

CHAPTER 18

Prosperity, Idealism, and Commitment

The United States experienced some readjustment problems after World War II. It soon overcame them, however, and entered the greatest era of prosperity it had ever known.

TRUMAN'S PRESIDENCY

When Truman became president in April 1945, he had definite ideas about what he hoped to achieve. But he met stiff opposition to many of his proposals.

1. Return to a Peacetime Economy. To ease the return of U.S. servicemen to civilian life, Congress passed the GI Bill of Rights. It provided them with cash payments, education at government expense, unemployment benefits, and loans to buy homes and businesses.

Instead of war materials, industries began to produce peacetime goods. The removal of price controls and the great demand for consumer goods caused a sharp rise in prices. Demanding pay increases to keep up with the rising cost of living, workers in several major industries went on strike. The higher prices and strikes, together with mounting production costs, led to inflation.

2. A Mixed Record. Unlike Roosevelt, Truman did not start out with solid Democratic support in Congress. He was further weakened after the Republicans won majorities in both houses of Congress in 1946.

a. Labor issues. Congress was able to pass the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) over Truman's veto. It aimed to curb the power of labor unions and to correct labor abuses, such as misuse of union funds. Among other things, it banned (1) the *closed shop* (a plant where only union members may be hired), (2) union contributions to political campaigns, and (3) *jurisdictional strikes* (strikes called when two unions dispute the right to represent workers). The law compelled unions to file annual financial reports. It required union leaders to take an oath that they were not members of the Communist

party. In addition, the law provided for a "cooling-off" period of 60 days before a strike could be called. The Taft-Hartley Act did not end labor abuses, as its backers had hoped. Nor did it decrease union membership, as its opponents had feared.

b. *Twenty-Second Amendment.* Congress disapproved of Roosevelt's length of service, which broke the two-term tradition established by George Washington. It introduced the Twenty-Second Amendment, limiting future presidents to election to two terms in office. The amendment was ratified in 1951.

c. *Civil rights and the election of 1948.* Aiming to help African Americans, Truman asked Congress to enact laws against lynching and poll taxes, and to set up a commission to combat discriminatory hiring practices. Southern senators blocked these proposals by threatening to *filibuster*. Acting on his own, Truman appointed the first African-American federal judge, named African Americans to other federal offices, and began to desegregate the armed forces.

When Truman ran for election in his own right in 1948, Southern Democrats formed the States' Rights ("Dixiecrat") party. Its presidential candidate, Strom Thurmond, was extremely conservative. The Democratic party was further split by leftists who found Truman too conservative. They favored Henry Wallace, candidate of a new Progressive party. The Republicans nominated Thomas E. Dewey, governor of New York. Few people expected Truman to win the election. But he won a surprise victory, and the Democrats regained control of Congress.

d. *The Fair Deal.* After his 1948 election win, Truman launched a domestic reform program that he called the Fair Deal. He expected the Democratic majority in Congress to help pass his proposals. These included an increase in the minimum wage, an expansion of Social Security, increased public housing and slum clearance, federal aid to education, and national health insurance. But Congress enacted only the first three proposals. Concern over helping religious schools blocked federal aid to education. The American Medical Association criticized national health insurance as "socialistic."

THE HUNT FOR SUBVERSIVES

The Cold War made Americans extremely concerned about subversives. (*Subversives* are people who try to weaken or overthrow a government.) As early as 1947, Truman set up loyalty boards to

investigate federal employees. Workers could be fired if there were "reasonable grounds" to believe that they were disloyal. By 1951, more than 3 million employees had been cleared, about 2,000 had resigned, and some 200 had been fired.

1. Important Trials. A series of trials in the late 1940s and early 1950s increased concern over Communist subversion.

a. Hiss. One case involved Alger Hiss, a former high-ranking State Department employee. Journalist Whittaker Chambers accused Hiss of having been a Communist spy in the 1930s. When Hiss denied the charge, he was tried for *perjury* (lying in court under oath). Too much time had passed since the alleged crime had occurred to try him for spying. Hiss was convicted, serving almost four years in prison. This Hiss-Chambers affair cast doubts on the Democratic administration.

b. Rosenbergs. More sensational was the trial of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They were accused of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. The Rosenbergs had been involved with left-wing politics for years. In their trial, they refused to discuss whether they were Communists but denied that they had been spies. They were found guilty of treason in 1951 and were executed.

2. McCarthyism. Widespread fear of subversion prompted Congress to pass the McCarran Act (1950). It required Communist groups to



"I have here in my hand—"

register with the Justice Department and barred Communists from employment in defense plants. It also allowed the deportation of any alien who was a member of a Communist, Nazi, or Fascist organization and forbade the entry of such persons into the United States. Most of the act's provisions were later declared unconstitutional.

In 1950, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin charged that there were 205 Communists (later reduced to 57) in the State Department. A special Senate subcommittee conducted an investigation and declared his charges false. But by then, he had moved on to other targets.

For some four years, McCarthy was constantly in the public eye. He made sweeping attacks on various branches of the government, the Protestant clergy, higher education, and the media. Fearful of being accused of employing subversives, many organizations carried out "witch hunts" of their own. They fired the innocent, along with the guilty. "McCarthyism" came to mean hysterical anticommunism.

