of groups and individuals, mainly women, who attempted to end discrimination against women.	Inspired by the civil rights movement, some groups pursued an equal rights amendment (ERA) hoping that would end unfair treatment against women in many realms.	Significant advances were made in several areas-jobs, equal pay, and the participation of women in public life. No equal rights amendment was attained. Movement split and largely subsided as an organized effort.
United Farm Workers and Cesar Chavez	Born in the US. Became a migrant farm worker at age 10. Helped organize United Farm Workers.	Conditions for migrant workers were appalling. Chavez felt that they were being denied their civil rights and that only through organization would the farm workers attain them.	Chavez and his organizers achieved some improvements. Some of these achievements have not proven to be lasting but the Union still exists and Chavez received medals from both the US and Mexico.
Student Movement	Diverse group of politically active student organizations, mainly left wing, which emerged during the late 1950's and 1960's.	Ideologically opposed to the American political and economic system, the group hoped to prepare the nation for revolutionary change. Tensions of the Cold War and the "hypocrisy" of America contributed to its creation.	The group participated in the civil rights struggle and opposition to the war in Vietnam. Increasing extremism of the group and its fragmentation hurt more moderate reforming efforts and ultimately helped discredit liberalism.

Title: _____

A civil right is an enforceable right. If interfered with by another, this gives rise to an action for injury in a court of law. Examples of civil rights are freedom of speech, press, and assembly; the right to vote; freedom from involuntary servitude; and the right to equality in public places. Discrimination occurs when the civil rights of an individual are denied or interfered with because of that individual's membership in a particular group or class. The federal government and state governments have enacted laws to prevent discrimination based on a person's race, sex, religion, age, previous condition of servitude, physical limitation, national origin, and in some instances sexual orientation.

The most important expansions of civil rights in the United States occurred as a result of the enactment of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery throughout the United States. In response to the Thirteenth Amendment, various states enacted "black codes" which were intended to limit the civil rights of the newly free slaves. In 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment countered these "black codes" by stating that no state "shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States... [or] deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, [or] deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Section Five of the Fourteenth Amendment gave Congress the power to pass any laws needed to enforce the Amendment.

During the Reconstruction era that followed, Congress enacted numerous civil rights laws (statutes). Many of these are still in force today and protect individuals from discrimination and from the deprivation of their civil rights. For example, a federal law (Equal Rights Under the Law) protects individuals from discrimination based on race in making and enforcing contracts, participating in lawsuits, and giving evidence.

The most prominent civil rights legislation since reconstruction is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Decisions of the Supreme Court at the time limited Congressional enforcement of the 14th Amendment to state, rather than individual action.[1] Therefore, in order to reach the actions of individuals, Congress used its power to regulate interstate commerce to enact the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Discrimination based on "race, color, religion, or national origin" in public establishments that have a connection to interstate commerce or are supported by the state is prohibited. Public establishments include places of public accommodation (e.g., hotels, motels, and trailer parks), restaurants, gas stations, bars, taverns, and places of entertainment in general. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent legislation also declared a strong legislative policy against discrimination in public schools and colleges which aided in desegregation. Other parts of the Civil Rights Act prohibit discrimination in federally funded programs and in employment where the employer is engaged in interstate commerce. Congress has passed numerous other laws dealing with employment discrimination.

Source: *Civil Rights: An Overview.* Cornell University Law School. Legal Information Institute. 8 October 2011 <http://topics.law.cornell.edu/wex/Civil_rights>.

[1] Since 1964, however, the Supreme Court has expanded the reach of the 14th Amendment in some situations to discrimination by individuals, rather than only government.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 - Teacher Reference Sheet

This act, signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964, prohibited discrimination in public places, provided for the integration of schools and other public facilities, and made employment discrimination illegal. This document was the most sweeping civil rights legislation signed since Reconstruction.

In a nationally televised address on June 6, 1963, President John F. Kennedy urged the nation to take action toward guaranteeing equal treatment of every American regardless of race. Soon after, Kennedy proposed that Congress consider civil rights legislation that would address voting rights, public accommodations, school desegregation, nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs, and more. Despite Kennedy's assassination in November of 1963, his proposal culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson just a few hours after House approval on July 2, 1964. The act outlawed segregation in businesses such as theaters, restaurants, and hotels. It banned discriminatory practices in employment and ended segregation in public places such as swimming pools, libraries, and public schools.

Passage of the act was not easy. House opposition bottled up the bill in the House Rules Committee. In the Senate, opponents attempted to talk the bill to death in a filibuster. In early 1964, House supporters overcame the Rules Committee obstacle by threatening to send the bill to the floor without committee approval. The Senate filibuster was overcome through the floor leadership of Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the considerable support of President Lyndon Johnson, and the efforts of Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois, who convinced Republicans to support the bill.

Major Features of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-352)

Title I
Barred unequal application of voter registration requirements, but did not abolish literacy tests sometimes used to disqualify African Americans and poor white voters.

Title II
Outlawed discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, and all other public accommodations engaged in interstate commerce; exempted private clubs without defining "private," thereby allowing a loophole.

Title III
Encouraged the desegregation of public schools and authorized the U. S. Attorney General to file suits to force desegregation, but did not authorize busing as a means to overcome segregation based on residence.

Title IV
Authorized but did not require withdrawal of federal funds from programs which practiced discrimination.

Title V
Outlawed discrimination in employment in any business exceeding twenty five people and creates an Equal Employment Opportunities Commission to review complaints, although it lacked meaningful enforcement powers.

Sources: *Major Features of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.*The Dirksen Congressional Center. 8 October 2011 <http://www.congresslink.org/print_basics_histmats_civilrights64text.htm>; *Civil Rights Act of 1964.* Our Documents. 8 October August 2011 <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97>.

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Criteria for Written Arguments

Write arguments focused on discipline-specific content.

a. Introduces precise claim(s), distinguishes the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and creates an organization that establishes clear relationships among the claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.

b. Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly, supplying data and evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both claim(s) and counterclaims in a discipline-appropriate form and in a manner that anticipates the audience's knowledge level and concerns.

c. Use words, phrases, and clauses to link the major sections of the texts, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between the claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.

d. Establish and maintain a formal style and objective tone while attending to the norms and conventions of history and/or political science writing.

e. Provide a concluding statement or section that follows from or supports the argument presented.

What Was Really Great About The Great Society

The truth behind the conservative myths
By Joseph A. Califano Jr.
Written in 1999

If there is a prize for the political scam of the 20th century, it should go to the conservatives for propagating as conventional wisdom that the Great Society programs of the 1960s were a misguided and failed social experiment that wasted taxpayers' money.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact, from 1963 when Lyndon Johnson took office until 1970 as the impact of his Great Society programs were felt, the portion of Americans living below the poverty line dropped from 22.2 percent to 12.6 percent, the most dramatic decline over such a brief period in this century. Since then, the poverty rate has hovered at about the 13 percent level and sits at 13.3 percent today, still a disgraceful level in the context of the greatest economic boom in our history. But if the Great Society had not achieved that dramatic reduction in poverty, and the nation had not maintained it, 24 million more Americans would today be living below the poverty level.

This reduction in poverty did not just happen. In those tumultuous Great Society years, the President submitted, and Congress enacted, more than 100 major proposals in each of the 89th and 90th Congresses. What has the verdict been? Did the programs we put into place in the 1960s vindicate our belief in the responsibility and capacity of the national government to achieve such ambitious goals or do they stand as proof of the government's inability to effect dramatic change that helps our people? The Great Society saw government as providing a hand up, not a handout.

Education and health were central to opening up the promise of American life to all. With the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Great Society for the first time committed the federal government to helping local school districts. Its higher education legislation, with scholarships, grants, and work-study programs, opened college to any American with the necessary brains and ambition, however thin daddy's wallet or empty mommy's purse. Bilingual education, which today serves one million individuals, was designed to teach Hispanic youngsters subjects like math and history in their own language for a couple of years while they learned English, so they would not fall behind. Special education legislation has helped millions of children with learning disabilities. Since 1965 the federal government has provided more than a quarter of a trillion dollars in 86 million college loans to 29 million students, and more than $14 billion in work-study awards to 6 million students. Today nearly 60 percent of full-time undergraduate students receive federal financial aid under Great Society programs and their progeny.

These programs assure a steady supply of educated individuals who provide the human resources for our economic prosperity. When these programs were enacted, only 41 percent of Americans had completed high school; only 8 percent held college degrees. This past year, more than 81 percent had finished high school and 24 percent had completed college. By establishing the federal government's responsibility to finance this educational surge‹and the concept that access to higher education should be determined by ability and ambition, not dollars and cents‹we have amassed the trained talent to be the world's leading industrial, technological, communications and military power today.

Head Start, which has served more than 16 million preschoolers in just about every city and county in the nation and today serves 800,000 children a year, is as American as motherhood and apple pie. But how many people remember the battles over Head Start? Conservatives opposed such early childhood education as an attempt by government to interfere with parental control of their children. In the '60s those were code words to conjure up images of Soviet Russia wrenching children from their homes to convert them to atheistic communism. But Lyndon Johnson knew that the rich had kindergartens and nursery schools; and he asked, why not the same benefits for the poor?

The impact of the Great Society's health programs has been stunning. In 1963, most elderly Americans had no health insurance. Few retirement plans provided any such coverage. The poor had little access to medical treatment until they were in critical condition. Only wealthier Americans could get the finest care, and then only by traveling to a few big cities like Boston or New York. Since 1965, 79 million Americans have signed up for Medicare. In 1966, 19 million were enrolled; in 1998, 39 million. Since 1966, Medicaid has served more than 200 million needy Americans. In 1967, it served 10 million poor citizens; in 1997, 39 million. The 1968 Heart, Cancer and Stroke legislation has provided funds to create centers of medical excellence in just about every major city. To staff these centers, the 1965 Health Professions Educational Assistance Act provided resources to double the number of doctors graduating from medical schools, from 8,000 to 16,000. That Act also increased the pool of specialists and researchers, nurses, and paramedics. Community health centers, also part of the Great Society health care agenda, today serve almost eight million Americans annually. The Great Society's commitment to fund basic medical research lifted the National Institutes of Health to unprecedented financial heights, seeding a harvest of medical miracles.

Closely related to these health programs were efforts to reduce malnutrition and hunger. Today, the Great Society's food stamp program helps feed more than 20 million men, women, and children in more than 8 million households. Since it was launched in 1967, the school breakfast program has provided a daily breakfast to nearly 100 million schoolchildren.

Taken together, these programs have played a pivotal role in recasting America's demographic profile. In 1964, life expectancy was 66.6 years for men and 73.1 years for women (69.7 years overall). In a single generation, by 1997, life expectancy jumped 10 percent: for men, to 73.6 years; for women, to 79.2 years (76.5 years overall). The jump was highest among the less advantaged, suggesting that better nutrition and access to health care have played an even larger role than medical miracles. Infant mortality stood at 26 deaths for each 1,000 live births when LBJ took office; today it stands at only 7.3 deaths per 1,000 live births, a reduction of almost 75 percent.

These enormous investments in training medical and scientific experts and funding the National Institutes of Health have played a key part in establishing our nation as the world's leader in basic research, pharmaceutical invention, and the creation of surgical procedures and medical machinery to diagnose our diseases, breathe for us, clean our blood, and transplant our organs.

Another creature of the Great Society is the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which today supports 350 public television and 699 public radio stations. These stations have given the nation countless hours of fine arts, superb in-depth news coverage, and educational programs such as Sesame Street that teach as they entertain generations of children.

The Great Society's main contribution to the environment was not just passage of laws, but the establishment of a principle that to this day guides the environmental movement. The old principle was simply to conserve resources that had not been touched. Lyndon Johnson was the first president to put forth a larger idea: "The air we breathe, our water, our soil and wildlife, are being blighted by poisons and chemicals which are the by-products of technology and industry. The society that receives the rewards of technology, must, as a cooperating whole, take responsibility for [their] control. To deal with these new problems will require a new conservation. We must not only protect the countryside and save it from destruction; we must restore what has been destroyed and salvage the beauty and charm of our cities. Our conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation."

Those new environmental commandments inspired a legion of Great Society laws: the Clear Air, Water Quality and Clean Water Restoration Acts and Amendments, the 1965 Solid Waste Disposal Act, the 1965 Motor Vehicle Air Pollution Control Act, and the 1968 Aircraft Noise Abatement Act. They also provided the rationale for later laws creating the Environmental Protection Agency and the Superfund that exacts financial payments from past polluters.

Above all else, Lyndon Johnson saw the Great Society as an instrument to create racial justice and eliminate poverty. Much of the legislation already cited was aimed at those objectives. When LBJ took office, this country had segregated stores, theaters and public accommodations; separate toilets and water fountains for blacks; and restaurants, hotels, and housing restricted to whites only. Job discrimination was rampant. With the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Great Society tore down all the "whites only" signs. The 1968 Fair Housing Act opened up housing to all Americans regardless of race. In the entire treasury of Great Society measures, the jewel Lyndon Johnson believed would have the greatest value was the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That law opened the way for black Americans to strengthen their voice at every level of government. In 1964 there were 79 black elected officials in the South and 300 in the entire nation. By 1998, there were some 9,000 elected black officials across the nation, including 6,000 in the South. In 1965 there were five black members of the House; today there are 39.

Great Society contributions to racial equality were not only civic and political. In 1960, black life expectancy was 63.6 years, not even long enough to benefit from the Social Security taxes that black citizens paid during their working lives. By 1997, black life expectancy was 71.2 years, thanks almost entirely to Medicaid, community health centers, job training, food stamps, and other Great Society programs. In 1960, the infant mortality rate for blacks was 44.3 for each 1,000 live births; in 1997, that rate had plummeted by two-thirds, to 14.7. In 1960, only 20 percent of blacks completed high school and only 3 percent finished college; in 1997, 75 percent completed high school and more than 13 percent earned college degrees.

In waging the war on poverty, congressional opposition was too strong to pass an income maintenance law. So LBJ took advantage of Social Security. He proposed, and Congress enacted, whopping increases in the minimum benefits that lifted some two million Americans 65 and older above the poverty line. In 1996, thanks to those increased minimum benefits, Social Security lifted 12 million senior citizens above the poverty line.

Redacted from: Califano, Joseph. “What Was Really Great About The Great Society.” The Washington Monthly. October, 1999. 8 October 2011 <http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/features/1999/9910.califano.html>.

War on Poverty Revisited

by Thomas Sowell (August 17, 2004)

August 20th marks the 40th anniversary of one of the major turning points in American social history. That was the date on which President Lyndon Johnson signed legislation creating his "War on Poverty" program in 1964.

Never had there been such a comprehensive program to tackle poverty at its roots, to offer more opportunities to those starting out in life, to rehabilitate those who had fallen by the wayside, and to make dependent people self-supporting. Its intentions were the best. But we know what road is paved with good intentions.

The War on Poverty represented the crowning triumph of the liberal vision of society -- and of government programs as the solution to social problems. The disastrous consequences that followed have made the word "liberal" so much of a political liability that today even candidates with long left-wing track records have evaded or denied that designation.

In the liberal vision, slums bred crime. But brand-new government housing projects almost immediately became new centers of crime and quickly degenerated into new slums. Many of these projects later had to be demolished. Unfortunately, the assumptions behind those projects were not demolished, but live on in other disastrous programs, such as Section 8 housing.

Rates of teenage pregnancy and venereal disease had been going down for years before the new 1960s attitudes toward sex spread rapidly through the schools, helped by War on Poverty money. These downward trends suddenly reversed and skyrocketed.

The murder rate had also been going down, for decades, and in 1960 was just under half of what it had been in 1934. Then the new 1960s policies toward curing the "root causes" of crime and creating new "rights" for criminals began. Rates of violent crime, including murder, skyrocketed.

