



UNIT

5

A Time of Upheaval

1954–1980

Why It Matters

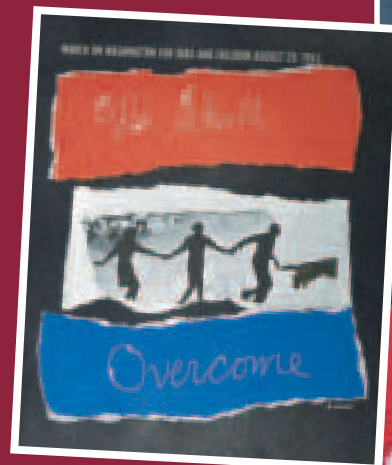
From a presidential assassination to massive governmental programs, from the Vietnam War to the civil rights movement, the post-World War II decades immensely affected the lives of Americans. The nation struggled to put its social and political ideals into practice while fighting military wars overseas and social wars at home. Understanding how these events unfolded provides a window to the world you live in today. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 978–979 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 5.



Use the American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM to find additional primary sources about imperialism and progressivism.



Poster from the March on Washington

Mural on building in Davenport, Iowa





“What we won when all of our people united . . . must not now be lost in suspicion, distrust, selfishness, and politics. . . .”

—Lyndon Johnson, 1968





CHAPTER 15

1961–1968 The New Frontier and the Great Society

Big Ideas

SECTION 1: The New Frontier

Societies change over time. John F. Kennedy encountered both success and setbacks on the domestic front.

SECTION 2: JFK and the Cold War

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. As president, John F. Kennedy had to confront the challenges and fears of the Cold War.

SECTION 3: The Great Society

Societies change over time. Lyndon Johnson greatly expanded Kennedy's agenda with far-reaching social and economic programs.



The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 15 video, "A New Frontier: The Space Race," explores the dramatic history of the American space program.



April 1961
• Bay of Pigs invasion

Kennedy
1961–1963

December 1961
• Presidential Commission on the Status of Women created

October 1962
• Cuban missile crisis



November 1963
• Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon Johnson becomes president

June 1963
• Kennedy visits Berlin Wall

L. Johnson
1963–1969

1960

1962

1964



1959
• Cuban revolution brings Castro to power

April 1961
• Eichmann goes on trial for crimes against Jews

August 1961
• Construction of Berlin Wall begins

1964
• South Africa's Nelson Mandela sentenced to life in prison



President John F. Kennedy at his inaugural ball in 1961

July 1965

- Congress establishes Medicare and Medicaid programs

October 1966

- Fair Packaging and Labeling Act passed

March 1968

- Lyndon Johnson announces that he will not run for re-election



1966

1966

- Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister of India

1968

1968

- Student riots paralyze France

HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 15** to preview chapter information.

Preparing to Read Chapter 15

Reading Skill

Synthesizing

Good readers look for patterns of information to understand relationships between and among ideas. This information often emerges over the course of many pages of text. When you locate information from more than one place in a text and then use it together to understand and interpret the text, you are synthesizing.

One step in synthesizing is to organize the information in order to make comparisons and draw conclusions. You should look for patterns that help you identify major themes and draw conclusions about the material. You should also look for summary paragraphs that explain relationships between events, ideas, and concepts. These summary paragraphs help you to synthesize the information that was discussed in previous paragraphs or pages.

Read the following sentences and discuss with a partner patterns in the decisions of the Warren Court.

In a decision that helped to promote the principle of “one man, one vote,” the Warren Court required state legislatures to reapportion electoral districts so that all citizens’ votes would have equal weight. (p. 710)

[I]n *Escobedo v. Illinois*, the justices ruled that a suspect must be allowed access to a lawyer and must be informed of his or her right to remain silent before being questioned by the police. (p. 710)

The Court applied the First Amendment to the states in *Engel v. Vitale* (1962). In this ruling, the Court decided that states could not compose official prayers and require those prayers to be recited in state public schools. (p. 711)

You should notice that each of these sentences cite a specific Supreme Court ruling that grants certain rights or forbids limits on those rights. After your discussion, read the following sentence.

From the political arena to the legal system to people’s everyday lives, the Warren Court indeed left its imprint on the nation. (p. 711)

Authors often provide summary statements or paragraphs, such as the one above, to help you synthesize information. Does this summary statement confirm your conversation? If so, you have used synthesis in your reading.

Apply the Skill

As you read Section 2 of this chapter, note the main themes mentioned. Then write a brief summary statement. Review the section to see if you can find sentences similar to your summary statement.

SYNTHESIZING

Read the headings for passages to get clues on what you should focus.

Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View As you read history texts, you should learn how to identify bias and prejudice in historical interpretations.

What do you think when you hear the word *bias*? The term is sometimes used to express strong negative opinions. It is often paired with the words *prejudice* or *racism*. The word *bias* can also be used to describe a strong positive opinion. Imagine a friend setting you up on a date with his or her cousin. While there might be some things about the cousin your friend may not like, your friend is likely biased and will focus on the positive aspects of your date.

Historians are concerned about bias and prejudice because they want to prevent a one-sided account of an issue or event. To avoid personal bias, historians research information from many sources to broaden their point of view. Then, they support their point of view with evidence, such as references to facts, examples, and historical parallels. This allows historians to keep their biases in check.

At the same time, you as the reader should be aware that historians, like all other people, hold specific views. You should learn to identify any bias and prejudice that may be present in any interpretation of historical events these authors present. You should also realize that when you read quotes, the people who are cited have a specific background and reason for the words they have said. When you interpret their words, you need to keep this background information in mind.

Read the following quote by Pierre Salinger, President John F. Kennedy's press secretary, describing Kennedy's charisma.

"None of us will ever have a better job as long as we live. . . . The big *plus*—the fringe benefit that made it all worthwhile—was JFK himself. . . ." (p. 707)

As you read this quote, consider the source. Why might Mr. Salinger describe his work the way he did? What biases could Mr. Salinger possess? What might have created these biases?

Apply the Skill

As you read this chapter, you'll find several quotes from people who lived during this time. Consider the source of each. What biases might these people hold? How are these biases expressed in the quote?





SECTION 1

The New Frontier

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned about the economic and social changes that occurred during the 1950s. In this section, you will discover how the country viewed President Kennedy's domestic agenda and the Warren Court.

Main Idea

- John F. Kennedy won the first media-dominated presidential election. (p. 705)
- With Kennedy's election, a youthful and enthusiastic First Family entered the White House. (p. 706)

- Despite an uneasy relationship with Congress, Kennedy managed to get several parts of his domestic agenda passed. (p. 707)
- Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court took a more activist role. (p. 709)

Content Vocabulary

missile gap, reapportionment, due process

Academic Vocabulary

medium, reside, arbitrary

People and Terms to Identify

New Frontier, Earl Warren

Reading Objectives

- **Summarize** Kennedy's economic policies.
- **Explain** why Congress often did not support Kennedy's proposals.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the presidency of John F. Kennedy, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the domestic successes and setbacks of Kennedy's administration.

Successes	Setbacks



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.8.4 Analyze new federal government spending on defense, welfare, interest on the national debt, and federal and state spending on education, including the California Master Plan.

11.10.2 Examine and analyze the key events, policies, and court cases in the evolution of civil rights, including *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, and California Proposition 209.

11.10.7 Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

11.11.2 Discuss the significant domestic policy speeches of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton (e.g., with regard to education, civil rights, economic policy, environmental policy).

11.11.3 Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. President Kennedy won the first media-dominated presidential campaign, which focused on issues such as the economy and the Cold War. The new First Family captivated the country. Many were taken with the president's youth and optimism. Despite Kennedy's charm, however, Congress did not approve many of his domestic programs. The president was able to improve the nation's economy and advance women's rights. The Warren Court, however, had an even more powerful impact on the United States.



The Election of 1960

Main Idea John F. Kennedy won the first media-dominated presidential election.

Reading Connection Have you ever watched a televised debate or debated a topic? Read on to learn about the first major election influenced by the media.

The television debates of the 1960 presidential election had an enormous impact. Following the first debate, the media focused more strongly on the appearance of the candidates. Suddenly the whole country seemed to have become experts on makeup and television lighting. One Republican leader even wondered if the Democrats had supplied Nixon's makeup.

★ An American Story ★

On September 26, 1960, at 9:30 P.M. eastern standard time, streets all across the United States grew strangely still. An estimated 75 million people sat indoors, focused on their television sets, where they saw two men standing behind lecterns. One was John F. Kennedy, and the other was Richard M. Nixon.

For the first time, thanks to the wonders of television, two presidential candidates were coming right into the nation's living rooms to debate. Americans were enthralled: "You hear each man directly," observed one. "There's nothing between you and what he says," added another. "You can see which man gets rattled easily."

The man who seemed to get rattled easily was Nixon. Kennedy, the Democratic nominee, looked healthy, strong, and confident. Nixon, the Republicans' choice, came across as tired and frazzled. "He appeared ill," one viewer commented. In fact, Nixon had been ill recently. Kennedy had a glowing tan, while Nixon's face was pale and drawn, shadowed by the stubble of a beard. As one observer noted, "Nixon's eyes darted around, perspiration was clearly noticeable on his chin, and with the tight shots . . . these things were more obvious."

—adapted from *The Great Debate*

With that debate, the era of television politics had begun. Though television had been used in campaigns as early as 1948, it was not until the 1960

election that a large majority of voters used the **medium** as a voting tool. The nation itself seemed on the brink of a new age. Having lived through a decade of unprecedented prosperity and the onset of the Cold War and the atomic age, Americans looked to the future with excitement and anxiety.

Both candidates shared the desire to lead the nation through the challenges of a new decade, but they differed in many ways. Kennedy, a Catholic, came from a wealthy and influential Massachusetts family. Nixon, a Quaker, was a Californian from a financially struggling family. Kennedy seemed outgoing and relaxed, while Nixon struck many as formal and even stiff in manner.

A New Kind of Campaign Compared to earlier campaigns, the 1960 presidential race made new use of television, with both major parties spending substantial amounts of money on television advertisements. The Democrats spent over \$6 million in television and radio spots, while the Republicans spent more than \$7.5 million.

Not everyone was happy with this new emphasis on image. Television news commentator Eric Sevareid complained that the candidates had become "packaged products," and he stated that "the Processed Politician has finally arrived."

The Main Issues The campaign centered on the economy and the Cold War. Although the candidates presented different styles, they differed little on these two issues. Both promised to boost the economy, and both portrayed themselves as "Cold Warriors" determined to stop the forces of communism.

John F. Kennedy (right) and Richard Nixon (below) in the 1960 debate





Picturing History

Presidential Billboard A billboard in Manhattan displays the presidential candidates, including a “dark horse” and “scratch.” Presidential campaign slogans from the past elections are also listed. A Kennedy tie clasp and Nixon pendant are also featured. **What is the artist’s purpose for including a “dark horse” and “scratch” among the candidates?**

Kennedy argued that the nation faced serious threats from the Soviets. In Cuba, Fidel Castro was allying himself with the Soviet Union. At home, many people lived in fear of a Soviet nuclear attack.

