

Chapter 17

**“Ask not what your country can do for you—
ask what you can do
for your country.”**

—President John F. Kennedy



KENNEDY'S EARLY CHALLENGES

When you commit to something, you know how important it is to follow through. In 1960, both presidential candidates promised to fight communism aggressively. John Kennedy won the election and had to act quickly on his commitment.

THE 1960 ELECTION

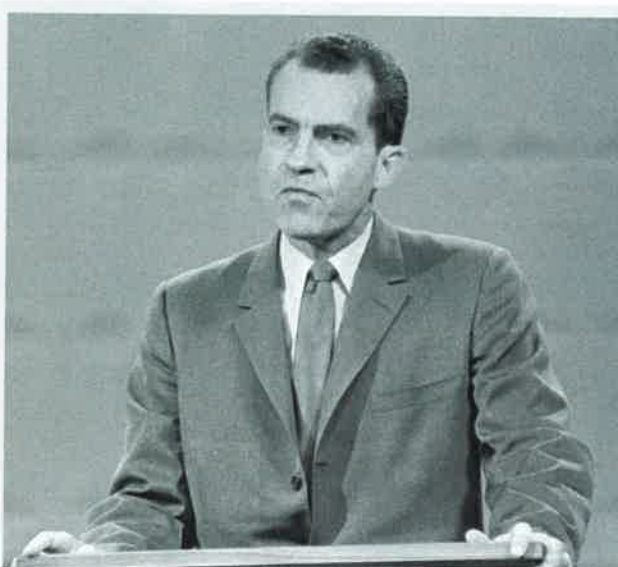
In the previous chapter, you read about John F. Kennedy's fight for the civil rights movement. Before that battle, he had fought hard to become president. In the 1960 election, both presidential candidates were tough, hard-driving campaigners. The Republicans ran Eisenhower's vice president Richard M. Nixon against then-Senator John Kennedy, the Democratic candidate. The men were the first two presidential candidates born in the 20th century, and both had entered Congress in 1946 after serving as junior naval officers during World War II.

But that was where the similarities ended. Nixon, 47, had grown up in modest circumstances. His Quaker parents ran a grocery store in Whittier, California,

near Los Angeles, where Nixon worked as a boy. After his service in the Navy, Nixon's political rise was swift, helped by his strong stance against communism. Nixon then went on to win a U.S. Senate seat in 1950 after accusing his Democratic opponent, Helen Gahagan Douglas, of being "soft on communism." From 1953 to 1960, Nixon served as vice president, where he emerged as a vocal leader of the Republican Party.

John Kennedy, on the other hand, grew up in Boston, a child of wealth and privilege. A Catholic, Kennedy attended the finest private schools and graduated from Harvard University. Though he was elected to Congress in 1946 and to the Senate in 1952, Kennedy did not really stand out as a legislator. Nonetheless,

CRITICAL VIEWING On September 26, 1960, Kennedy and Nixon met in the first-ever televised presidential debate. What details in the photos convey how the two men might have come across to voters watching on television?



The 1960 Election

John F. Kennedy, Democrat

Electoral Vote: 303 votes, 56.5%

Popular Vote: 34,227,096, 49.7%

Richard M. Nixon, Republican

Electoral Vote: 219 votes, 40.75%

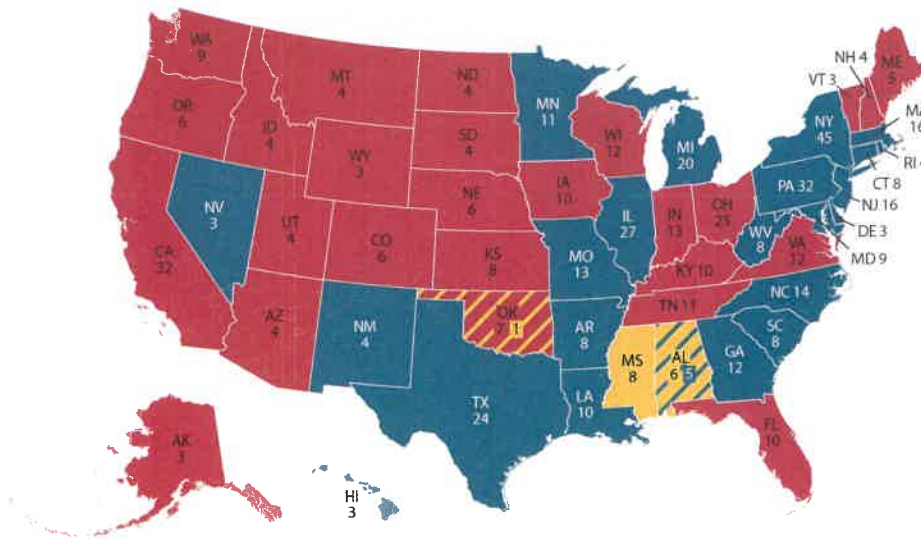
Popular Vote: 34,107,646, 49.6%

Harry Byrd, Democrat*

Electoral Vote: 15 votes, 2.75%

Popular Vote: 0, 0%

*Although he was not formally a candidate, electors in three states cast votes for Democratic Senator Harry Byrd.



he showed a desire to run for higher office. In 1956, he was nearly chosen to be the Democratic vice presidential candidate. Over the next four years, Kennedy traveled the country with his wife, Jacqueline, to build support for a 1960 presidential run. The couple drew crowds wherever they went.

For his running mate, Nixon chose Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., a respected politician who served in the Senate and as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Like Kennedy, Lodge was from Massachusetts, and Nixon hoped his roots in the Northeast would help make the Republican ticket competitive in Kennedy's home region. Meanwhile, Kennedy surprised almost everyone by selecting Senator Lyndon Johnson, a longtime rival, as his running mate. Johnson was a Texan who held liberal political views. Kennedy felt Johnson, as a Texan, could help win votes in the conservative South without losing votes in the more liberal North.

Nixon campaigned largely on Eisenhower's record, reminding Americans that the United States was prosperous and at peace. Kennedy attacked that record without criticizing the popular Eisenhower directly. He portrayed the United States as reacting too slowly to a changing world and promised new leadership "to get the country moving once again." Kennedy had two main obstacles to overcome: a prejudice against Catholics that ran through U.S. history, and his inexperience—he was 43 years old. Kennedy addressed the religion issue in a powerful speech in the fall of 1960 in which he vowed to uphold the constitutional separation of church and state. He dispelled much doubt about his inexperience during a series of debates with Nixon.

For the first time in a presidential election, the debates were televised, which benefited Kennedy.

The first debate had the greatest impact, as more than 80 million Americans watched on television or listened by radio. Though both candidates spoke well, the handsome, well-groomed Kennedy radiated confidence and charm on the TV screen, while Nixon appeared awkward and ill at ease.

Kennedy won the election, but the popular vote was the closest since the presidential election of 1888. A difference of several thousand votes in Texas and Illinois, where there were charges of **voter fraud**, or illegal manipulation of ballots, would have given the election to Nixon.

TROUBLE IN CUBA

President Kennedy charged into office in 1961 with ambitious plans both at home and abroad, and with increased powers in response to the Cold War. He immediately had to focus on a growing foreign policy crisis. The threat of communism had emerged on the small island nation of Cuba, just 90 miles south of Florida. In 1959, a year before Kennedy's election, communist revolutionaries led by **Fidel Castro** had overthrown Fulgencio Batista, the dictator of Cuba. Castro seized control of most of the country's industries and drove out foreign investors. Those investors, many of whom were Americans, lost millions of dollars. Thousands of Cubans who had supported Batista fled to the United States, mostly to Florida. They settled largely around Miami, where they would help shape the culture and politics of the region for years to come.

Castro quickly joined the Soviet bloc, establishing economic and military ties with the Soviet Union. Americans responded with alarm, as they now faced an ally of the Soviet Union located just off their shores. Soviet leader **Nikita Khrushchev** (nih-KEE-tuh KROOsh-chehf) warned the United

States not to interfere with Cuba, promising to defend his new ally with nuclear weapons, if necessary. In response, the United States issued a trade embargo against Cuba.

THE BAY OF PIGS

As tensions grew between the United States and Cuba, Kennedy put into action a plan developed by the Eisenhower administration to overthrow Castro's government. The covert, or secret, plan called for anti-Castro exiles, trained and equipped by the CIA, to invade Cuba and trigger an anticommunist revolution. On April 17, 1961, 1,500 exiles waded ashore at the **Bay of Pigs**, on Cuba's southern coast. The attack fell apart almost immediately. The landing site contained sharp coral reefs and swampy terrain, making it hard to unload supplies and move out from the beaches. In addition, Cuban intelligence already knew of the plan from gossip among Cuban exiles in Miami. Cuban forces fired on the invaders as they came ashore. More than 100 of the anti-Castro exiles were killed, and most of the rest were captured.

The invasion was a humiliating defeat for the United States. American aggression in the region angered Cubans and other Latin Americans and drove Castro even closer to the Soviet Union. After reviewing the events with his advisors, Kennedy took a walk on the White House lawn. It was "the first time in my life," a friend recalled, "that I ever saw tears come to his eyes." Nonetheless, the president continued trying to overthrow Castro. During his administration, he approved a top-secret program, code-named Operation Mongoose, intended to topple the Cuban government and assassinate its leaders. U.S. officials also devised plans to destroy Cuba's vital sugar crop and even send a box of exploding cigars to Castro. The plans never materialized. In hindsight, one Kennedy aide called the overall effort against Cuba "an expensive and embarrassing failure."

THE BERLIN WALL

Shortly after the Bay of Pigs, Kennedy faced another communist challenge, this time in Europe. As you have read, following World War II, Germany was divided into democratic West Germany and communist East Germany. Berlin, the capital of Germany and its largest city, was located entirely within East Germany and itself was divided into three Western-occupied zones that made up West Berlin, and East Berlin, a Soviet-occupied zone. By the early 1960s, the division of Berlin was proving an embarrassment to Khrushchev. West Berlin thrived as a model of democracy and capitalism, while East

PRIMARY SOURCE

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen. Let them come to Berlin.

—from President John F. Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech, June 26, 1963

Berlin was communist. Each day, more than 1,000 refugees from East Berlin poured into West Berlin seeking a better life. As a result, East Germany was losing many skilled workers to the West.

In August 1961, East German officials constructed a wall of concrete that encircled West Berlin. Intended to stop the migration from East Berlin and from surrounding East Germany to West Berlin, the **Berlin Wall** stretched 27 miles and divided the city in two. It stopped the flow of refugees across the border and for decades would stand as a symbol of the division between the **Western bloc** and the **Soviet bloc** nations of Europe. The presence of the wall heightened the anxiety of the Cold War.

Kennedy chose not to challenge the building of the Berlin Wall, but he did make a historic visit to the site in June 1963. Thousands of West Berliners greeted him with flowers and confetti. In a brief speech to a crowd of 120,000 people, Kennedy praised the city and declared his solidarity with its citizens. "Today," he declared, "Ich bin ein Berliner (I am a Berliner)!"

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** Why did the United States launch the Bay of Pigs invasion? Why did the mission fail?
2. **EVALUATE** Using text evidence, explain how you think historical events influenced Kennedy's decision not to challenge the building of the Berlin Wall.
3. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** What did the Berlin Wall seem to say about life under communism?
4. **INTERPRET MAPS** Examine the 1960 election map. Why would Nixon have won the election if he had won Illinois and Texas?



CRITICAL VIEWING Built around 1790, the Brandenburg Gate served as a monument at an entry point to the city of Berlin. When Berlin was divided, the gate was on the border, barely within East Berlin, as shown in the top photo from around 1965. In the 1981 photo below, a West Berlin policeman patrols in front of a sign that reads, "Caution: You are leaving West Berlin." What do the photos reveal about people's feelings about the division of East and West Berlin?



KENNEDY EMBRACES PROGRESS

"The Best and the Brightest" was the nickname some observers gave to John Fitzgerald Kennedy's administration. Young, well-educated, and full of new ideas, his team was eager to make its mark and continue moving the nation forward.

THE NEW FRONTIER

Kennedy's ambitious presidential agenda became known as the **New Frontier**, a reference to a new decade and new opportunities awaiting the nation. Kennedy believed that creative problem solving could help the United States win friends overseas, resolve economic challenges at home and abroad, and achieve scientific and technological feats only imagined by others.

