

The New Frontier

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned about the economic and social changes that occurred during the 1950s. In this section, you will discover how the country viewed President Kennedy's domestic agenda and the Warren Court.

Main Idea

- John F. Kennedy won the first media-dominated presidential election. (p. 705)
- With Kennedy's election, a youthful and enthusiastic First Family entered the White House. (p. 706)

- Despite an uneasy relationship with Congress, Kennedy managed to get several parts of his domestic agenda passed. (p. 707)
- Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court took a more activist role. (p. 709)

Content Vocabulary

missile gap, reapportionment, due process

Academic Vocabulary

medium, reside, arbitrary

People and Terms to Identify

New Frontier, Earl Warren

Reading Objectives

- **Summarize** Kennedy's economic policies.
- **Explain** why Congress often did not support Kennedy's proposals.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the presidency of John F. Kennedy, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the domestic successes and setbacks of Kennedy's administration.

Successes	Setbacks

Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

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

11.10.2 Examine and analyze the key events, policies, and court cases in the evolution of civil rights, including *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, and California Proposition 209.

11.10.7 Analyze the women's rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

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

11.11.3 Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. President Kennedy won the first media-dominated presidential campaign, which focused on issues such as the economy and the Cold War. The new First Family captivated the country. Many were taken with the president's youth and optimism. Despite Kennedy's charm, however, Congress did not approve many of his domestic programs. The president was able to improve the nation's economy and advance women's rights. The Warren Court, however, had an even more powerful impact on the United States.

The Election of 1960

Main Idea John F. Kennedy won the first media-dominated presidential election.

Reading Connection Have you ever watched a televised debate or debated a topic? Read on to learn about the first major election influenced by the media.

The television debates of the 1960 presidential election had an enormous impact. Following the first debate, the media focused more strongly on the appearance of the candidates. Suddenly the whole country seemed to have become experts on makeup and television lighting. One Republican leader even wondered if the Democrats had supplied Nixon's makeup.

★ An American Story ★

On September 26, 1960, at 9:30 P.M. eastern standard time, streets all across the United States grew strangely still. An estimated 75 million people sat indoors, focused on their television sets, where they saw two men standing behind lecterns. One was John F. Kennedy, and the other was Richard M. Nixon.

For the first time, thanks to the wonders of television, two presidential candidates were coming right into the nation's living rooms to debate. Americans were enthralled: "You hear each man directly," observed one. "There's nothing between you and what he says," added another. "You can see which man gets rattled easily."

The man who seemed to get rattled easily was Nixon. Kennedy, the Democratic nominee, looked healthy, strong, and confident. Nixon, the Republicans' choice, came across as tired and frazzled. "He appeared ill," one viewer commented. In fact, Nixon had been ill recently. Kennedy had a glowing tan, while Nixon's face was pale and drawn, shadowed by the stubble of a beard. As one observer noted, "Nixon's eyes darted around, perspiration was clearly noticeable on his chin, and with the tight shots . . . these things were more obvious."

—adapted from *The Great Debate*

With that debate, the era of television politics had begun. Though television had been used in campaigns as early as 1948, it was not until the 1960

election that a large majority of voters used the **medium** as a voting tool. The nation itself seemed on the brink of a new age. Having lived through a decade of unprecedented prosperity and the onset of the Cold War and the atomic age, Americans looked to the future with excitement and anxiety.

Both candidates shared the desire to lead the nation through the challenges of a new decade, but they differed in many ways. Kennedy, a Catholic, came from a wealthy and influential Massachusetts family. Nixon, a Quaker, was a Californian from a financially struggling family. Kennedy seemed outgoing and relaxed, while Nixon struck many as formal and even stiff in manner.

A New Kind of Campaign Compared to earlier campaigns, the 1960 presidential race made new use of television, with both major parties spending substantial amounts of money on television advertisements. The Democrats spent over \$6 million in television and radio spots, while the Republicans spent more than \$7.5 million.

Not everyone was happy with this new emphasis on image. Television news commentator Eric Sevareid complained that the candidates had become "packaged products," and he stated that "the Processed Politician has finally arrived."

The Main Issues The campaign centered on the economy and the Cold War. Although the candidates presented different styles, they differed little on these two issues. Both promised to boost the economy, and both portrayed themselves as "Cold Warriors" determined to stop the forces of communism.

