

UNIT 8 — Period 8: 1945–1980

Topic 8.1

Contextualizing Period 8

Learning Objective: Explain the context for societal changes from 1945 to 1980.

In 1945, the United States emerged from World War II with the world's largest and strongest economy. Americans were happy to get back to civilian life. However, people feared that without the stimulus of wartime spending, the economic depression of the 1930s might return. What no one could predict with any confidence was how the economy at home, the migration to the suburbs and Sun Belt, the spread of communism, and the civil rights movements for African Americans and others would impact American lives in the future.

U.S.–Soviet Conflict The postwar struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union, between Western democracies and the Communist bloc nations, which became known as the *Cold War*, provided the context for many, if not most, events of the period from 1945 to 1980. This struggle showed up in U.S. involvement in wars both in Korea and Vietnam, and in the case of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, a direct confrontation that brought the two nations to the brink of nuclear war. The Cold War also had a pervasive effect on American society, from how we built schools (over bomb shelters) to the civil rights movement, as more Americans woke up to the glaring injustices of segregation, which mocked our democracy overseas and contradicted the basic principles of freedom and equal opportunity.

Concerns about Communism After World War II, the United States had a second *Red Scare*. Its context involved spies giving atomic bomb secrets to the Communists and hunting down Communists in the State Department, the military, Hollywood, schools, churches, and other American institutions, and at the height of the fear, neighbors. The Cold War also contributed to *public debates* over foreign policy issues, such as U.S. involvement in Vietnam, which led to massive protests by students and antiwar activists that deeply divided the nation and brought down a president. However, the Cold War fluctuated between periods of confrontation and *coexistence* or *détente*.

Economic Growth and Change At the same time, Americans enjoyed robust *economic growth* through the 1950s and 1960s. Part of the context was that the country faced little overseas competition, as the rest of world's

economies recovered from the destruction of factories, roads, railways, and harbors during World War II. However, it also involved the pent-up demand for housing, autos, and other consumer goods following the austerity of the Great Depression and World War II. Veterans returning from war and their families changed the U.S. landscape by moving to the *Sun Belt* states and creating new suburbs across the nation with the help of the government's GI Bill.

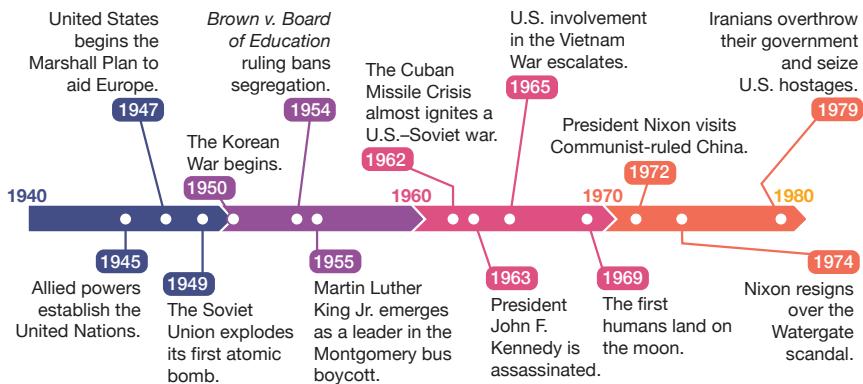
Civil Rights and Liberal Reform If anything pushed the Cold War into the background it was the societal changes related to the *civil rights movement* of African Americans during the 1950s and 1960s, and then in the 1970s the issues of equality and social justice raised by women and ethnic minorities. The *liberalism* of the postwar era, which expanded the *role of government*, generated a range of responses from support to a growing backlash from both secular and religious conservatives.

Turn toward Conservatism By the late 1960s, frustration over the Vietnam War, opposition to civil rights reforms and other liberal domestic programs, and increased civil unrest weakened the Democratic majority. Postwar optimism and prosperity gave way to pessimism and a declining standard of living for many Americans, as many good-paying jobs in manufacturing went overseas to low-wage countries. People were losing confidence in government's ability to solve problems and in the effectiveness of American institutions, from the news media to colleges and universities. By the mid-1970s, as wage growth stagnated for average Americans, liberalism slowly gave way to a *conservative resurgence*.

ANALYZE THE CONTEXT

1. Explain a historical context for political debates and social anxieties about the Cold War during the period from 1945 to 1980.
2. Explain a historical context for the migration to the suburbs and the Sun Belt during the period from 1945 to 1980.
3. Explain a historical context for the civil rights movement of African Americans and other groups seeking equality and social justice during the period from 1945 to 1980.

LANDMARK EVENTS: 1945–1980



Topic 8.2

The Cold War from 1945 to 1980

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable. Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.

President Harry S. Truman, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1949

Learning Objective: Explain the continuities and changes in the Cold War policies from 1945 to 1980.

World War II dramatically changed the United States from an isolationist country into a military superpower and a leader in world affairs. After the war, most of the Americans at home and the millions coming back from military service wished to return to normal domestic life and enjoy the revitalized national economy. However, during the Truman presidency, the growing conflict between the Communist Soviet Union and the United States resulted in a long struggle that came to be known as the Cold War.

Origins of the Cold War

The **Cold War** dominated international relations from the late 1940s to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The conflict centered on the intense rivalry between two superpowers: the Communist **Soviet Union** and the leading Western democracy, the United States. They competed directly through diplomacy and indirectly through armed conflicts among allies, but rarely through direct military actions against each other. However, in several instances, the Cold War took the world dangerously near nuclear war.

Historians intensely debate how the Cold War began. Some see President Truman's (1945–1953) policies as a reasonable response to Soviet efforts to spread their influence. However, some critics argue that Truman misunderstood and overreacted to Russia's realistic need to secure its borders. Other critics have attacked his administration as being weak or "soft" on communism.

U.S.–Soviet Relations to 1945 The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union against the Axis powers was actually a temporary halt in their generally poor relations of the past. Since the Bolshevik Revolution that established a Communist government in Russia in 1917, Americans had viewed the Soviets as a threat to all capitalistic countries. In the United States, it led to the Red Scare of 1919. The United States refused to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. Even then, after a brief honeymoon period, Roosevelt's

advisers concluded that Joseph Stalin and the Communists could not be trusted. Confirming their view was the notorious Nonaggression Pact of 1939, in which Stalin and Hitler agreed to divide up Eastern Europe.

Allies in World War II In 1941, Hitler's surprise invasion of the Soviet Union and Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor led to a U.S.–Soviet alliance of convenience—but not of mutual trust. Stalin bitterly complained that the British and Americans waited until 1944 to open a second front in France. Because of this wait, the Soviets bore the brunt of fighting the Nazis. By some estimates, half of all deaths in World War II were Soviets. The postwar conflicts over Central and Eastern Europe were already evident in the negotiations between Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945. Roosevelt hoped that personal diplomacy might keep Stalin in check, but when Truman came to power, he quickly became suspicious of the Soviets.

Postwar Cooperation and the United Nations The founding of the **United Nations** in the fall of 1945 provided one hopeful sign for the future. The General Assembly of the United Nations was created to provide representation to all member nations, while the 15-member **Security Council** was given the primary responsibility within the UN for maintaining international security and authorizing peacekeeping missions. The five major allies of wartime—the United States, Great Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union—were granted permanent seats and veto power in the UN Security Council. Optimists hoped that these nations would be able to reach agreement on international issues. In addition, the Soviets went along with a U.S. proposal to establish an Atomic Energy Commission in the United Nations. They rejected, however, a plan proposed by Bernard Baruch for regulating nuclear energy and eliminating atomic weapons. American leaders interpreted rejection of the Baruch Plan as proof that Moscow did not have peaceful intentions.

The United States also offered the Soviets participation in the new International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now commonly called the **World Bank**) created at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944. The bank's initial purpose was to fund rebuilding of a war-torn world. The Soviets, however, declined to participate because they viewed the bank as an instrument of capitalism. The Soviets did join the other Allies in the 1945–1946 Nuremberg trials of 22 top Nazi leaders for war crimes and violations of human rights.

Satellite States in Eastern Europe Distrust turned into hostility beginning in 1946, as Soviet forces remained in occupation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Elections were held by the Soviets—as promised by Stalin at Yalta—but the results were manipulated in favor of Communist candidates. One by one, from 1946 to 1948, Communist dictators, most of them loyal to Moscow, came to power in Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Apologists for the Soviets argued that Russia needed buffer states or **satellites** (nations under the control of a great power), as a protection against another Hitler-like invasion from the West.

The U.S. and British governments were alarmed by the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe. They regarded Soviet actions there as a flagrant violation of self-determination, genuine democracy, and open markets. The British especially wanted free elections in Poland, whose independence had been the issue that started World War II.

Occupation Zones in Germany At the end of the war, the division of Germany and Austria into Soviet, French, British, and U.S. zones of occupation was meant to be only temporary. In Germany, however, the eastern zone under Soviet occupation gradually evolved into a new Communist state, the German Democratic Republic. The conflict over Germany was in part a conflict over differing views of national security and economic needs. The Soviets wanted a weak Germany for security reasons and large war reparations for economic reasons. The United States and Great Britain refused to allow reparations from their western zones because both viewed the economic recovery of Germany as important to the stability of Central Europe. The Soviets, fearing a restored Germany, tightened their control over East Germany. Also, since Berlin lay within their zone, they attempted to force the Americans, British, and French to give up their assigned sectors of the city.

Iron Curtain “I’m tired of babying the Soviets,” Truman told Secretary of State James Byrnes in January 1946. News of a Canadian spy ring stealing atomic secrets for the Soviets and continued Soviet occupation of northern Iran further encouraged a get-tough policy in Washington.

In March 1946, in Fulton, Missouri, Truman was present on the speaker’s platform as former British Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** declared: “An iron curtain has descended across the continent” of Europe. The **Iron Curtain** metaphor was later used throughout the Cold War to refer to the division between the U.S. allies in Western Europe and Soviet allies of Eastern Europe. Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech called for a partnership between Western democracies to halt the expansion of communism. Did the speech anticipate the Cold War—or help to cause it? Historians still debate this question.

Containment in Europe

Early in 1947, Truman adopted a **containment policy** designed to prevent Soviet expansion without starting a war. The plan, which would guide U.S. foreign policy for decades, was formulated by three top advisers: Secretary of State General **George Marshall**, Undersecretary of State **Dean Acheson**, and an expert on Soviet affairs, **George F. Kennan**. In an influential article, Kennan had written that only “a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies” would eventually cause the Soviets to back off their plan to spread communism and to live in peace with other nations.

Critics of the containment policy, such as journalist Walter Lippmann (who coined the term *Cold War*), argued that it was too ambitious. He considered some areas vital to U.S. security and others merely peripheral. Further, some governments deserved U.S. support but others did not. American leaders,

however, had learned the lesson of Munich (when leaders had given into demands by Hitler for land in 1938): appeasing dictators did not work. They felt that Communist aggression, wherever it occurred, must be challenged.

The Truman Doctrine

Truman first implemented the containment policy in response to two threats: (1) a Communist-led uprising against the government in Greece, and (2) Soviet demands for some control of a water route in Turkey, the Dardanelles. In what became known as the **Truman Doctrine**, the president asked Congress in March 1947 for \$400 million in economic and military aid to assist the “free people” of Greece and Turkey against “totalitarian” regimes. While Truman’s alarmist speech might have oversimplified the situation in Greece and Turkey, it gained bipartisan support from Republicans and Democrats in Congress.

The Marshall Plan

After the war, Europe lay in ruins, short of food and deep in debt. The harsh winter of 1946–1947 further demoralized Europeans, who had already suffered through years of depression and war. Discontent encouraged the growth of the Communist Party, especially in France and Italy. The Truman administration feared that the Western democracies might vote the Communists into power.

In June 1947, George Marshall outlined an extensive program of U.S. economic aid to help European nations revive their economies and strengthen democratic governments. In December, Truman submitted to Congress a \$17 billion European Recovery Program, better known as the **Marshall Plan**. In 1948, \$12 billion in aid was approved for distribution to the countries of Western Europe over a four-year period. The United States offered Marshall Plan aid to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites, but the Soviets refused it, fearing that it would lead to dependence on the United States.

Effects The Marshall Plan worked exactly as Marshall and Truman had hoped. The massive infusion of U.S. dollars helped Western Europe achieve self-sustaining growth by the 1950s and ended any real threat of Communist political successes in that region. It also bolstered U.S. prosperity by greatly increasing U.S. exports to Europe. At the same time, however, it deepened the rift between the non-Communist West and the Communist East.

The Berlin Airlift

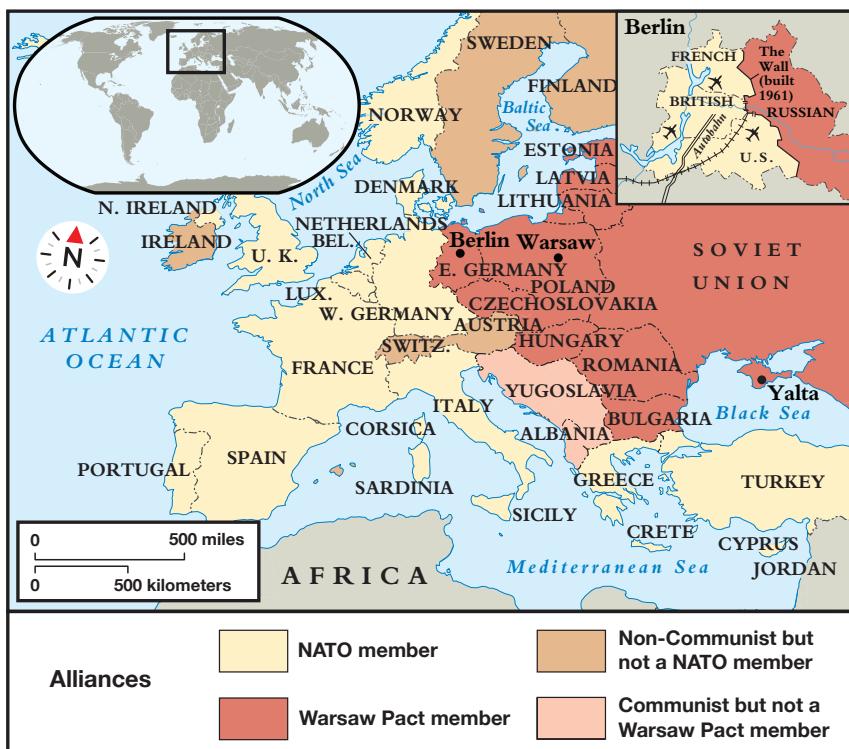
A major crisis of the Cold War focused on Berlin. In June 1948, the Soviets cut off all access by land to the German city. Truman dismissed any plans to withdraw from Berlin, but he also rejected using force to open up the roads through the Soviet-controlled eastern zone. Instead, he ordered U.S. planes to fly in supplies to the people of West Berlin. Day after day, week after week, the massive airlift continued. At the same time, Truman sent 60 bombers capable of carrying atomic bombs to bases in England. The world waited nervously for the outbreak of war, but Stalin decided not to challenge the airlift. (Truman’s stand on Berlin was partly responsible for his victory in the 1948 election.)

By May 1949, the Soviets finally opened up the highways to Berlin, thus bringing their 11-month blockade to an end. A major long-term consequence of the Berlin crisis was the creation of two Germanys: the Federal Republic of Germany (**West Germany**, a U.S. ally) and the German Democratic Republic (**East Germany**, a Soviet satellite). Berlin, located within the GDR, also divided into sectors allied with the United States and the Soviets.

NATO and National Security

Ever since Washington's farewell address of 1796, the United States had avoided permanent alliances with European nations. Truman broke with this tradition in 1949 by recommending that the United States join a military defense pact to protect Western Europe. The Senate readily gave its consent. Ten European nations joined the United States and Canada in creating the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, a military alliance for defending all members from outside attack. Truman selected General Eisenhower as NATO's first Supreme Commander and stationed U.S. troops in Western Europe as a deterrent against a Soviet invasion. Thus, the containment policy led to a military buildup and major commitments abroad. The Soviet Union countered in 1955 by forming the **Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance for the defense of the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II: THE COLD WAR



National Security Act (1947) The United States had begun to modernize its military capability in 1947 by passing the **National Security Act**. It provided for (1) a centralized Department of Defense (replacing the War Department) to coordinate the operations of the army, navy, and air force; (2) the creation of the National Security Council (NSC) to coordinate the making of foreign policy; and (3) the creation of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to gather information on foreign governments. In 1948, the Selective Service System and a peacetime military draft were instituted.

Atomic Weapons After the Berlin crisis, teams of scientists in both the Soviet Union and the United States were engaged in an intense competition—or **arms race**—to develop superior weapons systems. For a period of just four years (1945–1949), the United States was the only nation that had the atomic bomb. In this period it also developed a new generation of long-range bombers for delivering nuclear weapons.

The Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in the fall of 1949. Truman then approved the development of a bomb a thousand times more powerful than the A-bomb that had destroyed Hiroshima. In 1952, this hydrogen bomb (or H-bomb) was added to the U.S. arsenal. Earlier, in 1950, the National Security Council had recommended, in a secret report known as **NSC-68**, that the following measures were necessary to fight the Cold War:

- quadruple U.S. government defense spending to 20 percent of GNP
- convince the American public that a costly arms buildup was imperative for the nation's defense
- form alliances with non-Communist countries around the world

Evaluating U.S. Policy Critics of NATO and the defense buildup argued that the Truman administration intensified Russian fears and started an unnecessary arms race. Regardless, NATO became one of the most successful military alliances in history. In combination with the deterrent power of nuclear weapons, NATO effectively checked Soviet expansion in Europe and thereby maintained an uneasy peace until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991.

Cold War in Asia

The successful containment policy in Europe was not duplicated in Asia. Following World War II, the old imperialist system in India and Southeast Asia crumbled, as former colonies became new nations. Because they had different cultural and political traditions and bitter memories of Western colonialism, they resisted U.S. influence. Ironically, the Asian nation that became most closely tied to the U.S. defense system was its former enemy, Japan.

Japan

Unlike Germany, Japan was solely under the control of the United States. General **Douglas MacArthur** took firm charge of the reconstruction of Japan. Seven Japanese generals, including Premier Hideki Tojo, were tried for war

crimes and executed. Under MacArthur's guidance, the new constitution adopted in May 1947 set up a parliamentary democracy. It retained Emperor Hirohito as the ceremonial head of state, but the emperor gave up his claims to divinity. The new constitution also renounced war as an instrument of national policy and provided for only limited military capability. As a result, Japan depended on the military protection of the United States.

U.S.-Japanese Security Treaties With the signing of treaties in 1951, Japan gave up its claims to Korea and some Pacific islands. The United States ended its occupation of Japan, but U.S. troops remained in military bases in Japan for that country's protection against external enemies, particularly Communists. Japan became a strong ally and prospered under the American shield.

The Philippines and the Pacific

On July 4, 1946, in accordance with an act passed by Congress in 1934, the Philippines became an independent republic, but the United States retained important naval and air bases there throughout the Cold War. These bases, together with U.S. control of the UN trustee islands taken from Japan at the end of the war, began to make the Pacific Ocean look like an American lake.

China

Since coming to power in the late 1920s, **Chiang Kai-shek** (Jiang Jie-shi) had used his command of the Nationalist, or Kuomintang, party to control China's central government. During World War II, the United States had given massive military aid to Chiang to prevent all of China from being conquered by Japan. As soon as the war ended, a civil war dating back to the 1930s was renewed between Chiang's Nationalists and the Chinese Communists led by **Mao Zedong**. The Nationalists were losing the loyalty of millions of Chinese because of runaway inflation and widespread corruption, while the well-organized Communists successfully appealed to poor, landless peasants.

U.S. Policy The Truman administration sent George Marshall to China in 1946 to negotiate an end to the civil war, but his compromise fell apart in a few months. By 1947, Chiang's armies were in retreat. After ruling out a large-scale American invasion to rescue Chiang, Truman seemed unsure of what to do. In 1948, Congress voted to give the Nationalist government \$400 million in aid, but 80 percent of the U.S. military supplies ended up in Communist hands because of corruption and the collapse of the Nationalist armies.

Two Chinas By the end of 1949, all of mainland China was controlled by the Communists. Chiang and the Nationalists had retreated to an island once under Japanese rule, Formosa (**Taiwan**). From there, Chiang still claimed to head the legitimate government for all of China. The United States continued to support Chiang and refused to recognize Mao Zedong's regime in Beijing (the **People's Republic of China**) until 30 years later, in 1979.

In the United States, Republicans blamed the Democrats for the "loss of China" to Communism. In 1950, Stalin and Mao signed a Sino-Soviet pact. This added to fears of a worldwide Communist conspiracy.

The Korean War

After the defeat of Japan, its former colony Korea was divided along the **38th parallel** by the victors. Soviet armies occupied Korean territory north of the line, while U.S. forces occupied territory to the south. By 1949, both armies were withdrawn, leaving the North in the hands of the Communist leader **Kim Il Sung** and the South under the conservative nationalist **Syngman Rhee**.

Invasion On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army surprised the world, possibly even Moscow, by invading South Korea. Truman took immediate action, applying his containment policy to this latest crisis in Asia. He called for a special session of the UN Security Council. Taking advantage of a temporary boycott by the Soviet delegation, the Security Council under U.S. leadership authorized a UN force to defend South Korea against the invaders. Although other nations participated in this force, U.S. troops made up most of the UN forces sent to help the South Korean army. Commanding the expedition was General Douglas MacArthur. Congress supported the use of U.S. troops in the Korean crisis but failed to declare war, accepting Truman's characterization of U.S. intervention as merely a "police action."

Counterattack At first the war in Korea went badly, as the North Koreans pushed the combined South Korean and U.S. forces to the tip of the peninsula. However, General MacArthur reversed the war with a daring amphibious assault at Inchon behind the North Korean lines. UN forces then proceeded to destroy much of the North Korean army, advancing northward almost as far as the Chinese border. MacArthur failed to heed China's warnings that it would resist threats to its security. In November 1950, masses of Chinese troops crossed the border into Korea, overwhelming UN forces and driving them out of North Korea.

Truman Versus MacArthur MacArthur stabilized the fighting near the 38th parallel. At the same time, he called for expanding the war, including bombing and invading mainland China. As commander in chief, Truman cautioned MacArthur about making public statements that suggested criticism of official U.S. policy. The general spoke out anyway. In April 1951, Truman, with the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recalled MacArthur for insubordination.

MacArthur returned home as a hero. Most Americans understood his statement, "There is no substitute for victory," better than the president's containment policy and concept of "limited war." Critics attacked Truman and the Democrats as appeasers for not trying to destroy communism in Asia.

Stalemate In Korea, neither side seemed able to win. Fighting was stalled along a front just north of the 38th parallel. At the city of Panmunjom, peace talks began in July 1951.

Political Consequences From the perspective of the grand strategy of the Cold War, Truman's containment policy in Korea worked. It stopped Communist aggression without allowing the conflict to develop into a world war. The Truman administration used the **Korean War** as justification for

dramatically expanding the military, funding a new jet bomber (the B-52), and stationing more U.S. troops in overseas bases.

However, Republicans were far from satisfied. The stalemate in Korea and the success of Mao in China led Republicans to characterize Truman and the Democrats as “soft on communism.” They attacked leading Democrats as members of “Dean Acheson’s Cowardly College of Communist Containment.” (In 1949, Acheson had replaced George Marshall as secretary of state.) The Republicans went on to win the presidential race in 1952 with former General Dwight Eisenhower.

THE KOREAN WAR



Eisenhower and the Cold War

President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1953–1961) focused in both his terms on foreign policy and the international crises arising from the Cold War. The experienced diplomat who helped to shape U.S. foreign policy throughout Eisenhower's presidency was Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles**.

Dulles's Diplomacy Dulles had been critical of Truman's containment policy as too passive. He advocated a "new look" to U.S. foreign policy that took the initiative in challenging the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. He talked of "liberating captive nations" of Eastern Europe and encouraging the Nationalist government of Taiwan to assert itself against "Red" (Communist) China. Dulles pleased conservatives—and alarmed many others—by declaring that, if the United States pushed Communist powers to the brink of war, they would back down because of American nuclear superiority. His hard line became known as **brinkmanship**. In the end, however, Eisenhower prevented Dulles from carrying his ideas to an extreme.

Massive Retaliation Dulles advocated relying more on nuclear weapons and air power and spending less on conventional military forces. This might save money ("more bang for the buck"), help balance the federal budget, and increase pressure on potential enemies. In 1953, the United States developed the hydrogen bomb, which could destroy the largest cities. Within a year, however, the Soviets caught up with a hydrogen bomb of their own. To some, the policy of **massive retaliation** looked more like a policy for mutual annihilation. Nuclear weapons indeed proved a powerful deterrent against the superpowers fighting an all-out war between themselves.

However, such weapons did not prevent superpower involvement in small "brushfire" wars in the developing nations of Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. With the United States and the Soviet backing opposing sides, these conflicts could expand, resulting in hundreds of thousands of casualties. But the superpowers, fearing escalation, refused to use even small nuclear weapons in these wars.

Korean Armistice Soon after taking office in 1953, Eisenhower kept his promise to go to Korea to visit UN forces and try to end the war. He understood that no quick fix was likely. Even so, diplomacy, the threat of nuclear war, and the death of Joseph Stalin in March 1953 finally moved China and North Korea to agree to an armistice and an exchange of prisoners in July 1953. The fighting stopped and most (but not all) U.S. troops were withdrawn. Korea remained divided near the 38th parallel, without a permanent peace treaty. More than 2.5 million people died in the Korean conflict, including 36,914 Americans.

