

UNIT

7

A Time of Upheaval

1954–1980

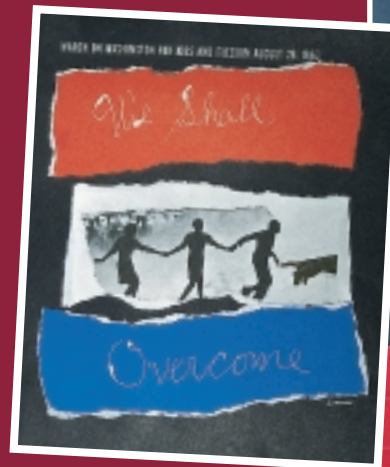
Why It Matters

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 936–937 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 7.

Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about this eventful era.



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

23

The New Frontier and the Great Society 1961–1968

Why It Matters

President John F. Kennedy urged Americans to work for progress and to stand firm against the Soviets. Cold War tensions and the threat of nuclear war peaked during the Cuban missile crisis. Kennedy's assassination changed the nation's mood, but President Lyndon Johnson embraced ambitious goals, including working toward the passage of major civil rights legislation and eradicating poverty.

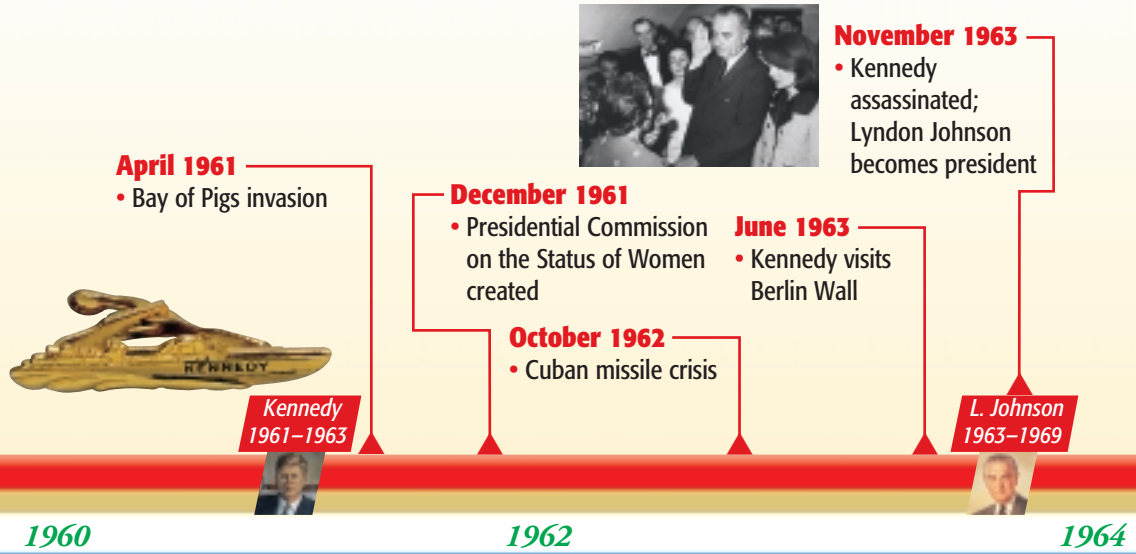
The Impact Today

Initiatives introduced in this era remain a part of American society.

- Medicaid and Medicare legislation provides major health benefits for elderly and low-income people.
- The Head Start program provides early educational opportunities for disadvantaged children.



The American Republic Since 1877 Video The Chapter 23 video, "A New Frontier: The Space Race," explores the dramatic history of the American space program.



World

- 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 Republic Since 1877* Web site at tx.tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 23** to preview chapter information.

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CONTENTS

SECTION 1 The New Frontier

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

John F. Kennedy encountered both success and setbacks on the domestic front.

Key Terms and Names

missile gap, New Frontier, Earl Warren, reapportionment, due process

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

Reading Objectives

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

Section Theme

Civic Rights and Responsibilities The Supreme Court made decisions that protected individual rights, including the "one man, one vote" decision.