The black family, which had survived centuries of slavery and discrimination, began rapidly disintegrating in the liberal welfare state that subsidized unwed pregnancy and changed welfare from an emergency rescue to a way of life.

Government social programs such as the War on Poverty were considered a way to reduce urban riots. Such programs increased sharply during the 1960s. So did urban riots. Later, during the Reagan administration, which was denounced for not promoting social programs, there were far fewer urban riots.

Neither the media nor most of our educational institutions question the assumptions behind the War on Poverty. Even conservatives often attribute much of the progress that has been made by lower-income people to these programs.

For example, the usually insightful quarterly magazine City Journal says in its current issue: "Beginning in the mid-sixties, the condition of most black Americans improved markedly."

That is completely false and misleading.

The economic rise of blacks began decades earlier, before any of the legislation and policies that are credited with producing that rise. The continuation of the rise of blacks out of poverty did not -- repeat, did not -- accelerate during the 1960s.

The poverty rate among black families fell from 87 percent in 1940 to 47 percent in 1960, during an era of virtually no major civil rights legislation or anti-poverty programs. It dropped another 17 percentage points during the decade of the 1960s and one percentage point during the 1970s, but this continuation of the previous trend was neither unprecedented nor something to be arbitrarily attributed to the programs like the War on Poverty.

In various skilled trades, the incomes of blacks relative to whites more than doubled between 1936 and 1959 -- that is, before the magic 1960s decade when supposedly all progress began. The rise of blacks in professional and other high-level occupations was greater in the five years preceding the Civil Rights Act of 1964 than in the five years afterwards.

While some good things did come out of the 1960s, as out of many other decades, so did major social disasters that continue to plague us today. Many of those disasters began quite clearly during the 1960s.

Source: Sowell, Thomas. “War on Poverty Revisited.” Capitalism Magazine. August 17, 2004. 8 October 2011 <http://www.intellectualtakeout.org/library/articles-commentary-blog/war-poverty-revisited?library_node=77419>.

Answer Guide for the Argument Writing Criteria

Teacher Note: The articles in question do not provide "textbook" illustrations of all of the points listed in the criteria. Contained below are some possible examples for students to consider. The teacher will certainly find others and may wish to provide examples, which broaden the scope of student inquiry. The criteria are designed to provide general guidelines, not an exact checklist.

a. Introduces precise claim(s), distinguishes the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and creates an organization that establishes clear relationships among the claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.

Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4, considered together, make a precise claim but the author only minimally presents the opposing viewpoint. Throughout the course of the article the author creates an organization that generally establishes a clear relationship between the two rival claims although the "conservative" argument is never carefully presented or supported.

b. Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly, supplying data, and evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both claim(s) and counterclaims fairly, supplying data and evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both claim(s) and counterclaims in a discipline-appropriate form and in a manner that anticipates the audience's knowledge level and concerns.

The author does give a very brief outline of "liberal" views and even goes so far as to say that the "intentions were the best" but the rival position is not fully developed. This too, is a piece with a definite point of view and is not intended to be an effort at dispassionate or objective inquiry. The author does supply data and evidence for his position. Examples of this can be found in paragraphs 6, 13 and 14.

c. Use words, phrases, and clauses to link the major sections of the texts, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between the claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.

The article is "linked" thematically, that is it pursues the topic in a reasonably systematic fashion by outlining "liberal" failures. The author does not spend time going into detail in terms of explaining exactly how the data that is introduced illustrates his claim. He "lets the facts speak for themselves" or simply dismisses some programs.

d. Establish and maintain a formal style and objective tone while attending to the norms and conventions of history and/or political science writing.

As mentioned above, this is not an objective piece.

e. Provide a concluding statement or section that follows from or supports the argument presented.

There is a concluding paragraph but it does not effectively tie together the piece.

Timed Reading (ACT Prep)

Our Framers could not have foreseen the present age of nuclear missiles and cataclysmic terrorism. But they understood political accountability, and they knew that sending Americans into battle demanded careful reflection and vigorous debate. So they created a simple means of ensuring that debate: in Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution they gave Congress the power to declare war.

Declarations of war may seem to be relics of a bygone era—a time more deeply steeped in ritual, when ambassadors in frock coats delivered sealed communiqués to foreign courts. Yet a declaration of war has a great deal to recommend it today: it forces a deliberate, public conversation about the reasons for going to war, the costs, the risks, the likely gains, the strategies for achieving them—all followed by a formal vote.

Debates over war powers are nothing new. A book written in 2005 by the University of California at San Diego political scientist Peter Irons, *War Powers*, concludes that although the president has steadily accumulated de facto war powers, the Framers clearly—and correctly—intended to locate those powers in Congress. A report issued in 2005 year by the Constitution Project, a group of eminent academics and policymakers assembled by Georgetown University's Public Policy Institute, sounds the same note. For these experts and countless other lawyers and constitutional scholars, the solution is for Congress to step up and reassume primary responsibility for sending the nation to war.

The problem is that Congress wants power without responsibility. Most legislators fear the political costs of bucking the commander in chief when the nation appears under threat. Others worry that the president's control of vital intelligence places him in a far better position to judge the need for war. The obvious answer is to demand that the information be shared, but here the president can claim that a debate risks spilling secrets to the enemy.

As a result, Congress has often preferred form over substance. Early in the history of the Republic, when President James Madison asked for a declaration of war against Algiers to stop the Barbary pirates, Congress declined, but authorized him to use "such of the armed vessels of the United States as may be judged requisite." Over time such authorizations have become fast tracks to war. Congress votes up or down on the president's often-vague military proposals, without accepting responsibility for judging the objectives of the war and the plans for waging it.

In the wake of the Vietnam War, Congress tried to fix this problem by passing the War Powers Act, which states that troops sent into combat by the president must be withdrawn within sixty days unless Congress specifically approves an extension of combat. Trouble began immediately. Richard Nixon vetoed the act; when Congress overrode the veto, he simply reaffirmed his right to go ahead with war regardless of what Congress said. But Nixon's concerns were unwarranted: the War Powers Act was much more a symbolic assertion of congressional power than an actual constraint on the executive.

The War Powers Act was a halfhearted effort to counter presidential unilateralism. The Framers imagined a solemn act—a formal congressional process and declaration that would be more difficult for the president to ignore. We propose a new law that would restore the Framers' intent by requiring a congressional declaration of war in advance of any commitment of troops that promises sustained combat. The president would be required to present to Congress an analysis of the threat, specific war aims, the rationale for those aims, the feasibility of achieving them, a general sense of war strategy, plans for action, and potential costs. For its part, Congress would hold hearings of officials and nongovernmental experts, examine evidence of the threat, assess the objectives, and explore the drawbacks of the administration's proposal. A full floor debate and vote would follow.

In the case of a sudden attack on the United States or on Americans abroad, the president would retain his power to repel that attack and to strike back without a congressional declaration. But any sustained operation would trigger the declaration process. In other words, the president could send troops into Afghanistan to hunt down al-Qaeda and punish the Taliban in response to 9/11. But if he planned to keep troops there to unseat the government and transform the country, he would need a congressional declaration. (Without one, funding for troops in the field would be cut off automatically.)

The time is right for this legislation. Liberals and conservatives alike have become increasingly concerned about the carelessness and costs of wars over the past forty years. A law that established a clear and solemn process for taking the nation to war, while acknowledging the joint responsibility of Congress and the president, could command broad support—especially if it were framed as a return to our constitutional roots. Moderates and liberals would presumably go along. The bill would satisfy their concerns about how easily the United States has gone to war, with subsequent regrets about either the war itself or how it was fought.

Adapted from: Gelb, Leslie H. and Anne-Marie Slaughter. “Declare War – It’s time to stop slipping into armed conflict.” Atlantic Magazine. Nov. 2005. 8 October 2011 <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/11/declare-war/4301/>.

ACT QUESTIONS

1. In line 1 the word “cataclysmic” most nearly means:
   A. violently momentous
   B. momentarily violent
   C. frightening
   D. mystifyingly violent

2. In lines 5 to 9 the authors argue that declarations of war are very useful because they:
   F. encourage greater patriotism
   G. compel overall uniformity
   H. promote public awareness
   J. reduce needless expenditures

3. In lines 9 to 15 it is claimed that most scholars and experts feel that the primary responsibility for sending the nation to war should rest with:
   A. political scientists
   B. Congress
   C. scholars
   D. eminent academics

4. In lines 16 to 19 it is contended that most legislators feel the President’s opinion about whether or not to go to war carries greater weight than theirs because:
   F. Congress respects the presidential office
   G. more people voted for him than any legislator
   H. he has greater responsibility
   J. he is better informed

5. In line 22 the word “requisite” most nearly means:
   A. convenient
   B. useful
   C. meaningful
   D. necessary

6. In lines 25 to 30 the authors assert that the War Powers Act was:
   F. conceived by Richard Nixon
   G. mainly symbolic
   H. effective
   J. frequently employed

7. The main idea of the article as a whole is to:
   A. explain how to eliminate the power of the executive
   B. describe how federalism and the Constitution work
   C. argue for a new law to restore the framers intent
   D. tell the story of the war in Afghanistan

8. The authors' purpose in lines 9-26 is to:
   F. illustrate a longstanding issue
   G. explain the War Powers Act
   H. justify Congressional limitations
   J. acknowledge and refute an argument

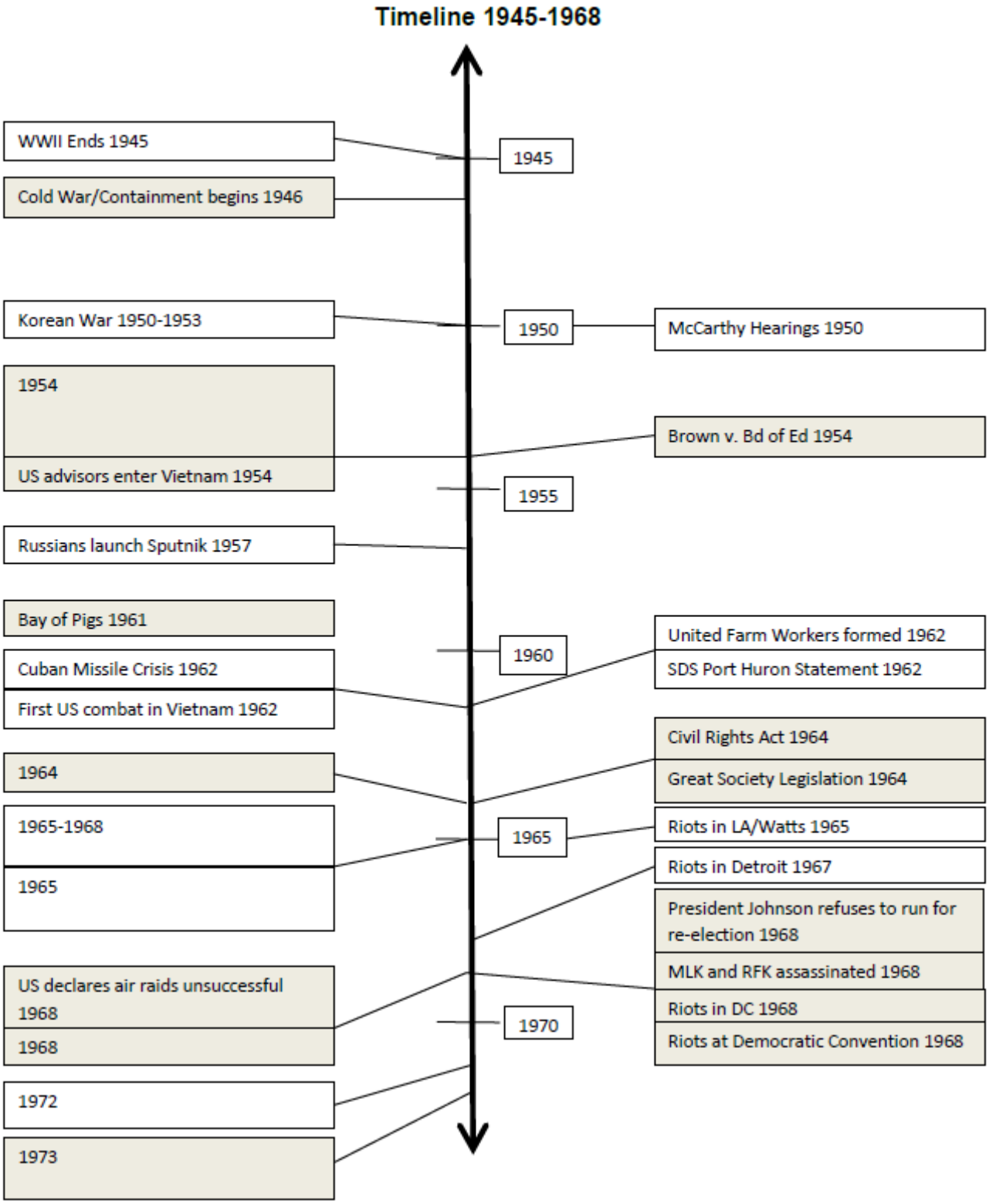
9. In lines 20 to 24 the authors cite the Barbary War as an example of:
   A. problematical foreign affairs
   B. Congressional authorization for war
   C. unilateral presidential action
   D. growing pains of the early Republic

10. The purpose of lines 1 to 4 was to establish the premise that in declaring war:
    F. the Framers were naïve and gullible
    G. political maneuvering and secrecy are essential
    H. deliberation and debate are important
    J. the Constitution give the president power

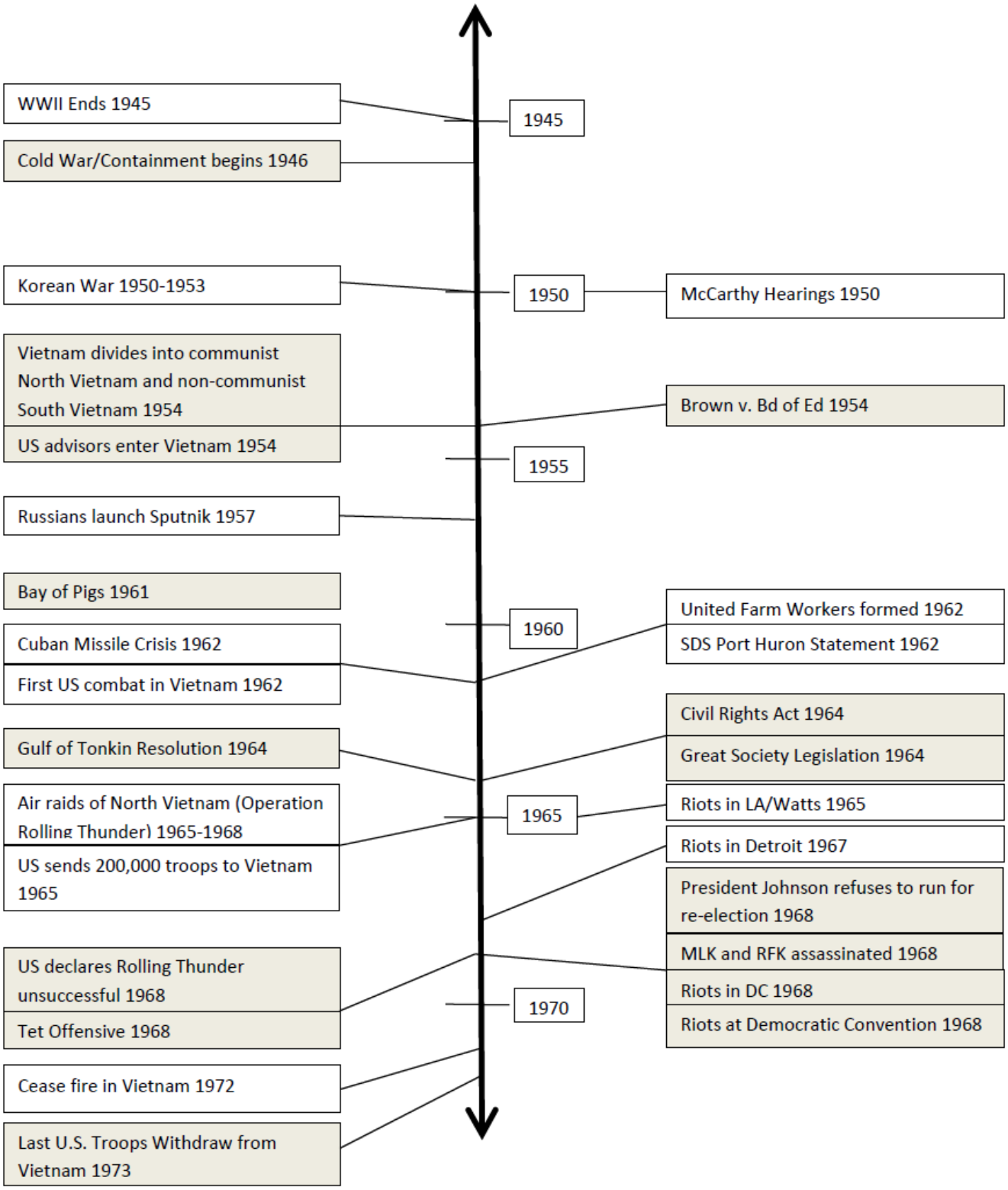
Answer Guide for Timed Reading

1. A
2. H
3. B
4. J
5. D
6. G
7. C
8. F
9. B
10. H

Student Version



Timeline 1945-1968



Introductory Essay: The Decision to Americanize the War in Vietnam

(The following is not an official statement of policy by the Department of State; it is intended only as a summary of historical events.)