U.S.-Soviet Relations

For U.S. security, nothing was more crucial than U.S. diplomatic relations with its chief political and military rival, the Soviet Union. Throughout Eisenhower's presidency, the relations between the two superpowers fluctuated between periods of relative calm and extreme tension.

Spirit of Geneva After Stalin's death, Eisenhower called for a slowdown in the arms race and presented to the United Nations an "**atoms for peace**" plan. The Soviets also showed signs of wanting to reduce Cold War tensions. They withdrew their troops from Austria (once that country had agreed to be neutral in the Cold War) and established peaceful relations with Greece and Turkey.

By 1955, a desire for improved relations on both sides resulted in a summit meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, between Eisenhower and the new Soviet premier, Nikolai Bulganin. At this conference, the U.S. president proposed an “open-skies” policy over each other’s territory—open to aerial photography by the opposing nation—in order to eliminate the chance of a surprise nuclear attack. The Soviets rejected the proposal. Nevertheless, the “spirit of Geneva,” as the press called it, produced the first thaw in the Cold War. Even more encouraging, from the U.S. point of view, was a speech by the new Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** in early 1956 in which he denounced the crimes of Joseph Stalin and supported “peaceful coexistence” with the West.

Hungarian Revolt The relaxation in the Cold War encouraged workers in East Germany and Poland to demand reforms from their Communist governments. In October 1956, a popular uprising in Hungary actually succeeded in overthrowing a government backed by Moscow. The new, more liberal leaders wanted to pull Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact, the Communist security organization. This was too much for the Kremlin, and Khrushchev sent in Soviet tanks to crush the freedom fighters and restore control over Hungary. The United States took no action in the crisis. Eisenhower feared that sending troops to aid the Hungarians would touch off a major war in Europe. In effect, by allowing Soviet tanks to roll into Hungary, the United States gave de facto recognition to the Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern Europe and ended Dulles’s talk of “liberating” this region. Soviet suppression of the **Hungarian revolt** also ended the first thaw in the Cold War.

Sputnik Shock In 1957, the Soviet Union shocked the United States by launching the first satellites, *Sputnik I* and *Sputnik II*, into orbit around the earth. Suddenly, the technological leadership of the United States was open to question. To add to American embarrassment, U.S. rockets designed to duplicate the Soviet achievement failed repeatedly.

What was responsible for this scientific debacle? Critics attacked American schools for their math and science instruction and failure to produce more scientists and engineers. In 1958, Congress responded with the National Defense and Education Act (NDEA), which authorized hundreds of millions of federal dollars for schools for math, science, and foreign language education.

Also in 1958, Congress created the **National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)** to direct the U.S. efforts to build missiles and explore outer space. Billions were appropriated to compete with the Russians in the space race.

Fears of nuclear war were intensified by *Sputnik*. The missiles that launched the satellites could also deliver thermonuclear warheads anywhere in the world in minutes, and there was no defense against them.

Second Berlin Crisis “We will bury capitalism,” Khrushchev boasted. With new confidence and pride based on *Sputnik*, the Soviet leader pushed the Berlin issue in 1958. He gave the West six months to pull its troops out of West Berlin before turning over the city to the East Germans. The United

States refused to yield. To defuse the crisis, Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to visit the United States in 1959. At the presidential retreat of Camp David in Maryland, the two agreed to put off the crisis and scheduled another summit conference in Paris for 1960.

U-2 Incident The friendly “spirit of Camp David” never had a chance to produce results. Two weeks before the planned meeting in Paris, the Russians shot down a high-altitude U.S. spy plane—the U-2—over the Soviet Union. The incident exposed a secret U.S. tactic for gaining information. After its open-skies proposals had been rejected by the Soviets in 1955, the United States had decided to conduct regular spy flights over Soviet territory to find out about its enemy’s missile program. Eisenhower took full responsibility for the flights—*after they were exposed by the U-2 incident*—but his honesty proved to be a diplomatic mistake. Khrushchev denounced the United States and walked out of the Paris summit, temporarily ending the thaw in the Cold War.

Communism in Cuba

Perhaps more alarming than any other Cold War development during the Eisenhower years was the emergence of **Cuba** as a Communist country. A bearded revolutionary, **Fidel Castro**, overthrew the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. At first, no one knew whether Castro’s politics would be better or worse than those of his ruthless predecessor. Once in power, however, Castro nationalized American-owned businesses and properties in Cuba. Eisenhower retaliated by cutting off U.S. trade with Cuba.

Castro then turned to the Soviets for support. He also revealed that he was a Marxist and soon proved it by setting up a Communist totalitarian state. Fearing communism only 90 miles off the shores of Florida, Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to train anti-Communist Cuban exiles so they could invade the island and overthrow Castro. However, the decision to go ahead with the invasion would be the responsibility of the next president, John F. Kennedy.

Eisenhower’s Legacy

After leaving the White House, Eisenhower claimed credit for checking Communist aggression and keeping the peace without the loss of American lives in combat. He also started the long process of relaxing tensions with the Soviet Union. In 1958, he initiated the first arms limitations by voluntarily suspending aboveground testing of nuclear weapons.

“**Military-Industrial Complex**” In his farewell address as president, Eisenhower spoke out against the negative impact of the Cold War on U.S. society. He warned the nation to “guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence . . . by the **military-industrial complex**.” He feared the arms race was taking on a momentum and logic all its own. It seemed to some Americans in the 1960s that the United States was in danger of going down the path of classical Rome by turning into a military, or imperial, state.

To the Brink of War and Back

In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected president after attacking the Eisenhower administration for the recent recession and for permitting the Soviets to take the lead in the arms race. In reality, what Kennedy called a “missile gap” was actually in the U.S. favor, but his charges seemed plausible after *Sputnik*.

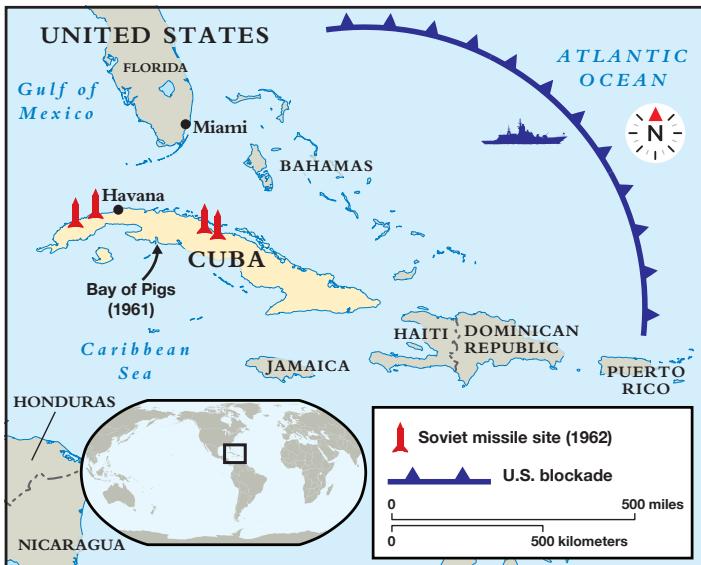
Bay of Pigs Invasion The youthful Kennedy made a major blunder shortly after entering office. He approved a plan to use Cuban exiles to overthrow Castro’s regime. In April 1961, the CIA-trained force of Cubans landed at the **Bay of Pigs** in Cuba but failed to set off a general uprising as planned. Trapped on the beach, the anti-Castro Cubans surrendered after Kennedy rejected the idea of using U.S. forces to save them. Castro used the failed invasion to get more aid from the Soviet Union and to strengthen his grip on power.

Berlin Wall Trying to shake off the embarrassment of the Bay of Pigs defeat, Kennedy agreed to meet Soviet premier Khrushchev in Vienna in the summer of 1961. Khrushchev seized the opportunity to threaten the president by renewing Soviet demands that the United States pull its troops out of Berlin. Kennedy refused. In August, the East Germans, with Soviet backing, built a wall around West Berlin. Its purpose was to stop East Germans from fleeing to West Germany. As the wall was being built, Soviet and U.S. tanks faced off in Berlin. Kennedy called up the reserves, but he made no move to stop the completion of the wall. In 1963, the president traveled to West Berlin to assure its residents of continuing U.S. support. To cheering crowds, he proclaimed: “Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put up a wall to keep our people in. . . . As a free man, I take pride in the words, ‘Ich bin ein Berliner’ [I am a Berliner].” The **Berlin Wall** stood as a gloomy symbol of the Cold War until it was torn down by rebellious East Germans in 1989.

Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) The most dangerous moment in U.S.-Soviet relations came in October 1962. In response to the Bay of Pigs invasion, Castro invited the Soviets to build underground missile sites that could launch offensive missiles capable of reaching the United States in minutes. The Soviets agreed. U.S. reconnaissance planes soon discovered evidence of construction. Kennedy responded by announcing to the world that he was setting up a naval blockade of Cuba until the weapons were removed. If Soviet ships challenged the U.S. naval blockade, a full-scale nuclear war between the superpowers might result. After 13 days of tension, Khrushchev finally agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba in exchange for Kennedy’s pledge not to invade the island nation and to later remove some U.S. missiles from Turkey.

The **Cuban missile crisis** had a sobering effect on both sides. They soon established a telecommunications hotline between Washington and Moscow so the countries’ leaders could talk directly during a crisis. In 1963, the Soviet Union and the United States—along with nearly 100 other nations—signed the **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** to end the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. This first step in controlling the testing of nuclear arms was offset by a new round in the arms race for developing missile and warhead superiority.

CONCERN IN CUBA, 1961–1962



Flexible Response Many “brushfire wars” in Africa and Southeast Asia were a different Cold War challenge. Often, insurgent forces aided by Soviet arms and training challenged an existing government with ties to the United States. Such conflicts in the Congo in Africa and in Laos and Vietnam in Southeast Asia convinced the Kennedy administration to rethink Dulles’s idea of massive retaliation and reliance on nuclear weapons. Kennedy and his Defense Secretary, Robert S. McNamara, wanted options less likely to escalate into global destruction. They increased spending on conventional (nonnuclear) arms and mobile military forces. While this **flexible-response policy** reduced the risk of using nuclear weapons, it also increased the temptation to send elite special forces, such as the Green Berets, into combat all over the globe.

Lyndon Johnson Becomes President

After less than three years in office, President Kennedy was assassinated during a visit to Texas (Topic 8.5). Kennedy’s vice president, Lyndon Johnson, was a former leader of the Senate who was more interested in domestic reforms to further the New Deal than in foreign policy. However, Johnson (1963–1969) continued the containment policy that called upon the United States to block Communist expansion around the globe, including in Vietnam. His escalation of the Vietnam War (Topic 8.8) came to dominate the foreign policy of his administration. However, he continued to engage the Soviets on other fronts.

Despite the Vietnam War, President Johnson did negotiate agreements with the Soviet Union to control nuclear weapons. In the later 1960s, as a result of the costly arms race and its worsening relationship with China, the Soviet Union sought closer relations with the United States. The Johnson administration signed the Outer Space Treaty and laid the foundation for the Strategic Arms

Limitation Talks. In July 1968, the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union signed the **Non-Proliferation Treaty**, in which each signatory agreed not to help other countries develop or acquire nuclear weapons. A planned U.S.–Soviet nuclear disarmament summit was scuttled after Soviet forces violently suppressed the Prague Spring, an attempt to democratize Czechoslovakia. The ebbs and flows in the Cold War revealed that it was a complex chess game, and the next president proved a dedicated player.

Nixon's Detente Diplomacy

In his January 1969 inaugural address, President Richard M. Nixon (1969–1974) promised to bring Americans together after the turmoil of the 1960s. Nixon's first interest was international relations, not domestic policy. Together with his national security adviser, **Henry Kissinger** (who became secretary of state during Nixon's second term), Nixon fashioned a realist or pragmatic foreign policy that ended the war in Vietnam (Topic 8.8) and reduced the tensions of the Cold War.

Détente Nixon and Kissinger strengthened the U.S. position in the world by taking advantage of the rivalry between the two Communist giants, China and the Soviet Union. Their diplomacy was praised for bringing about **détente**—a deliberate reduction of Cold War tensions. Even after Watergate ended his presidency in disgrace, Nixon's critics would admit that his conduct of foreign affairs had enhanced world peace.

Visit to China Nixon had long been a fierce critic of communism. Because of this, he could stake the bold step of improving relations with Mao Zedong's Communist regime in "Red" China without being condemned as "soft" on communism. After a series of secret negotiations with Chinese leaders, Nixon astonished the world in February 1972 by traveling to Beijing to meet with Mao. His visit initiated diplomatic exchanges that ultimately led to U.S. recognition of the Communist government in 1979.

Arms Control with the U.S.S.R. Nixon used his new relationship with China to pressure the Soviets to agree to a treaty limiting **antiballistic missiles (ABMs)**, a new technology that would have expanded the arms race. After the first round of **Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I)**, U.S. diplomats secured Soviet consent to a freeze on the number of ballistic missiles carrying nuclear warheads. While this agreement did not end the arms race, it was a significant step toward reducing Cold War tensions and bringing about détente.

Another Chill in the Cold War

The resignation of President Nixon (Topic 8.14) in August 1974 puzzled both allies and enemies. After Nixon's Watergate scandal and the fall of South Vietnam in 1975 many Americans lost trust in their government. Presidents faced strong opposition in Congress against further military interventions. During Ford's term (1974–1977), the Democratic Congress continued to investigate abuses in the executive branch, especially in the CIA. This intelligence agency was

accused of engineering the assassinations of foreign leaders, among them the Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende. Ford appointed a former member of Congress, George H. W. Bush, to reform the agency.

Soviets Invade Afghanistan President Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) attempted to continue the Nixon-Ford policy of détente with China and the Soviet Union. In 1979, the United States ended its recognition of the Nationalist government in Taiwan as the official government of China and completed the first exchange of ambassadors with the People's Republic of China. At first, détente also moved ahead with the Soviet Union with the signing in 1979 of the SALT II treaty, which provided for limiting the size of each superpower's nuclear delivery system. The Senate never ratified the treaty, however, as a result of a renewal of Cold War tensions over Afghanistan.

In December 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan—an aggressive action that ended a decade of improving U.S.–Soviet relations. The United States feared that the invasion might lead to a Soviet move to control the oil-rich Persian Gulf. Carter reacted by (1) placing an embargo on grain exports and the sale of high technology to the Soviet Union, and (2) boycotting the 1980 Olympics in Moscow. After having campaigned for arms reduction, Carter now had to switch to an arms buildup.

A Return to Tension At the end of Carter's administration, relations with the Soviet Union were back to a period of confrontation. Topic 9.3 will trace the arms race with the Soviet Union during the Reagan administration and the steps that led to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.

Views of the Cold War Among U.S. historians, the traditional view of the origins of the Cold War is that the Soviet government under Stalin started the conflict by subjugating the countries of Eastern Europe in the late 1940s. The United States was viewed as the defender of the free world.

In the 1960s, during the time of public unhappiness over the Vietnam War, revisionist historians began to argue that the United States contributed to starting the Cold War. They blamed Truman for antagonizing the Soviets with his blunt challenge of their actions in Poland and the Balkans. Gar Alperovitz (*The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb*, 1995) concluded that Truman had dropped atomic bombs on Japan primarily to warn Stalin to remove his troops from Eastern Europe.

In the 21st century, John L. Gaddis (*The Cold War: A New History*, 2005), recognized by some as “the dean of Cold War historians,” argued that the causes of the Cold War were rooted in the Big Three’s failure “to reconcile divergent political objectives even as they pursued a common military task” during World War II. Gaddis suggested that objective observers would not have expected a different outcome given that great power rivalries are the normal pattern in history. Gaddis concluded that the most important aspect of the Cold War is what did not happen—a nuclear holocaust.

REFLECT ON LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain one example of continuity and one example of change in the United States' Cold War policies from 1945 to 1980.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Origins of the Cold War (WOR)

Cold War
Soviet Union
Joseph Stalin
United Nations
Security Council
World Bank
satellites
Winston Churchill
Iron Curtain

Kim Il Sung
Syngman Rhee
Korean War

Eisenhower Foreign Policy (WOR)

John Foster Dulles
brinkmanship
massive retaliation
Korean armistice
atoms for peace
open-skies policy
spirit of Geneva

Containment in Europe (WOR)

containment policy
George Marshall
Dean Acheson
George F. Kennan
Truman Doctrine
Marshall Plan
Berlin airlift
West Germany
East Germany
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Warsaw Pact
National Security Act
arms race
NSC-68

Nikita Khrushchev
peaceful coexistence
Hungarian revolt
Sputnik
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
U-2 incident
Cuba
Fidel Castro
military-industrial complex

Kennedy-Johnson Foreign Policy (WOR)

Douglas MacArthur
U.S.-Japanese security treaties
Chiang Kai-shek
Mao Zedong
Taiwan
People's Republic of China
38th parallel

Bay of Pigs
Berlin Wall
Cuban missile crisis
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
flexible-response policy
Non-Proliferation Treaty

Nixon-Ford-Carter Foreign Policy (WOR)

Henry Kissinger
détente
antiballistic missiles (ABMs)
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“It is clear that the main element of any United States policy towards the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. . . . It is clear that the United States cannot expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies will reflect no abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, but rather a cautious, persistent pressure towards the disruption and weakening of all rival influence and rival power.”

Mr. X (George F. Kennan), State Department professional,
“The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947

1. Which one of the following best reflects the policies advocated in the above excerpt?
 - (A) The proposal to militarily roll back communism in Eastern Europe
 - (B) General MacArthur’s criticism of the concept of limited wars
 - (C) The Truman Doctrine of aid to Greece and Turkey
 - (D) George Marshall’s negotiations to end the Chinese civil war
2. Which of the following actions would best implement the goals and strategy of George Kennan?
 - (A) Offering economic aid to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
 - (B) Using the U.S. Army to invade East Germany and liberate West Berlin
 - (C) Reorganizing all military services under the Department of Defense
 - (D) Using economic aid to block the appeal of communism in Western Europe
3. Implementing the policies based on this excerpt led the United States to change from earlier foreign policy traditions by
 - (A) creating more peacetime military alliances with other countries
 - (B) helping more European powers expand their influence in Central America
 - (C) isolating itself from more economic involvement with the world
 - (D) rejecting more participation in international organizations

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “I find it increasingly difficult, given what we know now, to imagine the Soviet Union or the Cold War without Stalin. . . . If one could have eliminated Stalin, alternative paths become quite conceivable. . . . And given his propensity for cold wars, a tendency firmly rooted long before he had even heard of Harry Truman. . . . It is equally clear that there was going to be a Cold War whatever the West did. Who then was responsible? The answer, I think, is authoritarianism in general, and Stalin in particular”

John Lewis Gaddis, *We Know Now: Rethinking the Cold War*, 1997

“No one leader or nation caused the Cold War. . . . Nevertheless, from the Potsdam Conference through the Korean War, [President Truman] contributed significantly to the growing Cold War and the militarism of American foreign policy. . . . Throughout his presidency, Truman remained a parochial [narrow-minded] nationalist who lacked the leadership to move America away from conflict toward détente. Instead, he promoted an ideology and politics of Cold War confrontation that became the modus operandi [common method] of successor administrations and the United States for the next two generations.”

Arnold A. Offner, *Diplomatic History*, Spring 1999

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE specific difference between Gaddis’s and Offner’s historical interpretation of the origins of the Cold War.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support Gaddis’s interpretation of the origins of the Cold War.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support Offner’s interpretation of the origins of the Cold War.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly describe ONE specific difference between Cold War policies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.
 - (b) Briefly describe ONE specific similarity between Cold War policies of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific effect that resulted from the Cold War policies of either Truman or Eisenhower.

Topic 8.3

The Red Scare

There are today many Communists in America. They are everywhere—in factories, offices, butcher stores, on street corners, in private businesses. And each carries in himself the germ of death for society.

J. Howard McGrath, U.S. Attorney General, 1949–1952

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the Red Scare after World War II.

Just as a Red Scare had followed U.S. victory in World War I, a second Red Scare followed U.S. victory in World War II. The Truman administration's tendency to see a Communist conspiracy behind civil wars in Europe and Asia contributed to the belief that Communist conspirators and spies had infiltrated American society, including the U.S. State Department and the U.S. military.

Rooting Out Communists

In 1947, the Truman administration—under pressure from Republican critics—set up a **Loyalty Review Board** to investigate the background of more than 3 million federal employees. Thousands of officials and civil service employees either resigned or lost their jobs in a probe that went on for four years (1947–1951).

Prosecutions Under the Smith Act In addition, leaders of the American Communist Party were jailed for advocating the overthrow of the U.S. government. In the case of *Dennis et al. v. United States* (1951), the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the **Smith Act** of 1940, which made it illegal to advocate or teach the overthrow of the government by force or to belong to an organization with this objective.

McCarran Internal Security Act (1950) Over Truman's veto, Congress passed the **McCarran Internal Security Act**, which (1) made it unlawful to advocate or support the establishment of a totalitarian government, (2) restricted the employment and travel of those joining Communist-front organizations, and (3) authorized the creation of detention camps for subversives.

Un-American Activities In the House of Representatives, the **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)**, originally established in 1939 to seek out Nazis, was reactivated in the postwar years to find Communists. The committee not only investigated government officials but also looked

for Communist influence in such organizations as the Boy Scouts and in the Hollywood film industry. Actors, directors, and writers were called before the committee to testify. Those who refused to testify were tried for contempt of Congress. Others were blacklisted from the industry, meaning no one would hire them.

Cultural Impact The second Red Scare had a chilling effect on freedom of expression. Creators of the gritty film noir crime dramas and playwrights such as Arthur Miller (*Death of a Salesman*, 1949) came under attack as anti-American. Rodgers and Hammerstein's musical *South Pacific* (1949) was criticized, especially by Southern politicians, as a Communistic assault on racial segregation. Loyalty oaths were commonly required of writers and teachers as a condition of employment. The American Civil Liberties Union and other opponents of these security measures argued that the First Amendment protected the free expression of unpopular political views and membership in political groups, including the Communist Party.

Artists and writers responded. Shirley Jackson's short story "The Lottery" (1948) is about a town whose citizens blindly accept a tradition even though it has deadly consequences. When called to testify before the HUAC in 1952, playwright Lillian Hellman refused, saying, "I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions," for which she was blacklisted. Arthur Miller's play *The Crucible* (1953), about the Salem witch trials, was a thinly veiled metaphor for the government's persecution of suspected Communists.

Espionage Cases

The fear of a Communist conspiracy bent on world conquest was supported by a series of actual cases of Communist espionage in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. The methods used to identify Communist spies, however, raised serious questions about whether the government was going too far and violating civil liberties in the process.

Hiss Case A star witness for the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948 was **Whittaker Chambers**, who was a Communist. His testimony, along with the investigative work of a young member of Congress from California named Richard Nixon, led to the trial of **Alger Hiss**. Hiss was a prominent official in the State Department who had assisted Roosevelt at the Yalta Conference. He denied the accusations that he was a Communist and had given secret documents to Chambers. In 1950, however, he was convicted of perjury and sent to prison. Many Americans could not help wondering whether the highest levels of government were infiltrated by Communist spies.

Rosenberg Case When the Soviets tested their first atomic bomb in 1949, many Americans were convinced that spies had helped them to steal the technology from the United States. Klaus Fuchs, a British scientist who had worked on the Manhattan Project, admitted giving A-bomb secrets to the Russians. An FBI investigation traced another spy ring to **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg** in New York. After a controversial trial in 1951, the Rosenbergs

were found guilty of treason and executed in 1953. Civil rights groups charged that anti-Communist hysteria was responsible for the conviction and execution of the Rosenbergs.

The Rise and Fall of Joseph McCarthy

Joseph McCarthy, a Republican senator from Wisconsin, used the growing concern over communism to advance his political career. In a speech in 1950, he claimed to have a list of 205 Communists who were working for the State Department. (In other speeches the number varied.) As the press publicized this sensational, though unproven, accusation, McCarthy became one of the most powerful leaders in America. Other politicians feared the damage McCarthy could do if he pointed his accusing finger toward them.

McCarthy's Tactics Senator McCarthy used a steady stream of unsupported accusations about Communists in government to keep the media focus on himself and to discredit the Truman administration. Working-class Americans at first loved his “take the gloves off” hard-hitting remarks, which were often aimed at the wealthy and privileged in society. While many Republicans disliked McCarthy’s ruthless tactics, he was primarily hurting the Democrats before the election of Eisenhower to the presidency in 1952. He became so popular, however, that even Eisenhower would not dare to defend his old friend, George Marshall, against McCarthy’s untruths.

Army-McCarthy Hearings In 1954, McCarthy’s “reckless cruelty” was finally exposed on television. A Senate committee held televised hearings on Communist infiltration in the army, and McCarthy was seen as a bully by millions of viewers. In December, Republicans joined Democrats in a Senate censure of McCarthy. The “witch hunt” for Communists (**McCarthyism**) had played itself out. Three years later, McCarthy died a broken man.

Decline of the Red Scare The Red Scare after World War II ran out of steam as it became clear that the fear of a Communist takeover of the United States was overblown. Cooler heads, including President Eisenhower, gained control of the political dialogue. However, the language, tactics, and threats of McCarthyism remained a concern for democracy whenever politics became bitter and partisan. Americans also pushed the fear of communism into the background after the Korean War armistice as average Americans enjoyed the booming economy of the 1950s (Topic 8.4).