Preview of Events



★ 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*



John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon in the 1960 debate

The Election of 1960

The television debates of the 1960 presidential election had 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 tele-

vision lighting. One Republican leader even wondered if the Democrats had supplied Nixon's makeup.

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 ads. 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.

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 118,000 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?

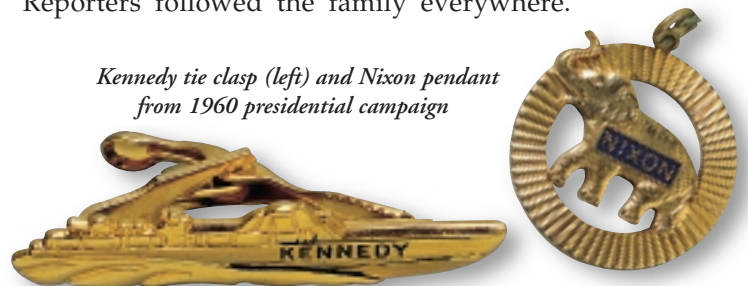
The Kennedy Mystique

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 large extended family seemed to have been created for media coverage. Reporters followed the family everywhere.

Kennedy tie clasp (left) and Nixon pendant from 1960 presidential campaign





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?](#)

Kennedy himself was a master of the media, particularly television. 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

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 winnable.

ECONOMICS

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.

Kennedy also convinced Congress to increase the minimum hourly wage to \$1.25. In addition, he provided more than \$400 million in aid to distressed areas under the Area Redevelopment Act. Meanwhile, the administration's Housing Act created an extensive home-building and slum clearance program as well as thousands of construction jobs.

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 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

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.

GOVERNMENT

"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

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

Camelot In December 1960, *Camelot*, a musical starring Richard Burton and Julie Andrews, opened on Broadway in New York City. The Kennedys attended the show, which told the legend of the heroism of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, and so enjoyed it that they listened to the music often. The president's favorite song included the lines: "Don't let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot."

In later years, the Kennedy presidency became known as "Camelot," largely because of Mrs. Kennedy. Shortly after the president's death in 1963, she told a journalist that all she could think about was the president's favorite line. She went on to say: "There'll be great presidents again, . . . but there'll never be another Camelot again." Journalist Theodore H. White later wrote that "all she could repeat was, 'Tell people there will never be that Camelot again.'"

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)	Congressional 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)	Nondenominational prayer in school banned
<i>Abington School District v. Schempp</i> (1963)	Daily Bible reading in school banned
<i>New York Times v. Sullivan</i> (1964)	Celebrities may sue the media for libel only in certain circumstances

Chart Skills

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

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 962 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 964 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 specifically 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 fourfold 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 963–964 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 Supreme Court justices accused the Warren Court of favoring criminals. Others 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 that reaffirmed the separation of 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 following year, in *Abington School District v. Schempp*, it ruled against daily 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 962–963 for more information on these Supreme Court cases.)



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

As with most 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 national policy. The Warren Court, wrote *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, “has brought about more social change than most Congresses and most Presidents.”

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?

TAKS Practice

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** missile gap, reapportionment, due process.
- Identify:** New Frontier, Earl Warren.
- Summarize** the progress made for women’s rights during Kennedy’s administration.

Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities**
Name three decisions of the Warren Court that protected civil rights.

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** In what way was the 1960 presidential election a turning point in campaign history?
- 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 722. 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.

SECTION 2 JFK and the Cold War

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

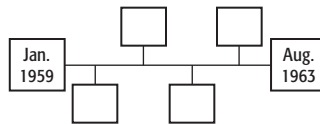
As president, John F. Kennedy had to confront the challenges and fears of the Cold War.

Key Terms and Names

flexible response, Peace Corps, space race, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission

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.