Kennedy voiced his concern about a suspected “missile gap,” in which the United States lagged behind the Soviets in weaponry. (Decades later, Americans learned that, in fact, the only area where the Soviet Union was briefly ahead was in rocketry.) The nation, Kennedy argued, had grown complacent and aimless. “It is time to get this country moving again.”

Nixon countered that the United States was on the right track under the current administration. “I’m tired of hearing our opponents downgrade the United States,” the vice president said. Nixon also warned that the Democrats’ fiscal policies would boost inflation, and that only he had the necessary foreign policy experience to guide the nation.

Kennedy came under scrutiny about his religion. The United States had never had a Catholic president, and many Protestants had concerns about Kennedy. Kennedy decided to confront this issue openly in a speech. “I believe in an America where the separation of the church and state is absolute,” he said, “where no Catholic prelate would tell the president, should he be a Catholic, how to act.”

The four televised debates strongly influenced the outcome of the election, one of the closest in American history. Kennedy won the popular vote by 119,000 out of 68 million votes cast and the Electoral College by 303 votes to 219. In several states only a

few thousand votes could have swung the Electoral College numbers the other way.

Reading Check Identifying What were two main issues of the 1960 presidential election?

The Kennedy Mystique

Media Idea With Kennedy’s election, a youthful and enthusiastic First Family entered the White House.

Reading Connection Do you think a person’s charm and charisma can help them get elected? Read on to discover how JFK’s charisma resembled that of another president.

Despite his narrow victory, John F. Kennedy, commonly referred to as JFK, captured the imagination of the American public as few presidents before him had. During the campaign, many had been taken with Kennedy’s youth and optimism. The new president strongly reinforced this impression when he gave his Inaugural Address.

Inauguration Day, January 20, 1961, was crisp and cold in Washington, D.C. At the site of the ceremony, a crowd gathered, wrapped in coats and blankets. As Kennedy rose to take the oath of office, he wore neither a coat nor a hat. During his speech, the new president declared, “The torch has been passed to a new generation,” and he called on his fellow citizens to take a more active role in making the United States a better place. “My fellow Americans,” he exclaimed,



“ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.”

Kennedy, his wife Jacqueline, their children Caroline and John, and their extended family seemed to have been created for media coverage. Reporters followed the family everywhere. Kennedy himself was a master of the media. He was the first to broadcast his press conferences live on television.

The Kennedy charisma inspired many of his staff members. His press secretary, Pierre Salinger, put this feeling into words:

“None of us will ever have a better job as long as we live. . . . The big *plus*—the fringe benefit that made it all worthwhile—was JFK himself. . . . Our faith in him and in what he was trying to do was absolute, and he could impart to our work together a sense of challenge and adventure—a feeling that he was moving, and the world with him, toward a better time.”

—quoted in *With Kennedy*

Reading Check Summarizing In what ways did John F. Kennedy inspire the nation?

Success and Setback on the Domestic Front

Main Idea Despite an uneasy relationship with Congress, Kennedy managed to get several parts of his domestic agenda passed.

Reading Connection Do you think Kennedy’s efforts to help expand women’s rights were enough? Read on to find out how Kennedy’s programs were designed to help women.

Not everyone in the nation fell for the Kennedy mystique. His high culture, elite Northeast upbringing, and Catholicism irritated some Americans. Congress also was less than taken with the new president. Upon entering office, President Kennedy set out to implement a legislative agenda, which became known as the **New Frontier**. He hoped to increase aid to education, provide health insurance to the elderly, create a Department of Urban Affairs, and help migrant workers. He would soon find that transforming lofty ideals into real legislation was no easy task on Capitol Hill.

Kennedy Struggles With Congress Although the Democratic Party enjoyed large majorities in both houses of Congress, Kennedy was unable to push through many of his domestic programs. Kennedy had trailed Nixon in many Democratic districts and had not helped many Democrats get elected. Those who did win, therefore, did not feel they owed him anything. As one Democrat in Congress told *U.S. News & World Report*, “A good many [congressional representatives] were elected in 1960 in spite of his presence on the ticket rather than because his name was there.” As a result, legislators found it easy to follow their own interests rather than those of the president.

In addition, Republicans as well as conservative Southern Democrats—who were responsible for holding the Democratic majority in Congress—viewed the New Frontier as too big and too costly. Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican minority leader from Illinois, claimed that Kennedy’s efforts to increase the power and reach of the federal government would push the nation down an ominous path.

In the end, Congress defeated a number of JFK’s proposals, including health insurance for the elderly, a Department of Urban Affairs, and federal aid to education. The president often resisted calls to push harder for his agenda. He decided not to fight every battle on Capitol Hill and preferred to reserve his bargaining power for issues that were both truly important and obtainable.



Picturing History

The Kennedy White House Jacqueline Kennedy (center right) brought youthful elegance and style to the White House. **Why do you think the media scrutinized the First Family so much?**



Strengthening the Economy Kennedy did achieve some victories in Congress, particularly in his efforts to improve the nation's economy. The American economy, which had soared through much of the 1950s, had slowed by the end of the decade. From 1960 to 1961, the growth rate of the gross national product was only 2 percent, while the unemployment rate hovered near 7 percent of the workforce, the second-highest figure since World War II.

In an effort to increase growth and create more jobs, Kennedy advocated the New Deal strategy of deficit spending, first implemented during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency. The new president convinced Congress to invest more funds in defense and in space exploration. Such spending did indeed create more jobs and stimulate economic growth. Reluctant to rely too heavily on deficit spending, which tends to cause inflation, Kennedy also sought to boost the economy by increasing business production and efficiency. In addition, his administration asked businesses to hold down prices and labor leaders to hold down pay increases.

Prodded by Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, labor unions in the steel industry agreed to reduce their demands for higher wages. In 1962, however, several steel companies raised prices sharply.

The president threatened to have the Department of Defense buy cheaper steel from foreign companies

and instructed the Justice Department to investigate whether the steel industry was guilty of price-fixing. In response to Kennedy's tactics, the steel companies backed down and cut their prices. To achieve this victory, however, the president had strained his relations with the nation's business community.

In an effort to get the economy moving, Kennedy also adopted supply-side ideas and pushed for a cut in tax rates. When opponents argued that a tax cut would only help the wealthy, Kennedy asserted that lower taxes meant businesses would have more money to expand, which would create new jobs and benefit everybody. "A rising tide lifts all boats," Kennedy explained, as a way to illustrate how tax cuts would stimulate the economy and help all Americans.

Congress refused to pass the tax cut because many members feared it would cause inflation. However, they did support Kennedy's request to raise the minimum wage and his proposal for an Area Redevelopment Act and a Housing Act. These two programs provided funds to poor areas. They helped to clear slums, create jobs, and build low-income housing.

Women's Rights Kennedy also helped women make strides during the 1960s. Although Kennedy never appointed a woman to his cabinet, a number of women worked in prominent positions in his

Strengthening the Economy New housing projects were developed as part of the Area Redevelopment Act and Housing Act.



Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

◀ **CONTENTS** ▶



Major Decisions of the Warren Court, 1954–1967

Civil Rights	
<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> (1954)	Segregation in public schools unconstitutional
<i>Baker v. Carr</i> (1962)	Established that federal courts can hear lawsuits seeking to force state authorities to redraw electoral districts
<i>Reynolds v. Sims</i> (1964)	State legislative districts should be equal in population
<i>Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States</i> (1964)	Desegregation of public accommodations established in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is legal
<i>Loving v. Virginia</i> (1967)	States may not ban interracial marriage
Due Process	
<i>Mapp v. Ohio</i> (1961)	Unlawfully seized evidence is inadmissible at trial
<i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i> (1963)	Suspects are entitled to court-appointed attorney if unable to afford one on their own
<i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i> (1964)	Accused has the right to an attorney during police questioning
<i>Miranda v. Arizona</i> (1966)	Police must inform suspects of their rights during the arrest process
Freedom of Religion and Freedom of Speech	
<i>Engel v. Vitale</i> (1962)	State-mandated prayer in school banned
<i>Abington School District v. Schempp</i> (1963)	State-mandated Bible readings in school banned
<i>New York Times v. Sullivan</i> (1964)	Celebrities may sue the media for libel only in certain circumstances

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Analyze the effects *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Reynolds v. Sims* had on the nation.
- Summarizing** What three major areas of policy did the Warren Court's decisions affect?

administration, including Esther Peterson, assistant secretary of labor and director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Kennedy advanced women's rights in other ways as well. In 1961 he created the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. The commission called for federal action against gender discrimination and affirmed the right of women to equally paid employment. Kennedy responded by issuing an executive order ending gender discrimination in the federal civil service, and in 1963 he signed the Equal Pay Act for women. The commission also sparked the creation of similar groups on the state level and inspired many women to work together to further their interests.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why did Kennedy have difficulty getting his New Frontier legislation passed?

Warren Court Reforms

Main Idea Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court took a more activist role.

Reading Connection Have you ever watched a television show where a police officer read someone their rights? Read on to learn about the origin of this process.

During the Kennedy years, the Supreme Court also took an active role in social issues. In 1953 President Eisenhower had nominated **Earl Warren**, the popular Republican governor of California, to become Chief Justice of the United States. More so than previous courts, the Warren Court took an activist stance, helping to shape national policy by taking a forceful stand on a number of key issues of the day.

"One Man, One Vote" One of the Warren Court's more notable decisions had a powerful impact on who would hold political power in the United States.



This decision concerned **reapportionment**, or the way in which states draw up political districts based on changes in population. By 1960 many more Americans **resided** in cities and suburbs than in rural areas. Yet many states had failed to restructure their electoral districts to reflect that change.

In Tennessee, for example, a rural county with only 2,340 voters had 1 representative in the state assembly, while an urban county with 133 times more voters had only 7. The vote of a city dweller counted for less than the vote of a rural resident. Some Tennessee voters took the matter to court.

The *Baker v. Carr* case reached the Supreme Court after a federal court ruled that the issue should be solved by legislation. The Fourteenth Amendment specifically gives Congress authority to enforce voting rights. In 1962 the Supreme Court ruled that the federal courts did have jurisdiction and sent the matter back to the lower courts. (See page 1004 for more information on *Baker v. Carr*.)

Two years later, in June 1964, the Supreme Court ruled in *Reynolds v. Sims* that the current apportionment system in most states was indeed unconstitutional. In a decision that helped to promote the principle of “one man, one vote,” the Warren Court required state legislatures to reapportion electoral districts so that all citizens’ votes would have equal weight. The Court’s decision was a momentous one, for it shifted political power throughout the country from rural and often conservative areas to urban areas, where more liberal voters resided. The Court’s decision also boosted the political power of

African Americans and Hispanics, who typically lived in cities. (See page 1006 for more information on *Reynolds v. Sims*.)