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain one cause and one effect of the Red Scare after World War II.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Second Red Scare (NAT)	McCarran Internal Security Act (1950)	Whittaker Chambers
Loyalty Review Board	House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)	Alger Hiss
<i>Dennis et al. v. United States</i>		Julius and Ethel Rosenberg
Smith Act (1940)		Joseph McCarthy
		McCarthyism

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“The United States Senate has long enjoyed the worldwide respect. . . . But recently that deliberative character has too often been debased to the level of a forum of hate and character assassination sheltered by the shield of congressional immunity.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as ‘Communists’ or ‘Fascists’ by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others. . . .

As an American, I am shocked at the way Republicans and Democrats alike are playing directly into the Communist design of ‘confuse, divide and conquer.’ As an American, I do not want a Democrat administration ‘whitewash’ or ‘coverup’ any more than I want a Republican smear or witch hunt.”

“Declaration of Conscience,” Margaret Chase Smith,
Republican Senator of Maine, June 1, 1950

1. Which of the following most directly contributed to the conditions that allowed members of the Senate to engage in what Smith called “character assassination” at this time?
 - (A) The 1st Amendment guaranteed that all people, including senators, had the unrestricted right to say anything.
 - (B) The Republicans controlled Congress and therefore could freely attack Democrats.
 - (C) The president had been using unsupported allegations to lead attacks on the loyalty of members of Congress.
 - (D) Members of the Senate and House were protected from legal actions against them for what they said while in Congress.

2. Which of the following best explains Smith's reason for delivering her "Declaration of Conscience" speech?
- (A) She was attempting to get reelected in a solidly Republican state.
 - (B) She was concerned about how fear was corrupting American principles.
 - (C) She was defending herself from an attack by Senator McCarthy as a Communist.
 - (D) She felt that a cover-up was more dangerous than a witch hunt.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. "The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is . . . because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate or members of minority groups who have been selling this Nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest nation on earth has to offer—the finest homes, the finest college education, and the finest jobs in Government.

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been the worst. . . . In my opinion, the State Department . . . is thoroughly infested with Communists. I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

Joseph R. McCarthy, Speech in Wheeling,
West Virginia, February 1950

Using the excerpt above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific postwar event that would support the rhetoric of this excerpt.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific tactic used by Joseph McCarthy that was condemned as a "witch hunt" or "McCarthyism."
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific cause of McCarthy's appeal to blue-collar Americans.

Topic 8.4

Economy after 1945

America at this moment stands at the summit of the world.

British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 1945

Learning Objectives 1: Explain the causes of economic growth in years after World War II.

Learning Objectives 2: Explain causes and effects of the migrations of various groups of Americans after 1945.

The 15 million American military members returning to civilian life in 1945 and 1946 needed to find jobs and housing. Many feared that the war's end would bring back economic hard times. Happily, the fears were not realized because the war years had increased the per-capita income of Americans. Much of that income was tucked away in savings accounts, since wartime shortages meant there had been few consumer goods to buy. The pent-up consumer demand for autos and housing combined with government roadbuilding and other projects quickly overcame the economic uncertainty after the war and introduced an era of unprecedented prosperity and economic growth. By the 1950s, Americans enjoyed the highest standard of living achieved by any society in history.

Postwar Economy

President **Harry S. Truman** (1945–1953) was thrust into the presidency after Franklin Roosevelt's death in April 1945. Truman matured into a decisive leader whose basic honesty and unpretentious style appealed to average citizens. He attempted to continue the New Deal economic policies of his predecessor but faced growing conservative opposition.

Employment Act of 1946 In September 1945, in the same week that Japan formally surrendered, Truman urged Congress to enact a series of progressive measures. Among these were national health insurance, an increase in the minimum wage, and a government commitment to maintaining full employment. After much debate, a watered-down version of the full-employment bill was enacted as the **Employment Act of 1946**. It created the **Council of Economic Advisers** to advise the president and Congress on means of promoting national economic welfare. Over the next seven years, a coalition of Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats, combined with the beginning of the Cold War, hindered passage of Truman's domestic program.

GI Bill—Help for Veterans The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the **GI Bill of Rights** (or just GI Bill), proved powerful support during the transition of 15 million veterans to a peacetime economy. It helped more than 2 million GIs attend college and more than 5 million more receive other training, creating a postwar boom in post-high school education. The veterans also received more than \$16 billion in low-interest, government-backed loans to buy homes and farms and to start businesses. By focusing on a better-educated workforce and also promoting new construction, the federal government stimulated the postwar economic expansion.

However, these government benefits helped White veterans far more than Black veterans. For example, most African Americans returned to their homes in the South. Since most universities in the region did not admit Black students, fewer could use the educational benefits. Further, many banks refused to make loans to African Americans. While the GI Bill helped the economy overall, it also increased the racial wealth gap.

Baby Boom One sign of the confidence among young people was an explosion in marriages and births. Earlier marriages and larger families resulted in 50 million babies entering the U.S. population between 1945 and 1960. As the **baby boom** generation gradually passed from childhood to adolescence to adulthood, it profoundly affected the nation's social institutions and economic life in the last half of the 20th century. Initially, the baby boom tended to focus women's attention on raising children and homemaking. Nevertheless, the trend of more women in the workplace continued. By 1960, one-third of all married women worked outside the home.

Suburban Growth The high demand for housing after the war resulted in a construction boom. William J. Levitt led in the development of postwar suburbia with his building and promotion of **Levittown**, a project of 17,000 mass-produced, low-priced family homes on Long Island, New York. Low interest rates on mortgages that were both government insured and tax deductible made the move from city to suburb affordable for even families of modest means. In a single generation, the majority of middle-class Americans became suburbanites.



Levittown, Long Island, New York, c. 1948.

Source: photos.com

However, Levittown was only for White families. African American families were not allowed to buy homes there. At that time, federal government policies, which subsidized loans for many people purchasing homes all over the country, supported segregation in housing.

For many older inner cities, the effect of the mass movement to suburbia was disastrous. By the 1960s, cities from Boston to Los Angeles became increasingly poor and racially divided.

Rise of the Sun Belt Uprooted by the war, millions of Americans moved more frequently in the postwar era. A warmer climate, lower taxes, and economic opportunities in defense-related industries attracted many GIs and their families to the **Sun Belt** states from Florida to California. By transferring tax dollars from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West, military spending during the Cold War helped finance the shift of industry, people, and ultimately political power from one region to the other.

Inflation and Strikes Truman urged Congress to continue the price controls of wartime in order to hold inflation in check. Instead, Southern Democrats joined with Republicans to relax the controls of the Office of Price Administration. The result was an inflation rate of almost 25 percent during the first year and a half of peace.

Workers and unions wanted wages to catch up after years of wage controls. More than 4.5 million workers went on strike in 1946. Strikes by railroad and mine workers threatened the national safety. Truman took a tough approach to this challenge, seizing the mines and using soldiers to keep them operating until the United Mine Workers finally called off its strike.

Truman versus the Republican Congress

Unhappy with inflation and strikes, voters were in a conservative mood in the fall of 1946 when they elected Republican majorities in both houses of Congress. Under Republican control, the 80th Congress attempted to pass two tax cuts for upper-income Americans, but Truman vetoed both measures. More successful were Republican efforts to amend the Constitution and roll back some of the New Deal gains for labor.

Twenty-Second Amendment (1951) Reacting against the election of Roosevelt as president four times, the Republican-dominated Congress proposed a constitutional amendment to limit a president to a maximum of two full terms in office. The **22nd Amendment** was ratified by the states in 1951.

Taft-Hartley Act (1947) In 1947, Congress passed the probusiness **Taft-Hartley Act**. Truman vetoed the measure as a “slave-labor” bill, but Congress overrode his veto. The one purpose of the Republican-sponsored law was to check the growing power of unions. Its provisions included the following:

- outlawing the closed shop (requiring workers to join a union *before* being hired)

- permitting states to pass “right to work” laws outlawing the union shop (requiring workers to join a union *after* being hired)
- outlawing secondary boycotts (the practice of several unions supporting a striking union by joining a boycott of a company’s products)
- giving the president the power to invoke an 80-day cooling-off period before a strike endangering the national safety could be called

For years afterward, unions sought unsuccessfully to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. The act became a major issue dividing Republicans and Democrats in the 1950s.

The Election of 1948 Truman’s popularity was at a low point as the 1948 presidential campaign began. Republicans were confident of victory, especially after both a liberal faction (Progressive Party) and a conservative faction (Dixiecrats) in the Democratic Party abandoned Truman to organize their own third parties. The Republicans once again nominated New York governor Thomas E. Dewey. Meanwhile, the man without a chance toured the nation by rail, attacking the “do-nothing” Republican 80th Congress with “give ‘em hell” speeches. The feisty Truman confounded the polling experts with a decisive victory over Dewey, winning the popular vote by 2 million votes and winning the electoral vote 303 to 189.

The Fair Deal Truman launched an ambitious reform program, which he called the **Fair Deal**. In 1949, he urged Congress to enact national health insurance, federal aid to education, civil rights legislation, funds for public housing, and a new farm program. Conservatives in Congress blocked most of the proposed reforms, except for an increase in the minimum wage (from 40 to 75 cents an hour) and the inclusion of more workers under Social Security.

Most of the Fair Deal bills were defeated for two reasons: (1) Truman’s political conflicts with Congress, and (2) the pressing foreign policy concerns of the Cold War. Nevertheless, liberal defenders of Truman praised him for at least maintaining the New Deal reforms of his predecessor and making civil rights part of the liberal agenda.

Eisenhower in the White House (1953–1961)

Much as Franklin Roosevelt dominated the 1930s, President **Dwight D. Eisenhower** (“Ike”) personified the 1950s. The Republican campaign slogan, “I Like Ike,” expressed the genuine feelings of millions of middle-class Americans. They liked his winning smile and trusted and admired the former general who had successfully commanded Allied forces in Europe in World War II.

The Election of 1952 The last year of Truman’s presidency, Americans were looking for relief from the Korean War and an end to “the mess in Washington.” Republicans looked forward with relish to their first presidential victory in 20 years, and nominated the leader of allied forces in Europe, General Dwight D. Eisenhower and Senator Richard Nixon of California as his running

mate. The Democrats selected popular Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson, who confronted McCarthyism. Eisenhower's pledge to go to Korea and end the war helped the Republicans win 55 percent of the popular vote and an Electoral College landslide of 442 to Stevenson's 89.

As president, Eisenhower adopted a style of leadership that emphasized the delegation of authority. He filled his cabinet with successful corporate executives who gave his administration a businesslike tone. His secretary of defense, for example, was Charles Wilson, the former head of General Motors. Eisenhower was often criticized by the press for spending too much time golfing and fishing and perhaps entrusting important decisions to others. However, later research showed that behind the scenes Eisenhower was in charge.

Modern Republicanism Eisenhower was a fiscal conservative whose first priority was balancing the budget after years of deficit spending. Although his annual budgets were not always balanced, he came closer to curbing federal spending than any of his successors.

As a moderate on domestic issues, he accepted most of the New Deal programs as a reality of modern life and even expanded some of them. During Eisenhower's two terms in office, Social Security was extended to 10 million more citizens, the minimum wage was raised, and additional public housing was built. In 1953, Eisenhower consolidated welfare programs by creating the **Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW)** under Oveta Culp Hobby, the first woman in a Republican cabinet. For farmers, a **soil-bank program** was initiated as means of reducing farm production and thereby increasing farm income. On the other hand, Eisenhower opposed the ideas of federal health insurance and federal aid to education.

As the first Republican president since Hoover, Eisenhower called his balanced and moderate approach "**modern Republicanism**." His critics called it "the bland leading the bland."

Interstate Highway System The most permanent physical legacy of the Eisenhower years was the passage in 1956 of the **Highway Act**, which authorized the construction of 42,000 miles of **interstate highways** linking all the nation's major cities. When completed, the U.S. highway system became a model for the rest of the world. The justification for new taxes on fuel, tires, and vehicles was to improve national defense by facilitating movements of troops and weapons. At the same time, this immense public works project created jobs, promoted the trucking industry, accelerated the growth of the suburbs, and contributed to a more homogeneous national culture. The emphasis on cars, trucks, and highways, however, hurt railroads and the environment. Little attention was paid to public transportation, on which the old and the poor depended.

Prosperity Eisenhower's domestic legislation was modest. During his years in office, however, the country enjoyed a steady economic growth rate, with an inflation rate averaging a negligible 1.5 percent. Although the federal budget had a small surplus only three times in eight years, the deficits fell in relation to the national wealth. Between 1945 and 1960, the per-capita

disposable income of Americans more than tripled. By the mid-1950s, the average American family had twice the real income of a comparable family during the boom years of the 1920s. The postwar economy gave Americans the highest standard of living in the world. For these reasons, some historians rate Eisenhower's economic policies the most successful of any modern president's.

Economy under the Democrats (1961–1969)

At 43, John F. Kennedy was the youngest candidate ever elected president. He was also the first Roman Catholic to serve in the White, winning despite fears among some Protestants that he would take directions from the pope. Kennedy's energy and sharp wit gave a new, personal style to the presidency. In his inaugural address, Kennedy spoke of "the torch being passed to a new generation" and promised to lead the nation into a "**New Frontier**." The Democratic president surrounded himself with both business executives such as Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and academics such as economist John Kenneth Galbraith. For the sensitive position of attorney general, the president chose his younger brother, Robert.

Kennedy and his wife Jacqueline ("Jackie") brought style, glamour, and an appreciation of the arts to the White House. The press loved his news conferences, and some later likened his administration to the mythical kingdom of Camelot and the court of King Arthur, the subject of a then-popular Broadway musical.

New Frontier Programs The promises of the New Frontier proved difficult to keep. Kennedy called for aid to education, federal support of health care, urban renewal, and civil rights, but his domestic programs languished in Congress. While few of Kennedy's proposals became law during his thousand-day administration, most were passed later under President Johnson.

On economic issues, Kennedy had some success. He persuaded Congress to pass the **Trade Expansion Act** (1962), which authorized tariff reductions with the new European Economic Community (Common Market) of Western European nations. He faced down big steel executives over a price increase he charged was inflationary and achieved a price rollback. In addition, the economy was stimulated by increased spending for defense and space exploration, as the president committed the nation to land on the moon by the end of the decade.

Johnson's Domestic Reforms Upon Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson became president. Johnson knew how to pass legislation from his years in the House and Senate. He aggressively promoted the domestic programs that Kennedy had failed to get through Congress. Shortly after taking office, Johnson persuaded Congress to pass (1) an expanded version of Kennedy's civil rights bill, and (2) Kennedy's proposal for an income tax cut. The latter measure sparked an increase in consumer spending and jobs. The country enjoyed a long period of economic expansion in the 1960s.

President Johnson's other significant domestic programs, known as the "Great Society," will be explored in Topic 8.9. Johnson's programs to use the power of federal programs to attack the ills of society proved the high point of

liberalism in the 20th century. Like the New Deal, some of Johnson's programs produced results, while others did not. Nevertheless, before being cut back to pay for the far more costly Vietnam War, the War on Poverty did significantly reduce the number of American families living in poverty.

Nixon's Domestic Policy

The election of Richard Nixon in 1968 and 1972 gave the Republicans control of the White House. However, the Democrats continued to hold majorities in both houses of Congress. The Republican president had to live with this reality and obtain some concessions from Congress through moderation and compromise. At the same time, Nixon laid the foundation for a shift in public opinion toward conservatism and for Republican gains that would challenge and overthrow the Democratic control of Congress in the 1980s and 1990s.

The New Federalism

Nixon tried to slow down the growth of Johnson's Great Society programs by proposing the Family Assistance Plan, which would have replaced welfare by providing a guaranteed annual income for working Americans. The Democratic majority in Congress easily defeated this initiative.

The Republican president did succeed, however, in shifting some responsibility for social programs from the federal to the state and local levels. In a program known as **revenue sharing**, or the **New Federalism**, Congress gave local governments \$30 billion in block grants over five years to address local needs as they saw fit (instead of using federal money according to priorities set in Washington). Republicans hoped revenue sharing would check the growth of the federal government and return responsibility to the states, where it had rested before the New Deal.

Nixon attempted to bypass Congress by impounding (not spending) funds appropriated for social programs. Democrats protested that such action was an abuse of executive powers. The courts agreed with the president's critics, arguing that it was a president's duty to carry out the laws of Congress, whether or not the president agreed with them.

Nixon's Economic Policies

Starting with a recession in 1970, the U.S. economy throughout the 1970s faced the unusual combination of economic slowdown and high inflation—a condition referred to as **stagflation** (*stagnation plus inflation*). To slow inflation, Nixon at first tried to cut federal spending. However, when this policy contributed to a recession and unemployment, he adopted Keynesian economics and deficit spending so as not to alienate middle-class and blue-collar Americans. In August 1971, he surprised the nation by imposing a 90-day wage and price freeze. Next, he took the dollar off the gold standard, which helped to devalue it relative to foreign currencies, and imposed a 10-percent surtax on all imports. These actions cost consumers, but they made goods produced in the United States more competitive with those made in other countries.

By the election year of 1972, the recession was over. Also in that year, Congress approved automatic increases for Social Security benefits based on the annual rise in the cost of living. This measure protected seniors, the poor, and the disabled from the worst effects of inflation but also contributed to increasing costs for these programs in the future.

Ford and Carter Confront Inflation

In the 1970s, the biggest economic issue was the growing inflation rate. President Gerald Ford (1974–1977) urged voluntary measures on the part of businesses and consumers to fight inflation by minimizing price and wage increases, including the wearing of WIN (Whip Inflation Now) buttons. Not only did inflation continue, but the economy also sank deeper into recession, with the unemployment rate reaching more than 9 percent. Ford finally agreed to a Democratic package to stimulate the economy, but he vetoed most other Democratic bills.

At first President Jimmy Carter (1977–1981) tried to check inflation with measures aimed at conserving energy, particularly oil, and reviving the U.S. coal industry. However, the compromises that came out of Congress failed to reduce the consumption of oil or to check inflation. In 1979–1980, inflation seemed completely out of control and reached the unheard-of rate of 13 percent.

Troubled Economy Inflation slowed economic growth as consumers and businesses could no longer afford the high interest rates that came with high prices. Inflation also pushed middle-class taxpayers into higher tax brackets, which led to a “taxpayers’ revolt.” Government social programs that were indexed to the inflation rate helped to push the federal deficit to nearly \$60 billion in 1980.

The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Paul Volcker, believed that breaking the back of inflation was more important than reducing unemployment. Under him, the Federal Reserve pushed interest rates on loans even higher, to 20 percent in 1980. The high interest rates especially hurt the automobile and building industries, which laid off tens of thousands of workers. The policy, though, worked to reduce inflation. By 1982, inflation was under 4 percent.

The Economic Shift in the 1970s The period of high inflation, high interest rates, and high unemployment in the 1970s changed how many Americans viewed the economy. The postwar economy of the 1940s and 1950s had benefited from a booming private sector, strong unions, high federal spending, the baby boom, and technological developments. However, the economic recovery of Japan, Germany, and other war-torn nations challenged the U.S. position as the strongest economy in the world. Less-expensive and often better-built automobiles and other consumer products from newer overseas factories competed successfully with American-made products. In addition, new technology required fewer workers. The combination of competition and technology undercut the high-paying manufacturing jobs that had expanded the middle class in the 1950s and early 1960s.

These new realities affected politics, society, and economic thinking from the 1970s well into the future. In the 1970s, Americans began to adjust to the harsh truth that, for the first time since World War II, their standard of living was on the decline.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Explain two causes of economic growth in years after World War II.
2. Explain two effects of migration to the suburbs and the Sun Belt after 1945.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Postwar Economy and Migration (WXT, MIG)

Harry S. Truman
Employment Act of 1946
Council of Economic Advisers
Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill of Rights or GI Bill)
baby boom
Levittown
Sun Belt
22nd Amendment
Taft-Hartley Act
Fair Deal

Dwight D. Eisenhower
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW)
soil-bank program
modern Republicanism
Highway Act
interstate highways
New Frontier
Trade Expansion Act
New Federalism
revenue sharing
stagflation

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Truman found saving the free world easier than governing America. . . . By the time war broke out in Korea, the Fair Deal was over, Truman had tried to accomplish too much with too little, ending up with practically nothing. Without a liberal majority in Congress there could not be much in the way of liberal legislation.

Through the Truman years domestic politics was a thing of rags and patches, a time when problems were ignored, programs shelved, and partisanship allowed to run rampant. Yet a recent history of the period 1945–1950 is called *The Best Years* because that is how they were remembered.”

William L. O’Neill, historian, *American High*, 1986

1. One example that supports O'Neill's claim that "problems were ignored, programs shelved" under Truman was the debate over
 - (A) number of terms for a president
 - (B) the strength of unions
 - (C) a national health insurance system
 - (D) the minimum wage
2. Which of the following coalitions provided the strongest opposition to Truman's domestic programs?
 - (A) Republicans and Roosevelt Democrats
 - (B) Antiwar Progressives and Republicans
 - (C) Dixiecrats and members of the Progressive Party
 - (D) Republicans and Southern Democrats
3. Which of the following most advanced liberal domestic policies during the Truman administration?
 - (A) The ratification of the 22nd Amendment
 - (B) The inclusion of more workers under Social Security
 - (C) The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act to outlaw closed shops
 - (D) The successful implementation of wage and price controls

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly describe ONE difference between the American economy of the 1950s and the economy of the 1970s.
 - (b) Briefly describe ONE similarity between the American economy of the 1950s and the economy of the 1970s.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific reason for the difference between the American economies of the 1950s and the 1970s.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific cause for the expansion of higher education after 1945.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific effect of the expansion of higher education after 1945.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE cause for the population growth of the Sun Belt region after World War II.

Topic 8.5

Culture after 1945

*All you do is make a lot of dough and play golf and play bridge
and buy cars and drink Martinis and look like a hot-shot. . . .
How would you know you weren't being a phony?*

J. D. Salinger, *The Catcher in the Rye*, 1951

Learning Objective: Explain how mass culture has been maintained or challenged over time.

Among White suburbanites, the 1950s were marked by similarities in social norms. Consensus about political issues and conformity in social behavior were safe harbors for Americans troubled by worries about communism. Consensus and conformity were the hallmarks of a consumer-driven mass economy.

Consumer Culture and Conformity

Television, advertising, and the middle-class movement to the suburbs contributed mightily to the growing homogeneity of American culture.

Television Little more than a curiosity in the late 1940s, **television** suddenly became a center of family life in American homes. By 1961, there was one set for every 3.3 Americans. Programming was dominated by three national networks, which presented viewers with a bland menu of situation comedies, westerns, quiz shows, and professional sports. FCC chairman Newton Minnow criticized television as a “vast wasteland” and worried about the impact on children of a steady dose of five or more hours of daily viewing. The culture portrayed on television—especially for third and fourth generations of White ethnic Americans—provided a common content for their common language. Comedies like *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, *Father Knows Best*, and *Leave It to Beaver* reinforced conservative values by depicting a stereotype of a suburb. Families included a father working in a white-collar job and a mother who did not work outside the home, and everyone was white and middle class.

Advertising In all the media (television, radio, newspapers, and magazines), aggressive advertising by name brands promoted common material wants, and the introduction of suburban shopping centers and plastic **credit cards** in the 1950s provided a quick means of satisfying them. The phenomenal proliferation of chains of **fast food** restaurants on the roadside was one measure of success for the new marketing techniques and standardized products as the nation turned from “mom and pop” stores to franchise operations.

Paperbacks and Records Despite television, Americans read more than ever. **Paperback books**, an innovation in the 1950s, were selling almost a million copies a day by 1960. Popular music was revolutionized by the mass marketing of inexpensive long-playing (LP) record albums and stacks of 45 rpm records. Teenagers fell in love with **rock and roll** music, a blend of African American rhythm and blues sounds with White country music, popularized by the gyrating Elvis Presley.



Source: ©ClassicStock/Alamy

Corporate America In the business world, **conglomerates** with diversified holdings began to dominate such industries as food processing, hotels, transportation, insurance, and banking. For the first time in history, more American workers held white-collar jobs than blue-collar jobs. Working for one of *Fortune* magazine's top 500 companies seemed to be the road to success. Large corporations promoted teamwork and conformity, including a dress code for male workers of a dark business suit, white shirt, and conservative tie. Social scientist William Whyte documented this loss of individuality in his book *The Organization Man* (1956). A key point was that people believed that organizations could make better decisions than individuals, and thus serving an organization became preferable to developing one's individual creativity.

Big unions became more powerful after the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into the AFL-CIO in 1955. They also became more conservative as blue-collar workers began to enjoy middle-class incomes.

For most Americans, conformity was a small price to pay for affluence, a home in the suburbs, a new automobile every few years, good schools, and maybe a vacation at the recently opened Disneyland (1955) in California.

Religion Organized religions expanded dramatically after World War II with the building of thousands of new churches and synagogues. Will Herberg's book *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (1955) commented on the new religious tolerance of the times and the lack of interest in doctrine, as religious membership became a source of both individual identity and socialization.

Women's Roles

The baby boom and running a home in the suburbs made homemaking a full-time job for millions of women. The traditional view of a woman's role as caring for home and children was reaffirmed in the mass media and in the best-selling self-help book *Baby and Child Care* (1946) by Dr. Benjamin Spock.