Reading Objectives

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

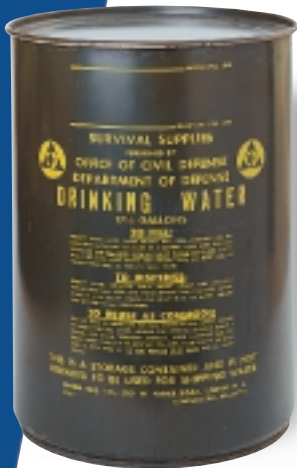
Section Theme

Science and Technology During the Cold War, the nation devoted much of its scientific and technological resources to competing with the Soviet Union, especially in getting to the moon.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Emergency water supplied by Department of Defense

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*

Kennedy Confronts Global Challenges

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. As Kennedy entered the White House, the nation's dangerous rivalry with the Soviet Union continued to intensify. As a result, the new president had to devote much of

his energy in foreign policy matters to guiding the nation through the deepening Cold War.

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*

Kennedy attempted to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to stop the spread of communism with a range of programs. These included a conventional weaponry program, economic aid, and the Peace Corps.

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. Although costly, a flexible response plan would allow the United States to fight a limited style of warfare.

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 left-wing 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 had requested assistance. They laid out sewage systems in Bolivia and trained medical technicians in Chad. Others taught English or helped to build roads. 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.

TECHNOLOGY

The Cold War Moves Into Space President Kennedy sought to increase the country’s presence not only around the world but also in space. With Cold War tensions continuing to rise, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a **space race**—vying for dominance of the heavens to enhance their competitive positions on Earth.

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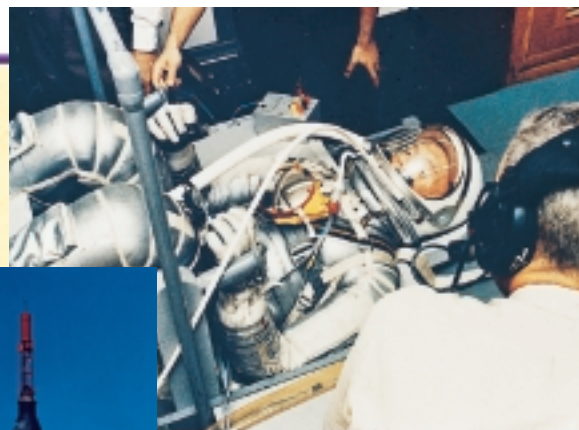


Student Web Activity Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tx.tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 23** for an activity on the New Frontier.

Why It Matters

The Space Program

The space program expanded significantly when President Kennedy announced his determination to beat the Soviets to the moon. By the time Neil Armstrong and Edwin (“Buzz”) Aldrin walked on the moon in 1969, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) had spent over \$33 billion. Since that time, NASA expenditures have affected far more than space missions. NASA research findings have advanced knowledge of the nature of the universe, and people have applied them to many technical fields and manufacturing processes.



▼ Moon boot material developed for the space program is used in many running shoes. It has improved shock absorption and provides superior stability and motion control.



Kennedy was determined that the first humans to reach the moon would be Americans, not Russians. In 1961 he recommended to Congress that “this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon.” Kennedy’s dream was realized in July 1969, during Richard Nixon’s first administration, when astronaut Neil Armstrong became the first person to set foot on the moon.

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

Crises of the Cold War

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 was also expressing his intent to strengthen Cuba militarily.

Fearing that the Communists would use Cuba as a base from which to spread revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere, President Eisenhower had 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 touch off 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 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

▼ 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 physically challenged people perform tasks like picking up packages, opening doors, and turning on appliances.



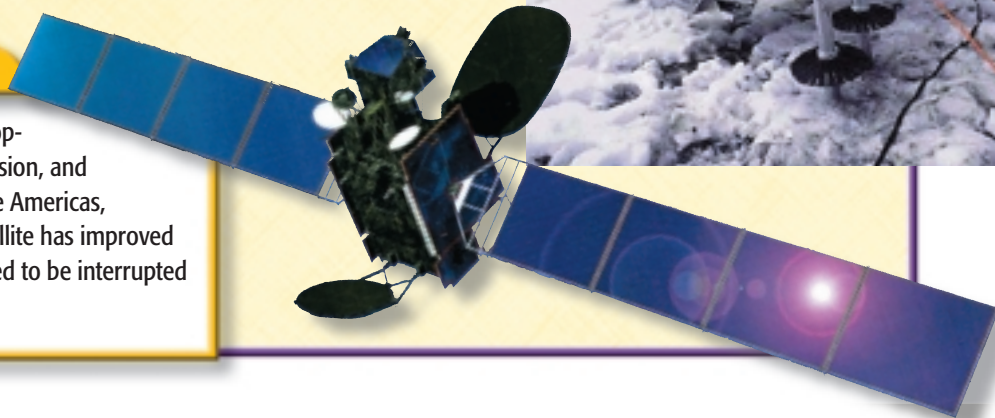
Increased Safety ►

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.



expected popular uprising never happened. Within two days, Castro's forces killed or captured almost all the members of La Brigada.