President Lyndon B. Johnson and his key foreign policy advisers made a momentous decision during the first half of 1965, weighing whether to commit large numbers of U.S. ground forces to a war then being fought on the other side of the world in Vietnam. Ultimately, in late July, the President opted to expand dramatically the U.S. commitment. That fateful decision--the closest thing to a formal decision for war in Vietnam--launched the United States on a costly, divisive, and unsuccessful war that lasted for 8 more years. The decision to intervene in Vietnam was not a foregone conclusion, however, and several of Johnson's advisers proposed alternate courses of action.

Background

By 1965, fighting between noncommunist South Vietnam, backed primarily by the United States, and North Vietnam, aided by the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, had raged for over a decade. The United States had been directly involved since 1954 in only a limited way, sending noncombatant military advisers to help the South Vietnamese Government counter North Vietnam and the communist guerrillas in the south, the National Liberation Front (NLF). Johnson inherited the limited U.S. role in Vietnam when he became President following the assassination of John F. Kennedy in November 1963. But he delayed charting a clear course in Vietnam throughout 1964, in part, because he feared that doing so would damage his candidacy in that year's presidential election. He did obtain congressional approval to prosecute the war. The Tonkin Gulf Resolution, passed in August 1964 after two U.S. vessels operating in the waters off the North Vietnamese coast reported being fired upon, authorized the commander in chief to take "all necessary measures to repel any armed attacks against the forces of the United States and to prevent any further aggression."

Vietnam became more visible in the months following Johnson's successful election bid, when it appeared possible that America's ally, South Vietnam, would lose the war. Johnson quickly ruled out abandoning Saigon, an action that he believed would hurt him politically at home and damage U.S. credibility abroad, encouraging communist challenges elsewhere. Instead, after several attempts to shore up the South Vietnamese Government had failed, many administration officials increasingly regarded expanding the U.S. role as the only way to stave off NLF advances and save South Vietnam. In early February 1965, McGeorge Bundy, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, traveled to South Vietnam to assess the situation and recommend action. During his visit, the NLF attacked a U.S. Army barracks in Pleiku, killing nine Americans. Upon his return to Washington, Bundy informed the president, "The situation in Vietnam is deteriorating, and without new U.S. action defeat appears inevitable." There is still time to turn it around, but not much." The President responded on February 13 by approving Rolling Thunder, a sustained bombing campaign against targets in North Vietnam, designed to improve South Vietnamese morale, complicate the north's infiltration of the south, and force Hanoi to the bargaining table. The expanded air war, in turn, provided the justification for the next significant step on the road to escalation: the introduction of the first U.S. ground forces in Vietnam. On February 26, Johnson dispatched Marine brigades to secure a crucial air base at Danang.

Hawks

To the dismay of Johnson and his foreign policy team, however, these measures failed to turn the war's tide. As a result, in the spring and summer of 1965, they engaged in a heated debate about what course of action to take in Vietnam. Most of Johnson's key advisers argued that only the introduction of substantial numbers of U.S. ground forces would preserve an independent and noncommunist South Vietnam, halt the spread of

communism in Southeast Asia, and uphold U.S. credibility. Ambassador to Saigon Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Commander of the Military Assistance Command in Vietnam Gen. William C. Westmoreland, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, among others, met on April 20 in Honolulu, where they recommended the introduction of almost 50,000 additional U.S. troops, bringing the total to about 82,000. McNamara reported these recommendations to President Johnson, explaining that military experts now envisioned a significant offensive role for U.S. troops. The President approved the dispatch of six of the requested nine battalions.

Later, in June, General Westmoreland, whose dispatches from the field first prompted consideration of the issue in Washington, reported that he foresaw a long "war of attrition" developing in Vietnam. And he recommended the deployment of 150,000 additional forces, arguing that such numbers were necessary "to permit the [South] Vietnamese with our help to carry the war to the enemy."

President Johnson and his senior advisers discussed Vietnam during a meeting at the White House on June 23. The attendees were divided, with Undersecretary of State George W. Ball expressing reservations about the administration's ever-deepening commitment. But Secretary of State Dean Rusk sided with the hawks, arguing that, if the United States did not save South Vietnam, the rest of Southeast Asia would fall to communism. Acting on such advice, Johnson ordered additional battalions to Vietnam 6 days later, pushing the total force level to 125,000.

Even that figure proved insufficient, however, and Westmoreland, Wheeler, and McNamara all advocated a deeper commitment, recommending to President Johnson in July that he expand U.S. forces in Vietnam up to 34 battalions, or 175,000 troops. On July 8, President Johnson received a strong endorsement of his gradual escalation in Vietnam from a panel of distinguished informal presidential advisers, known as the "Wise Men." They advised him that Vietnam represented a crucial Cold War test of the American ability to contain communism. Arguing that the administration, thus far, had been "too restrained," they believed that the stakes were sufficiently high in Vietnam for the President to make "whatever combat force increases were required." Concerned about Congress' willingness to endorse such proposals, the President discussed them during a telephone conversation with Sen. Mike Mansfield, who emerged as a leading critic of the President's policies in Vietnam.

Doves

Not all of Johnson's foreign policy experts supported the deepening U.S. commitment in Vietnam. Adviser Clark Clifford believed that the deployment of U.S. ground forces "should be kept to a minimum." Vietnam, he wrote the President, "could be a quagmire. It could turn into an open end commitment on our part that would take more and more ground troops, without a realistic hope of ultimate victory."

Ball similarly opposed the drive toward a military solution. He instead urged Johnson to limit the commitment of U.S. ground forces. American soldiers, Ball argued on several occasions, would be perceived as foreign invaders by the Vietnamese, both north and south, and would be fighting an unfamiliar guerrilla war on unfamiliar jungle terrain. As a result, he argued, there was little likelihood of success in Vietnam, despite the introduction of more and more U.S. troops. The United States, he proposed, should make the best of a bad situation by cutting its losses and immediately seeking "a way out," meaning a diplomatic settlement. The short-term costs of a negotiated withdrawal would be substantial, he admitted. But the long-term costs of escalating the war would be even greater, he predicted, since the United States would fail even after spending its treasure, its prestige, and its soldiers' lives. Ball posed the question, thusly, "Should we commit U.S. manpower and prestige to a terrain so unfavorable as to give a very large advantage to the enemy - or should we seek a compromise settlement which achieves less than our stated objectives and thus cut our losses while we still have the freedom of maneuver to do so?"

The Decision to Americanize the War

McNamara, who at the President's request visited South Vietnam in early July to determine the potential effect of a large U.S. commitment, provided the clinching argument. McNamara's advice carried particular weight with the President, who had been impressed with his intellect and analytical ability since the early days of the Kennedy administration. Upon his return, the Secretary of Defense again urged the President to increase pressure on Hanoi by augmenting U.S. forces. McNamara foresaw a possible victory in South Vietnam by 1968 if Westmoreland's forces were elevated to the 34-battalion level (about 175,000 U.S. troops) that he had previously recommended. The secretary went even further, though, conceding that an additional 100,000 troops might be needed by early 1966 and advocating calling up 235,000 reservists and National Guardsmen. Ball predicted that such a massive force risked becoming "lost in the rice paddies."

The decision on combat troop deployment came at the July 27 meeting of the National Security Council (NSC). Declaring that the "situation in Vietnam is deteriorating," President Johnson listed the options available to American policymakers: immediate withdrawal, maintaining the present level of U.S. troops, or increasing the U.S. commitment. The President chose to expand the number of U.S. ground troops, approving the immediate deployment of some 75,000 additional forces. But he scaled back the Pentagon's requests, fearing that the all-out commitment they entailed could expand the war by provoking Chinese or Soviet intervention and endanger the Great Society, his cherished domestic reform program. No NSC members, when asked their opinions by Johnson, opposed the decision.

President Johnson's decision Americanized the war by taking the burden of fighting from the South Vietnamese and placing it in the hands of the U.S. military. Recognizing this, Horace Busby, Johnson's political adviser, wrote in July, "This is no longer South Vietnam's war. We are no longer advisers. The stakes are no longer South Vietnam's. The war is ours." President Johnson's decision also launched the United States on its longest and most divisive war that ultimately cost the lives of more than 58,000 Americans. Despite those sacrifices, the United States lost, withdrawing in 1973 from South Vietnam, which only 2 years later fell to communists backed by North Vietnam. The quagmire in Vietnam, which precipitated anti-war demonstrations in the United States, was so unpopular by 1968 that it destroyed Johnson's political career. The President surprised the nation in March 1968, when he announced that he would not seek the Democratic Party's nomination in that year's presidential election.

Source: “Introductory Essay: The Decision to Americanize the War in Vietnam.” US Department of State. 8 October 2011 <http://future.state.gov/educators/lessons/vietnam/43444.htm>.

Perspectives on Vietnam

Hawks	Doves	Me

VIETNAM ON TELEVISION

Vietnam was the first "television war." The medium was in its infancy during the Korean conflict, its audience and technology still too limited to play a major role. The first "living-room war," as Michael Arlen called it, began in mid-1965, when Lyndon Johnson dispatched large numbers of U.S. combat troops, beginning what is still surely the biggest story television news has ever covered. The Saigon bureau was for years the third largest the networks maintained, after New York and Washington, with five camera crews on duty most of the time.

What was the effect of television on the development and outcome of the war? The conventional wisdom has generally been that for better or for worse it was an anti-war influence. It brought the "horror of war" night after night into people's living rooms and eventually inspired revulsion and exhaustion. The argument has often been made that any war reported in an unrestricted way by television would eventually lose public support. Researchers, however, have quite consistently told another story.

There were, to be sure, occasions when television did deliver images of violence and suffering. In August 1965, CBS aired a report by Morley Safer, which showed Marines lighting the thatched roofs of the village of Cam Ne with Zippo lighters, and included critical commentary on the treatment of the villagers. This story could never have passed the censorship of World War II or Korea, and it generated an angry reaction from Lyndon Johnson. In 1968, during the Tet offensive, viewers of NBC news saw Col. Nguyen Ngoc Loan blow out the brains of his captive in a Saigon street. And in 1972, during the North Vietnamese spring offensive, the audience witnessed the aftermath of errant napalm strike, in which South Vietnamese planes mistook their own fleeing civilians for North Vietnamese troops.

These incidents were dramatic, but far from typical of Vietnam coverage. Blood and gore were rarely shown. A bit less than a quarter of film reports from Vietnam showed images of the dead or wounded, most of these fleeting and not particularly graphic. Network concerns about audience sensibilities combined with the inaccessibility of much of the worst of the suffering to keep a good deal of the "horror of war" off the screen. The violence in news reports often involved little more than puffs of smoke in the distance, as aircraft bombed the unseen enemy. Only during the 1968 Tet and 1972 spring offensives, when the war came into urban areas, did its suffering and destruction appear with any regularity on TV.

For the first few years of the living room war, most of the coverage was upbeat. It typically began with a battlefield roundup, written from wire reports based on the daily press briefing in Saigon--the "Five O'Clock Follies," as journalists called it--read by the anchor and illustrated with a battle map. These reports had a World War II feel to them--journalists no less than generals are prone to "fighting the last war"--with fronts and "big victories" and a strong sense of progress and energy.

The battlefield roundup would normally be followed by a policy story from Washington, and then a film report from the field---typically about five days old, since film had to be flown to the United States for processing. As with most television news, the emphasis was on the visual and above all the personal: "American boys in action" was the story, and reports emphasized their bravery and their skill in handling the technology of war. A number of reports directly countered Morley Safer's Cam Ne story, showing the burning of huts, which was a routine part of many search-and-destroy operations, but emphasizing that it was necessary, because these were Communist villages. On Thursdays, the weekly casualty figures released in Saigon would be reported, appearing next to the flags of the combatants, and of course always showing a good "score" for the Americans

Television crews quickly learned that what New York wanted was "bang-bang" footage, and this, along with the emphasis on the American soldier, meant that coverage of Vietnamese politics and of the Vietnamese generally was quite limited. The search for action footage also meant it was a dangerous assignment: nine network personnel died in Indochina, and many more were wounded.

Later in the war, after Tet and the beginning of American troop withdrawals in 1969, television coverage began to change. The focus was still on "American boys," to be sure, and the troops were still presented in a sympathetic light. But journalists grew skeptical of claims of progress, and the course of the war was presented more as an eternal recurrence than a string of decisive victories. There was more emphasis on the human costs

of the war, though generally without graphic visuals. On Thanksgiving Day 1970, for example, Ed Rabel of CBS reported on the death of one soldier killed by a mine, interviewing his buddies, who told their feelings about his death and about a war they considered senseless. An important part of the dynamic of the change in TV news was that the "up close and personal style" of television began to cut the other way: in the early years, when morale was strong, television reflected the upbeat tone of the troops. But as withdrawals continued and morale declined, the tone of field reporting changed. This shift was paralleled by developments on the "home front." Here, divisions over the war received increasing airtime, and the anti-war movement, which had been vilified as Communist-inspired in the early years, was more often accepted as a legitimate political movement.

Some accounts of television's role regarding this war assign a key role to a special broadcast by Walter Cronkite wrapping up his reporting on the Tet Offensive. On 27 February 1968, Cronkite closed "Report from Vietnam: Who, What, When, Where, Why?" by expressing his view that the war was unwinnable, and that the United States would have to find a way out. Some of Lyndon Johnson's aides have recalled that the president watched the broadcast and declared that he knew at that moment he would have to change course. A month later Johnson declined to run for reelection and announced that he was seeking a way out of the war; David Halberstam has written "it was the first time in American history a war had been declared over by an anchorman."

Cronkite's change of views certainly dramatized the collapse of consensus on the war. But it did not create that collapse, and there were enough strong factors pushing toward a change in policy that it is hard to know how much impact Cronkite had. By the fall of 1967, polls were already showing a majority of Americans expressing the opinion that it had been a "mistake" to get involved in Vietnam; and by the time of Cronkite's broadcast, two successive secretaries of Defense had concluded that the war could not be won at reasonable cost. Indeed, with the major changes in television's portrayal of the war still to come, television was probably more a follower than a leader in the nation's change of course in Vietnam.

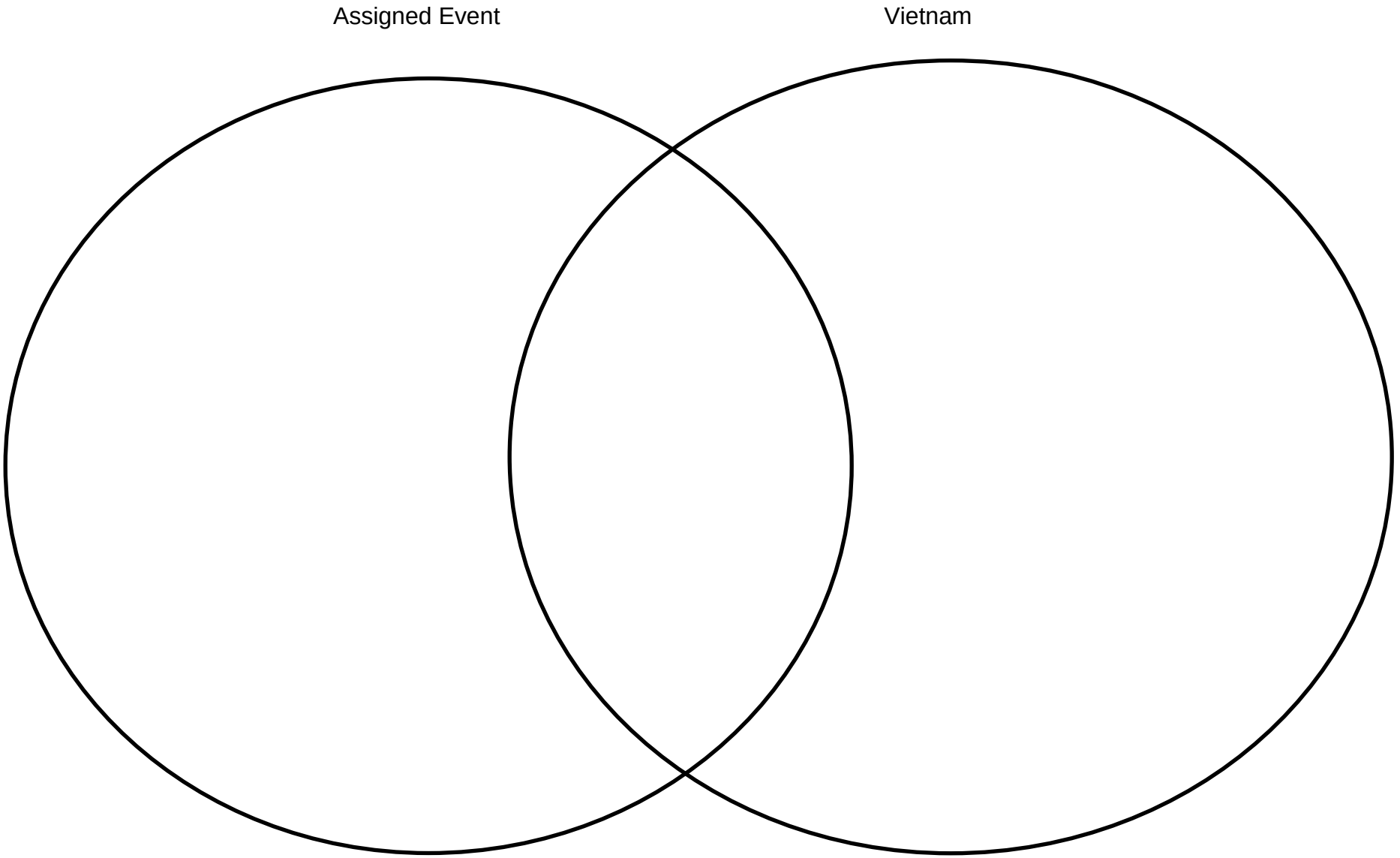
Vietnam has not been a favorite subject for television fiction, unlike World War II, which was the subject of shows ranging from action-adventure series like Combat to sitcoms like *Hogan's Heroes.* During the war itself it was virtually never touched in television fiction--except, of course, in disguised form on *M*A*S*H*. After Hollywood scored commercially with *The Deer Hunter (*1978), a number of scripts were commissioned, and NBC put one pilot, *6:00 Follies*, on the air. All fell victim to bad previews and ratings, and to political bickering and discomfort in the networks and studios. Todd Gitlin quotes one network executive as saying, "I don't think people want to hear about Vietnam. I think it was destined for failure simply because I don't think it's a funny war." World War II, of course, wasn't any funnier. The real difference is probably that Vietnam could not plausibly be portrayed either as heroic or as consensual, and commercially successful television fiction needs both heroes and a sense of "family" among the major characters.

An important change did take place in 1980, just as shows set in Vietnam were being rejected. *Magnum. P.I.* premiered that year, beginning a trend toward portrayals of Vietnam veterans as central characters in television fiction. Before 1980 vets normally appeared in minor roles, often portrayed as unstable and socially marginal. With *Magnum. P.I.* and later *The A-Team, Riptide, Airwolf* and others, the veteran emerged as a hero, and in this sense the war experience, stripped of the contentious backdrop of the war itself, became suitable for television. These characters drew their strength from their Vietnam experience, including a preserved war-time camaraderie which enabled them to act as a team.

Not until *Tour of Duty* in 1987 and *China Beach* in 1988 did series set in Vietnam find a place on the schedule. Both were moderate ratings successes; they stand as the only major Vietnam series to date. The most distinguished, *China Beach*, often showed war from a perspective rarely seen in post-World War II popular culture: that of the women whose job it was to patch up shattered bodies and souls. It also included plenty of the more traditional elements of male war stories, and over the years it drifted away from the war, in the direction of the traditional concern of melodrama with personal relationships. But it does represent a significant Vietnam-inspired change in television's representation of war.

Source: Hallin, Daniel. “Vietnam on Television.” The Museum of Broadcast Communication. 8 October 2011 <http://www.museum.tv/eotvsection.php?entrycode=vietnamonte>.

Venn diagram: The Role of the Media



Proposed Law:

We propose a new law that would restore the Framers' intent by requiring a congressional declaration of war in advance of any commitment of troops that promises sustained combat. The president would be required to present to Congress an analysis of the threat, specific war aims, the rationale for those aims, the feasibility of achieving them, a general sense of war strategy, plans for action, and potential costs. For its part, Congress would hold hearings of officials and nongovernmental experts, examine evidence of the threat, assess the objectives, and explore the drawbacks of the administration's proposal. A full floor debate and vote would follow.

Foner on the Great Society, Civil Rights, and Vietnam

Johnson's Great Society . . . was the most expansive effort in the nation's history to mobilize the powers of the national government to address the needs of the least advantaged Americans. The War on Poverty succeeded in greatly reducing the incidence of poverty, all but wiping it out among the elderly. But the sums expended (a total of a few billion dollars) were far too low to achieve the utopian goal of ending poverty altogether or the more immediate task of transforming the conditions of life in impoverished urban neighborhoods. Together with the civil rights movement itself, government action opened doors of opportunity for black Americans, spurring an enormous expansion of the black middle class. But millions of African-Americans remained trapped in poverty. . . .

In 1965, civil rights leaders wondered how political leaders could spend hundreds of billions of dollars on an ever-growing military budget, "yet throw up their hands before the need for overhauling our schools, clearing the slums, and really abolishing poverty." Reflecting the unquenchable optimism of the era's "growth liberalism," Johnson insisted that given an expanding economy, Americans could "afford to make progress at home while meeting obligations abroad." But with the escalation of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, it became impossible to fight a war on want and a war in Southeast Asia. By 1967, the War on Poverty had ground to a halt. With ghetto uprisings punctuating the urban landscape, a growing antiwar movement, and millions of young people brazenly rejecting mainstream values, American society faced its greatest social crisis since the Depression.

Foner, Eric. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: Norton and Company, 1998. pp 279-80.

URBAN DECAY IN THE 1960's

In the years after World War II, massive federal investment in highway construction and low-interest loans to GI's helped to make the suburbs an attractive place for more people to move. At the same time, manufacturers -- now with the ability to ship their products more easily -- could build new plants outside of cities and in areas of the country were labor was cheaper, such as the South. This de-industrialization hurt those who relied on relatively good-paying, secure, and low-skilled jobs. For the cities of the North and Midwest, this burden fell particularly hard on the more than 2.75 million African-Americans who migrated from the South to the North between 1940 and 1960. Discrimination -- explicit and in more subtle forms -- also kept African-Americans in poorer neighborhoods with poorer schools, out of the best jobs, and without the loans and mortgages necessary to improve one's home or move to a new area. Finally, efforts to renew cities and remove blight resulted in neighborhoods being razed (torn down) for new highways, new housing towers, and other developments. Often, the neighborhoods that were most affected were minority ones; not just buildings, but communities were destroyed.

Although African-Americans in the North did not suffer as those in the South, the civil rights movement which began in the 1950's affected them as well. At the very least, it raised expectations, and often the movement was unable to address the difficult economic concerns of African Americans in the North. It was this as a backdrop that the urban riots of the 1960's took place.

1. Identify where the author makes a causation claim (cause-effect) by underlining the sentences above. What words indicate causation?

2. What is a riot? Define the term. How is a riot different than civil disobedience or protest?

3. Is the author making a causal argument about the riots? Explain.

Source: “Urban Decay in the 1960’s.” *John Gardner, Uncommon American.* PBS. 29 January 2014 <http://www.pbs.org/johngardner/chapters/5b.html>.

Teacher Guide: URBAN DECAY IN THE 1960's

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Make, hurt, kept, resulted, affected

2. What is a riot? Define the term. How is a riot different than civil disobedience or protest?

A riot is an unruly collective act of violence. Temporary, and results in damage to person and/or property. Characteristics: More than 30-50 people; Lasts longer than a few moments; Property damage or injuries requiring medical attention.

3. Is the author making a causal argument about the riots? Explain.

Answers will vary because the author is not explicit. *The word choice "as a backdrop" indicates correlation, or an association, but not causation. However, the structure of the text may lead one to believe there is a causal argument being made by inference.*

Source: "Urban Decay in the 1960's." John Gardner, Uncommon American. PBS. 29 January 2014 <http://www.pbs.org/johngardner/chapters/5b.html>.

Watts in Perspective

When California Highway Patrol Officer Lee Minikus pulled over Los Angeles transplant Marquette Frye on Wednesday, August 11, 1965, it began as an ordinary traffic stop. Another motorist had pointed out Frye's erratic driving, and Minikus confirmed that the young African-American man had been drinking. A crowd had gathered to watch the proceedings, additional officers had been called in, and Frye's mood had progressively soured as he realized that his attempts to talk himself out of arrest were becoming increasingly futile. Ronald Frye, who had been in the car with his older brother, attempted to talk the police out of towing the vehicle. Further reinforcements arrived to handle an increasingly involved assemblage, and one officer mistook Marquette's frantic behavior and Ronald's heated negotiations for attacks on the police. The incident quickly became violent as Officer Wayne Wilson dispatched both brothers with force. Word spread through the crowd to the nearby home of the boys' mother, and Rena Frye arrived just in time to witness the first blows. All three members of the family were taken away for resisting arrest, but the issue of the now dangerous crowd remained. Bystanders shouted out about the abuse of blacks at the hands of white cops. One observer, Gabriel Pope, threw a glass bottle and struck the rear fender of Sergeant Richard Rankin's patrol car. The shattering of the glass marked the official beginning of the Watts Riot.

When the smoke cleared on August 17, 1965, thirty-four people were dead and roughly one thousand buildings had been damaged or looted. Containing the uprising had required more security personnel than had American military involvement in the Dominican Republic earlier that same year. The national guardsmen and police officers involved had ended up sealing off a Curfew Zone one and one-half times the island of Manhattan. The total damage was figured to have amounted to somewhere in the neighborhood of $40,000,000. With such frightening statistics in mind, the rest of America was left to wonder how a routine drunk-driving arrest could have escalated into six days of looting, rioting, sniping, and vandalism. Even more incongruous with the destruction of those one hundred forty-four hours was the fact that, in the eyes of many, the 1960s had seen great advancements on the behalf of blacks. A government commission was quickly assembled, chaired by and named for former CIA director John A. McCone. Even this official report seemed shocked that the denizens of Watts could find anything to riot over, concluding that neighborhood was 'neither a slum nor an urban gem'. While the McCone Commission Report was "a bold departure from the standard government paper on social problems," it reflected the "errors and misconceptions" of much of middle-class America in its treatment of "the realities of the Watts riots".

The realities of life in Watts had been very different from life in the white urban metropolises of the United States for decades. Indeed, even compared to other American ghettos, Watts had a unique history. Around the time of World War I, Watts was "the home of a few thousand European immigrants". These years saw a wave of black migration to the adjoining area of Furlough Track, popularly referred to by the generic name "Mudtown," a title applied to the collections of lean-tos and shanties erected by black migrants near many Northern cities. The wartime boom swelled Furlough Track's population and quality of life. At the same time as Watts and its neighbor were beginning to merge, growing prosperity allowed Los Angeles to extend to the south and annex the newly unified Watts. The construction of the Panama Canal, signifying that the United States would come to play a greater role in the affairs of the Pacific, also helped to draw more blacks seeking life in a major Western city to the Los Angeles area. World War II drew a still larger wave of blacks to the district; indeed, one hundred thousand came to California seeking positions in aircraft factories and other defense plants. The end of the war and the advent of the Red Scare were to fundamentally alter this somewhat propitious state of black life, however.

These post-bellum years hurt black progress in Watts greatly. Nationwide, the unemployment of black youth increased greatly out of proportion with that of white youth between the years of 1954 and 1966. In the Watts area specifically, however, black unemployment paralleled the figure for Southern blacks by the early 1950s and lagged behind whites. Even more damage was still to be done by the domestic workings of the Cold War. Whereas Los Angeles had once "possessed one of the stronger left and progressive movements in the nation" prior to the struggle against Communism, "the repression of the left created an ideological vacuum that would later be filled by black nationalism. The keys to the county's liberal stance, the working class and the black community, became cut off from a valuable means of political expression once progressive viewpoints were suppressed. Essentially trapped in Watts, a neighborhood many of the middle-class blacks futilely sought a way out of, the majority of blacks in Los Angeles faced institutions seemingly overrun by an ever-increasing (and increasingly frustrated) population. Trade unions and civil rights organizations, two categories of association which would have been especially useful at the time due to the changing circumstances of life in the growing metropolis, were severely limited in their usefulness by the anti-Red stance adopted following World War II.

The residents of Watts also underwent a transformation during these years. America's black population underwent very large demographic changes during the twentieth century, especially following World War I. One of the largest changes during these years was northernization; by the time of the riot, Southern migrants no longer outnumbered Northern natives in America's cities. In Watts, the accompanying changes in politicization and urbanization resulted in a generation characterized by some as the "New Urban Blacks". "Under 30, native to Los Angeles, and better educated than most blacks," the New Urban Blacks were characterized by "more positive black identity…more generalized political disaffection, and more political sophistication than older, southern migrant, rural, or less educated blacks". The realities of the life and people of Watts clearly flew in the face of the judgment of the McCone commission, which had emphasized the "riffraff theory." This idea sought to construe the Watts incident as "a manifestation of problems of poverty," rather than of race. Such an interpretation of the riot relied on preconceived notions of ghetto life and a steadfast refusal to deviate from the values of middle-class, white America, values which stressed that violence could never be considered to be a legitimate form of political expression.

This would come to be the dominant view on the Watts riots. While the legitimate problems of ghetto life were given lip-service, the racist housing policies of Detroit, Los Angeles, and other major Northern cities were ignored, as were other problems related to a system of institutional racism. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, significant portions of the white population viewed the riots extremely negatively and suspected outside agitation. Three hundred race riots would strike America between 1964 and 1968, and the official consensus was that none of them had been the result of conspiracies. While even the FBI, under the direction of J. Edgar Hoover at the time, agreed that communists did not inspire the riots, conservative America quickly began a backlash against the Civil Rights movement. More militant leaders who supported the urban uprisings, such as Stokely Carmicheal and H. Rap Brown, were accused of having conspired to bring violence down on America's cities. Even the most moderate and accommodating figures in the movement were accused of raising the expectations of blacks to unreasonable levels.

Watts held a very different meaning for blacks, however. The rioters were hardly the dregs of society gone out of control: "between 31,000 and 35,000 adults…were active as rioters at some time during the week-long upheaval". This fact, coupled with the reality that many blacks hoped that the riots would draw more attention to the racial problems of urban life in America, shows that participant and observer alike viewed the riot as having far more political significance than the status quo was willing to concede. Indeed, activist Bayard Rustin tells of a youth who told him that Watts meant blacks had won because they had earned attention. This mindset was the result of the very

specific metamorphosis, which had transpired in America's cities during the early decades of the twentieth century. By the 1960s, there existed a generation of blacks willing, due to a combination of circumstance and disaffection, to utilize violence as a means to a political end. While studying the Watts Riot does not necessarily require the justification of this perspective, understanding the minds of the people involved is essential to making any sense out of the event. To the members of the McCone Commission and white America as a whole, Watts simply could not be political. It needed to be viewed as "a formless, quite senseless, all but hopeless violent protest," because to do otherwise would have implicated Los Angeles in what went on in Watts. Indeed, if Watts is to be considered a political act, than so are all of America's race riots. This implicates almost all of America's major cities in the conditions of their ghettoes and reveals disturbing truths about the reality of life as an urban minority.

Source: Blohm, Kyle. "Watts in Perspective" College of New Jersey. 8 October 2011 <http://www.tcnj.edu/~blohm3/essay.htm>. See also cached page: http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?rlz=1T4SKPB_enUS392US392&hl=en&q=cache:uyxpkniA8r4J:http://www.tcnj.edu/~blohm3/essay.htm+Watts+in+Perspective&ct=clnk (Links no longer available), but accessible at <http://www.boerner.net/jboerner/?p=13856>

Detroit

Events

The Detroit Riot of 1967 began when police vice squad officers executed a raid on an after hours drinking club or “blind pig” in a predominantly black neighborhoods located at Twelfth Street and Clairmount Avenue. They were expecting to round up a few patrons, but instead found 82 people inside holding a party for two returning Vietnam veterans. Yet, the officers attempted to arrest everyone who was on the scene. While the police awaited a “clean-up crew” to transport the arrestees, a crowd gathered around the establishment in protest. After the last police car left, a small group of men who were “confused and upset because they were kicked out of the only place they had to go” lifted up the bars of an adjacent clothing store and broke the windows. From this point of origin, further reports of vandalism diffused. Looting and fires spread through the Northwest side of Detroit, then crossed over to the East Side. Within 48 hours, the National Guard was mobilized, to be followed by the 82nd airborne on the riot’s fourth day. As police and military troops sought to regain control of the city, violence escalated. At the conclusion of 5 days of rioting, 43 people lay dead, 1189 injured and over 7000 people had been arrested.

Causes of the Detroit Riot

The origins of urban unrest in Detroit were rooted in a multitude of political, economic, and social factors including police abuse, lack of affordable housing, urban renewal projects, economic inequality, black militancy, and rapid demographic change.

Police Brutality

In Detroit, during the 1960s the “Big Four” or “Tac Squad”roamed the streets, searching for bars to raid and prostitutes to arrest. These elite 4 man units frequently stopped youths who were driving or walking through the 12th street neighborhood. They verbally degraded these youths, calling them “boy” and “nigger”, asking them who they were and where they were going. Most of the time, black residents were asked to produce identification, and having suffered their requisite share of humiliation, were allowed to proceed on their way. But if one could not produce “proper” identification, this could lead to arrest or worse. In a few notable cases, police stops led to the injury or death of those who were detained. Such excessive use of force was manifested in the 1962 police shooting of a black prostitute named Shirley Scott who, like Lester Long of Newark, was shot in the back while fleeing from the back of a patrol car. Other high profile cases of police brutality in Detroit included the severe beating of another prostitute, Barbara Jackson, in 1964, and the beating of Howard King, a black teenager, for “allegedly disturbing the peace”. But the main issue in the minds of Detroit’s black residents was police harassment and police brutality, which they identified in a Detroit Free Press Survey as the number one problem they faced in the period leading up to the riot.(Detroit Free Press 1968, Fine 1989, Thomas 1967).

Housing

Affordable housing, or the lack thereof, was a fundamental concern for black Detroiters. When polled by the Detroit Free Press regarding the problems that contributed most to the rioting in the previous year, respondents listed “poor housing” as one of the most important issues, second only to police brutality. (Detroit Free Press 1968, Thomas 1997:130-131). Detroit had a long history of housing discrimination stretching back to the turn of the century when black migrants first arrived in the city and middle-class African Americans sought to integrate predominantly white neighborhoods. During the 1940s and 1950s white Detroiters sought to block the entry of blacks into their

neighborhoods by legal and extra-legal means, in one instance building a six-foot high, one-foot wide concrete wall along Eight Mile Road, to separate themselves from potential black neighbors. In a similar vein, white residents engaged in several bitter campaigns during the 1940s and 1950s to prevent the integration of public housing located in predominantly white areas. By the 1960s, despite with the movement of some blacks into formerly white neighborhoods, in fact segregation had become more pronounced. The quality and cost of housing differed substantially for blacks and whites in Detroit, with black residents paying considerably higher rents than their white counterparts for equivalent accommodations. Only 39 percent of African Americans owned their own homes in 1960, as compared with the 64 percent of whites who were homeowners.

Urban Renewal

In Detroit, the shortage of housing available to black residents was further exacerbated by "urban renewal" projects. In Detroit, entire neighborhoods were bulldozed to make way for freeways that linked city and suburbs. Neighborhoods that met their fate in such manner were predominantly black in their composition. To build Interstate 75, Paradise Valley or "Black Bottom", the neighborhood that black migrants and white ethnics had struggled over during the 1940s, was buried beneath several layers of concrete. As the oldest established black enclave in Detroit, "Black Bottom" was not merely a point on the map, but the heart of Detroit's black community, commercially and culturally. The loss for many black residents of Detroit was devastating, and the anger burned for years thereafter.

Economic Inequality/Relative Deprivation

As an internationally recognized center of automobile production, Detroit seemed to fare a little better economically than other American industrial cities in the immediate post-war era. But beginning in the 1950s, the big car manufacturers, Ford, Chrysler and GM began to automate their assembly lines and outsource parts production to subcontractors located in other municipalities and foreign countries. (Sugrue 1996:128) Detroit, like other cities, was deindustrializing and black workers, who had less seniority and lower job grades than white workers "felt the brunt" of this change. Young black men were particularly hard hit by the combination of deindustrialization with historical job discrimination in the automobile industry. According to historian Thomas Sugrue, young workers, especially those who had no post-secondary education, found that entry-level operative jobs that had been open to their fathers or older siblings in the 1940s and early 1950s were gone. "By the end of the 1950s, more and more black job seekers, reported by the Urban League, were demoralized, 'developing patterns of boredom and hopelessness with the present state of affairs' The anger and despair that prevailed among the young, at a time of national promise and prosperity, would explode on Detroit's streets in the 1960s." Yet black Detroiters had higher incomes, lower unemployment rates and higher levels of education relative to their peers in other cities. Nonetheless these measures paled in comparison with the gaps in income, employment, and education in Detroit among whites and blacks. According to one long-time community activist, blacks in Detroit did not compare themselves to blacks in other cities. Rather, they compared themselves to whites in Detroit. Relative deprivation helped give rise to black militancy in Detroit.

Black Militancy

Despite the election of a liberal Democratic mayor who appointed African Americans to prominent positions in his administration, and despite Mayor Jerome Cavanaugh's good working relationship with mainstream civil rights groups, a significant segment of the black community in Detroit felt disenfranchised, frustrated by what they perceived to be the relatively slow pace of racial change and persistent racial inequality. Local militant leaders like the Reverend Albert Cleague spoke of self-determination and separatism for black people, arguing that whites were incapable and or

unwilling to share power. The civil rights movement was deemed a failure by these young leaders in the black community. At a black power rally in Detroit in early July 1967, H. Rap Brown foreshadowed the course of future events, stating that if “Motown” didn’t come around, “we are going to burn you down”.

Demographic Change

Like Newark, Detroit was swept by a wave of white flight. During the 1950s the white population of Detroit declined by 23%. Correspondingly, the percentage of non-whites rose from 16.1% to 29.1%. In sheer numbers the black population of Detroit increased from 303,000 to 487,000 during that decade. By 1967, the black population of Detroit stood at an estimated 40% of the total population. As in Newark, some neighborhoods were more affected by white flight than others. This was particularly true for the Twelfth Street neighborhood, where rioting broke out in the summer of 1967. “Whereas virtually no blacks lived there in 1940 (the area was 98.7% white), the area was over one-third (37.2%) non-white in 1950. By 1960, the proportion of blacks to whites had nearly reversed: only 3.8 percent of the areas residents were white. Given that the first blacks did not move to the area until 1947 and 1948, the area underwent a complete racial transition in little more than a decade.”

This rapid turnover in population in the neighborhood brought with it the attendant ills of social disorganization, crime and further discrimination. Its impact in the 12th street area was devastating. According to Historian Sidney Fine, “The transition from white to black on Detroit’s near northwest side occurred at a remarkably rapid rate…In a familiar pattern of neighborhood succession, as blacks moved in after World War II, the Jews moved out. The first black migrants to the area were middle class persons seeking to escape the confines of Paradise Valley. They enjoyed about “five good years” in their new homes until underworld and seedier elements from Hastings Street and Paradise Valley, the poor and indigent from the inner city, and winos and derelicts from skid row flowed into the area. Some of the commercial establishments on Twelfth Street gave way to pool halls, liquor stores, sleazy bars, pawnshops, and second hand businesses. Already suffering from a housing shortage and lack of open space, Twelfth Street became more “densely packed” as apartments were subdivided and six to eight families began to live where two had resided before. The 21,376 persons per square mile in the area in 1960 were almost double the city’s average.” This neighborhood would serve as the epicenter of the 1967 riot.

Source: *Detroit Riots – 1967* Rutgers University. 29 January 2014 <http://www.67riots.rutgers.edu/d_index.htm>.

Newark

The Newark Riot of 1967 began with the arrest of a cab driver named John Smith, who allegedly drove around a double-parked police car at the corner of 7th St. and 15th Avenue. He was subsequently stopped, interrogated, arrested and transported to the 4th precinct headquarters, during which time he was severely beaten by the arresting officers. As news of the arrest spread, a crowd began to assemble in front of the precinct house, located directly across from a high-rise public housing project. When the police allowed a small group of civil rights leaders to visit the prisoner, they demanded that Mr. Smith be taken to a hospital. Emerging from the building, these civil rights leaders begged the crowd to stay calm, but they were shouted down. Rumor spread that John Smith had died in police custody, despite the fact he had been taken out the back entrance and transported to a local hospital. Soon a volley of bricks and bottles was launched at the precinct house and police stormed out to confront the assembly. As the crowd dispersed they began to break into stores on the nearby commercial thoroughfares. Eventually violence spread from the predominantly black neighborhoods of Newark's Central Ward to Downtown Newark, and the New Jersey State Police were mobilized. Within 48 hours, National Guard troops entered the city. With the arrival of these troops the level of violence intensified. At the conclusion of six days of rioting 23 people lay dead, 725 people were injured and close to 1500 people had been arrested.

Causes of the Newark Riot

A variety of factors contributed to the Newark Riot, including police brutality, political exclusion of blacks from city government, urban renewal, inadequate housing, unemployment, poverty, and rapid change in the racial composition of neighborhoods.

Police-Community Relations

For residents of Newark's predominantly black Central Ward, the police were a persistent, if not entirely welcome presence. Patrolmen, who were mostly of Irish and Italian descent routinely stopped and questioned black youths with or without provocation. During the decade preceding the riot, several high profile cases of police brutality against young black men were reported, some resulting in death. In July 1965, Lester Long, aged 22, was shot and killed by police after a "routine" traffic stop. A few weeks later, Bernard Rich, a 26-year old African-American male, died in police custody under mysterious circumstances while locked in his jail cell. On Christmas Eve that year, Walter Mathis, aged 17, was fatally wounded by an "accidental" weapons discharge while being searched for illegal contraband. Despite calls for the appointment of a civilian police review board and hiring of more African American policemen, such proposals went unheeded. Police-related shootings and beatings for the most part were not prosecuted; Few cases of police abuse in Newark ever made it to a jury.

Political Exclusion

The mutual suspicion and hostility that characterized the relationship between black citizens and the police in Newark were matched by feelings of political powerlessness and acrimony toward political officials. Black residents of Newark were not only underrepresented on the police force, but were also sorely absent from the corridors of political power. This disparity of political power was self-evident in Newark, when Mayor Hugh Addonizio, who had professed sensitivity to black concerns during his election campaign, failed to appoint blacks to leadership positions in his administration. Most tellingly was the manner with which the mayor handled a school board vacancy by appointing an Irish high school graduate, Councilman James T. Callaghan over Wilbur Parker, the first African-American certified public accountant in the State of New Jersey.

Urban Renewal

In Newark, "urban renewal" or "Negro removal" as it was referred to by local residents, would play an important role in fomenting rebellion. Plans were already in place to build superhighways,

which would bisect the black community. Then in the early months of 1967 the city proposed the "clearance" of 150 acres of "slum" land to build a medical school/hospital complex. Of course, this would involve the demolition of numerous homes in the predominantly black Central Ward. Given the shortage of housing in other areas, the effects of such displacement were potentially devastating. Activist Tom Hayden succinctly summarized the resident's fears:

"The city's vast programs for urban renewal, highways, downtown development, and most recently, a 150 acre Medical School in the heart of the ghetto seemed almost deliberately designed to squeeze out this rapidly growing Negro community that represents a majority of the population". Upon hearing of the proposal, members of the local community quickly mobilized and began to hold protest rallies. Some of the same people who attended these rallies were present at the 4th precinct house, when the riot started that summer. The city's plan to build the medical school, while demolishing black occupied homes, helped set the stage for future confrontation.

Unemployment and Poverty

Amidst a backdrop of police brutality and housing crisis, a profound change was underway in the economic structure of cities like Newark and Detroit. By the late 1960s both cities were caught in the throes of industrial decline, for which black workers bore the brunt. The flight of manufacturing jobs, which had begun in the 1950s, accelerated during the 1960s. In Newark, the famed breweries that drew water from the polluted Passaic River shut down, as did the tanneries, which fouled the water to begin with. The big conglomerates, Westinghouse and General Electric, who manufactured large appliances in Newark soon followed. In their wake, thousands of jobs were lost.

As a result of previous discrimination and poor education, black workers, who were concentrated in heavy industry, felt the impact of these changes more than white workers who had moved upward into managerial and professional jobs. But it was black youth, just entering the labor market, who seemed to have suffered the most in the long run. The Hughes Commission (1968) stated the following grim statistics. Among 16-19 year old Negro men, more than a third—37.8% were jobless. "Aggravating the growing deficit of resources even further was the postwar abandonment by industry, leaving fewer employment opportunities nearby for the lower skilled and unskilled who remained in or came into the city. Stripped of much of its leadership and other resources and faced with problems from before and after the war, the city came to be like a house ransacked".

Housing

The quality and availability of housing was a major source of contention among black residents and government officials. A public opinion survey by the Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder in New Jersey, otherwise known as the Hughes Commission, revealed that 54% of black respondents indicated that "housing problems had a 'great deal to do with the riot'" Much of the existing housing in Newark during the mid-to late 1960s was uninhabitable by modern safety and health standards. The city's own application for the Model Cities program in 1966 "described over 40,000 of the city's 136,000 housing units as substandard or dilapidated". Slumlords collected rent but often failed to perform regular maintenance, let alone improvements, to their properties. Sometimes landlords simply set fire to their property in hope of receiving an insurance windfall. Between 1961 and 1967 Newark averaged 3620 structural fires per year. Due to their limited housing options, blacks in Newark paid more money for lesser quality domiciles. Public housing in Newark merely helped concentrate poverty and despair in one centralized location, further isolating the black poor from the society at large.

Demographic Change

In Newark, as a result of post-war suburban migration, the white population plummeted to approximately 158,000 in 1967 from 363,000 in 1950 and 266,000 in 1960. Correspondingly, the black population of Newark rose from 70,000 in 1950 to 125,000 in 1960 and an estimated 220,000

in 1967. By 1967, a majority of Newark residents (55%) were African-American. Demographic changes at the city levels were reflected in particular neighborhoods, namely the Central Ward, formerly home to a sizable concentration of immigrant and second generation Jews. Abandoning their homes and synagogues, these Jews, along with some Poles and Italians, fled for the suburbs of nearby South Orange, West Orange, and Livingston. By the time of the riot, the Central Ward was a predominantly black neighborhood, yet served by mostly Jewish owned businesses--- a recipe for ethnic tension. With respect to Newark in the 1960s Dr. Nathan Wright Jr. stated, “All societies strive more for order than for orderly but needed changes. Thus it would seem immediately fallacious to deny that gross discrimination did not exist in a city that has moved from an 85 percent white urban oriented majority in 1940 to a nearly 60 percent black, strongly rural oriented black majority in 1965. Newark has been—and is—the scene of massive urban change. Such change brings disorganization”. Riot fatalities in Newark were concentrated in neighborhoods that had experiences the most rapid rate of black in-migration and white out-migration during the previous decade.

Source: Newark Riots – 1967. Rutgers University. 29 January 2014 <http://www.67riots.rutgers.edu/n_index.htm>.

Washington, DC

People Were Out of Control": Remembering the 1968 Riots

African-American leader Virginia Ali and novelist George Pelecanos remember the 1968 riots—and how they changed Washington.

By Denise Kersten Wills Published Tuesday, April 01, 2008

"I don't like to predict violence," Martin Luther King Jr. told an audience at Washington National Cathedral on March 31, 1968. The mostly white crowd of 4,000 packed the cathedral and spilled onto the lawn. "But if nothing is done between now and June to raise ghetto hope," King continued, "I feel this summer will not only be as bad but worse than last year." Angered by poor living conditions, unemployment, and discrimination, African-Americans in 1967 rioted in cities across the country. Twenty-seven people died in Newark, 43 in Detroit.

Four days after his sermon at the cathedral—on Thursday, April 4—King was assassinated in Memphis. At the busy intersection of 14th and U streets in Northwest DC—the heart of the District's black community—the news arrived on teenagers' transistor radios. People began to gather at the intersection, which was near the Washington office of King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Stokely Carmichael—a Howard University graduate who would later become a nationally known Black Panther—led a group of young men into nearby businesses, demanding they shut down as they had when President Kennedy was killed in 1963. Carmichael urged people to remain calm, but the crowd grew. Rioters, many of them teenagers, smashed windows, looted stores, and started fires. They tossed Molotov cocktails into buildings and threw bottles, bricks, and rocks at firefighters who tried to put out the blazes. The mood was part anger, part exhilaration.

Eleven-year-old George Pelecanos happened upon King's Washington National Cathedral sermon while in DC with his parents that day. As he roamed the crowd at the cathedral, he wondered what was holding the adults' attention. Days later, he could see the smoke over the District from his home in Silver Spring. In 2004, Pelecanos revisited 1968 in his 12th novel, *Hard Revolution,* a story that reaches its climax amid the riots. For research, he interviewed police officers, National Guard members, business owners, rioters, and other witnesses.

Virginia Ali and her husband, Ben, opened Ben's Chili Bowl in 1958 on U Street near the theaters and jazz clubs that had made the neighborhood famous as "black Broadway." The riots began just one block away, with a brick thrown through the window of the Peoples Drug at 14th and U. The Alis kept the restaurant open through it all; theirs was one of few businesses that went untouched. On the 40th anniversary of the riots, we asked Pelecanos and Ali to reflect on the rioting and its aftermath.

"I Was Not Afraid"

Martin Luther King died at 8 pm on April 4. By 10, the crowd along 14th Street had turned violent. Off-duty police were called in, and a force of 2,500 law-enforcement officers managed to reestablish order in the early morning. By then, 150 stores had been looted and 200 people arrested.

Ali: I remember the sadness more than anything else. The radio stations were playing hymns, and people were coming in crying. People were out of control with anger and sadness and frustration. They broke into the liquor store across the street and were coming out with bottles of Courvoisier.

They had no money, these youngsters. They were coming into the Chili Bowl saying, "Could you just give us a chili dog or a chili half smoke? We'll give you this."
Pelecanos: One of the things that people don't realize or that they misremember is that rioting is a lot of fun. It wasn't all political. It was kids having fun: "Let's go down there and get something. Let's throw rocks through the windows and see what we can get."
Ali: It had happened in so many other cities. We thought for a while Washington might be immune. We've got the government here, and we've got quite a few jobs. But still there was that fear. Somehow I was not afraid in the restaurant. There's something about this place that makes me feel safer here than at home.

"This Isn't Over"
On Friday, April 5, rioting spread to other sections of the District, especially Seventh Street in Northwest, H Street in Northeast, and parts of Anacostia. Federal troops and the National Guard were called in; they would number more than 13,600. Mayor Walter Washington ordered a 5:30 pm curfew.
Pelecanos: The biggest mistake on the administrative side was not closing the schools and the government on Friday. Fourteenth Street had burned down, and officials thought it was over. But overnight, people all over the city had started talking about what was going to happen the next day. It got around by what they call the ghetto telegraph—the stoop, the barbershop, telephones. Very early in the morning, the teachers and school administrators started freaking out because the students were out of control—they just started to walk out. Even down on the F Street corridor, which everyone thought was protected, you had kids running through Woodward & Lothrop screaming at people. All of a sudden, panic started. People realized: This isn't over. It's just beginning, and we have got to get out of here.
Ali: I remember driving home and seeing droves of kids crossing over 13th Street near Cardozo High School. A group of them came and banged on our car. We had guests from Trinidad, and they were terrified. I was more intimidated by the National Guard standing outside our door with a big weapon than by the gangs.
We put a sign in the window that said soul brother. We were not the only ones who did that. It was supposed to identify an African-American business. Some of them were saved, but some were burned. We were the only place that remained open during the curfew. Stokely Carmichael told me, "You are going to stay open. We need a place to meet to see what we can do to quell the violence. City officials and police officers will be coming here." I said, "There's a curfew. How are my employees going to get through?" Next thing I know, we've got passes for the employees.

"A Flat-Out Miracle"
The riots continued on Saturday. Despite the chaos and demands from federal officials, Mayor Washington refused to order police to shoot rioters.
Ali: Near the front door, we had a cabinet with the electrical system. I opened it to turn on the lights in the evening, and tear gas came into my face. It must have come into the restaurant at some point and gotten trapped in the cabinet. It was stinging, and I was blinded. I have relatives who lived way up past Park Road, about a mile from U Street; it was a nice area in those days. They said, "These people are moving uptown with their rioting and their burnings. I'm leaving town." People felt close to the riots because of television. You're looking at it firsthand. Never mind that you live on Blagden Avenue and this is U Street—it's still Washington.
Pelecanos: I've met National Guard guys who have told me how incredibly scared they were. They had chicken wire on the fire trucks because they were being pelted with bottles and rocks while trying to get to the fires. I've talked to police who are bitter because they couldn't use their

weapons. I've also talked to police who are thankful they couldn't use their weapons because they would have killed somebody and they would not want to live with that. Mayor Washington probably saved hundreds of lives. Most of the people who died got trapped in burning buildings. It's a miracle that nobody was shot on H Street or 7th Street or 14th Street. It's just a flat-out miracle.

"Nobody Went Downtown Anymore"

The city smoldered on Sunday, but the worst was over. More than 800 fires had been started. Twelve people were dead and more than 1,000 injured. Rubble and charred buildings filled what had been vibrant neighborhoods—some are only now coming back to life.

Pelecanos: The people who lost the most were the people who lived in those neighborhoods. H Street was black Washington's shopping corridor. You had Sears, Morton's, Woolworth, and they employed thousands of black Washingtonians. All those jobs were gone, and people had no place to shop. It virtually ended the downtown shopping experience. Nobody went downtown anymore. They were afraid.

Ali: Even my friends would say, "I want six chili dogs, but could someone bring them out to the car?" Middle-class African-Americans had slowly started moving away with integration because the opportunity was there. You could move uptown and have a bigger yard, maybe a better school. Now people were afraid. Those who could afford to move away decided to. This community had been so grand at one time, even though it was segregated. It was a community where everybody looked out for everybody else. If we were closed on Christmas Day, someone would call and say, "There's a truck parked in front of your place. Is somebody supposed to be there?" That's one of the things we lost. After the riots, you're seeing all these new people in the community. The slogans were "Black is beautiful" and "Power to the people." You had the new Afro, the big hairdo. Some people, particularly the older people, used to see that as a militant thing, which it really wasn't. There were many boarded-up buildings, which made the neighborhood susceptible to drugs. In the 1980s, heroin addicts were on the corner by the hundreds.

Pelecanos: To my young eye, the people had changed. They were standing taller, even wearing brighter clothing. I distinctly remember these big earrings with silhouettes of women with Afros that said black is beautiful. This was still a south-of-the-Mason-Dixon-line city, but there was a different vibe. The riots made white people afraid, and through that fear they said to themselves, "Yes, things do have to change." They needed to be shocked a little bit. They needed to understand that nobody was going to wait another 25 years to get equality.

Ali: I don't think young people understand the struggle during that time. My kids say, "What do you mean you couldn't go downtown and eat in a restaurant? What do you mean you couldn't go to Garfinckels and try on a hat?" That's unreal to them. When I look back at those riot tapes, I'm amazed we withstood it. It was a tragic time. We lost Dr. King, and I don't think we'll ever have a leader as passionate about nonviolence.

Source: Wills, Denise Kersten. "People Were Out of Control": Remembering the 1968 Riots. *Washingtonian.* 1 April 2008. 29 January 2014 <http://www.washingtonian.com/articles/people/7080.html>.

Notes Organizer

City	Immediate (Proximate) Cause	Underlying Causes	Impact of Riot
Detroit			
Newark			
LA-Watts			
Washington DC			

Teacher Quick Reference

City	Immediate (Proximate) Cause	Underlying Causes	Impact of Riot
Detroit	Police raid on “blind pig”.	Police abuse, lack of affordable housing, economic inequality, black militancy, rapid demographic change.	“White Flight”, lowering of tax base, increase of crime.
Newark	Arrest of a cab driver and his alleged mistreatment by police.	Police brutality, changing racial composition of neighborhoods, poverty, exclusion of blacks from city government.	“White Flight”, lowering of tax base, increase of crime.
LA-Watts	Traffic stop which deteriorated into confrontation and arrest.	Unemployment, frustrated expectations, anti-left wing sentiment of US government, agitation by militant activists.	Initial sense of pride by rioters of having “gotten attention”. Reluctance of business to invest causing under employment and poverty.
Washington DC	Assassination of King, demand by militants that businesses shut down.	Poverty, racism, frustration over the slow pace of change, growing militancy.	“White Flight”, tax base diminished, increase of crime, reluctance of businesses to invest in the area.

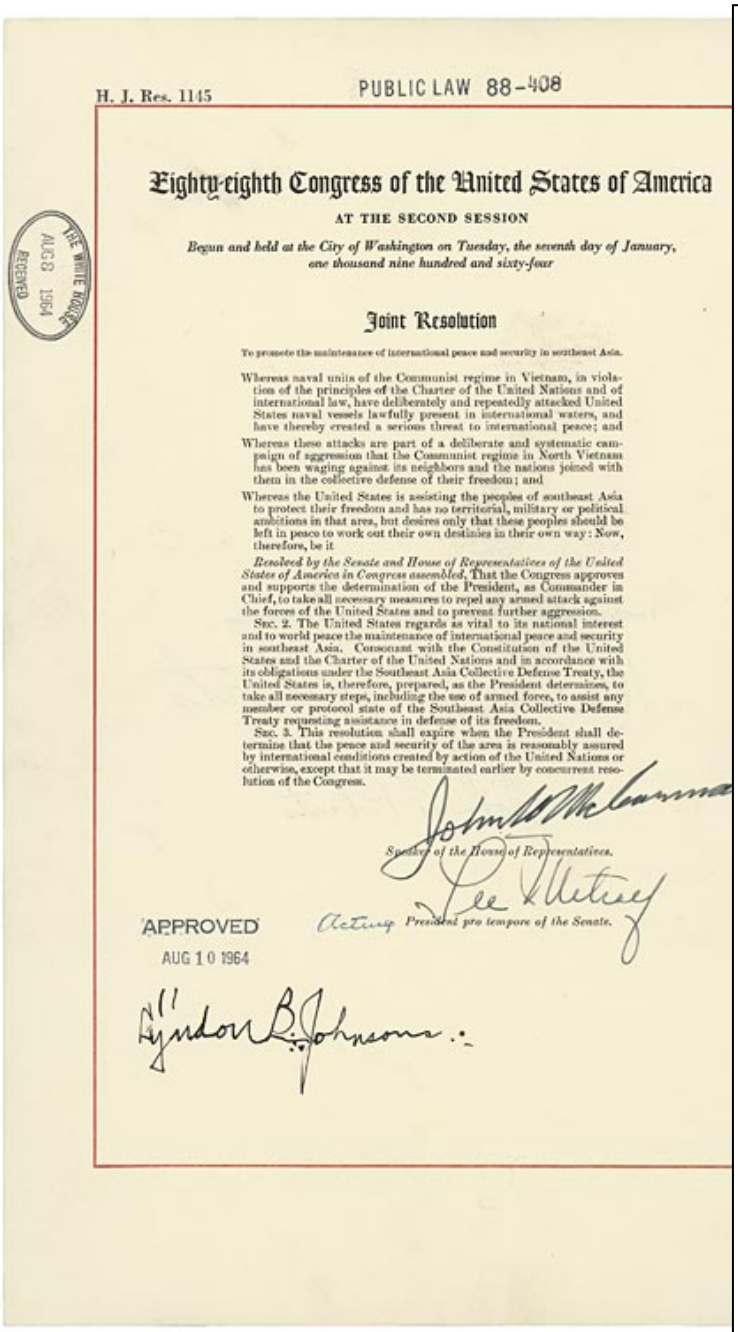
Johnson's Quote

"I knew from the start that I was bound to be crucified either way I moved. If I left the woman I really loved — the Great Society - in order to get involved in that _itch of a war on the other side of the world, then I would lose everything at home. All my programs.... But if I left that war and let the Communists take over South Vietnam, then I would be seen as a coward and my nation would be seen as an appeaser and we would both find it impossible to accomplish anything for anybody anywhere on the entire globe."

Quoted in Kearns, Doris. "U.S. president. Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream," ch. 9, p. 251, Harper and Row (1976).

Isserman, Maurice and John S. Bowman. America at War: Vietnam War. p 52.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=D7aVYALtKgMC&pg=PA52&lpg=PA52&dq=I+knew+from+the+start+that+I+was+bound+to+be+crucified+either+way+I+moved.+If+I+left+the+woman+I+really+loved+—+the+Great+Society+-+in+order+to+get+involved+in+that+bitch+of+a+war+on+the+other+side+of+the+world,+then+I+would+lose+everything+at+home.+All+my+programs....+But+if+I+left+that+war+and+let+the+Communists+take+over+South+Vietnam,+then+I+would+be+seen+as+a+coward+and+my+nation+would+be+seen+as+an+appeaser+and+we+would+both+find+it+impossible+to+accomplish+anything+for+anybody+anywhere+on+the+entire+globe&source=bl&ots=51jrIpO1r_&sig=kTgHz4ZWCyon5Oow2dSRJi9-mhg&hl=en>.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution



H. J. Res. 1145 PUBLIC LAW 88-408

Eighty-eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday, the seventh day of January, one thousand nine hundred and sixty-four

Joint Resolution

To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Whereas these attacks are part of a deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these peoples should be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

SEC. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

SEC. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Acting President pro tempore of the Senate.

APPROVED
AUG 10 1964

Lyndon B. Johnson

RECEIVED AUG 13 1964 THE WHITE HOUSE

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Our Documents. National Archives and Records Administration. 30 January 2014 <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/print_friendly.php?page=transcript&doc=98&title=Transcript+of+Tonkin+Gulf+Resolution+%281964%29>.

Transcript of Tonkin Gulf Resolution (1964)
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Whereas these attackers are part of deliberate and systematic campaign of aggression that the Communist regime in North Vietnam has been waging against its neighbors and the nations joined with them in the collective defense of their freedom; and

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protest their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these people should be left in peace to work out their destinies in their own way: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

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Why was the United States in Vietnam?

During the Spring of 1965, shortly after President Lyndon Johnson initiated a policy of bombing North Vietnam and stepping up ground action in the South, Time magazine published an editorial defending the President's moves. Entitled "Viet Nam: The Right War at the Right Time," the essay appeared in response to a chorus of criticism that erupted on college campuses, objecting to the war on pragmatic grounds - that the United States could not win or need not win in order to safeguard its interests - and for ethical reasons.

Time asserted that the United States was morally right to intervene in the war because it was necessary to contain the expansion of the Sino-Soviet bloc; to fulfill American treaty obligations (including bilateral agreements with South Vietnam and the terms of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) pact); to protect a pro-western country from armed totalitarian attack; and to defend American national honor and credibility. Invoking the so-called "domino theory," which held that the loss of South Vietnam would lead inevitably to the loss of neighboring countries, Time described South Vietnam as a vital buffer state necessary to halt communist expansion.

It called North Vietnam a "Peking satellite," and claimed that after winning all of Vietnam, communists "inevitably...would seek domination of the whole area." Since the early nineteenth century, Time said, the United States had grown to a major Pacific maritime power: "To surrender the Pacific to China now makes no more sense than surrendering it to Imperial Japan would have in 1941."

The war's critics rejected these arguments, insisting that American involvement in Vietnam was not justified either on the grounds of vital national interest or strong moral imperative. Where Time claimed that American intervention was justified because the conflict had been caused by foreign aggression from North Vietnam, anti-war critics maintained that the struggle in Vietnam was essentially a civil war in which the United States had no right to intervene.

They noted that Vietnam had been one country until it was temporarily divided by the Geneva Accords of 1954, which provided for general elections in 1956 to reunify the country and that it was the South Vietnamese President, Ngo Dinh Diem, who refused to honor that agreement. In addition, opponents of the war rejected that notion that the United States had any treaty obligation to defend South Vietnam, noting that back in 1955, when the SEATO pact was approved, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles informed Congress that in the event of communist subversion "all we have is an undertaking to consult together as to what to do about it."

The war's critics also rejected the notion that the war was necessary to halt Chinese expansionism, noting that Vietnamese history revealed centuries of bitter enmity between Vietnam and China. In contrast to the war's supporters, anti-war protesters did not regard the communist world as a monolithic bloc or (in Time's words) as "an international aggressive movement," and argued that the opposition to the South Vietnamese government was overwhelming indigenous, coming from citizens of South Vietnam.

Opponents of the war viewed the Viet Cong as a uneasy coalition of communists and nationalists and social revolutionaries seeking land reform, reunification, and expulsion of colonial powers from their land. Anti-war protests warned prophetically that the strength of Vietnamese nationalism - one of the strongest currents in modern Vietnamese history - would lead the opponents of the Saigon government to accept sacrifice and absorb losses far greater than the American public would tolerate.

Time and its critics also clashed over the question of whether the United States could successfully fight for democracy by supporting an undemocratic regime in South Vietnam. Time said "yes": "A democratic regime is hardly possible in a war-torn country without much democratic tradition," the magazine argued. "What the critics fail to admit is that even a bad non-Communist regime is usually subject to change, but once a Communist regime is established, it is virtually irreversible."

The war's critics said "no," and denounced American military tactics in Vietnam - such as the use of napalm (jellied gasoline), assassination, and defoliants - as immoral.

Questions to think about:

1. Evaluate the arguments advanced in favor and against American involvement in the Vietnam War.

2. Which arguments do you find most compelling?

Source: *Why was the United States in Vietnam?* Digital History. 30 January 2014 <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/topic_display.cfm?tcid=110>

How the national media lied about the Tet Offensive

By Leonard Magruder, Founder and President of Vietnam Veterans for Academic Reform and
Former professor of psychology - Suffolk College, N.Y.; Member: National Association of Scholars. March, 2002

The Tet Offensive was portrayed by the New York liberal media as a defeat for the U.S. In fact, as Westmoreland and all historians agree, an almost disastrous defeat for the North Vietnamese. Not only did they lose half of the 90,000 troops they had committed to battle, the Viet Cong was virtually destroyed.

Contrary to the expectations of the North, the people of the South took not one step to assist the invaders. Instead, they rose up in revulsion and resistance, with the government and the people galvanized into unity for the first time and volunteers for the South Vietnamese army almost doubling.

In the U.S., the following facts were made clear by the Tet Offensive: that the war was not just a "civil war;" that the South clearly did not wish to live under Communist rule and welcomed American aid; and that it was the North Vietnamese who were engaged in "genocide" and "aggression" with the mass murders at Hue and the rocket attacks on helpless civilian populations. This should have ended the arguments of the "peace" movement. It was the moment of truth for those in the universities and the media. They failed the test. The lying continued with renewed fury.

The New York media, recognizing an opportunity to manipulate the news to effectively impose its view of the war on the American people now created and deliberately sustained, an image of "disaster," even in the face of incoming battlefield reports that contradicted that image. This image was taken seriously by advisors to President Johnson, totally altering the outcome of the war at the very moment when victory might have been possible. The liberal media robbed the United States government and the American people of the ability to make critical judgments about their most vital security interests in a time of war.

The true reason for the tragic change in policy after the Tet Offensive is seen in what Johnson now told Westmoreland. Johnson claimed that to pursue the war more aggressively was politically unfeasible, that he had "no choice but to try to calm the protestors lest they precipitate an abject American pull-out." (America in Vietnam, Levy, l978). In one of the most incredible phenomenon in the history of warfare, there was no logical connection between what was actually happening in Vietnam and response on the home front, thanks to the media. The response to victory was despair. This is what the media calls the "psychological victory," which they themselves created.

And to their everlasting shame, the "peace" movement responded to any hint of success by American forces at Tet with panic, fearing that their own country might win the war. As presidential candidate George McGovern said to Vietnam Vet and former Sec. of the Navy James Webb, "What you don't understand is that I didn't want us to win that war." (American Enterprise Mag. May/June l997)

The April-June l986 edition of The National Vietnam Veteran's Review had a front-page article (with photo) titled "Professor Calls for Congressional Investigation of Media's Treatment of the Vietnam War." During that period Mr. Magruder had distributed a "Request to Congress" calling for a Congressional investigation into how it came about that a major American victory had been reported to the American people as a defeat. The request was supported by twelve large Vietnam veteran organizations, and General Westmoreland. As stated in the N.V.V.R. article, "General Westmoreland, who has already made one call to the Steering Committee, stated publicly this week, "Professor Magruder's project is an extremely important issue and I support his efforts l00%."

Copies of the material Mr. Magruder sent to Congress were distributed to news organizations throughout the National Press Building in Washington, but no mention of it ever appeared in print. The media has always tried to dismiss the charge of having lied about the Tet Offensive as a right-wing fantasy, but in his material distributed to Congress Mr. Magruder quoted from 21 standard histories and commentaries on the Vietnam War, as follows:

- **"The enemy has been hurt badly he committed a total of about 84,000 men. He lost 40,000 killed." (Report of General Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on the Tet Offensive. Feb. 27, l968) (Note: the allies lost 927. This is the disaster for the North Vietnamese that CBS called a "stalemate.")**

- **"The war still could have been brought to a favorable end following the defeat of the enemy's Tet Offensive. But this was not to be. Press and television had created an aura, not of victory, but defeat. (A Soldier Reports- General William Westmoreland)**

- **"Newsmen countered official claims of a Communist defeat by saying that even if it were true (which they refused to accept as they did the official account of enemy losses) the communists had achieved a psychological victory. (The Vietnam War - an international panel of historians)**

- **"COSVN, Viet Cong Headquarters, in its internal report #6, March l968, admitted the Tet Offensive had been a failure. "We failed to seize a number of primary objectives. We also failed to hold the occupied areas. In the political field we failed to motivate the people to stage uprisings."(The Magruder Expose - Leonard Magruder)**

- **"Jack Fern of NBC suggested to producer Robert Northfield that NBC do a documentary showing that Tet was indeed a decisive military victory for the United States. "We can't," said Northfield, "Tet is already established in the public mind as a defeat." (Between Fact and Fiction - Edward J. Epstein)**

- **"The Tet Offensive proved catastrophic to our plans. It is a major irony of the Vietnam War that our propaganda transformed this debacle into a brilliant victory. The truth was that Tet cost us half our forces. Our losses were so immense that we were unable to replace them with new recruits."(Truong Nhu Tang - Minister of Justice - Viet Cong Provisional Revolutionary Government - The New York Review, Oct. 21, l982)**

- **"Though it was an overwhelming victory for South Vietnam and the United States, the almost universal theme of media coverage was that we had suffered a disastrous defeat. The steady drumbeat of inaccurate stories convinced millions of Americans that we had lost a major battle." (No More Vietnams - Richard Nixon)**

When does this inquiry begin? The last four years of the war, the lives lost, and the final abandonment by the U.S. of the peoples of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, were prices paid to indulge the tantrums of the campus 'peace' movement and the New York liberal media. America, through the lack of moral and intellectual sophistication of its liberal academics and journalists had succumbed to the most successful propaganda effort the world has ever seen. How the campus and the media lied about Vietnam is the one great trauma in the tissue of American history that has never been dealt with.

Adapted from: Magruder, Leonard. Vietnam Veterans for Academic Reform. March 2002. 30 January 2014 <http://www.i-served.com/v-v-a-r.org/VietnamAndTheMedia_part03.html>.

Rock and Roll in the 1960s

Directions: Read the essay below and listen to the music links embedded in the document. Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- What issues concerned young people?
- How were these issues reflected in the music?
- What pictures do these songs paint of American society in the 1960s?

Introduction

The break between the music of the 1950s and the 1960s is imprecise. A reasonable way of "dating" the 1960s is with the "British invasion" of American music. This refers to the numerous British groups, admirers and emulators of American rock and roll, who broke into the U.S. market during the early 1960s. The Beatles spearheaded the invasion of British musicians. The "end" of the 1960s actually extends into the early years of the 1970s with, according to many, the rise of "disco" music.

Part I
The Beatles & The British Invasion

The Beatles made their American debut on The Ed Sullivan Show on Sunday, February 9, 1964 (at 8 PM Eastern Time). In New York City, there were 50,000 requests for seats in the studio that held only 703 people. An estimated audience of 73 million television viewers watched the Beatles perform 5 songs and become the music rage of the United States.

She Loves You

Please Please Me

Once the public reception to the example of British rock was gauged, the gates to the television audience opened. Among the groups to appear on Ed Sullivan were

The Dave Clark Five, Glad All Over

The Kinks, Lola

The Rolling Stones, Honky Tonk Woman

Barry Gordy -- a one-time assembly line worker at Ford Motor Company -- founded a Detroit-based record company called Motown. By 1963, Motown became the most successful black-owned record company in the history of American music. Motown had a stable of vocal groups, songwriters, musicians. The productions were known for their "tight orchestrations and catchy lyrics" (Maurice Isserman & Michael Kazin, *American Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*, p.94). Motown was a complete operation that was "slick and methodical: aspiring stars took dance lessons from a tap artist and smoothed the rough edges of their ghetto upbringing with lessons in elegant table manners, vocabulary, and even the proper way to hold a cigarette" (p.93). Among the Motown Greats were:

The Temptations, Ain't Too Proud to Beg

The Four Tops, I Can't Help Myself

Martha Reeves & the Vandellas, Heat Wave and Dancing in the Street
Diana Ross & The Supremes, Stop in the Name of Love and You Can't Hurry Love

Part III
Classic Rock: The Sounds of the 1960s

Jefferson Airplane, Somebody to Love

Airplane's Grace Slick, White Rabbit

Jimi Hendrix, Wild Thing

Janis Joplin, Me & Bobby McGee

The Doors, Touch Me

The "culture of drugs" associated with rock and roll in the late 1960s is well-illustrated here --- Hendrix, Joplin, and the lead singer of the Doors, Jim Morrison, all died from drug overdoses.

Part IV
"Message Music"

Most themes found in rock and roll deal with love and relationships gone awry. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, cars and surfing were added to the mix. What distinguished music from the mid-1960s forward was the production of songs -- rock, folk, and blues -- with social or political messages. The music was an attempt to reflect upon the events of the time --- civil rights, the growing unrest over the war in Vietnam, and the rise of feminism. In many instances, the "message" within the song was simplistic or even banal. However, other songs received substantial airplay and became "anthems" at concerts, rallies, and demonstrations.

The Message through Folk Music

The most prominent artists to emerge from the folk tradition include Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Phil Ochs, and the trio known as Peter, Paul, and Mary.

Dylan, The Times They are A-Changing

Baez, One Tin Soldier

Phil Ochs, I Ain't Marching Anymore

Peter, Paul, and Mary, Blowin' in the Wind

The Message through Rock Music

In 1965, a relatively obscure artist, Barry McGuire hit the charts with a song that reflected the growing turmoil in the world. Note the reference to the Selma, Alabama (the site of "Bloody Sunday" in March of 1965). John Fogarty and his group, Credence Clearwater Revival, released the song Fortunate Son. The song later became one the "banner songs" on the soundtrack for the film Forrest Gump.

Barry McGuire, Eve of Destruction

Credence Clearwater Revival, Fortunate Son

One of the most prominent "message songs" was For What It's Worth by Buffalo Springfield. The song has been used in many documentaries and television specials that chronicle the 1960s. It is also on the soundtrack of two movies --- Forrest Gump and Born on the Fourth of July. The group included Steven Stills (who later formed Crosby, Stills, and Nash) as well as Neil Young (who frequently joined CSN and also formed the group Crazy Horse).

Buffalo Springfield, For What It's Worth

By the early 1970s, the Beatles had "broken up." Each member went on to success as a solo artist. The most political of the Beatles was John Lennon who became, in his words, an "activist for peace." His obviously over-idealistic song, Imagine, was perhaps his top selling single recording.

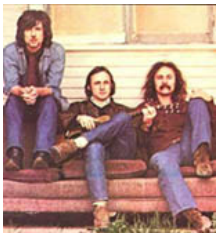
John Lennon, Imagine

A particular mixture of jazz, soul, and rhythm and blues is known as funk. One of the most prominent funk bands of the late 1960s and 1970s was Sly and the Family Stone. Their "message song," released in 1969, introduced a new phrase into society --- "different strokes for different folks."

Everyday People

There were numerous songs recorded about the war in Vietnam. One of the most prominent was by Country Joe McDonald and the Fish. The song became more famous when it was performed at Woodstock, a large 3-day rock concert held in update New York in the summer of 1970. See Country Joe, Feel Like I'm Fixing to Die (YouTube Video clip).

One of the most prominent groups of the 1960s and early 1970s was Crosby, Stills, and Nash. Each was a member of another prominent group before forming CSN. David Crosby played with the folk-rock group called the Byrds; Steven Stills was a member of Buffalo Springfield, and Graham Nash sang with the Hollies, one of the "British Invasion Groups." The group recorded two songs in response to political events. The first was "Chicago." The reference here is the trial of the "Chicago 7," seven anti-war activists indicted for their role in the demonstrations and police riots in downtown Chicago during the Democrat National Convention of 1968. One of the defendants, Bobby Seale, was disruptive in the court room and, as a result, was gagged and bound to chair during the trial. The second song, "Ohio," was written in response to the deaths of four students at Kent State University. The students were shot by Ohio National Guardsmen during an anti-war protest on the campus in May of 1970.



Chicago

Ohio

In 1972, an Australian born vocalist working for Capitol Records in the United States, wrote and recorded a song that would become an "anthem" for the women's movement, a movement that was just gaining public attention in these years.

Helen Reddy, I am Woman

Simon, Dennis. *"Rock and Roll in the 1960s". Political Science 4323: The Politics of Change in America. 2010.* 8 October 2011 <http://faculty.smu.edu/dsimon/change-music%2060s.html>.

Display Requirements for Anti-War Movement, Women's Movement, Feminism, Black Power Movement, Hippies, New Left, and Conservation Movement

Directions: Your task is to create a display that represents your assigned group from the 1960s. Your display must answer the following questions:

1. What ideas did your group raise about American society? What changes did they seek? How might one recognize people as belonging to this group?

2. What actions and activities did this group engage in to call attention to their cause?

3. What people disagreed with the group's ideas?

4. What short-term impact did the group have on American society and culture?

5. What long-term impact did the group have on American society and culture?

6. What happened to the movement? Does it still exist? In what form?

7. What did freedom or equality have to do with the cause championed by the group?

Display Requirements for Court Cases of Gideon v. Wainwright, Tinker v. Des Moines, and Miranda v. Arizona

Directions: Your task is to create a display that represents your assigned case from the 1960s. Your display must answer the following questions:

1. What were the facts surrounding the case?

2. What governmental actions did the case challenge? What issue did the court address?

3. What decision did the Court make in the case?

4. What groups supported the case? Why?

3. How did people respond to the Court's decision? Who agreed with the decision? What was their reasoning? Who disagreed with the decision? What was their reasoning?

4. What short-term impact did the case have on American society and culture?

5. What long term impact did the case have on American society and culture?

6. What did the case have to do with freedom and/or equality?

Resources for Display

Gideon v. Wainwright (1963)

- Overview - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Case.8.aspx
- Background Reading – http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Page.Landmark.Gideon.background.two.aspx
- Summary of the Decision - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Page.Landmark.Gideon.decision.summary.aspx

Tinker v. Des Moines (1969)

- Overview - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Case.10.aspx
- Background Reading - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Page.Landmark.Tinker.background.two.aspx
- Summary of the Decision - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Page.Landmark.Tinker.decision.summary.aspx

Miranda v. Arizona (1966)

- Landmark Cases. Overview - http://www.streetlaw.org/en/Case.9.aspx
- Background Reading - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Page.Landmark.Miranda.background.two.aspx
- Summary of the Decision - http://www.streetlaw.org//en/Page.Landmark.Miranda.decision.summary.aspx

Anti-War Movement

- The Anti-War Movement in the United States - http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/vietnam/antiwar.html
- Antiwar Movement, US History - http://www.ushistory.org/us/55d.asp
- Peace Movement of the 1060s - http://www.peace-now.org/the-peace-movement-of-the-1960s-a-catalyst-of-change/

Women's Movement

- Women's Liberation, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3339
- Sources of Discontent, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3340
- Feminism Reborn, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3341

Feminism

- Feminism Reborn, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3341
- Radical Feminism, Digital History – http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3342
- Growth of Feminist Ideology - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3343

Resources for Display

Black Power Movement

- Black Nationalism and Black Power, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3331
- Black Power Movement - http://law.jrank.org/pages/4776/Black-Power-Movement.html
- Biography of Malcolm X - http://www.biography.com/articles/Malcolm-X-9396195

Hippies

- Online Ariki Art - http://www.arikiart.com/Fashion/hippies-1960s.htm
- Mortal Journey - http://www.mortaljourney.com/2011/03/1960-trends/hippie-counter-culture-movement
- E- How – History of the Hippie Movement - http://www.ehow.com/about_5375320_history-hippie-movement.html

New Left

- The New Left, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3337
- Yippies - http://www.trincoll.edu/classes/hist300/yippies.htm
- Yippies - http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/chicago10/yippies.html
- Harvard's New Left - http://www.thecrimson.com/article/1966/6/3/sds-harvards-new-left-feels-underprivileged-in/

Conservation Movement

- The Earth First, Digital History - http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3350
- CNN - http://articles.cnn.com/2008-12-10/tech/history.environmental.movement_1_fierce-green-fire-american-environmental-movement-philip-shabecoff?_s=PM:TECH

Additional resources can be found at Digital History -- Guided Readings: America in Ferment: The Tumultuous 1960s located at: http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/

Analyzing Fragmentation in American Society

1. Did any of the groups or court cases conflict with one another? Explain.

2. Which group or court case was most in line with core American values? Explain.

3. Which group or court case was least in line with core American values? Explain.

4. Which group or court case do you think has had the least significant impact on American society? Why?

5. Which group or court case has had the biggest impact on contemporary American society?

Thesis Development Worksheet

What makes a good thesis statement? As we already know, a thesis statement is our argument in the essay, the opinion that we are trying to prove. But what distinguishes a good one from a not-so-good one? Let's look at a few things…

See the grading rubric for our thesis statements (below). Let's take a look at what these explanations mean. Read the examples below that respond to the question "What makes Frederick Douglass's autobiography an effective, persuasive narrative?"

Approaches standards:
Example: "Frederick Douglass wrote a persuasive piece because of his language, imagery, and content in the book."

What makes this statement "approach standards"? This thesis:

- Answers the question accurately
- Addresses the various aspects of the argument (language, imagery & content)
- Asserts an idea that can be reasonably proved in a 5-7 paragraph essay.

Now let's improve that thesis:

Meets standards:
Example: "Interesting content combined with clear language and strong metaphors make Frederick Douglass's autobiography a persuasive one."

What makes this statement "meets standards"? This thesis:

- Answers the question accurately
- Addresses the various aspects of the argument (language, imagery & content)
- Asserts an idea that can be reasonably proved in a 5-7 paragraph essay.

and

- It provides more "thoughtful analysis" of the topic (because of its assertions of "interesting content," "clear language" and "strong metaphors.")

Now let's improve that thesis even more:

Exceeds standards:
Example: "Repeated Christian imagery, vivid language, and an almost scientific attention to details make Frederick Douglass's autobiography a gripping abolitionist statement."

What makes this statement "exceed standards"? This thesis:

- Answers the question accurately
- Addresses the various aspects of the argument (language, imagery & content)
- Asserts an idea that can be reasonably proved in a 5-7 paragraph essay.

and

- There are more self-generated ideas in here. (The author talks about "Christian imagery" and "vivid language" with a "scientific attention to details." These descriptors require more deep and complex analysis of the written work. Moreover, they show that the reader has come up with some interesting ideas of her/his own to discuss in the essay.)

Now it's your turn:

Directions: Write your thesis or the thesis of a classmate in the space below (#1). Then rank it (#2) according to the rubric above and explain why you chose that evaluation (#3). Finally, tweak or improve the rubric to make it a bit more deep and complex (#4).

1. Sample thesis:

2. Evaluation: Exceeds standards Meets standards Approaches standards

3. Why did you choose that evaluation?

4. Now, improve the thesis to make it more complex.

Focus Question #2:

How and why was America divided in the 1960s?

Sample Thesis Statement

Different views on the role of government in response to economic and racial inequality and the Vietnam War resulted in increased violence and tension in American society.

Events of 1968 that exemplified how America was divided in the 1960s:

- **Increasing anti-war sentiment in response to the Tet Offensive**
- **1966-67 urban riots**
- **The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**
- **The assassination of Robert F. Kennedy**
- **Johnson's decision not to run for re-election**
- **The 1968 Democratic Convention**
- **Nixon elected president**

Supporting a Claim

1. My Assigned Event: _____

2. Information Gathered about my Event:

3. Based on your team's investigation, what claim can your team make to support the thesis?

4. Explain how the evidence supports the claim.

5. Acknowledge and refute an alternative explanation or contradictory evidence.

Historical Argument Map Template

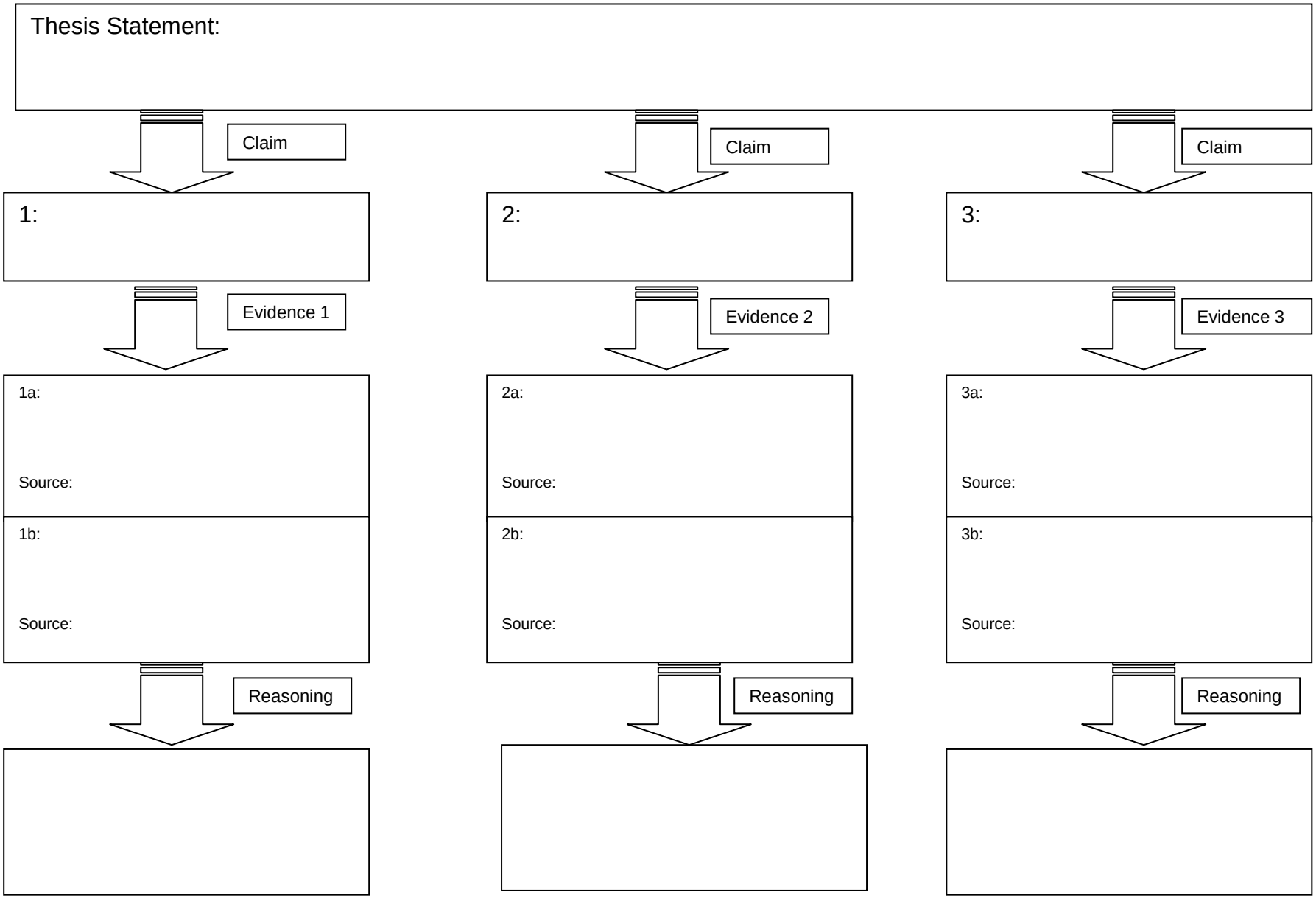
Question: How did Americans reshape ideas of freedom and equality after World War II?

You need to frame the problem considering evidence of all types (including opposing viewpoints and evidence). Also, remember to use language appropriate to writing history (i.e. use past tense, third person, active voice, avoid slang and personal opinions).

Thesis Statement: An argument or claim that clearly and directly responds to all aspects of the prompt; establishes context and defines terms; acknowledges complexity and analytic tension; and is a roadmap which identifies the sub theses that will be used to substantiate the thesis.

Claim1: An argument or claim, which persuasively substantiates the overall thesis.	Claim 2: An argument or claim, which persuasively substantiates the overall thesis.	Claim 3: An argument or claim, which persuasively substantiates the overall thesis.
Evidence 1	Evidence 2	Evidence 3
1a: Fact or reference used as evidence to substantiate claim Source:	2a: Fact or reference used as evidence to substantiate claim Source:	3a: Fact or reference used as evidence to substantiate claim Source:
1b: Fact or reference used as evidence to substantiate claim Source:	2b: Fact or reference used as evidence to substantiate claim Source:	3b: Fact or reference used as evidence to substantiate claim Source:
Reasoning	Reasoning	Reasoning
An explanation of how the evidence supports the claim. Acknowledge and refute an alternative explanation or contradictory evidence.	An explanation of how the evidence supports the claim. Acknowledge and refute an alternative explanation or contradictory evidence.	An explanation of how the evidence supports the claim. Acknowledge and refute an alternative explanation or contradictory evidence.

Historical Argument Map Student Handout: Use the following template to construct an historical argument.



Peer Review Checklist

1. Thesis statement:

a. Is it clear?

b. Does it answer the question accurately?

c. Does it address the various aspects of the argument?

d. Does it assert an idea that can be reasonably proved in a 5-7 paragraph essay?

c. Does it contain self-generated ideas?

2. Claims:

a. Are they identified in the thesis statement?

b. Is each claim supported by evidence?

3. Evidence:

a. Does the evidence support the claim?

b. Is the evidence corroborated by the use of more than one source?

c. Are the sources identified?

4. Reasoning:

a. Is there an explanation of how the evidence supports the claim?

b. Is there an acknowledgement and refutation of an alternative explanation or contradictory evidence?