At the same time, evidence of dissatisfaction was growing, especially among well-educated women of the middle class. More married women entered the workforce, especially as they reached middle age. Yet male employers in the 1950s saw female workers primarily as wives and mothers, and women's lower wages reflected this attitude.

Social Critics

Not everybody approved of the social trends of the 1950s. In *The Lonely Crowd* (1958), Harvard sociologist David Riesman criticized the replacement of "inner-directed" individuals in society with "other-directed" conformists. In *The Affluent Society* (1958), economist John Kenneth Galbraith wrote about the failure of wealthy Americans to address the need for increased social spending for the common good. (Galbraith's ideas were to influence the Kennedy and Johnson administrations in the next decade.) Sociologist C. Wright Mills portrayed dehumanizing corporate worlds in *White Collar* (1951) and threats to freedom in *The Power Elite* (1956).

Novels Some of the most popular novelists of the 1950s wrote about the individual's struggle against conformity. J. D. Salinger provided a classic commentary on "phoniness" as viewed by a troubled teenager in *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951). Joseph Heller satirized the rigidity of the military and the insanity of war in *Catch-22* (1961).

Beatniks A group of rebellious writers and intellectuals made up the Beat Generation of the 1950s. Led by Jack Kerouac (*On the Road*, 1957) and poet Allen Ginsberg ("Howl," 1956), the **beatniks** advocated spontaneity, use of drugs, and rebellion against societal standards. The beatniks would become models for the youth rebellion of the 1960s.

Assassination and the End of the Postwar Era

President Kennedy's "one brief, shining moment" of life was cut short on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas, as two bullets from an assassin's rifle found their mark. After the shocking news of Kennedy's murder, millions of stunned Americans were fixed to their televisions for days and even witnessed the killing of the alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, just two days after the president's death. The **Warren Commission**, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. For years afterward, however, unanswered questions about the events in Dallas produced dozens of conspiracy theories pointing to possible involvement by organized crime, Fidel Castro, the Soviet Union, the CIA, and the FBI. For many Americans, the tragedy in Dallas and doubts about the Warren Commission marked the beginning of a loss of credibility in government.

In Retrospect Kennedy's presidency inspired many young Americans to take seriously his inaugural message and to "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." In keeping with the patriotic sentiments of the postwar era, some volunteered for the Peace Corps or to fight in the Vietnam War. The war's failures, the conspiracy theories that multiplied after Kennedy's death, and conflicts over the civil rights movement and the shallow materialism of the 1950s raised doubts about American society and culture. Instead of the consensus of the 1950s, America had become by 1968 a country that was "coming apart." The counterculture had arrived.



HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: A SILENT GENERATION?

Among intellectuals, a commonly held view of the 1950s was that Americans had become complacent in their political outlook—a "silent generation" presided over by a grandfatherly and passive President Eisenhower. Liberal academics believed that McCarthyism had stopped any serious or critical discussion of the problems in American society. Eisenhower's policies and their general acceptance by most voters seemed a bland consensus of ideas that would bother no one. Critics contrasted the seeming calm of the 1950s with the more "interesting" social and cultural revolution of the next decade.

Eisenhower the Leader Over time, historians have treated the 1950s more positively. For example, William O'Neill's *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945–1960* (1987) presents a more positive view of Eisenhower. Research into the Eisenhower papers has revealed a president who used a hidden-hand approach to leadership. Behind the scenes, he was an active and decisive administrator who was in full command of his presidency. His domestic policies achieved sustained economic growth, and his foreign policy relaxed international tensions. O'Neill argues that Eisenhower led a needed and largely successful economic and social postwar "reconstruction."

Liberal Victories Some historians have emphasized the liberal successes of the period. The strong economy featured strong unions and progressive taxes. The country made progress on civil rights issues, with African Americans organizing bus boycotts, marches, and other protests to draw attention to discrimination. Other historians emphasize that the 1950s prepared the way for the achievements of women and African Americans and other minorities in the following decades. Furthermore, the integration of Catholics, Jews, and other White ethnics into American society during the postwar years made it possible for Kennedy to be elected the first Roman Catholic president in 1960.

Conservative Foundations Some historians see the 1950s as laying the intellectual foundation for the conservative politics of the 1980s. Writers such as William F. Buckley and intellectuals such as economist Milton Friedman began arguing for limited government in the 1950s. Their ideas shaped the policies of President Ronald Reagan (1981–1989).

Supporting an Argument Explain two perspectives on the 1950s.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain two causes that influenced changes in mass culture after 1945.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

1950s Culture (ARC)

television
credit cards
fast food
paperback books

rock and roll
conglomerates
The Lonely Crowd
The Affluent Society
The Catcher in the Rye

Catch-22
beatniks
Warren Commission

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“The fault is not in organization, in short; it is in our worship of it. It is in our vain quest for a Utopian equilibrium, which would be horrible if it ever did come to pass; it is in the soft-minded denial that there is a conflict between the individual and society. . . . There is little room for virtuoso performances. . . . Business is so complex, even in its non-technical aspects, that no one man can master all of it; to do his job, therefore, he must be able to work with other people. . . . Quite obviously to anyone who worked in a big organization, those who survived best were not necessarily the fittest but, in more cases than not, those who by birth and personal connections had the breaks.”

William Whyte, *The Organization Man*, 1956

1. Which of the following trends in the United States during the mid-20th century most directly contributed to the perspective expressed in the excerpt?
 - (A) The spreading influence of the military-industrial complex
 - (B) The increasing domination of the economy by large corporations
 - (C) The increasing diversity of middle-class suburbs
 - (D) The rising percentage of inner-directed students graduating college
2. Which of the following best expresses the ideas of the author?
 - (A) Corporations should encourage more teamwork among employees.
 - (B) The business world rewards people who take risks.
 - (C) The United States should encourage the growth of large companies.
 - (D) Americans are trading individualism for lives of conformity.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “In the 1950s critics launched a devastating attack on the consumer culture for fostering a docile, standardized nation. Wherever they looked—toward a woman’s place in the home or antiseptic one-class suburb or the comatose campus—America seemed . . . routinized. One writer described the United States as ‘The Packaged Society, for we are all items in a national supermarket—categorized, processed, labeled, priced, and readied for merchandising.’”

William E. Leuchtenburg, historian, *A Troubled Feast: American Society Since 1945*, 1973

“The Truman-Eisenhower period is regarded as conservative and backward looking. . . . But what this view obscures is the extent to which, without anyone realizing it, the preconditions for social change and reform were being established. . . . Before Selma there was Montgomery. . . . before the hippies were the Beats. . . . Withal, it had been a time of hope, a time of growth, and, in its best moments, even a time of glory.”

William L. O’Neill, historian, *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945–1960*, 1986

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE major difference between Leuchtenburg’s and O’Neill’s historical interpretations of the 1950s.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support Leuchtenburg’s interpretation of the 1950s.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support O’Neill’s interpretation of the 1950s.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain how ONE specific innovation in communication positively influenced American society in the 1950s.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific innovation in communication negatively influenced American society in the 1950s.
 - (c) Briefly explain how innovations in communication affected the role of women in society in the 1950s.

Topic 8.6

Early Steps in the Civil Rights Movement, 1945–1960

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, May 17, 1954

Learning Objective: Explain how and why the civil rights movement developed and expanded from 1945 to 1960.

Baseball player Jackie Robinson had broken the color line in 1947 by being hired by the Brooklyn Dodgers as the first African American to play on a major league team since the 1880s. Robinson's breakthrough had a huge impact on many Americans. However, some argue that the origins of the modern civil rights movement can be traced back to the movement of millions of African Americans from the rural South to the urban centers of the South and the North. In the North, African Americans, who joined the Democrats during the New Deal, had a growing influence in politics in the 1940s and 1950s.

Origins of the Movement

African Americans had been fighting against racial discrimination since the 17th century. However, progress was slow until after World War II. As the 1950s began, African Americans in the South were still segregated by law from Whites in schools and in most public facilities. They were also kept from voting by poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and intimidation. Social segregation left most of them poorly educated, while economic discrimination kept them in a state of poverty.

Presidential Leadership Harry S. Truman (1945–1953) was the first modern president to use the powers of his office to challenge racial discrimination. Bypassing Southern Democrats who controlled key committees in Congress, the president used his executive powers to establish the **Committee on Civil Rights** in 1946. He also strengthened the civil rights division of the Justice Department, which aided the efforts of Black leaders to end segregation in schools. Most importantly, in 1948 he ordered the end of racial discrimination throughout the federal government, including the armed forces. The end of segregation changed life on military bases, many

of which were in the South. Recognizing the odds against the passage of civil rights legislation, Truman nevertheless also urged Congress to create a Fair Employment Practices Commission that would prevent employers from discriminating against the hiring of African Americans. Southern Democrats blocked the legislation.

Changing Attitudes in the Cold War The Cold War also played an indirect role in changing both government policies and social attitudes. The U.S. reputation for freedom and democracy was competing against Communist ideology for the hearts and minds of the peoples of Africa and Asia. Against this global background, racial segregation and discrimination stood out as glaring wrongs that needed to be corrected.

Desegregating the Schools and Public Places

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had been working through the courts for decades trying to overturn the Supreme Court's 1896 decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which allowed segregation as long as facilities were "separate but equal." In the late 1940s, the NAACP won a series of cases involving higher education.



Source: Getty Images

Separate water fountains symbolized how strictly Jim Crow laws and customs tried to segregate people by race.

Brown Decision One of the great landmark cases in Supreme Court history was argued in the early 1950s by a team of NAACP lawyers led by **Thurgood Marshall**. In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, they argued that segregation of Black children in public schools was unconstitutional because it violated the 14th Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws." In May 1954, the Supreme Court agreed with Marshall and overturned the *Plessy* decision. Writing for a unanimous Court, Chief Justice **Earl Warren** ruled

that (1) “separate facilities are inherently unequal” and hence unconstitutional, and (2) school segregation should end with “all deliberate speed.”

Resistance in the South Opposition to the *Brown* decision erupted throughout the South. To start with, 101 members of Congress signed the **“Southern Manifesto”** condemning the Supreme Court for a “clear abuse of judicial power.” States fought the decision several ways, including temporarily closing public schools and setting up private schools. The Ku Klux Klan made a comeback, and violence against African Americans increased.

In Arkansas in 1956, when a federal court ordered school desegregation, Governor Orval Faubus used the state’s National Guard to prevent nine African American students from entering Little Rock Central High School. President Eisenhower then intervened. While the president did not actively support **desegregation** or the *Brown* decision, he understood his constitutional duty to uphold federal authority. Eisenhower ordered federal troops to stand guard in **Little Rock** and protect Black students. Resistance remained stubborn. In 1964, ten years after the Supreme Court decision, fewer than 2 percent of Black students in the South attended integrated schools.

Montgomery Bus Boycott In 1955, as a Montgomery, Alabama, bus took on more White passengers, the driver ordered a middle-aged Black woman to give up her seat to one of them. **Rosa Parks**, an active member of the local chapter of the NAACP, refused. The police were called and arrested her for violating the segregation law. This arrest sparked a massive African American protest in the form of a boycott of the city buses. The Reverend **Martin Luther King Jr.**, minister of a Montgomery Baptist church, soon emerged as the inspirational leader of a **nonviolent movement** to end segregation. The protest touched off by Rosa Parks and the **Montgomery bus boycott** resulted in the Supreme Court ruling that segregation laws were unconstitutional. The boycott also inspired other civil rights protests that reshaped America over the coming decades.

Nonviolent Protests In 1957, Martin Luther King Jr. formed the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**, which organized ministers and churches in the South to get behind the civil rights struggle. In February 1960, college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, started the **sit-in movement** after being refused service at a Whites-only Woolworth’s lunch counter. To call attention to the injustice of segregated facilities, students would deliberately invite arrest by sitting in restricted areas. Within a few months, young activists, including 23-year-old John Lewis, organized the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** to promote voting rights and to end segregation. In the 1960s, African Americans used sit-ins to integrate restaurants, hotels, libraries, pools, and transportation throughout the South.

The results of the boycotts, sit-ins, court rulings, and government responses to pressure marked a turning point in the civil rights movement. Progress was slow, however. In the 1960s, a growing impatience among many African Americans would be manifested in violent confrontations in the streets.

Federal Laws While President Eisenhower was skeptical about the *Brown* ruling, he did sign civil rights laws in 1957 and 1960. These were the first such laws to be enacted by the U.S. Congress since Reconstruction. They were modest in scope, providing for a permanent **Civil Rights Commission** and giving the Justice Department new powers to protect the voting rights of African Americans. Despite this legislation, southern officials still used an arsenal of obstructive tactics to discourage black citizens from voting.

The Court rulings and federal laws of the 1950s were only the beginning in the fight for racial justice. The movement for racial justice continued with decades of protests, legislation, and court decisions to win African Americans access to schools, public places, voting rights, housing, and employment. The effort took a state-by-state, county-by-county, city-by-city struggle against the entrenched traditions of segregation and discrimination in both the South and the North. These events will be further explored in Topic 8.10.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain two specific examples of how and why the civil rights movements developed and expanded from 1945 to 1960.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Civil Rights in the 1940s and 1950s (SOC)	<i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i>	Montgomery bus boycott
Jackie Robinson	Earl Warren	Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Harry S. Truman	Southern Manifesto	sit-in movement
Committee on Civil Rights	desegregation	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)	Little Rock	Civil Rights Commission
Thurgood Marshall	Rosa Parks	
	Martin Luther King Jr.	
	nonviolent movement	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

“Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities? We believe that it does.

“[I]n finding that a segregated law school for Negroes could not provide them equal educational opportunities, this court relied in large part on ‘those qualities which are incapable of objective measurement but which make for greatness in a law school.’

“Such considerations apply with added force to children in grade and high schools. To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . .

“We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs . . . [are] deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.”

Supreme Court, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, May 17, 1954

1. Which of the following is the most important claim in the argument presented in this portion of the *Brown* verdict?
 - (A) All-Black schools were not as well equipped as all-White schools.
 - (B) Black and White students attended separate schools only because of residential patterns rather than required racial segregation.
 - (C) Segregated schools existed in southern but not northern states.
 - (D) Psychological research indicated the negative effects of segregation on African American children.
2. Which of the following best describes the initial reaction to the *Brown* decision?
 - (A) Southern leaders supported the decision, but the voters did not.
 - (B) President Eisenhower provided active support for the decision.
 - (C) Resistance was widespread, and initially few schools were integrated.
 - (D) It was implemented with little opposition in larger cities.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain how ONE specific action taken by the Truman administration attempted to end racial discrimination.
 - (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific action taken by segregationists attempted to resist the *Brown* ruling.
 - (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific action taken by African Americans attempted to fight racial segregation and discrimination during the 1950s.

Topic 8.7

America as a World Power

America was prone to its own illusions, one of which was that the independence movements of the developing world paralleled the American experience.

Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy*, 1994

Learning Objective: Explain various military and diplomatic responses to international developments over time.

Decolonization, or the collapse of colonial empires, was among the most important developments of the era following World War II. Would people fighting for independence look to the anticolonial history of United States for inspiration or to the anticolonial ideology of the Communists?

Unrest in the “Third World”

Between 1947 and 1960, 37 new nations emerged from colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Most were former subjects of European empires, such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands. In Asia, India and Pakistan became new nations in 1947, and the Dutch East Indies became the independent country of Indonesia in 1949. In Africa, Ghana threw off British colonial rule in 1957, and a host of other nations followed. These new developing nations of the “**Third World**” (in contrast to the industrialized nations of the Western bloc and the Communist bloc) often lacked stable political and economic institutions. Their need for foreign aid from either the United States or the Soviet Union often made them into pawns of the Cold War.

Foreign Aid The primary tool used by United States to win over the developing nations to its side during the Cold War was foreign aid. Until 1952, most of U.S. foreign aid went to Europe, but by 1960 more than 90 percent went to Third World nations. Some foreign aid was grant money with no strings attached. Often, though, the aid was in the form of low-interest loans and came with restrictions, which poorer nations came to resent. However, despite foreign aid many recipients, such as India and Egypt, refused to choose sides in the Cold War and followed a policy of “nonalignment.”

The Middle East

In the Middle East, the United States tried to balance maintaining friendly ties with the oil-rich Arab states while at the same time supporting the new state

of Israel. The latter nation was created in 1948 under UN auspices after a civil war in the British mandate territory of Palestine left the land divided between the Israelis and the Palestinians. Israel's neighbors, including Egypt, had fought unsuccessfully to prevent a Jewish state from being formed.

Covert Action President Eisenhower's administration's (1953–1961) conduct of U.S. foreign policy increased the use of **covert action**. Undercover intervention in the internal politics of other nations was less objectionable to voters than employing U.S. troops and proved less expensive. In 1953, the CIA helped overthrow a government in **Iran** that had tried to nationalize the holding of foreign oil companies. The overthrow of the elected government allowed for the return of Reza Pahlavi as shah (monarch) of Iran. In return the shah provided the West with favorable oil prices and made enormous purchases of American arms.

MIDDLE EAST AREAS OF CONFLICT, 1948-1990



Suez Crisis Led by the Arab nationalist General Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt asked the United States for funds to build the ambitious Aswan Dam project on the Nile River. The United States refused, in part because Egypt threatened Israel's security. Nasser then turned to the Soviet Union to help build the dam. The Soviets agreed to provide limited financing for the project. Seeking another source of funds, Nasser precipitated an international crisis in July 1956 by seizing and nationalizing the British- and French-owned Suez Canal that passed through Egyptian territory. Loss of the canal threatened Western Europe's supply line to Middle Eastern oil. In response to this threat, Britain, France, and Israel carried out a surprise attack against Egypt and retook the canal.

Eisenhower, furious that he had been kept in the dark about the attack by his allies the British and French, sponsored a UN resolution condemning the invasion of Egypt. Under pressure from the United States and world public opinion, the invading forces withdrew.

Eisenhower Doctrine The United States quickly replaced Britain and France as the leading Western influence in the Middle East, but it faced a growing Soviet influence in Egypt and Syria. In a policy pronouncement later known as the **Eisenhower Doctrine**, the United States in 1957 pledged economic and military aid to any Middle Eastern country threatened by communism. Eisenhower first applied his doctrine in 1958 by sending 14,000 marines to Lebanon to prevent a civil war between Christians and Muslims.

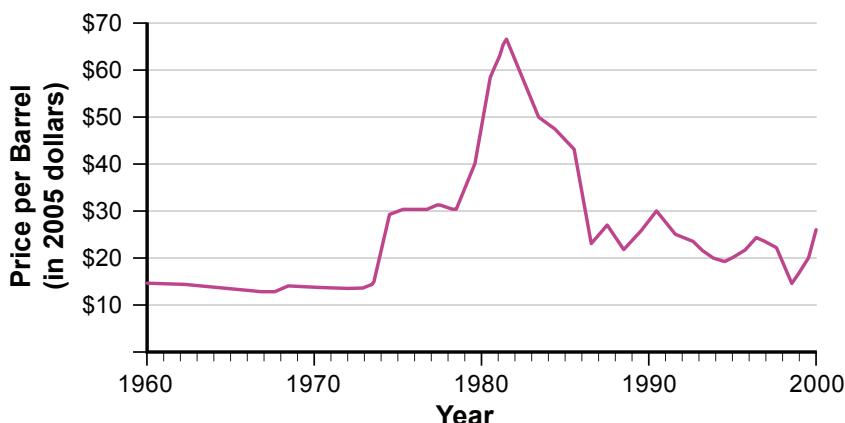
OPEC and Oil In Eisenhower's last year in office, 1960, the Middle Eastern states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran joined with the South American state of Venezuela to form the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**. Members of OPEC hoped to expand their political power by coordinating their oil policies. Oil was shaping up to be a critical foreign-policy issue. The combination of Western dependence on Middle Eastern oil, Arab nationalism, and the conflict between Israelis and Palestinian refugees would trouble American presidents in the coming decades.

Yom Kippur (October) War and Oil Embargo In world politics, the most important event of 1973 was the outbreak of another Middle Eastern war. On October 6, the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur, the Syrians and Egyptians launched a surprise attack on Israel in an attempt to recover the lands lost in the Six-Day War of 1967. President Nixon ordered U.S. nuclear forces on alert and airlifted almost \$2 billion in arms to Israel to stem the retreat. The tide of battle quickly shifted in favor of the Israelis, and the war was soon over.

The United States paid a huge price for supporting Israel. The Arab members of OPEC placed an embargo on oil sold to Israel's supporters. The embargo caused a worldwide oil shortage and long lines at gas stations in the United States. Even worse was the impact on the U.S. economy, which now suffered from runaway inflation, the loss of manufacturing jobs, and a lower standard of living. The hardest-hit people were blue-collar workers. Consumers switched from big American-made cars to smaller, more fuel-efficient Japanese

cars, which cost U.S. automobile workers more than 225,000 jobs. Congress responded by enacting a 55-miles-per-hour speed limit to save gasoline and approving construction of a controversial oil pipeline to tap American oil reserves in Alaska. No government program, however, seemed to bolster the sluggish economy or stem high inflation rates, which continued until the end of the decade.

WORLD PRICE OF CRUDE OIL



Source: U.S. Energy Administration

Camp David Accords Perhaps President Carter's (1977–1981) single greatest achievement as president was arranging a peace settlement between Egypt and Israel. In 1977, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat took the first courageous step toward Middle East peace by visiting Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in Jerusalem. President Carter followed this bold initiative by inviting Sadat and Begin to meet again at the presidential retreat in Camp David, Maryland. With Carter acting as an intermediary, the two leaders negotiated the **Camp David Accords** (September 1978), which provided a framework for a peace settlement between their countries.

Later, as a result of a peace treaty concluded in 1979, Egypt became the first Arab nation to recognize the nation of Israel. In return, Israel withdrew its troops from the Sinai territory taken from Egypt in the Six-Day War of 1967. The treaty was opposed by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and most of the Arab world, but it was a step toward a negotiated peace in the Middle East.

Iran and the Hostage Crisis The Middle East also provided Carter's greatest frustration. In Iran, anti-American sentiment had been strong since the United States had helped overthrow the country's democratically elected leader in 1953 and install a dictatorial government under a leader called a shah. The shah had kept the oil flowing for the West during the 1970s, but his autocratic rule and policy of westernization had alienated a large part of

the Iranian population. In 1979, Islamic fundamentalists in Iran, led by the Ayatollah Khomeini, overthrew the shah. He escaped the country, but Iranians demanded his return to stand trials for crimes against his people.

With the ayatollah and fundamentalists in power, Iranian oil exports ground to a halt, causing the second worldwide oil shortage of the decade and another round of price increases. U.S. impotence in dealing with the crisis became more evident in November 1979. When the United States allowed the shah into the country for medical treatment, Iranian militants seized the U.S. embassy in Teheran and held more than 50 American staff members as prisoners and hostages. The hostage crisis dragged out through the remainder of Carter's presidency. In April 1980, Carter approved a rescue mission, but the breakdown of the helicopters over the Iranian desert forced the United States to abort the mission. For many Americans, Carter's unsuccessful attempts to free the hostages symbolized a failed presidency.



Source: U.S. Department of Defense, via pingnews

On January 27, 1981, the hostages returned to the United States after 14 months in captivity.

Latin America

In 1954, President Eisenhower (1953–1961) approved a CIA covert action to overthrow a leftist government in Guatemala that threatened American business interests. U.S. opposition to communism often drove Washington to support corrupt and often ruthless dictators, especially in Latin America. As in the case of Iran, this kind of intervention in Latin American politics also fueled anti-American feelings, which became evident in populist attacks on motorcades of U.S. Vice Presidents Richard Nixon and later Nelson Rockefeller during state visits in Latin America.

Kennedy's Policies After a close election, President John F. Kennedy (1961–1963) increasingly turned his attention to policies related to developing countries. In 1961, he set up the **Peace Corps**, an organization that recruited

young American volunteers to give technical aid to developing countries. In 1961, Kennedy created the Alliance for Progress, a U.S. program that promoted land reform and economic development in Latin America. Kennedy's interest in Latin America and the **Alliance of Progress** were fondly remembered after his death. However, CIA operations fueled anti-American feelings in Latin America. These included the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion that failed to overthrow Fidel Castro (Topic 8.2) and plots to assassinate Communist or leftist leaders, such as Fidel Castro of Cuba.

Return of the “Big Stick” President Johnson’s administration (1963–1969) judged Western Hemisphere neighbors by their commitment against communism rather than their commitment to democracy. The Alliance for Progress, begun with such fanfare under Kennedy, was allowed to wither. Johnson’s policy toward Latin America became increasingly interventionist, culminating in the deployment of U.S. soldiers to the Dominican Republic to prevent another Communist takeover in the Caribbean. In 1964, the administration backed a right-wing military coup in Brazil. When Panamanians rioted against U.S. control of the Panama Canal Zone, Johnson dealt firmly with the violence, although he later agreed to negotiations that eventually culminated in the return of the Canal Zone to Panama in 1999. Johnson’s interventionist doctrine was that the United States would unilaterally prevent any Communist government from coming to power in the Western Hemisphere, reminding some of Theodore Roosevelt’s “Big Stick” policy.

Panama Canal Promoting a human rights policy, the Carter administration attempted to correct inequities in the original Panama Canal Treaty of 1903 by negotiating a new treaty. In 1978, after long debate, the Senate ratified a treaty that would gradually transfer operation and control of the Panama Canal from the United States to the Panamanians, a process to be completed by the year 2000. Opponents criticized Carter’s “giveaway” of the canal in the 1980 election.

