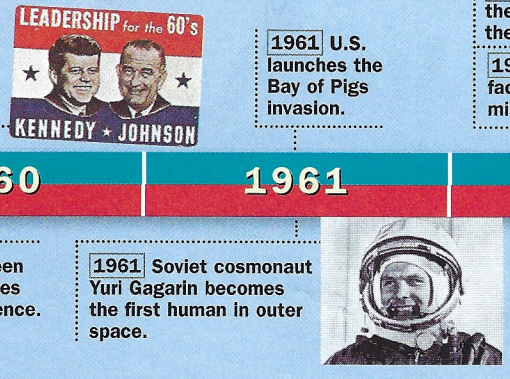
CHAPTER 20

THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Scientific and technological advances in the early 1960s made possible the first American spacewalk during the *Gemini 6* mission on June 3, 1965.



USA

1960 John F. Kennedy is elected president.

1961 U.S. launches the Bay of Pigs invasion.

1962 John Glenn becomes the first American to orbit the earth.

1962 U.S. and USSR face off in the Cuban missile crisis.

1963 President Kennedy is assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson becomes president.

WORLD

1960 Seventeen African countries gain independence.

1961 Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human in outer space.

1962 The drug thalidomide is pulled from the market after it is found responsible for thousands of birth defects in Europe.

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Against the backdrop of an intense space race between America and the Soviet Union, the 1960 presidential election approaches. The leading candidates are a young, charismatic senator and the ambitious, experienced vice-president. The new president will face tremendous responsibilities. Abroad, the Soviet Union is stockpiling nuclear weapons. At home, millions suffer from poverty and discrimination.

What are the qualities of effective leaders?

Examine the Issues

- How can a leader motivate and influence the public?
- What skills are needed to persuade legislators?
- What enables a leader to respond to crises?

RESEARCH LINKS CLASSZONE.COM

Visit the Chapter 20 links for more information about The New Frontier and the Great Society.

1964 Lyndon B. Johnson is elected president.

1964 Congress passes the Economic Opportunity Act and Civil Rights Act.

1965 U.S. troops enter Vietnam.



1967 Thurgood Marshall becomes the first African-American justice of the Supreme Court.

1968 Richard M. Nixon is elected president.

1964 | **1965** | **1966** | **1967**

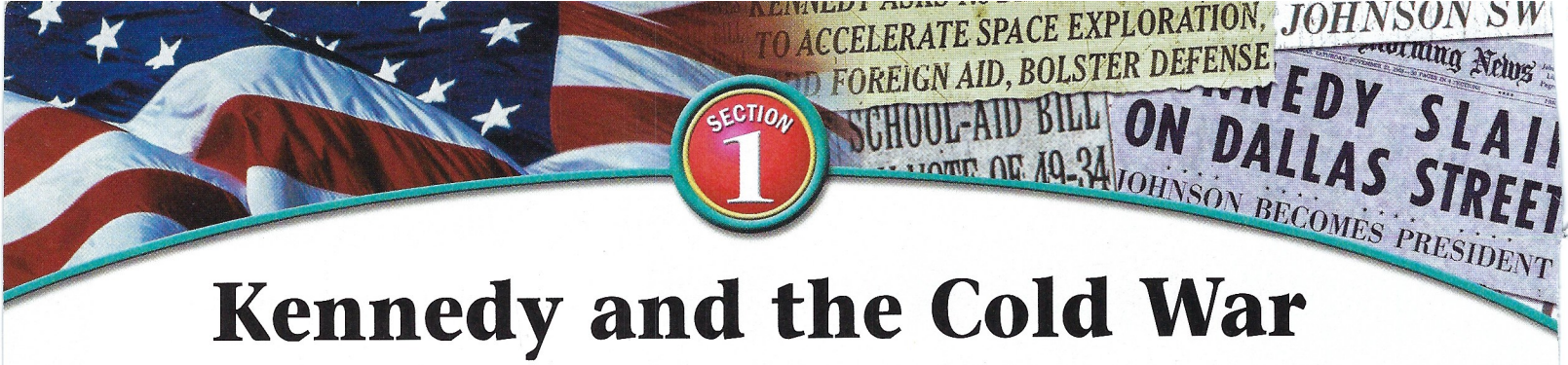
1965 Ferdinand Marcos becomes president of the Philippines.



1966 Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister of India.

1967 Israel wins Arab territories in the Six Day War.

1968 Warsaw Pact troops invade Czechoslovakia.



Kennedy and the Cold War

MAIN IDEA

The Kennedy administration faced some of the most dangerous Soviet confrontations in American history.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

America's response to Soviet threats developed the United States as a military superpower.

Terms & Names

- John F. Kennedy
- flexible response
- Fidel Castro
- Berlin Wall
- hot line
- Limited Test Ban Treaty

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.3.3 Cite incidences of religious intolerance in the United States (e.g., persecution of Mormons, anti-Catholic sentiment, anti-Semitism).

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

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

11.10.4 Examine the roles of civil rights advocates (e.g., A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcom X, Thurgood Marshall, James Farmer, Rosa Parks), including the significance of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail" and "I Have a Dream" speech.

REP 1 Students distinguish valid arguments from fallacious arguments in historical interpretations.

One American's Story

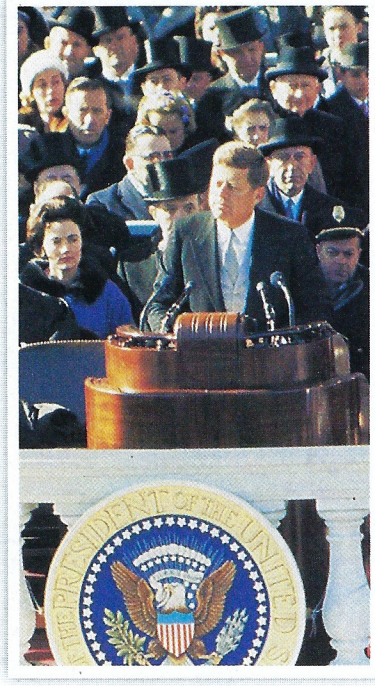
John F. Kennedy became the 35th president of the United States on a crisp and sparkling day in January 1961. Appearing without a coat in freezing weather, he issued a challenge to the American people. He said that the world was in "its hour of maximum danger," as Cold War tensions ran high. Rather than shrinking from the danger, the United States should confront the "iron tyranny" of communism.

A Personal Voice JOHN F. KENNEDY

"Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed. . . .

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any . . . foe, in order to assure . . . the survival and the success of liberty."

—Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961



▲ **John F. Kennedy delivers his inaugural address on January 20, 1961.**

The young president won praise for his well-crafted speech. However, his words were put to the test when several Cold War crises tried his leadership.

The Election of 1960

In 1960, as President Eisenhower's second term drew to a close, a mood of restlessness arose among voters. The economy was in a recession. The USSR's launch of *Sputnik I* in 1957 and its development of long-range missiles had sparked fears that the American military was falling behind that of the Soviets. Further setbacks including the U-2 incident and the alignment of Cuba with the Soviet Union had Americans questioning whether the United States was losing the Cold War.



◀ John F. Kennedy (*right*) appeared confident and at ease during a televised debate with his opponent Richard M. Nixon.

The Democratic nominee for president, Massachusetts senator John Kennedy, promised active leadership "to get America moving again." His Republican opponent, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, hoped to win by riding on the coattails of Eisenhower's popularity. Both candidates had similar positions on policy issues. Two factors helped put Kennedy over the top: television and the civil rights issue.

THE TELEVISED DEBATE AFFECTS VOTES Kennedy had a well-organized campaign and the backing of his wealthy family, and was handsome and charismatic. Yet many felt that, at 43, he was too inexperienced. If elected, he would be the second-youngest president in the nation's history.

Vocabulary
charismatic: possessing personal charm that attracts devoted followers

Americans also worried that having a Roman Catholic in the White House would lead either to influence of the pope on American policies or to closer ties between church and state. Kennedy was able to allay worries by discussing the issue openly.

One event in the fall determined the course of the election. Kennedy and Nixon took part in the first televised debate between presidential candidates. On September 26, 1960, 70 million TV viewers watched the two articulate and knowledgeable candidates debating issues. Nixon, an expert on foreign policy, had agreed to the forum in hopes of exposing Kennedy's inexperience. However, Kennedy had been coached by television producers, and he looked and spoke better than Nixon. Ⓐ

"That night, image replaced the printed word as the natural language of politics."
RUSSELL BAKER

MAIN IDEA

Predicting Effects
Ⓐ What effect do you think the televised debate would have on American politics?

Kennedy's success in the debate launched a new era in American politics: the television age. As journalist Russell Baker, who covered the Nixon campaign, said, "That night, image replaced the printed word as the natural language of politics."

KENNEDY AND CIVIL RIGHTS A second major event of the campaign took place in October. Police in Atlanta, Georgia, arrested the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and 33 other African-American demonstrators for sitting at a segregated lunch counter. Although the other demonstrators were released, King was sentenced to months of hard labor—officially for a minor traffic violation. The Eisenhower administration refused to intervene, and Nixon took no public position.

When Kennedy heard of the arrest and sentencing, he telephoned King's wife, Coretta Scott King, to express his sympathy. Meanwhile, Robert Kennedy, his brother and campaign manager, persuaded the judge who had sentenced King to release the civil rights leader on bail, pending appeal. News of the incident captured the immediate attention of the African-American community, whose votes would help Kennedy carry key states in the Midwest and South.

The Camelot Years



President and Mrs. Kennedy enjoy time with their children, Caroline and John, Jr., while vacationing in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts.

The election in November 1960 was the closest since 1884; Kennedy won by fewer than 119,000 votes. His inauguration set the tone for a new era at the White House: one of grace, elegance, and wit. On the podium sat over 100 writers, artists, and scientists that the Kennedys had invited, including opera singer Marian Anderson, who had once been barred from singing at Constitution Hall because she was African American. Kennedy's inspiring speech called for hope, commitment, and sacrifice. "And so, my fellow Americans," he proclaimed, "ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

During his term, the president and his beautiful young wife, Jacqueline, invited many artists and celebrities to the White House. In addition, Kennedy often appeared on television. The press loved his charm and wit and helped to bolster his image.

THE KENNEDY MYSTIQUE Critics of Kennedy's presidency argued that his smooth style lacked substance. But the new first family fascinated the public. For example, after learning that JFK could read 1,600 words a minute, thousands of people enrolled in speed-reading courses. The first lady, too, captivated the nation with her eye for fashion and culture. It seemed the nation could not get enough of the first family. Newspapers and magazines filled their pages with pictures and stories about the president's young daughter Caroline and his infant son John.

With JFK's youthful glamour and his talented advisers, the Kennedy White House reminded many of a modern-day Camelot, the mythical court of King Arthur. Coincidentally, the musical *Camelot* had opened on Broadway in 1960. Years later, Jackie recalled her husband and the vision of Camelot.

Background
The fictional King Arthur was based on a real fifth- or sixth-century Celt. In literature, Arthur's romantic world is marked by chivalry and magic.

A Personal Voice JACQUELINE KENNEDY

"At night, before we'd go to sleep, Jack liked to play some records and the song he loved most came at the very end of [the *Camelot*] record. The lines he loved to hear were: 'Don't let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot.' There'll be great presidents again . . . but there'll never be another Camelot again." B

—quoted in *Life magazine, John F. Kennedy Memorial Edition*

MAIN IDEA

Developing Historical Perspective
B What factors help explain the public's fascination with the Kennedys?

THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST Kennedy surrounded himself with a team of advisers that one journalist called "the best and the brightest." They included McGeorge Bundy, a Harvard University dean, as national security adviser; Robert McNamara, president of Ford Motor Company, as secretary of defense; and Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, as secretary of state. Of all the advisers who filled Kennedy's inner circle, he relied most heavily on his 35-year-old brother Robert, whom he appointed attorney general.