John F. Kennedy (right) and Richard Nixon (below) in the 1960 debate





Picturing History

Presidential Billboard A billboard in Manhattan displays the presidential candidates, including a “dark horse” and “scratch.” Presidential campaign slogans from the past elections are also listed. A Kennedy tie clasp and Nixon pendant are also featured. **What is the artist’s purpose for including a “dark horse” and “scratch” among the candidates?**

Kennedy argued that the nation faced serious threats from the Soviets. In Cuba, Fidel Castro was allying himself with the Soviet Union. At home, many people lived in fear of a Soviet nuclear attack.

Kennedy voiced his concern about a suspected “missile gap,” in which the United States lagged behind the Soviets in weaponry. (Decades later, Americans learned that, in fact, the only area where the Soviet Union was briefly ahead was in rocketry.) The nation, Kennedy argued, had grown complacent and aimless. “It is time to get this country moving again.”

Nixon countered that the United States was on the right track under the current administration. “I’m tired of hearing our opponents downgrade the United States,” the vice president said. Nixon also warned that the Democrats’ fiscal policies would boost inflation, and that only he had the necessary foreign policy experience to guide the nation.

Kennedy came under scrutiny about his religion. The United States had never had a Catholic president, and many Protestants had concerns about Kennedy. Kennedy decided to confront this issue openly in a speech. “I believe in an America where the separation of the church and state is absolute,” he said, “where no Catholic prelate would tell the president, should he be a Catholic, how to act.”

The four televised debates strongly influenced the outcome of the election, one of the closest in American history. Kennedy won the popular vote by 119,000 out of 68 million votes cast and the Electoral College by 303 votes to 219. In several states only a

few thousand votes could have swung the Electoral College numbers the other way.

Reading Check Identifying What were two main issues of the 1960 presidential election?

The Kennedy Mystique

Main Idea With Kennedy’s election, a youthful and enthusiastic First Family entered the White House.

Reading Connection Do you think a person’s charm and charisma can help them get elected? Read on to discover how JFK’s charisma resembled that of another president.

Despite his narrow victory, John F. Kennedy, commonly referred to as JFK, captured the imagination of the American public as few presidents before him had. During the campaign, many had been taken with Kennedy’s youth and optimism. The new president strongly reinforced this impression when he gave his Inaugural Address.

Inauguration Day, January 20, 1961, was crisp and cold in Washington, D.C. At the site of the ceremony, a crowd gathered, wrapped in coats and blankets. As Kennedy rose to take the oath of office, he wore neither a coat nor a hat. During his speech, the new president declared, “The torch has been passed to a new generation,” and he called on his fellow citizens to take a more active role in making the United States a better place. “My fellow Americans,” he exclaimed,

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

Kennedy, his wife Jacqueline, their children Caroline and John, and their extended family seemed to have been created for media coverage. Reporters followed the family everywhere. Kennedy himself was a master of the media. He was the first to broadcast his press conferences live on television.

The Kennedy charisma inspired many of his staff members. His press secretary, Pierre Salinger, put this feeling into words:

“None of us will ever have a better job as long as we live. . . . The big *plus*—the fringe benefit that made it all worthwhile—was JFK himself. . . . Our faith in him and in what he was trying to do was absolute, and he could impart to our work together a sense of challenge and adventure—a feeling that he was moving, and the world with him, toward a better time.”

—quoted in *With Kennedy*

Reading Check **Summarizing** In what ways did John F. Kennedy inspire the nation?

Success and Setback on the Domestic Front

Main Idea Despite an uneasy relationship with Congress, Kennedy managed to get several parts of his domestic agenda passed.

Reading Connection Do you think Kennedy’s efforts to help expand women’s rights were enough? Read on to find out how Kennedy’s programs were designed to help women.

Not everyone in the nation fell for the Kennedy mystique. His high culture, elite Northeast upbringing, and Catholicism irritated some Americans. Congress also was less than taken with the new president. Upon entering office, President Kennedy set out to implement a legislative agenda, which became known as the **New Frontier**. He hoped to increase aid to education, provide health insurance to the elderly, create a Department of Urban Affairs, and help migrant workers. He would soon find that transforming lofty ideals into real legislation was no easy task on Capitol Hill.