Kennedy's administration shared the president's optimism and confidence in problem solving. The new secretary of state, Dean Rusk, came from the Rockefeller Foundation, while the new defense secretary, Robert McNamara, had resigned as president of the Ford Motor Company so he could help restructure the nation's armed forces. You might recall that Kennedy chose his younger brother Robert Kennedy to serve as his attorney general.

SUCCESS AND SETBACK

A key domestic priority for Kennedy and his team was re-energizing the U.S. economy. Economic growth in the Eisenhower years had been steady but increasingly slow. Real wages for an average family rose a remarkable 20 percent in the 1950s. However, a series of recessions toward the end of Eisenhower's second term prompted a drop in factory production and a rise in unemployment. By the time Kennedy took office, more Americans were out of work than at any other time since the end of World War II. In 1961, Kennedy devised an economic plan that called for a major tax cut for consumers and businesses. He hoped the tax cut would boost the economy by encouraging both individuals and businesses to spend more. The plan successfully achieved low unemployment, stable prices, and

steady growth. He pushed through Congress increases in various Social Security benefits, including an increase in the minimum monthly retirement benefit from \$33 to \$40. Kennedy also asked for and received a raise in the minimum wage, from \$1 to \$1.25 an hour.

Congress did not support all of Kennedy's plans, however. It defeated a number of the president's proposals, including an effort to increase education spending for school construction and higher teacher salaries. For the most part, Kennedy moved cautiously in pushing his domestic agenda, including the push for civil rights, as you have read. Since he had won the election by a slim margin, he lacked the widespread popularity that might have enabled him to do more.

In addition, Republicans and conservative southern Democrats in Congress were largely opposed to expanding the power and reach of the federal government. Kennedy understood this, so he picked his battles carefully and only pushed on those proposals he thought were most critical. One of them was a civil rights bill designed to strengthen the weak bills that had passed in 1957 and 1960. The new bill would eventually pass and would become an important step toward achieving equal rights for all.

STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIPS

President Kennedy bypassed Congress to implement one of his most famous and lasting programs. On March 1, 1961, Kennedy issued an executive order, or a legally binding directive from a president, to create the **Peace Corps** and named R. Sargent Shriver, the husband of Kennedy's sister Eunice, as its director. The first group of 51 Peace Corps volunteers arrived



A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE The Peace Corps proved to be one of Kennedy's most successful and long-lasting endeavors. By 2016, the Peace Corps had sent more than 220,000 volunteers to 140 nations throughout the world. In Cambodia in 2014, a volunteer helps villagers develop safe and nutritious food practices, including managing gardens and preparing healthy meals.

in Accra, the capital of the African nation of Ghana, in August 1961, to serve as teachers. Within 6 years, the Peace Corps sent thousands of American volunteers to 55 underdeveloped nations, or nations with a low standard of living compared with other nations, to provide educational and technical assistance.

With a tiny budget, the Peace Corps became one of Kennedy's great triumphs, showcasing American idealism and know-how throughout the world. A geopolitical consequence of the Cold War, American leaders viewed the Peace Corps as not only a humanitarian program, but also a vital tool in the fight against communism. By spreading American goodwill and improving living conditions in underdeveloped nations, the president and others hoped the Peace Corps would help prevent countries from embracing communism.

With this same goal in mind—winning more allies and undermining communism—the Kennedy administration worked to strengthen its Latin American policy. During the 1940s and 1950s, the United States had focused primarily on assisting Europe and confronting the Soviet Union, resulting in a weakening of relationships with Latin American countries. After seeing Cuba turn communist, however, American leaders moved to improve relations with the larger Latin American world. In 1961, Kennedy persuaded Congress

PRIMARY SOURCE

In his inaugural address, Kennedy outlined a progressive agenda that included a pledge to help the citizens of poverty-stricken nations—a pledge from which the Peace Corps grew.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

—from John Kennedy's Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961



With John Glenn standing beside him, President Kennedy (left) looks inside *Friendship 7* in 1962, after Glenn's historic mission to orbit the earth.

to fund the **Alliance for Progress**, an aid program to improve education, health, and economic conditions in Latin America. During its first year alone, the program provided more than \$1 billion in aid to various countries. The effort achieved mixed results. Some corrupt leaders misspent the money, and communism ultimately gained a foothold in some Latin American countries. In the end, however, houses, schools, electrical grids, roads, and hospitals were built, and children fed.

THE SPACE RACE

One of Kennedy's boldest proposals involved expansion of the space program. Shortly after taking office, the president declared the United States would put a man on the moon before the end of the decade, and he persuaded Congress to allocate between \$7 billion and \$9 billion for space research.

As with many of his other initiatives, the Cold War drove Kennedy's push for technological development in space travel. In addition to their arms race, the United States and Soviet Union engaged in a **space race**, or the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union to see who would dominate in its ability to travel in and collect data from space.

The competition had begun in the late 1950s, after the Soviets launched the first satellite, *Sputnik 1*, and President Eisenhower responded with the creation of NASA to advance space exploration. In 1959, NASA

carefully selected seven men for the first class of American astronauts, or space travelers. These astronauts trained for nearly two years as part of Project Mercury. The scientists' primary goal for Project Mercury was to send a manned spacecraft into orbit around the earth. Doing so naturally entailed the astronauts returning to Earth unharmed, with their spacecraft intact. While in space and afterward, scientists closely monitored the physical effects of space travel on the astronauts' bodies, gathering data to improve safety and technology for future launches.

By the time Kennedy took office, both countries were making bold advances into space—and captivating the world. In April 1961, Soviet cosmonaut—the Russian term for *astronaut*—Yuri Gagarin orbited Earth in less than

two hours. A month later, American Alan Shepard rocketed 300 miles from Cape Canaveral into space. In February 1962, American John Glenn achieved the historic feat of orbiting Earth three times aboard *Friendship 7* before splashing down in the Caribbean Sea. Glenn became a national hero, celebrated with ticker-tape parades and a televised address before a joint session of Congress.

Throughout the 1960s, astronauts were cheered as heroes and celebrities as the media closely followed space-race developments. The space race would have a huge impact on the world, producing dramatic scientific and technological advances with far-reaching applications in a surprisingly short amount of time.

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** What important roles did the Peace Corps serve in the context of the Cold War?
- 2. DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Why might some people consider the Alliance for Progress a failure despite its successes?
- 3. FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** How was Kennedy both bold and cautious in promoting his presidential agenda? Support your opinion with evidence from the text.
- 4. MAKE CONNECTIONS** What effects did the space race have on society and the economy?



Sputnik 1

THE SPACE RACE

The original
NASA logo



SOVIET UNION

OCT. 4 *Sputnik 1*, the first satellite, launches into orbit.

NOV. 3 *Sputnik 2* launches "space-dog" Laika, who died during the mission, into orbit.

MAY 15 *Sputnik 3* is successfully launched, after a failed attempt in April of that year.

JAN. 4 *Luna 1* becomes the first satellite to reach heliocentric orbit.

SEPT. 14 *Luna 2* is the first man-made object to reach the moon.

AUG. 19 *Sputnik 5* launches "space-dogs" Strelka and Belka into orbit; they are the first living creatures to survive a space voyage.

APRIL 12 Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human in space.

APRIL 12 Cosmonaut Andriyan Nikolayev orbits Earth 64 times aboard *Vostok 3* to test the endurance of humans and spacecraft.

JUNE 16 Cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova becomes the first woman in space.

OCT. 12 With 3 cosmonauts aboard, *Voskhod 1* becomes the first spacecraft to carry a multiperson crew into orbit.

MARCH 18 Cosmonaut Alexey Leonov takes the first spacewalk.

FEB. 3 The *Luna 9* probe achieves the first soft landing on the moon, and sends back the first photographs from the moon's surface.

OCT. 30 *Cosmos 186* and *Cosmos 188* are successfully docked in space via Earth-based remote control.

SEPT. 15 *Zond 5* orbits the moon with worms, insects, and two tortoises aboard. It returns to Earth with all its "passengers" alive and healthy.

JAN. 16 *Soyuz 4* and *Soyuz 5* dock in space and exchange crew members via spacewalk.

UNITED STATES

DEC. 6 America attempts to launch the Vanguard TV3 satellite, but the rocket explodes on the launchpad.

JAN. 31 *Explorer 1* becomes the first American satellite to reach orbit.

JULY 28 The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) is established.

FEB. 17 *Vanguard 1*, the first solar-powered satellite, is launched.

APRIL 1 *TIROS 1*, the first weather observation satellite, is put into orbit.

MAY 5 Alan Shepard becomes the first American astronaut in space.

MAY 25 President Kennedy announces the United States will land a man on the moon by the end of the decade.

FEB. 20 Astronaut John Glenn becomes the first American to orbit Earth.

JULY 19 *X-15*, the first reusable piloted spacecraft, is launched. The craft goes on to complete 15 successful missions.

AUG. 19 *Syncom 3*, the first satellite to achieve geostationary orbit, is launched.

JUNE 3 Astronaut Ed White becomes the first American to perform a spacewalk.

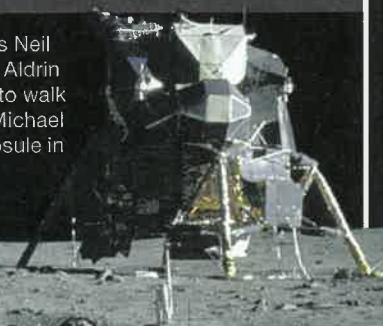
JUNE 2 *Surveyor 1* lands on the moon, sending back photos and data.

JAN. 27 Project Apollo is temporarily paused when astronauts Gus Grissom, Ed White, and Roger Chaffee are killed by a fire during prelaunch testing.

DEC. 21 *Apollo 8* launches; astronauts Frank Borman, James Lovell, and William Anders become the first humans to orbit the moon and return to Earth.

JULY 20 Astronauts Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin are the first humans to walk on the moon, while Michael Collins pilots the capsule in moon orbit.

Astronaut Buzz Aldrin sets up an experiment on the lunar surface.



THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Do you remember a time when you were involved in a compromise—when each side gave up something to avoid a fight or some other negative outcome? In 1962, the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in a tense standoff, and only a compromise would be able to save the world from an impending nuclear war.

THE MISSILES OF OCTOBER

By 1962, Americans were in good spirits. A growing economy and Kennedy's optimism were inspiring the nation. But ongoing Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union continued to be a threat. In October 1962, those tensions erupted and would put the world at the brink of nuclear war.

The trouble began with rumors, confirmed by American U-2 spy plane photos, that the Soviets were establishing intermediate-range **ballistic missiles**, or rocket-propelled, self-guiding nuclear weapons, in Cuba. In the eyes of Cuban leader Fidel Castro, this was simply a means of defending his nation. As a communist country in the middle of the Western Hemisphere, Cuba felt increasingly isolated and under siege. The Kennedy administration had imposed an economic embargo on Cuba and arranged for Cuba's expulsion from the **Organization of American States (OAS)**, an alliance of Western Hemisphere nations established in 1948, whose purpose is to keep peace among the nations of North and South America. What's more, the United States had already attacked Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in early 1961. Whatever his reasons, Castro was stockpiling nuclear weapons capable of reaching dozens of American cities. U.S. leaders would not stand for such a threat.

A TENSE STANDOFF

Kennedy demanded the Soviets remove the missiles in Cuba. In addition, the president ordered a **naval quarantine**, or blockade of ports, of Cuba to stop the Soviets from delivering more missiles. On October 22, 1962, the president went on television to reassure an increasingly tense nation. The entire world watched anxiously as Soviet ships headed

toward Cuba and the U.S. warships enforcing the quarantine. On October 26, Kennedy received a note from Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev suggesting a settlement. "There is no intention to . . . doom the world to the catastrophe of thermonuclear war," he wrote. "Let us take measures to untie [the] knot."

Khrushchev promised to remove his missiles if the United States pledged never to invade Cuba. Before Kennedy could respond, he received a second note, demanding the United States also remove its missiles on the Soviet border with Turkey. Attorney General Robert Kennedy advised his brother to respond to the first note and ignore the second. On October 27, the president vowed not to invade Cuba if the Soviets removed the missiles. In private, Robert Kennedy assured the Soviets the United States would remove its missiles from Turkey in the near future.

