Spring Semester 2020:

Distance Learning Assignments: US

Each week, there will be a reading assignment from your textbook. For each assignment, you will need to read the assigned pages AND:

- 1. Write a 5+ sentence summary in your own words of the material covered in the reading.
- 2. Include 2 vocabulary definitions from the reading. The definitions should be in your own words.
- 3. You will need to email me at dalmasc@luhsd.net your summary and vocabulary. (both should be in the same email.)
 BE SURE TO INCLUDE IN YOUR EMAIL YOUR FULL NAME (First and last) AND Period AND THE TITLE OF THE READING
 ASSIGNMENT. (for example, US Reading Assignment Week One)

You can email throughout each week day (Monday through Friday) 8:15 a.m. - 3:00p.m. if you have any questions. Email: dalmasc@luhsd.net

1. The 1964 Election: Debating the Role of Government

Lyndon Johnson had enormous energy to realize his grand ideas. As president, he wanted to accomplish more than to simply enact Kennedy's programs. After he assumed office in 1963, Johnson began developing an ambitious vision for his own presidency, should he win reelection the following year.

The Liberal View: Expanding Government to Promote Well-Being

Johnson unveiled his presidential vision in a commencement speech delivered at the University of Michigan. "In your time," he told the graduating class, "we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the <u>Great Society</u>." The president explained further,

The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice \dots But that is just the beginning.

The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city . . . serves not only . . . the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

It is a place where man can renew contact with nature . . . a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

But most of all, the Great Society is not . . . a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

-Lyndon B. Johnson, May 22, 1964



President Johnson once said his presidential aspirations stemmed from a desire to "give things to people—all sorts of things to all sorts of people, especially the poor and the blacks." Johnson's Great Society vision reflected this aim. Here, Johnson signs the 1968 Civil Rights Bill to promote a more just society for all Americans.

As Johnson's election campaign continued, Democrats adopted the Great Society's goals as their party platform. To the Democratic party, Johnson's vision furthered a tradition of liberal reform harking back to Franklin Roosevelt and, before him, to the Progressive Era. Like earlier Progressives, these liberal Democrats believed that government power should be expanded to promote social well-being.

The Conservative View: Limiting Government to Preserve Liberty

The Republican presidential candidate, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, felt differently about the power of government. An outspoken conservative, he had lambasted Eisenhower's modern Republicanism as "a dime-store New Deal"—a cheap version of the Democrats' famous domestic program.

Goldwater believed that government's most important task was to "preserve and extend freedom." To him, regulating every aspect of people's lives was not the government's job, even though it had done so since the New Deal. "Our defenses against the accumulation of power in Washington are in poorer shape," Goldwater warned, "than our defenses against the aggressive designs of Moscow." Like many conservatives, Goldwater longed for a presidential candidate who agreed with his desire to limit federal power:

I have little interest in streamlining government or in making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size. I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom. My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them. It is not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones that do violence to the Constitution, or that have failed in their purpose, or that impose on the people an unwarranted financial burden. I will not attempt to discover whether legislation is "needed" before I have first determined whether it is constitutionally permissible. And if I should later be attacked for neglecting my constituents' "interests," I shall reply that I was informed their main interest is liberty and that in that cause I am doing the very best I can.

-Barry Goldwater, The Conscience of a Conservative, 1960



Barry Goldwater lost his bid for the presidency in 1964, but his book, The Conscience of a Conservative, sold 3.5 million copies and helped inspire a new generation of conservatives. Some consider Goldwater to be the most influential losing candidate in the nation's history. The election of 1964 marked both the birth of the modern conservative movement and the beginning of the South's transition from Democrat to Republican.