A New Military Policy

From the beginning, Kennedy focused on the Cold War. He thought the Eisenhower administration had not done enough about the Soviet threat. The Soviets, he concluded, were gaining loyalties in the economically less-developed third-world countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He blasted the Republicans for allowing communism to develop in Cuba, at America's doorstep.

Vocabulary
third world: during the Cold War, the developing nations not allied with either the United States or the Soviet Union

DEFINING A MILITARY STRATEGY Kennedy believed his most urgent task was to redefine the nation's nuclear strategy. The Eisenhower administration had relied on the policy of massive retaliation to deter Soviet aggression and imperialism. However, threatening to use nuclear arms over a minor conflict was not a risk Kennedy wished to take. Instead, his team developed a policy of **flexible response.** Kennedy's secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, explained the policy.

A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA

"The Kennedy administration worried that [the] reliance on nuclear weapons gave us no way to respond to large nonnuclear attacks without committing suicide. . . . We decided to broaden the range of options by strengthening and modernizing the military's ability to fight a nonnuclear war."

—In Retrospect

Kennedy increased defense spending in order to boost conventional military forces—nonnuclear forces such as troops, ships, and artillery—and to create an elite branch of the army called the Special Forces, or Green Berets. He also tripled the overall nuclear capabilities of the United States. These changes enabled the United States to fight limited wars around the world while maintaining a balance of nuclear power with the Soviet Union. However, even as Kennedy hoped to reduce the risk of nuclear war, the world came perilously close to nuclear war under his command as a crisis arose over the island of Cuba. C

MAIN IDEA
Summarizing
C What was the goal of the doctrine of flexible response?

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

EISENHOWER'S WARNING

The increase in defense spending in the 1960s continued the trend in which Defense Department suppliers were becoming more dominant in the American economy. Before leaving office, President Eisenhower warned against the dangers of what he called the "military-industrial complex." He included in his parting speech the following comments:

"This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. . . . The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

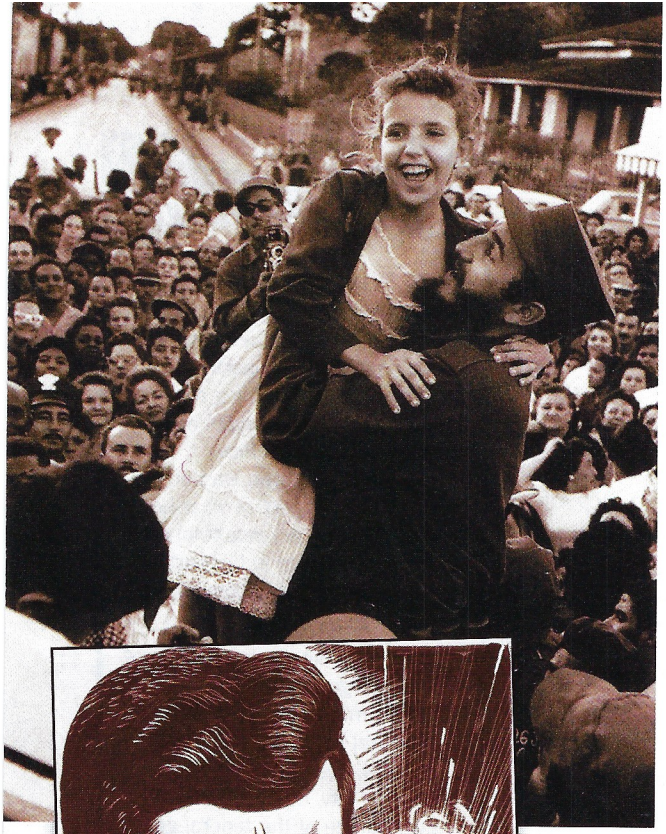
Crises over Cuba

The first test of Kennedy's foreign policy came in Cuba, just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. About two weeks before Kennedy took office, on January 3, 1961, President Eisenhower had cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba because of a revolutionary leader named **Fidel Castro.** Castro openly declared himself a communist and welcomed aid from the Soviet Union.

Vocabulary
guerrilla: a soldier who travels in a small group, harassing and undermining the enemy

THE CUBAN DILEMMA Castro gained power with the promise of democracy. From 1956 to 1959, he led a guerrilla movement to topple dictator Fulgencio Batista. He won control in 1959 and later told reporters, "Revolutionaries are not born, they are made by poverty, inequality, and dictatorship." He then promised to eliminate these conditions from Cuba.

The United States was suspicious of Castro's intentions but nevertheless recognized the new government. However, when Castro seized three American and British oil refineries, relations between the United States and Cuba worsened. Castro also broke up commercial farms into communes that would be worked by formerly landless peasants. American sugar companies,





▲ *(top)* Castro celebrates after gaining power in Cuba. *(above)* The Bay of Pigs mission was said to have blown up in Kennedy's face.

which controlled 75 percent of the crop land in Cuba, appealed to the U.S. government for help. In response, Congress erected trade barriers against Cuban sugar.

Castro relied increasingly on Soviet aid—and on the political repression of those who did not agree with him. While some Cubans were taken by his charisma and his willingness to stand up to the United States, others saw Castro as a tyrant who had replaced one dictatorship with another. About 10 percent of Cuba's population went into exile, mostly to the United States. Within the large exile community of Miami, Florida, a counterrevolutionary movement took shape.

Vocabulary
political repression: government intimidation of those with different political views

THE BAY OF PIGS In March 1960, President Eisenhower gave the CIA permission to secretly train Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba. The CIA and the exiles hoped it would trigger a mass uprising that would overthrow Castro. Kennedy learned of the plan only nine days after his election. Although he had doubts, he approved it.

On the night of April 17, 1961, some 1,300 to 1,500 Cuban exiles supported by the U.S. military landed on the island's southern coast at Bahia de Cochinos, the Bay of Pigs. Nothing went as planned. An air strike had failed to knock out the Cuban air force, although the CIA reported that it had succeeded. A small advance group sent to distract Castro's forces never reached shore. When the main commando unit landed, it faced 25,000 Cuban troops backed up by Soviet tanks and jet aircraft. Some of the invading exiles were killed, others imprisoned.

The Cuban media sensationalized the defeat of "North American mercenaries." One United States commentator observed that Americans "look like fools to our friends, rascals to our enemies, and incompetents to the rest." The disaster left Kennedy embarrassed. Publicly, he accepted blame for the fiasco. Privately, he asked, "How could that crowd at the CIA and the Pentagon be this wrong." D

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects
D What were the consequences of the failed invasion for the United States?

Kennedy negotiated with Castro for the release of surviving commandos and paid a ransom of $53 million in food and medical supplies. In a speech in Miami, he promised exiles that they would one day return to a "free Havana." Although Kennedy warned that he would resist further Communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere, Castro defiantly welcomed further Soviet aid.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS Castro had a powerful ally in Moscow: Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, who promised to defend Cuba with Soviet arms. During the summer of 1962, the flow to Cuba of Soviet weapons—including nuclear missiles—increased greatly. President Kennedy responded with a warning that America would not tolerate offensive nuclear weapons in Cuba. Then, on October 14, photographs taken by American planes revealed Soviet missile bases in Cuba—and some contained missiles ready to launch. They could reach U.S. cities in minutes.

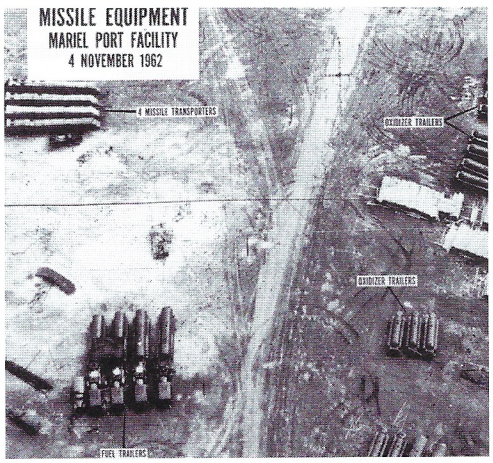
On October 22, Kennedy informed an anxious nation of the existence of Soviet missile sites in Cuba and of his plans to remove them. He made it clear that any missile attack from Cuba would trigger an all-out attack on the Soviet Union.

Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962

Missile complex
Possible missile path *
Range of quarantine
U.S. military installation
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers

2,000 MILES (17 MINUTES)
1,500 MILES (15 MINUTES)
1,000 MILES (12 MINUTES)
1,898 MILES
1,554 MILES
1,259 MILES
1,432 MILES
837 MILES
1,020 MILES

Denver
Chicago
New York
Washington, D.C.
Atlanta
Houston
Havana
Guantanamo
CUBA
UNITED STATES
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Tropic of Cancer
40°N
30°N
90°W
80°W
N
S
E
W



OCT. 14 — U.S. spy planes reveal nuclear missile sites in Cuba.

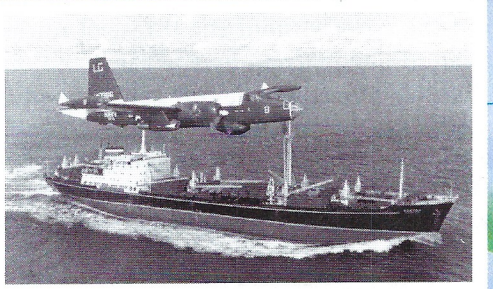
OCT. 22 — Kennedy tells the nation of his intention to halt the missile buildup.

OCT. 24 — Kennedy implements a naval "quarantine" of Cuba, blocking Soviet ships from reaching the island. (*below*) A U.S. patrol plane flies over a Soviet freighter.

OCT. 25 — Soviet ships approaching Cuba come to a halt.

OCT. 28 — Khrushchev announces plan to remove missiles from Cuba.

*Missile path times and distances are approximate.



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

1. **Movement** About how long would it have taken for a missile launched from Cuba to reach New York?
2. **Human-Environment Interaction** Why do you think it may have been important for Soviet missiles to reach the U.S. cities shown above?

KEY PLAYERS



JOHN F. KENNEDY
1917–1963

John F. "Jack" Kennedy grew up in a politically powerful family that helped make his dreams possible. His parents instilled in him the drive to accomplish great things.

During World War II he enlisted in the navy and was decorated for heroism. In 1946, he won his first seat in Congress from a Boston district where he had never lived. While a senator, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his book *Profiles in Courage*.

Although he radiated self-confidence, Kennedy suffered many ailments, including Addison's disease—a debilitating condition that he treated with daily injections of cortisone. "At least one half of the days that he spent on this earth were days of intense physical pain," recalled his brother Robert.



NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
1894–1971

"No matter how humble a man's beginnings," boasted Nikita Khrushchev, "he achieves the stature of the office to which he is elected." Khrushchev, the son of a miner, became a Communist Party organizer in the 1920s. Within four years of Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev had consolidated his power in the Soviet Union.

During his regime, which ended in 1964, Khrushchev kept American nerves on edge with alternately conciliatory and aggressive behavior. During a 1959 trip to the United States, he met for friendly talks with President Eisenhower. The next year, in front of the UN General Assembly, he took off his shoe and angrily pounded it on a desk to protest the U-2 incident.

For the next six days, the world faced the terrifying possibility of nuclear war. In the Atlantic Ocean, Soviet ships—presumably carrying more missiles—headed toward Cuba, while the U.S. Navy prepared to quarantine Cuba and prevent the ships from coming within 500 miles of it. In Florida, 100,000 troops waited—the largest invasion force ever assembled in the United States. C. Douglas Dillon, Kennedy's secretary of the treasury and a veteran of nuclear diplomacy, recalled those tension-filled days of October.

A Personal Voice
C. DOUGLAS DILLON

"The only time I felt a fear of nuclear war or a use of nuclear weapons was on the very first day, when we'd decided that we had to do whatever was necessary to get the missiles out. There was always some background fear of what would eventually happen, and I think this is what was expressed when people said they feared they would never see another Saturday."

—quoted in *On the Brink*

The first break in the crisis occurred when the Soviet ships stopped suddenly to avoid a confrontation at sea. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "We are eyeball to eyeball, and the other fellow just blinked." A few days later, Khrushchev offered to remove the missiles in return for an American pledge not to invade Cuba. The United States also secretly agreed to remove missiles from Turkey. The leaders agreed, and the crisis ended. "For a moment, the world had stood still," Robert Kennedy wrote years later, "and now it was going around again."