Policies in Africa

The difficulties of nation building were especially challenging for newly created nations in Africa. Shortly after Belgium abruptly gave independence to the Congo in 1960, civil war broke out. Fearing a Communist victory, the United States helped the United Nations quell the insurrection. While the threat of a Communist takeover was overblown, the Kennedy administration’s intervention into the shaky politics of the Congo caused resentment among African nationalists as another example of White colonialism.

Remnants of Colonialism Until the mid-1970s, Africa ranked low in President Richard Nixon’s (1969–1974) list of priorities. The Nixon administration did strengthen ties with the White minority governments of Portuguese Angola, Rhodesia, and South Africa. When Black rebels tried to overthrow colonial control in Angola, the CIA spent tens of millions of dollars on covert actions to prevent the Communist-backed rebels from gaining power.

After Nixon resigned as president, Congress pulled funding from the scheme. In 1976, the Soviet- and Cuban-backed party took control of Angola. After the Angola experience, the United States decided to no longer back White minority governments with segregationist policies (*apartheid*) in Africa.

Human Rights Diplomacy The hallmark of President Carter's (1977–1981) foreign policy was human rights, which he preached fervently to the world's dictators. Carter appointed Andrew Young, an African American, to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Carter and Young championed the cause of human rights around the world, especially by opposing the oppression of the Black majorities in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) by all-White governments. In Latin America, human rights violations by the military governments of Argentina and Chile caused Carter to cut off U.S. aid to those countries.

Limits of a Superpower

In 1969, television viewers around the world witnessed the astonishing sight of two American astronauts walking on the moon's surface. The United States had won the race to land men on the moon. This event, followed by a series of other successes for the U.S. space program, represented some of the high points of the 1970s. Offsetting these technological triumphs, however, were shocking revelations about White House participation in the Watergate break-in, a stagnant economy, and the fall of South Vietnam to communism (Topic 8.8).

Economic Challenges Increased foreign economic competition, oil shortages, rising unemployment, and high inflation made Americans aware that even the world's leading superpower would have to adjust to a fast-changing, less-manageable world. The United States was cutting back on its foreign aid to developing nations. Overall, in world economy the United States seemed to be losing its competitive edge, which had been the foundation of its unrivaled political and military strength since World War II.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain two military and/or diplomatic responses of the United States to international developments in the Third World from 1945 to 1980.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

America in the World (WOR)	Iran	Yom Kippur (October) War
decolonization	Suez crisis	oil embargo
Third World	Eisenhower Doctrine	Camp David Accords
covert action	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)	Peace Corps
CIA		Alliance for Progress

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“The leaders of the independence movements were a different type than America’s Founding Fathers. . . . The vast majority of them governed in an authoritarian manner. Many were Marxists. . . . However much America might dissociate from European colonialism, American leaders, to their chagrin, found themselves perceived in developing countries as useful auxiliaries from the imperialist camp rather than as genuine partners. . . . Above all, populist leaders like Nasser saw no future in being identified with the West. . . . Nonalignment was for them as much a domestic necessity as a foreign policy choice.”

Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State (1973–1977), *Diplomacy*, 1994

1. One claim that could be used to refute Kissinger’s statement that “the leaders of the independence movements were a different type than America’s Founding Fathers” would be that both groups
 - (A) opposed efforts to protect civil liberties such as freedom of the press
 - (B) wanted to avoid conflicts that involved more powerful countries
 - (C) distrusted wealthy and highly educated individuals as political leaders
 - (D) recognized the benefits of imperialism for small, weak countries
2. Which of the following best reflects Kissinger’s criticism of the leaders of the developing countries?
 - (A) The leaders were not as skilled as American political leaders.
 - (B) Most leaders were not committed to democratic values.
 - (C) Governments were auxiliaries of the imperialist camp.
 - (D) Nonalignment was important for internal political reasons.
3. Which of the following best reflects the perspective of nonaligned nations according to Kissinger?
 - (A) Former colonies did not want to join in alliances with imperialist nations.
 - (B) Nonaligned nations had deeply held religious and cultural values.
 - (C) People in these nations wanted to ally with the United States, but their governments did not.
 - (D) Governments were not stable enough to cooperate with Western democracies.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bullet alone is not acceptable.

1.



Menachem Begin, Jimmy Carter, and Anwar Sadat at Camp David, Maryland, on September 7, 1978
Source: Jimmy Carter Library

Using the image above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE accomplishment of these three men from the meeting in 1978.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause that led these three leaders to meet in 1978.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the meeting of these leaders in 1978.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain how ONE specific covert action taken during the Eisenhower administration affected the image of the United States abroad.
- (b) Briefly explain how ONE specific historical development involving oil supplies affected U.S. foreign policy in the 1950s, 1960s, or 1970s.
- (c) Briefly explain how ONE specific act during the Carter administration affected human rights abroad.

Topic 8.8

The Vietnam War

Pouring money, material, and men into the jungle [of Vietnam] without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously futile and self-destructive.

John F. Kennedy, speech in U.S. Senate, April 6, 1954

Learning Objective: Explain the causes and effects of the Vietnam War.

After losing their Southeast Asian colony of Indochina to Japanese invaders in World War II, the French made the mistake of trying to retake it. Wanting independence, native Vietnamese and Cambodians resisted. French imperialism had the effect of increasing support for nationalist and Communist leader Ho Chi Minh.

Eisenhower's Domino Theory

By 1950, the anticolonial war in Indochina became part of the Cold War rivalry between Communist and anti-Communist powers. Truman's government started to give U.S. military aid to the French, while China and the Soviet Union aided the Viet Minh guerrillas led by Ho Chi Minh. In 1954, a large French army at Dien Bien Phu was trapped and forced to surrender. After this disastrous defeat, the French tried to convince Eisenhower to send in U.S. troops, but he refused. At the Geneva Conference of 1954, France agreed to give up Indochina, which was divided into the independent nations of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

Division of Vietnam By the terms of the Geneva Conference, Vietnam was to be temporarily divided at the 17th parallel until a general election could be held. The new nation remained divided, however, as two hostile governments took power on either side of the line. In North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh established a Communist dictatorship. In South Vietnam, a government emerged under **Ngo Dinh Diem**, whose support came largely from anti-Communist, Catholic, and urban Vietnamese, many of whom had fled from Communist rule in the North. The general election to unite Vietnam was never held, largely because South Vietnam's government feared that the Communists would win.

From 1955 to 1961, the United States gave over \$1 billion in economic and military aid to South Vietnam in an effort to build a stable anti-Communist state. In justifying this aid, President Eisenhower made what became a famous

analogy to a row of dominoes. According to this **domino theory**, if South Vietnam fell under Communist control, one nation after another in Southeast Asia would also fall, until Australia and New Zealand were in dire danger.

SEATO To prevent South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia from “falling” to communism, Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles** put together a regional defense pact called the **Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)**. Agreeing to defend one another in case of an attack within the region, eight nations signed the pact in 1954: the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.

Escalation of the Vietnam War in the 1960s

Vietnam was hardly mentioned in the election debates of 1960 between Nixon and Kennedy. U.S. involvement was minimal at that time, but every year thereafter, it loomed larger and eventually dominated the presidency of Lyndon Johnson and the thoughts of the nation. None of the divisive issues in the 1960s was as tragic as the war in Vietnam. Some 2.7 million Americans served in the conflict, and 58,000 died in a failed effort to prevent the takeover of South Vietnam by Communist North Vietnam. Total deaths from the war in Vietnam and related conflicts in Southeast Asia were probably between 2 million and 4 million.

Buildup under Kennedy President Kennedy adopted Eisenhower’s domino theory that, if Communist forces overthrew South Vietnam’s government, they would quickly overrun other countries of Southeast Asia—Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Kennedy therefore continued U.S. military aid to South Vietnam’s regime and significantly increased the number of military “advisers,” who trained the South Vietnamese army and guarded weapons and facilities. By 1963, more than 16,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam served in support, but not combat, roles. They provided training and supplies for South Vietnam’s armed forces and helped create “strategic hamlets” (fortified villages).

However, the U.S. ally in South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, was not popular. He and his government steadily lost the support of peasants in the countryside, while in the capital city of Saigon, Buddhist monks set themselves on fire in the streets to protest Diem’s policies. Kennedy began to question whether the South Vietnamese could win “their war” against Communist insurgents. Just two weeks before Kennedy himself was assassinated in Dallas, Diem was overthrown and killed by South Vietnamese generals. Historians later learned that the generals acted with the knowledge of the Kennedy administration.

Tonkin Gulf Resolution Lyndon Johnson became president just as things began to fall apart in South Vietnam. The country had seven different governments in 1964. During the U.S. presidential campaign, Republican candidate Barry Goldwater attacked the Johnson administration for giving only weak support to South Vietnam’s fight against the Vietcong (Communist guerrillas).

In August 1964, President Johnson and Congress took a fateful turn in policy. Allegedly, North Vietnamese gunboats had fired on U.S. warships in the Gulf of Tonkin off Vietnam's coast. The president persuaded Congress that this aggressive act was sufficient reason for a military response by the United States. Congress approved the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution**, which basically gave the president, as commander-in-chief, a blank check to take "all necessary measures" to protect U.S. interests in Vietnam. Johnson used this small, obscure naval incident to secure congressional authorization to send U.S. forces into combat.

Critics later called the full-scale use of U.S. forces in Vietnam an illegal war because Congress never declared war, as the Constitution requires. Congress, however, did not have this concern and did not withdraw its resolution. Until 1968, most Americans supported the effort to contain communism in Southeast Asia. Johnson was caught in a political dilemma to which there was no good solution. How could he stop the defeat of a weak and unpopular government in South Vietnam without making it into an American war—a war whose cost would doom his Great Society programs? If he pulled out, however, he would be seen as weak and lose public support.

THE VIETNAM WAR



America's War

In 1965, the U.S. military and most of the president's foreign-policy advisers recommended expanding operations in Vietnam to save the Saigon government. After a Vietcong attack on the U.S. base at Pleiku in 1965, Johnson authorized Operation Rolling Thunder, a prolonged air attack using B-52 bombers against targets in North Vietnam. In April, the president decided to use U.S. combat troops for the first time to fight the Vietcong. By the end of 1965, more than 184,000 U.S. troops were in Vietnam, and most were engaged in a combat role. Johnson continued a step-by-step escalation of U.S. involvement in the war. Hoping to win a war of attrition, American generals used search-and-destroy tactics, which only further alienated the peasants. By the end of 1967, the United States had more than 485,000 troops in Vietnam (the peak was 540,000 in March 1969), and 16,000 Americans had already died in the conflict. Nevertheless, **General William Westmoreland**, commander of the U.S. forces in Vietnam, assured the American public that he could see "light at the end of the tunnel."

Credibility Gap Misinformation from military and civilian leaders combined with Johnson's reluctance to speak frankly to the American people about the scope and the costs of the war created what the media called a **credibility gap**. Johnson always hoped that a little more military pressure would bring the North Vietnamese to the peace table. The most damaging knowledge gap, however, may have been within the inner circles of government. Years later, Robert McNamara in his memoirs concluded that the leaders in Washington had failed to understand both the enemy and the nature of the war.

Hawks versus Doves Supporters of the war, or "**hawks**," believed that the war was an act of Soviet-backed Communist aggression against South Vietnam and that it was part of a master plan to conquer all of Southeast Asia. Opponents of the war, or "**doves**," viewed the conflict as a civil war fought by Vietnamese nationalists and some Communists who wanted to unite their country by overthrowing a corrupt Saigon government.

Some Americans opposed the war because of its costs in lives and money. They believed the billions spent in Vietnam could be better spent on the problems of the cities and the poor in the United States. By far the greatest opposition came from students on college campuses who, after graduation, would become eligible to be drafted into the military and shipped off to Vietnam. In November 1967, the antiwar movement gained a political leader when scholarly Senator Eugene F. McCarthy of Minnesota became the first antiwar advocate to challenge Johnson for the 1968 Democratic presidential nomination.

Tet Offensive On the occasion of their Lunar New Year (Tet) in January 1968, the Vietcong launched an all-out surprise attack on almost every provincial capital and American base in South Vietnam. Although the attack took a fearful toll in the cities, the U.S. military counterattacked, inflicted much heavier losses on the Vietcong, and recovered the lost territory. As a military

attack, the **Tet Offensive** failed. Even so, it had tremendous impact in the United States. The millions of Americans who watched TV news footage of the destruction interpreted the attacks as a setback for Johnson's Vietnam policy. Victory was not imminent. Thus, for the Vietcong and North Vietnamese, Tet was a tremendous political victory in demoralizing the American public. In the New Hampshire primary in February, the antiwar McCarthy took 42 percent of the vote against Johnson.

Johnson Ends Escalation The Joint Chiefs of Staff responded to Tet by requesting 200,000 more troops to win the war. By this time, however, the group of experienced Cold War diplomats who advised Johnson had turned against further escalation of the war. On March 31, 1968, President Johnson went on television and told the American people that he would limit the bombing of North Vietnam and negotiate peace. He then surprised everyone by announcing that he would not run for reelection.

In May 1968, peace talks between North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the United States started in Paris, but they were quickly deadlocked over minor issues. The war continued, and tens of thousands more died. But the escalation of the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam had stopped, and under the next administration it would be slowly reversed.

Coming Apart at Home, 1968

Few years in U.S. history outside of the Civil War were as troubled or violent as 1968. The Tet Offensive and the withdrawal of Johnson from the presidential race were followed by the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and destructive riots in cities across the country. As the year unfolded, Americans wondered if their nation was coming apart from internal conflicts over the war issue, the race issue, and the generation gap between the baby boomers and their parents.

Election of 1968 In 1964, Kennedy's younger brother, **Robert F. Kennedy**, became a senator from New York. Four years later, he decided to enter the presidential race after McCarthy's strong showing in New Hampshire. Bobby Kennedy was more effective than McCarthy in mobilizing the traditional Democratic blue-collar and minority vote. On June 5, 1968, he won a major victory in California's primary, but immediately after his victory speech he was shot and killed by a young Arab nationalist who opposed Kennedy's support for Israel. After Robert Kennedy's death, the election of 1968 turned into a three-way race between two conservatives—**George Wallace** and **Richard Nixon**—and one liberal, Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

Democratic Convention in Chicago When the Democrats met in Chicago for their party convention, it was clear that **Hubert Humphrey** had enough delegates to win the nomination. As vice president, he had loyally supported Johnson's domestic and foreign policies. He controlled the convention, but the antiwar demonstrators were determined to control the streets. Chicago's mayor Richard Daley had the police out *en masse*, and the resulting violence was portrayed on television across the country as a "police riot." Humphrey left

the convention as the nominee of a badly divided Democratic party, and early polls showed he was a clear underdog in a nation sick of disorder and protest.

White Backlash and George Wallace The growing hostility of many Whites to federal desegregation, antiwar protests, and race riots was tapped by Governor George Wallace of Alabama. Wallace was the first politician of late-20th-century America to marshal the general resentment against the Washington establishment (“pointy-head liberals,” as he called them) and the two-party system. He ran for president as the self-nominated candidate of the American Independent Party, hoping to win enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Return of Richard Nixon Many observers thought Richard Nixon’s political career had ended in 1962 after his unsuccessful run for governor of California. In 1968, however, a new, more-confident, and less-negative Nixon announced his candidacy and soon became the front-runner in the Republican primaries. The favorite of the party regulars, he had little trouble securing his nomination at the Republican convention. For his running mate, he selected Governor Spiro Agnew of Maryland, whose rhetoric was similar to that of George Wallace. Nixon was a “hawk” on the Vietnam War and ran on the slogans of “peace with honor” and “law and order.”

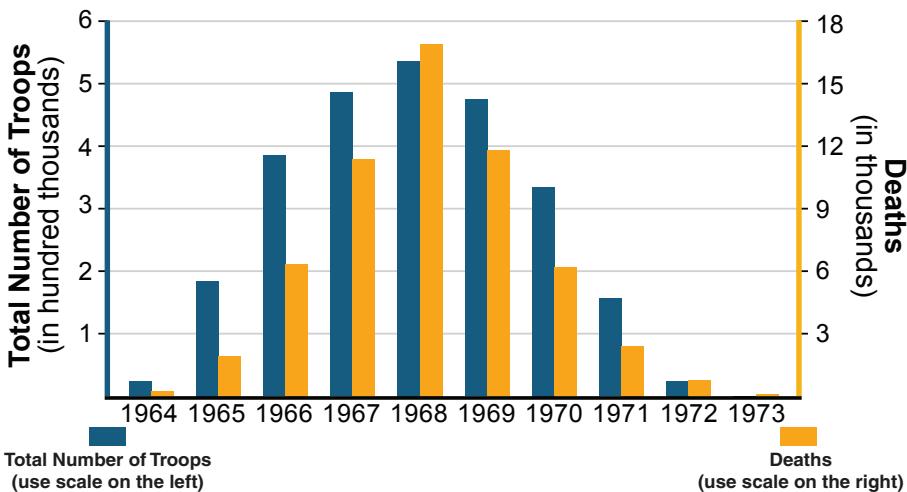
Results Wallace and Nixon started strong, but the Democrats began to catch up, especially in northern urban centers, as Humphrey preached to the faithful of the old New Deal coalition. On election night, Nixon defeated Humphrey by a very close popular vote but took a substantial majority of the electoral vote (301 to 191), ending any threat that the three-candidate election would end up in the House of Representatives.

The significance of the 1968 election is clear in the combined total of Nixon’s and Wallace’s popular vote of almost 57 percent. Apparently, most Americans wanted a time-out to heal what they saw as the wounds inflicted on the national psyche by the upheavals of the 1960s. Supporters of Nixon and Wallace had had enough of protest, violence, permissiveness, the counterculture, drugs, and federal intervention in social institutions. Elections in the 1970s and 1980s would confirm that the tide was turning against New Deal liberalism in favor of the conservatives.

Richard Nixon’s Vietnam Policy

In his January 1969 inaugural address, President Nixon promised to bring Americans together after the turmoil of the 1960s. However, suspicious and secretive by nature, Nixon soon began to isolate himself in the White House and create what Arthur Schlesinger Jr. called an “imperial presidency.” Nixon’s first interest was international relations, not domestic policy. Together with his national security adviser, **Henry Kissinger** (who became secretary of state during Nixon’s second term), Nixon fashioned a pragmatic foreign policy that reduced the tensions of the Cold War.

U.S. FORCES IN VIETNAM, 1964 TO 1973



Source: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Vietnam Conflict Extract Data File and other sources.

Vietnamization When Nixon took office, more than half a million U.S. troops were in Vietnam. His principal objective was to find a way to reduce U.S. involvement in the war while at the same time avoiding the appearance of conceding defeat. In a word, Nixon said the United States was seeking nothing less than “peace with honor.” Almost immediately, the new president began the process called “**Vietnamization**.” He announced that he would gradually withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam and give the South Vietnamese the money, the weapons, and the training that they needed to take over the full conduct of the war. Under this policy, U.S. troops in South Vietnam went from more than 540,000 in 1969 to under 30,000 in 1972. Extending the idea of disengagement to other parts of Asia, the president proclaimed the **Nixon Doctrine**, declaring that in the future Asian allies would receive U.S. support but without the extensive use of U.S. ground forces.

Opposition to Nixon’s War Policies Nixon’s gradual withdrawal of forces from Vietnam reduced the number of antiwar protests. However, in April 1970, the president expanded the war by using U.S. forces to invade Cambodia in an effort to destroy Vietnamese Communist bases in that country. A nationwide protest on college campuses against this action resulted in the killing of four youths by National Guard troops at **Kent State** University in Ohio and two students at Jackson State University in Mississippi. In reaction to the escalation of the war, the U.S. Senate (but not the House) voted to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Also in 1970, the American public was shocked to learn about a 1968 massacre of women and children by U.S. troops in the Vietnamese village of

My Lai. Further fueling the antiwar sentiment was the publication by *The New York Times* of the **Pentagon Papers**, a secret government study documenting the mistakes and deceptions of government policymakers in dealing with Vietnam. The papers had been turned over, or “leaked,” to the press by Daniel Ellsberg, a former Defense Department analyst.

Peace Talks, Bombing Attacks, and Armistice On the diplomatic front, Nixon had Kissinger conduct secret meetings with North Vietnam’s foreign minister, Le Duc Tho. Kissinger announced in the fall of 1972 that “peace is at hand,” but this announcement proved premature. When the two sides could not reach a deal, Nixon ordered a massive bombing of North Vietnam (the heaviest air attacks of the long war) to force a settlement. After several weeks of B-52 bomber attacks, the North Vietnamese agreed to an armistice, in which the United States would withdraw the last of its troops and get back more than 500 prisoners of war (POWs). The **Paris Accords** of January 1973 also promised a cease-fire and free elections. In practice, however, the armistice did not end the war between the North and the South and left tens of thousands of enemy troops in South Vietnam. Before the war ended, the death toll probably numbered more than a million.

The armistice finally allowed the United States to extricate itself from a war that had claimed more than 58,000 American lives. The \$118 billion spent on the war began an inflationary cycle that racked the U.S. economy for years afterward.

War Powers Act Nixon was politically damaged by the news that he had authorized 3,500 secret bombing raids in Cambodia, a neutral country. Congress used the public uproar over this information to attempt to limit the president’s powers over the military. In November 1973, after a long struggle, Congress finally passed the **War Powers Act** over Nixon’s veto. This law required Nixon and any future president to report to Congress within 48 hours after taking military action. It further provided that Congress would have to approve any military action that lasted more than 60 days. After the long and unpopular war in Vietnam, Congress and the American people were ready to put the brakes on future presidents leading the nation into a war without a thorough debate.

Defeat in Southeast Asia

In 1974, South Vietnam continued to face strong attacks from Communist forces. However, President Ford was unable to get additional funds to support U.S. military involvement.

Fall of Saigon In April 1975, the U.S.-supported government in Saigon fell to the enemy, and Vietnam was reunified under the Communist government in Hanoi (North Vietnam’s capital). Just before the final collapse, the United States was able to evacuate about 150,000 Vietnamese who had supported the United States and now faced certain persecution. The fall of South Vietnam marked a low point of American prestige overseas and confidence at home.

Genocide in Cambodia Also in 1975, the U.S.-supported government in Vietnam's neighbor, Cambodia, fell to the Khmer Rouge, a radical Communist faction that killed between 1 million and 2 million of its own people—perhaps one-quarter of the population—in a brutal relocation program to rid the country of Western influence. Together the wars in Southeast Asia created 10 million refugees, many of whom fled to the United States.

Future of Southeast Asia The fall of Cambodia seemed to fulfill Eisenhower's domino theory, but in fact the rest of Southeast Asia did not fall to communism. Instead, nations such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia emerged as the "little tigers" of the vigorously growing Asian (Pacific Rim) economy. Some argued that U.S. support of South Vietnam was not a waste because it bought time for other nations of East Asia and Southeast Asia to develop and better resist communism.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain the origins of the Vietnam War, the reasons for U.S. involvement, and the effects the war had on the United States.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Vietnam War (WOR)

Ngo Dinh Diem	George Wallace
domino theory	Richard Nixon
John Foster Dulles	Democratic Convention in Chicago
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)	Hubert Humphrey
Tonkin Gulf Resolution	White backlash
General William Westmoreland	Henry Kissinger
credibility gap	Vietnamization
hawks	Nixon Doctrine
doves	Kent State
Tet Offensive	My Lai
Robert F. Kennedy	Pentagon Papers
	Paris Accords
	War Powers Act

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“We will stay [in Vietnam] because a just nation cannot leave to the cruelties of its enemies a people who have staked their lives and independence on America’s solemn pledge—a pledge which had grown through the commitment of three American Presidents.

We will stay because in Asia—and around the world—are countries whose independence rests, in large measure, on confidence in America’s word and in American protection. To yield to force in Vietnam would weaken that confidence, would undermine the independence of many lands, and would whet the appetite of aggression. We would have to fight in one land, and then we would have to fight in another—or abandon much of Asia to the domination of Communists.”

Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union Message,
January 12, 1966

1. Which foreign policy development supports the perspective presented in this excerpt?
 - (A) The practice of brinkmanship
 - (B) The process of decolonization
 - (C) The belief in the domino theory
 - (D) The principle of mutually assured destruction
2. In which way did Johnson most significantly depart from the policies of previous presidents regarding Vietnam?
 - (A) He used a larger number of U.S. troops in combat roles.
 - (B) He was more successful in negotiating with North Vietnam.
 - (C) He set a lower limit on the number of U.S. troops sent to Vietnam.
 - (D) He gave more decision-making authority to the generals.
3. Which of the following best characterizes the position of the president’s antiwar critics?
 - (A) The war threatened to cause an inflationary cycle.
 - (B) The conflict was primarily a civil war between factions in Vietnam.
 - (C) The containment policy would not work in Asia.
 - (D) The continued involvement would weaken trust between the United States and its allies.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “So it proved for the 1960’s policymakers, whose ignorance and misconceptions of Southeast Asian history, culture and politics pulled America progressively deeper into the war. LBJ, Rusk, McNamara. . . . mistakenly viewed Vietnam through the simplistic prism of the Cold War. They perceived a deeply complex and ambiguous regional struggle, as a grave challenge to world order and stability. . . . Vietnam exposed the limitations and contradictions of this static doctrine in a world of flux. . . . Vietnam represented a failure not just of American foreign policy, but also of American statesmanship.”