McCarthy eventually went too far. He accused the U.S. Army of harboring Communists. Televised hearings before a Senate committee convinced many viewers that McCarthy was a bully and a liar. His influence waned in 1954 when the Senate finally *censured* (officially reprimanded) him for his conduct.

The hysteria finally died down. But it had damaged or destroyed the reputations and careers of many Americans. It also weakened the influence of moderate anti-Communists trying to alert the public to real threats from the Soviet Union.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: GI Bill of Rights, filibuster, States' Rights party, subversives, McCarthyism.

CRITICAL THINKING: How can President Truman be considered a reformer?

EISENHOWER IN THE WHITE HOUSE

When Truman decided not to run again in 1952, the Democrats nominated Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois as their candidate for president. The Republicans chose Dwight D. Eisenhower, a popular hero of World War II. Republicans campaigned on the theme that it was "time for a change" (and time to end the war in Korea). "Ike" Eisenhower scored an overwhelming victory, receiving 442 electoral votes to Stevenson's 89. In 1956, Eisenhower ran against Stevenson

a second time. The president won re-election by an even greater margin than before: 457 to 73.

1. The Middle of the Road. Eisenhower tried to steer a course between extremes. He disliked McCarthy but did not take a public stand against him until late in the senator's career. In foreign affairs, he wanted to keep the Soviets in check without going to war.

Eisenhower's attitude toward the role of the federal government was contradictory. He attacked the Tennessee Valley Authority as an example of "creeping socialism." In his view, state and local ownership of natural resources was preferable to national ownership. And yet, his administration was responsible for two giant federal projects: (1) One was a program for interstate highways. A 41,000-mile network of new, limited-access roads would link most of the nation's cities at a cost of more than \$100 billion. (2) The other was the St. Lawrence Seaway, a huge transportation and hydroelectric project undertaken jointly with Canada. Completed in 1959, it enabled oceangoing vessels to travel from the Atlantic to ports on the Great Lakes.

2. The Warren Court. Probably the most significant appointment of Eisenhower's presidency was that of Earl Warren, former governor of California, as chief justice of the United States. The Warren Court, which lasted from 1953 until 1969, handed down a number of controversial decisions.

a. School desegregation. An African-American girl, Linda Carol Brown, was not allowed to enroll in an all-white public school in Topeka, Kansas. Her father, backed by the NAACP, sued on the grounds that she was being denied equal protection of the laws. In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court had ruled that "separate but equal" accommodations for African Americans and whites

EISENHOWER ON THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

In the councils of Government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the *military-industrial complex*. The potential for the danger-

ous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

—Dwight D. Eisenhower, Farewell Address, January 1961

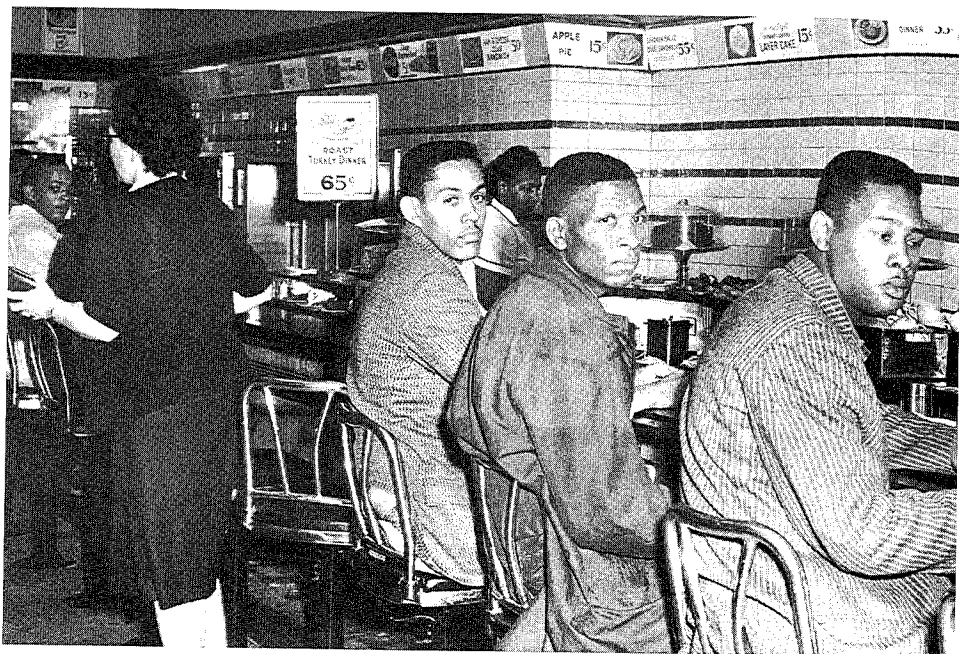
were constitutional. In *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the Court reversed the earlier decision. The justices ruled unanimously that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The Court recommended in 1955 that local school districts carry out *desegregation* "with all deliberate speed." But many Southerners, including 100 members of Congress, vowed to resist desegregation. Every September brought tension, and often violence, as African-American children tried to enroll in white schools. Eisenhower remained silent on the issue until the fall of 1957. When rioting broke out in Little Rock, Arkansas, he sent in federal troops to maintain order. Desegregation in schools and in other public institutions came about slowly.

b. Other decisions. The Warren Court also made far-reaching decisions regarding criminal justice. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Court ruled that persons accused of a felony have a right to free legal services if they are too poor to pay for a lawyer. In *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964), the justices declared that a criminal suspect cannot be denied a lawyer during questioning. The *Miranda v. Arizona* decision (1966) held that suspects must be warned of their rights to be silent or to have a lawyer present when they are questioned. Many Americans opposed these rulings, arguing that they made law enforcement too difficult. Widespread opposition was also touched off by Supreme Court decisions that forbade organized prayer and Bible reading in public schools. Conservative groups even demanded Warren's impeachment.