KENNEDY AND KHRUSHCHEV TAKE THE HEAT The crisis severely damaged Khrushchev's prestige in the Soviet Union and the world. Kennedy did not escape criticism either. Some people criticized Kennedy for practicing brinkmanship when private talks might have resolved the crisis without the threat of nuclear war. Others believed he had passed up an ideal chance to invade Cuba and oust Castro. (It was learned in the 1990s that the CIA had underestimated the numbers of Soviet troops and nuclear weapons on the island.)

The effects of the crisis lasted long after the missiles had been removed. Many Cuban exiles blamed the Democrats for "losing Cuba" (a charge that Kennedy had earlier leveled at the Republicans) and switched their allegiance to the GOP.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

E What were the results of the Cuban missile crisis?

Meanwhile, Castro closed Cuba's doors to the exiles in November 1962 by banning all flights to and from Miami. Three years later, hundreds of thousands of people took advantage of an agreement that allowed Cubans to join relatives in the United States. By the time Castro sharply cut down on exit permits in 1973, the Cuban population in Miami had increased to about 300,000. E

Crisis over Berlin

One goal that had guided Kennedy through the Cuban missile crisis was that of proving to Khruschev his determination to contain communism. All the while, Kennedy was thinking of their recent confrontation over Berlin, which had led to the construction of the **Berlin Wall,** a concrete wall topped with barbed wire that severed the city in two.

THE BERLIN CRISIS In 1961, Berlin was a city in great turmoil. In the 11 years since the Berlin Airlift, almost 3 million East Germans—20 percent of that country's population—had fled into West Berlin because it was free from Communist rule. These refugees advertised the failure of East Germany's Communist government. Their departure also dangerously weakened that country's economy.

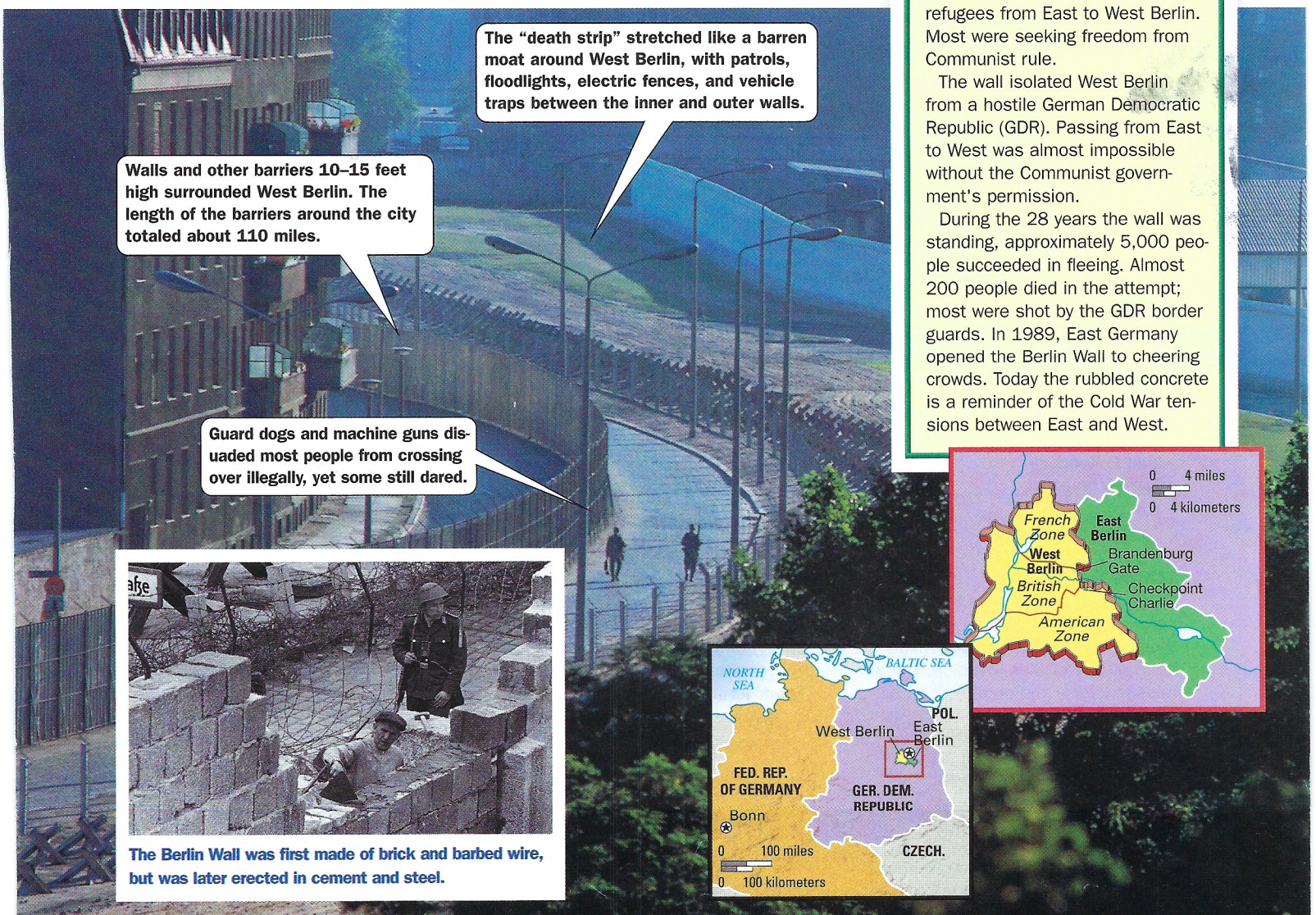
WORLD STAGE

THE BERLIN WALL, 1961

In 1961, Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet premier, ordered the Berlin Wall built to stop the flow of refugees from East to West Berlin. Most were seeking freedom from Communist rule.

The wall isolated West Berlin from a hostile German Democratic Republic (GDR). Passing from East to West was almost impossible without the Communist government's permission.

During the 28 years the wall was standing, approximately 5,000 people succeeded in fleeing. Almost 200 people died in the attempt; most were shot by the GDR border guards. In 1989, East Germany opened the Berlin Wall to cheering crowds. Today the rubbled concrete is a reminder of the Cold War tensions between East and West.



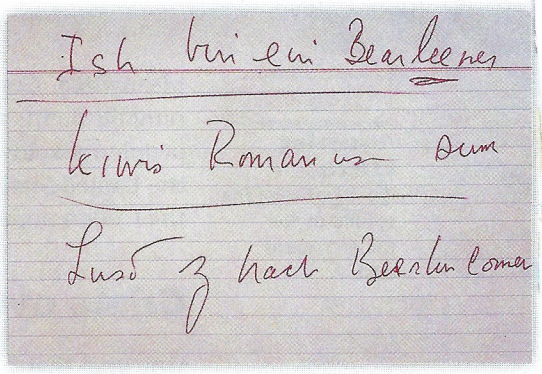
The Berlin Wall was first made of brick and barbed wire, but was later erected in cement and steel.

"I want peace. But, if you want war, that is your problem."

SOVIET PREMIER NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV

Khrushchev realized that this problem had to be solved. At a summit meeting in Vienna, Austria, in June 1961, he threatened to sign a treaty with East Germany that would enable that country to close all the access roads to West Berlin. When Kennedy refused to give up U.S. access to West Berlin, Khrushchev furiously declared, "I want peace. But, if you want war, that is your problem."

After returning home, Kennedy told the nation in a televised address that Berlin was "the great testing place of Western courage and will." He pledged "[W]e cannot and will not permit the Communists to drive us out of Berlin."



▲ **Reading from this note card during a speech in West Berlin, Kennedy proclaimed "Ich bin ein Berliner" ("I am a Berliner").**

Kennedy's determination and America's superior nuclear striking power prevented Khrushchev from closing the air and land routes between West Berlin and West Germany. Instead, the Soviet premier surprised the world with a shocking decision. Just after midnight on August 13, 1961, East German troops began to unload concrete posts and rolls of barbed wire along the border. Within days, the Berlin Wall was erected, separating East Germany from West Germany.

The construction of the Berlin Wall ended the Berlin crisis but further aggravated Cold War tensions. The wall and its armed guards successfully reduced the flow of East German refugees to a tiny trickle, thus solving Khrushchev's main problem. At the same time, however, the wall became an ugly symbol of Communist oppression. F

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

F What led Khrushchev to erect the Berlin Wall?

SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO EASE TENSIONS Showdowns between Kennedy and Khrushchev made both leaders aware of the gravity of split-second decisions that separated Cold War peace from nuclear disaster. Kennedy, in particular, searched for ways to tone down his hard-line stance. In 1963, he announced that the two nations had established a **hot line** between the White House and the Kremlin. This dedicated phone enabled the leaders of the two countries to communicate at once should another crisis arise. Later that year, the United States and Soviet Union also agreed to a **Limited Test Ban Treaty** that barred nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

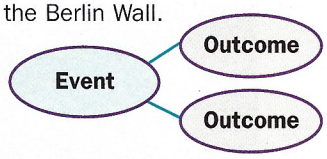
SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- John F. Kennedy
- flexible response
- Fidel Castro
- Berlin Wall
- hot line
- Limited Test Ban Treaty

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.9.3)
Using diagrams such as the one below, list two outcomes for each of these events: first Kennedy-Nixon debate, Bay of Pigs invasion, Cuban missile crisis, and construction of the Berlin Wall.



Which of these outcomes led directly to other events listed here or described in this section?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING DECISIONS (11.8.5)
How well do you think President Kennedy handled the Cuban missile crisis? Justify your opinion with specific examples from the text.
Think About:

- Kennedy's decision to impose a naval "quarantine" of Cuba
- the nuclear showdown between the superpowers
- Kennedy's decision not to invade Cuba



4. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES (REP 1)
Examine the cartoon above of Kennedy (*left*) facing off with Khrushchev and Castro. What do you think the cartoonist was trying to convey?

5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS (11.9.3)
What kind of political statement was made by the United States' support of West Berlin?



The New Frontier

MAIN IDEA

While Kennedy had trouble getting his ideas for a New Frontier passed, several goals were achieved.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Kennedy's space program continues to generate scientific and engineering advances that benefit Americans.

Terms & Names

- **New Frontier mandate**
- **Peace Corps**
- **Alliance for Progress**
- **Warren Commission**

One American's Story

On May 5, 1961, American astronaut Alan Shepard climbed into *Freedom 7*, a tiny capsule on top of a huge rocket booster. The capsule left the earth's atmosphere in a ball of fire and returned the same way, and Shepard became the first American to travel into space. Years later, he recalled his emotions when a naval crew fished him out of the Atlantic.

A Personal Voice ALAN SHEPARD

"Until the moment I stepped out of the flight deck . . . I hadn't realized the intensity of the emotions and feelings that so many people had for me, for the other astronauts, and for the whole manned space program. . . . I was very close to tears as I thought, it's no longer just our fight to get 'out there.' The struggle belongs to everyone in America. . . . From now on there was no turning back."

—Moon Shot: The Inside Story of America's Race to the Moon



▲ **Astronaut Alan Shepard (*inset*) prepares to enter the space capsule for his *Mercury* flight.**

The entire trip—which took only 15 minutes from liftoff to splashdown—reaffirmed the belief in American ingenuity. John F. Kennedy inspired many Americans with the same kind of belief.

The Promise of Progress

Kennedy set out to transform his broad vision of progress into what he called the **New Frontier.** "We stand today on the edge of a New Frontier," Kennedy had announced upon accepting the nomination for president. He called on Americans to be "new pioneers" and explore "uncharted areas of science and space, . . . unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus."

Kennedy had difficulty turning his vision into reality, however. He offered Congress proposals to provide medical care for the aged, rebuild blighted urban areas, and aid education, but he couldn't gather enough votes. Kennedy faced the same conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats that had

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.8.2 Describe the significance of Mexican immigration and its relationship to the agricultural economy, especially in California.