In 1964, Goldwater seized the opportunity to become this candidate. When moderate Republicans warned Goldwater that voters would reject his views as extremism, or radicalism, he countered, "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And ... moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

Johnson Wins by a Landslide The presidential race quickly became malicious. Opponents portrayed Goldwater as a reckless extremist who, if elected, would abolish Social Security and further anticommunist aggression toward the Soviet Union to instigate World War III. On September 7, the Johnson campaign aired "Daisy," a memorable television advertisement that played on Goldwater's perceived extremism. In the ad, a young girl counts the petals of a daisy before her voice is drowned out by a nuclear countdown followed by a distinct mushroom cloud. The ad proclaimed, "Vote for President Johnson on November 3. The stakes are too high for you to stay home." "Daisy" ran only once, but it sufficiently terrified voters.

Johnson beat Goldwater in a landslide, winning 44 states to Goldwater's six. Johnson secured 61 percent of the popular vote, the greatest margin won by any president to that point. In addition, Democrats gained a large majority in Congress.

However, the election catalyzed two developments that would eventually challenge the Democrats' power. One was the birth of the modern conservative movement, which stemmed from Goldwater's ideas, and the other was the political transformation of the South. For the first time since Reconstruction, five southern states voted Republican in 1964. This shift marked the beginning of the southern transition from solidly Democrat to consistently Republican.

2. Implementing Johnson's Great Society

Johnson viewed his decisive election victory as a mandate to progress his Great Society agenda. Long before the election, he had begun work on civil rights and antipoverty programs. Now he was ready to move forward with a broad range of proposals for improving life for all Americans.

The Johnson Treatment Gets Results in Congress

Although Kennedy had difficulty moving his legislative programs through Congress, many of Johnson's bills passed. Because he served in Congress for over two decades, Johnson knew how to influence legislators. He praised them publicly, sought their advice, and returned their calls, instructing his aides to do the same, "or else."

When he exhausted these other strategies, the president subjected lawmakers to "the treatment." Two journalists described Johnson's persuasive prowess:



In this photograph, President Johnson and Martin Luther King Jr. discuss the Voting Rights Act legislation. President Johnson fought to end racial injustice during his presidency. He aimed to create a society that was equal for all Americans.

Its tone could be supplication [pleading], accusation, cajolery [persuasion], exuberance, scorn, tears, complaint, the hint of threat... Johnson... moved in close, his face a scant millimeter from his target, his eyes widening and narrowing, his eyebrows rising and falling. From his pockets poured clippings, memos, statistics... The Treatment [was] an almost hypnotic experience and rendered the target stunned and helpless.

—Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, 1966

This "treatment," combined with a Democrat-controlled Congress after 1965, helped Johnson accomplish an extraordinary legislative record. In his five years as president, Johnson guided more than 200 measures through Congress.

Ending Racial Injustice Johnson envisioned a society free of racial injustice, so one of his initial priorities as president was to pass Kennedy's civil rights legislation that banned discrimination in public accommodations. As Johnson stated, "No memorial oration could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill." Several months later, Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.

Shortly after it was passed, this new law was challenged in the courts. Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States arose when a motel owner refused to rent rooms to blacks, arguing that the Civil Rights Act overstepped Congress's power to control interstate commerce. The motel owner also claimed that the law violated his rights under the Fifth and Thirteenth amendments since it dictated how he must use his property. The Supreme Court rejected these claims, noting that because much of the motel's business came from out-of-state guests, Congress had acted within its power to regulate interstate commerce.

Johnson further pushed Congress to end racial injustice. In 1965, he signed the Voting Rights Act, which guaranteed voting rights to African Americans. Three years later, he signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which prohibited housing discrimination. These laws advanced the country toward Johnson's vision of a more just society.

Declaring War on Poverty Kennedy and Johnson also shared the goal to eliminate poverty. Spurred by Michael Harrington's novel *The Other America*, Kennedy asked his advisers to develop strategies for attacking poverty, which Johnson expanded into an ambitious antipoverty program called the **War on Poverty**.

