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Annotated Bibliography for “Daisy Girl: Guilt or Gilt by Association”

Benham, Thomas W. “Polling for a Presidential Candidate: Some Observations on the 1964

Campaign.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2, Summer 1965, pp. 185-199. *Oxford Journals*, doi: 10.1086/267316.

The Vice President of the Opinion Research Corporation (ORC), Benham presents ORC opinion polls on voter perceptions of the two presidential candidates during the 1964 election. Only 17% of the poll takers perceived Goldwater as “warm and friendly,” strengthening the charge in Johnson’s “Daisy Girl” ad that the senator would attack civilians. Also, 44% of poll takers believed that Goldwater’s victory would increase the likelihood of a nuclear war, showing that many perceived Goldwater’s foreign policies as belligerent. Poll takers cited Goldwater’s worst quality as his “acting without thinking,” fearing that Goldwater’s off-the-cuff hyperboles would translate into impulsive decisions in the era of delicate, nuclear diplomacy.

Cummings, Milton C., Jr. *The National Election of 1964*. Brookings Institution, 1966.

An NBC news consultant for 15 years, Professor Cummings edits a volume of essays on diverse aspects of the 1964 election, including mass media coverage, the primary elections, and the political strategies of Johnson and Goldwater. Cummings argues that Goldwater’s insistence

on transferring nuclear weapons to the control of US military generals cemented the senator's image as an irresponsible maverick in Cold War diplomacy. Reinforcing his belligerent stance, Goldwater rejected diplomacy with the USSR for a more confrontational approach. Exploiting Goldwater's unpopular "pro-war" image, Lyndon B. Johnson made speeches to position himself as the antithesis of Goldwater, supporting "measure[s]...that will bring the world closer to peace" (60).

Diamond, Edwin, and Stephen Bates. *The Spot: The Rise of Political Advertising on Television*. 3rd ed., MIT Press, 1992.

New York University Professor Edwin Diamond and the Literary Editor of the *Wilson Quarterly*, Stephen Bates, illustrate the impact of television on past political strategy and discourse. The two argue that Johnson's "Daisy Girl" ad successfully impacted the audience by exploiting the advantages provided by the nascent television medium. Rejecting logical, direct appeals, such as talking heads and political speech clips, the ad's makers experimented instead with television's ability to use violent images and sounds to sway the audience's emotions. Also, Diamond and Bates argue that Goldwater's careful qualifications to the active deployment of nuclear bombs disappear in the "Daisy Girl" ad because the word "nuclear bomb" elicited such emotional responses from the audience. Emphasizing Johnson's focus and direct control over the production of the "Daisy Girl" ad, the two authors illustrate the crucial role the ad occupied in smearing Goldwater as a warmonger.

Dumbrell, John. *President Lyndon Johnson and Soviet Communism*. Manchester UP, 2004.

In his book, University of Leicester professor Dumbrell analyzes President Johnson's foreign policies with respect to the Soviet Union, the Vietnam War, and nuclear weapons. In the years leading up to the 1964 election, Dumbrell describes, Johnson's predecessor President Kennedy heightened public fears of atomic war by greatly increasing the U.S. nuclear weapon budget. Contributing to this atmosphere of fear, the Soviet and American governments expanded their ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile) program in the 1960s, introducing a faster, unstoppable method of sending warheads. U.S. newspaper reports of Soviet nuclear weapon achievements, Dumbrell argues, inspired public fear that the Kremlin generals would be confident enough with their military strength to begin a nuclear exchange.

Hamill, Pete. "When the Client is a Candidate." *The New York Times*, 25 Oct. 1964, [nyti.ms/2366VdY](https://www.nytimes.com/1964/10/25/archives/when-the-client-is-a-candidate.html).

Hamill, Editor-in-Chief of both the *New York Post* and *New York Daily Review*, details how political ads transformed into the main medium for political dialogue in 1964. Describing the extensive television news and magazine coverage of "Daisy Girl," Hamill demonstrates that many Americans considered the message of "Daisy Girl" fascinating and pertinent. Also, commenting on the uniquely high volume of mail in protest of "Daisy Girl," Hamill shows that Johnson's ad challenged the standards of propriety for political ads at the time. Appearing during a television movie, the "Daisy Girl" ad caught viewers unaware, convincing them that a nuclear war can occur at any time.

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction, and Democracy*. Oxford UP, 1992.

Director of the Annenberg Public Policy Center, Jamieson analyzes how negative attack ads on television assault the internal psyche of the audience. According to Jamieson, negative ads combine rapidly changing auditory and visual cues to overload the mind's ability to process incoming information. Jamieson argues that, unlike reading, which requires an extra layer of mental interpretation, these two processes channel directly into one's subconscious. Without their mental interpretation to screen against false claims, Jamieson posits, even relatively educated people are forced subconsciously to accept the ad's argument. Also, the authoritative narration of "Daisy Girl" convinced 1960s audiences that only one interpretation (pro-Johnson) was correct.

Lerner, Mitchell. "Vietnam and the 1964 Election: A Defense of Lyndon Johnson." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 4, Fall 1995, pp. 751-766. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/27551510.

Professor Lerner, a Modern American Political History professor, argues that Lyndon B. Johnson clearly articulated, in his 1964 campaign, his intention to send American troops into Vietnam. Lerner's claim is in spite of critics' charges that LBJ hid them in order to maintain his peace candidate image. However, Lerner concedes that Johnson is guilty of downplaying the Vietnam War, an issue that could have complicated Johnson's peace image. As referenced in the article, a 1964 Gallop poll states that most Americans did not see Vietnam as an important issue. Thus, the Goldwater ad's portrayal of the dire ramifications of Johnson's "directionless"

Vietnam failed to resonate with the audience. Throughout the 1964 campaign, Lerner reveals that Johnson delayed drastically increasing American troop strength in Vietnam to preserve the candidate's dovish position.

Mathews, Jeffrey J. "To Defeat a Maverick: The Goldwater Candidacy Revisited, 1963-1964." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, vol. 27, no. 4, Fall 1997, pp. 662-678. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/27551793.

In his essay for the *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Puget Sound Professor Mathews analyzes how Goldwater's foreign policy position damaged his election viability. Because of his unorthodox vote against the 1963 treaty banning above ground nuclear tests, Senator Goldwater substantiated his image as a recalcitrant who opposed any reduction in the nuclear brinkmanship with the USSR. However, although Goldwater's views toward foreign policy diverged most sharply with public opinion, Goldwater insisted on making this issue central in the campaign. The senator's strategy backfired, Mathews argues, because the public then proceeded to judge Goldwater based mainly on his "extremist" foreign views, instead of on other political issues.

Reilly, Edward J. *The 1960s*. Greenwood Press, 2003.

Rielly, English professor at St. Joseph's College of Maine, outlines and analyzes aspects of 1960s daily life, such as fashion, food, and political views. Analyzing a spike in private nuclear shelter purchases after 1961, Rielly suggests that the fear of a nuclear attack significantly increased in the years leading to the 1964 election. The explosion in the number of TV sets in American homes, from "fewer than four million" in the 1950s to "over fifty million" in the middle of the 1960s, showed that more Americans enjoyed access to graphic representation of

the news, facilitating the spread of violent, fear-inspiring images of Cold War events (39). Television coverage of events such as the 1963 self-immolation of the Buddhist monk, Thich Quang Duc, in protest to the Vietnam War, horrified American viewers and, Rielly claims, weakened their ability to keep a logical, impartial perspective on foreign affairs.

West, Darrell M. *Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns, 1952-2004*. 4th ed., Congressional Quarterly Press, 2005.

Director of the Taubman Center and the Center's Public Opinion Laboratory, Professor West analyzes the evolution of televised negative advertisement tactics, with an emphasis on ads used in the 2004 presidential election. West argues that the effectiveness of Johnson's revolutionary emphasis on negative televised ads helped create a spike in negative advertising. This surge helped negative ads to occupy a large percentage of ads used by future presidential candidates. By featuring ads with images of 9/11 terrorist Osama Bin Laden and wolves (enemies) circling "America," West observes, the Bush re-election team exploited fear appeals, arguing that Democratic candidate John Kerry's victory would precipitate a domestic terrorist invasion. These tactics drew many parallels to President Johnson's "Daisy Girl" ad, showing that emotional appeals to fear have integrated into Presidential campaign ads.