Extending Due Process In a series of historic rulings in the 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court began to use the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. Originally, the Bill of Rights applied only to the federal government. Many states had their own bill of rights, but some federal rights did not exist at the state level. The Fourteenth Amendment stated that “no state shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.” **Due process** means that the law may not treat individuals unfairly, **arbitrarily**, or unreasonably, and that courts must follow proper procedures and rules when trying cases. Due process ensures that all people are treated the same by the court system. In the 1960s, the Supreme Court ruled in several cases that upholding due process meant applying the federal bill of rights to the states.

In 1961 the Supreme Court ruled in *Mapp v. Ohio* that state courts could not consider evidence obtained in violation of the federal Constitution. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Court ruled that a defendant in a state court had the right to a lawyer, regardless of his or her ability to pay. The following year, in *Escobedo v. Illinois*, the justices ruled that a suspect must be allowed access to a lawyer and must be informed of his or her right to remain silent before being questioned by the police. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) went even further, requiring that authorities

immediately give suspects a four-fold warning. The warning consisted of informing suspects that they have the right to remain silent, that anything they say can and will be used against them in court, that they have a right to a lawyer while being questioned, and that if they cannot afford a lawyer, the court will appoint one for them. Today these warnings are known as the Miranda rights.

(See pages 1005–1006 for more information on *Mapp v. Ohio*, *Gideon v. Wainwright*, *Escobedo v. Illinois*, and *Miranda v. Arizona*.)

Many citizens and police departments and even some of the



◀ Ernesto Miranda (right) and his attorney



Supreme Court justices accused the Warren Court of favoring criminals. There were others, however, who cheered the decisions, seeing them as promoting the rights of all citizens, even the less privileged.

Prayer and Privacy

The Supreme Court also handed down decisions affecting the relationship between church and state. The Court applied the First Amendment to the states in *Engel v. Vitale* (1962). In this ruling, the Court decided that states could not compose official prayers and require those prayers to be recited in state public schools. The ruling upheld the separation of church and state. The following year, in *Abington School District v. Schempp*, it followed up with a similar decision by ruling against state-mandated Bible readings in public schools. Weighing in on another controversial issue, the Court ruled in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) that prohibiting the sale and use of birth control devices violated citizens' constitutional right to privacy.  (See pages 1005–1006 for more information on these Supreme Court cases.)

As with most controversial rulings of the Warren Court, these decisions delighted some and deeply disturbed others. What most people did agree upon, however, was the Court's pivotal role in shaping the country's national policy. The Warren Court, wrote *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, "has brought about more social change than most Congresses and most Presidents."



Activist Court The Warren Court poses for its official portrait in 1962, with Chief Justice Earl Warren front and center.

From the political arena to the legal system to people's everyday lives, the Warren Court indeed left its imprint on the nation. Meanwhile, away from the domestic arena, President Kennedy worked to make his mark on the country's foreign affairs during a time of rising Cold War tensions.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What was the significance of the Warren Court's "One Man, One Vote" ruling in the *Reynolds v. Simms* case?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: medium, missile gap, reapportionment, reside, due process, arbitrary.
- People and Terms** Identify: New Frontier, Earl Warren.
- Summarize** the progress made for women's rights during Kennedy's administration.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** How did President Kennedy advance women's rights?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Interpreting** In what way was the 1960 presidential election a turning point in campaign history? **CA HI3**
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the economic policies of the Kennedy administration.

Economic Policies	

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Charts** Study the chart of Warren Court decisions on page 709. How did the Court expand the rights of the accused? Were these sound decisions? Why or why not?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** In his Inaugural Address, President Kennedy asked his fellow Americans to "Ask what you can do for your country." Respond to this statement in an essay. **CA 11WA2.4a**





Eyewitness

On May 22, 1964, **PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON** delivered a speech in Ann Arbor, Michigan, outlining his domestic agenda that would become known as “The Great Society.” Speechwriter and policy adviser Richard Goodwin watched the speech on videotape the next morning back in Washington. He recalls his reaction:

Then, with the cheers, at first muted as if the audience were surprised at their own response, then mounting toward unrestrained, accepting delight, Johnson concluded: “There are those timid souls who say . . . we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape civilization. . . . But we need your will, your labor, your hearts. . . . So let us from this moment begin our work, so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.”

Watching the film in the White House basement, almost involuntarily I added my applause to the tumultuous acclaim coming from the sound track. . . . I clapped for the President, and for our country.

WHAT IS A PIP, ANYWAY?

Match these rock 'n' roll headliners with their supporting acts.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Paul Revere and | a. the Union Gap |
| 2. Martha and | b. the Supremes |
| 3. Gary Puckett and | c. the Miracles |
| 4. Gladys Knight and | d. the Vandellas |
| 5. Smokey Robinson and | e. the Raiders |
| 6. Diana Ross and | f. the Pips |

ANSWERS: 1. e; 2. d; 3. a; 4. f; 5. c; 6. b

VERBATIM

“Is there any place we can catch them? What can we do? Are we working 24 hours a day? Can we go around the moon before them?”

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY,
to Lyndon B. Johnson, after hearing
that Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin
had orbited the earth, 1961

“It was quite a day. I don’t know what you can say about a day when you see four beautiful sunsets. . . . This is a little unusual, I think.”

COLONEL JOHN GLENN,
in orbit, 1962

“There are tens of millions of Americans who are beyond the welfare state. Taken as a whole there is a culture of poverty . . . bad health, poor housing, low levels of aspiration and high levels of mental distress. Twenty percent of a nation, some 32,000,000.”

MICHAEL HARRINGTON,
The Culture of Poverty, 1962

“I have a dream.”

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
1963

“I don’t see an American dream; . . . I see an American nightmare . . . Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return.”

MALCOLM X,
1964

“The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice.”

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
1964

“In 1962, the starving residents of an isolated Indian village received 1 plow and 1,700 pounds of seeds. They ate the seeds.”

PEACE CORPS AD,
1965

Space Race

Want to capture some of the glamour and excitement of space exploration? Create a new nickname for your city. You won't be the first.

CITY	NICKNAME
Danbury, CT	Space Age City
Muscle Shoals, AL	Space Age City
Houston, TX	Space City, USA
Galveston, TX	Space Port, USA
Cape Kennedy, FL	Spaceport, USA
Blacksburg, VA	Space Age Community
Huntsville, AL	Rocket City, USA Space City, USA Space Capital of the Nation Space Capital of the World



John Glenn,
first American
to orbit Earth

RALPH MORSE/TIMEPIX

Milestones

PERFORMED IN ENGLISH, 1962. **THE CATHOLIC MASS**, following Pope John XXIII's Second Vatican Council. "Vatican II" allows the Latin mass to be translated into local languages around the world.

ENROLLED, 1962. JAMES MEREDITH, at the University of Mississippi, following a Supreme Court ruling that ordered his admission to the previously segregated school. Rioting and a showdown with state officials who wished to bar his enrollment preceded Meredith's entrance to classes.

BROKEN, 1965. 25-DAY FAST BY CÉSAR CHÁVEZ, labor organizer. His protest convinced others to join his nonviolent strike against the grape growers; shoppers boycotted table grapes in sympathy.

STRIPPED, 1967. MUHAMMAD ALI, of his heavyweight champion title, after refusing induction into the army following a rejection of his application for conscientious objector status. The boxer was arrested, given a five-year sentence, and fined \$10,000.

PICKETED, 1968. The Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, by protesters who believe the contest's emphasis on women's physical beauty is degrading and minimizes the importance of women's intellect.



AP

REMOVED, 1968. TOY GUNS, from the Sears, Roebuck Christmas catalog after the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy.

NUMBERS

7% of African American adults registered to vote in Mississippi in 1964 before passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

67% of African American adults in Mississippi registered to vote in 1969

70% of white adults registered to vote in 1964, nationwide

90% of white adults registered to vote nationwide in 1969

57 Number of days senators filibustered to hold up passage of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964

14½ Hours duration of all-night speech delivered by Senator Robert Byrd before a cloture vote stopped the filibuster

72% of elementary and high school teachers approve of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in 1961



HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

\$80-90 Weekly pay for a clerk/typist in New York in 1965

\$200 Rent for a two-bedroom apartment at Broadway and 72nd Street on New York City's Upper West Side in 1965



SECTION 2

JFK and the Cold War

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the Kennedy administration and the Warren Court. In this section, you will discover how President Kennedy worked to end the spread of communism.

Main Idea

- President Kennedy developed new programs to combat the spread of communism. (p. 715)
- President Kennedy faced foreign policy crises in Cuba and Berlin. (p. 717)
- President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. (p. 718)

Content Vocabulary

flexible response, space race

Academic Vocabulary

institute, symbol, theory

People and Terms to Identify

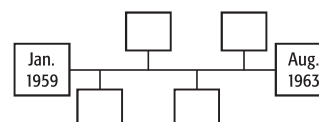
Peace Corps, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** Kennedy's plan for the armed forces.
- **Explain** how the Cold War influenced foreign aid and the space program.

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the crises of the Cold War, complete a time line similar to the one below to record the major events of the Cold War in the late 1950s and early 1960s.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History-Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.8.5 Describe the increased powers of the presidency in response to the Great Depression, World War II, and the Cold War.

11.8.7 Describe the effects on society and the economy of technological developments since 1945, including the computer revolution, changes in communication, advances in medicine, and improvements in agricultural technology.

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the "mutual assured destruction" doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

The Big Idea

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.

President Kennedy believed the United States should prepare to fight Communist aggression by increasing troops and weapons and depending less on nuclear arms. He also hoped to improve relations with Latin America. Adding to the tensions of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union began a space race. Cold War tensions heightened with the Bay of Pigs invasion, the construction of the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban missile crisis. Kennedy's presidency came to a shocking end when he was assassinated on November 22, 1963.



Kennedy Confronts Global Challenges

Media Idea President Kennedy developed new programs to combat the spread of communism.

Reading Connection Would you consider joining the Peace Corps and working in Latin America and other parts of the world? Read on to find out about diplomatic efforts in Latin America during Kennedy's presidency.

As President Kennedy entered the White House, the nation's dangerous rivalry with the Soviet Union continued to intensify. In the fall of 1962, the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union reached a boiling point.