The Bay of Pigs was a dark moment for the Kennedy administration. The action exposed an American plot to overthrow a neighbor's government, and the outcome 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 beginning in June 1961 when he met with Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria. The Soviet leader was determined to test the resolve of the young president. Khrushchev also 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, blocking movement between the Soviet sector

and the rest of the city. Guards posted along the wall shot at many of those attempting 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 and that military construction was in progress. Then, 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, demanded that they dismantle existing missile sites, and warned that if any weapons were launched against the United States, he would respond fully against the Soviet Union. Still, work on the missile sites continued. Nuclear holocaust seemed imminent.

Then, 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. As American officials considered the offer, letters and cables flew between the two leaders and their chief advisers.

The reality was that 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. Still, the dangerous standoff persisted. 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 undermined the position of Nikita Khrushchev and contributed to his fall from power a year later. The new leadership was less interested in reaching agreements with the West. Perhaps more important, 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. For a time, the arms race undermined American support for negotiating with the Soviets.

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

The Death of a President

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 rode slowly through the



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?**

crowded streets of Dallas, gunfire rang out. Someone had shot the president twice—once in the throat and once in the head. Horrified 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, simply watching people file past the casket. In Rome, Italy, people brought flowers to the American embassy. In the streets of New Delhi, India, crowds wept. In Africa, the president of Guinea said, “I have lost my only true friend in the outside world.”

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



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?](#)

wave of emotion that followed the president’s death, his successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson, would set out to promote many of the programs that Kennedy left behind.

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

TAKS Practice

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

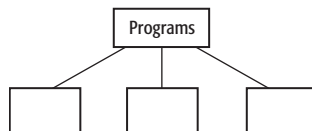
- Define:** flexible response, space race.
- Identify:** Peace Corps, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission.
- Explain** the goals of the Alliance for Progress.

Reviewing Themes

- Science and Technology** 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 photographs on pages 726–727. Explain how space exploration has led to other innovations that have affected our daily lives and standard of living.

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.



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,
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/TIMEX

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

14¹/₂ 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 3 The Great Society

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

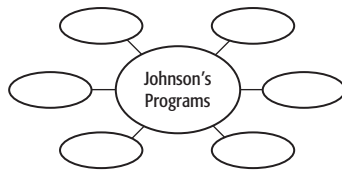
Lyndon Johnson succeeded John F. Kennedy as president and greatly expanded Kennedy's agenda with far-reaching programs in many areas.

Key Terms and Names

consensus, war on poverty, VISTA, Great Society, Medicare, Medicaid, Head Start, Robert Weaver

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.



Reading Objectives

- **Explain** what inspired Johnson's Great Society programs.
- **Identify** several specific health and employment programs of the Johnson administration.

Section Theme

Government and Democracy In a time of prosperity, President Johnson won support for extending government aid to the poor and elderly.

Preview of Events

November 1963

November 1963

Johnson becomes president upon Kennedy's death

June 1964

August 1964

Congress enacts Economic Opportunity Act

January 1965

November 1964

Johnson wins election as president

August 1965

July 1965

Congress passes Medical Care Act, establishing Medicare and Medicaid

★ An American Story ★



Urban poverty in Chicago

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*

Johnson Takes the Reins

John Rath's life was not the image that many Americans had of their country in the mid-1960s. 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. 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. Thus it would be immoral not to devote national resources to reducing human suffering.

Lyndon Johnson invoked these ideals during the first dramatic days of his presidency. 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*

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.