The centerpiece of Johnson's War on Poverty was the <u>Economic</u>

<u>Opportunity Act</u>. Passed by Congress in August 1964, the law founded dozens of federal antipoverty programs and established an Office of Economic Opportunity to oversee them. These programs included the Job Corps, which was dedicated to teaching disadvantaged young people job skills; Project Head Start, which created programs for low-income preschool children; and Volunteers in Service to America, or VISTA, which was modeled after the Peace Corps. VISTA volunteers lived and worked in poor communities within the United States, providing job training and educational services to residents.

President Johnson also worked to reverse the decline of America's cities. In 1965, he established the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to manage federal programs aimed at revitalizing blighted urban neighborhoods. Its head, Robert Weaver, was the first African American to be appointed to a presidential cabinet.

Improving Access to Health Care Johnson's Great Society prioritized helping disadvantaged Americans gain access to health care. Liberals in Congress had attempted to secure hospital insurance for retired workers under Social Security for years, a measure which Johnson expedited.

In 1965, Congress established the <u>Medicare</u> and <u>Medicaid</u> programs. Medicare is a federal health insurance program that helps pay for hospital and nursing home services for U.S. citizens 65 years and older. Medicaid is a health insurance program jointly financed by federal and state governments that covers low-income people as well as older Americans whose medical needs have exceeded Medicare benefits. With the establishment of these programs, many Americans no longer had to forgo medical care due to lack of health insurance.



As First Lady, "Lady Bird" Johnson helped promote President Johnson's Great Society programs. In the effort to beautify America, she helped coordinate highway wildflower plantings. She also took an interest in issues regarding children and education.

Supporting Lifelong Learning and Culture Johnson believed that education was the key to a better life and therefore introduced several measures to improve the nation's educational system. One such measure was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which provided federal aid to school districts nationwide. Because the government allocated funds to needy students rather than to schools, the law helped finance both public and parochial, or faith-based, education.

That same year, Johnson signed an act creating the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). These organizations issue grants to artists, musicians, writers, scholars, and researchers to promote a vibrant national culture. Johnson also spearheaded passage of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, which established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) to support the development of public radio and television programs. Upon

signing the act, Johnson explained, "While we work every day to produce goods and create new wealth, we want most of all to enrich man's spirit. That is the purpose of this act." One of the first CPB-funded shows was *Sesame Street*, which first aired on public television stations in 1969.

Opening Doors for Immigrants Johnson also supported major reform in the nation's immigration policy. Beginning in the 1920s, the government placed quotas on immigration from every region of the world except Western Europe. Johnson wanted to end this quota system because he believed it was rooted in prejudice.



Senior citizens benefited from the establishment of Medicare and Medicaid. Medicare health insurance is funded by the federal government, while Medicaid is a joint federal and state health insurance venture. Here, some seniors protest for affordable elderly health care.

How Have Great Society Programs Saved Our History and Natural Heritage?

Among the most enduring legacies of the Great Society are four landmark laws enacted to preserve historic sites, endangered species, free-flowing rivers, and wilderness areas for generations to come.

Wilderness Act of 1964

What it did: Created the National Wilderness Preservation System to preserve areas "where earth and its community of life are untrammeled by man."

Long-term impact: Nearly 110 million acres of land were preserved as wilderness areas by the end of 2011.



At more than 9 million acres, the Wrangell-Saint Elias Wilderness in Alaska is the nation's largest wilderness area

The bald eagle was declared an endangered species in 1967. Since then the FWS has helped the eagles make a remarkable comeback.

The <u>Immigration Act of 1965</u> eliminated quotas based on national origin, designating people's skills and ties to family in the United States as the key criteria for admission into the country. Johnson praised the act for repairing "a very deep and painful flaw in the fabric of American justice." This law would have tremendous impact in the decades to come, quadrupling U.S. immigration rates from around the world.

Preserving the Environment The Great Society also aimed to improve the quality of the environment. In 1962, Rachel Carson published the book <u>Silent Spring</u>, which sparked public interest in <u>environmentalism</u>, or protection of the environment. The novel demonstrated how uncontrolled pesticide use was poisoning the environment. "The air we breathe, our water, our soil and wildlife," Johnson warned, "are being blighted by poisons and chemicals which are the by-products of technology and industry."

Johnson worked with Congress to pass several environmental laws, including the Clean Air Act of 1963, which set emission standards for factories to reduce air pollution. Others focused on cleaning waterways, preserving wilderness, protecting endangered species, and beautifying the landscape.

Protecting Consumers Johnson promoted consumerism, or the protection of the rights of consumers. The Cigarette Labeling Act of 1965 required cigarette packages to include warning labels for the health risks of smoking. Other acts set standards for quality in meat and poultry products, for truth in lending practices, and for honesty in food labeling.

In 1965, Ralph Nader's book Unsafe at Any Speed drew public attention to auto safety. The book explained how lax engineering standards in the automobile industry put drivers at risk, spurring Congress to pass the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966. This law required automobile makers to install seat belts in all cars.

Debating the Great Society By the early 1970s, the impact of Johnson's Great Society reforms was evident in various facets of American society. The U.S. poverty rate fell from 22.2 percent in 1960 to 12.6 percent in 1970. High school graduation rates rose from about 42 percent of black students and 69 percent of white students in 1962, to about 60 percent for blacks and 80 percent for whites in 1970. African American political participation increased as well—by 1970, ten members of the House of Representatives and one Senator were black.

Endangered Species Preservation Act of 1966

What it did: Directed the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) to identify and protect plants and animals that are endangered or threatened with extinction. Long-term impact: By 2012, the FWS had listed 1,994 endangered or threatened species worldwide, of which 1,387 were in the United States. It has also brought several species back from the brink of extinction, including the American Bald Eagle.

National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 What it did: Created the National Register

and objects worthy of preservation. Long-term impact: More than 80,000 places were registered as historic sites by the beginning of 2012.



The nationally registered Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, Birmingham, Alabama, is the site of the 1963 church bombing that resulted in the death of four African American girls.

Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968

What it did: Created the National Wild and Scenic River System to preserve rivers of great scenic, recreational, wildlife, or historic value "in freeflowing condition." Long-term impact: By mid 2011, the system protected 12.598 miles of river.



The Rogue River Gorge is one of the rivers pro tected by the 1968 Wild and Scenic Rivers Act.

Despite its success, the Great Society had numerous critics, especially regarding the War on Poverty. Left-wing opponents argued that the programs implemented were not the best approach to ending poverty. Since they believed that poverty resulted from social and economic forces beyond the poor's control, these critics thought the best way to help low-income people was to give them money while attempting to reform the economy and create more jobs.

Critics on the right alleged that the War on Poverty was creating an underclass of people dependent on government welfare. In their view, poverty was mainly caused by the poor's lack of individual responsibility. The best approach to ending poverty, they argued, was to change the behaviors that kept poor people poor.

At the heart of the debate over Johnson's Great Society were age-old questions debating the role of government in a democracy. Liberal supporters applauded the scheme's broad goals and multitude of programs aimed at improving American society. They were mainly concerned that many of the programs were not sufficiently funded. Conservative critics, on the other hand, viewed the Great Society as government run amok. Great Society programs' high cost confirmed conservatives' belief that government should not endeavor to solve all of society's problems.

The liberal ideology of government's obligation to solve society's problems peaked under Johnson's presidency. After he left office, world events sparked an influx of conservatism. Still, the Great Society had a lasting impact on American life, as many of its outcomes became fixtures of society. Few modern-day Americans clamor to end Sesame Street or consumer protections, for example.

3. The Activist Warren Court

The Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren also helped reshape American society during the 1960s. By reinterpreting much of what had been established as law, the Warren Court became known as an "activist" court.

Ensuring "One Person, One Vote" The Warren Court's rulings in two cases transformed the political landscape in particular. The first, Baker v. Carr, began when Charles Baker, a Republican citizen of Tennessee, sued Joe Carr, Tennessee's secretary of state, over the state's failure to redraw its legislative districts for five decades. Many rural Tennessee families had migrated to cities during that period, and Baker's urban district now possessed more residents than some rural districts. However, this change was not reflected in representative numbers. Baker claimed that this imbalance violated his Fourteenth Amendment right to "equal protection under the laws."

The Supreme Court had previously considered <u>reapportionment</u>—
redrawing voting district boundaries to reflect population changes—as
a matter for state legislatures. In 1962, the Warren Court reversed
their stance after long deliberation, ruling that reapportionment was, in
fact, under federal jurisdiction.

The Court returned to reapportionment in the case of *Reynolds v. Sims.* In his majority opinion, Chief Justice Warren wrote,

A citizen, a qualified voter, is no more nor no less so because he lives in the city or on the farm. This is the clear and strong command of our Constitution's equal protection clause... This is at the heart of Lincoln's vision of "government of the people, by the people, [and] for the people." The equal protection clause demands no less than substantially equal state legislative representation for all citizens, of all places as well as of all races.



Earl Warren was a Republican and governor of California when President Eisenhower named him Chief Justice. Warren proved to be much more liberal than expected, and Eisenhower later cited Warren's appointment as the greatest mistake he ever made. Nicknamed the "Superchief," Warren earned the ire of many conservatives with his strong Court leadership.

As a result, legislative districts across the country were redrawn under the principle of "one person, one vote." In this way, each legislator would represent roughly the same number of people, allowing each person's vote to count equally.

Ruling on Prayer in Public Schools In 1962, the Court considered the constitutionality of prayer in public schools. *Engel v. Vitale* arose when state officials, including William Vitale, ordered New York students to recite a morning prayer. Led by Steven Engel, students' parents sued the state, claiming that the prayer violated the <u>establishment clause</u> of the First Amendment. This clause states, "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion."

The Supreme Court agreed with the parents, determining that statesponsored prayer in school, even if voluntary, was unconstitutional because it was "wholly inconsistent with the establishment clause." This controversial decision sparked efforts to amend the Constitution to permit prayer in public schools. Protecting the Rights of the Accused Another series of Warren Court rulings reshaped the criminal justice system. In Mapp v. Ohio, Dollree Mapp had been convicted of a crime based on evidence gathered during an illegal police search of her home. The Court ruled in 1961 that evidence obtained illegally may not be used in court.

In Gideon v. Wainwright, defendant Clarence Gideon had not had enough money to hire a lawyer—forced to represent himself, he had been tried, found guilty, and sent to prison. After he appealed his case to the Supreme Court in 1963, the Court ruled that Gideon's Sixth Amendment right to an attorney had been violated. As a result, courts must now provide public defenders to people who are accused of a crime but cannot afford a lawyer.

In the 1964 case Escobedo v. Illinois, police had denied a murder suspect, Danny Escobedo, the opportunity to speak to a lawyer during interrogation. Escobedo eventually confessed to the crime and was convicted. The Court overturned Escobedo's conviction, as his constitutional right to legal representation after arrest had been violated.

In a 1966 case, Miranda v. Arizona, the Court ruled that police must inform suspects of their rights before questioning. Warren wrote that a suspect must be told, "that he has the right to remain silent, that any statement he does make may be used as evidence against him, and that he has a right to the presence of an attorney." These protections are called Miranda rights, after the defendant.

Americans vigorously debated these and other Warren Court rulings.

Some critics called on Congress to impeach Chief Justice Warren. "Of all three branches of government," argued Senator Barry Goldwater, "today's Supreme Court is the least faithful to the constitutional tradition of limited government." Others praised the Warren Court for accomplishing what Congress failed to do: protect the rights guaranteed to every citizen under the Constitution.