★ An American Story ★

Like millions of other Americans in late October 1962, Tami Gold was having trouble concentrating on anything. For several tension-filled days that fall, the world seemed headed for nuclear destruction. U.S. officials had discovered that the Soviet Union had placed missiles in Cuba—a mere 90 miles (145 km) from the shores of the United States. When the Soviets refused to remove the weapons, a bitter weeklong standoff ensued in which the two superpowers hurled threats and warnings at each other and moved to the brink of nuclear war. Gold, then a seventh-grade student in Long Island, New York, recalled the events of one particular day:

“I remember I was in the bathroom of the school . . . when they had said over the loud speaker . . . that everyone had to return to their homerooms immediately and get instruction from their homeroom teacher. And it was probably one of the scariest moments of my life, it was like the sensation that our country could go to war and I didn't understand at all what it was about, but the fact that the country could go to war at any moment was really really present. . . . It was chilling, it was scary, it was really nauseating. . . .”

—quoted in *Collective Memories of the Cuban Missile Crisis*

The Cuban missile crisis, as the standoff came to be called, may have been the most dramatic foreign

policy episode Kennedy faced. It was not the only one, however, the president had to deal with.

From the start, Kennedy appeared ready to stand up to the Soviets. Upon taking the oath of office, the new president devoted much of his Inaugural Address to the role of the United States in a divided world:

“Let the word go forth from this time and place . . . that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed. . . . Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

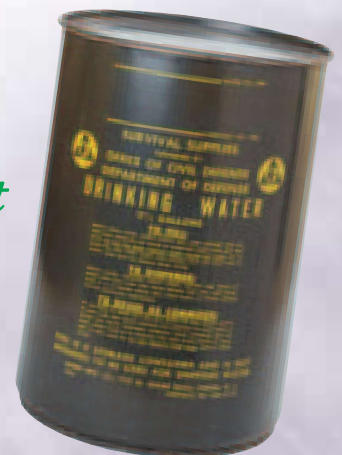
—quoted in *Let the Word Go Forth*

A More Flexible Response Kennedy took office at a time of growing global instability. Nationalism was exploding throughout the developing world, and the Soviet Union actively supported “wars of national liberation.” *Newsweek* magazine wrote that the “greatest single problem that faces John Kennedy is how to meet the aggressive power of the Communist bloc.”

Kennedy felt that Eisenhower had relied too heavily on nuclear weapons, which could only be used in extreme situations. To allow for a “flexible response” if nations needed help against Communist movements, the president pushed for a buildup of conventional troops and weapons.

“ . . . it was probably one of the scariest moments of my life, . . . ”

—Tami Gold



▲ Emergency water supplied by Department of Defense



The Peace Corps A Peace Corps volunteer describes the construction of a new school for villagers in Dadar, India.

In adopting this plan, Kennedy supported the Special Forces, a small army unit created in the 1950s to wage guerrilla warfare in limited conflicts. Kennedy expanded it and allowed the soldiers to wear their distinctive “Green Beret” headgear.

Aid to Other Countries One area of the world where Kennedy wanted to renew diplomatic focus was Latin America. Conditions in much of Latin American society were not good: Governments were often in the hands of the wealthy few and many of their citizens lived in extreme poverty. In some Latin American countries, these conditions spurred the growth of leftwing movements aimed at overthrowing their governments. When the United States was involved in Latin America, it was usually to help existing governments stay in power in order to prevent Communist movements from flourishing. Poor Latin Americans resented this intrusion, just as they resented American corporations that had business operations in their countries, a presence that was seen as a kind of imperialism.

To improve relations between the United States and Latin America, President Kennedy proposed an Alliance for Progress, a series of cooperative aid projects with Latin American governments. The alliance was designed to create a “free and prosperous Latin America” that would be less likely to support Communist-inspired revolutions.

Over a 10-year period, the United States pledged \$20 billion to help Latin American countries establish better schools, housing, health care, and fairer land distribution. The results were mixed. In some countries—notably Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American republics—the alliance did promote real reform. In others, governing rulers used the money to keep themselves in power.

The Peace Corps Another program aimed at helping less developed nations fight poverty was the **Peace Corps**, an organization that sent young Americans to perform humanitarian services in these countries.

After rigorous training, volunteers spent two years in countries that requested assistance. They laid out sewage systems in Bolivia and trained medical technicians in Chad. Others taught English or helped to build roads and construct new schools. By late 1963 thousands of Peace Corps volunteers were serving in over 30 countries. Today, the Peace Corps is still active and remains one of Kennedy’s most enduring legacies.

The Cold War Moves Into Space In 1961 Yuri Gagarin, a Soviet astronaut, became the first person to orbit the earth. Again, as in 1957 when they launched *Sputnik*, the first satellite, the Soviets had beaten the United States in the **space race**. President Kennedy worried about the impact of the flight on the Cold War. Soviet successes in space might convince the world that communism was better than capitalism. “Is there any place we can catch them?” Kennedy asked Vice President Johnson.

After consulting experts, Johnson gave Kennedy an idea. Less than six weeks after the Soviet flight, the president appeared before Congress. “Whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share,” Kennedy announced. “I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon.”

Kennedy’s speech set in motion a massive effort by NASA and American industry to produce the necessary technology. In early 1962 John Glenn became the first American to orbit the earth. By 1965 American spacecraft had begun carrying two men at a time into orbit. Three years later the United States launched three men into orbit in a capsule called *Apollo*. *Apollo* was launched using the Saturn V, the largest and most powerful rocket ever built. Standing 363 feet (111 m) tall, the Saturn V was capable of giving both *Apollo* and the lunar module—which astronauts would use to land on the moon—enough velocity to escape Earth’s gravitational pull and reach the moon.

On July 16, 1969, a Saturn V lifted off a launch pad in Florida carrying three American astronauts: Neil Armstrong, Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin, and Michael Collins. On July 20, Armstrong and Aldrin boarded their lunar module, named *Eagle*, and headed to the moon. After a few tense minutes, Armstrong radioed the NASA flight center in Texas: “Houston . . . the *Eagle* has landed.”



Armstrong opened the hatch and climbed down to the surface, becoming the first human being to walk on the moon. As he set foot on the lunar soil, Armstrong announced: "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." American technology and determination had reached out across 238,000 miles to put men on the moon. America had won the space race and decisively demonstrated its technological superiority over the Soviet Union.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What global challenges did Kennedy face during his presidency?

Crises of the Cold War

Main Idea President Kennedy faced foreign policy crises in Cuba and Berlin.

Reading Connection Do you believe that the embargo against Cuba should be lifted? Read on to learn about the difficulties President Kennedy faced from that country.

President Kennedy's efforts to combat Communist influence in other countries led to some of the most intense crises of the Cold War. At times these crises left Americans and people in many other nations wondering whether the world would survive.

The Bay of Pigs The first crisis occurred in Cuba, only 90 miles (145 km) from American shores. There, Fidel Castro had overthrown the corrupt Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Almost immediately, Castro established ties with the Soviet Union, instituted drastic land reforms, and seized foreign-owned businesses, many of them American. Cuba's alliance with the Soviets worried many Americans. The Communists were now too close for comfort, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev had indicated he would strengthen Cuba's military.

Fearing that the Soviets would use Cuba as a base to spread revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere, President Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to secretly train and arm Cuban exiles, known as La Brigada, to invade the island. The invasion was intended to ignite a popular uprising against Castro.

When Kennedy became president, his advisers approved the plan. In office fewer than three months and trusting his experts, Kennedy agreed to the operation

HISTORY Online 
Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 15** for an activity on the New Frontier.



Picturing History

Cold War Peak Fears of communism peaked during the Cuban missile crisis. Routine reconnaissance flights over Cuba revealed the construction of missile sites, fueling facilities, and launch pads. **What steps did Kennedy take to deal with the crisis?**



with some changes. On April 17, 1961, 1,400 armed Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs on the south coast of Cuba. The invasion was a disaster. La Brigada's boats ran aground on coral reefs, Kennedy cancelled their air support to keep United States involvement a secret, and the expected popular uprising never happened. Within two days, Castro's forces killed or captured almost all the members of La Brigada. The outcome alarmed Kennedy. The action exposed an American plot to overthrow a neighbor's government and made the United States look weak and disorganized.

The Berlin Wall Goes Up Still reeling from the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy faced another foreign policy challenge in June 1961 when he met with Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria. Khrushchev wanted to stop the flood of Germans pouring out of Communist East Germany into West Berlin. He demanded that the Western powers recognize East Germany and that the United States, Great Britain, and France withdraw from Berlin, a city lying completely within East Germany. Kennedy refused and reaffirmed the West's commitment to West Berlin.

Khrushchev retaliated by building a wall through Berlin, sealing off the Soviet sector. Guards posted along the wall shot at anyone trying to escape from the East. For nearly 30 years afterward, the **Berlin Wall** stood as a visible **symbol** of the Cold War division between East and West.

The Cuban Missile Crisis By far the most terrifying crisis of the Kennedy era occurred the next year. Once again, the crisis dealt with Cuba. Over the summer of 1962, American intelligence agencies learned that Soviet technicians and equipment had arrived in Cuba. On October 22, President Kennedy announced on television that American spy planes had taken aerial photographs showing that the Soviet Union had placed long-range missiles in Cuba. Enemy missiles stationed so close to the United States posed a dangerous threat.

Kennedy ordered a naval blockade to stop the Soviets from delivering more missiles, and he demanded that they dismantle existing missile sites. As Soviet ships headed toward the blockade, Americans braced themselves for war.

After a flurry of secret negotiations, the Soviet Union offered a deal. It would remove the missiles if the United States promised not to invade Cuba and to remove its missiles from Turkey near the Soviet border.

Neither Kennedy nor Khrushchev wanted nuclear war. "Only lunatics . . . who themselves want to perish and before they die destroy the world, could do

this," wrote the Soviet leader. On October 28, the leaders reached an agreement. Kennedy publicly agreed not to invade Cuba and privately agreed to remove the Turkish missiles; the Soviets agreed to remove their missiles from Cuba. The world could breathe again.

The Impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis The Cuban missile crisis brought the world closer to nuclear war than at any time since World War II. Both the United States and the Soviet Union had been forced to consider the consequences of such a war. In the following months, each country seemed ready to work to lessen world tensions. In August 1963, the United States and the Soviet Union concluded years of negotiation by agreeing to a treaty to ban the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere—the first step toward mutual arms reduction since the beginning of the Cold War.

In the long run, however, the missile crisis had ominous consequences. The humiliating retreat the United States forced upon the Soviet leadership contributed to Nikita Khrushchev's fall from power in October 1964. Perhaps more importantly, the crisis gave the Soviets evidence of their military inferiority and helped produce a dramatic Soviet arms buildup over the next two decades. This buildup contributed to a comparable military increase in the United States in the early 1980s.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** How was the Cuban missile crisis resolved?

The Death of a President

 **President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963.**

Reading Connection Do you know someone who can recall the day Kennedy was assassinated? What do they recall about that day? Read on to discover the details of Kennedy's assassination.