On October 28, Khrushchev accepted the deal. In the end, he had miscalculated the stern American response to the placement of offensive missiles so close to U.S. shores. In fact, many of the president's advisors had recommended a military strike, but Kennedy rejected their advice. Secretary of State Dean Rusk summed up the feelings of everyone in the Kennedy administration: "We [were] eyeball to eyeball, and I think the other fellow just blinked." The **Cuban Missile Crisis**, as it came to be known, had ended, but it left a deep impression. For those two weeks, the world had seemed headed for nuclear war and the real possibility of annihilation for both sides.

PEACEFUL RESOLUTION

Throughout the 1950s, the U.S. government developed a civil defense system to keep American

Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

- Range of medium-range ballistic missiles (1,000 miles)
- Range of intermediate-range ballistic missiles (2,000 miles)
- Soviet missile sites
- U.S. naval blockade
- Approaching Soviet ships

Range of intermediate-range ballistic missiles (2,000 miles)

Range of medium-range ballistic missiles (1,000 miles)

PACIFIC OCEAN

0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers



CANADA

Boston

Chicago

Detroit

New York

Washington, D.C.

UNITED STATES

Denver

Dallas

Atlanta

Houston

New Orleans

Miami

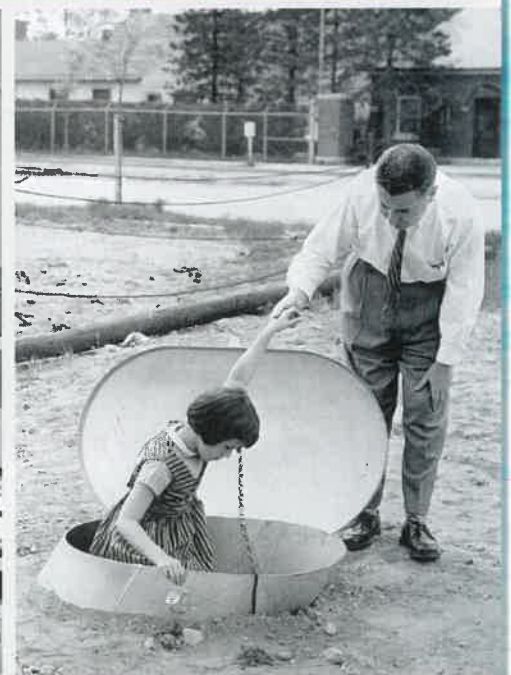
Havana

CUBA

Tropic of Cancer

Caribbean Sea

Gulf of Mexico



A year before the Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy urged Americans to build fallout shelters for their homes. Promotional photos show the features of one model available commercially in 1955.

CRITICAL VIEWING Attorney General Robert Kennedy was one of the closest advisors to his brother, President John F. Kennedy. Here the two meet in the Oval Office of the White House in October 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis. What feelings are conveyed by the two men?



THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

On October 11, 1962, 10 days before President Kennedy went on television to explain to the nation the crisis around the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba, Pope John XXIII (the 23rd) announced the principles of the Second Vatican Council in Rome. The Council called for a new openness in the Catholic Church and for the Church to take a role in promoting peace and social justice worldwide.

As news of the crisis became known, a priest from the Vatican attending a conference on peace in Massachusetts suggested asking the pope to intervene. The White House approved the suggestion, and the pope broadcast a message on Vatican radio begging the two leaders to consider all of humanity and find a peaceful solution to the crisis.

The pope also sent a message personally to Khrushchev asking him to be “the man of peace.” Khrushchev agreed to do so and ordered the missiles withdrawn. The Soviet leader was reported to say the pope’s message was the only “gleam of hope” in the crisis. In 1963, partly in response to the crisis now past, the pope issued a statement calling for “Peace on Earth,” reinforcing that principle of what came to be called Vatican II (2).

leaders and as many American civilians as possible safe in case of nuclear war. Civil defense plans were communicated throughout the nation, through signs in public places and a broadcast communications network that was established to keep people informed should an attack occur. Plans to build large-scale public shelters, however, were put forth and rejected. In their place were signs in public buildings indicating evacuation areas.

But the Cuban Missile Crisis frightened U.S. and Soviet leaders into changing their relationship from brinkmanship to one in which they would work together to manage tensions. The reality of mutual assured destruction seemed to inspire the leaders to consider more peaceful options. In July 1963, officials installed a direct telephone link, known as the “hotline,” between the White House and the Kremlin, the residence and office of the Soviet leader. Shortly after, the United States and the Soviet Union joined other nations in agreeing to limits on future development of nuclear weapons. The United States and the Soviet Union began seeking ways to coexist peacefully. While no one denied that significant differences existed between them, the countries both mutually recognized that they could not risk the type of confrontation that could destroy civilization.

Nonetheless, the nation’s civil defense system remains active in protecting citizens. When natural disasters such as hurricanes and floods strike, the people affected depend on clear communication and effective evacuation plans and routes. In addition, since the early years of

the 21st century, concerns about terrorism have emerged, and civil defense practices appropriate to the new types of threats have been developed.

TRAGEDY IN DALLAS

By 1963, President Kennedy had positioned himself well to run for re-election. He had moved the country forward economically and had proved himself on the world stage. However, not all Americans were behind him. Kennedy's support for the growing civil rights movement particularly angered white southern Democrats. In an attempt to win southern votes, President and Jacqueline Kennedy traveled to Texas—the southern state with the most electoral votes—to campaign in late November 1963. On November 22, as the Kennedys' motorcade passed through Dealey Plaza in Dallas, shots rang out from a window on the sixth floor of a nearby building—a textbook depository, or warehouse, near the motorcade route. Kennedy suddenly slumped in his seat, shot in the head. The motorcade raced to Parkland Hospital, where doctors pronounced the president dead.

Within hours, the police arrested a 24-year-old suspect named **Lee Harvey Oswald**, whom witnesses identified as fleeing the book depository after Kennedy's assassination. Two days later, on November 24, as law enforcement officers were moving Oswald between jails, Dallas nightclub owner Jack Ruby stepped forward and shot and killed him. Ruby claimed he killed Oswald out of a sense of patriotism and extreme distress over Kennedy's death. Ruby died in prison four years later.

With the murder of the prime suspect in Kennedy's assassination, many people suspected the events were all part of a larger conspiracy. The federal government immediately assembled a special group led by Chief Justice Earl Warren to investigate. After spending almost a year sifting through every bit of evidence available on the murders, the **Warren Commission** report concluded that both Oswald and Ruby had acted alone. Despite this conclusion, alternative interpretations of this event are still debated as various theories of the assassination have been proposed. Some blame Fidel Castro, others the Mafia, the Ku Klux Klan, or the CIA. To some, the simple explanation that a deranged man had committed a senseless act of violence and met a violent end himself did not explain sufficiently the death of a president so young and full of life.

Such doubts reflected the depth of shock over Kennedy's assassination. Few other events in the



Three-year-old John Kennedy, Jr., salutes his father, President Kennedy, one last time at the president's funeral, November 25, 1963.

nation's history produced so much bewilderment and grief. Even Khrushchev felt a deep loss, calling Kennedy's death "a heavy blow to all people who hold dear the cause of peace and Soviet-American cooperation." Kennedy had seemed an ideal president: a charming, handsome war hero with a glamorous wife. The reality was different, of course. Kennedy's three years in office saw failures as well as successes, and after his death, evidence emerged of personal shortcomings that raised questions about his character. Still, Kennedy's final months were his most productive, and many supporters felt he would have accomplished even more in a second term.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What were the origins and geopolitical consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis?
2. **DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** Identify in order three major events that occurred between November 22 and November 24, 1963.
3. **INTERPRET MAPS** Based on the map, what part of the United States would be safe from a missile attack from Cuba?



JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY 1917–1963

“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.”—John F. Kennedy

John F. Kennedy, who is often referred to by his initials, JFK, spoke these words at his inaugural address on January 20, 1961. The words were probably meant to energize his supporters and send a warning to his enemies. JFK heralded a new era of youth, vigor—one of his favorite words—and confidence. He embodied all three. Kennedy was the youngest U.S. president ever elected, and he seemed the picture of health. (He wasn't; more on that later.) His confidence was very likely a quality instilled by his family.

THE KENNEDY CLAN

Kennedy, as you know, grew up amid great wealth in Boston, Massachusetts. His father, Joseph (Joe) Kennedy, Sr., was a highly successful businessman and held several political positions, including U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. However, Joe, Sr., always felt he had been prevented from achieving higher office as a result of the anti-Catholic animosity in the United States. He vowed his children would overcome that prejudice. Rose Kennedy, the family matriarch, was “the glue that always held the family together,” as John once said about his mother. She devoted herself to her brood of four boys and five girls.

The brothers and sisters were close-knit but extremely competitive, especially in sports. Any visitor to the family's summer home in Hyannis Port on Cape Cod had to be ready to take part in a game



In September 1962, JFK addressed a crowd of 40,000 at Rice University in Houston, Texas, with his now-famous speech in which he boldly announced, “We choose to go to the moon.”

of touch football. And the game could get rough. John's wife, Jacqueline (Jackie), once broke her ankle while playing—and she was pregnant at the time. After that, she refused to play touch football again. John threw himself into the family games, but the physical activity was often hard on him. He had been a sickly child and suffered from ill health all his life. Nevertheless, Joe, Sr., liked to pit John and his older brother, Joe, Jr., against each other. On a bicycle race organized by their father, the brothers collided, and John had to have 28 stitches. Joe, Sr., wanted his boys to be tough.



The entire Kennedy clan gathered for this 1935 photo taken at Hyannis Port. Seated from left to right: Patricia, Robert, Rose, John, Joseph, Sr., with Edward on his lap; standing from left to right: Joseph, Jr., Kathleen, Rosemary, Eunice (rear), Jean

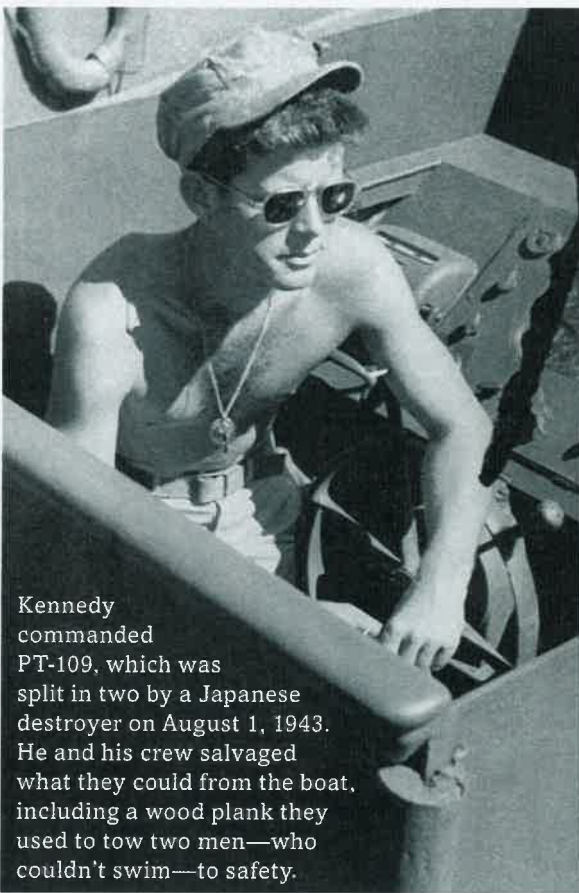
During World War II, both brothers served in the U.S. Navy. As a lieutenant, John commanded a patrol torpedo boat, PT-109. One night, a Japanese destroyer rammed into the boat in the Pacific Ocean. Two crew members were killed, but 11 others survived the collision, including John. Despite suffering from a bad back, he swam for 4 hours to an island while tugging an injured man with him. They ending up swimming to yet another island in search of food and fresh water. There, John carved a message on a coconut shell and sent it with two scouts in a canoe to the Australian Coast Guard. John was awarded a medal for gallantry. Later, when someone asked Kennedy how he came to be a hero, he replied, "It was involuntary. They sank my boat."

Joe, Jr., flew combat missions over Europe in the war. Then he volunteered to take part in a secret and highly dangerous mission that involved flying a drone loaded with explosives to Normandy, France. The explosives unexpectedly detonated before Joe, Jr., could parachute out of the plane. His death at age 29 was the first in a series of tragedies that plagued the Kennedy family. Some called it a curse. Kathleen, the second-eldest daughter of the clan, died in a plane crash three years later. Before his son's death, Joe, Sr., had hoped to fulfill his political ambitions through Joe, Jr. Now he pinned his hopes on John.