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

11.9.7 Examine relations between the United States and Mexico in the twentieth century, including key economic, political, immigration, and environmental issues.

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

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

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

CST 3 Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including major patterns of domestic and international migration, changing environmental preferences and settlement patterns, the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

WHAT IS A RECESSION?

A recession is, in a general sense, a moderate slowdown of the economy marked by increased unemployment and reduced personal consumption. In 1961, the nation's jobless rate climbed from just under 6 percent to nearly 7 percent. Personal consumption of several major items declined that year, as people worried about job security and spent less money.

Car sales, for example, dropped by more than $1 billion from the previous year, while fewer people took overseas vacations. Perhaps the surest sign that the country had entered a recession was the admission by government officials of how bleak things were. "We are in a full-fledged recession," Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg declared in February of 1961. (See *recession* on page R44 in the Economics Handbook.)

blocked Truman's Fair Deal, and he showed little skill in pushing his domestic reform measures through Congress. Since Kennedy had been elected by the slimmest of margins, he lacked a popular **mandate**—a clear indication that voters approved of his plans. As a result, he often tried to play it safe politically. Nevertheless, Kennedy did persuade Congress to enact measures to boost the economy, build the national defense, provide international aid, and fund a massive space program. (A)

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

(A) Why did Kennedy have difficulty achieving many of his New Frontier goals?

STIMULATING THE ECONOMY One domestic problem the Kennedy team tackled was the economy. By 1960 America was in a recession. Unemployment hovered around 6 percent, one of the highest levels since World War II. During the campaign, Kennedy had criticized the Eisenhower administration for failing to stimulate growth. The American economy, he said, was lagging behind those of other Western democracies and the Soviet Union.

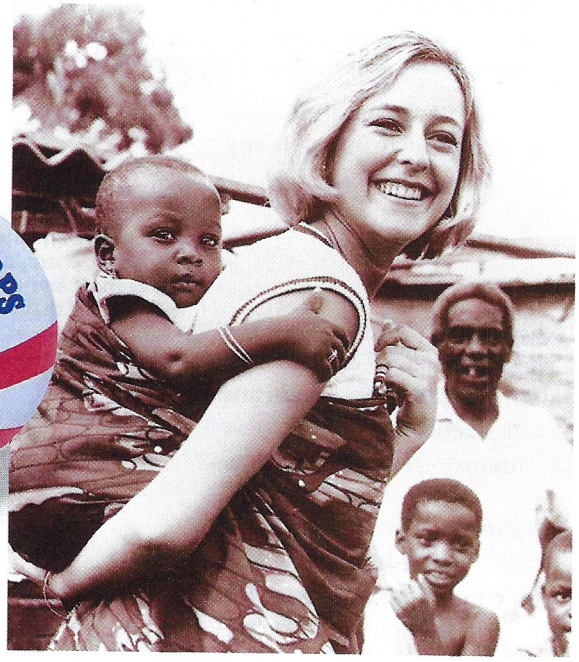
Kennedy's advisers pushed for the use of deficit spending, which had been the basis for Roosevelt's New Deal. They said that stimulating economic growth depended on increased government spending and lower taxes, even if it meant that the government spent more than it took in.

Background

See *deficit spending* on page R39 in the Economics Handbook.

Accordingly, the proposals Kennedy sent to Congress in 1961 called for increased spending. The Department of Defense received a nearly 20 percent budget increase for new nuclear missiles, nuclear submarines, and an expansion of the armed services. Congress also approved a package that increased the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, extended unemployment insurance, and provided assistance to cities with high unemployment.

ADDRESSING POVERTY ABROAD One of the first campaign promises Kennedy fulfilled was the creation of the **Peace Corps,** a program of volunteer assistance to the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Critics in the United States called the program "Kennedy's Kiddie Korps" because many volunteers were just out of college. Some foreign observers questioned whether Americans could understand other cultures.



A Peace Corps volunteer gives a ride to a Nigerian girl.



Despite these reservations, the Peace Corps became a huge success. People of all ages and backgrounds signed up to work as agricultural advisers, teachers, or health aides or to do whatever work the host country needed. By 1968, more than 35,000 volunteers had served in 60 nations around the world.

A second foreign aid program, the **Alliance for Progress,** offered economic and technical assistance to Latin American countries. Between 1961 and 1969, the United States invested almost

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

B Why did Kennedy want to invest in foreign aid?

$12 billion in Latin America, in part to deter these countries from picking up Fidel Castro's revolutionary ideas. While the money brought some development to the region, it didn't bring fundamental reforms. B

RACE TO THE MOON On April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin became the first human in space. Kennedy saw this as a challenge and decided that America would surpass the Soviets by sending a man to the moon.

In less than a month the United States had duplicated the Soviet feat. Later that year, a communications satellite called Telstar relayed live television pictures across the Atlantic Ocean from Maine to Europe. Meanwhile, America's National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) had begun to construct new launch facilities at Cape Canaveral, Florida, and a mission control center in Houston, Texas. America's pride and prestige were restored. Speaking before a crowd at Houston's Rice University, Kennedy expressed the spirit of "the space race."

A PERSONAL VOICE PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

"We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too."

—Address on the Nation's Space Effort, September 12, 1962

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

JOHNSON AND MISSION CONTROL

President Kennedy appointed Vice President Johnson as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council shortly after they assumed office in 1961. The chairman's duties were vague, but Johnson spelled them out: "He is to advise the president of what this nation's space policy ought to be." And Johnson's advice was to land a man on the moon.

A new home for the moon program's Manned Spacecraft Center was created. Some NASA administrators had wanted to consolidate the center and the launch site in Florida. However, when Johnson's friends at Humble Oil donated land to Rice University, which sold 600 acres to NASA and donated the rest, the debate was over. Houston became the center of the new space program.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

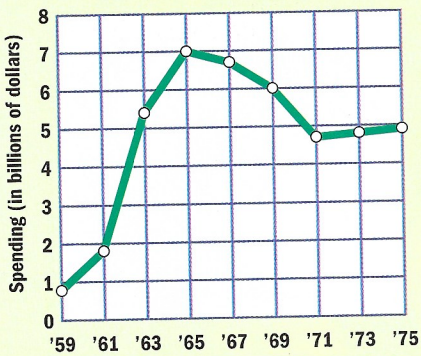
C What effect did the space program have on other areas of American life?

Seven years later, on July 20, 1969, the U.S. would achieve its goal. An excited nation watched with bated breath as U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong took his first steps on the moon.

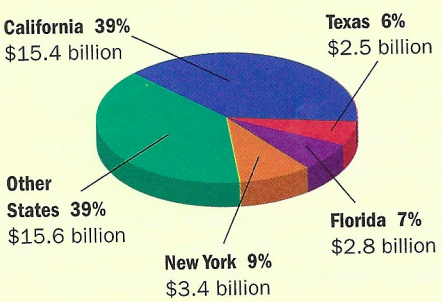
As a result of the space program, universities expanded their science programs. The huge federal funding for research and development gave rise to new industries and new technologies, many of which could be used in business and industry and also in new consumer goods. Space- and defense-related industries sprang up in the Southern and Western states, which grew rapidly. C

U.S. Space Race Expenditures, 1959–1975

Government Expenditures for Space Activities



Geographical Distribution of NASA Contracts (1961–1975)



Source: NASA

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs and Charts

1. In which year did the federal government spend the most money on the space race?
2. What state benefited the most?

ADDRESSING DOMESTIC PROBLEMS While progress was being made on the new frontiers of space exploration and international aid, many Americans suffered at home. In 1962, the problem of poverty in America was brought to national attention in Michael Harrington's book *The Other America*. Harrington profiled the 50 million people in America who scraped by each year on less than $1,000 per person. The number of poor shocked many Americans.

While Harrington awakened the nation to the nightmare of poverty, the fight against segregation took hold. Throughout the South, demonstrators raised their voices in what would become some of the most controversial civil rights battles of the 1960s. (See Chapter 21.) Kennedy had not pushed aggressively for legislation on the issues of poverty and civil rights, although he effected changes by executive action. However, now he felt that it was time to live up to a campaign promise.

In 1963, Kennedy began to focus more closely on the issues at home. He called for a "national assault on the causes of poverty." He also ordered Robert Kennedy's Justice Department to investigate racial injustices in the South. Finally, he presented Congress with a sweeping civil rights bill and a proposal to cut taxes by over $10 billion. D

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

D In what directions did President Kennedy seem to be taking his administration in 1963?

Tragedy in Dallas

In the fall of 1963, public opinion polls showed that Kennedy was losing popularity because of his advocacy of civil rights. Yet most still supported their beloved president. No one could foresee the terrible national tragedy just ahead.

FOUR DAYS IN NOVEMBER On the sunny morning of November 22, 1963, *Air Force One,* the presidential aircraft, landed in Dallas, Texas. President and Mrs. Kennedy had come to Texas to mend political fences with members of the state's Democratic Party. Kennedy had expected a cool reception from the conservative state, but he basked instead in warm waves of applause from crowds that lined the streets of downtown Dallas.

Jacqueline and her husband sat in the back seat of an open-air limousine. In front of them sat Texas Governor John Connally and his wife, Nellie. As the car approached a state building known as the Texas School Book Depository, Nellie Connally turned to Kennedy and said, "You can't say that Dallas isn't friendly to you today." A few seconds later, rifle shots rang out, and Kennedy was shot in the head. His car raced to a nearby hospital, where doctors frantically tried to revive him, but it was too late. President Kennedy was dead.

As the tragic news spread through America's schools, offices, and homes, people reacted with disbelief. Questions were on everyone's lips: Who had killed the president, and why? What would happen next?



John Kennedy, Jr., salutes his father's casket as it is prepared for the trip to Arlington National Cemetery. His uncles, Edward Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy; his mother; and his sister look on.



"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1963. TEN CENTS

KENNEDY IS KILLED BY SNIPER AS HE RIDES IN CAR IN DALLAS; JOHNSON SWORN IN ON PLANE

During the next four days, television became "the window of the world." A photograph of a somber Lyndon Johnson taking the oath of office aboard the presidential airplane was broadcast. Soon, audiences watched as Dallas police charged Lee Harvey Oswald with the murder. His palm print had been found on the rifle used to kill John F. Kennedy.

The 24-year-old Marine had a suspicious past. After receiving a dishonorable discharge, Oswald had briefly lived in the Soviet Union, and he supported Castro. On Sunday, November 24, as millions watched live television coverage of Oswald being transferred between jails, a nightclub owner named Jack Ruby broke through the crowd and shot and killed Oswald.

The next day, all work stopped for Kennedy's funeral as America mourned its fallen leader. The assassination and televised funeral became a historic event. Americans who were alive then can still recall what they were doing when they first heard about the shooting of their president.

Vocabulary
conspiracy: an agreement by two or more persons to take illegal political action

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS The bizarre chain of events made some people wonder if Oswald was part of a conspiracy. In 1963, the **Warren Commission** investigated and concluded that Oswald had shot the president while acting on his own. Later, in 1979, a reinvestigation concluded that Oswald was part of a conspiracy. Investigators also said that two persons may have fired at the president. Numerous other people have made investigations. Their explanations have ranged from a plot by anti-Castro Cubans, to a Communist-sponsored attack, to a conspiracy by the CIA. E

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting
E How did the Warren Commission's findings differ from other theories?

What Americans did learn from the Kennedy assassination was that their system of government is remarkably sturdy. A crisis that would have crippled a dictatorship did not prevent a smooth transition to the presidency of Lyndon Johnson. In a speech to Congress, Johnson expressed his hope that "from the brutal loss of our leader we will derive not weakness but strength." Not long after, Johnson drove through Congress the most ambitious domestic legislative package since the New Deal.

NOW & THEN

KENNEDY'S ASSASSINATION

From the beginning, people have questioned the Warren Commission report. Amateur investigators have led to increasing public pressure on the government to tell all it knows about the assassination.