Soon after the Senate ratified the test ban treaty, John F. Kennedy's presidency came to a shocking and tragic end. On November 22, 1963, Kennedy and his wife traveled to Texas with Vice President Lyndon Johnson for a series of political appearances. As the presidential motorcade drove slowly through the crowded streets of Dallas, gunfire rang out. Someone had shot the president twice—once in the throat and



once in the head. The country watched in horror as shocked government officials sped Kennedy to a nearby hospital, where he was pronounced dead moments later.

Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of killing Kennedy, appeared to be a confused and embittered Marxist who had spent time in the Soviet Union. He himself was shot to death while in police custody two days after the assassination. The bizarre situation led some to speculate that the second gunman, local nightclub owner Jack Ruby, killed Oswald to protect others involved in the crime. In 1964 a national commission headed by Chief Justice Warren concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. The report of the **Warren Commission** left some questions unanswered, and **theories** about a conspiracy to kill the president have persisted, though none has gained wide acceptance.

In the wake of the assassination, the United States and the world went into mourning. Americans across the land sobbed in public. Thousands traveled to Washington, D.C., and waited in a line that stretched for several miles outside the Capitol in order to walk silently past the president's flag-draped casket. Millions of others spent hours in front of their televisions mourning the loss of the president by simply watching people file past the casket.

John F. Kennedy served as president for little more than 1,000 days. Yet his powerful personality and active approach to the presidency made a profound impression on most Americans. Aided by the tidal wave of emotion that followed the president's death, his successor, Lyndon Johnson, set out to implement the programs Kennedy had left behind.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did Kennedy's presidency end?



Picturing History

A Final Salute John F. Kennedy, Jr. (right) bravely salutes his father's coffin during the state funeral. [How did people around the world react to JFK's assassination?](#)

HISTORY **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

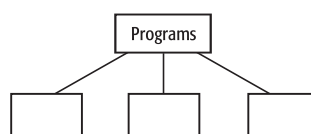
- Vocabulary** Define: flexible response, space race, institute, symbol, theory.
- People and Terms** Identify: Peace Corps, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission.
- Explain** the goals of the Alliance for Progress.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** What was Kennedy's goal for the United States in the space race?

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** What was the role of foreign aid in the relations between the United States and Latin America?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the programs that Kennedy used to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to try to stem communism.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on pages 717. Explain how aerial photos were important for information during the Cold War.

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an American citizen during the Cuban missile crisis. Write a journal entry describing the mood of the country during that time.

CA 11WA2.1a; 11WA2.1e

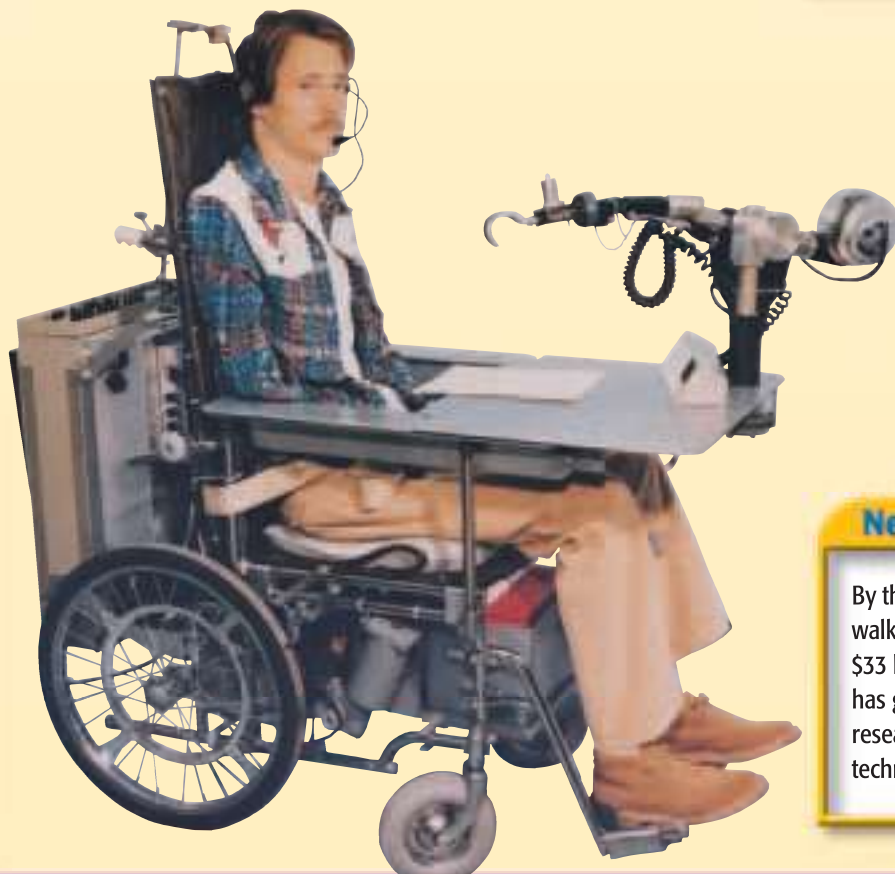


Why It Matters

The Space Program

In 1962 President Kennedy responded to those who questioned the nation's effort to reach the moon: "But why, some say, the moon? Why choose this as our goal? And they may well ask, why climb the highest mountain? Why, 35 years ago, fly the Atlantic? . . . We choose to go to the moon. We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win. . . ."

The Saturn V moon rocket is the most powerful rocket ever built.



◀ Assistance for People With Disabilities

The NASA tele-operator and robot technology was used to develop a voice-controlled wheelchair and manipulator. Using a minicomputer, the wheelchair responds to 35 single-word voice commands, helping people with physical disabilities perform tasks like picking up packages, opening doors, and turning on appliances.

New Products

By the time Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin walked on the moon, NASA had spent over \$33 billion. Since then, the space program has greatly benefited Americans. Space research has led to many new products, technologies, and manufacturing processes.



Buzz Aldrin on the moon, July 1969

Increased Safety ➤

Remote-controlled robots reduce human injury levels because they can perform hazardous tasks men and women used to carry out. Robots can also perform operations no human being ever could, such as volcano research on the Puna Ridge of Kilauea, Hawaii.



Communication Advances ▲

A communications satellite now in development will provide better telephone, television, and data service between western Europe, the Americas, and Africa. Another communications satellite has improved ship-to-shore communications, which used to be interrupted frequently by bad weather.

ANALYZING THE IMPACT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Explaining** What new products or innovations were results of the space research?

Critical Thinking

2. **Analyzing** Do you think the United States still participates in the "space race"? Explain your answer.



SECTION 3

The Great Society

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how Cold War tensions escalated under President Kennedy. In this section, you will discover how President Johnson expanded on Kennedy's domestic agenda.

Main Idea

- President Johnson's longtime experience in Congress helped him push through several of President Kennedy's antipoverty bills. (p. 723)
- Johnson's Great Society programs provided assistance to disadvantaged Americans. (p. 726)

- Although controversial, the Great Society programs improved the lives of thousands of people. (p. 728)

Content Vocabulary

consensus, war on poverty

Academic Vocabulary

analogy, confine, sector

People and Terms to Identify

VISTA, Great Society, Medicare, Medicaid, Head Start, Robert Weaver

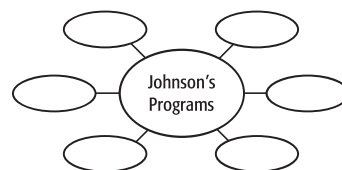
Reading Objectives

- **Explain** what inspired Johnson's Great Society programs.

- **Identify** several specific health and employment programs of the Johnson administration.

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about Lyndon Johnson's presidency, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the social and economic programs started during his administration.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.8.4 Analyze new federal government spending on defense, welfare, interest on the national debt, and federal and state spending on education, including the California Master Plan.

11.11.1 Discuss the reasons for the nation's changing immigration policy, with emphasis on how the Immigration Act of 1965 and successor acts have transformed American society.

11.11.2 Discuss the significant domestic policy speeches of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton (e.g., with regard to education, civil rights, economic policy, environmental policy).

11.11.6 Analyze the persistence of poverty and how different analyses of this issue influence welfare reform, health insurance reform, and other social policies.

11.11.7 Explain how the federal, state, and local governments have responded to demographic and social changes such as population shifts to the suburbs, racial concentrations in the cities,

Frostbelt-to-Sunbelt migration, international migration, decline of family farms, increases in out-of-wedlock births, and drug abuse.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. President Johnson had more experience than Kennedy in dealing with Congress and was able to get several of Kennedy's programs approved. After he was elected president, Johnson worked to get his Great Society initiatives, focusing on health and welfare, education, and poverty, approved. The effectiveness of these programs is often debated. They did, however, improve the lives of many Americans.



Johnson Takes the Reins

Main Idea President Johnson's longtime experience in Congress helped him push through several of President Kennedy's antipoverty bills.

Reading Connection How do you think someone's early life affects their career choices? Read on to learn how Lyndon Johnson's early life prepared him for the presidency.

The United States that President Lyndon Johnson inherited from John F. Kennedy appeared to be a booming, bustling place. From new shopping malls to new roads with new cars to fill them, everything in the country seemed to shout prosperity. Away from the nation's affluent suburbs, however, was another country, one inhabited by the poor, the ill-fed, the ill-housed, and the ill-educated.

★ *An American Story* ★

In 1961, 61-year-old John Rath lived in a sparsely furnished room in Chicago. In the room sat a stove, a sink, a package of cereal, and a tiny icebox. The plaster on the wall was crumbling, the ceiling was cracked, and the window shades were smudged. Telling his story to an interviewer, Rath said:

“I come home to an empty room. I don't even have a dog. No, this is not the kind of life I would choose. If a man had a little piece of land or something, a farm, or well . . . anyway, you've got to have something. You sit down in a place like this, you grit your teeth, you follow me? So many of them are doing that, they sit down, they don't know what to do, they go out. I see 'em in the middle of the night, they take a walk. Don't know what to do. Have no home environment, don't have a dog, don't have nothing . . . just a big zero.”

—quoted in *Division Street: America*

John Rath's life was not the image that many Americans had of their country in the mid-1960s. Writer Michael Harrington examined the nation's impoverished areas in his 1962 book, *The Other America*. Harrington claimed that while the truly poor numbered almost 50 million, they remained largely hidden in city slums, in rural areas, in the Deep South, and on Native American reservations.

Harrington's book moved many Americans and inspired both President Kennedy and his successor, Lyndon Johnson, to make the elimination of poverty

a major policy goal. The nation was prosperous, and many leaders had come to believe that the economy could be managed so that prosperity would be permanent. They believed the federal government could afford to fund a new antipoverty program.

Lyndon Johnson decided to continue with Kennedy's plan soon after taking office. Immediately after President Kennedy was pronounced dead, officials whisked Johnson to the airport. At 2:38 P.M. on November 22, 1963, he stood in the cabin of Air Force One, the president's plane, with Jacqueline Kennedy on one side of him and his wife, Lady Bird, on the other. Johnson raised his right hand, placed his left hand on a Bible, and took the oath of office.