Brian VanDemark, *Into the Quagmire: Lyndon Johnson and the Evolution of the Vietnam War*, 1991

“America’s military bureaucracy depends on weapons, increasingly complex, difficult to maintain and expensive. . . . Our marvelously clever technology did not help us to understand the [Vietnam] war and, in fact, confused us even more because it created our unquestioning faith in our own power. . . . If we exploded enough bombs and fired enough rounds, we assumed the enemy would quit. . . . The utter failure of military tactics to utilize technology was not the fault of civilians. . . . By the sheer force of firepower the military won battles, but it could never have made these victories add up to victory.”

Leon Baritz, historian, *A History of How American Culture Led Us into Vietnam and Made Us Fight the Way We Did*, 1985

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE specific difference between VanDemark’s and Baritz’s historical interpretations of the U.S. policies in Vietnam.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support VanDemark’s interpretation of U.S. policies in Vietnam during the 1960s.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support Baritz’s interpretation of U.S. policies in Vietnam during the 1960s.

Topic 8.9

The Great Society

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time.

Lyndon B. Johnson, Commencement Address
at the University of Michigan, May 1964

Learning Objective 1: Explain the causes and effects of continuing policy debates about the role of the federal government over time.

Learning Objective 2: Explain the contributions and changes in immigration patterns over time.

Two hours after the assassination of President Kennedy, **Lyndon Johnson** took the presidential oath aboard a plane in Dallas. A native of rural west Texas and a graduate of a little-known teacher's college, he seemed unsophisticated compared to the wealthy, Harvard-educated Kennedy. However, Johnson was a skilled politician who had started his career as a Roosevelt Democrat during the Great Depression. As the new president, Johnson was determined to expand the social reforms of the New Deal. He called his program the "**Great Society**." During his almost 30 years in Congress, he had learned how to get things done.

The War on Poverty

In his best-selling book on poverty, *The Other America* (1962), **Michael Harrington** helped focus national attention on the 40 million Americans still living in poverty. President Johnson responded by declaring in 1964 an "unconditional war on poverty." The Democratic Congress gave the president almost everything he asked for by creating the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) and providing this antipoverty agency with a billion-dollar budget. The OEO sponsored a wide variety of self-help programs for the poor, such as Head Start for preschoolers, the Job Corps for vocational education, literacy programs, and legal services. The controversial Community Action Program allowed the poor to run antipoverty programs in their own neighborhoods.

The Election of 1964

Johnson and his running mate, Senator Hubert Humphrey, went into the 1964 election with a clearly liberal agenda. In contrast, the Republicans nominated

a staunch conservative, Senator **Barry Goldwater** of Arizona, who advocated ending the welfare state, including the Tennessee Valley Authority and Social Security. A television ad by the Democrats pictured Goldwater as a dangerous extremist who might ignite a nuclear war. However, the Goldwater campaign did energize young conservatives and introduced new conservative voices, such as former film actor and TV host Ronald Reagan of California.

Johnson won the election by a landslide, taking 61 percent of the popular vote—a higher figure than FDR's landslide of 1936. In addition, Democrats now controlled both houses of Congress by better than a two-thirds margin. A Democratic president and Congress were in a position to pass the economic and social reforms originally proposed by President Truman in the 1940s.

Great Society Reforms

Johnson's list of legislative achievements from 1963 to 1966 is long and includes new programs that would have lasting effects on U.S. society. Several of the most significant ones are listed in the table below.

GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS		
Title	Year Passed	Program
Food Stamp Act	1964	Expanded the federal program to help low-income people buy food
National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	1965	Provided federal funding for the arts and for creative and scholarly projects
Medicare	1965	Provided health insurance for all people 65 and older
Medicaid	1965	Provided funds to states to pay for medical care for the poor and disabled
Elementary and Secondary Education Act	1965	Provided federal funds to poor school districts and funds for special education programs
Higher Education Act	1965	Provided federal scholarships for postsecondary education
Immigration Act	1965	Abolished discriminatory quotas based on national origins
Child Nutrition Act	1966	Added breakfast to the school lunch program

In addition to the programs listed in the table, Congress increased funding for mass transit, public housing, rent subsidies for low-income people, and crime prevention. Johnson also established two new cabinet departments: the **Department of Transportation (DOT)** and the **Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)**. In response to **Ralph Nader**'s book *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965), Congress also passed automobile industry regulations that would save hundreds of thousands of lives in the following years. Clean air and water laws were enacted in part as a response to **Rachel Carson**'s exposé of pesticides, *Silent Spring* (1962). Federal parks and wilderness areas were expanded. President Johnson's wife, Lady Bird Johnson, helped improve the

environment with her **Beautify America** campaign, which resulted in the Highway Beautification Act that removed billboards from federal highways.

Evaluating the Great Society Critics have attacked Johnson's Great Society for making unrealistic promises to eliminate poverty, for creating a centralized welfare state, and for being inefficient and very costly. Defenders point out that these programs gave vitally needed assistance to millions of Americans who had previously been forgotten or ignored—the poor, the disabled, and the elderly. Johnson himself would jeopardize his domestic achievements by escalating the war in Vietnam—a war that resulted in higher taxes and inflation.

Changes in Immigration

Before the 1960s, most immigrants to the United States had come from Europe and Canada. By the 1980s, 47 percent of immigrants were coming from Latin America, 37 percent from Asia, and fewer than 13 percent from Europe and Canada. In part, this dramatic shift was caused by the arrival of refugees leaving Cuba and Vietnam after the Communist takeovers of these countries. Of far greater importance was the impact of the **Immigration Act of 1965**, which ended the ethnic quota acts of the 1920s favoring Europeans and thereby opened the United States to immigrants from all parts of the world. Legal immigration increased sharply. In the 1970s, about 400,000 immigrants entered each year. In many years between 1990 and 2020, the number exceeded 1,000,000 people.

Undocumented Immigrants By the mid-1970s, as many as 12 million foreigners were in the United States illegally. The rise in the number of immigrants from Latin America and Asia led to the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, which penalized employers for hiring immigrants who had entered the country illegally or had overstayed their visas while also granting amnesty to undocumented immigrants arriving by 1982. Even so, many Americans concluded that the nation had lost control of its own borders.

Political Impact of the Great Society President Johnson's Great Society programs also included legislation to end racial discrimination, which is explored in Topic 8.10. Johnson predicted that the Democratic Party would lose its Southern support because of its liberal social legislation. In fact, the mid-1960s did prove the high point for the use of the federal government to achieve racial equality at home. The conservative resurgence in the next decades was partly motivated to undo the Great Society legislation.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Explain two causes and two effects of the War on Poverty and the Great Society programs.
2. Explain the impacts of the Immigration Act of 1965 on changes in immigration patterns over time.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Johnson: Domestic Programs (PCE, MIG)	National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
Lyndon Johnson	Medicare	Ralph Nader
Great Society	Medicaid	<i>Unsafe at Any Speed</i>
<i>The Other America</i>	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Rachel Carson
Michael Harrington	Department of Transportation (DOT)	<i>Silent Spring</i>
war on poverty		Beautify America
Barry Goldwater		Immigration Act of 1965

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

“In your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. . . . The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents.”

Lyndon B. Johnson, speech, May 1964

1. Which provides evidence to refute Johnson’s argument in this source?
 - (A) The information in Michael Harrington’s 1962 book about poverty
 - (B) The number of African Americans registered to vote in the South
 - (C) The reaction to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision
 - (D) The hope of people in other nations to emigrate to the United States
2. Which of the following historical slogans or developments were most closely related to Johnson’s plans as described in this source?
 - (A) “Gilded Age,” because it focused on material goods and wealth
 - (B) “Square Deal,” because it addressed business-labor relations
 - (C) “Return to Normalcy,” because it recalled a better time in the past
 - (D) “New Deal,” because it aimed to attack economic hardships
3. Johnson’s primary purpose in giving this speech was to
 - (A) present his goals for a second term in office
 - (B) remind graduates to continue to enrich their minds
 - (C) attack the rich and powerful supporters of his political opponent
 - (D) separate himself from the policies of Kennedy and other Democrats

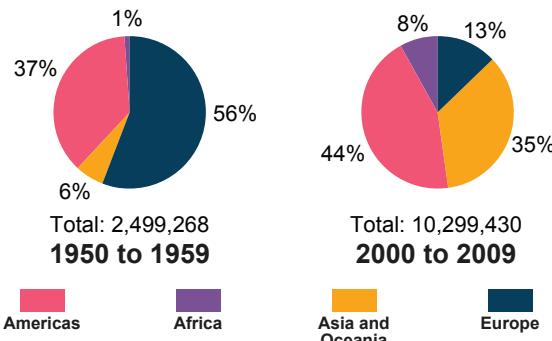
4. What is the relationship between this speech and Johnson's record as president?
- (A) He ignored the goals expressed in this speech and focused on other priorities.
 - (B) He failed to get Congress to pass legislation to implement his policies.
 - (C) He made many compromises with Congress, so he accomplished only a little.
 - (D) He passed significant legislation that reflected the vision expressed in this speech.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1.

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Using the graphs above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific change in immigration patterns from the 1950s to the first decade of the 2000s.
 - (b) Briefly analyze ONE specific way the Immigration Act of 1965 contributed to the changes in immigration patterns.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE additional cause for the changes in immigration patterns from the 1950s to the first decade of the 2000s.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific way the Great Society attacked poverty.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific way the Great Society tried to improve education.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific way Johnson's health care programs had a lasting impact on American society.

The African American Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

Martin Luther King Jr., speech on steps of the Lincoln Memorial, August 23, 1963

Learning Objectives: Explain how and why various groups responded to calls for the expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980. Explain the various ways in which the federal government responded to the calls for the expansion of civil rights.

The civil rights movement gained momentum during the Kennedy and Johnson presidencies. A very close election in 1960 influenced President Kennedy not to press the issue of civil rights lest he alienate White voters. But the defiance of the governors of Alabama and Mississippi to federal court rulings on integration forced a showdown. In 1962, **James Meredith**, a young African American Air Force veteran, attempted to enroll at the University of Mississippi. A federal court guaranteed his right to attend. Supporting Meredith and the court order, Kennedy sent in 400 federal marshals and 3,000 troops to control mob violence and protect Meredith's right to attend class. A similar incident occurred in Alabama in 1963. Governor **George Wallace** tried to stop an African American student from entering the University of Alabama. Once again, Kennedy sent troops to the scene, and the student was admitted.

The Leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Civil rights activists and freedom riders who traveled through the South registering African Americans to vote and integrating public places were met with beatings, bombings, and murder by White extremists. Recognized nationally as the leader of the civil rights movement, **Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.** remained committed to nonviolent protests against segregation. In 1963, he and some followers were jailed in Birmingham, Alabama, for what local authorities maintained was an illegal march. The jailing of King, however, proved to be a milestone in the civil rights movement because most Americans believed King to have been jailed unjustly. From his jail cell, King wrote an essay, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," in which he argued:

[W]e need emulate neither the "do-nothingism" of the complacent nor the hatred and despair of the Black nationalist. For there is the more excellent way of love and nonviolent protest. I am grateful to God that, through the influence of the Negro church, the way of nonviolence became an integral part of our struggle. . . .

One day the South will know that when these disinherited children of God sat down at lunch counters, they were in reality standing up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judeo-Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in their formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. . . .

King's letter moved President Kennedy to support a tougher civil rights bill.

March on Washington (1963) In August 1963, King led one of the largest, most successful demonstrations in U.S. history. About 200,000 Black and White people joined the peaceful **March on Washington** in support of jobs and the civil rights bill. The highlight of the demonstration was King's impassioned "**I Have a Dream**" speech, which appealed for the end of racial prejudice and ended with everyone in the crowd singing "We Shall Overcome."

Federal Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965

Ironically, a Southern president succeeded in persuading Congress to enact the most important civil rights laws since Reconstruction. Even before the 1964 election, Johnson convinced both a majority of Democrats and some Republicans to pass the 1964 **Civil Rights Act**, which made segregation illegal in all public facilities, including hotels and restaurants, and gave the federal government more power to enforce school desegregation. This act also set up the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** to end discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin.

Ending a Barrier to Voting Also in 1964, the **24th Amendment** was ratified. It abolished the practice of collecting a poll tax, one of the measures that, for decades, had discouraged poor people from voting.

March to Montgomery A voting rights march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital of Montgomery in March 1965 was met with beatings and tear gas. Among those severely injured on "Bloody Sunday" was SNCC organizer John Lewis. He became known as the "conscience of Congress" for his leadership on civil rights as a member of the House of Representatives.

Televised pictures of the violence proved a turning point in the civil rights movement. The national outrage prompted Johnson to send federal troops to protect King and other marchers in another attempt to petition the state government. As a result, Congress passed the powerful **Voting Rights Act of 1965**. This act ended literacy tests and provided federal registrars in areas where African Americans had been kept from voting since Reconstruction. The impact was most dramatic in the Deep South.

Divisions in the Civil Rights Movement Laws such as the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act were hard-won victories. Nevertheless, young African Americans were losing patience with the slow progress toward equality and the continued violence by White extremists.

Black Muslims and Malcolm X

Seeking a new cultural identity based on Africa and Islam, the **Black Muslim** leader Elijah Muhammad preached Black nationalism, separatism, and self-improvement. The movement had already attracted thousands of followers by the time a young man named Malcolm Little became a convert while serving in prison. He adopted the name **Malcolm X**. Leaving prison in 1952, Malcolm X acquired a reputation as the movement's most controversial voice. He criticized King as "an Uncle Tom" (subservient to Whites) and advocated self-defense—using Black violence to counter White violence. He eventually left the Black Muslims and moved away from defending violence, but he was assassinated by Black opponents in 1965. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* remains an engaging testimony to one man's development from a petty criminal into a major leader.

Race Riots and Black Power

The radicalism of Malcolm X influenced the thinking of young African Americans in civil rights organizations such as the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** and the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**. **Stokely Carmichael**, the chairman of SNCC, repudiated nonviolence and advocated "black power" (especially economic power) and racial separatism. In 1966, the **Black Panthers** were organized by Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and other militants as a revolutionary socialist movement advocating self-rule for American blacks.

Urban Riots Shortly after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the arrest of a young black motorist by White police in the black neighborhood of **Watts** in Los Angeles sparked a six-day race riot that killed 34 people and destroyed more than 700 buildings.

For the following few summers through 1968, **race riots** continued to erupt in black neighborhoods of major cities, with increasing casualties and destruction of property. Rioters shouting slogans—"Burn, baby, burn" and "Get whitey"—made Whites suspect that Black extremists and revolutionaries were behind the violence. There was little evidence, however, that the small Black Power movement was responsible for the violence. A federal investigation of the many riots by the **Kerner Commission** concluded in late 1968 that racism and segregation were chiefly responsible and that the United States was becoming "two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

By the mid-1960s, the issue of civil rights had spread far beyond *de jure* segregation practiced under the law in the South. It now included the **de facto segregation** and discrimination caused by racist attitudes in the North and West.

Murder in Memphis Martin Luther King Jr. received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, but his nonviolent approach was under increasing pressure from all sides. His effort to use peaceful marches in urban centers of the North, such as Chicago, met with little success. King also broke with President Johnson over the Vietnam War because that war was beginning to drain money from social programs. In April 1968, the nation went into shock over the news that King had been shot and killed by a White man while standing on a motel balcony in Memphis, Tennessee. Massive riots erupted in 168 cities across the country, leaving at least 46 people dead.

The violence did not reflect the ideals of the murdered leader, but it did reveal the anger and frustrations among African Americans in both the North and the South. The violence also fed a growing “White backlash” against the civil rights movement, especially among White blue-collar voters, which was soon reflected in national elections in November 1968 (Topic 8.14).

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Explain how and why two groups responded to calls for the expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980.
2. Explain two ways in which the federal government responded to calls for the expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Civil Rights Movement (SOC, PCE)

James Meredith
George Wallace
Martin Luther King Jr.
Letter from Birmingham Jail
March on Washington
“I Have a Dream” speech
Civil Rights Act
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
24th Amendment
March to Montgomery

Voting Rights Act of 1965

Black Muslim
Malcolm X
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
Stokely Carmichael
Black Panthers
Watts
race riots
Kerner Commission
de facto segregation

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

“Last Sunday, more than eight thousand of us started on a mighty walk from Selma, Alabama. . . . Our whole campaign in Alabama has been centered around the right to vote. In focusing the attention of the nation and the world today on the flagrant denial of the right to vote, we are exposing the very origin, the root cause, of racial segregation in the Southland. . . . The segregation of the races was really a political stratagem employed by the emerging Bourbon [conservative] interests in the South to keep the southern masses divided and southern labor the cheapest in the land. . . . The threat of the free exercise of the ballot by the Negro and the white masses alike resulted in the establishment of a segregated society. . . .

Let us march on ballot boxes until brotherhood becomes more than a meaningless word in an opening prayer, but the order of the day on every legislative agenda. . . . How long? Not long, because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.”

Martin Luther King Jr., address at the conclusion of the Selma
to Montgomery March, March 25, 1965

1. Which of the following best explains the connection that King made with segregation and “the emerging Bourbon interests”?
 - (A) Segregation can be traced back to the original founders of the Southern colonies.
 - (B) Segregation was a natural result of hatred between the races after the Civil War.
 - (C) After Reconstruction, the White ruling class used segregation to regain political control.
 - (D) Both African Americans and poor Whites were the targets of voting restrictions.
2. Which of the following best explains the result of the 1965 march from Selma to Montgomery?
 - (A) The marchers, along with Dr. King, were jailed for civil disobedience.
 - (B) Under pressure, Congress passed the most effective voting rights legislation since Reconstruction.
 - (C) There was White backlash against Blacks for demanding too much.
 - (D) Race riots were sparked in cities across the nation.

3. Which of the following best reflects the loss of faith by younger African Americans in the established leadership of the civil rights movement after the March to Montgomery?
- (A) The response to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - (B) The conversion of Malcolm X to the Black Muslims
 - (C) The shift in tactics of SNCC under Stokely Carmichael
 - (D) The reaction to the Kerner Commission's findings on racism

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “When he had entered the Oval Office for his conversation with Johnson, Wilkins (leader of the NAACP) had not much hope for the civil rights bill . . . , but by the time the conversation ended, he had been ‘struck by the enormous difference between Kennedy and Johnson. . . . Kennedy had been polite and sympathetic . . . but as a legislator he was very green. . . . Johnson knew exactly what was possible. . . . Johnson made it plain he wanted the whole bill. If we could find the votes, we would win. . . . The problem was as simple as that.’ Wilkins had entered the Oval Office without much hope; that wasn’t the way he left it.”

Robert A Caro, *Passage of Power*, 2012

Using the excerpt above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how the federal government expanded civil rights during the 1960s.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific example of how the leaders and supporters of the civil rights movement furthered their cause during the 1960s.
- (c) Briefly explain the historical role of President Johnson in the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

The Civil Rights Movement Expands

*I am woman, hear me roar/In numbers too big to ignore . . .
I am woman watch me grow/See me standing toe to toe . . .*

Helen Reddy, "I Am Woman," 1971

Learning Objective: Explain how and why various groups responded to calls for expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980.

One aspect of the protest movements of the 1960s that continued into later decades was the movement by a variety of other groups to gain both relief from discrimination and recognition for their contributions to U.S. society, including women, Latinos, American Indians, and the gay community.

The Women's Movement

The increased education and employment of women in the 1950s, the civil rights movement, and the sexual revolution all contributed to a renewal of the **women's movement** in the 1960s. In addition, some feminists who participated in the countercultures of the 1960s rejected many of the social, economic, and political values of their parents' generation and advocated changes in sexual norms.

Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) gave the movement a new direction by encouraging middle-class women to seek fulfillment in professional careers in addition to filling the roles of wife, mother, and homemaker. In 1966, Friedan helped found the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**, which adopted the activist tactics of other civil rights movements to secure equal treatment of women, especially for job opportunities. By this time, Congress had already enacted two antidiscrimination laws: the **Equal Pay Act of 1963** and the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. These measures prohibited discrimination in employment and compensation on the basis of sex but had been poorly enforced.

In 1972, Congress also passed **Title IX**, a statute to end sex discrimination in schools that receive federal funding. Though far-reaching, the law is best known for its requirement that schools provide girls with equal athletic opportunities. Many believe that these new opportunities in athletics proved to be a key step in promoting women's equality.

Campaign for the Equal Rights Amendment Feminists achieved a major legislative victory in 1972 when Congress passed the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)**. This proposed constitutional amendment stated: “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” Although NOW and other groups campaigned hard for the ERA, it just missed ratification by the required 38 states. It was defeated in part because of a growing reaction against feminism by conservatives who feared the movement threatened the traditional roles of women.

Achievements Even without the ERA, the women’s movement accomplished fundamental changes in attitudes and hiring practices. In increasing numbers, women moved into professions previously dominated by men: business, law, medicine, and politics. Although women still experienced the “glass ceiling” in the corporate world, American society at the beginning of the 21st century was less and less a man’s world.

Latino Americans

Most Latino Americans before World War II lived in the Southwestern states, but in the postwar years new arrivals from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and South and Central America increasingly settled in the East and Midwest. After suffering deportation during the Great Depression, Mexican workers returned to the United States in the 1950s and 1960s to take low-paying agricultural jobs. The farm workers were widely exploited before a long series of boycotts led by **César Chávez** and the **United Farm Workers Association** finally gained collective bargaining rights for them in 1975.

Latinos achieved goals in other areas as well. Mexican American activists also won a federal mandate for bilingual education requiring schools to teach Hispanic children in both English and Spanish. In the 1980s, a growing number of **Hispanic Americans** were elected to public office, including as mayors of Miami, San Antonio, and other large cities. The Census Bureau reported that, in 2000, Hispanics, including Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other Latin Americans, had become the country’s largest minority group.

American Indian Movement

In the 1950s, the Eisenhower administration had made an unsuccessful attempt to encourage American Indians to leave reservations and assimilate into urban America. American Indian leaders resisted the loss of cultural identity that would have resulted from such a policy. To achieve self-determination and revival of tribal traditions, the **American Indian Movement (AIM)** was founded in 1968. Militant actions soon followed, including AIM’s takeover of the abandoned prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay in 1969. AIM members also occupied Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, which was the site of the infamous massacre of American Indians by the U.S. cavalry in 1890.

AMERICAN INDIAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1950 TO 2010		
Year	Total	Percentage
1950	343,410	0.2
1960	508,675	0.3
1970	827,255	0.4
1980	1,420,400	0.6
1990	1,959,234	0.8
2000	2,475,956	0.9
2010	2,932,248	0.9

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Figures include Alaska Natives.

American Indians had successes in the late 20th century. Congress passed the **Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975**, which gave reservations and tribal lands greater control over internal programs, education, and law enforcement. Federal courts supported efforts to regain property and compensation for treaty violations. American Indians attacked widespread unemployment and poverty on reservations by improving education through the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 and by building industries and gambling casinos on reservations under the self-determination legislation.

Interest in the cultural heritage of American Indians was also overcoming old prejudices. By the 2010 census, nearly 3 million people identified themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native, and more than 2 million more identified themselves as a combination of American Indian or Alaska Native and some other ethnic group.

Asian Americans

Americans of Asian descent had become the fastest growing ethnic minority by the 1980s. The largest group of **Asian Americans** were of Chinese ancestry, followed by Filipinos, Japanese, Indians, Koreans, and Vietnamese. A strong dedication to education resulted in Asian Americans being well represented in the best colleges and universities. However, at times, Asian Americans suffered from discrimination, envy, and Japan-bashing, while the less-educated immigrants earned well below the national average.

Gay Rights Movement

In 1969, a police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York City, sparked both a riot and the **gay rights movement**. Gay activists urged homosexuals to be open about their identity and to work to end discrimination and violent abuse. By the mid-1970s, homosexuality was no longer classified as a mental illness, and the federal Civil Service dropped its ban on employment of homosexuals. In 1993, President Clinton attempted to end discrimination against gays and lesbians in the military, but settled for the compromise “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. People would not be asked or expected to describe their sexual identity, but the military could still expel people for being gay or lesbian.

The Warren Court and Individual Rights

As chief justice of the Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969, Earl Warren had an impact on the nation comparable to that of John Marshall in the early 1800s. Warren's decision in the desegregation case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) was by far the most important case of the 20th century involving race relations. Then, in the 1960s, the **Warren Court** made a series of decisions that profoundly affected the criminal-justice system, state political systems, and the definition of individual rights. Before Warren's tenure as chief justice, the Supreme Court had concentrated on protecting property rights. During and after his tenure, the Court focused more on protecting individual rights.

Criminal Justice Several decisions of the Warren Court concerned defendants' rights. Four of the most important were the following:

- ***Mapp v. Ohio*** (1961) ruled that evidence seized illegally cannot be used against the accused in court.
- ***Gideon v. Wainwright*** (1963) required that state courts provide counsel (services of an attorney) for indigent (poor) defendants.
- ***Escobedo v. Illinois*** (1964) extended the ruling in *Gideon*, giving suspects the right to have a lawyer present during questioning by the police.
- ***Miranda v. Arizona*** (1966) extended the ruling in *Escobedo* to require the police to inform an arrested person of his or her right to remain silent.

Reapportionment Equality Before 1962, many states included at least one house of their legislatures (usually the senate) that had districts that strongly favored rural areas to the disadvantage of cities. In the landmark case of ***Baker v. Carr*** (1962), the Warren Court declared this practice unconstitutional. In *Baker* and later cases, the Court established the principle of "**one man, one vote**," meaning that election districts would have to be redrawn to provide equal representation for all citizens.