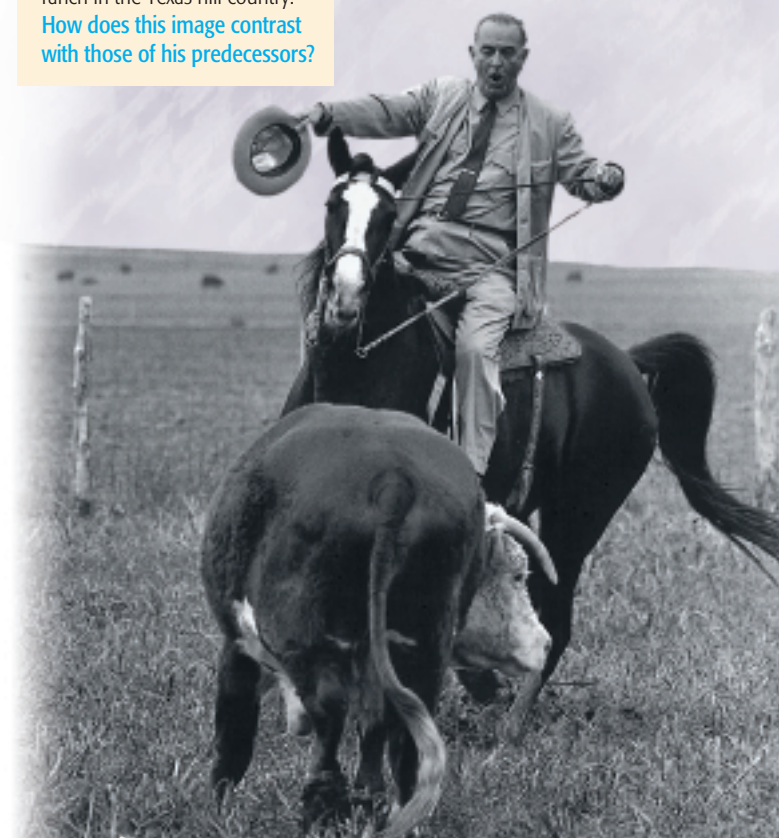
Johnson had honed his style in long years of public service. By the time he became president at age 55, he already had 26 years of congressional experience behind him. He had been a congressional staffer, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, a U.S. senator, Senate majority leader, and vice 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

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?



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 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.”

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

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.

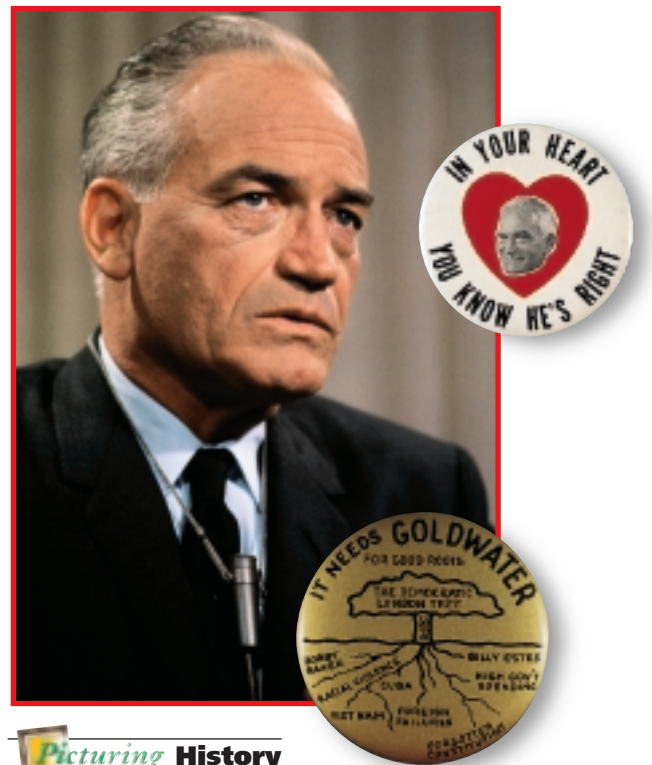
Johnson’s Republican opponent in the 1964 presidential election was **Barry Goldwater** of Arizona, a senator known for his outspoken conservatism. He set the tone for his campaign when he accepted his party’s nomination, declaring, “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice! And let me remind you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

After his election, Johnson began working with Congress to create the “Great Society” he had promised during his campaign. In this same period, 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.