3. Progress Against Discrimination. Eisenhower completed the desegregation of the armed forces, begun under Truman. In 1957, Congress passed the first civil rights law since Reconstruction. It removed some of the obstacles that prevented African Americans from voting and set up a special division in the Justice Department to protect the rights of African Americans.

But the efforts of African Americans working on their own made the greatest difference in desegregation. Pressure from the NAACP and similar groups spurred the integration of schools and other institutions. In Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested for not giving her bus seat to a white man. African Americans then organized a boycott of the local bus system that eventually led to its desegregation. The boycott's leader, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., gained national prominence as a civil rights activist.



America's first lunch counter sit-in, February 2, 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina.

A VARIETY OF ACHIEVEMENTS

By the mid-20th century, Americans were excelling in almost every field of human endeavor. The products of their ingenuity and creativity, ranging from soft drinks and movies to automobiles and computers, were in demand all over the world.

1. The "Affluent Society." Beginning in the late 1940s, the United States entered a 20-year period of unmatched prosperity. The GNP rose to levels undreamed of earlier. Americans attained one of the highest standards of living the world had ever known. Employment was up and so were wages. Consumer goods, in short supply during the war, now enjoyed record sales. By the mid-1950s, nine out of ten American families owned a refrigerator, three out of four owned at least one car, and three out of five owned a house.

Another postwar phenomenon was a *baby boom*. The soaring birthrate caused the nation's population to grow almost 20 percent between 1950 and 1960. Many families moved to suburbs, attracted by government housing aid, new highways, cheap gasoline, and open spaces.

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith called the United States in the 1950s an "affluent society." But he was very critical of this

READING A TABLE

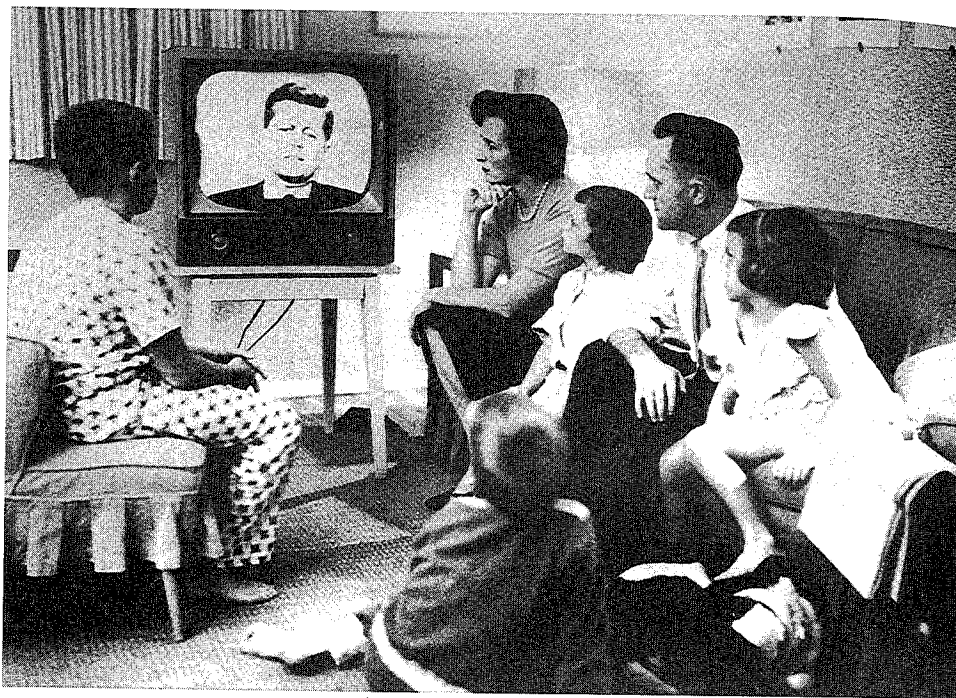
Immigration to the United States, by World Areas, 1951-1980

Area	1951-1960	1961-1970	1971-1980
Europe	1,492,200	1,238,600	801,300
Asia	157,000	445,300	1,633,800
Latin America	841,300	1,579,400	1,929,400
Africa	16,600	39,300	91,500
Australia and New Zealand	5,000	13,600	19,600
Other areas	3,300	5,500	17,700
Total	2,515,400	3,321,700	4,493,300

1. In the period 1951-1960, immigration to the United States was greatest from which area?
2. In the periods 1961-1970 and 1971-1980, immigration to the United States was greatest from which area?
3. After 1960, an area that showed a decline in the number of immigrants coming to the United States was which one?
4. Of the total number of immigrants to the United States in the period 1951-1960, Europeans made up about what percent?

wealth. Many Americans lived well in private, he said, but skimped on public services. Schools, hospitals, parks, and transportation systems were consistently run-down and badly maintained. Furthermore, Galbraith wrote, the affluence was far from universal. In 1957, over 32 million people, nearly one-fifth of the total population, had incomes below the poverty level.