In response, Congress passed the JFK Records Act in 1992, which created a panel to review government and private files and decide which should be part of the public record.

Since the law was enacted, newly declassified information has added some weight to a body of evidence that JFK was shot from the front (the Warren Commission had concluded that a single bullet struck the president from behind) and that Oswald, thus, could not have acted alone. While such evidence challenges the Warren Commission's report, no information has yet surfaced that conclusively disproves its findings.

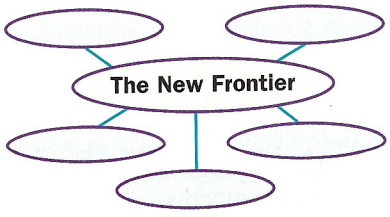
SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **New Frontier**
- **mandate**
- **Peace Corps**
- **Alliance for Progress**
- **Warren Commission**

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.11.2)
Re-create the web shown and fill it in with programs of the New Frontier.



Which do you think was most successful? Why?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING MOTIVES (11.8.4)
Why do you think Congress was so enthusiastic about allocating funds for the space program but rejected spending in education, social services, and other pressing needs?

4. MAKING INFERENCES (11.11.2)
Why do you think Kennedy lost popularity for supporting civil rights?

5. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP (11.11.2)
Do you think President Kennedy was a successful leader? Explain your viewpoint. **Think About:**

- the reasons for his popularity
- the goals he expressed
- his foreign policy
- his legislative record

GEOGRAPHY SPOTLIGHT

The Movement of Migrant Workers

The nation's 3 million farm workers are responsible for harvesting much of the fruit and vegetables that families eat each day. Most field workers on United States farms remain in one place most of the year. Others are migrant workers, who move with their entire family from one region to the next as the growing seasons change. Nationally, migrant workers make up around 10 percent of hired farm workers, depending on the season and other factors.

As the map shows, there were three major streams of migrant worker movements in the 1960s: the Pacific Coast, the Midwest, and the Atlantic Coast. While these paths may have changed slightly since then, the movement of migrant workers into nearly every region of the nation continues today.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

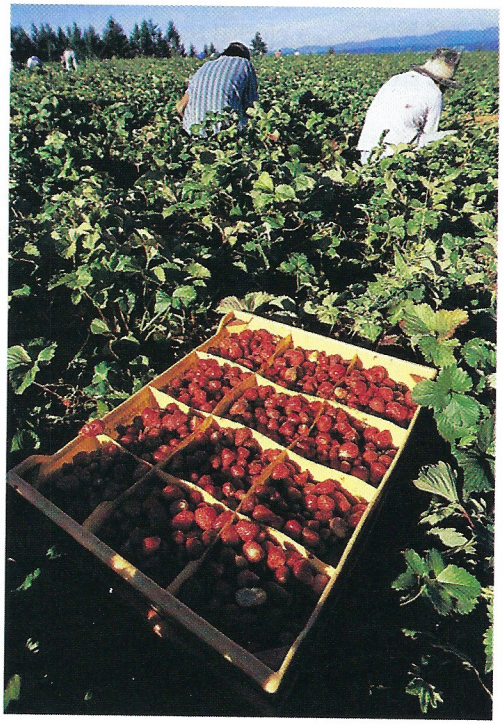
11.8.6 Discuss the diverse environmental regions of North America, their relationship to local economies, and the origins and prospects of environmental problems in those regions.

CST 4 Students relate current events to the physical and human characteristics of places and regions.

▼ THE PACIFIC COAST

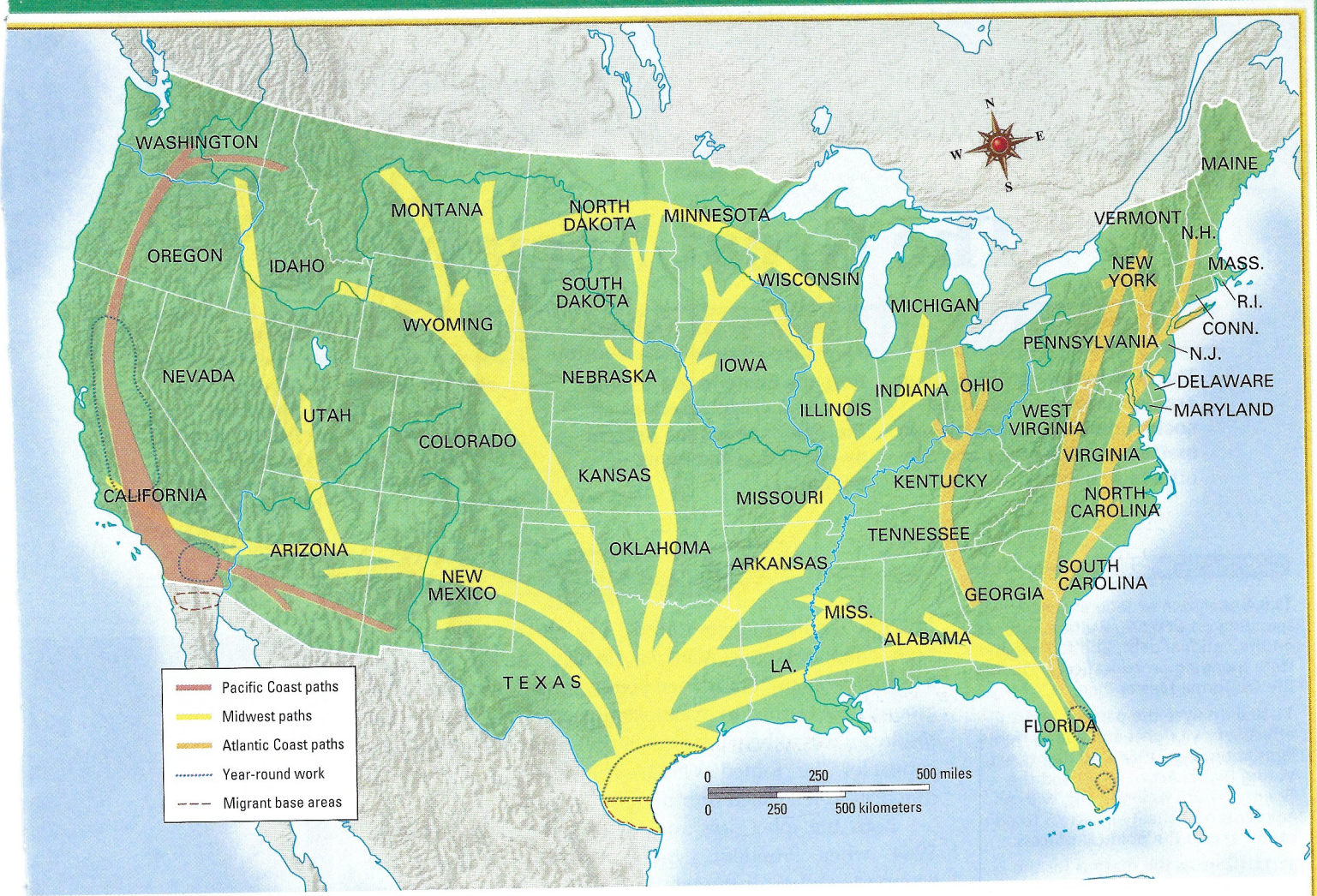
The Pacific Coast region's moderate climate allows for year-round harvesting. Most of California's migrant farm workers work on large fruit farms for much of the year. More than 62,000 workers make their way up to Washington each year to pick cherries, apples, and other crops.





▲ THE MIDWEST

Workers along the Midwest and East Coast streams, where crops are smaller, must keep moving in order to find work. These workers picking strawberries in Michigan will soon move on. For example, one family may travel to Ohio for the tomato harvest and then return to Michigan to pick apples before heading back to Texas for the winter months.



▲ The map above shows the three major streams of migrant worker movements in the 1960s.



▲ THE ATLANTIC COAST

While some workers along the Atlantic Coast stream remain in Florida, like the workers shown here picking beans, others travel as far north as New Hampshire and New York. There, they work from March through September. Due to the winters, migrant workers in most of the Midwest and Atlantic regions can find work for only six months out of the year.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. **Analyzing Patterns** Retrace the movement of migrant workers in the three regions. Why do you think migrant workers have to keep moving?

CONNECT TO TODAY

2. **Creating a Database** Pose a historical question about the relationship between crops and planting seasons. For example, what types of crops are harvested in Michigan during the fall? Then research and create a database that answers this and other such questions.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R33

RESEARCH LINKS CLASSZONE.COM



The Great Society

MAIN IDEA

The demand for reform helped create a new awareness of social problems, especially on matters of civil rights and the effects of poverty.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Reforms made in the 1960s have had a lasting effect on the American justice system by increasing the rights of minorities.

Terms & Names

- **Lyndon Baines Johnson**
- **Economic Opportunity Act**
- **Great Society**
- **Medicare and Medicaid**
- **Immigration Act of 1965**
- **Warren Court reapportionment**

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

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

11.10.6 Analyze the passage and effects of civil rights and voting rights legislation (e.g., 1964 Civil Rights Act, Voting Rights Act of 1965) and the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, with an emphasis on equality of access to education and to the political process.

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

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

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

One American's Story

In 1966, family finances forced Larry Alfred to drop out of high school in Mobile, Alabama. He turned to the Job Corps, a federal program that trained young people from poor backgrounds. He learned to operate construction equipment, but his dream was to help people. On the advice of his Job Corps counselor, he joined VISTA—Volunteers in Service to America—often called the "domestic Peace Corps."

Both the Job Corps and VISTA sprang into being in 1964, when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act. This law was the main offensive of Johnson's "war on poverty" and a cornerstone of the Great Society.

VISTA assigned Alfred to work with a community of poor farm laborers in Robstown, Texas, near the Mexican border. There he found a number of children with mental and physical disabilities who had no special assistance, education, or training. So he established the Robstown Association for Retarded People, started a parents education program, sought state funds, and created a rehabilitation center. At age 20, Larry Alfred was a high school dropout, Job Corps graduate, VISTA volunteer, and in Robstown, an authority on people with disabilities. Alfred embodied Johnson's Great Society in two ways: its programs helped him turn his life around, and he made a difference in people's lives.



▲ **VISTA volunteers worked in a variety of capacities. This woman is teaching art to young pupils.**

LBJ's Path to Power

By the time **Lyndon Baines Johnson,** or LBJ, as he was called, succeeded to the presidency, his ambition and drive had become legendary. In explaining his frenetic energy, Johnson once remarked, "That's the way I've been all my life. My daddy used to wake me up at dawn and shake my leg and say, 'Lyndon, every boy in town's got an hour's head start on you.'"

FROM THE TEXAS HILLS TO CAPITOL HILL A fourth-generation Texan, Johnson grew up in the dry Texas hill country of Blanco County. The Johnsons never knew great wealth, but they also never missed a meal.

LBJ entered politics in 1937 when he won a special election to fill a vacant seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Johnson styled himself as a "New Dealer" and spokesperson for the small ranchers and struggling farmers of his district. He caught the eye of President Franklin Roosevelt, who took Johnson under his wing. Roosevelt helped him secure key committee assignments in Congress and steer much-needed electrification and water projects to his Texas district. Johnson, in turn, idolized FDR and imitated his leadership style.

Once in the House, Johnson eagerly eyed a seat in the Senate. In 1948, after an exhausting, bitterly fought campaign, he won the Democratic primary election for the Senate by a margin of only 87 votes out of 988,000.

A MASTER POLITICIAN Johnson proved himself a master of party politics and behind-the-scenes maneuvering, and he rose to the position of Senate majority leader in 1955. People called his legendary ability to persuade senators to support his bills the "LBJ treatment." As a reporter for the *Saturday Evening Post* explained, Johnson also used this treatment to win over reporters.

A PERSONAL VOICE STEWART ALSOP

"The Majority Leader [Johnson] was, it seemed, in a relaxed, friendly, reminiscent mood. But by gradual stages this mood gave way to something rather like a human hurricane. Johnson was up, striding about his office, talking without pause, occasionally leaning over, his nose almost touching the reporter's, to shake the reporter's shoulder or grab his knee. . . . Appeals were made, to the Almighty, to the shades of the departed great, to the reporter's finer instincts and better nature, while the reporter, unable to get a word in edgewise, sat collapsed upon a leather sofa, eyes glazed, mouth half open."