Johnson knew that he had to assure a stunned public that he could hold the nation together, that he was a leader. He later recalled the urgency with which he had to act:

“A nation stunned, shaken to its very heart, had to be reassured that the government was not in a state of paralysis . . . that the business of the United States would proceed. I knew that not only the nation but the whole world would be anxiously following every move I made—watching, judging, weighing, balancing. . . . It was imperative that I grasp the reins of power and do so without delay. Any hesitation or wavering, any false step, any sign of self-doubt, could have been disastrous.”

—quoted in *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*

▼ *Urban poverty in Chicago*





Days after the assassination, Johnson appeared before Congress and urged the nation to move on. “The ideas and ideals which [Kennedy] so nobly represented must and will be translated into effective action,” he stated. “John Kennedy’s death commands what his life conveyed—that America must move forward.”

Johnson’s Leadership Style Lyndon Baines Johnson was born and raised in the “hill country” of central Texas, near the banks of the Pedernales River. He remained a Texan in his heart and in his life.

Johnson’s style posed a striking contrast with Kennedy’s. He was a man of impressive stature who spoke directly, convincingly, and even roughly at times. His style was more that of a persuasive and personable politician than of the elegant society man. Finding it difficult to gain acceptance from the Eastern establishment in the nation’s capital, he often reveled in his rough image.

Johnson had honed his style in long years of public service. By the time he became president at age 55, he already had 26 years of congressional experience

behind him. He had been a congressional staffer, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, a U.S. senator, Senate majority leader, and vice president.

As he moved up the political ladder, Johnson developed a reputation as a man who got things done. He did favors, twisted arms, bargained, flattered, and threatened. The tactics he used to persuade others became known throughout Washington as the “Johnson treatment.” Several writers described this often overpowering and intimidating style:

“The Treatment could last ten minutes or four hours. . . . Its tone could be supplication, accusation, cajolery, exuberance, scorn, tears, complaint, the hint of threat. It was all these together. . . . Interjections from the target were rare. Johnson anticipated them before they could be spoken. He moved in close, his face a scant millimeter from his target, his eyes widening and narrowing, his eyebrows rising and falling. From his pocket poured clippings, memos, statistics. Mimicry, humor, and the genius of **analogy** made The Treatment an almost hypnotic experience and rendered the target stunned and helpless.”

—from *Lyndon Johnson: The Exercise of Power*

With every technique he could think of, Johnson sought to find **consensus**, or general agreement. His ability to build coalitions had made him one of the most effective and powerful leaders in the Senate’s history.

A War on Poverty As president, Johnson used his considerable talents to push through a number of Kennedy’s initiatives. Before the end of 1964, he won passage of a tax cut, a major civil rights bill, and a significant anti-poverty program.

Why was this powerful man so concerned about poor people? Johnson liked to exaggerate the poor conditions of his childhood for dramatic effect, but he had in fact known hard times. He had also seen extreme poverty firsthand in a brief career as a teacher in a low-income area. Johnson understood suffering, and he believed deeply in social action. He felt that a wealthy, powerful government could and should try to improve the lives of its citizens. Kennedy himself had said of Johnson, “He really cares about this nation.” Finally, there was Johnson’s ambition. He wanted to achieve great things so that history would record him as a great president. Attacking poverty was a good place to begin.

Plans for an anti-poverty program were already in place when Johnson took office, and he knew that he

Picturing History

Home on the Range Born and raised in Texas, President Johnson loved to get back to his ranch in the Texas hill country. **How does this image contrast with those of his predecessors?**



AP/Wide World Photos

◀ **CONTENTS** ▶



Picturing History

Rural Poverty Photographs such as this one of Alice Mae Wyatt and her children—6-year-old Sally and 17-month-old Henry—shocked many Americans and won support for Johnson's programs. [Why was the president so concerned about poverty?](#)



*“... many Americans
live on the outskirts
of hope . . .”*

—Lyndon Johnson

would be able to command strong support for any program that could be linked to Kennedy. In his State of the Union address to Congress in 1964, barely seven weeks after taking office, President Johnson told his audience: “Unfortunately, many Americans live on the outskirts of hope, some because of their poverty and some because of their color and all too many because of both.” Johnson concluded his speech by announcing that his administration was declaring an “unconditional **war on poverty** in America.”

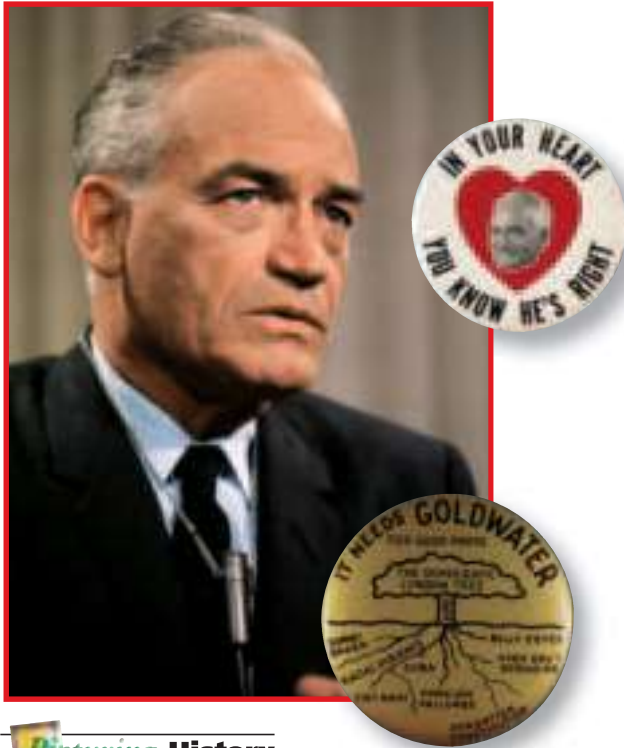
By the summer of 1964, Johnson had convinced Congress to pass the Economic Opportunity Act. The act established a wide range of programs aimed at creating jobs and fighting poverty. It also created a new government agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to coordinate the new programs. Many of the new programs were directed at young Americans living in the inner city. The Neighborhood Youth Corps provided work-study programs to help underprivileged young men and women earn a high school diploma or college degree. The Job Corps tried to help young unemployed people find jobs. One of the more dramatic programs introduced was VISTA

(Volunteers in Service to America), which was essentially a domestic Peace Corps. **VISTA** put young people with skills and community-minded ideals to work in poor neighborhoods and rural areas to help people overcome poverty.

The Election of 1964 As early as April 1964, *Fortune* magazine declared, “Lyndon Johnson has achieved a breadth of public approval few observers would have believed possible when he took office.” Johnson had little time to enjoy such praise, for he was soon to run for the office he had first gained through a tragic event.

Johnson’s Republican opponent in the 1964 presidential election was Barry Goldwater of Arizona, a senator known for his outspoken conservatism. He set the tone for his campaign when he accepted his party’s nomination, declaring, “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice! And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!”

Few Americans were ready to embrace Goldwater’s message, which was too aggressive for a nation nervous about nuclear war. On Election Day,



Picturing History

Conservative Stance Senator Barry Goldwater's conservative ideas were not very popular in 1964, and they posed little challenge to President Johnson. [How many states did Goldwater win?](#)

Johnson won in a landslide, winning all but five southern states and Arizona. "For the first time in my life," he said later, "I truly felt loved by the American people."

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What inspired the war on poverty?

The Great Society

Main Idea Johnson's Great Society programs provided assistance to disadvantaged Americans.

Reading Connection What reforms do you think are most needed today? Read on to find out about the programs Lyndon Johnson initiated.

After his election, President Johnson began working with Congress to create the "Great Society" he had promised the American people. Major goals of the civil rights movement were achieved with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which barred discrimination of many kinds, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ensured African Americans' right to vote.

The **Great Society** was Johnson's vision of the more perfect and equitable society the United States could and should become. According to Bill Moyers, who served as Johnson's press secretary, Johnson admired Franklin Roosevelt and wanted to fulfill FDR's mission. To do that would require a program that would be on the same large scale as the New Deal.

Johnson's goals were consistent with the times for several reasons. The civil rights movement had brought the grievances of African Americans to the forefront, reminding many that greater equality of opportunity had yet to be realized. Economics also supported Johnson's goal. The economy was strong, and many believed it would remain so indefinitely. There was no reason, therefore, that poverty could not be significantly reduced—especially when some had so much and others had so little.

Johnson first elaborated on the goals of the Great Society during a speech at the University of Michigan. It was clear that the president did not intend only to expand relief to the poor or to **confine** government efforts to material things. The president wanted, he said, to build a better society for all, a society "where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, . . . where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. . . ."

This ambitious vision encompassed a multitude of programs. In the three years between 1965 and 1968, more than 60 programs were passed. Among the most significant programs were **Medicare** and **Medicaid**. Health care reform had been a major issue since the days of Harry Truman. By the 1960s, public support for better health care benefits had solidified. Medicare had especially strong support since it was directed at the entire elderly population—in 1965, around half of those over the age of 65 had no health insurance.

Johnson convinced Congress to set up Medicare as a health insurance program funded through the Social Security system. Medicare's twin program, Medicaid, financed health care for welfare recipients, those who were living below the poverty line. Like the New Deal's Social Security program, both programs created what have been called "entitlements," that is, they entitle certain categories of Americans to benefits. Today, the cost of these programs has become a permanent part of the U.S. budget.

Great Society programs also strongly supported education. For Johnson, who had taught school when he was a young man, education was a personal passion. Vice President Hubert Humphrey once said that



Johnson “was a nut on education. . . . [He] believed in it, just like some people believe in miracle cures.”

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 granted millions of dollars to public and private schools for classroom materials and special education programs. Efforts to improve education also extended to preschoolers, where Project **Head Start**, administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, was directed at children from disadvantaged circumstances. Another program, Upward Bound, was designed to provide college preparation for low-income teenagers. Some states added their own educational legislation. California, for example, passed laws to improve higher education facilities in 1960 with the California Master Plan. The plan established a network of public higher education facilities and helped ensure that all California residents who graduate in the top percentages of their high school class would be able to attend a California university.

Improvements in health and education were only the beginning of the Great Society programs. Johnson believed conditions in the cities—poor schools, crime,

slum housing, poverty, and pollution—blighted the lives of those who lived there. He urged Congress to act on legislation addressing this issue. One created a new cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in 1965. Its first secretary, **Robert Weaver**, was the first African American to serve in a cabinet. A broad-based program informally called “Model Cities” authorized federal subsidies to many cities nationwide. The funds, matched by local and state contributions, supported an array of programs, including transportation, health care, housing, and policing. Legislation also authorized about \$8 billion to build houses for people with low- and middle-incomes.

One notable Great Society measure changed the composition of the American population: the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. For a brief time, this act maintained a strict limit on the number of immigrants admitted to the United States each year: 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. It did, however, eliminate the national origins system established in the 1920s, which had given preference to northern

Major Great Society Programs

Health and Welfare	Education	The “War on Poverty”	Consumer and Environmental Protection
Medicare (1965) established a comprehensive health insurance program for all elderly people; financed through the Social Security system.	The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) targeted aid to students and funded related activities such as adult education and education counseling.	The Office of Economic Opportunity (1964) oversaw many programs to improve life in inner cities, including Job Corps, an education and job training program for at-risk youth.	The Water Quality Act and Clean Air Acts (1965) supported development of standards and goals for water and air quality.
Medicaid (1965) funded by federal and state governments, provided health and medical assistance to families with low incomes.	Higher Education Act (1965) supported college tuition scholarships, student loans, and work-study programs for students with low- and middle-incomes.	Housing and Urban Development Act (1965) established new housing subsidy programs and made federal loans and public housing grants easier to obtain.	The Highway Safety Act (1966) supported highway safety by improving federal, state, and local coordination and by creating training standards for emergency medical technicians.
Child Nutrition Act (1966) established a school breakfast program and expanded the school lunch program and milk program to improve nutrition for children from families with low incomes.	Project Head Start (1965) funded a preschool program for the disadvantaged.	Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act (1966) helped revitalize urban areas through a variety of social and economic programs.	The Fair Packaging and Labeling Act (1966) required all consumer products to have true and informative labels.

Chart Skills

1. **Interpreting Charts** What was the purpose of the Office of Economic Opportunity?
2. **Evaluating** Which Great Society program do you think had the most impact on American society? Why?



European immigrants. The new measure opened wider the door of the United States to newcomers from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

✓ Reading Check **Summarizing** What were the Great Society programs?

Legacy of the Great Society

Main Idea Although controversial, the Great Society programs improved the lives of thousands of people.

Reading Connection What Great Society programs do you think were the most helpful? Read on to learn of the lasting impact of Johnson's Great Society.

The Great Society programs touched nearly every aspect of American life and improved thousands, if not millions, of lives. In the years since President Johnson left office, however, debate has continued over whether or not the Great Society was truly a success. In many ways, the impact of the Great Society

was limited. In his rush to get as much done as he could, Johnson did not calculate exactly how his programs might work. As a result, some of them did not work as well as people had hoped. Furthermore, the programs grew so quickly they were often unmanageable and difficult to evaluate. Cities, states, and groups eligible for aid began to expect immediate and life-changing benefits. These expectations often left many feeling frustrated and angry. Other Americans opposed the massive growth of federal programs and criticized the Great Society for intruding too much into their lives.

A lack of funds also hurt the effectiveness of Great Society programs. The programs themselves were expensive enough. When Johnson attempted to fund both his grand domestic agenda and the increasingly costly war in Vietnam, the Great Society eventually suffered. Some Great Society initiatives have survived to the present, however. These include Medicare and Medicaid, two cabinet agencies—the Department of Transportation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)—and Project Head Start. Overall, the programs provided

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MOMENT in HISTORY

YOUTH'S HELPING HAND

In 1965 VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) was created as part of President Johnson's war on poverty. Roused by the social consciousness of the early 1960s, thousands of students and young people focused their energy into working with local agencies in low-income communities around the nation. One of VISTA's basic themes was to help local communities mobilize their own resources. Since 1993 VISTA has been a part of the AmeriCorps network of service programs.





Profiles IN HISTORY

Esther Peterson 1906–1997

In the 1930s, Boston employers asked women who sewed aprons for them to switch from square pockets to a more difficult heart-shaped pocket, but they did not offer any increase in pay. Esther Peterson, a local teacher and outspoken advocate for women's rights, led the workers in a strike for more money. The women won their pay raise. For 60 years, Esther Peterson continued to use her tact and will to fight for women's rights, trade unions, and consumers.

Born in Provo, Utah, as Esther Eggertsen, Peterson became a teacher

in the 1930s. She taught milliners, telephone operators, and garment workers at the innovative Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. In 1961 President Kennedy selected her to serve as Assistant Secretary of Labor and Director of the Women's Bureau. Peterson then encouraged Kennedy to create a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women to focus attention on working women.

Under President Johnson, Peterson served as Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, where she worked on consumer concerns. Lynda Johnson Robb, daughter of President Johnson, described Peterson this way: "She had

a velvet hammer and talked people into doing what was right, even if we didn't know it at the time." Peterson continued to use her "velvet hammer" for the public good throughout her long life. At the time of her death at the age of 91, she was actively promoting senior citizens' health issues.



some important benefits to poorer communities and gave political and administrative experience to minority groups.

An important legacy of the Great Society was the questions it produced, questions Americans continue to consider. How can the federal government help its citizens who are economically disadvantaged? How much government help can a society have without weakening the private **sector**? How much help can its people receive without losing motivation to fight against hardships on their own?

Lyndon Johnson came into office determined to change the United States in a way few other presidents had attempted. If he fell short, it was perhaps

that the goals he set were so high. In evaluating the administration's efforts, the *New York Times* wrote, "The walls of the ghettos are not going to topple overnight, nor is it possible to wipe out the heritage of generations of social, economic, and educational deprivation by the stroke of a Presidential pen."

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** What was the impact of the Great Society?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: analogy, consensus, war on poverty, confine, sector.
- People and Terms** Identify: VISTA, Great Society, Medicare, Medicaid, Head Start, Robert Weaver.
- Describe** how the Great Society programs were inspired.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Analyzing** How did Johnson's war on poverty strive to ensure greater fairness in American society?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Interpreting** What were three legacies of the Great Society? **CA CS1**
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list five Great Society initiatives that have survived to the present.

Great Society Initiatives

Analyzing Visuals

- Photographs** Study the photograph on page 725. Why do you think pictures such as this one would help build support for the war on poverty?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of a biographer. Write a chapter in a biography of Lyndon Johnson in which you compare and contrast his leadership style to that of John Kennedy.

CA 11WS1.1



Looking Back...

The Bill of Rights

Why It Matters In 1962 Clarence Earl Gideon was arrested for breaking into a Florida pool hall. When he asked for a lawyer, the judge refused. Defendants in Florida were not entitled to a court-appointed lawyer except in death penalty cases. Gideon then appealed to the Supreme Court, arguing that the Constitution's Sixth Amendment guaranteed the right to a lawyer. In 1963, in *Gideon v. Wainright*, the Supreme Court decided that the Sixth Amendment applied to both state and federal courts. The court ruled that having a lawyer in a criminal case is a fundamental right.

For over 200 years, the first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights, have protected the rights of Americans. Five of the amendments specify rights Americans have in federal court. In the 1960s, the Supreme Court extended many of these rights to the state and local levels.



Steps To . . . the Bill of Rights

During the Middle Ages, kings had great power, but to pass a new law they usually obtained the consent of a council of important nobles. This custom of ruling with "noble consent" was not written into law until 1215.

From Liberties to Rights In 1215 King John of England faced a rebellion of many of the English nobles. Under pressure, he signed the **Magna Carta**. In this document the king promised "to all freemen of our kingdom . . . all the underwritten liberties, to be had and held by them and their heirs, of us and our heirs forever." After 1215 the English king was expected to rule in accordance with the Magna Carta.

When the Enlightenment began in the 1600s, a new idea of rights emerged. Several writers argued

that kings could not give rights to people. Instead, every person was born with rights that the government could not violate. **John Locke** was an advocate of this new idea. His book, *Two Treatises of Government*, became very influential in the American colonies.

In 1688 the English Parliament helped remove King James II from the throne in what was known as the Glorious Revolution. Before the new king and queen took the throne, Parliament demanded they accept the **English Bill of Rights**. The English Bill of Rights strongly influenced American ideas. When the American Revolution began, revolutionaries accused the British of violating many of these rights.



The Magna Carta



"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

—Thomas Jefferson, *The Declaration of Independence*

Origins of the Bill of Rights

Basic Rights	Magna Carta (1215)	English Bill of Rights (1689)	Virginia Declaration of Rights (1776)	Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786)	American Bill of Rights (1791)
No state religion				●	●
Freedom of worship		● <i>limited</i>	●	●	●
Freedom of speech		●	●		●
Right to petition		● <i>limited</i>			●
Right to bear arms					●
No quartering troops in private homes without permission				●	●
No searches and seizures without a specific search warrant	●		●		●
Government cannot take away life, liberty, or property unless it follows proper court procedures (due process)	●	●	●		●
Right to a speedy public trial by jury and to a lawyer	●	●	●	●	●
No excessive bail, fines, or cruel and unusual punishment	●	●	●		●

The American Revolution In the 1760s, in order to stop smuggling in the American colonies, the British began sending accused smugglers to vice admiralty courts. These courts had no juries. In the Declaration of Independence, Americans accused the British of “depriving us . . . of the benefits of trial by jury” as guaranteed in the Magna Carta and the English Bill of Rights. Americans later wrote the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the Bill of Rights to prevent similar abuses by the American federal government.

Also to stop smuggling, the British issued “writs of assistance” authorizing officials to search private property as they saw fit. Americans later wrote the Fourth Amendment to prevent officials from conducting searches without specific search warrants.

Free Speech In England, free speech was limited by laws against sedition. Sedition is the encouraging of opposition to the government. The only exception applied to Parliament. The English Bill of Rights stated that “freedom of speech . . . in parliament, ought not to be . . . questioned.”

The Founders of the United States knew that the American Revolution could not have happened had they been unable to make speeches or print their ideas in newspapers. When the Bill of Rights was submitted, a ban on any federal law

restricting free speech or freedom of the press was prominent in the First Amendment.

Putting Rights Into the Constitution When the Constitution was drafted, it did not include a list of rights because supporters believed the new federal government’s checks and balances would protect people’s rights. When the Constitution was submitted to the states for ratification, however, opponents argued that without a list of rights, the Constitution would lead to a tyrannical federal government.

George Mason, who drafted Virginia’s Declaration of Rights, was a leader of the opposition. To get the Constitution ratified, supporters promised a Bill of Rights. In September 1789, James Madison prepared 12 amendments to the Constitution. In wording these amendments, Madison relied heavily on Virginia’s Declaration of Rights. Ten of the amendments were ratified. Together, they make up the Bill of Rights.

Checking for Understanding

1. How many rights are in the Bill of Rights?
2. Which amendments in the Bill of Rights protect rights the British violated in the 1760s?

Critical Thinking

1. Which right do you think is the most important? Why?
2. Do Americans have any other rights other than those listed in the Bill of Rights? What are they?

Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

On October 14, 1962, American spy planes photographed missile sites that the Soviets had installed in Cuba. After days of deliberations, exchanges of diplomatic letters, rallying of allies, exhausting meetings, and military preparation, President Kennedy informed the nation of the development. The fear of nuclear war gripped many Americans.

SOURCE 1:

In a televised address on October 22, 1962, President John F. Kennedy told Americans about the Soviet missile sites in Cuba. He demanded the Soviets withdraw the missiles and imposed a blockade of Cuba.

The urgent transformation of Cuba into an important strategic base—by the presence of these large, long-range, and clearly offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction—**constitutes**¹ an explicit threat to the peace and security of all the Americas. . . .

The size of this undertaking makes clear that it has been planned for some months. Yet only last month, after I had made clear the distinction between any introduction of ground-to-ground missiles and the existence of defensive antiaircraft missiles, the Soviet Government publicly stated on September 11 that, and I quote, “The armaments and military equipment sent to Cuba are designed exclusively for defensive purposes.” . . .

Neither the United States of America nor the world community of nations can tolerate deliberate deception and offensive threats on the part of any nation, large or small. We no longer live in a world where only the actual firing of weapons represents a sufficient challenge to a nation’s security to constitute maximum peril. Nuclear weapons are so destructive and **ballistic**² missiles are so swift that any substantially increased possibility of their use or any sudden change in their deployment may well be regarded as a definite threat to peace. . . .

[T]his secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles—in an area well known to have a special and historical relationship to the United States



▲ *President Kennedy and White House officials discuss Cuba.*

and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy—this sudden, clandestine decision to station strategic weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil—is a deliberately provocative and unjustified change in the *status quo* which cannot be accepted by this country if our courage and our commitments are ever to be trusted again by either friend or foe.

SOURCE 2:

Kennedy surrounded himself with a small group of talented advisers, the Executive Committee of National Security Council. On October 27, five days after Kennedy’s address to the nation, this committee received a message from Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev.

You wish to ensure the security of your country, and this is understandable. But Cuba, too, wants the same thing; all countries want to maintain their security. But how are we, the Soviet Union, our government, to

¹**constitutes:** forms

²**ballistic missile:** a weapon that flies to its target



▲ *Nikita Khrushchev and Raul Castro meet in Moscow, USSR in 1962*

assess your actions which are expressed in the fact that you have surrounded the Soviet Union with military bases; placed military bases literally around our country; and stationed your missile armaments there? This is no secret. Responsible Americans openly declare that it is so. Your missiles are located in Britain, are located in Italy, and are aimed at us. Your missiles are located in Turkey.

You are disturbed over Cuba. You say that this disturbs you because it is 90 miles by sea from the coast of the United States of America. But Turkey adjoins us; our sentries patrol back and forth and see each other. Do you consider, then, that you have the right to demand security for your own country and the removal of the weapons you call offensive, but do not accord the same right to us? You have placed destructive missile weapons, which you call offensive, in Turkey, literally next to us. . . .

I therefore make this proposal: We are willing to remove from Cuba the [missiles] which you regard as offensive. We are willing to carry this out. . . . Your representatives will make a declaration to the effect that the United States, for its part, considering the uneasiness and anxiety of the Soviet government, will remove its comparable [missiles] from Turkey. . . .

SOURCE 3:

The United States believed that it won the crisis because of superior military might and a willingness to use force. Raymond Garthoff, an intelligence analyst in the State Department, summarized this belief in a memo for the undersecretary of state on October 29, 1962.

The short-run effects should be very favorable to the US. Unquestionably the US will emerge from this confrontation with increased prestige world-wide. . . . [T]he Soviets are not prepared to risk a decisive military showdown with the US over issues involving the extension of Soviet power. . . .

Soviet ability to penetrate Latin America should suffer a reversal, though a base for future penetration may remain in Cuba for some time. Soviet intentions have been unmasked, and Soviet inability to force its will clearly demonstrated. . . .

. . . Unquestionably the Soviet defeat will have its impact on Soviet thinking and policymaking. Over the long run, one effect may be to make the Soviets far more responsive to our efforts at finding peaceful solutions to the whole range of world problems. However, and this is an important qualification, this effect is certain to take a considerable period of time. . . .

If we have learned anything from this experience, it is that weakness, even only apparent weakness, invited Soviet **transgression**.³ At the same time, firmness in the last analysis will force the Soviets to back away from rash initiatives. . . .

➤ ³**transgression:** violation

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA HI2; HI3

Source 1: Why does Kennedy want missiles removed from Cuba?

Source 2: How does Khrushchev justify placing Soviet missiles in Cuba?

Source 3: According to Garthoff, how has the United States benefited from the crisis?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

How does Khrushchev differ in his views from Kennedy and Garthoff about the causes of the Cuban missile crisis?

Standards 11.8.4, 11.8.5, 11.8.7, 11.9.3, 11.10.2, 11.10.7, 11.11.1, 11.11.2, 11.11.3, 11.11.6, 11.11.7

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. missile gap | 5. space race |
| 2. reapportionment | 6. consensus |
| 3. due process | 7. war on poverty |
| 4. flexible response | |

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| 8. medium | 11. institute | 14. analogy |
| 9. reside | 12. symbol | 15. confine |
| 10. arbitrary | 13. theory | 16. sector |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

- How was the 1960 presidential election a new kind of campaign?
- What was Kennedy's response to the steel industry's decision to raise prices sharply?

Section 2

- What were three programs set up by Kennedy to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to try to stem communism?

Section 3

- What inspired President Johnson's war on poverty?
- Which Great Society initiatives are still in effect today?

Critical Thinking

- Reading Skill** **Synthesizing** Identify the summary ideas under the heading "The Great Society" from pages 726–728. Would you agree with this summary? Write your own summary of one or two paragraphs about Johnson's Great Society.
- Civics** Why were Medicare and Medicaid landmark pieces of legislation in American history?
- Evaluating** In the 1960 presidential debate, most radio listeners thought Nixon had won, while most television viewers thought Kennedy had. Why do you think this was so?
- Drawing Conclusions** How did Kennedy help prevent Communist movements from flourishing in Latin America?
- Analyzing** President Kennedy was unable to pass civil rights legislation. What were some of the factors that allowed President Johnson to push civil rights forward after Kennedy's assassination?
- Evaluating** How did the Warren Court decisions in *Baker v. Carr* and *Reynolds v. Sims* affect voting power in the nation?

Chapter Summary

The New Frontier and the Great Society

Domestic Programs

- Office of Economic Opportunity fights illiteracy, unemployment, and disease.
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits race discrimination and social segregation.
- Voting Rights Act protects the right to vote.
- Medicare and Medicaid Acts provide federal medical aid to the elderly and poor.
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act increases aid for public schools.

Foreign Policy

- "Flexible response" policy maintains opposition to communism.
- U.S. pledges aid to struggling Latin American nations.
- Peace Corps offers humanitarian aid in poor countries.
- Nuclear Test Ban Treaty with the Soviet Union eases Cold War tensions.

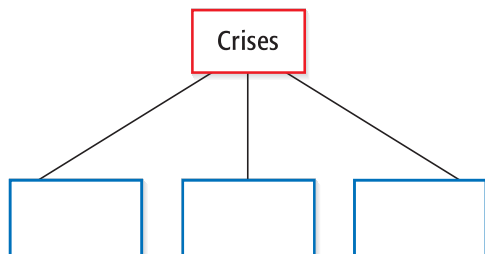
Supreme Court Cases

- Reynolds v. Sims* boosts voting power of urban dwellers, including many minorities.
- Extension of due process gives more protection to people accused of crimes.
- Court rules that states could not require prayer and Bible readings in public schools.

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision—Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 15** to access your knowledge of the chapter content.

28. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the crises of the Cold War during the Kennedy administration.

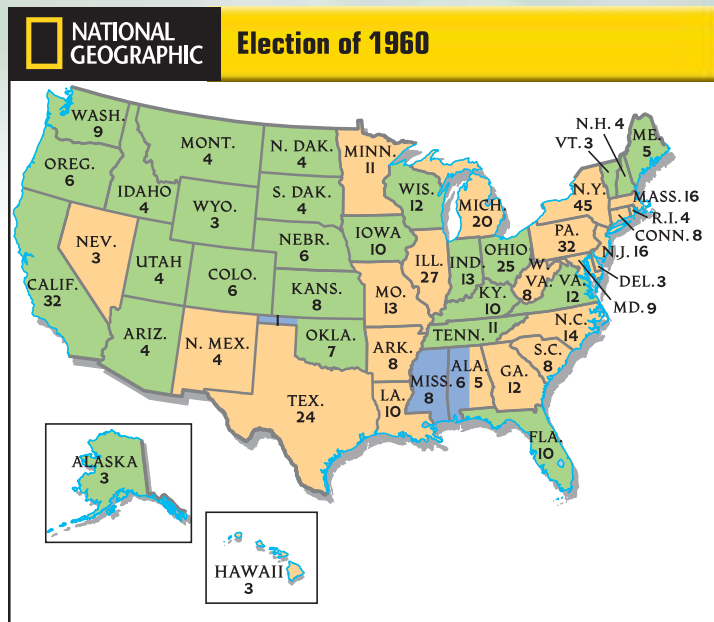


Writing About History

29. **Historical Analysis** **Identifying Bias** Review President Kennedy's quote under "The Space Program" on page 720. What biases might President Kennedy have held for competing in the space race? How did he express this in his quote? **CA HR2**
30. **Big Idea** Search the Internet to check the status of a specific Great Society program today. Find out how the program has changed since it was initiated. Write a report on your findings. **CA 11WS1.6**
31. **Expository Writing** Assume the role of a historian. Evaluate the effectiveness of Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society programs. Write an article for a historical journal explaining the successes and setbacks of each president's policy agendas. **CA 11WA2.4a**

DBQ Document-Based Questions

32. **Interpreting Primary Sources** Although the standard of living for most Americans rose dramatically throughout the 1960s, some Americans remained mired in poverty. Reread the excerpt on page 723 in which John Rath discusses his personal experiences with coping with poverty in his sparsely furnished room in Chicago. Then answer the following questions.
- What does Rath think might help him to have some purpose in his life? **CA 11RC2.4**
 - What does Rath mean when he says: "You sit down in a place like this, you grit your teeth. . . ." **CA 11RC2.5**



Geography and History

33. The map on this page shows the results of the presidential election of 1960. Study the map and answer the questions below.
- Interpreting Maps** Which regions of the country supported Kennedy? Which regions supported Nixon?
 - Applying Geography Skills** What would have happened if Kennedy had lost New York to Nixon?

Standards Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

34. Which of the following was a measure President Kennedy took to strengthen the economy?
- He utilized deficit spending.
 - He discouraged space exploration.
 - He asked labor leaders to request pay increases.
 - He increased state authority at the expense of federal authority.

Standard 11.8.4: Analyze new federal government spending on defense, welfare, interest on the national debt, and federal and state spending on education, including the California Master Plan.