Picturing History

Conservative Stance The extreme language of Senator Barry Goldwater’s campaign posed little challenge to President Johnson. [How many states did Goldwater win?](#)

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 textbooks, library 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 disadvantaged children who had “never looked at a picture book or scribbled with a crayon.” Another program, Upward Bound, was designed to provide college preparation for low-income teenagers.

Improvements in health and education were only the beginning of the Great Society programs. Because of the deterioration of inner cities, Johnson told Congress that “America’s cities are in crisis.” Conditions in the cities—poor schools, crime, slum housing, poverty, and pollution—blighted the lives of those who lived there. Johnson urged Congress to act on several pieces of legislation addressing this issue.

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 low-income families.	Higher Education Act (1965) supported college tuition scholarships, student loans, and work-study programs for low- and middle-income students.	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 poor children’s nutrition.	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

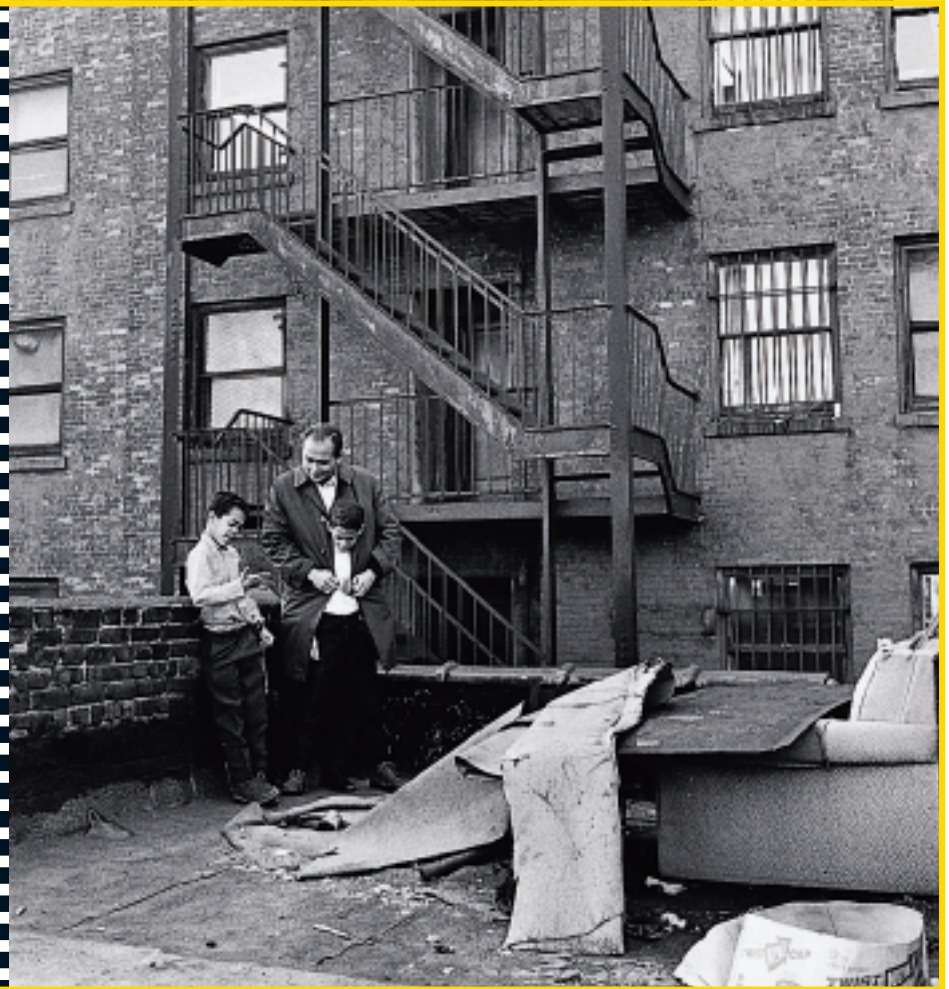
- 1. Interpreting Charts** What was the purpose of the Office of Economic Opportunity?
- 2. Evaluating** Which Great Society program do you think had the most impact on American society? Why?