2. Science and Technology. During and after World War II, the government, large corporations, and universities worked together to achieve scientific and technological breakthroughs. The most notable advance was the development of atomic energy, in which refugees from fascist Europe played a key role. They included Albert Einstein from Germany, Enrico Fermi from Italy, and Leo Szilard



and Edward Teller from Hungary. One milestone was the 1954 launching of the first nuclear-powered submarine, the *Nautilus*. Another milestone that same year was the opening of the first U.S. nuclear power plant, at Shippingport, Pennsylvania.

a. Medicine. Advances in medicine helped bring hope to millions. None was more welcome than a polio vaccine developed by Jonas Salk in the early 1950s. Beginning in 1955, millions of Americans took the vaccine. Incidence of the disease dropped 80 percent. It was further reduced after the introduction in 1961 of an oral vaccine developed by Albert Sabin.

In 1963, John Enders got a license for a vaccine that reduced the incidence of measles. Antibiotic drugs developed by Selman Waksman proved useful in treating serious bacterial infections. Antihistamines eased the discomfort of allergy sufferers, while cortisone helped combat such crippling diseases as rheumatoid arthritis.

b. Space. Americans were shocked in 1957 when the Soviet Union sent the first artificial satellite, *Sputnik*, into orbit around the Earth. The United States then stepped up its own space program. In 1958, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was created, and the first U.S. satellite, *Explorer I*, was launched.

The Soviet Union continued to achieve a number of "firsts" in space. It sent a cosmonaut into orbit in 1961, and three cosmonauts in one vehicle in 1964. A Russian made the first "space walk" in 1965.

The United States quickly matched these feats. In 1962, John Glenn became the first American to orbit the Earth. Three years later, the first U.S. space walk was carried out, and two U.S. spaceships completed the world's first meeting in space. In the mid-1960s, NASA began Project Apollo, designed to land astronauts on the moon. In 1969, Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin became the first humans to set foot on the moon's surface.

After Project Apollo, NASA focused on a *space shuttle* program. Unlike earlier projects, this one featured reusable launch vehicles, promising greater economy and, thus, more frequent voyages. American astronauts piloted the world's first reusable space shuttle in 1981.

In 1995, astronaut Norman Thagard joined the crew of an orbiting Soviet space station. From this cooperative venture, NASA learned firsthand how humans react to extended periods in space.

The many space probes—with and without astronauts—have yielded much new data about weather, the sun's rays, and the other planets in our solar system. Orbiting communications satellites now aid in relaying international radio, telephone, and television signals.

c. Electronics. Several innovations, such as X-ray tubes and radio, grew out of the branch of electrical engineering called electronics. But electronics came into its own only with the replacement of bulky vacuum tubes by tiny transistors.

One electronic device that took firm hold in the United States after World War II was television. The first sets for home use were sold in the 1930s, but output was held down by World War II. In 1947, some 14,000 U.S. families owned television sets. The first presidential inauguration to be televised was Truman's in 1949. The national nominating conventions of 1952 were the first to be televised nationally. The new medium demonstrated its power when televised hearings by a Senate committee helped end Senator McCarthy's career in 1954.

Even more revolutionary in its impact on U.S. society was the computer. This electronic device could store huge quantities of data and process it in seconds. The first mass-produced computer went on the market in 1951. Within 20 years, computers were being used to direct space flights; set type; book airline seats; keep inventories; and prepare payrolls, bills, and bank statements. In industry, computers took over many complex operations, from making aspirin to pouring steel. This industrial development, known as *automation*, had a serious drawback—a decrease in the demand for unskilled labor. Computer applications, however, opened up many new jobs for skilled technicians.

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3. Entertainment. After World War II, television replaced radio as the nation's favorite home entertainment. Night after night, whole families sat watching comedy shows, variety programs, and movies. Television excelled in drama, sports, and news. An estimated 600 million people in 49 countries watched Neil Armstrong step out onto the moon. But TV's prime purpose was to sell products, and the general level of programming was low. The chairman of the FCC once called television a "vast wasteland."

Television made spectator sports a bigger business than ever. Millions of fans watched football, baseball, and basketball games. One of the most important sports milestones of the immediate post-war era had little to do with television, however. This was the end of segregation in professional sports. In 1947, Jackie Robinson, hired by the Brooklyn Dodgers, became the first African-American player in major league baseball. In succeeding years, African-American and Hispanic athletes won fame in nearly all sports—from track and basketball to golf and tennis.

Musical entertainment also flourished during and after the war. Outstanding Broadway shows of the period included *Oklahoma!* (1943), *South Pacific* (1949), *The King and I* (1951), and *West Side Story* (1957). These and many similar shows were later produced as movies. A new kind of music, rock and roll, became popular in the 1950s. It combined elements of country music and rhythm and blues, always with an insistent beat. In the 1960s, as rock, this music became more sophisticated, louder (with electronic help), and more elaborately performed.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: military-industrial complex, *Brown v. Board of Education*, baby boom, John Glenn, Rosa Parks.