—"The New President," *Saturday Evening Post*, December 14, 1963

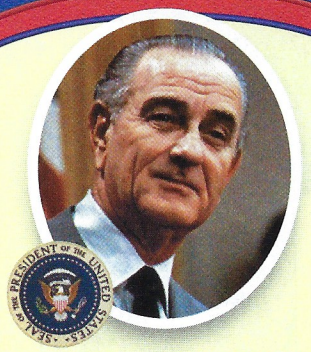
Johnson's deft handling of Congress led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, a voting rights measure that was the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. Johnson's knack for achieving legislative results had captured John F. Kennedy's attention, too, during Kennedy's run for the White House. To Kennedy, Johnson's congressional connections and his Southern Protestant background compensated for his own drawbacks as a candidate, so he asked Johnson to be his running mate. Johnson's presence on the ticket helped Kennedy win key states in the South, especially Texas, which went Democratic by 47,000 votes. (A)

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

(A) Why did Kennedy choose Johnson to be his running mate?

KEY PLAYER



LYNDON B. JOHNSON 1908–1973

LBJ received his teaching degree from Southwest Texas State Teachers College in 1930. To finance his own education, Johnson took a year off from college to work at a Mexican-American school in Cotulla, Texas. He later taught public speaking and debate at the Sam Houston High School in Houston. At age 26, he became the state director of the National Youth Administration, a New Deal agency.

As president, Johnson pushed hard for the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In 1965, he signed the act at the one-room schoolhouse near Stonewall, Texas, where his own education had begun. Johnson later wrote,

"My education had begun with what I learned in that schoolroom. Now what I had learned and experienced since that time had brought me back to fulfill a dream."

Johnson's Domestic Agenda

In the wake of Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson addressed a joint session of Congress. It was the fifth day of his administration. "All I have I would have given gladly not to be standing here today," he began. Kennedy had inspired Americans to begin to solve national and world problems. Johnson urged Congress to pass the civil rights and tax-cut bills that Kennedy had sent to Capitol Hill.

WORLD STAGE



THE WAR IN VIETNAM

As LBJ pushed through his domestic programs, the U.S. grew more interested in halting the spread of communism around the world. In Vietnam, anti-Communist nationalists controlled South Vietnam while Communist leader Ho Chi Minh had taken over North Vietnam. The Geneva Accords had temporarily provided peace, dividing Vietnam along the 17th parallel into two distinct political regions. Despite this treaty, the North was supporting Communist rebels who were trying to take over the South.

Though Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy had provided economic and military aid to South Vietnam, soon the U.S. would be directly involved in fighting the war.

In February 1964 Congress passed a tax reduction of over $10 billion into law. As the Democrats had hoped, the tax cut spurred economic growth. People spent more, which meant profits for businesses, which increased tax revenues and lowered the federal budget deficit from $6 billion in 1964 to $4 billion in 1966.

Then in July, Johnson pushed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 through Congress, persuading Southern senators to stop blocking its passage. It prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and sex and granted the federal government new powers to enforce its provisions.

THE WAR ON POVERTY Following these successes, LBJ pressed on with his own agenda—to alleviate poverty. Early in 1964, he had declared "unconditional war on poverty in America" and proposed sweeping legislation designed to help Americans "on the outskirts of hope."

Background
See *poverty* on page R43 in the Economics Handbook.

In August 1964, Congress enacted the **Economic Opportunity Act** (EOA), approving nearly $1 billion for youth programs, antipoverty measures, small-business loans, and job training. The EOA legislation created:

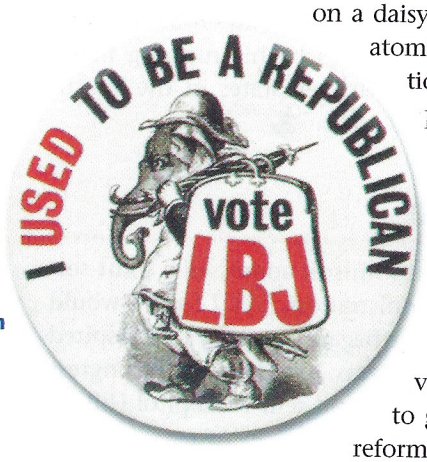
- the Job Corps Youth Training Program
- VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America)
- Project Head Start, an education program for underprivileged preschoolers
- the Community Action Program, which encouraged poor people to participate in public-works programs. B

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems
B What problems in American society did the Economic Opportunity Act seek to address?

THE 1964 ELECTION In 1964, the Republicans nominated conservative senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona to oppose Johnson. Goldwater believed the federal government had no business trying to right social and economic wrongs such as poverty, discrimination, and lack of opportunity. He attacked such long-established federal programs as Social Security, which he wanted to make voluntary, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, which he wanted to sell.

In 1964, most American people were in tune with Johnson—they believed that government could and should help solve the nation's problems. Moreover, Goldwater had frightened many Americans by suggesting that he might use nuclear weapons on Cuba and North Vietnam. Johnson's campaign capitalized on this fear. It produced a chilling television commercial in which a picture of a little girl counting the petals on a daisy dissolved into a mushroom cloud created by an atomic bomb. Where Goldwater advocated intervention in Vietnam, Johnson assured the American people that sending U.S. troops there "would offer no solution at all to the real problem of Vietnam."



Campaign buttons like this one capitalized on the nation's growing liberal democratic sentiments.

LBJ won the election by a landslide, winning 61 percent of the popular vote and 486 electoral votes, while Senator Goldwater won only 52. The Democrats also increased their majority in Congress. For the first time since 1938, a Democratic president did not need the votes of conservative Southern Democrats in order to get laws passed. Now Johnson could launch his reform program in earnest.



These preschoolers in a Head Start classroom are among the millions of Americans whose daily lives have been affected by Great Society programs.

Building the Great Society

In May 1964, Johnson had summed up his vision for America in a phrase: the **Great Society.** In a speech at the University of Michigan, Johnson outlined a legislative program that would end poverty and racial injustice. But, he told an enthusiastic crowd, that was "just the beginning." Johnson envisioned a legislative program that would create not only a higher standard of living and equal opportunity, but also promote a richer quality of life for all.

A Personal Voice LYNDON B. JOHNSON

"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 of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race."

—"The Great Society," May 22, 1964

Like his idol FDR, LBJ wanted to change America. By the time Johnson left the White House in 1969, Congress had passed 206 of his measures. The president personally led the battle to get most of them passed.

EDUCATION During 1965 and 1966, the LBJ administration introduced a flurry of bills to Congress. Johnson considered education "the key which can unlock the door to the Great Society." The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided more than $1 billion in federal aid to help public and parochial schools purchase textbooks and new library materials. This was one of the earliest federal aid packages for education in the nation's history.

Great Society Programs, 1964–1967

POVERTY

1964 **Tax Reduction Act** cut corporate and individual taxes to stimulate growth.

1964 **Economic Opportunity Act** created Job Corps, VISTA, Project Head Start, and other programs to fight the "war on poverty."

1965 **Medicare Act** established Medicare and Medicaid programs.

1965 **Appalachian Regional Development Act** targeted aid for highways, health centers, and resource development in that economically depressed area.

CITIES

1965 **Omnibus Housing Act** provided money for low-income housing.

1965 **Department of Housing and Urban Development** was formed to administer federal housing programs.

1966 **Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Area Redevelopment Act** funded slum rebuilding, mass transit, and other improvements for selected "model cities."

EDUCATION

1965 **Elementary and Secondary Education Act** directed money to schools for textbooks, library materials, and special education.

1965 **Higher Education Act** funded scholarships and low-interest loans for college students.

1965 **National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities** was created to financially assist painters, musicians, actors, and other artists.

1967 **Corporation for Public Broadcasting** was formed to fund educational TV and radio broadcasting.

DISCRIMINATION

1964 **Civil Rights Act** outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, housing, and jobs; increased federal power to prosecute civil rights abuses.

1964 **Twenty-Fourth Amendment** abolished the poll tax in federal elections.

1965 **Voting Rights Act** ended the practice of requiring voters to pass literacy tests and permitted the federal government to monitor voter registration.

1965 **Immigration Act** ended national-origins quotas established in 1924.

ENVIRONMENT

1965 **Wilderness Preservation Act** set aside over 9 million acres for national forest lands.

1965 **Water Quality Act** required states to clean up their rivers.

1965 **Clean Air Act Amendment** directed the federal government to establish emission standards for new motor vehicles.

1967 **Air Quality Act** set federal air pollution guidelines and extended federal enforcement power.

CONSUMER ADVOCACY

1966 **Truth in Packaging Act** set standards for labeling consumer products.

1966 **National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act** set federal safety standards for the auto and tire industries.

1966 **Highway Safety Act** required states to set up highway safety programs.

1966 **Department of Transportation** was created to deal with national air, rail, and highway transportation.

SKILLBUILDER **Interpreting Charts**

What did the Great Society programs indicate about the federal government's changing role?

HEALTHCARE LBJ and Congress changed Social Security by establishing Medicare and Medicaid. **Medicare** provided hospital insurance and low-cost medical insurance for almost every American age 65 or older. **Medicaid** extended health insurance to welfare recipients. C

MAIN IDEA

Comparing

C How are Medicare and Medicaid similar?

HOUSING Congress also made several important decisions that shifted the nation's political power from rural to urban areas. These decisions included: appropriating money to build some 240,000 units of low-rent public housing and helping low- and moderate-income families pay for better private housing; establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); and appointing Robert Weaver, the first African-American cabinet member in American history, as Secretary of HUD.

IMMIGRATION The Great Society also brought profound changes to the nation's immigration laws. The Immigration Act of 1924 and the National Origins Act of 1924 had established immigration quotas that discriminated strongly against people from outside Western Europe. The Act set a quota of about 150,000 people annually. It discriminated against southern and eastern Europeans and barred Asians completely. The **Immigration Act of 1965** opened the door for many non-European immigrants to settle in the United States by ending quotas based on nationality. D

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

D How did the Immigration Act of 1965 change the nation's immigration system?

THE ENVIRONMENT In 1962, *Silent Spring*, a book by Rachel Carson, had exposed a hidden danger: the effects of pesticides on the environment. Carson's book and the public's outcry resulted in the Water Quality Act of 1965, which required states to clean up rivers. Johnson also ordered the government to search out the worst chemical polluters. "There is no excuse . . . for chemical companies and oil refineries using our major rivers as pipelines for toxic wastes." Such words and actions helped trigger the environmental movement in the United States. (See Chapter 24.)

CONSUMER PROTECTION Consumer advocates also made headway. They convinced Congress to pass major safety laws, including a truth-in-packaging law that set standards for labeling consumer goods. Ralph Nader, a young lawyer, wrote a book, *Unsafe at Any Speed,* that sharply criticized the U.S. automobile industry for ignoring safety concerns. His testimony helped persuade Congress to establish safety standards for automobiles and tires. Precautions extended to food, too. Congress passed the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. "Americans can feel a little safer now in their homes, on the road, at the supermarket, and in the department store," said Johnson.

NOW & THEN

MEDICARE ON THE LINE

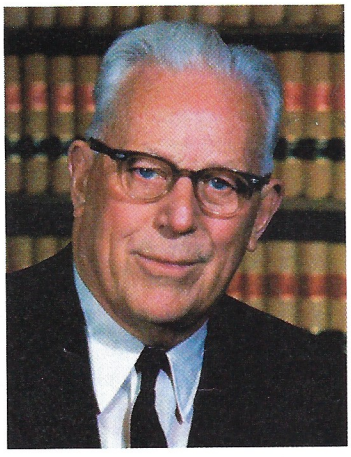
When President Johnson signed the Medicare bill in 1965, only half of the nation's elderly had health insurance. Today, thanks largely to Medicare, nearly all persons 65 years or older are eligible.