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.



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. Since many depressed urban areas lacked sufficient or affordable housing, legislation also authorized about \$8 billion to build houses for low- and middle-income people.

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 European immigrants. The new measure opened wider the door of

the United States to newcomers from all parts of Europe, as well as from Asia and Africa.

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

Legacy of the 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

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.

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 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 disadvantaged citizens? 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?

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

TAKS Practice

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *consensus, war on poverty.*
- Identify:** VISTA, Great Society, Medicare, Medicaid, Head Start, Robert Weaver.
- Describe** how the Great Society programs were inspired.

Reviewing Themes

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

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** What were three legacies of the Great Society?
- 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 734. 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.

Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

Problem Solving

Why Learn This Skill?

Imagine you have just done poorly on a chemistry exam. You wonder why you cannot do better since you always go to class, take notes, and study for exams. In order to improve your grades, you need to identify the specific problem and then take actions to solve it.

Learning the Skill

There are six key steps you should follow that will help you through the problem-solving process.

- Identify the problem. In the case listed above, you know that you are not doing well on chemistry exams.
- Gather information. You know that you always go to class and take notes. You study by yourself for about two hours each day for two or three days before the exam. You also know that you sometimes forget details or get confused about things as you are taking the exam.
- List and consider possible solutions. For example, instead of studying by yourself, you might try studying with a friend or a group. You might also study for shorter timespans to avoid overloading yourself with information.
- Consider the advantages and disadvantages of each solution.
- Now that you have listed and considered the possible options, you need to choose the best solution to your problem. Choose what you think is the right solution, and carry it out.
- Evaluate the effectiveness of the solution. This will help you determine if you have solved the problem. If you earn better scores on the next few chemistry tests, you will know that you have solved your problem.

Practicing the Skill

Reread the material in Section 1 on page 720 under the heading “Kennedy Struggles with

Congress.” Use that information and the steps listed on this page to answer the following questions.

- 1 What problem did Kennedy encounter as he tried to pass domestic policy legislation through Congress?
- 2 What options were available to the president in facing this opposition? What were the advantages and disadvantages?
- 3 Explain the solution Kennedy implemented to solve his problem.
- 4 Evaluate the effectiveness of Kennedy’s solution. Was it successful? How do you determine this?



Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 743 and the Chapter 23 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Problem Solving The conservation club at your school has no money to continue its recycling project. The school district allocated money to the club at the beginning of the year, but that money has been spent. As a member of the club, you have been asked to join a committee to save the conservation club and its projects. Write an essay describing the problem, the list of options and their advantages and disadvantages, a solution, and an evaluation of the chosen solution.



Glencoe’s **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

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 on Government*, became very influential in the American colonies.

In 1688 the English Parliament removed King James II from the throne. The king’s overthrow became 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 inalienable 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?

Reviewing Key Terms

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

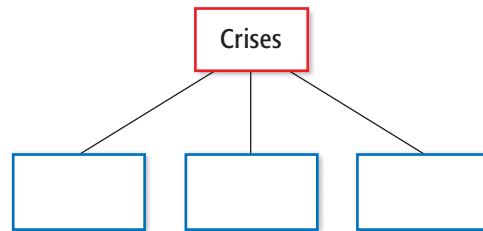
- 1. missile gap
- 2. reapportionment
- 3. due process
- 4. flexible response
- 5. space race
- 6. consensus
- 7. war on poverty

Reviewing Key Facts

- 8. **Identify:** New Frontier, Earl Warren, Peace Corps, Warren Commission, Great Society, Head Start.
- 9. How was the 1960 presidential election a new kind of campaign?
- 10. What main issues did Nixon and Kennedy discuss in their televised debate?
- 11. How close was the outcome of the 1960 presidential election between Nixon and Kennedy?
- 12. What was Kennedy’s response to the steel industry’s decision to raise prices sharply?
- 13. What were three measures Kennedy took to strengthen the economy?
- 14. What were three programs set up by Kennedy to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to try to stem communism?
- 15. What inspired President Johnson’s war on poverty?
- 16. What was the purpose of Medicare, passed during Johnson’s administration?
- 17. Which Great Society initiatives are still in effect today?