Kennedy Struggles With Congress Although the Democratic Party enjoyed large majorities in both houses of Congress, Kennedy was unable to push through many of his domestic programs. Kennedy had trailed Nixon in many Democratic districts and had not helped many Democrats get elected. Those who did win, therefore, did not feel they owed him anything. As one Democrat in Congress told *U.S. News & World Report*, “A good many [congressional representatives] were elected in 1960 in spite of his presence on the ticket rather than because his name was there.” As a result, legislators found it easy to follow their own interests rather than those of the president.

In addition, Republicans as well as conservative Southern Democrats—who were responsible for holding the Democratic majority in Congress—viewed the New Frontier as too big and too costly. Senator Everett Dirksen, Republican minority leader from Illinois, claimed that Kennedy’s efforts to increase the power and reach of the federal government would push the nation down an ominous path.

In the end, Congress defeated a number of JFK’s proposals, including health insurance for the elderly, a Department of Urban Affairs, and federal aid to education. The president often resisted calls to push harder for his agenda. He decided not to fight every battle on Capitol Hill and preferred to reserve his bargaining power for issues that were both truly important and obtainable.



Picturing History

The Kennedy White House Jacqueline Kennedy (center right) brought youthful elegance and style to the White House. **Why do you think the media scrutinized the First Family so much?**

Strengthening the Economy Kennedy did achieve some victories in Congress, particularly in his efforts to improve the nation's economy. The American economy, which had soared through much of the 1950s, had slowed by the end of the decade. From 1960 to 1961, the growth rate of the gross national product was only 2 percent, while the unemployment rate hovered near 7 percent of the workforce, the second-highest figure since World War II.

In an effort to increase growth and create more jobs, Kennedy advocated the New Deal strategy of deficit spending, first implemented during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency. The new president convinced Congress to invest more funds in defense and in space exploration. Such spending did indeed create more jobs and stimulate economic growth. Reluctant to rely too heavily on deficit spending, which tends to cause inflation, Kennedy also sought to boost the economy by increasing business production and efficiency. In addition, his administration asked businesses to hold down prices and labor leaders to hold down pay increases.

Prodded by Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, labor unions in the steel industry agreed to reduce their demands for higher wages. In 1962, however, several steel companies raised prices sharply.

The president threatened to have the Department of Defense buy cheaper steel from foreign companies

and instructed the Justice Department to investigate whether the steel industry was guilty of price-fixing. In response to Kennedy's tactics, the steel companies backed down and cut their prices. To achieve this victory, however, the president had strained his relations with the nation's business community.

In an effort to get the economy moving, Kennedy also adopted supply-side ideas and pushed for a cut in tax rates. When opponents argued that a tax cut would only help the wealthy, Kennedy asserted that lower taxes meant businesses would have more money to expand, which would create new jobs and benefit everybody. "A rising tide lifts all boats,"

cuts would stimulate the economy and help all Americans.

Congress refused to pass the tax cut because many members feared it would cause inflation. However, they did support Kennedy's request to raise the minimum wage and his proposal for an Area Redevelopment Act and a Housing Act. These two programs provided funds to poor areas. They helped to clear slums, create jobs, and build low-income housing.

Women's Rights Kennedy also helped women make strides during the 1960s. Although Kennedy never appointed a woman to his cabinet, a number of women worked in prominent positions in his

Strengthening the Economy New housing projects were developed as part of the Area Redevelopment Act and Housing Act.



Major Decisions of the Warren Court, 1954–1967

Civil Rights	
<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> (1954)	Segregation in public schools unconstitutional
<i>Baker v. Carr</i> (1962)	Established that federal courts can hear lawsuits seeking to force state authorities to redraw electoral districts
<i>Reynolds v. Sims</i> (1964)	State legislative districts should be equal in population
<i>Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States</i> (1964)	Desegregation of public accommodations established in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is legal
<i>Loving v. Virginia</i> (1967)	States may not ban interracial marriage
Due Process	
<i>Mapp v. Ohio</i> (1961)	Unlawfully seized evidence is inadmissible at trial
<i>Gideon v. Wainwright</i> (1963)	Suspects are entitled to court-appointed attorney if unable to afford one on their own
<i>Escobedo v. Illinois</i> (1964)	Accused has the right to an attorney during police questioning
<i>Miranda v. Arizona</i> (1966)	Police must inform suspects of their rights during the arrest process
Freedom of Religion and Freedom of Speech	
<i>Engel v. Vitale</i> (1962)	State-mandated prayer in school banned
<i>Abington School District v. Schempp</i> (1963)	State-mandated Bible readings in school banned
<i>New York Times v. Sullivan</i> (1964)	Celebrities may sue the media for libel only in certain circumstances

Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Analyze the effects *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Reynolds v. Sims* had on the nation.
- Summarizing** What three major areas of policy did the Warren Court's decisions affect?

administration, including Esther Peterson, assistant secretary of labor and director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Kennedy advanced women's rights in other ways as well. In 1961 he created the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. The commission called for federal action against gender discrimination and affirmed the right of women to equally paid employment. Kennedy responded by issuing an executive order ending gender discrimination in the federal civil service, and in 1963 he signed the Equal Pay Act for women. The commission also sparked the creation of similar groups on the state level and inspired many women to work together to further their interests.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why did Kennedy have difficulty getting his New Frontier legislation passed?

Warren Court Reforms

Main Idea Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court took a more activist role.


Reading Connection Have you ever watched a television show where a police officer read someone their rights? Read on to learn about the origin of this process.

During the Kennedy years, the Supreme Court also took an active role in social issues. In 1953 President Eisenhower had nominated **Earl Warren**, the popular Republican governor of California, to become Chief Justice of the United States. More so than previous courts, the Warren Court took an activist stance, helping to shape national policy by taking a forceful stand on a number of key issues of the day.


"One Man, One Vote" One of the Warren Court's more notable decisions had a powerful impact on who would hold political power in the United States.

This decision concerned **reapportionment**, or the way in which states draw up political districts based on changes in population. By 1960 many more Americans **resided** in cities and suburbs than in rural areas. Yet many states had failed to restructure their electoral districts to reflect that change.

In Tennessee, for example, a rural county with only 2,340 voters had 1 representative in the state assembly, while an urban county with 133 times more voters had only 7. The vote of a city dweller counted for less than the vote of a rural resident. Some Tennessee voters took the matter to court.

The *Baker v. Carr* case reached the Supreme Court after a federal court ruled that the issue should be solved by legislation. The Fourteenth Amendment specifically gives Congress authority to enforce voting rights. In 1962 the Supreme Court ruled that the federal courts did have jurisdiction and sent the matter back to the lower courts.  (See page 1004 for more information on *Baker v. Carr*.)


Two years later, in June 1964, the Supreme Court ruled in *Reynolds v. Sims* that the current apportionment system in most states was indeed unconstitutional. In a decision that helped to promote the principle of “one man, one vote,” the Warren Court required state legislatures to reapportion electoral districts so that all citizens’ votes would have equal weight. The Court’s decision was a momentous one, for it shifted political power throughout the country from rural and often conservative areas to urban areas, where more liberal voters resided. The Court’s decision also boosted the political power of

African Americans and Hispanics, who typically lived in cities.  (See page 1006 for more information on *Reynolds v. Sims*.)

Extending Due Process In a series of historic rulings in the 1960s, the U.S. Supreme Court began to use the Fourteenth Amendment to apply the Bill of Rights to the states. Originally, the Bill of Rights applied only to the federal government. Many states had their own bill of rights, but some federal rights did not exist at the state level. The Fourteenth Amendment stated that “no state shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.” **Due process** means that the law may not treat individuals unfairly, **arbitrarily**, or unreasonably, and that courts must follow proper procedures and rules when trying cases. Due process ensures that all people are treated the same by the court system. In the 1960s, the Supreme Court ruled in several cases that upholding due process meant applying the federal bill of rights to the states.


In 1961 the Supreme Court ruled in *Mapp v. Ohio* that state courts could not consider evidence obtained in violation of the federal Constitution. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Court ruled that a defendant in a state court had the right to a lawyer, regardless of his or her ability to pay. The following year, in *Escobedo v. Illinois*, the justices ruled that a suspect must be allowed access to a lawyer and must be informed of his or her right to remain silent before being questioned by the police. *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966) went even further, requiring that authorities

immediately give suspects a four-fold warning. The warning consisted of informing suspects that they have the right to remain silent, that anything they say can and will be used against them in court, that they have a right to a lawyer while being questioned, and that if they cannot afford a lawyer, the court will appoint one for them. Today these warnings are known as the Miranda rights.