In 2000, federal spending on Medicare was about $224 billion. In recent years, experts have debated over whether Medicare can be sustained in the face of changing trends: (1) people are living longer, (2) health care continues to become more expensive, and (3) the large baby boomer generation is moving toward retirement age. Though most Americans are not in favor of cutbacks to Medicare, the Balanced Budget Act of 1997 reduced federal spending on Medicare from 1998 through 2002 by $112 billion.

Reforms of the Warren Court

The wave of liberal reform that characterized the Great Society also swept through the Supreme Court of the 1960s. Beginning with the 1954 landmark decision *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, which ruled school segregation unconstitutional, the Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren took an activist stance on the leading issues of the day.

Several major court decisions in the 1960s affected American society. The **Warren Court** banned state-sanctioned prayer in public schools and declared state-required loyalty oaths unconstitutional. It limited the power of communities to censor books and films and said that free speech included the wearing of black armbands to school by antiwar students. Furthermore, the Court brought about change in federal and state reapportionment and the criminal justice system.



Chief Justice Earl Warren

CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT In a key series of decisions, the Warren Court addressed the issue of **reapportionment**, or the way in which states redraw election districts based on the changing number of people in them. By 1960, about 80 percent of Americans lived in cities and suburbs. However, many states had failed to change their congressional districts to reflect this development; instead, rural districts might have fewer than 200,000 people, while some urban districts had more than 600,000. Thus the voters in rural areas had more representation—and also more power—than those in urban areas.

Baker v. *Carr* (1962) was the first of several decisions that established the principle of "one person, one vote." The Court asserted that the federal courts had the right to tell states to reapportion—redivide—their districts for more equal representation. In later decisions, the Court ruled that congressional district boundaries should be redrawn so that districts would be equal in population, and in *Reynolds* v. *Sims* (1964), it extended the principle of "one person, one vote" to state legislative districts. (See *Reynolds* v. *Sims,* page 774.) These decisions led to a shift of political power throughout the nation from rural to urban areas.

RIGHTS OF THE ACCUSED Other Warren Court decisions greatly expanded the rights of people accused of crimes. In *Mapp* v. *Ohio* (1961), the Court ruled that evidence seized illegally could not be used in state courts. This is called the exclusionary rule. In *Gideon* v. *Wainwright* (1963), the justices required criminal courts to provide free legal counsel to those who could not afford it. In *Escobedo* v. *Illinois* (1964), the justices ruled that an accused person has a right to have a lawyer present during police questioning. In 1966, the Court went one step further in *Miranda* v. *Arizona,* where it ruled that all suspects must be read their rights before questioning. (See *Miranda* v. *Arizona,* page 694.)

These rulings greatly divided public opinion. Liberals praised the decisions, arguing that they placed necessary limits on police power and protected the right of all citizens to a fair trial. Conservatives, however, bitterly criticized the Court. They claimed that *Mapp* and *Miranda* benefited criminal suspects and severely limited the power of the police to investigate crimes. During the late 1960s and 1970s, Republican candidates for office seized on the "crime issue," portraying liberals and Democrats as being soft on crime and citing the decisions of the Warren Court as major obstacles to fighting crime. E

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

E What were the differing reactions to the Warren Court decisions on the rights of the accused?

POINT

"The Great Society succeeded in prompting far-reaching social change."

Defenders of the Great Society contend that it bettered the lives of millions of Americans. Historian John Morton Blum notes, "The Great Society initiated policies that by 1985 had had profound consequences: Blacks now voted at about the same rate as whites, and nearly 6,000 blacks held public offices; almost every elderly citizen had medical insurance, and the aged were no poorer than Americans as a whole; a large majority of small children attended preschool programs."

Attorney Margaret Burnham argues that the civil rights gains alone justify the Great Society: "For tens of thousands of human beings . . . giving promise of a better life was significant . . . . What the Great Society affirmed was the responsibility of the federal government to take measures necessary to bring into the social and economic mainstream any segment of the people [who had been] historically excluded."

COUNTERPOINT

"Failures of the Great Society prove that government-sponsored programs do not work."

The major attack on the Great Society is that it created "big government": an oversized bureaucracy, too many regulations, waste and fraud, and rising budget deficits. As journalist David Alpern writes, this comes from the notion that government could solve all the nation's problems: "The Great Society created unwieldy new mechanisms like the Office of Economic Opportunity and began 'throwing dollars at problems. . . .' Spawned in the process were vast new constituencies of government bureaucrats and beneficiaries whose political clout made it difficult to kill programs off."

Conservatives say the Great Society's social welfare programs created a culture of dependency. Economist Paul Craig Roberts argues that "The Great Society . . . reflected our lack of confidence in the institutions of a free society. We came to the view that it is government spending and not business innovation that creates jobs and that it is society's fault if anyone is poor."

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. **Evaluating** Do you think the Great Society was a success or a failure? Explain.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R17.

CONNECT TO TODAY

2. **Analyzing Social Problems** Research the most pressing problems in your own neighborhood or precinct. Then propose a social program you think would address at least one of those problems while avoiding the pitfalls of the Great Society programs.

Impact of the Great Society

The Great Society and the Warren Court changed the United States. People disagree on whether these changes left the nation better or worse, but most agree on one point: no president in the post–World War II era extended the power and reach of the federal government more than Lyndon Johnson. The optimism of the Johnson presidency fueled an activist era in all three branches of government, for at least the first few years.

The "war on poverty" did help. The number of poor people fell from 21 percent of the population in 1962 to 11 percent in 1973. However, many of Johnson's proposals, though well intended, were hastily conceived and proved difficult to accomplish.

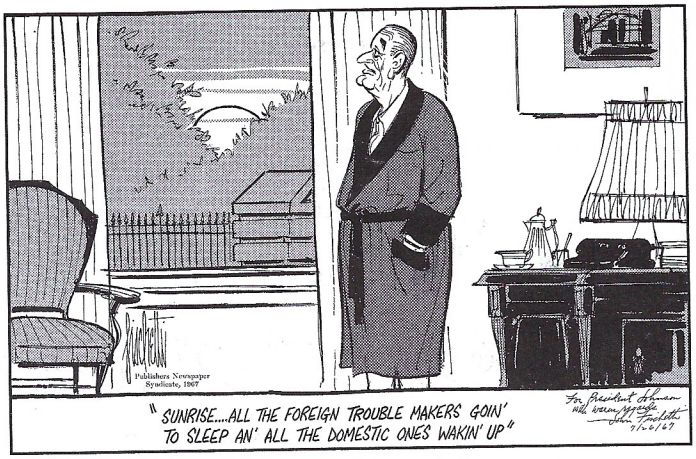
Johnson's massive tax cut spurred the economy. But funding the Great Society contributed to a growing budget deficit—a problem that continued for decades. Questions about government finances, as well as debates over the effectiveness of these programs and the role of the federal government, left a number of people disillusioned. A conservative backlash began to take shape as a new group of Republican leaders rose to power. In 1966, for example, a conservative Hollywood actor named Ronald Reagan swept to victory in the race for governor of California over the Democratic incumbent.

Thousands of miles away, the increase of Communist forces in Vietnam also began to overshadow the goals of the Great Society. The fear of communism was deeply rooted in the minds of Americans from the Cold War era. Four years after initiating the Great Society, Johnson, a peace candidate in 1964, would be labeled a "hawk"—a supporter of one of the most divisive wars in recent U.S. history. F

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

F What events and problems may have affected the success of the Great Society?



As this cartoon points out, President Johnson had much to deal with at home and abroad. This autographed copy was presented to President Johnson by the cartoonist.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Lyndon Baines Johnson**
- **Economic Opportunity Act**
- **Great Society**
- **Medicare and Medicaid**
- **Immigration Act of 1965**
- **Warren Court**
- **reapportionment**

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES (11.8.4)
List four or more Great Society programs and Warren Court rulings.

Great Society Programs	Warren Court Rulings
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

Choose one item and describe its lasting effects.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING LEADERSHIP (11.11.2)
Explain how Lyndon Johnson's personal and political experiences might have influenced his actions as president. **Think About:**

- his family's background and education
- his relationship with Franklin Roosevelt
- his powers of persuasion

4. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES (11.11.2)
Look at the political cartoon above. What do you think the artist was trying to convey about the Johnson administration?

HISTORIC DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT

MIRANDA v. *ARIZONA* (1966)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE In 1963, Ernesto Miranda was arrested at his home in Phoenix, Arizona, on charges of kidnapping and rape. After two hours of questioning by police, he signed a confession and was later convicted, largely based on the confession. Miranda appealed. He claimed that his confession was invalid because it was coerced and because the police never advised him of his right to an attorney or his right to avoid self-incrimination.

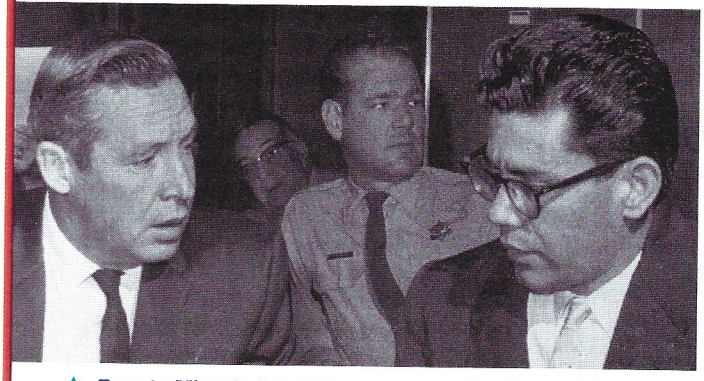
THE RULING **The Court overturned Miranda's conviction, holding that the police must inform criminal suspects of their legal rights at the time of arrest and may not interrogate suspects who invoke their rights.**

LEGAL REASONING

Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the majority opinion in *Miranda* v. *Arizona*. He based his argument on the Fifth Amendment, which guarantees that an accused person cannot be forced "to be a witness against himself" or herself. Warren stressed that when suspects are interrogated in police custody, the situation is "inherently intimidating." Such a situation, he argued, undermines any evidence it produces because "no statement obtained from the defendant [while in custody] can truly be the product of his free choice."

For this reason, the Court majority found that Miranda's confession could not be used as evidence. In the opinion, Chief Justice Warren responded to the argument that police officials might find this requirement difficult to meet.

> **"Not only does the use of the third degree [harassment or torture used to obtain a confession] involve a flagrant violation of law by the officers of the law, but it involves also the dangers of false confessions, and it tends to make police and prosecutors less zealous in the search for objective evidence."**



▲ Ernesto Miranda (*at right*) converses with attorney John J. Flynn in February 1967.

CALIFORNIA STANDARDS

11.1.3 Understand the history of the Constitution after 1787 with emphasis on federal versus state authority and growing democratization.

HI 4 Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

LEGAL SOURCES

U.S. CONSTITUTION

U.S. CONSTITUTION, FIFTH AMENDMENT (1791)
"No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law."

RELATED CASES

***MAPP* v. *OHIO* (1961)**
The Court ruled that prosecutors may not use evidence obtained in illegal searches (exclusionary rule).

***GIDEON* v. *WAINWRIGHT* (1963)**
The Court said that a defendant accused of a felony has the right to an attorney, which the government must supply if the defendant cannot afford one.

***ESCOBEDO* v. *ILLINOIS* (1964)**
The Court held that a suspect has the right to an attorney when being questioned by police.