Freedom of Expression and Privacy Other rulings by the Warren Court extended the rights mentioned in the 1st Amendment to protect the actions of protesters, to permit greater latitude under freedom of the press, to ban religious activities sponsored by public schools, and to guarantee adults' rights to use contraceptives.

- ***Yates v. United States*** (1957) said that the 1st Amendment protected radical and revolutionary speech, even by Communists, unless it was a "clear and present danger" to the safety of the country.
- ***Engel v. Vitale*** (1962) ruled that state laws requiring prayers and Bible readings in the public schools violated the 1st Amendment's provision for separation of church and state.

- *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) ruled that, in recognition of a citizen's right to privacy, a state could not prohibit the use of contraceptives by adults. (This privacy case provided the foundation for later cases establishing a woman's right to an abortion.)

The Warren Court's defense of the rights of unpopular individuals, including people accused of crimes, provoked a storm of controversy. Critics called for Warren's impeachment. Both supporters and critics agreed that the Warren Court profoundly changed the interpretation of constitutional rights.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how and why various groups responded to calls for expansion of civil rights from 1960 to 1980.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Civil Rights Movement Expands (SOC)	Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)	gay rights movement
women's movement	César Chávez	Warren Court
Betty Friedan	United Farm Workers Association	<i>Mapp v. Ohio</i>
<i>The Feminine Mystique</i>	Hispanic Americans	<i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i>
National Organization for Women (NOW)	American Indian Movement (AIM)	<i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i>
Equal Pay Act of 1963	Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975	<i>Miranda v. Arizona</i>
Civil Rights Act of 1964	Asian Americans	reapportionment
Title IX		<i>Baker v. Carr</i>
		one man, one vote
		<i>Yates v. United States</i>

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

"We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come for a new movement toward equality for all women in America, and towards a full equal partnership of the sexes. . . .

NOW Bill of Rights: Equal Rights Constitutional Amendment, Enforce Law Banning Sex Discrimination in Employment, Maternity Leave Rights in Employment and in Social Security Benefits, Tax Deduction for Home and Child Care Expenses for Working Parents, Child Care Centers, Equal and Unsegregated Education, Equal Job Training Opportunities and Allowances for Women in Poverty, Rights of Women to Control Their Reproductive Lives."

National Organization for Women, June 1966

1. The 1966 NOW statement most emphasized which of the following strategies to achieve its goals?

 - (A) Passing laws and using public resources to give women equal opportunities with men
 - (B) Going to court to protect freedom of speech for women
 - (C) Electing women to political offices at local, state, and federal levels
 - (D) Persuading individuals to change their cultural attitudes about the roles of women and men
2. Which of the following goals from the NOW Bill of Rights did the feminist movement most clearly fail to achieve?

 - (A) Greater assistance with child care
 - (B) New employment opportunities
 - (C) Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment
 - (D) Increased reproductive rights

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTIONS

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that helped to mobilize the American Indian Movement to address social and economic inequality or past injustices during the period from 1960 to 1980.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that helped to mobilize the Mexican-American movement to address social and economic inequality or past injustices during the period from 1960 to 1980.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that helped to mobilize the gay rights movement to address social and economic inequality or past injustices during the period from 1960 to 1980.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific ruling of the Warren Court that expanded the rights of defendants in the criminal justice system.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific ruling of the Warren Court that expanded the 1st Amendment.
 - (c) Briefly analyze ONE specific impact of the Supreme Court’s “one man, one vote” ruling on American politics.

Youth Culture of the 1960s

*Hey, we're going to change everything.
We're going to stop the war tomorrow.*

David Crosby, interview for *Woodstock: The Oral History*, 1989

Learning Objective: Explain how and why opposition to existing policies and values developed and changed over the course of the 20th century.

Many American youth in the 1960s were idealistic and desired to make the world a better place to live. When President Kennedy created the Peace Corps in 1961, there was a surge of volunteers. While most young Americans accepted the social order of the day, a growing number wanted more than the conformity and materialism they saw in the middle-class culture of the 1950s.

Baby Boom Generation

During the 1960s, the first of the baby boom generation were graduating from high school and going to college. Between 1945 and 1970, college and university enrollments had quadrupled. As many American institutions soon discovered, they were not ready for the large numbers of this generation that had not lived through the Great Depression and World War II. Instead they had been influenced by the civil rights movements of African Americans and other groups demanding justice, freedom, and equality.

Student Movement and the New Left

In the early and mid-1960s, various liberal groups began to identify with blacks' struggle against oppressive controls and laws. The first such group to rebel against established authority were college and university students. In 1962, a newly formed radical student organization called **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)** held a meeting in Port Huron, Michigan. Following the leadership of Tom Hayden, the group issued a declaration of purposes known as the Port Huron Statement. It called for university decisions to be made through participatory democracy so that students would have a voice in decisions affecting their lives. Activists and intellectuals who supported Hayden's ideas became known as the **New Left**.

The first major student protest took place in 1964 on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. Calling their cause the **Free Speech Movement**, Berkeley students demanded an end to university restrictions on students'

political activities. They also demanded a greater voice in the government of the university. By the mid-1960s, students across the country were protesting against everything from university rules against drinking and coed dorm visits to the right to organize and protest. However, their primary focus became opposition to the war in Vietnam and the draft.

Students Against the Vietnam War

Student demonstrations grew with the escalation of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and the dramatic increase in the draft of young men into the military. Students in college could usually claim a deferment but faced the draft after leaving school. Campuses across the nation were disrupted or closed down by antiwar protests. In the first six months of 1968, more than 40,000 students protested in more than 200 demonstrations on 100 campuses across the nation. Demonstrations included draft-card burning, sit-ins, and protests against military recruiters and ROTC programs. Students also protested against war-related companies trying to recruit graduates, such as Dow Chemical Company, which manufactured napalm. Several thousand young men also fled to Canada or Europe to avoid serving in what many thought was an immoral war.

The Vietnam War and the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy made 1968 an especially bad year for protests. SDS members joined African American students in a sit-in and occupation of buildings on the campus of Columbia University in New York City to protest racial discrimination. After nearly a week, police were called in and some 150 protesters were injured and 700 arrested.

The Chicago Convention The best-known off-campus protest in 1968 was in Chicago during the **Democratic Convention**. A mix of peaceful and radical antiwar protesters, anarchists, and **Yippies** (members of the Youth International Party) damaged property, terrorized pedestrians, and taunted police. In response, Mayor Richard Daley ordered the police to break up the demonstrations in what some in the media called a “police riot.”

The Weather Underground The most radical fringe of the SDS, known as the **Weather Underground**, embraced violence and vandalism in their attacks of “the system.” Their methods escalated from riots to stealing weapons to bombings from 1969 through the 1970s. More than 280 Weathermen were arrested during the “Days of Rage” riots carried out in Chicago in 1969.

The Weather Underground was almost unique among radicals in that period in using dynamite bombs to protest government war policies, racial unfairness, and corporate greed. The Weathermen believed that the evil of these injustices warranted an extreme response, if not a revolution. They set off about 25 bombs during their seven years of existence, including bombs at the Capitol, Pentagon, and State Department, which landed them on the FBI’s Most Wanted list. In the eyes of most Americans, the Weathermen’s extremist acts and language discredited the early idealism of the New Left.

The Counterculture

The political protests of the New Left went hand in hand with a new youth **counterculture** that was expressed in rebellious styles of dress, music, drug use, and, for some, communal living. The apparent dress code of the “hippies” and “flower children” of the 1960s included long hair, beards, beads, and jeans. The **folk music** of Joan Baez and Bob Dylan gave voice to the younger generation’s protests, while the **rock music** of the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, Jim Morrison, and Janis Joplin provided the beat and lyrics for the counterculture.

Woodstock In 1969, a gathering of hundreds of thousands of young people at the **Woodstock** Music Festival in upper New York State reflected the zenith of the counterculture. However, as a result of experimenting with hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD or becoming addicted to various other drugs, some young people destroyed their lives. The counterculture’s excesses and the economic uncertainties of the times led to its demise in the 1970s.

Sexual Revolution One aspect of the counterculture that continued beyond the 1960s was a change in many Americans’ attitudes toward sexual expression. Traditional beliefs about sexual conduct had originally been challenged in the late 1940s and 1950s by the pioneering surveys of sexual practice conducted by **Alfred Kinsey**. His research indicated that premarital sex, marital infidelity, and homosexuality were more common than anyone had suspected. Medicine (antibiotics for sexually transmitted diseases) and science (the introduction of the birth-control pill in 1960) also contributed to changing attitudes about engaging in casual sex with a number of partners. Moreover, overtly sexual themes in advertisements, magazines, and movies made sex appear to be just one more consumer product.

How deeply the so-called **sexual revolution** changed the behavior of the majority of Americans is open to question. There is little doubt, however, that premarital sex, contraception, abortion, and homosexuality became more visible and widely accepted. Later, in the 1980s, there was a general reaction against the loosened moral codes as many blamed it for an increase in illegitimate births, especially among teenagers, an increase in rape and sexual abuse, and the spread of a deadly new disease, AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome).

In Retrospect

The generation of baby boomers that came of age in the 1960s believed fervently in the ideals of a democratic society. They hoped to slay the dragons of unresponsive authority, poverty, racism, and war. However, the impatience of some activists with change, the use of violence, and the spread of self-destructive behavior discredited their cause in the eyes of others, particularly older Americans. The mantra of the counterculture, “sex, drugs, and rock and roll,” was rejected by the majority of Americans and helped to motivate the conservative resurgence in the late 1970s with an emphasis on order and traditional values (Topic 8.14).

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how and why opposition to existing policies and values changed over the course of the 20th century.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Youth Culture (ARC)	counterculture
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)	folk music
New Left	rock music
Free Speech Movement	Woodstock
Democratic Convention	Alfred Kinsey
Yippies	sexual revolution
Weather Underground	

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

“We are people of this generation . . . looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit. When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world . . . an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men . . .

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the . . . fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second . . . the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions . . . might die at any time. . . .

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era.”

Students for a Democratic Society, Port Huron Statement, June 15, 1962

1. The excerpt from the Port Huron Statement is most clearly an example of which of the following developments in the 1960s?

 - (A) The essential role of colleges and universities in preserving Western civilization
 - (B) The reaction by young civil rights workers to entrenched racial bigotry in the South
 - (C) The alienation of the younger generation from contemporary American society
 - (D) Increased anxiety in the younger generation that the Golden Age of America was over
2. The language used in the excerpt most directly reflects the influence of which of the following sets of beliefs?

 - (A) The same principles expressed by the leaders of the civil rights movement
 - (B) The anti-Communist studies popular in colleges and universities in the 1960s
 - (C) The leadership of John F. Kennedy to abolish nuclear weapons and end the Cold War
 - (D) The idealism of White upper- and middle-class students who rejected their privileged status

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).

 - (a) Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between the New Left and the counterculture movements.
 - (b) Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between the New Left and the counterculture movements.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE reason for the difference between the New Left and the counterculture movements.

Topic 8.13

The Environment and Natural Resources from 1968 to 1980

*Industrial vomit . . . fills our skies and seas . . .
Our technological powers increase, but the side effects
and potential hazards also escalate.*

Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, 1970

Learning Objective: Explain how and why policies related to the environment developed and changed from 1968 to 1980.

The Progressive Era conservation movement was fairly small and led by politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt. In contrast, the modern environmental movement had widespread popular support. Some conservation measures, however, were driven by world events such as oil shortages and high prices.

Origins of the Environmental Movement

In the 1950s and 1960s, three biologists helped launch the modern environmental movement. Through their writings and activism, they made issues such as chemical pollution, nuclear fallout, and population growth a public concern.

Rachel Carson Many historians mark the beginning of the modern American environmental movement with the publication of biologist **Rachel Carson's** *Silent Spring* in 1962. *Silent Spring* explained the negative environmental effects of DDT, a potent insecticide that had been used in American agriculture. Carson argued that unchecked industrial growth would destroy animal life and ultimately human life on earth. This best-selling book forced Americans to question whether “better living through chemistry” was the solution or the cause of the emerging environmental crisis.

Barry Commoner In the late 1950s, Barry Commoner and other researchers began finding high levels of a cancer-causing substance, strontium-90, in children’s teeth. It came from nuclear weapons tests. Commoner led the political fight to end such testing. In 1963, the United States, the Soviet Union, and other countries agreed to stop testing weapons aboveground.

Paul Ehrlich In his book *The Population Bomb* (1968), biologist Paul Ehrlich argued that overpopulation was causing the world’s environmental

problems. The most frightening of his predictions, that starvation would increase dramatically, did not come to pass. Increases in agricultural productivity and anti-poverty programs moderated the effects of population growth. However, his book did spark a debate over how many people the earth could sustain.

Public Awareness

During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, several environmental disasters raised the public awareness of damage to the environment caused by human behavior. Media coverage of industrial disasters increased public questioning of the benefits of industry and new technologies in what some called a “postmodern” culture.

Environmental accidents reinforced the fears of the deadly combination of human error and modern technology.

- In 1954, the 23-man crew of the Japanese fishing vessel *Lucky Dragon* was exposed to radioactive fallout from a hydrogen bomb test at Bikini Atoll, a chain of islands in the Pacific Ocean.
- In 1969, an oil well blowout in Santa Barbara Bay spilled more than 200,000 gallons of oil into the ocean. The widespread pollution of the California coastline forced the oil industry to reform its operations.
- Also in 1969, Ohio’s Cuyahoga River burst into flames from all the oil and chemicals floating on the surface.
- In 1979, opinion also turned against building additional nuclear power plants after an accident at the **Three Mile Island** power plant in Pennsylvania.

Such events convinced many Americans that the United States had serious environmental problems.

Earth Day The first **Earth Day** in 1970 reflected the nation’s growing concerns over air and water pollution and the destruction of the natural environment, including wildlife. In New York City, 100,000 people showed their support for protecting the earth. Organizers estimated that 1,500 colleges and 10,000 schools took part in Earth Day. *Time* magazine estimated that about 20 million Americans participated in some activity related to the event. The popularity of the environmental movement grew after 1970 and became an important political issue.

Pictures from Space The Apollo crew’s first photographs of Earth from space in 1968 also raised awareness of humanity’s home. These images portrayed a relatively small and fragile planet in the vast lifeless vacuum of space. The photograph, named “**Earthrise**,” and variations of it, became iconic images for the environmental movement. They helped people around the world gain a new perspective on the human condition and better understand their shared but finite environment.



Source: Bill Anders, NASA

Environmental Activists The environmental movement grew and gained strength by the late 1960s. For example, membership in the Sierra Club expanded from 123,000 in 1960 to 819,000 in 1970. Building on the organization and tactics of the civil rights and antiwar movements, thousands of citizens, especially middle-class youth, men, and women, joined the environmental movement. During the 1970s, mainstream environmental organizations, such as the National Audubon Society, the Environmental Defense Fund, the National Wildlife Federation, the National Resources Defense Council, the National Parks Conservation Association, and the Sierra Club, established sophisticated operations in Washington, D.C. These groups served a watchdog function, monitoring whether environmental regulations were properly enforced by federal agencies. They hired lobbyists to advocate for environmental legislation, lawyers to enforce environmental standards in the courts, and scientists to help determine when new regulations were needed.

Government Environmental Protection

While the federal government was slow to develop environmental protection legislation, the state of California became a leader in auto emissions standards by mandating that engine gases be recycled to cut back on the pollution and smog choking its large cities. Congress had passed some air and water quality legislation during the postwar period but often left regulation and enforcement to the individual states.

In the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson (1963–1969) signed almost 300 conservation and beautification bills, supported by more than \$12 billion in authorized funds. The most significant was the **Wilderness Act**, which permanently set aside certain federal lands from commercial economic development in order to preserve them in their natural state. The federal government also took a new interest in controlling pollution.

During the Nixon administration, protecting the environment was a bipartisan issue, and the administration worked with a Democratic majority in Congress. President Nixon recognized the power of a popular movement

and over the next few years proposed an ambitious program, including the Environmental Protection Agency, the foundation of the nation's modern environmental protection system.

Environmental Protection Agency To enforce federal regulations, Nixon created the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)** in 1970. An independent federal agency, the EPA was given responsibility for regulating and enforcing federal programs and policies on air and water pollution, radiation issues, pesticides, and solid waste. The agency began with a staff of 8,000 and a budget of \$455 million, but by 1981 it had a staff of nearly 13,000 and a budget of \$1.35 billion. Enforcing environmental regulations proved to be a difficult and complex task, particularly as new legislation gave the agency more responsibilities.

Clean Air and Water During the 1970s, the federal government took over responsibility for clean air and water. Growing concerns about the environmental and economic impact of polluted air and water came from growing cities as well as rural areas. The **Clean Air Act** of 1970 regulated air emissions from both stationary and mobile sources and authorized the EPA to set standards to protect public health by regulating emissions of hazardous air pollutants.

Other legislation followed, including the Marine Protection, Research, and Sanctuaries Act of 1972; the Safe Drinking Water Act (1974); the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (1976); the Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1977, which became known as the **Clean Water Act**; and the **Superfund Act** (1980) to clean up toxic waste from former industrial sites.

Wildlife Protection The Endangered Species Act of 1973 was created to protect critically imperiled species such as the American bald eagle from extinction as a "consequence of economic growth and development untempered by adequate concern and conservation." The **Endangered Species Act** was created to also protect the ecosystems upon which wildlife depend. The habitat of wildlife became the source of contention between preservationists and land developers and industries. The Endangered Species Act of 1973 was called "the Magna Carta of the environmental movement."

The Oil Embargo and Fuel Economy As a result of the 1973 Yom Kippur War (Topic 8.7), the Arab members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) placed an embargo on oil sold to Israel's supporters, which included the United States. This caused a worldwide oil shortage and long lines at American gas pumps. In response, Congress reduced speed limits to save gasoline. And consumers switched from big American-made gas guzzlers to smaller, more fuel-efficient cars imported from Japan. In 1975 Congress first enacted standards for fuel economy, which resulted in more fuel-efficient American cars. More fuel-efficient cars meant fewer harmful **emissions**, bolstering the regulation of tailpipe emissions that was part of the Clean Air Act of 1970 and helping to reduce the **greenhouse gases** in the atmosphere that scientists blame for **climate change**.

Antinuclear Movement Antinuclear protests grew out of the environmental movement, peaking in the 1970s and 1980s. Public opinion also turned against building additional nuclear power plants after the accident at the Three Mile Island power plant in Pennsylvania. Besides the growing concerns over the safety of nuclear power plants, the issue of disposal of the radioactive waste became a major issue, as it needed to be safely stored somewhere for many generations. The **antinuclear movement** delayed construction or halted commitments to build new nuclear plants, and pressured the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to enforce and strengthen the safety regulations for nuclear power plants.

Backlash to Environmental Regulations

In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan sought to curtail the scope of environmental protection. For example, by 1984 the EPA's budget was cut by 44 percent, and the number of enforcement cases submitted to the EPA declined by 56 percent. It turned out that the 1970s were a high point in the environmental movement as industrial and conservative groups fought back against federal regulations.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVE

1. Explain how and why policies related to the environment developed and changed from 1968 to 1980.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Environmental Movement (GEO)

Rachel Carson

Silent Spring

Paul Ehrlich

The Population Bomb

Three Mile Island

Earth Day

"Earthrise"

Wilderness Act

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

Clean Air Act

Clean Water Act

Superfund Act

Endangered Species Act

emissions

greenhouse gases

climate change

antinuclear movement

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–2 refer to the following excerpt.

"There was once a town in the heart of America where all life seemed to live in harmony with its surroundings. . . . Then a strange blight crept over the area and everything began to change. Some evil spell had settled on the community: mysterious maladies swept the flocks of chickens; the cattle

and sheep sickened and died. . . . In the town the doctors had become more and more puzzled by new kinds of sickness. . . . There was a strange stillness. The birds, for example—where had they gone? . . . No witchcraft, no enemy action had silenced the rebirth of new life. . . . The people had done it themselves.”

Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 1962

1. Which of the following best explains why Rachel Carson wrote *Silent Spring*?
 - (A) To explain the dangers of testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere
 - (B) To predict the effects of global warming on the environment
 - (C) To warn about the impact of the chemicals made by humans on the environment
 - (D) To argue for the preservation of open spaces and endangered species
2. Which of the following best explains the reaction to *Silent Spring* in the 1960s and 1970s?
 - (A) Consumers and farmers should be more careful in the way they treat the environment.
 - (B) Federal regulations were needed to protect the environment from human abuse.
 - (C) American manufacturers and industries formed associations to protect the environment.
 - (D) The dangers to the environment were a global problem that needed United Nations' action.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - (a) Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause for the antinuclear movement of the 1960s and 1970s.
 - (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical reason for the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency.
 - (c) Briefly explain ONE specific environmental protection law passed in the 1970s and its effects.

Society in Transition

My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over. Our Constitution works, our great Republic is a government of laws, not men.

President Gerald Ford, speech after Nixon's resignation, August 9, 1974

Learning Objectives: Explain the causes and effects of continuing policy debates about the role of the federal government over time. Explain the effects of religious movements over the course of the 20th century.

The 1970s was a decade many Americans wanted to forget, marked by losses in Vietnam and Cambodia, the Kent State shootings, the OPEC oil embargo, and the Watergate scandal, along with high unemployment, stagnant wages, hyperinflation, tax revolts, the polarization of politics, and the politicization of religion. The 1970s also marked the transition from the dominance of the more liberal Democratic Party to the more conservative Republican Party, each with a very different view on the role of the federal government.

American Society in Transition

Social changes in the 1970s had even greater potential significance than politics. By the end of the decade, half of all Americans lived in the fastest-growing sections of the country—the South and the West. Unlike the previous decade, which was dominated by the youth revolt, the 1970s was the decade when Americans became conscious that the population was aging. The fastest-growing age group consisted of senior citizens, people over age 65.

The country's racial and ethnic composition was also changing noticeably in the late 20th century. By 1990, minority groups made up 25 percent of the population. The Census Bureau predicted that by 2050 as much as half of the population would be Hispanic American, African American, or Asian American. Cultural pluralism was replacing the melting pot as the model for U.S. society, as diverse ethnic and cultural groups strove not only to end discrimination and improve their lives but also to celebrate their unique traditions.

The Nixon Presidency

Having received just 43 percent of the popular vote in 1968, President **Richard Nixon** (1969–1974) was well aware of being a minority president. He devised a political strategy to form a Republican majority by appealing

to the millions of voters who had become disaffected by civil rights, liberal court rulings, antiwar protests, black militants, school busing to achieve racial balance, and the excesses of the youth counterculture. Nixon referred to these conservative Americans as the “**silent majority**.” Many of them were Democrats, including southern Whites, northern Catholic blue-collar workers, and recent suburbanites who disagreed with the liberal drift of their party.

Nixon’s Southern Strategy To win over the South, the president asked the federal courts in that region to delay integration plans and busing orders. He also nominated two Southern conservatives (Clement Haynsworth and G. Harold Carswell) to the Supreme Court. Though the courts rejected his requests and the Senate refused to confirm the two nominees, his strategy played well with southern White voters.

Nixon’s **Southern strategy** proved a powerful tool for the Republican Party in future elections, as the party became more socially conservative and political power shifted to the Sun Belt and rural America. This also diminished prospects for further civil rights legislation far into the future.

The Election of 1972 The success of Nixon’s Southern strategy became evident in the presidential election of 1972 when the Republican ticket won majorities in every Southern state. Nixon’s reelection was practically assured by (1) his foreign policy successes in China and the Soviet Union (Topic 8.2), (2) the removal of George Wallace from the race by a would-be assassin’s bullet that paralyzed the Alabama populist, and (3) the nomination by the Democrats of a very liberal antiwar, antiestablishment candidate, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

On election day, Nixon overwhelmed McGovern in a landslide victory that carried every state but Massachusetts and won 61 percent of the popular vote. The Democrats still managed to keep control of both houses of Congress. Nevertheless, the voting patterns for Nixon indicated the start of a major political realignment of Sun Belt and suburban voters, who were forming a new Republican majority. Nixon’s electoral triumph in 1972 made the Watergate revelations and scandals of 1973 all the more surprising. For details about Richard Nixon’s presidency, see Topics 8.2 (Cold War), 8.4 (Economy), and 8.8 (Vietnam).

Watergate Scandal

The tragedy of **Watergate** went well beyond the public humiliation of Richard Nixon and the conviction and jailing of 26 White House officials and aides. Watergate had a paralyzing effect on the political system in the mid-1970s, a critical time both at home and overseas, when the country needed respected, strong, and confident leadership.

White House Abuses In June 1972, a group of men hired by Nixon’s reelection committee was caught breaking into the offices of the Democratic national headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. This

break-in and attempted bugging were only part of a series of illegal activities and “dirty tricks” conducted by the Nixon administration and the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP).

Earlier Nixon had ordered wiretaps on government employees and reporters to stop news leaks such as the one that had exposed the secret bombing of Cambodia. The president’s aides created a group, called the “**plumbers**,” to stop leaks as well as to discredit opponents. Before Watergate, the “plumbers” had burglarized the office of psychiatrist Daniel Ellsberg, the person behind the leaking of the Pentagon Papers, in order to obtain information to discredit Ellsberg. The White House had also created an “enemies list” of prominent Americans who opposed Nixon, the Vietnam War, or both. People on this list were investigated by government agencies, such as the IRS. The illegal break-in at Watergate reflected the attitude in the Nixon administration that any means could be used to promote national security—an objective that was often confused with protecting the Nixon administration from its critics.