THE CAMELOT PRESIDENCY

John Kennedy may have succeeded beyond his father's wildest dreams. During the 1,037 days of his presidency, as you know, JFK experienced both successes and failures. But he remained a charismatic leader throughout his time in office. His idealism inspired people to believe they really could make their country and the world a better place. The handsome president and his beautiful wife enchanted Americans, who followed their trips and social engagements on television and in the news with avid interest. Women admired Jackie and tried to imitate her sophisticated taste in fashion. When the first lady gave the first-ever televised tour of the White House in 1962 to show the restorations she'd had done, a record 56 million people tuned in to watch.

Americans were also charmed by JFK's wit, which he often directed toward himself. After naming his inexperienced 36-year-old brother, Robert, as attorney general, JFK joked, "I don't see anything wrong with giving Bobby a little legal experience before he goes out on his own to practice law." On a visit to Paris in 1961, as it became clear Jackie was the one the crowds had come out to see, he said, "I do not think it altogether inappropriate to introduce myself. I am the man who accompanied Jacqueline Kennedy to Paris, and I have enjoyed it."



Kennedy commanded PT-109, which was split in two by a Japanese destroyer on August 1, 1943. He and his crew salvaged what they could from the boat, including a wood plank they used to tow two men—who couldn't swim—to safety.



JFK's children, Caroline and John Jr., often had the run of the White House. Here, John Jr., peeks out from what he called the "secret door" of his father's desk in the Oval Office.

Kennedy's presidency would come to be called "Camelot," suggesting that it brought the romantic legend of King Arthur to life. But this characterization masks the anguish that lay beneath the surface. JFK had chronic back pain and suffered from a rare disorder called Addison's disease, which causes severe fatigue and muscle weakness. Jackie had her own pain while she endured her husband's unfaithfulness. Most tragically of all, they both mourned the death of their infant son, Patrick, who died 39 hours after his birth in August 1963.

TRAGEDY AND LOSS

Of course, just a few months later, John Kennedy himself would be dead. Widowed at 34, Jackie planned her late husband's funeral and modeled it on that of Abraham Lincoln. She had a horse-drawn wagon carry Kennedy's flag-draped casket to the White House. Then the mourners followed a riderless horse, with boots symbolically reversed in the stirrups, to the church where the service was to be held. Jackie's strength and dignity throughout the funeral helped the nation cope with its own sorrow.

At the Democratic National Convention held in August 1964, Robert Kennedy took the floor to introduce a short film on his brother's legacy.

But every time he tried to speak, the delegates erupted into applause. This went on for more than 20 minutes. Just about 4 years later, Robert would be cut down by an assassin's bullet, too. John Kennedy's son, John F. Kennedy, Jr., died in 1999 at age 38 in a plane crash. To many, the Kennedy family certainly seemed to be cursed.

In defiance of the curse, however, more than 50 years after his death, John Kennedy remained the most popular president of the post-World War II era. The young president's ideals still capture people's imaginations and hearts. As JFK once said, "A man may die, nations may rise and fall, but an idea lives on."

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** How was John Kennedy shaped by his early years?
- 2. MAKE INFERENCES** What do the quotations by JFK in this lesson reveal about the man?
- 3. ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** Describe the complex effects the death of Joseph Kennedy, Jr., had on JFK and the country.
- 4. EVALUATE** What limitations might prevent you from determining the effects referred to in question 3?

People thronged the streets of Dallas to see JFK and Jackie riding in this limousine on November 22, 1963. John Connally, Jr., the governor of Texas, and his wife, Nellie, rode in the seat in front of them. Moments before JFK was shot, she said to Kennedy, "Mr. President, you certainly cannot say that Dallas does not love you."



President Kennedy's flag-draped coffin moves slowly past mourners on November 25, 1963. The president was buried in Arlington Cemetery, where an eternal flame marks his grave.



REINVENTING CLEAN ENERGY

**“I think I can save the world with nuclear power.”
—Leslie Dewan**

Leslie Dewan stands out from the crowd—a visionary woman in a male-dominated field. With guidance and input from her female teachers and mentors, and with a nod to history and its lessons, Dewan is determined to develop a cleaner form of nuclear power that will reinvent the definition of clean energy. This carbon-free energy will power the world, and—as a side note—will greatly decrease the production of nuclear waste. It’s ambitious, but if it can be done, this National Geographic Explorer will figure out how.

As one of the only women in her graduate school classes at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Leslie Dewan, shown here on the MIT campus, learned to take the lead.

MAIN IDEA Leslie Dewan is developing a safer, cleaner alternative to traditional nuclear power.

A NEW SOURCE OF ENERGY

From the beginning of history, humans have used fire to generate power. In fact, as early as 2000 B.C., people burned coal for energy. They later discovered the usefulness of natural gas and petroleum. But as you know, fossil fuels like coal, oil, and natural gas are nonrenewable energy sources. Burning them is believed to have negative impacts on our planet, including air, land, and water pollution. Utilizing cleaner energy sources is a must for the environment.

Although fossil fuels are still widely in use, we now harness the power of the sun, wind, water, and geothermal sources more than ever before to generate power and electricity. Leslie Dewan, an MIT-trained nuclear engineer, National Geographic Explorer, and environmentalist, would like to add nuclear power to that list, but others disagree. The impact on people and the environment that resulted from nuclear disasters at power plants, including Three Mile Island in the United States, Chernobyl in the Ukraine, and Fukushima in Japan, leaves many uneasy. They feel nuclear power is just too dangerous.

Scientists first figured out how to generate nuclear power about 70 years ago. It was exciting at first, imagining nuclear-powered cars, planes, and weapons, and nuclear reactors to generate electricity. At that time, the focus was not on reducing carbon dioxide emissions, but on gaining energy independence from other countries.

As you have read, nuclear technology was used during the Cold War to create weapons of mass destruction. The Cuban Missile Crisis brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. After World War II, Americans were acutely aware of the destructive power of nuclear weapons, so the fear of “being nuked” during the Cold War led people to build bomb shelters and practice nuclear attack drills.

Decades later, highly publicized nuclear disasters gave people the impression that nuclear power was more dangerous than useful. Serious failures did occur, and they were disastrous—in the case of Chernobyl, a whole continent was affected. There were also serious concerns about technology and safety. In its rush to develop reactors, the United States built reactors similar to those designed for



In 1979, the Three Mile Island nuclear power station in Pennsylvania had the most serious accident in U.S. history. Luckily, the small amount of radioactive material released had no health effects on plant workers or the public.

nuclear submarines instead of developing ones better suited for land. Nearly all of the reactors still in use in this country today are submarine-style reactors.

SAFER NUCLEAR REACTORS

That's where Dewan comes in. She's designing a safer, more efficient alternative to today's nuclear reactors, and says, "I want to come up with new technology that keeps the good elements of nuclear power but solves the bad aspects." Dewan and her colleague, Mark Massie, developed a new design for a molten salt reactor, initially intended for nuclear-powered airplanes. Ideally, their reactors would leave behind less than half as much nuclear waste as existing reactors, and produce enough energy to power the world for decades. Dewan hopes to develop a prototype by 2020 and a commercial reactor by the 2030s.

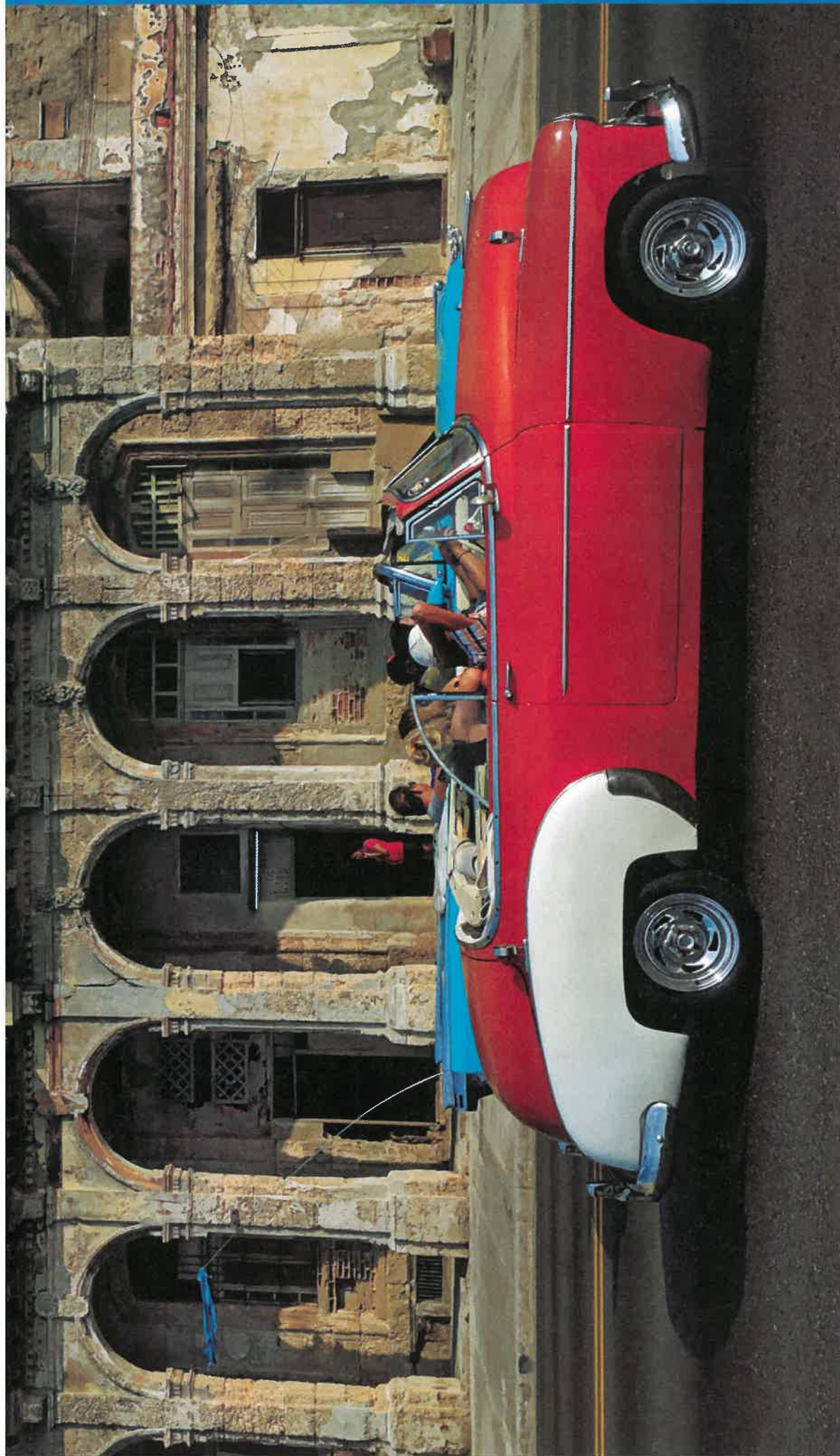
Currently, nuclear power provides 10 percent of the world's electricity and 45 percent of the world's fossil-free electricity. Dewan believes nuclear energy will move the world away from fossil fuels and offer dramatic reductions in carbon dioxide emissions. She notes, "I think the world needs nuclear power, alongside solar, wind, hydro, and geothermal, if we want to have any hope of reducing fossil fuel emissions and preventing global climate change."

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** What problem is Dewan attempting to solve with her development of new nuclear reactor technology?
- 2. ANALYZE ENVIRONMENTAL CONCEPTS** How might nuclear technology affect the environment in both positive and negative ways?

CRITICAL VIEWING How does Cuba's history with the United States relate to the abundance of classic American cars on the historic streets of Havana?





1.6 THROUGH THE LENS



DAVID GUTTENFELDER

In May 2016, **National Geographic** photographer **David Guttenfelder** set sail from Miami, Florida, on the first cruise ship to sail from the United States to Havana, Cuba, in nearly 50 years. His images capture Cuba's colorful culture and identity, but also its infrastructure, much of which hasn't been updated since the 1960s when the United States cut off ties. Guttenfelder's photos reveal how, in many ways, time has stood still on this island country until recently.