CRITICAL THINKING: How did electronics change American life after World War II?

THE KENNEDY YEARS

In 1960, the Republicans nominated Eisenhower's vice president, Richard M. Nixon, for president. The Democratic candidate was a young senator from Massachusetts, John Fitzgerald Kennedy (JFK). Millions of Americans watched the two candidates in a series of televised debates. Kennedy projected an image of youth and vigor, while Nixon looked awkward and insecure. Some people wondered if

Kennedy's Roman Catholicism would lose him votes among Protestants. In the end, his religion seemed not to have made a big difference.

In the election, the popular vote was very close. Kennedy received 34,227,000 votes to Nixon's 34,109,000. But Kennedy carried most of the larger states, winning 303 electoral votes to Nixon's 219. Kennedy was the youngest man ever elected president.

1. Foreign Affairs. Soon after his inauguration, Kennedy proposed two new foreign aid programs. Both went into effect in 1961.

a. Peace Corps. The Peace Corps was designed to promote world friendship. Since its founding, the Peace Corps has sent more than 175,000 volunteers to developing countries. They live among the people, teach English, train workers to operate modern machinery, and demonstrate improved methods of farming and sanitation.

b. Alliance for Progress. Much of Latin America suffered from economic distress and political instability. Kennedy asked the countries of the Western Hemisphere "to join a new Alliance for Progress." The project was to use U.S. capital and technical skill to foster Latin American domestic reform and self-help. Unfortunately, funds from the United States were limited and Latin American countries were slow to enact reforms.

c. Bay of Pigs. After the 1959 revolution in Cuba, many Cubans fled to the United States to escape Castro's oppressive rule. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) trained a small army of these exiles to overthrow Castro. In April 1961, with President Kennedy's approval, some 1,500 of these troops were landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. But Kennedy had second thoughts about the invasion and called off planned air support at the last minute. Also, an expected uprising of anti-Castro Cubans did not take place. Within three days, Castro's army had crushed the invaders.

d. Tensions in Germany. Since 1948, the Soviet Union had made periodic attempts to force the United States, Britain, and France to withdraw their troops from West Berlin. In 1961, the Soviets tried again. They also insisted that, before the end of the year, the Allies sign a peace treaty confirming the existing division of Germany. The Allies rejected these demands. Kennedy called for an increase in NATO forces and a buildup of U.S. military strength. Suddenly, the East Germans put up a fortified wall between East and West Berlin. The Berlin Wall closed off an escape route that some 3 million East Germans had used since 1949 to flee to the West.

In response, Kennedy ordered additional U.S. troops to Berlin. He also sent Vice President Lyndon Johnson to assure West Berliners that the United States would not abandon them. Faced with this display of U.S. force and determination, the Soviets backed down on their demands.

e. Cuban Missile Crisis. In the fall of 1962, photographs taken by U.S. planes showed that Soviet technicians were building missile-launching sites and airfields for long-range jet bombers in Cuba. Medium-range missiles were already in place, and installations for intermediate-range missiles were nearing completion. These would be capable of delivering nuclear warheads to most targets in North America.

Kennedy set up a blockade of Cuba by ordering U.S. armed forces to turn back any ship carrying offensive military equipment to the island. He also demanded that existing missiles be dismantled and removed immediately. The Soviet leaders called back ships that were carrying offensive weapons to Cuba and agreed to dismantle their



In August 1963, some 200,000 people assembled in Washington, D.C., to demonstrate for the passage of civil rights laws and legislation to provide more jobs. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke at the rally: "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. . . ."

missile bases and remove the missiles. Kennedy, in turn, promised to lift the blockade and assured the Soviets that the United States would not invade Cuba. Secretly, the United States agreed to dismantle some missiles in Turkey that were aimed at the USSR.

After the Cuban Missile Crisis subsided, the two superpowers agreed to set up a telephone hotline between Moscow and Washington, D.C. Its purpose was to permit instant communication between the two capitals. The two nations, along with Great Britain, signed the Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty in 1963. It banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater (but not underground).

2. The New Frontier. Kennedy called his ambitious domestic program the New Frontier. It included aid to education, medical care for the aged, and tax reforms to encourage economic growth. Although Democrats controlled Congress, its leading members had little interest in reform. As a result, most of Kennedy's proposals bogged down in Congress.

a. Civil rights. Kennedy tried to achieve progress in civil rights without confronting Congress. For instance, when the University of Mississippi refused to admit a black student, he sent in troops to protect the student's right to enroll. The government brought suit in several state courts to secure voting rights for blacks deprived of the franchise. Using his executive powers, Kennedy issued an order barring racial and religious discrimination in federally aided housing.

Civil rights groups continued to fight discrimination. Inspired by the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., they followed a policy of *nonviolent civil disobedience*—peaceful refusal to obey laws regarded as unjust. They held *sit-ins* at segregated public eating places and transportation facilities. In August 1963, peaceful protesters staged a vast March on Washington.

b. Assassination. On November 22, 1963, while riding in an open car to address a luncheon gathering in Dallas, Texas, Kennedy was shot by a sniper and killed. Lee Harvey Oswald was charged with the slaying. But Oswald was murdered before he could be brought to trial. Vice President Johnson was immediately sworn in as president. His confidence and firmness reassured the nation and helped ease the shock of the sudden change in leadership.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Bay of Pigs, Berlin Wall, Cuban Missile Crisis, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., nonviolent civil disobedience, sit-in.