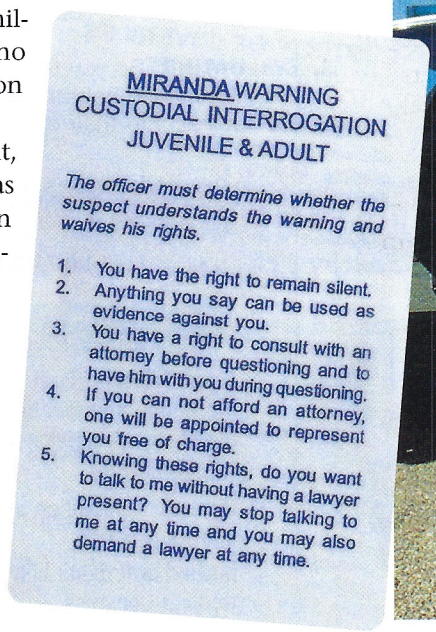
WHY IT MATTERED

Miranda was one of four key criminal justice cases decided by the Warren Court (see Related Cases). In each case, the decision reflected the chief justice's strong belief that all persons deserve to be treated with respect by their government. In *Miranda,* the Court directed police to inform every suspect of his or her rights at the time of arrest and even gave the police detailed instructions about what to say.

The rights of accused people need to be protected in order to ensure that innocent people are not punished. These protections also ensure that federal, state, or local authorities will not harass people for political reasons—as often happened to civil rights activists in the South in the 1950s and 1960s, for example.

Critics of the Warren Court claimed that *Miranda* would lead to more crime because it would become more difficult to convict criminals. Police departments, however, adapted to the decision. They placed the list of suspects' rights mentioned in *Miranda* on cards for police officers to read to suspects. The statement of these rights became known as the Miranda warning and quickly became familiar to anyone who watched a police show on television.

As for the defendant, Ernesto Miranda, he was retried and convicted on the basis of other evidence.



MIRANDA WARNING
CUSTODIAL INTERROGATION
JUVENILE & ADULT

The officer must determine whether the suspect understands the warning and waives his rights.

1. You have the right to remain silent.
2. Anything you say can be used as evidence against you.
3. You have a right to consult with an attorney before questioning and to have him with you during questioning.
4. If you can not afford an attorney, one will be appointed to represent you free of charge.
5. Knowing these rights, do you want to talk to me without having a lawyer present? You may stop talking to me at any time and you may also demand a lawyer at any time.

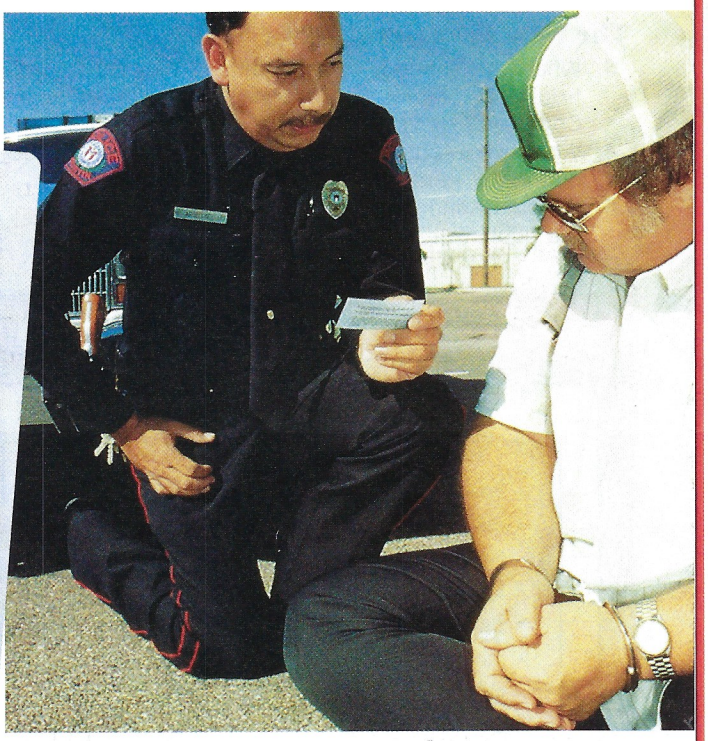
(right) This card is carried by police officers in order to read suspects their rights. (far right) An officer reads a suspect his rights.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

The *Miranda* decision was highly controversial. Critics complained that the opinion would protect the rights of criminals at the expense of public safety.

Since *Miranda,* the Court has continued to try to strike a balance between public safety and the rights of the accused. Several cases in the 1970s and 1980s softened the *Miranda* ruling and gave law enforcement officers more power to gather evidence without informing suspects of their rights. Even so, conservatives still hoped to overturn the *Miranda* decision.

In 2000, however, the Supreme Court affirmed *Miranda* by a 7-to-2 majority in *Dickerson* v. *United States*. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice William Rehnquist argued, "There is no such justification here for overruling *Miranda*. *Miranda* has become embedded in routine police practice to the point where warnings have become part of our national culture."



THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. Drawing Conclusions Critics charged that *Miranda* incorrectly used the Fifth Amendment. The right to avoid self-incrimination, they said, should only apply to trials, not to police questioning. Do you agree or disagree? Why?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R18.

CONNECT TO TODAY

2. INTERNET ACTIVITY CLASSZONE.COM

Visit the links for Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court to research laws and other court decisions related to *Mapp* and *Miranda*. Then, prepare a debate on whether courts should or should not set a guilty person free if the government broke the law in establishing that person's guilt.

CHAPTER 20 ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

1. John F. Kennedy
2. Fidel Castro
3. Berlin Wall
4. hot line
5. New Frontier
6. Peace Corps
7. Warren Commission
8. Great Society
9. Medicare and Medicaid
10. Warren Court

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Kennedy and the Cold War *(pages 670–678)*

1. Explain the factors that led to Kennedy's victory over Nixon in the 1960 presidential campaign. (HI 2)
2. What were the most significant results of the Cuban missile crisis? (11.9.3)

The New Frontier *(pages 679–683)*

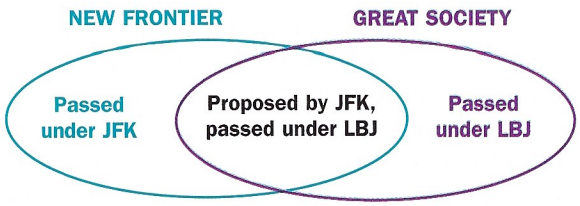
3. What was Kennedy's New Frontier? Why did he have trouble getting his New Frontier legislation through Congress? (11.11.2)
4. What two international aid programs were launched during the Kennedy administration? (11.8.5)
5. How did Kennedy's assassination affect the public? (HI 2)

The Great Society *(pages 686–693)*

6. Describe ways that Great Society programs addressed the problem of poverty. (11.8.4)
7. How did the courts increase the political power of people in urban areas and those accused of crimes? (11.10.6)

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Use a Venn diagram to show the major legislative programs of the New Frontier and the Great Society. (11.8.4)



2. **MAKING GENERALIZATIONS** John F. Kennedy said, "[M]y fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." Do you agree with his view about the relationship between individuals and the country? Explain your opinion. (REP 4)

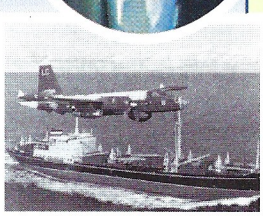
3. **EVALUATING** Do you think the Great Society helped people achieve their hopes of making life better for themselves and their children? Explain. (REP 4)

VISUAL SUMMARY THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

JFK

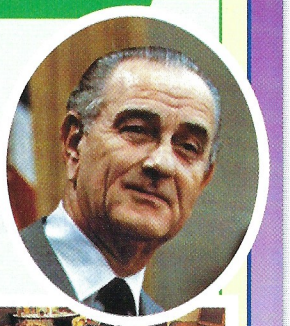
- Peace Corps
- new "flexible response" strategy for Cold War
- Cuban missile crisis
- Bay of Pigs
- race to the moon
- boosted the economy by increasing government spending
- increased minimum wage to $1.25
- extended unemployment insurance
- provided assistance to cities with high unemployment
- supported civil rights

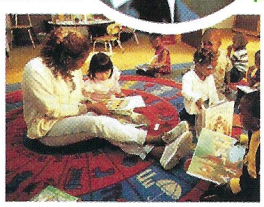




LBJ

- Great Society reform legislation and federal assistance programs
- war on poverty
- increased protection of individual rights
- pushed civil rights bill through Congress
- EOA, VISTA, Project Head Start
- established Medicare and Medicaid
- changed immigration laws to open doors for many non-European immigrants
- furthered environmental movement
- cut taxes but increased budget deficit





Standardized Test Practice

Use the quotation and your knowledge of United States history to answer questions 1 and 2.

> **"It is our purpose to win the Cold War, not merely wage it in the hope of attaining a standoff. . . . [I]t is really astounding that our government has never stated its purpose to be that of complete victory over the tyrannical forces of international communism. . . . We need a declaration that our intention is victory. . . . And we need an official act, such as the resumption of nuclear testing, to show our own peoples and the other freedom-loving peoples of the world that we mean business."**
>
> —Senator Barry Goldwater, address to the U.S. Senate, July 14, 1961

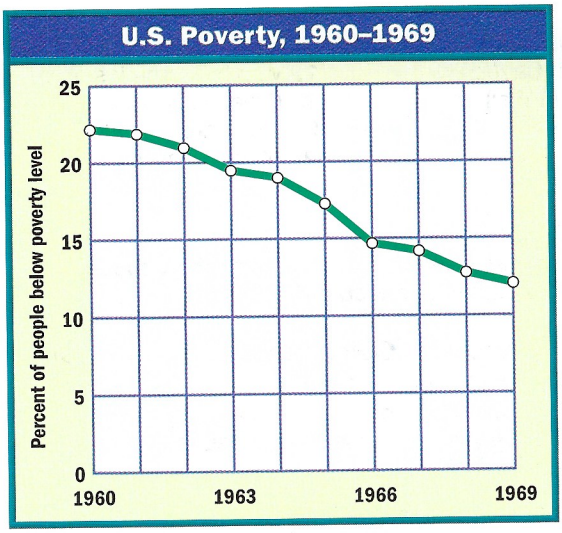
1. Based on the quotation, it is reasonable to infer that Senator Goldwater probably opposed — (11.9.3)

   A. the space race.
   B. the Bay of Pigs invasion.
   C. the Tax Reduction Act.
   D. the Limited Test Ban Treaty.

2. Lyndon Johnson helped to bring about all of the following except — (11.8.4)

   A. the Voting Rights Act.
   B. Head Start.
   C. Social Security.
   D. Medicare.

Use the graph as well as your knowledge of United States history to answer question 3.



3. Which of the following is true about the graph? (HI 1)

   A. Johnson's war on poverty failed.
   B. Poverty began to rise again after 1969.
   C. Poverty decreased throughout the 1960s.
   D. In 1960, the poverty level was about 12%.

ADDITIONAL TEST PRACTICE, pages S1–S33.

TEST PRACTICE CLASSZONE.COM

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT (REP 4, HI 3)

1. INTERACT WITH HISTORY Recall your discussion of the question on p. 669:

What are the qualities of effective leaders?

Write a job description for "U.S. President." Include sections on "Responsibilities" and "Requirements" that list necessary traits and experience.

Think About:

- Kennedy's and Johnson's (and Nixon's) background and style
- the role of the media
- the challenges each leader faced and how he dealt with them
- the American public's tastes and preferences

2. CD-ROM **LEARNING FROM MEDIA** Use the CD-ROM *Electronic Library of Primary Sources* and other resources for Chapter 20. Discuss the following questions in a small group.

- Consider key events such as the Bay of Pigs Invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, and the Berlin crisis. What are the dangers of nuclear armament?
- What are the constitutional responsibilities of the federal government to defend and protect the people of the United States?

Cooperative Learning Activity It is June 1963, and President Kennedy announces his intention to negotiate with the Soviets to limit or halt nuclear testing. What is your reaction to this plan—do you approve or disapprove? Working with a partner, design and create a poster that supports or criticizes President Kennedy's proposal.

CHAPTER 21

CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil Rights activists lead the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.



USA

1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision orders the desegregation of public schools.

1955 Montgomery bus boycott begins.

1956 Dwight D. Eisenhower is reelected.

1957 School desegregation crisis occurs in Little Rock, Arkansas.

1960 John F. Kennedy is elected president.

WORLD

1955

1960



1956 Suez Canal crisis occurs in Egypt.

1957 African nation of Ghana wins independence.



1959 Fidel Castro assumes power in Cuba.