Critical Thinking

- 18. **Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** Why were Medicare and Medicaid landmark pieces of legislation in American history?
- 19. **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?
- 20. **Drawing Conclusions** How did Kennedy help prevent Communist movements from flourishing in Latin America?
- 21. **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?
- 22. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the crises of the Cold War during the Kennedy administration.



- 23. **Evaluating** How did the Warren Court decisions in *Baker v. Carr* and *Reynolds v. Sims* affect voting power in the nation?
- 24. **Interpreting Primary Sources** Although the standard of living for most Americans rose dramatically throughout the

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 Republic Since 1877* Web site at tx.tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 23** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

1960s, some Americans remained mired in poverty. Reread the excerpt on page 732 in which John Rath discusses his personal experiences with coping with poverty in his sparsely furnished room in Chicago. Then answer the following questions.

- a. What does Rath think might help him to have some purpose in his life?
- b. What does Rath mean when he says: "You sit down in a place like this, you grit your teeth. . . .?"

Practicing Skills

25. **Problem Solving** Reread the passage on pages 727–728 titled "The Cuban Missile Crisis." Use that information to answer the following questions.
 - a. What problem did Kennedy encounter in Cuba?
 - b. What options were available to the president in this situation? What were the advantages and disadvantages of each option?
 - c. Explain the solution Kennedy used to resolve the Cuban missile crisis.
 - d. Was Kennedy's solution successful? Why or why not?

Chapter Activity

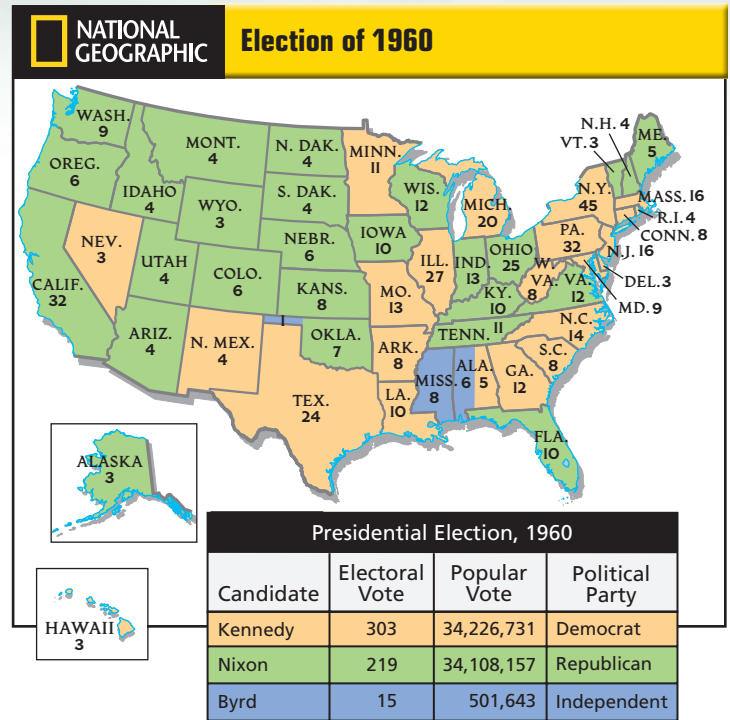
26. **Technology Activity: Using the Internet** Search the Internet to check the status of Great Society programs today. Find out how these programs have changed since they were initiated. Make a chart showing the provisions of the programs in the 1960s compared to the provisions of the programs today.

Writing Activity

27. **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.

Geography and History

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



TAKS
Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

All of the following were effects of rulings by the Warren Court EXCEPT:

- A Involved federal courts in the reapportionment of state election districts
- B Extended rights for people accused of crimes
- C Protected religious minorities through greater separation of church and state
- D Increased state authority at the expense of federal authority

Test-Taking Tip: This question calls for an answer that does NOT accurately complete the statement. The Warren Court expanded individual civil liberties and the power of the judicial branch. Eliminate answers that had either of those effects.