CRITICAL THINKING: What were the aims of the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress? How successful was *each* of these programs?

JOHNSON AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Lyndon Baines Johnson declared his intention to build a "Great Society." His goals included peace and freedom throughout the world, improved living conditions for Americans, and encouragement and support of the arts and sciences. In the first few years of his administration, Johnson won congressional approval for several key Kennedy proposals and for a number of his own Great Society recommendations.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been one of Kennedy's proposals. It contained some of the broadest guarantees of equal rights for African Americans ever passed by Congress. The federal government gained additional authority to speed school desegregation, curb violations of voting rights, and end racial discrimination by employers and unions. The act also outlawed segregation in such public places as hotels, restaurants, stores, and theaters.

1. Democratic Victory in 1964. Johnson was the natural Democratic choice for president in 1964. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota was picked as his running mate. The Republicans chose Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona, a conservative, as their presidential candidate.

Goldwater called for a more aggressive policy toward communism abroad. On domestic matters, he felt that the expanding powers of the federal government were destroying Americans' self-reliance and freedoms. He was particularly critical of social welfare programs. Goldwater also believed that civil rights issues should be handled by the states and local communities.

Johnson emphasized the need for restraint in foreign policy in order to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. He defended the welfare state and pledged to expand the federal programs already in effect. Johnson won by a landslide. He received a record-breaking popular vote of 43 million to Goldwater's 27 million, and 486 electoral votes to his opponent's 52. The Democrats also strengthened their hold on Congress.

2. New Programs. Before his victory in 1964, Johnson had declared a "War on Poverty" and set up an Office of Economic Opportunity to

coordinate this many-sided effort. A Job Corps aimed to train unemployed youths. A domestic peace corps, called VISTA, sent volunteers into poor regions of the United States. After the election, Johnson persuaded Congress to pass Project Head Start, which offered preschool learning programs for poor children, and a Community Action Program, which was designed to help city neighborhoods. Johnson also focused his attention on securing laws to broaden civil rights, provide medical care for the aged, improve education, reduce environmental pollution, and revitalize inner cities.

The Immigration Act of 1965 would change the face of immigration to the United States. It provided that the former system of national quotas be eliminated by July 1968. Instead, it set up a new quota system, one that especially favored immigrants from the Western Hemisphere and from Asia. (See the table on page 359.)

Conservatives opposed the growth in federal programs. Even Americans who favored Johnson's aims felt that many of the projects were poorly planned and administered. When ambitious schemes did not succeed, people became disappointed and angry. Beginning in 1964, urban riots destroyed buildings and took lives summer after summer, particularly in poor African-American neighborhoods.

WAR IN VIETNAM

The main reason for Johnson's limited success with his Great Society programs was the country's increasing involvement with the war in Vietnam.

1. Background. In 1954, France gave up Vietnam, its former colony in Southeast Asia. The country was then divided into two states—a Communist one in the north and an anti-Communist one in the south. In North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh led the Vietminh party, which ruled with Soviet and Chinese support. In South Vietnam, the United States supported a pro-Western government that was fighting local Vietminh sympathizers there (known as the Vietcong). U.S. leaders feared a *domino effect* in Southeast Asia. They believed that if one non-Communist country there became Communist, nearby countries would topple until the whole region was in the Communist camp.

In 1956, South Vietnam refused to permit an election aimed at uniting all of Vietnam. South Vietnamese officials became increasingly dictatorial in their efforts to suppress the Vietcong. In 1959, North Vietnam began to arm and train the Vietcong to overthrow the South Vietnamese government. In response, the United States

increased its aid to South Vietnam. The Kennedy administration sent more military equipment and more advisers to the South Vietnamese army. But South Vietnam was unable to curb the Vietcong.

2. Increased U.S. Involvement. Lyndon Johnson was determined not to let South Vietnam fall to communism. In 1964, two U.S. destroyers reported that North Vietnamese gunboats had fired on them in the Gulf of Tonkin. Johnson asked Congress to pass a resolution authorizing the president to “take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.” Armed with this *Tonkin Gulf Resolution*, Johnson poured troops into South Vietnam. North Vietnam countered by sending its troops into the south. The United States then bombed strategic targets in North Vietnam. By mid-1968, more than 500,000 U.S. troops were fighting in South Vietnam. Thousands more were stationed on ships offshore and at nearby bases. U.S. war costs rose sharply—from \$6 billion in 1966 to \$29 billion in 1969.

3. Opposition to the War. By 1967, there was widespread opposition in the United States to the increasing *escalation* (stepping up) of the war. Nightly TV newscasts showed U.S. “search-and-destroy” missions causing Vietnamese civilians great suffering. A growing number of Americans felt that the United States should not inter-



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fere in what they considered a civil war. Some criticized the South Vietnamese government as corrupt and undemocratic, and thus not worth defending. Opponents of the war held peace demonstrations and protested against the draft.

Johnson's popularity declined. In the presidential campaign of 1968, antiwar Democrats challenged him for the party's nomination. In March of that year, Johnson ordered a halt to U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. He also stated that he would neither seek nor accept nomination for another term.

The presidential campaign of 1968 centered largely on the war in Vietnam. The Democrats nominated Johnson's vice president, Hubert Humphrey, who defended the administration's record. The Republicans chose former Vice President Richard Nixon, who pledged to end the war but offered few concrete suggestions for doing so. A Democratic split aided Nixon. Antiwar Democrats gave Humphrey only lukewarm support. Many conservative Democrats favored George Wallace's American Independent party. In the election, Nixon's popular margin was not large, but his electoral votes were substantial—302 to Humphrey's 191.

Four years later, Nixon ran for a second term. His Democratic opponent was Senator George McGovern of South Dakota. Nixon scored an overwhelming victory, carrying 49 states.

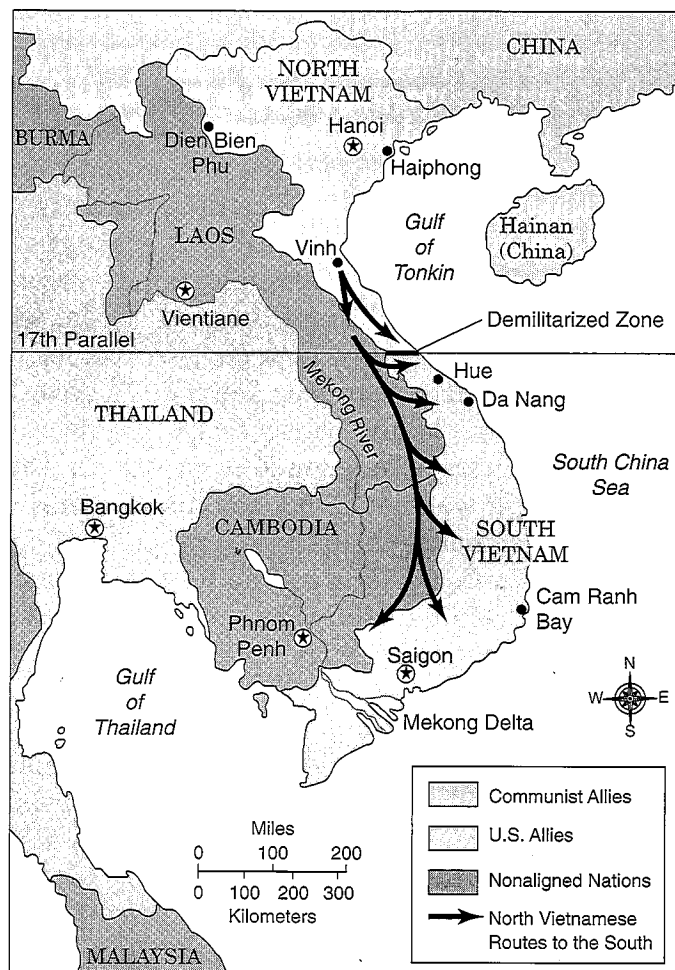
4. Continuing Conflict. Nixon continued cease-fire talks that had begun late in Johnson's term. And he urged "Vietnamization" of the war. By this he meant that the South Vietnamese should begin to assume a larger share of the fighting. From 1969 to 1972, almost 500,000 U.S. soldiers were pulled out of Vietnam, leaving about 60,000. Protests against the war died down in 1969.

Then in the spring of 1970, Nixon sent thousands of U.S. troops to destroy North Vietnamese supply sites in Cambodia. Massive antiwar demonstrations sprang up again in Washington, D.C., in other cities, and on college campuses. At Kent State University in Ohio, members of the National Guard killed four students taking part in an antiwar rally.

Later in the year, Congress repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Nixon, however, ignored this move. In the spring of 1972, the North Vietnamese launched an all-out drive against key South Vietnamese positions. Nixon then resumed the bombing of strategic targets in North Vietnam. He also authorized the mining of North Vietnamese ports and the bombing of rail and highway links with China. The heaviest U.S. bombings of the war occurred in December 1972.

READING A MAP

War in Southeast Asia, 1964–1976



1. Name *three* Southeast Asian countries that were officially neutral or nonaligned.
2. What river flows past the capital cities of two of these countries?
3. Which location would more likely have been the site of a large U.S. military base in the 1960s—Haiphong or Cam Ranh Bay?
4. Through which non-Vietnamese countries did North Vietnam send soldiers and supplies to South Vietnam?

5. Cease-Fire and Final Withdrawal. Formal peace talks had been going on in Paris since 1968. Finally, in January 1973, the delegates hammered out an agreement that was acceptable to all. Despite this cease-fire, fighting soon erupted again throughout South Vietnam. Early in 1975, the North Vietnamese launched a major offensive. The South Vietnamese army retreated. At the end of April, South Vietnam surrendered. In 1976, North and South Vietnam were reunited as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Hanoi was made its capital. Native Communist groups, aided by North Vietnam, also gained control of two neighboring countries—Laos and Cambodia.

By war's end, U.S. casualties totaled more than 57,000 dead and 150,000 wounded. U.S. war costs were in excess of \$100 billion. At least a million Vietnamese, both southerners and northerners, died as a result of the war. Countless others were wounded or made homeless. The Vietnam War was the longest war in U.S. history.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: War on Poverty, Job Corps, VISTA, Tonkin Gulf Resolution, Vietnamization.

CRITICAL THINKING: What problems at home and abroad limited the effectiveness of President Johnson's domestic reform programs?

Chapter Review

MATCHING TEST

Column A

1. Jonas Salk
2. Jackie Robinson
3. John Glenn
4. Rosa Parks
5. Earl Warren

Column B

- a. first African American in major league baseball
- b. person responsible for famous bus boycott in 1955
- c. chief justice of United States from 1953 to 1969
- d. first U.S. astronaut in space
- e. inventor of polio vaccine

 **MULTIPLE-CHOICE TEST**

1. The Taft-Hartley Act was an attempt to (a) legalize the closed shop (b) curb the power of big labor (c) prohibit collective bargaining (d) prevent the growth of craft unions.
2. The Twenty-Second Amendment (a) abolished prohibition (b) changed the date of presidential inaugurations (c) limited presidents to two terms (d) lowered the voting age.
3. Truman's Fair Deal proposals included all of the following *except* (a) school desegregation (b) increased public housing (c) national health insurance (d) federal aid to education.
4. The Bay of Pigs is in (a) Vietnam (b) Cuba (c) Germany (d) Russia.
5. The Alliance for Progress was aimed at ending economic hardship in (a) Southeast Asia (b) Africa (c) Latin America (d) Southwest Asia.
6. All of the following took place during Eisenhower's administration *except* (a) the beginning of an interstate highway program (b) construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway (c) the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (d) the Rosenbergs' trial.
7. In the case of *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Supreme Court ruled that (a) legislative districts should be redrawn (b) organized school prayer is unconstitutional (c) criminal suspects have to be told of their rights before they are questioned (d) everyone being tried for a felony is entitled to a lawyer.
8. U.S. astronauts first set foot on the moon in (a) 1957 (b) 1958 (c) 1964 (d) 1969.
9. The use of computers to direct industrial operations is known as (a) miniaturization (b) electronics (c) automation (d) the factory system.
10. One outcome of the Cuban Missile Crisis was the establishment of a telephone hotline between Washington, D.C., and (a) London (b) Havana (c) Berlin (d) Moscow.

**ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. What was McCarthyism? When and why did it flourish? What were its main results?

2. Describe the background of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. What did the Supreme Court rule? Why was its decision important?
3. Describe *two* other major decisions of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Warren. Why were they controversial?
4. What led to the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962? How was the crisis resolved?
5. What was an argument in support of U.S. involvement in Vietnam? Against U.S. involvement? Formulate a position on the war as if you were a college student in 1970.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

This question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). It will improve your ability to work with historical documents.

Historical Context:

During the 1950s and 1960s, the United States entered a period of prosperity it had never known before. But it was a prosperity that could not hide discontent.

Task:

Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, read each document and answer the question that follows it. Your answers to the questions will help you write the document-based essay.

Document 1. Study the cartoon on page 354.

The person in the cartoon was so well known to the public in the early 1950s that the cartoonist did not have to identify him. Who is the person in the cartoon and what was the cartoonist accusing him of doing?

Document 2. Excerpt from Jack Kerouac's book *On the Road*, first published in 1957:

[T]he only people for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, . . . the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn like fabulous yellow roman candles exploding like spiders across the stars.

Source: Kerouac, Jack. *On the Road*. NY: Penguin Group (USA), 2002, p. 8.

What do you think Kerouac meant by the word “mad,” which he used four times?

Document 3. Study the photograph on page 358.

What is the significance of what is happening in the photograph?

Document 4. Excerpt from Michael Harrington’s book *The Other America*, first published in 1962:

The poor live in a culture of poverty. . . . The poor get sick more than anyone else in the society. . . . When they become sick, they are sick longer than any other group in the society. Because they are sick more often and longer than anyone else, they lose wages and work, and find it difficult to hold a steady job. And because of this, they cannot pay for good housing, for a nutritious diet, for doctors . . . [and] their prospect is to move to an even lower level . . . toward even more suffering.

Source: Reprinted with permission of Scribner, an imprint of Simon & Schuster Adult Publishing Group from *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, by Michael Harrington, p. 15. Copyright © 1962, © 1969, © 1981 by Michael Harrington; copyright renewed © 1990 by Stephanie Harrington.

What do you think Harrington meant by the term “culture of poverty”?

Document 5. Excerpt from Betty Friedan’s book *The Feminine Mystique*, 1963:

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—“Is this all?”

Source: Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique*. NY: Dell Publishing Co. Copyright © 1983, 1974, 1973, 1963. Used by permission of W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.

What did Friedan think women in the 1950s were yearning for?

Document 6. Excerpt from a speech by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., in which for the first time he publicly opposed U.S. involvement in the war in Vietnam, April 4, 1967:

Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak as a child of God and brother to the suffering poor of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home, and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken. I speak as one who loves America, to the leaders of our own nation: The great initiative in this war is ours; the initiative to stop it must be ours.

Source: www.mousemusings.com/musings/social/text_beyond_vietnam.html

Why did King feel that he had to speak out against the war?

DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY

Using information from the above documents and your knowledge of United States history, write an essay in which you:

- Explain whether U.S. prosperity in the 1950s and early 1960s could hide discontent among Americans.