JOHNSON'S STRONG START

"All I have, I would gladly have given not to be standing here today," Lyndon Johnson said in his first address to Congress. But the job was his, and, while determined to carry on the work started by Kennedy, he still blazed his own path forward.

A SMOOTH TRANSITION

On the night of November 22, 1963, just hours after President Kennedy's assassination, Vice President Lyndon Johnson took the presidential oath of office aboard Air Force One. Lyndon Baines Johnson—popularly called LBJ—was born in a small house in the hills of south-central Texas in 1908. He

belonged to a lower social class and an older political generation than Kennedy. And with his down-home style and earthy language, he seemed rather crude to the East Coast newscasters and journalists compared with the media-savvy Kennedy. Yet few people knew more than LBJ about how to get things done in Washington.

Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as president aboard Air Force One before it left Dallas, only 90 minutes after Kennedy was pronounced dead. Crowded into the plane's stateroom, and photographed by White House photographer Cecil Stoughton, were Johnson, Judge Sara Hughes, Jacqueline Kennedy, Johnson's wife Lady Bird, reporters, and Kennedy's staff.



PRIMARY SOURCES

Senator Richard Russell, Jr., a Democrat from Georgia, opposed civil rights legislation for decades and joined the Senate filibuster against the civil rights bill. Illinois senator Everett M. Dirksen, a Republican and a strong supporter of the bill, spoke out to end the long filibuster and debate and move it to a vote.

We will resist to the bitter end any measure or any movement which would have a tendency to bring about social equality and intermingling and amalgamation [mixture] of the races in our [Southern] states.

—from a speech by Senator Richard Russell, Jr., during the Senate filibuster, March 30, 1964

There is another reason why we dare not temporize with [delay] the issue which is before us. It is essentially moral in character. It must be resolved. It will not go away. Its time has come.

—from a speech in the Senate by minority leader Everett M. Dirksen, June 10, 1964

Johnson entered the White House with three decades of political experience in hand. After running the Texas division of the National Youth Administration, a New Deal program, he won a seat in Congress in 1937. By 1949, Johnson had become a master of Texas politics, and used all his savvy to win election to the U.S. Senate. Elected Senate majority leader in the 1950s, he worked with the Eisenhower White House to craft important legislation on defense spending, highway construction, and civil rights. Johnson proved to be such an effective Senate majority leader that some even referred to him as the “Master of the Senate.”

He became president under tragic circumstances but moved quickly to restore public confidence through a smooth transition of power. Johnson told Congress, “The ideas and ideals which [Kennedy] so nobly represented must and will be translated into effective action.” To provide continuity, he kept Kennedy’s team largely intact, persuading Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, and other key cabinet members to stay on.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

With his political expertise, Johnson was able to win early legislative victories. One of his first presidential acts was to work for the stalled tax cut Kennedy had supported. Like Kennedy, Johnson believed lower taxes would encourage economic growth and reduce unemployment. In February 1964, he signed a measure that cut taxes by \$10 billion over the following two years. The economy responded. The GNP rose by 7 percent in 1964 and 8 percent in 1965. Unemployment fell below 5 percent for the first time since World War II. As Johnson predicted, the resulting economic growth also generated greater federal revenues.

Johnson also set about achieving some of Kennedy’s civil rights goals. Both Kennedy and Johnson were supporters of civil rights and believed the federal government needed to create laws to help promote greater equality in the United States. As Senate majority leader, Johnson had steered the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 through Congress. Just weeks after taking office, Johnson met with Martin Luther King, Jr., and other African-American leaders to assure them of his commitment to a stronger civil rights act—the one Kennedy had proposed in 1963.

At great political risk, Johnson immediately took up the battle for Kennedy’s stalled bill. “No memorial oration or eulogy,” Johnson said in a speech to Congress on November 27, 1963, “could more eloquently honor President Kennedy’s memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long.” Johnson then successfully persuaded Congress to enact federal programs in civil rights, education, and social welfare.

In early 1964, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 290 to 130, approved Kennedy’s civil rights bill, but it hit a wall in the Senate. Southern senators had formed a bloc to oppose the bill. They used the **filibuster**—a strategy in which a small group of senators take turns speaking and refuse to stop the debate or allow the bill to come to a vote—against it. A number of Democratic and Republican senators gathered **bipartisan** support to ultimately end what had grown to an 83-day filibuster. The Senate passed the bill, proving Congress’s commitment to civil rights.

On July 2, President Johnson signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** into law. The seven-part act was one of the most comprehensive civil rights laws Congress

had ever enacted. It expanded the role of the federal government in the fight for civil rights by enforcing desegregation in public schools and prohibiting discrimination in federally funded public programs and in such facilities as restaurants, parks, libraries, and movie theaters. The new law made discrimination in the workplace based on gender illegal, and it created the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)** to monitor and protect workplace rights. The act prohibited employment discrimination based on race, creed, national origin, and gender. As a result of the Civil Rights Act, women and minorities who faced workplace discrimination could seek assistance from the EEOC.

RESISTANCE IN THE SOUTH

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 met with stiff resistance in the South. One of the most notable examples occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, within a few days of the act's signing. A segregationist restaurant owner named Lester Maddox refused to serve food to three African-American college students, calling them "dirty devils" and "dirty communists" and pointing a gun at them. Some of the white customers in the restaurant threatened the students with ax handles that Maddox kept on hand. A month later, Maddox decided to close his restaurant rather than obey a court order to desegregate it. Maddox went on to become governor of Georgia in 1966.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., stands behind President Lyndon Johnson (seated) to witness the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Others in the room include Republican and Democratic representatives who voted for the most far-reaching civil rights legislation enacted since Reconstruction.





CRITICAL VIEWING In the South, African Americans were still being kept from voting even after the Civil Rights Act was passed. On September 7, 1963, SNCC organized more than 350 African Americans to come to register to vote at the county courthouse in Selma, Alabama. What appears to be taking place on the courthouse steps?

Voting rights gained additional protection in August 1964 when the states ratified the **24th Amendment**, which banned poll taxes. Southern states had required citizens to pay fixed voter registration fees, a strategy used to discourage African Americans from voting. With these landmark laws, the federal government re-established a commitment to providing people of all races, ethnicities, religious groups, and sexes with the rights of full citizenship.

December 1964 brought yet another victory for the civil rights movement. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership in the movement against discrimination and segregation and his commitment to nonviolence in the effort. In his acceptance speech, he said, "I refuse to accept the view that mankind is so tragically bound to the starless midnight of racism and war that the bright daybreak of peace and brotherhood can never become a reality."

King celebrated the 1964 Civil Rights Act as a tremendous advance in the struggle for racial equality, but believed it fell short in some areas, especially voting rights. The act restricted, but did

not prohibit, literacy tests and other tricks white segregationists used to **disenfranchise** African Americans, or take away their right to vote. The tricks proved effective: in many areas of the Deep South, only a small percentage of the African-American population was registered to vote. King and other civil rights leaders chose establishing hard and fast voting rights as their next battle, while Johnson turned to other social and international issues.

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** Why did Johnson want members of Kennedy's Cabinet to stay in their current roles?
- 2. COMPARE AND CONTRAST** Examine the primary source excerpts in this lesson. How do the senators' points of view differ on the issue of civil rights?
- 3. DRAW CONCLUSIONS** How do you think Johnson's experiences in Congress may have helped him get legislation passed as president?
- 4. DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY** How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 build on previous legislation and civil rights activism?

THE GREAT SOCIETY

Do you know someone who can walk into a room and make his or her presence felt right away? To many people, that was President Lyndon Johnson. The president had energy and determination to spare, and he relied on it to work toward many lofty goals.

LANDSLIDE IN 1964

Lyndon Johnson achieved legislative success early on as he worked to accomplish some of Kennedy's goals. Johnson hoped to build on this momentum and enact his own sweeping presidential agenda. First, he would have to hold on to the presidency by winning the 1964 election. Johnson chose as his running mate Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, a likable leader nicknamed "the Happy Warrior," who shared Johnson's goals.

For Republicans, things did not line up so easily. By 1964, the party was facing deep divisions between moderates, who supported the civil rights movement and agreed with a limited expansion of government, and conservatives, who favored smaller government and the use of force to stop communism.

PRIMARY SOURCE

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 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.

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

—from a speech at the University of Michigan by President Lyndon B. Johnson, May 22, 1964

After intense debate, Republicans nominated conservative senator **Barry Goldwater** of Arizona for president and Representative William Miller of New York as his running mate. Goldwater's vision for the country couldn't have been further from those of Johnson and Kennedy. In the Senate, he had voted against Social Security increases, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In accepting the nomination, Goldwater promised a "spiritual awakening" for the United States. He declared: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

The Johnson campaign focused on some of Goldwater's most extreme views to portray him as a dangerous and unpredictable candidate. In one of the most famous television campaign commercials ever, a three-year-old child was shown counting the petals of a daisy, out of order. Her counting turned into an ominous male voice counting down to a launch. The girl disappeared as the viewer saw a missile being launched, followed by the blast and mushroom cloud of a nuclear explosion. The "Daisy" ad, the name by which it became known, implied that Goldwater would destroy innocent lives by leading the nation into a nuclear war. Viewers found the commercial so disturbing that it ran only once.

On Election Day, Johnson won 61 percent of the popular vote and 44 of the 50 states, which translated to 486 electoral votes. Johnson's lopsided margin of victory helped the Democrats increase their substantial majorities in both houses of Congress. Although the Republicans lost ground, the election returns showed that a new coalition was forming in their ranks. The party was gaining strength

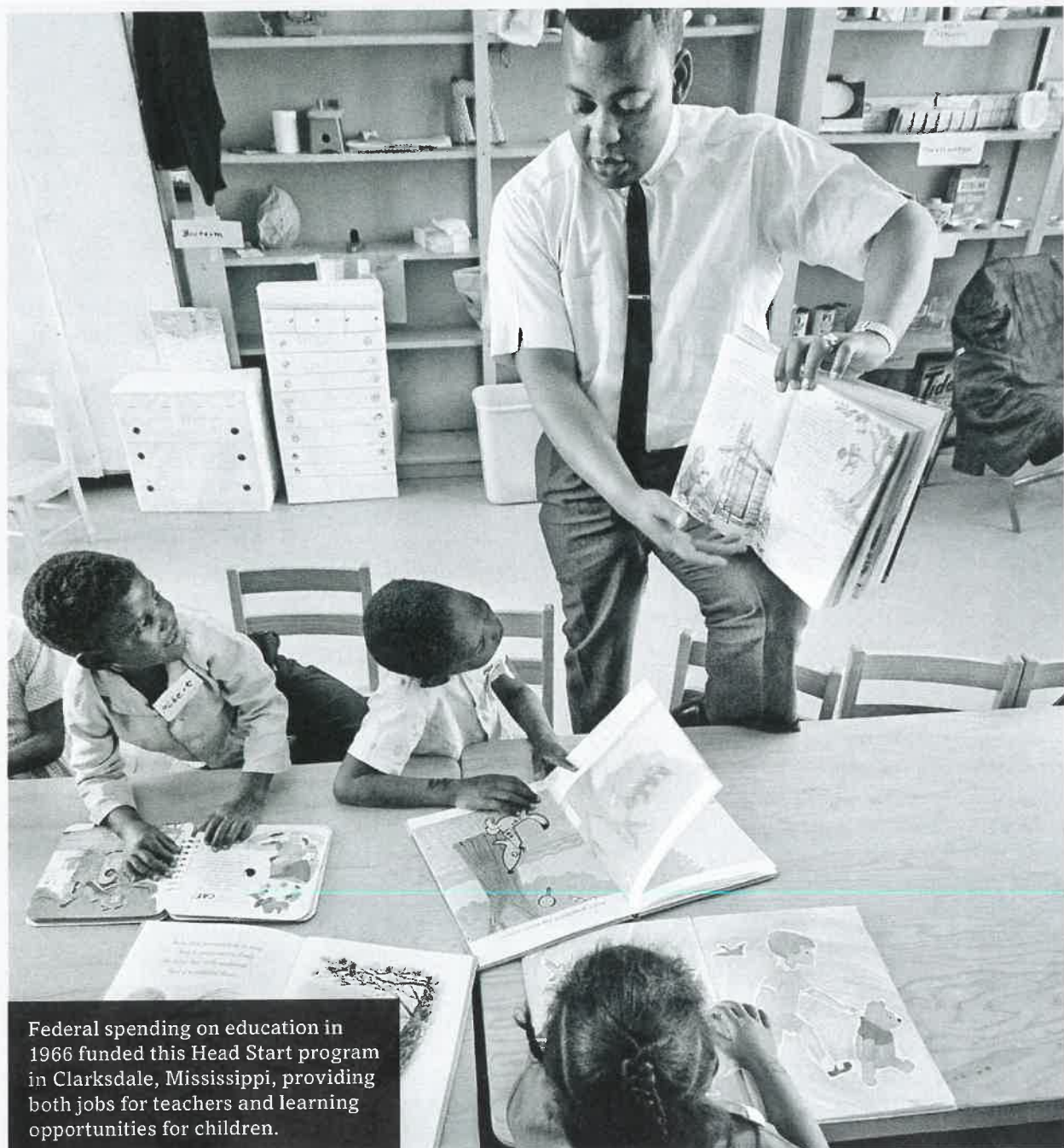
among middle-class white voters in the South and Southwest. Furthermore, Goldwater attracted thousands of young recruits determined to reshape the Republican Party along more conservative lines. For the growing number of Republicans, 1964 was a beginning rather than the end.

WAR ON POVERTY

President Johnson viewed his landslide victory as a mandate for change. He spoke of creating “a great society” for Americans, one free of poverty, ignorance, and discrimination, where the spirit of “true community” would prevail. Together, his sweeping set of programs became known as the

Great Society. The centerpiece of Johnson’s agenda was what he called his **War on Poverty**—an all-out effort to address the persistence of poverty and create a decent standard of living for all Americans. Despite a strong economy, about 20 percent of the nation still lived in poverty in 1964. “We shall not rest until [this] war is won,” Johnson insisted. “The richest nation on Earth can afford to win it. We cannot afford to lose it.”

Some War on Poverty programs aimed to help children. **Head Start**, for example, was an educational program designed to better prepare low-income preschoolers for primary school. Title I of the



Federal spending on education in 1966 funded this Head Start program in Clarksdale, Mississippi, providing both jobs for teachers and learning opportunities for children.



Food stamps help people pay for meals, but low-income neighborhoods often lack supermarkets with affordable healthy foods. In response, a nonprofit organization in Chicago has pioneered the use of buses to bring fresh produce to communities where there are no markets residents can reach easily.

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided extra federal funding to public schools that served a high percentage of low-income students. In addition, the Food Stamp program helped families afford nutritional meals. Johnson himself had experienced poverty and hunger as a child, and those memories drove his desire to help relieve the suffering of others.

As another part of his antipoverty effort, Johnson pushed the **Economic Opportunity Act** through Congress in 1964. The act established a range of programs aimed at creating jobs and battling poverty. The War on Poverty focused attention on community action, which led to an increase of minority participation in local affairs. Johnson named Peace Corps director R. Sargent Shriver to coordinate the numerous work programs created by the act. These work programs included the Job Corps, an education and training program for young people; the Neighborhood Youth Corps, which provided employment, job counseling, and additional education to low-income youth; and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a domestic service program modeled on the Peace Corps.

Overall, the War on Poverty achieved considerable success. It did not eradicate poverty, and some critics have argued that it made impoverished people

dependent on the federal government. Nonetheless, poverty declined dramatically in the late 1960s—the result of both the expanding economy and the federal programs aimed directly at alleviating poverty. By 1970, the number of Americans living below the poverty line had dropped from more than 40 million (about 20 percent of the population) to around 24 million (about 12 percent). Over the years, Congress continued to renew many of these anti-poverty programs, most of which are still in place today.

HEALTH CARE AND IMMIGRATION

In addition to tackling the issue of poverty, Johnson believed medical care for all was an essential part of the Great Society. When Johnson took office in 1963, a majority of older Americans, as well as the one-fifth of the nation living below the poverty line, were without health insurance. The American Medical Association (AMA) and private insurers strongly opposed the idea of lower-cost or even free health care, calling it “socialized medicine.” The president, however, was determined. After months of intense lobbying, Congress passed landmark legislation that Johnson had requested to fund medical insurance for the neediest Americans. The legislation created two federal programs. **Medicare** provided federal health care assistance to the elderly. **Medicaid** extended medical coverage to welfare recipients.

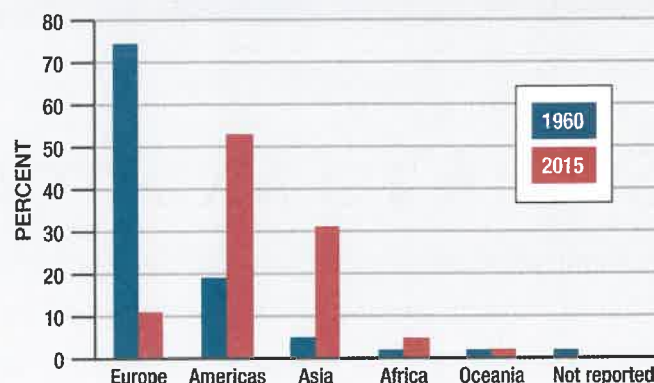
IMMIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP, 1960–2015

Source: Migration Policy Institute

Non-U.S. Citizens Granted Permanent-Resident Status by Year, 1963–2013



Immigrants' Regions of Origin



Both programs grew rapidly, reaching as many as 40 million Americans by 1970. Supporters pointed to statistics showing an increase in life expectancy and a drop in infant mortality as a result of the programs. However, opponents argued the programs led to high costs and gaps in coverage, while the quality of care patients received through the programs was low.

The Great Society also included an important new immigration law that went largely unnoticed at the time. In one bold sweep, the **Immigration Act of 1965** removed the national origins quotas as well as the ban on Asians, which dated back to 1924. Although it capped the number of immigrants allowed into the country at about 300,000 per year, the law permitted many foreign family members of American citizens to enter the United States without limit. Immigration from Asia and Latin America grew rapidly. By the mid-1970s, the majority of legal immigrants came from seven Asian and Latin American countries: Korea, Taiwan, India, the Philippines, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico. The law had a dramatic impact on the **demographic composition** of the United States, which refers to the number and concentration of a variety of ethnic groups within the nation.

THE DOMINICAN INTERVENTION

The challenges faced by President Johnson and his administration were not confined to domestic issues, however. In 1965, the United States intervened in a civil war in the nearby **Dominican Republic**. The Dominican Republic lies slightly southeast of Cuba and shares the island of Hispaniola with the nation of Haiti.

Until he was assassinated in 1961, General **Rafael Trujillo** (troo-HEE-yoh) had ruled over the Dominican

Republic as a dictator for more than 30 years. Although a brutal leader, he opposed communism, earning U.S. support. His death created a power vacuum, and the government was unstable for several years. In 1965, civil war broke out. In April of that year, Johnson sent in thousands of U.S. Marines, who joined troops from the Organization of American States in an attempt to bring the chaotic situation under control. The official reason for Johnson's action, which became known as the **Dominican Intervention**, was to rescue Americans on the island. However, the actual reason for the intervention was to keep communism from spreading to other Caribbean nations.

The strategy worked. The troops put down the rebellion within a few weeks, and the OAS restored a democratically elected government to the Dominican Republic. While the outcome was positive, Johnson was widely criticized for using American military might to interfere in the government of another nation. This criticism grew as the United States became involved even more deeply in a fight against communism in Vietnam, half a world away.

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** What was the Great Society?
- 2. ASK AND ANSWER QUESTIONS** Read about cost-benefit analysis in the online Financial Literacy Handbook. Generate a list of questions you could ask to help determine how society benefits economically from the reduction of poverty.
- 3. INTERPRET GRAPHS** Which region of the world experienced the largest decrease in immigration to the United States from 1960 to 2015?

SELMA TO MONTGOMERY

For centuries, African Americans suffered cruel and violent oppression. That treatment continued as they marched for voting rights, but as support grew from around the country, glimmers of hope appeared.

MARCHING FOR EQUALITY

As you have read, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., viewed the 1964 Civil Rights Act as a victory for racial equality, but he felt it fell short in terms of voting rights. Securing equal voting rights for all, King and other civil rights leaders believed, was the next battle to wage. One place where the fight was already

underway was Selma, Alabama, where in 1963 SNCC and other local activists had organized a “Freedom Day.” Lines formed around the block as 350 African-American people appeared at the courthouse to register to vote. Facing strong white resistance, the activists asked King and SCLC for support.

In the first of a series of 1965 voting rights marches, Alabama police gave demonstrators two minutes to turn around at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The marchers paused, but the police advanced anyway and beat the demonstrators, sending more than 50 people to the hospital on what became known as Bloody Sunday.



Freedom Day led to the Selma voting rights campaign that began early in 1965. Local African Americans marched daily to the courthouse, where Sheriff Jim Clark—wearing a huge button bearing the single word *NEVER*—turned them away with force. Thousands were beaten with clubs, shocked with cattle prods, and arrested for attempting to register with the local election board.

On March 7, a day that would be remembered as **Bloody Sunday**, 700 people set out to walk 50 miles to the state capital on the first of 3 **Selma-to-Montgomery marches**. Leading the procession was a key organizer of the march, **John Lewis**, a representative of SNCC. Upon crossing the Edmund Pettus Bridge at the edge of Selma, Lewis and the marchers found their way blocked by a large contingent of Sheriff Clark's deputies and Alabama state police. When the peaceful marchers refused orders to disperse, the police attacked them with clubs, whips, and tear gas. The police officers forced the marchers to retreat while white onlookers cheered. Dozens of marchers were injured, and some required hospitalization. News crews captured the assault on film. That evening, television stations aired the shocking footage into millions of American homes, sparking national outrage and calls for government action to protect voting rights.

On March 9, a crowd of 2,000 people gathered with King for the second march. Roughly a third were religious leaders who had rushed to Selma to show their support. When they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge and again faced a roadblock, the marchers knelt in prayer. Then, instead of attempting to continue on to Montgomery, they turned back. That night in Selma, a group of white segregationists attacked three white Unitarian Universalist ministers who had participated in the march. One of the ministers, James Reeb, died from his injuries two days later.

On March 21, a third attempt at the march to Montgomery got underway, with King leading roughly 3,200 marchers out of Selma. Under the terms of a ruling by a federal judge, more than 1,800 members of the Alabama National Guard under federal command, as well as roughly 2,000 U.S. soldiers, federal marshals, and FBI agents, protected the marchers. The protesters walked about 12 miles each day and slept in fields along the highway at night. Their numbers grew along the way, and on the fifth day, 25,000 marchers arrived at the steps of the state capitol for a final rally.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

In early August 1965, less than five months after the Selma-to-Montgomery marches, Congress passed the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, and President Johnson signed it into law. The act outlawed literacy tests and other discriminatory tactics used by segregationists to deny African Americans and other minorities the right to vote. It also required states with a history of voting discrimination to obtain approval from federal authorities for any changes, even minor ones, to their voting laws or practices. The act did not ban poll taxes, but it directed the U.S. attorney general to challenge their constitutionality wherever they were found to be in use in local and state elections.

It did not take long for the impact of this **landmark legislation**, or important and historic law, to be felt. By the end of 1965, as many as 250,000 new African-American voters had been registered, and within three years, the registration rate of African Americans in the South had climbed to more than 60 percent. Although challenged in the courts because it changed the relationship of the federal and state governments, the Supreme Court upheld the act's constitutionality in 1966 and in 1968. With the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the civil rights movement had been the most important stimulus in moving the federal government to ensure and protect African-American civil rights, including voting rights.

The movement used grassroots activism to mobilize the government into defending those rights for all citizens. Through the efforts of grassroots organizations and the leadership of presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the civil rights movement made great strides in the 1960s in the South. Discrimination was most visible and dramatic there, but African Americans also faced obstacles in the North, where there was still much work to be done.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 affect the nation?
2. **MAKE CONNECTIONS** Describe the role of the government, citizens, and religious leaders in the civil rights movement.
3. **SYNTHESIZE** How did the Selma marches represent the role of civil rights advocates in ensuring the ability of African Americans to vote in elections?

NEW LEADERS AND CHALLENGES

By the mid-1960s, many African Americans were growing increasingly impatient with the slow pace of racial progress in the United States. Was it time to abandon the nonviolent tactics preached by King in favor of a more militant approach?

SEGREGATION OUTSIDE THE SOUTH

From its beginnings in the early 20th century, the civil rights movement had focused on the South, where African Americans faced blatant discrimination and **de jure segregation**—separation enforced by law. In other regions of the country, however, African Americans and other minorities also confronted discrimination, though it was perhaps less extreme than in the South. Northern states had not passed laws mandating racial separation, but it existed anyway. **De facto segregation**, or segregation that is present in society despite there being no laws to enforce it, greatly affected urban areas. Many African Americans lived in public housing where crime was rampant, public services were poor, and schools were inferior. Banks often refused home loans to African Americans who sought to buy houses outside their traditional neighborhoods. Many people self-segregated simply to avoid ugly conflicts. And yet conflicts arose and anger was building.

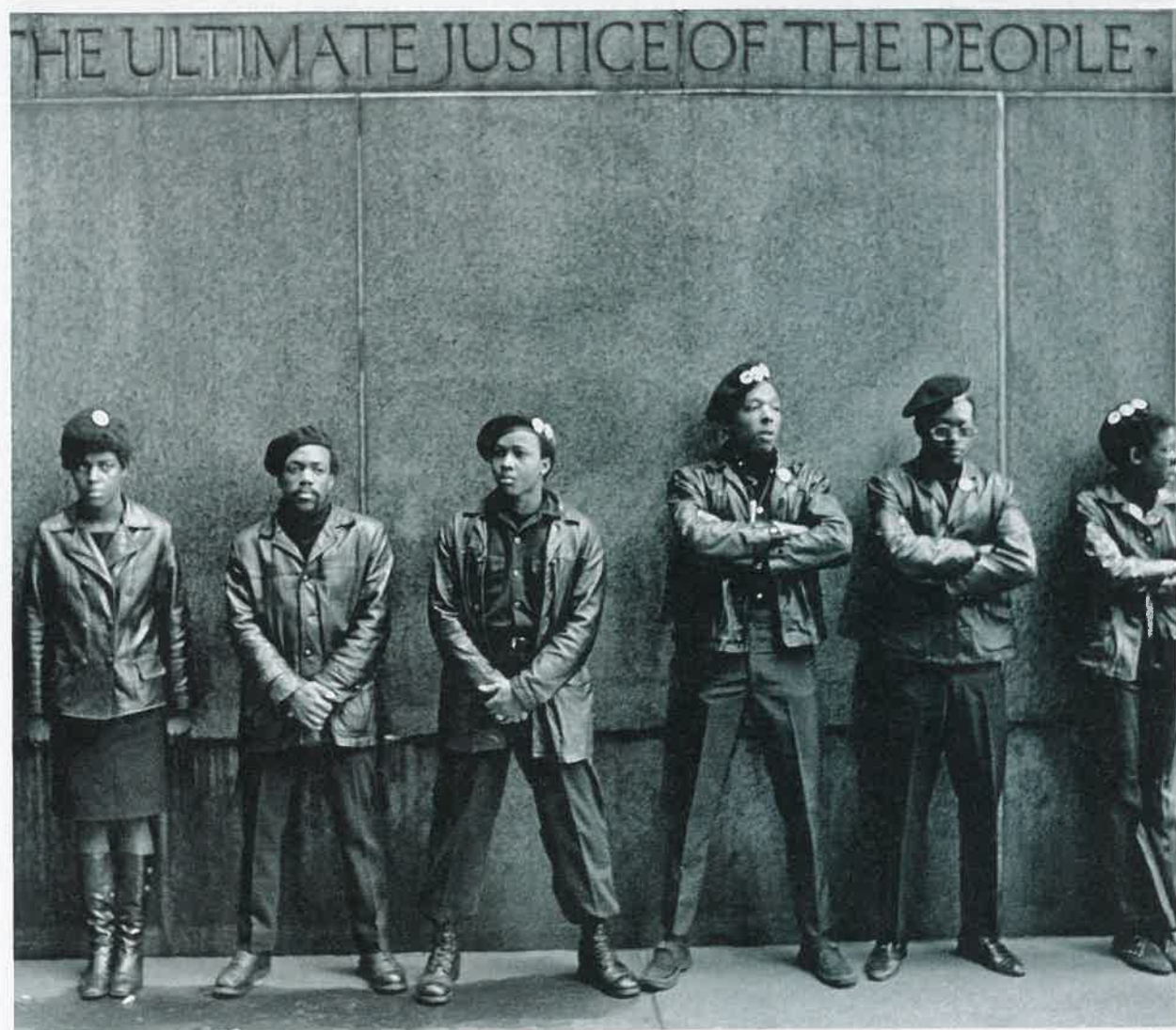
One catalyst for frustration was police targeting of and violence against African Americans. For instance, in August 1965, a white police officer pulled an African-American motorist over on suspicion of impaired driving in the predominantly African-American section of south central Los Angeles known as Watts. African-American drivers were often pulled over and cited for traffic infractions, founded or not. The incident escalated into an argument, which in turn sparked a riot. Rioters looted stores and burned down hundreds of buildings. When police officers clashed with the rioters, at least 34 people died and more than 1,000 were injured. The violent clashes between residents and police, which became known as the **Watts Riots**, continued for 6 days. The following year, similar conflicts rocked Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Newark, and other U.S. cities.

THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

At the time of these riots, King's leadership in the civil rights movement was coming under increasing criticism due to a split between generations. On one side were "old" civil rights groups, such as King's and the NAACP, which saw racial integration and nonviolent resistance as the keys to African-American advancement. On the other side were "new" movement groups, such as SNCC, who embraced more forceful and even violent strategies.

At a 1966 rally in Mississippi, an activist named **Stokely Carmichael** who had just served time in jail for peacefully protesting, set out to fire up the crowd by yelling about "Black Power." The phrase became a rallying cry for many younger African Americans. To some, it meant group strength and independent action. To the more radical **black separatists**—those like Carmichael who believed in the political and cultural division of African Americans and whites—it meant taking extreme measures to claim their rights and maintain their freedoms. The radicals felt that African Americans should work together to gain economic power in order to create a separate nation within the United States. As you have read, these ideas were central to black nationalism, a movement Marcus Garvey originally embraced in the early 20th century.

One of the most extreme of the "new" movement groups was the **Black Panther Party**, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by **Huey Newton** and **Bobby Seale**. Its original mission was to conduct heavily armed patrols to protect African-American neighborhoods from police brutality and harassment. It also began an effective free-lunch program for children, but as the party grew, it evolved into a revolutionary movement that fiercely opposed



CRITICAL VIEWING Black Panther Party members hold a vigil outside a New York City courthouse on April 11, 1969, to protest the arrest of party members accused of criminal activities related to terrorism. The arrested men were acquitted more than one year later. Why do you think the photographer included the Abraham Lincoln quote “the ultimate justice of the people” in the photograph of the Black Panthers?

American society. The Black Panthers demanded that the government release all African Americans from prison and pay reparations for slavery. They won modest support for their community work but lost influence when a few members were jailed for committing crimes such as extortion, or obtaining money through forceful coercion, and drug-dealing. The Panthers became a feared enemy and primary target of local, state, and federal law enforcement. While they never received the mainstream support that the general civil rights movement did, their emphasis on racial pride, their celebration of black culture, and their powerful criticisms of racism continue to influence American culture today.

MALCOLM X AND THE NATION OF ISLAM

Newton and Seale had been strongly influenced by **Malcolm X**, one of the most controversial African-American activists of the 1960s. Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little and later known as el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz, adopted the “X” to replace Little, the slave name imposed on his ancestors by their slave master. In the late 1940s, while serving in prison for robbery, Malcolm X became a member of the **Nation of Islam**, a religious black nationalist movement founded in Detroit in 1930. The organization preached a doctrine of self-help, moral discipline, and complete separation of the races. Members of the Nation of Islam, also called Black Muslims, were forbidden to smoke, drink alcohol, or eat pork.



While at a New York City rally, Malcolm X held up the *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper, emphasizing his consistent message: “Our Freedom Can’t Wait!”

Malcolm X quickly rose to a position of prominence within the Nation of Islam and helped it to achieve explosive growth. In fiery speeches, he denounced white American society for the injustices it inflicted on African Americans. He also scorned King's tactics of nonviolence and civil disobedience. He preached self-defense, saying that African Americans must protect themselves “by any means necessary” and that “killing is a two-way street.” Malcolm X's intense philosophy made it easy to interpret the Nation of Islam's message as one of violence and hate.

In 1963, tensions developed between Malcolm X and **Elijah Muhammad**, the leader of the Nation of Islam, and in early 1964 Muhammad expelled Malcolm from the religion. After making a pilgrimage to the Muslim holy city of Mecca, Malcolm renounced some of the more extreme ideas he had espoused in the past, including racial separatism. Upon returning to the United States, Malcolm continued to speak out against racism and work for change, despite threats against his life from members of the Nation of Islam. In February 1965, they followed through with their threats, assassinating Malcolm X as he gave a speech in Harlem.

THE MOVEMENT MOVES NORTH

As rioting shook northern cities and the Black Power movement grew, Dr. King decided to take the civil rights movement to the North and broaden its

scope. He focused his efforts on fighting poverty among African Americans and on opposing U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War. Speaking in New York City in April 1967, he pointed out the contradiction of sending young African-American men 8,000 miles away “to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem.”

On April 3, 1968, King led a peaceful march in Memphis in support of a strike by sanitation workers. The following day, while King was standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, a white segregationist named James Earl Ray shot and killed him. The nation mourned the assassination of the civil rights movement's most famous leader. But King's words would have enduring effects on American life as his legacy continued with the work of other supporters, including President Johnson.

The rioting and segregation that had troubled King also troubled President Johnson. Johnson had established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1967, also known as the Kerner Commission, to study the causes of urban riots. He appointed Illinois governor Otto Kerner to lead it. In its report, the commission concluded that the United States was “moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” The report criticized the media for failing to cover the violent



This iconic photograph by South African photographer Joseph Louw was taken immediately after Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination on April 4, 1968. King lies on the hotel balcony, bleeding from a neck wound, while aides point to the opposite rooftop where they had seen the shooter, James Earl Ray, fleeing after firing at King.

protests from the rioters' perspective and concluded by stating "the press has too long basked in a white world, looking out of it, if at all, with white men's eyes and a white perspective."

As you have read, Johnson's administration developed strategies for expanding the welfare state and providing a broader safety net for vulnerable Americans as part of his Great Society program. One of these strategies demonstrated the government's commitment to providing education to all Americans. You have read about the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which Johnson signed into law in 1965. This act provided federal funding to ensure that all children regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, or sex received equal educational opportunities.

Still, schools remained unequal because of *de facto* segregation, so courts ordered **busing**, or transporting students of all races to schools outside their school districts or neighborhoods to assure integration and therefore equal opportunity. Busing sparked controversy and legal challenges. In the 1971 case ***Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education***, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld busing programs. Three years later, however, in ***Milliken v. Bradley*** (1974), the Court struck down a plan to desegregate schools in Detroit by busing students between the predominantly African-American city and its predominantly white suburbs.

Supreme Court rulings continued to expand the government's role in supporting civil rights. In the

1967 case ***Loving v. Virginia***, the Court cited a violation of the 14th Amendment when it overturned Virginia state laws prohibiting **miscegenation**, or marriage between people of different races. The Court's decision abolished anti-miscegenation laws around the country.

Another strategy of the Johnson administration was **affirmative action**, a government policy that institutes racial quotas to favor groups that suffer from discrimination. The goal of supporters of affirmative action was to improve educational and employment opportunities for all Americans. Like school busing, affirmative action ignited controversy and was challenged in court. In the 1978 case, ***Regents of the University of California v. Bakke***, the Supreme Court ruled that affirmative action programs were constitutional in some circumstances but that quotas based solely on race were not.

HISTORICAL THINKING

- 1. READING CHECK** In the 1960s, what were some of the challenges African Americans faced in the North?
- 2. COMPARE AND CONTRAST** On which issues did the "old" and "new" civil rights activists disagree?
- 3. INTERPRET VISUALS** In addition to the headline, what message do you think Malcolm X wanted to convey when he held up the newspaper?
- 4. IDENTIFY MAIN IDEAS AND DETAILS** What were the Johnson administration's strategies for fighting segregation and poverty?



NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS MUSEUM MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

The National Civil Rights Museum has a fascinating location: the grounds of the Lorraine Motel, where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in 1968 while staying in Memphis, Tennessee. Visitors reflect upon this important historical site while viewing the museum's impressive collection of historic objects, documents, and photographs spanning five centuries of African-American history—from the beginning

of the resistance to slavery through the Civil War, Reconstruction, the rise of Jim Crow, and the civil rights movement. The National Civil Rights Museum's exhibits center around African-American history and the quest for racial equality in the United States, but also feature the culture of slavery and international human rights. The museum's mission is clear: to educate, inform, and inspire.

The museum's four-acre site includes the Lorraine Motel (shown below) and its related buildings and the nearby Young and Morrow Building, from which James Earl Ray fired the shot that killed Dr. King.

Room 306

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a frequent guest at the Lorraine Motel in downtown Memphis. He stayed there in April 1968 while in town to support a strike by sanitation workers. On April 4, he spent the day at the motel with his brother and aides. When Dr. King stepped onto the balcony outside his room to talk to friends, he was shot in the neck from across the street. Motel owner Walter Bailey never rented room 306 again, turning it instead into a memorial. As part of the museum's collection, room 306 has been preserved exactly as it looked on that tragic night.

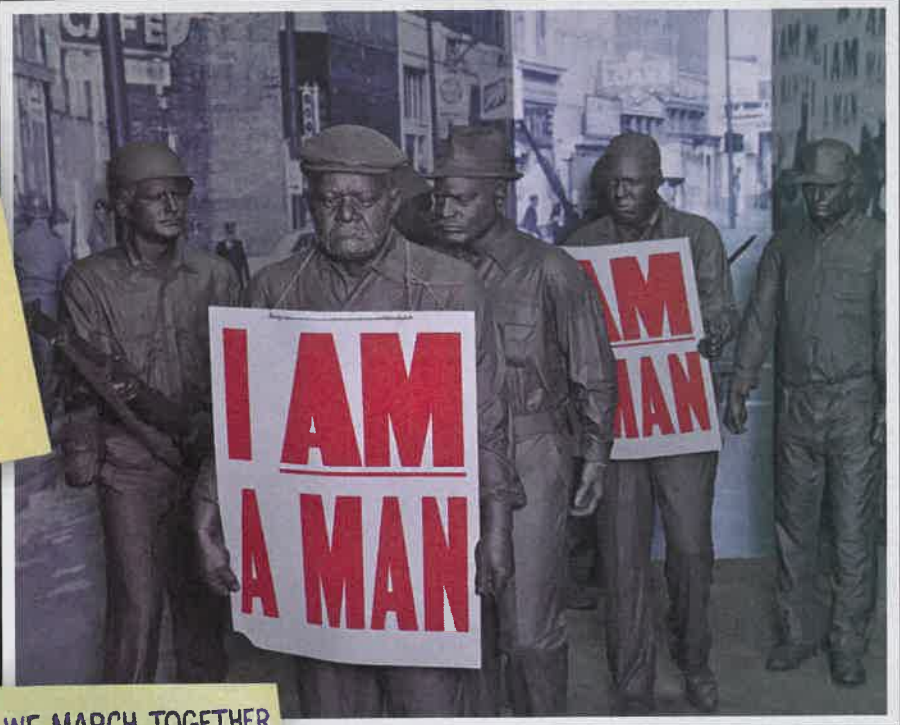


**WE
MARCH
FOR
JOBS
FOR ALL
NOW!**

**WE
DEMAND
DECENT
HOUSING
NOW!**

Protest signs from the museum's 1963 March on Washington exhibit

**WE MARCH TOGETHER
CATHOLIC
JEWS
PROTESTANTS
FOR DIGNITY
AND BROTHERHOOD
OF ALL MEN UNDER GOD
NOW!**



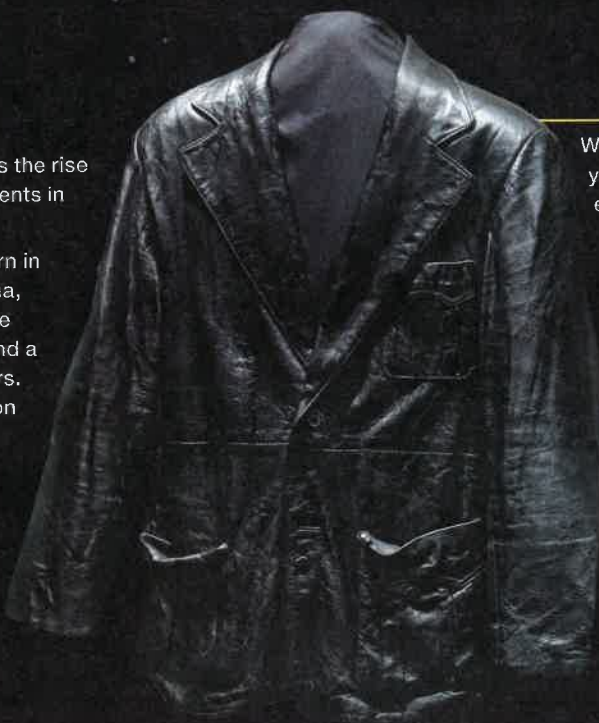
"I Am a Man" Exhibit

This museum exhibit tells the story of the 1968 sanitation strike that drew Dr. King to Memphis during what would become his final days. Represented in bronze statues, strikers holding iconic "I am a man" signs—designed to humanize the protesters—appear in front of National Guard troops, while footage from the strike is projected onto a garbage truck. The exhibit also features footage from Dr. King's famous "I've Been to the Mountaintop" speech, which he gave in Memphis the day before his assassination.

Black Panther Jacket

The museum's Black Power exhibit highlights the rise and fall of one of the most influential movements in civil rights history: the Black Panther Party.

The black leather jacket shown here was worn in the late 1960s by Cyril Innis, Jr., of the Corona, New York, chapter of the Black Panthers. The museum's collection also includes a beret and a crossed fist necklace worn by party members. Black Panther Party founders Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale encouraged members to dress neatly in a uniform consisting of a light blue shirt under a black leather jacket, black pants and shoes, a black beret, and black gloves.



What impact do you think historical events such as the assassination of Dr. King and the fall of the Black Power movement had on the civil rights movement?

17 REVIEW

VOCABULARY

Use each of the terms below in a sentence that expresses an understanding about an event or topic from the chapter.

1. affirmative action
2. ballistic missiles
3. bipartisan
4. disenfranchise
5. *de facto* segregation
6. miscegenation
7. Medicare
8. New Frontier
9. space race

READING STRATEGY

DRAW CONCLUSIONS

Drawing conclusions can help a reader make connections and better understand the text. Complete the following chart to draw conclusions about how the domestic policies of Kennedy and Johnson affected the United States.

Text Clues	What I Know	My Conclusions
"optimism and confidence in problem solving"	Kennedy developed new programs and approaches.	Kennedy looked forward to the future in responding to problems.

10. How did Kennedy's and Johnson's domestic policies impact the United States?

MAIN IDEAS

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

11. What were Kennedy's first two challenges?
LESSON 1.1

12. Why did the Soviet Union build the Berlin Wall?
LESSON 1.1

13. What was the purpose of the international treaty the United States and the Soviet Union signed in 1963? **LESSON 1.2**

14. What event sparked the Cuban Missile Crisis?
LESSON 1.3

15. What is the main function of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission?
LESSON 2.1

16. How did southern members of Congress try to kill the Civil Rights Act? **LESSON 2.1**

17. What was the collective name of Johnson's reform policies designed to relieve economic inequality in the United States?
LESSON 2.2

18. What did the Immigration Act of 1965 eliminate? **LESSON 2.2**

19. How was the Civil Rights Act of 1964 different from previous civil rights legislation?
LESSON 2.3

20. What was the goal of the Selma-to-Montgomery marches? **LESSON 2.3**

21. In what ways did Stokely Carmichael's phrase "Black Power" divide the civil rights movement? **LESSON 2.4**

HISTORICAL THINKING

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

22. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Using information from the chapter, explain whether and why you think a cost-benefit analysis would have supported continuing the Alliance for Progress program.

23. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** How did the Cuban Missile Crisis ultimately make the world safer, and how could events surrounding it have taken a different direction?

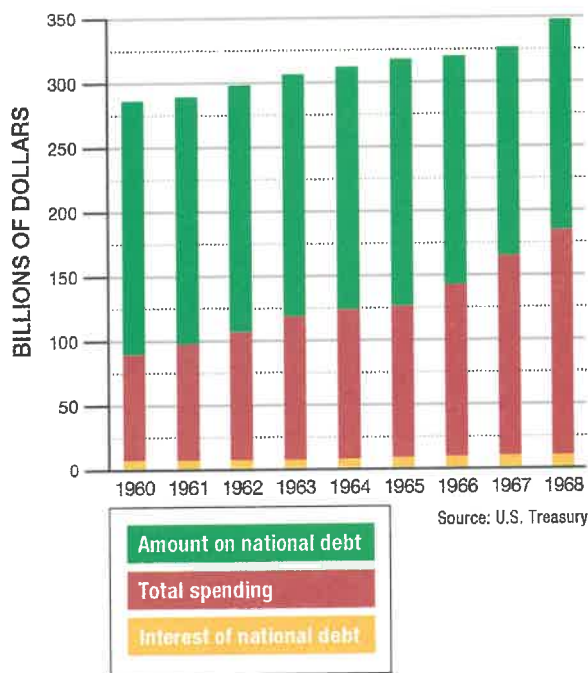
24. FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS Would you have agreed with senators supporting the Immigration Act of 1965 or with those opposing the bill? Write a brief paragraph explaining your response.

25. COMPARE AND CONTRAST How were the presidencies of Kennedy and Johnson similar and different in terms of their accomplishments, problems, and impact on larger social, economic, and political trends?

INTERPRET GRAPHS

Look closely at the graph below. Use information from the chapter and in the graph to answer the questions that follow.

U.S. National Spending and Debt, 1960–1968



- 26.** Based on what you know about programs and issues during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, how would you explain the trend in government spending shown in the graph?
- 27.** According to the graph, how are changes in spending reflected in changes in the national debt, or the amount of money the government has borrowed, and in the interest on that debt?

ANALYZE SOURCES

The space race was both an idealistic vision and important to national security. Here, in interviews, two of the seven Mercury astronauts, Wally Schirra and Scott Carpenter, express different thoughts about the meaning of the effort.

The challenge was that Kennedy had made a mess in Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, and he had to do something to look good. The . . . concept of going to the moon and back before the decade was out was quite a goal, which we all accepted, because we loved the man. —Wally Schirra, 2007

I am so overjoyed that the competition has now [changed] into cooperation. Space is not an enterprise that belongs to the United States or to Russia or to China—it is a human endeavor. —Scott Carpenter, 2012

- 28.** What different messages do Schirra and Carpenter convey about the American space program, and what evidence do you see of bias and prejudice in the historical interpretations of these individuals?

CONNECT TO YOUR LIFE

- 29. ARGUMENT** Many people questioned President Kennedy's proposal to spend billions of dollars to put a man on the moon within 10 years. Suppose a president of the United States proposed to commit trillions of dollars to colonizing Mars within 10 years. Write a short argument stating reasons why you would or would not support such an endeavor.

TIPS

- Evaluate the consequences of Kennedy's plan and determine the lessons that were learned.
- Summarize your viewpoint and your reasoning clearly before you present your points in more depth.
- Use textual evidence from the chapter in supporting your argument.
- Include reasons why the United States should or should not invest in such a goal.
- Counter the strengths of the opposing viewpoint with your own position.

CHAPTER

18

THE VIETNAM WAR

1954–1975

HISTORICAL THINKING How did the Vietnam War affect Americans at home and on the battlefield?

AMERICAN
STORIES
ONLINE

The Vietnam Wall

SECTION 1 U.S. Involvement in Vietnam

SECTION 2 A Difficult War

SECTION 3 1968: A Turning Point

SECTION 4 Ending the War

AMERICAN GALLERY
ONLINE

Reporters Go to War



“I saw courage both in the Vietnam War and in the struggle to stop it.”

—John Kerry, Vietnam veteran
and former secretary of state