Watergate Investigation No solid proof demonstrated that President Nixon ordered any of these illegal activities. However, after months of investigation, it became clear that Nixon did engage in an illegal cover-up to avoid scandal. Tough sentencing of the Watergate burglars by federal Judge John Sirica led to information about the use of money and a promise of pardons by the White House staff to keep the burglars quiet. A Senate investigating committee headed by Democrat Sam Ervin of North Carolina brought the abuses to the attention of Americans through televised hearings. A highlight of these hearings was the testimony of a White House lawyer, John Dean, who linked the president to the cover-up. Nixon’s top aides, H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, resigned to protect him and were later indicted, as were many others, for obstructing justice.

The discovery of a taping system in the Oval Office led to a year-long struggle between Nixon, who claimed executive privilege for the tapes, and investigators, who wanted the tapes to prove the cover-up charges. The Nixon administration received another blow in the fall of 1973, when Vice President Agnew had to resign when the Justice Department discovered evidence of his political corruption, including accepting bribes as governor of Maryland and as vice president. Replacing him was Michigan Representative Gerald Ford.

Resignation of a President In 1974, Nixon made triumphal visits to Moscow and Cairo, but at home his reputation continued to slide. In October 1973, the president appeared to be interfering with the Watergate investigation when he fired Archibald Cox, the special prosecutor assigned to the case. In protest, the U.S. attorney general resigned. The House of Representatives began **impeachment** hearings, which caused Nixon to reveal transcripts of some of the Watergate tapes in April 1974. Still, it took a Supreme Court decision in July to force him to turn over the tapes to the courts and Congress. Included on one tape made just days after the Watergate burglary was an 18½-minute gap

that had been erased. Meanwhile, the House Judiciary Committee voted three articles of impeachment: (1) obstruction of justice, (2) abuse of power, and (3) contempt of Congress.



Source: A 1974 Herblock cartoon, © The Herb Block Foundation

The conversations recorded on the tapes shocked friends and foes alike. The transcript of one such White House conversation clearly implicated Nixon in the cover-up only days after the Watergate break-in. Faced with certain impeachment in the House and a trial in the Senate, Richard Nixon chose to resign on August 9, 1974. Vice President Gerald Ford then took the oath of office as the first unelected president in U.S. history.

Significance To some, the final outcome of the Watergate scandal (Nixon leaving office under pressure) proved that the U.S. constitutional system of checks and balances worked as it was intended. For others, the scandal underlined the dangerous shift of power to the presidency that began with Franklin Roosevelt and had been expanded during the Cold War. Without a doubt, Watergate contributed to a growing loss of faith in the federal government.

Gerald Ford in the White House (1974–1977)

Before Nixon chose him to replace Vice President Agnew in 1973, **Gerald Ford** had served in Congress for years as a representative from Michigan and as the Republican minority leader of the House. Ford was a likable and unpretentious man, but many questioned his ability to be president. For details about Gerald Ford's presidency, see Topics 8.2 (Cold War), 8.4 (Economy), and 8.8 (Vietnam).

Pardoning of Nixon In his first month in office, President Ford lost the goodwill of many by granting Nixon a full and unconditional pardon for any crime that he might have committed. The pardon was extended even before any formal charges or indictment had been made by a court of law. Ford was accused of making a “corrupt bargain” with Nixon, but he explained that the purpose of the pardon was to end the “national nightmare,” instead of prolonging it for months, if not years. Critics were angered that the full truth of Nixon’s deeds never came out.

Investigating the CIA During Ford’s presidency (1974–1977), the Democratic Congress continued to search for abuses in the executive branch, especially in the CIA. This intelligence agency was accused of engineering the assassinations of foreign leaders, among them the Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende. Ford appointed former Texas Congressman George H. W. Bush to reform the agency.

Bicentennial Celebration In 1976, the United States celebrated its 200th birthday. Americans’ pride in their history helped to put Watergate and Vietnam behind them. Even the lackluster presidency of Gerald Ford served the purpose of restoring candor and humility to the White House.

The Election of 1976

Watergate still cast its gloom over the Republican Party in the 1976 elections. President Ford was challenged for the party’s nomination by Ronald Reagan, a former actor and ex-governor of California, who enjoyed the support of the more conservative Republicans. Ford won the nomination in a close battle, but the conflict with Reagan hurt him in the polls.

A number of Democrats competed for their party’s nomination, including a little-known former governor of Georgia, James Earl (Jimmy) Carter. With Watergate still on voters’ minds, Carter had success running as an outsider against the corruption in Washington. His victories in open primaries reduced the influence of more experienced Democratic politicians. After watching his huge lead in the polls evaporate in the closing days of the campaign, Carter managed to win a close election (287 electoral votes to 241 for Ford) by carrying most of the South and getting an estimated 97 percent of the African American vote. In the aftermath of Watergate, the Democrats also won strong majorities in both houses of Congress.

An Outsider in the White House

The informal style of **Jimmy Carter** signaled an effort to end the **imperial presidency**. On his inauguration day, he walked down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House instead of riding in the presidential limousine. Public images of the president carrying his own luggage may have impressed average Americans. However, veteran members of Congress always viewed Carter as an outsider who depended too much on his politically inexperienced advisers from Georgia. Even Carter’s keen intelligence and dedication to duty may have been partly a liability in causing him to pay close attention to all the details of

government operations. Critics observed that, when it came to distinguishing between the forest and the trees, Carter was a “leaf man.” For details about Jimmy Carter’s presidency, see Topics 8.2 (Cold War), 8.4 (Economy), and 8.7 (World Power).

Loss of Popularity The Iranian hostage crisis and worsening economic crisis hurt Carter in the opinion polls. In 1979, in what the press called Carter’s “**national malaise**” speech, he blamed the problems of the United States on a “moral and spiritual crisis” of the American people. By that time, however, many Americans blamed the president for weak and indecisive leadership. By the 1980 election year his approval rating had fallen to only 23 percent. In seeking a second term, the unpopular president was clearly vulnerable to political challenges from both Democrats and Republicans.

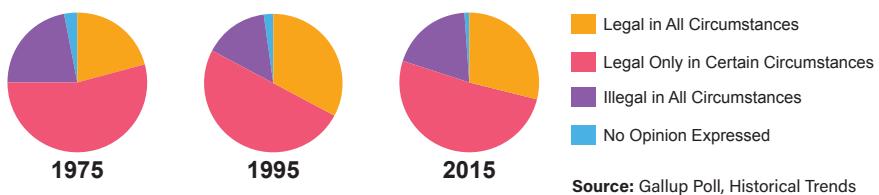
The Burger Court

As liberal justices of the Supreme Court retired, Nixon had replaced them with more conservative members. However, like other presidents, Nixon found that his appointees did not always rule as he had hoped. In 1969, after Chief Justice Earl Warren resigned, Nixon appointed Warren E. Burger of Minnesota to replace him. The **Burger Court** was more conservative than the Warren Court, but several of its major decisions angered conservatives. For example, in 1971 the Court ordered busing to achieve racial balance in the schools, and in 1972 it issued strict guidelines that made carrying out the death penalty more difficult. Finally, in the last days of Nixon’s Watergate agony, the Court that he had tried to shape denied his claims to executive privilege and ordered him to turn over the Watergate tapes (*United States v. Nixon*, 1974).

Abortion Rights The Court’s most controversial ruling was *Roe v. Wade* (1973). In this 7–2 decision, the high court struck down many state laws prohibiting abortions as a violation of a woman’s right to privacy. The decision to allow women access to abortions became a primary target for the conservative movement in the coming decades. Over time, opposition to abortion became a virtual political requirement for Republican candidates to either overturn or limit the *Roe* decision through legislation and conservative appointees to the federal courts.

PUBLIC OPINION ON ABORTION

Responses to the question: “Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances or illegal in all circumstances?”



Source: Gallup Poll, Historical Trends

Conservative Resurgence

The protest movements by diverse groups in American society seemed to produce more social stress and fragmentation. Combined with a slowing economy and a declining standard of living, these forces left many Americans feeling angry and bitter. A conservative reaction to the liberal policies of the New Deal and the Great Society was gaining strength in the late 1970s and would prove a powerful force in the politics of the next decades.

Conservative Religious Revival Moral decay was a weekly theme of religious leaders on television such as Pat Robertson, Oral Roberts, and Jim Baker. By 1980, **televangelists** had a combined weekly audience of between 60 million and 100 million viewers.

Religion became an instrument of electoral politics when an evangelist from Virginia, Jerry Falwell, founded the **Moral Majority**, which financed campaigns to unseat liberal members of Congress. **Religious fundamentalists** attacked “secular humanism” as a godless creed taking over public education and also campaigned for the return of prayers and the teaching of the Biblical account of creation in public schools. The legalization of abortion in the *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision sparked the right-to-life movement. This movement united many Catholics and fundamentalist Protestants who believed that human life begins at the moment of conception.

Deregulation of Business Starting in the 1970s, business interests launched a very successful campaign to mobilize and influence federal and state governments to curtail regulations, lower taxes, and weaken labor unions. Business donors created “**think tanks**,” such as the American Enterprise Institute, the Heritage Foundation, and the Cato Institute, to promote free-market ideas, while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce lobbied for pro-business legislation.

Elimination of Racial Preferences In 1965, President Johnson had committed the U.S. government to a policy of affirmative action to ensure that underprivileged minorities and women would have equal access to education, jobs, and promotions. Suffering through years of recession and stagflation in the 1970s, many Whites blamed their troubles on affirmative action, calling it “**reverse discrimination**.” In a landmark court case challenging the admissions policies of one medical school, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), the Supreme Court ruled that while race could be considered, the school had created racial quotas, which were unconstitutional. Using this decision, conservatives intensified their campaign to end all preferences based on race and ethnicity.

Taxpayers’ Revolt In 1978, California voters led the revolt against increasing taxes by passing **Proposition 13**, a measure that sharply cut property taxes. Nationally, conservatives promoted economist **Arthur Laffer’s** belief that tax cuts would increase government revenues. Two Republican members of Congress, Jack Kemp and William Roth, proposed legislation

to reduce federal taxes by 30 percent, which became the basis for President Ronald Reagan's tax cuts.

A New Era in American Politics

The rise of conservatism reshaped the political climate. Combined with the end of the Cold War, the rise of international terrorism, the impact of globalization, and a growing divide between a prosperous few and a stagnant standard of living for many, the country would become more divided in the four decades following 1980.

REFLECT ON THE LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Explain the causes and effects of continuing policy debates about the role of the federal government over time.
2. Explain the effects of religious movements over the course of the 20th century.

KEY TERMS BY THEME

Society in Transition (PCE)

Richard Nixon
silent majority
Southern strategy
Watergate
“plumbers”
impeachment
Gerald Ford
Jimmy Carter
imperial presidency
national malaise
Burger Court
United States v. Nixon
Roe v. Wade

Conservative Resurgence (ARC)

televangelists
Moral Majority
religious fundamentalists
think tanks
reverse discrimination
Regents of University of California v. Bakke
Proposition 13
Arthur Laffer

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

“Our people are losing faith, not only in government itself but in their ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy.

We were sure that ours was a nation of the ballot, not the bullet, until the murders of John Kennedy and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. We were taught that our armies were always invincible and our causes were always just, only to suffer the agony of Vietnam. We respected the Presidency as a place of honor until the shock of Watergate.

We remember when the phrase ‘sound as a dollar’ was an expression of absolute dependability, until ten years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings. We believed that our Nation’s resources were limitless until 1973, when we had to face a growing dependence on foreign oil.”

Jimmy Carter, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States*, 1979

1. Which of the following was Carter referring to with the phrase “the shock of Watergate”?
 - (A) The role of Watergate staff in aiding Nixon’s reelection effort
 - (B) The attempt by Nixon to cover up illegal campaign activities
 - (C) The decision by Nixon to investigate the Watergate affair
 - (D) The attempt by Nixon’s campaign to rent offices in the Watergate
2. Which of the following actions would most strongly support Carter’s contention that “our people are losing faith” in ideas such as “our armies were always invincible”?
 - (A) The secret expansion of the Vietnam War into Cambodia
 - (B) The killing of antiwar protesters at Kent State and Jackson State
 - (C) The assassination of Chile’s leader, Salvador Allende
 - (D) The defeat of U.S. efforts by North Vietnam in 1975
3. Which of the following best identifies the effect of the speech from which the above excerpt is taken?
 - (A) Consumers increased their efforts to conserve energy.
 - (B) Americans saw Carter as a weak and ineffective leader.
 - (C) Carter increased his approval ratings with his honesty.
 - (D) The Federal Reserve raised interest rates to support the president.

SHORT-ANSWER QUESTION

Use complete sentences; an outline or bulleted list alone is not acceptable.

1. “Nixon defied simple political characterizations. . . . On most domestic issues he adopted centrist positions, bobbing and weaving in an effort to maintain support from both the liberal and conservative wings of the Republican Party. . . . Nixon hoped to win over some traditionally Democratic constituencies to ensure his reelection and to rebuild the Republican Party as a national party. To woo them, he supported the core of New Deal economic and social programs from which they benefited, even as he took conservative positions on other issues. Sometimes taken with thinking of himself as a Tory [a type of conservative] reformer, Nixon proved willing to take innovative steps most conservatives would blanch at.”

Joshua B. Freeman, historian, *American Empire*, 2012

“At [Nixon’s] funeral, Senator Bob Dole prophesied that ‘the second half of the twentieth century will be known as the age of Nixon.’ What Richard Nixon left behind was the very terms of our national self-image: a notion that there are two kinds of Americans. On the one side, that ‘Silent Majority.’ ‘The ‘nonshouters’ . . . [the] coalition who call themselves, now ‘Value voters,’ ‘people of faith,’ ‘patriots,’ . . . who feel themselves condescended to by snobby opinion-making elites. . . . On the other side are ‘liberals,’ the ‘cosmopolitans,’ the ‘intellectuals,’ the ‘professionals,’ . . . who say shouting in opposition to injustice is a higher form of patriotism. . . . And both have learned to consider the other not quite Americans at all. The argument over Richard Nixon, pro and con, gave us the language for this war.”

Rick Perlstein, historian and journalist, *Nixonland*, 2008

Using the excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).

- (a) Briefly describe ONE major difference between Freeman’s and Perlstein’s historical interpretations of the Nixon presidency.
- (b) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support Freeman’s interpretation of the Nixon presidency.
- (c) Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts that could be used to support Perlstein’s interpretation of the Nixon presidency.

Topic 8.15

Continuity and Change in Period 8

Learning Objective: Explain the extent to which the events of the period from 1945 to 1980 reshaped national identity.

The Cold War tested Americans' image of themselves as the leaders of the free world. Hot wars in Korea and Vietnam challenged their resolve to bear the ongoing sacrifice of men and resources to stop the advances of communism. For example, by the 1970s it became clear that the involuntary military service through the Selective Service draft had become very unpopular with the younger generation. Under the Nixon Doctrine future allies would receive U.S. support but without U.S. ground forces. While the commitment to stop aggression remained largely unchanged, many Americans became unwilling to serve in future wars.

The Cold War also tested Americans' commitment to the Bill of Rights, especially during the Red Scare. Americans' tolerance of opposing views as an exercise of their freedom of speech rather than the work of traitors varied from case to case. The civil rights movements of the period also exposed differences in Americans' understanding of the Constitution and ideas about freedom, equality, and assimilation. Although the progress made in legal standing of women and minorities can be well documented or, as Dr. King argued, "the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice," vestiges of bigotry and racism continued into the next period.

American identity as the economic powerhouse of the world also underwent change during this period as other nations recovered from World War II and modernized their industries. The identity of many American wage earners and others who became part of the middle class during the 1950s was also tested as their economic status stagnated or declined by the 1970s. The emergence of populist politicians such as George Wallace reflected the resentments of a working and middle class under pressure from competition from overseas and racial integration at home.

In addition to international, economic, and assimilation events, American identity was changed by the new generation of Americans born after World War II who not only had different ideas about music and dress, but also new definitions of status, work, and the freedom to live alternative lifestyles. Was there more continuity or change during the period from 1945 to 1980? The conclusion often depends on the topic and criteria used to measure change, but the period provides a wealth of contrasting points of view.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. Evaluate the extent to which the Cold War reshaped the American national identity in the period from 1945 to 1980.
2. Evaluate the extent to which the African American civil rights movement changed the American national identity in the period from 1945 to 1980.



THINK AS A HISTORIAN: ARGUMENTATION—SUPPORT AND REASONING

Success on the AP® exam requires you to do much more than recall specific facts and details. You will also need to use and evaluate that information in various ways, including understanding that some pieces of evidence are more important and more convincing than others. The free-response questions on the exam will require you to think about what you have learned and then choose supporting evidence that is accurate and relevant to the argument.

Part of your task on the exam will be not only to cite evidence but also to explain how different pieces of evidence relate to one another. As discussed in the Think as a Historian feature in Unit 7, the exam will focus on the reasoning processes of causation, comparison, and continuity and change. Using these reasoning processes is particularly important in answering the document-based question and the long essay question.

Select one of the arguments below and answer the two questions that follow.

Argument 1: Actions such as Winston Churchill’s “iron curtain” speech and Harry Truman’s encouraging the United States to join NATO were meant to protect capitalist countries. However, these actions actually helped to bring about and intensify the Cold War.

Argument 2: The launch of the Soviet *Sputnik* satellites initially raised Cold War tensions but eventually led to significant technological achievements in the United States.

Argument 3: The completion of the Interstate Highway System led to economic progress and environmental destruction.

Argument 4: The Tet Offensive was a military failure but a political success for Communist forces in North Vietnam.

Argument 5: Although Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society programs have been attacked as unrealistic and inefficient, many of them still affect Americans’ daily lives.

1. What evidence for this argument can you describe and explain?
2. What relationships exist between these pieces of evidence? Do any of them share causation, comparison, or continuity? Explain your answer.



UNIT 8 — Period 8 Review: 1945–1980



WRITE AS A HISTORIAN: WRITE THE CONCLUSION

A strong conclusion helps create unity by circling back to the ideas in your introduction and thesis statement. The conclusion is also a good opportunity to extend and refine the complex understanding you have developed and woven throughout your essay.

Providing Unity While wrapping up your essay with a return to the ideas in your introduction helps provide unity, do more than restate your thesis. If your thesis is that the main cause of the end of the Cold War was technological change, avoid saying simply: “The Soviets lost the Cold War because they failed to adapt to new technology.” Instead, you might say, “Although Gorbachev’s efforts at reform and Reagan’s willingness to negotiate arms deals weakened Soviet conservatives, the most basic problem the Soviets faced was that technology changed faster than the government did. The Soviets could neither afford new industrial technology nor keep out liberal ideas coming in through new communications technology.” This change extends the thesis statement.

Demonstrating Complexity An extension of your thesis statement such as the one above also helps demonstrate a complex understanding of the topic by referring to multiple causes. The College Board identifies the following ways to demonstrate a complex understanding: “Corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument using diverse and alternative evidence in order to develop a complex argument.” You might, for example, analyze multiple variables to arrive at a nuanced conclusion: You could point out that the Soviets continued to invest in new military technology and that the breakdown of the alliance with China hurt them diplomatically.

Other ways you can demonstrate a complex understanding are to consider the significance of a source’s credibility and limitations and explain why a historical argument is or is not effective. Most of the development of your complex understanding must be done within the body of your essay for you to earn the point for complexity, but you can use the conclusion to summarize or extend that understanding.

Application: Review the sample scored essays on the College Board website. Evaluate the conclusion of each sample. For any that lack a conclusion, draft one that would provide unity to the essay and summarize a complex understanding of the historical development.

For current free-response question samples, visit: <https://apcentral.collegeboard.org/courses/ap-united-states-history/exam>

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS

Directions: The suggested writing time for each question is 40 minutes. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using specific and relevant examples of evidence.
 - Use historical reasoning (e.g., comparison, causation, continuity or change) to frame or structure an argument that addresses the prompt.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent to which the Cold War shaped the role of the United States in the world during the period from 1945 to 1980.
 2. Evaluate the extent to which connections with other world economies affected American workers during the period from 1945 to 1980.
 3. Evaluate the extent to which the Great Society programs differed from the New Deal.
 4. Evaluate the extent to which U.S. immigration policies of the 1960s differed from the U.S. immigration policies of the 1920s.
 5. Evaluate the extent to which U.S. environmental policies changed during the period from 1945 to 1980.
 6. Evaluate the extent to which the status of American women changed during the period from 1945 to 1980.
 7. Evaluate the extent to which the civil rights movement had an impact on race relations in the United States during the period from 1945 to 1980.
 8. Evaluate the extent to which federal government domestic programs had an impact on the American economy during the period from 1945 to 1980.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Directions: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. You are advised to spend 15 minutes planning and 45 minutes writing your answer. In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
 - Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
 - Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
 - Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
 - For at least three documents, explain how or why each document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
 - Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.
1. Evaluate the extent of similarities between the roles of civil rights activists and government officials in advancing the civil rights movement during the period from 1945 to 1980.

Document 1

Source: Harry S. Truman, *Establishing the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services*, July 1948

“Whereas it is essential that there be maintained in the armed services of the United States the highest standards of democracy, with equality of treatment and opportunity for all those who serve in our country’s defense:

1. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed forces without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale.”

Document 2

Source: Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, civil rights organizer, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It*, 1987

"The news [of Mrs. Parks' arrest] traveled like wildfire into every black home. Telephones jangled; people congregated on street corners and in homes and talked. But nothing was done. A numbing helplessness seemed to paralyze everyone. . . .

Lost in thought, I was startled by the telephone's ring. Black attorney Fred Gray. . . . had just gotten back and was returning the phone message I had left him about Mrs. Parks' arrest.

Fred was shocked by the news of Mrs. Parks' arrest. I informed him that I already was thinking that the WPC [Women's Political Council] should distribute thousands of notices calling for all bus riders to stay off the buses. . . . 'Are you ready?' he asked. Without hesitation, I assured him that we were. With that he hung up, and I went to work.

I made some notes on the back of an envelope: 'The Women's Political Council will not wait for Mrs. Parks' consent to call for a boycott of city buses. On Friday, December 1, 1955, the women of Montgomery will call for a boycott to take place on Monday, December 5.'

Document 3

Source: Governor George C. Wallace, Proclamation at the University of Alabama, June 11, 1963

"I stand here today, as Governor of this sovereign State, and refuse to willingly submit to illegal usurpation of power by the Central Government. I claim today for all the people of the State of Alabama those rights reserved to them under the Constitution of the United States. Among those powers so reserved and claimed is the right of state authority in the operation of the public schools, colleges, and universities.

My action does not constitute disobedience to legislative and constitutional provisions. It is not defiance for defiance sake, but for the purpose of raising basic and fundamental constitutional questions. My action is raising a call for strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States as it was written—for a cessation of usurpation and abuses. My action seeks to avoid having state sovereignty sacrificed on the altar of political expediency."

Document 4

Source: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963, Library of Congress



Document 5

Source: Malcolm X's Speech in Cleveland, Ohio, April 3, 1964

"The question tonight, as I understand it, is 'The Negro Revolt, and Where Do We Go From Here?'; or 'What Next?' In my little humble way of understanding it, it points toward either the ballot or the bullet. . . .

The black nationalists aren't going to wait. Lyndon B. Johnson is the head of the Democratic Party. If he's for civil rights, let him go into the Senate next week and declare himself. Let him go in there right now and declare himself. Let him go in there and denounce the Southern branch of his party. Let him go in there right now and take a moral stand—right now, not later. Tell him, don't wait until election time. If he waits too long, brothers and sisters, he will be responsible for letting a condition develop in this country which will create a climate that will bring seeds up out of the ground with vegetation on the end of them looking like something these people never dreamed of. In 1964, it's the ballot or the bullet."

Document 6

Source: Martin Luther King Jr., Acceptance Speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, December 10, 1964

"I accept the Nobel Prize for Peace at a moment when 22 million Negroes of the United States of America are engaged in a creative battle to end the long night of racial injustice. I accept this award on behalf of a civil rights movement which is moving with determination and a majestic scorn for risk and danger to establish a reign of freedom and a rule of justice. I am mindful that only yesterday in Birmingham, Alabama, our children, crying out for brotherhood, were answered with fire hoses, snarling dogs and even death. I am mindful that only yesterday in Philadelphia, Mississippi, young people seeking to secure the right to vote were brutalized and murdered. And only yesterday more than 40 houses of worship in the State of Mississippi alone were bombed or burned because they offered a sanctuary to those who would not accept segregation. I am mindful that debilitating and grinding poverty afflicts my people and chains them to the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

The tortuous road which has led from Montgomery, Alabama, to Oslo bears witness to this truth [nonviolence]. This is a road over which millions of Negroes are travelling to find a new sense of dignity. This same road has opened for all Americans a new era of progress and hope. It has led to a new Civil Rights Bill, and it will, I am convinced, be widened and lengthened into a super highway of justice as Negro and white men in increasing numbers create alliances to overcome their common problems."

Document 7

Source: President Lyndon B. Johnson, Speech to Congress and the Nation, March 15, 1965

"At times, history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. There, long suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many of them were brutally assaulted. One good man—a man of God—was killed. . . .

But I want to really discuss with you now briefly the main proposals of this legislation. This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—federal, state, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote. . . .

But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement, which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome."