Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Crowd of depositors gather in the rain outside Bank of United States after its failure. 1931. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3c17261/.

The photo features the magnitude of the depression, how it affected so many people that there was finally a change in President Hoover's laissez-faire policies and promoting interventionist New Deal type of policy.

De Marsico, Dick, photographer. *The fatal shooting of Powell stirred Negro rioters to race through Harlem streets carrying pictures of Lt. Gilligan*. 1964. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c36895/.

This photo demonstrated the civil unrest present in the 1960s, despite being the decade when the Civil Rights Action was most active and reforms both legislative and economically. I used to compare and contrast with the later riots, which demonstrated an incompetency in the Great Society to address these social issues despite what it claimed, at least according to some.

Fernandez, Orlando, photographer. *[Quiz show "21" host Jack Barry turns toward contestant Charles Van Doren as fellow contestant Vivienne Nearine looks on]*. 1957. Photograph. Library of Congress. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c26813.

This was simply a photo of a quiz show with an advertisement on it. The special thing about this was it represented the consumerism and prosperity America was experiencing the 1950s, until it turned to the 1960s and experienced the series of

reforms.

Head-Start Programs. Photograph. Cleveland Memory Project, Cleveland State University Library Special Collections. https://clevelandhistorical.org/files/show/3683.

A photo of Head Start Programs then. Again, notice how then most who attended were African-Americans.

Johnson, Lyndon B. and King, Martin Luther. "LBJ, King, and the Watts Revolt." Audio file, August 20, 1965. The LBJ Telephone Tapes Library. http://lbjtapes.org/conversation/lbj-king-and-watts-revolt.

A tape that demonstrated the similar interest in goals, or the common idea of liberalism then. LBJ believed that providing economic opportunity and relief, as well as MLK, would help end the centuries old racial injustice through economic means.

Lange, Dorothea, photographer. *Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California*. March 1936. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/fsa.8b29516/.

This photo of a destitute woman during the Great Depression demonstrated the distraught state of many American workers at that time. It was a perspective that allowed me to glimpse into the coming of the New Deal.

Lange, Dorothea, photographer. *People living in miserable poverty, Elm Grove, Oklahoma County, Oklahoma*. August 1936. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3c29107/.

Another photo of the Great Depression that demonstrated how people were affected.

LBJ and Martin Luther King, Jr. in Oval Office. January 1963. Photograph. LBJ Presidential Library. https://www.lbjlibrary.org/object/photo/lbj-and-martin-luther-king-jr-oval-office.

A photo of LBJ's once cooperation with MLK.

Mathosian, Mark. *Levittown early 1950's*. June 2008. Photograph. Flickr. https://www.flickr.com/photos/markgregory/7651774934/.

Levittown carried a special sense of conformity in the 1950s, which was repealed in the 1960s and thus drove an incentive to change and to reform.

O'Halloran, Thomas J., photographer. *Neighborhood Youth Corps, Newark, N.J.* February 1965. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.49857/.

There were actually two things I see from this photograph. One, the actual establishment of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and giving them jobs. But two, a lack of enthusiasm and also how both boys shown in the picture were African-Americans demonstrate part of the problem. Poverty was only relieved for a few, and many times it was connected to race that it alienated feelings between different people.

Stoughton, Cecil W. *Signing of the Poverty Bill*. August 1964. Photograph. LBJ Library, via Wikimedia. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Signing_of_the_Poverty_Bill.jpg.

A photo taken simply showing that the Poverty Bill was enacted.

U.S Congress. *An Act to mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States*. 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 78 Stat. 508. https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/STATUTE-78/STATUTE-78-Pg508/summary.

The Economic Opportunity Act, that described Job Corps, VISTA, Community Action Programs and multiple others. It established the central dogma of LBJ's reform, economic opportunity and reform to decentralize the efforts.

Wolfson, Stanley, photographer. *[Police in Harlem standing on the street with guns drawn and pointing upwards during the July 1964 race riots]*. 1964. Photograph. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c36928/.

Intimidation by Police Officers usually indicate an era of civil unrest. This was typically of the 1960s.

"Gee, Sam, couldn't we cut out the muddle man?," Digital Public Library of America, https://dp.la/item/f610159df886522d48580ad17fd04aac.

This sardonic cartoon was aimed to criticize how the Office of Economic Opportunity spent most of its funds on bureaucratic expenses instead of actually being efficient. Efficient or not in reality, President Johnson certainly was dissatisfied with it.

Secondary Sources

"26. The Affluent Society." In *The American Yawp: A Massively Collaborative Open U.S. History Textbook, Vol. 2: Since 1877*, edited by Joseph L. Locke and Ben Wright. Stanford: Stanford University Press. https://www.americanyawp.com/text/26-the-affluent-society/#V_Gender_and_Culture_in_the_Affluent_Societyhttps://www.life.com/history/jfk-classic-photos-of-an-american-political-icon-1947-1963/.

This is an excellent textbook elaborating the overall trends happening in each decade. For my purpose, it gave me contextualization as to how the Great Society came to be, which was contrasted with New Deal constantly because the latter responded to a depression while the former responded to an economic boom.

Alterman, Eric. "How Classical Liberalism Morphed Into New Deal Liberalism." American Progress. Last modified 2012. Accessed January 19, 2023. https://www.americanprogress.org/article/think-again-how-classical-liberalism-morphed-into-new-deal-liberalism/.

This article described briefly the difference between pre-New Deal liberalism and post- New Deal liberalism.

"America - Newark Riots (1967)". Video file. YouTube. Posted by Britishpathe, April 13, 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2n0e3_vD-xE.

This video was intended to contrast with the Watts Riot.

Bailey MJ, Duquette NJ. "How Johnson Fought the War on Poverty: The Economics and Politics of Funding at the Office of Economic Opportunity." J Econ Hist. 2014

Jun;74(2):351-388. doi: 10.1017/s0022050714000291. PMID: 25525279; PMCID: PMC4266933.

This dissertation that actually quantitatively analyzes if the Great Society, specifically the War on Poverty programs, were funding adequately as it was said. And turned out, that even though there were deviations, overall the OEO kept to its word and funding went to the areas with more poverty, though with noticeable difference in Southern and Northern states (Southern states, despite having a great many that lived in poverty, received overall less funding). It also included in its literature reviews from the start, the opinions of many other dissertations on the issue of the political maneuverings of the OEO, including acknowledging that it was considered overall to be a failure (contrary to its quantitative findings) and that it was an increase on federal power since it circumvented the state and local governments. However, the funding also reflected that it helped whom it wanted to help – the poverty groups, so this radical decentralization exhibited by the ideologies of many in the OEO actually worked to a certain extent. Quite interesting.

Coleman, James S. Equality of Educational Opportunity (COLEMAN) Study (EEOS), 1966. Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2007-04-27. https://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR06389.v3

The Coleman Report supported integration, one of the fundamental ideas of liberalism then, but discredited all the efforts for education in the Great Society, as it was shown to have minimal correlation with actual performance of students.

Cokeley, Grant. “Number of TV Households in America 1950-1978.” The American Century. Accessed January 20, 2023. https://americancentury.omeka.wlu.edu/items/show/136.

This particular chart demonstrating the leap from less than 10% to over 90% demonstrated how America was in an economic boom and somewhat peace in the 1950s, which provided the background for future wants to reform.

Deparle, Nancy-Ann. “Making Medicare Stronger.” Obama White House Archives. Last modified 2012. Accessed January 24, 2023. https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2012/02/29/making-medicare-stronger.

Obamacare was even more relevant to the Great Society, as the article claimed, directly to “making Medicare Stronger”. Interesting how Medicare was into a majority of citizens lives despite the Great Society.

Friedman, Milton. New River Media interview by PBS. https://web.archive.org/web/20020808213817/http://www.pbs.org/fmc/interviews/friedman.htm.

Friedman was an economist that commented on the Great Society before, and seemed more assertive of laissez-faire instead of interventionist type of economy.

Geary, Daniel. “The Moynihan Report: An Annotated Edition.” *The Atlantic*, September 15, 2015. https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/09/the-moynihan-report-an-annotated-edition/404632/.

The entire report was included in this article. The Moynihan Report, quite

unscientifically I should say, how welfare disintegrates the social families of African-Americans and actually make them worse. Moynihan advocated for the pathology, to have the poor understand the reasoning to be not poor, which was the central idea in multiple programs mentioned in the "Indians, Liberalism…" dissertation, but they didn't work then.

Gewetz, Catherine. "Common Core Explained." *EducationWeek*, September 30, 2015. https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/the-common-core-explained/2015/09.

Common Core was one such liberal program that set up standards for grades across the nation.

Healy, Paul and Greene, Jerry. "President Lyndon B. Johnson outlines the goals of 'the Great Society' in his 1965 speech." *New York Daily News*, January 5, 1965. https://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/lbj-outlines-goals-great-society-1965-article-1.2064026.

This is a reprint of a 1965 newspaper now digitalized. This account demonstrated how the Great Society was intended to be like, with LBJ's vision, and gave me a baseline to evaluate how well did he actually achieve his goals.

Johnson, Lyndon B. "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress." Speech, November 27, 1963. The American Presidency Project. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-before-joint-session-the-congress-0.

Speech delivered to send the condolences for Kennedy's untimely death and to gain support to following domestic programs.

Johnson, Lyndon B. “Annual Message to Congress on the State of Union.” Speech, January 08, 1964 The American Presidency Project. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/annual-message-the-congress-the-state-the-union-25.

Determined the phrase “unconditional war on poverty”. Following Presidents would imitate this phrase.

Johnson, Lyndon B. “Remarks in Athens at Ohio University.” Speech, May 7, 1964. The American Presidency Project. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-athens-ohio-university.

This speech defined the Great Society.

Johnson, Lyndon B. “Remarks at the University of Michigan.” Speech, May 22,1964. The American Presidency Project. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-university-michigan.

This particular speech introduced the idea of “New Federalism”, a new way of decentralization LBJ wanted to explore with his Community Action Programs and the other welfare programs he had, like the Food Stamp Acts (but I didn’t have time to elaborate on this). It was his attempt at economic reform, but whether it worked was questionable.

Kennedy, John F. “The New Frontier.” Speech, Los Angeles, July 15, 1960. American Rhetoric. https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfk1960dnc.htm.

Kennedy’s New Frontier was an active front of governmental reforms, and arguably the Great Society was a continuation of that.

King, Martin Luther. “Statement Announcing the Poor People’s Campaign”. Civil Rights Movement Archive. https://www.crmvet.org/docs/6712_mlk_ppc-anc.pdf.

Martin Luther King’s advocate for economic opportunity and investment was the same throughout the course of LBJ’s presidency.

Report of the National Advisory Commission On Civil Disorders. [Washington: United States, Kerner Commission : U.S. G.P.O., 1968. https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/national-advisory-commission-civil-disorders-report.

Commonly called the Kerner Report, it was to study on the causes of race riots despite the many domestic programs enacted. It undermine the goals of the Great Society.

Riggs, Robert. “Indians, liberalism, and Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society, 1963-1969.” University of Colorado at Boulder ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 1997. https://www.proquest.com/openview/fe3f9c945dcea67e5656f50a4ea31adb/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y.

A dissertation that fully expand on Great Society and liberalism in every aspect in New Orleans. Multiple ideas were interesting, including how some welfare programs can be beneficial to all of society and became lasting and popular, in contrast to the Community Action Programs which were chaotic because alienation between different ethnic groups made the efforts very exclusive and not inclusive as they were planned to be.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. “The Four Freedoms.” Speech, Washington DC, January 6, 1941. American Rhetoric.

https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrthefourfreedoms.htm.

The very first establishment of the liberalism we know of today. Prior to the New Deal, liberalism was more connected to the protection against governmental abuses; after the New Deal, liberalism meant the active participation of government to protect individual freedoms, usually considered to be a choice.

Siegel, Fred. "The Forgotten Failures of the Great Society." Manhattan Institute. January 20, 2020. https://www.manhattan-institute.org/the-forgotten-failures-of-the-great-society.

Despite I never directly used this secondary resources, what this review mentions – including the historian Amity Shlaes, who is a classically conservative historian – is extremely helpful in finding why the Great Society is so chaotic and controversial when it ends. It is a biased source, but it leads me to the Kerner Commission Report and the Moynihan Report that all addresses some parts of the Great Society's problems, which is that it is not effective enough for liberalists. Some argued against the methods of it, like Moynihan, others argued it is not as radical, the government should spend more, like MLK, some simply concluded it was not effective, like the Kerner Commission Report. Meanwhile, conservatives attacked it as a waste of money. This gives me new thought as to why the Great Society was so deemed "unsuccessful", because LBJ was trying to have an economic reform and was actively using the government to do so – but it had satisfied no one, even without the foreign policies.

Tumulty, Karen and Elliot, Kennedy. "The Great Society at 50." The Washington Post,

May 17, 2014. https://www.washingtonpost.com/sf/national/2014/05/17/the-great-society-at-50/.

This was an article that summarized and list basically all Great Society programs.

U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Real disposable personal income [A067RX1A020NBEA], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. Accessed January 20, 2023. https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/A067RX1A020NBEA, January 25, 2023.

Statistics demonstrating the rise in household income during the 1950s, a time of economic boom.

U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Government current expenditures: Income security: Welfare and social services [G160371A027NBEA], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/G160371A027NBEA, January 25, 2023.

This graph demonstrate how America had proceeded as a welfare state, not turn back, despite the overall negativity directed towards the Great Society programs.

Warner, Robert Mark. *The Anatomy of a Speech: Lyndon Johnson's Great Society Address*. Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, 1978. https://bentley.umich.edu/exhibits/lbj1964/lbjspeech.pdf.

I found this document linked to a secondary source from the Bentley Historical Library. I did not read the contents instead, but used the primary source on page 4 of President Johnson delivering his Great Society speech at University of Michigan as one of the visuals for my website to show how he is like.

“Welfare Spending Analysis”. US Spending. Accessed January 24, 2023. https://www.usgovernmentspending.com/welfare_spending.

Again, the expansion of welfare reforms in the 1960s left its mark on America today, and it will be continuously advocated for in the liberal platform today.