 (See pages 1005–1006 for more information on *Mapp v. Ohio*, *Gideon v. Wainwright*, *Escobedo v. Illinois*, and *Miranda v. Arizona*.)

Many citizens and police departments and even some of the



 Ernesto Miranda (right) and his attorney

Supreme Court justices accused the Warren Court of favoring criminals. There were others, however, who cheered the decisions, seeing them as promoting the rights of all citizens, even the less privileged.

Prayer and Privacy The Supreme Court also handed down decisions affecting the relationship between church and state. The Court applied the First Amendment to the states in *Engel v. Vitale* (1962). In this ruling, the Court decided that states could not compose official prayers and require those prayers to be recited in state public schools. The ruling upheld the separation of church and state. The following year, in *Abington School District v. Schempp*, it followed up with a similar decision by ruling against state-mandated Bible readings in public schools. Weighing in on another controversial issue, the Court ruled in *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) that prohibiting the sale and use of birth control devices violated citizens' constitutional right to privacy.  (See pages 1005–1006 for more information on these Supreme Court cases.)


As with most controversial rulings of the Warren Court, these decisions delighted some and deeply disturbed others. What most people did agree upon, however, was the Court's pivotal role in shaping the country's national policy. The Warren Court, wrote *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis, "has brought about more social change than most Congresses and most Presidents."



Activist Court The Warren Court poses for its official portrait in 1962, with Chief Justice Earl Warren front and center.

From the political arena to the legal system to people's everyday lives, the Warren Court indeed left its imprint on the nation. Meanwhile, away from the domestic arena, President Kennedy worked to make his mark on the country's foreign affairs during a time of rising Cold War tensions.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What was the significance of the Warren Court's "One Man, One Vote" ruling in the *Reynolds v. Simms* case?

HISTORY
Online  **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Vocabulary** Define: medium, missile gap, reapportionment, reside, due process, arbitrary.
2. **People and Terms** Identify: New Frontier, Earl Warren.
3. **Summarize** the progress made for women's rights during Kennedy's administration.

Reviewing Big Ideas

4. **Explaining** How did President Kennedy advance women's rights?

Critical Thinking

5. **Historical Analysis** **Interpreting** In what way was the 1960 presidential election a turning point in campaign history? CA H13
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the economic policies of the Kennedy administration.

Economic Policies	_____

Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Charts** Study the chart of Warren Court decisions on page 709. How did the Court expand the rights of the accused? Were these sound decisions? Why or why not?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** In his Inaugural Address, President Kennedy asked his fellow Americans to "Ask what you can do for your country." Respond to this statement in an essay. CA 11WA2.4a



Eyewitness

On May 22, 1964, **PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON** delivered a speech in Ann Arbor, Michigan, outlining his domestic agenda that would become known as “The Great Society.” Speechwriter and policy adviser Richard Goodwin watched the speech on videotape the next morning back in Washington. He recalls his reaction:

Then, with the cheers, at first muted as if the audience were surprised at their own response, then mounting toward unrestrained, accepting delight, Johnson concluded: “There are those timid souls who say . . . we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape civilization. . . . But we need your will, your labor, your hearts. . . . So let us from this moment begin our work, so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.”

Watching the film in the White House basement, almost involuntarily I added my applause to the tumultuous acclaim coming from the sound track. . . . I clapped for the President, and for our country.

WHAT IS A PIP, ANYWAY?

Match these rock 'n' roll headliners with their supporting acts.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| 1. Paul Revere and | a. the Union Gap |
| 2. Martha and | b. the Supremes |
| 3. Gary Puckett and | c. the Miracles |
| 4. Gladys Knight and | d. the Vandellas |
| 5. Smokey Robinson and | e. the Raiders |
| 6. Diana Ross and | f. the Pips |

PHOTOGRAPH BY BETTMANN/CORBIS

VERBATIM

“Is there any place we can catch them? What can we do? Are we working 24 hours a day? Can we go around the moon before them?”

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY,
to Lyndon B. Johnson, after hearing
that Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin
had orbited the earth, 1961

“It was quite a day. I don’t know what you can say about a day when you see four beautiful sunsets. . . . This is a little unusual, I think.”

COLONEL JOHN GLENN,
in orbit, 1962

“There are tens of millions of Americans who are beyond the welfare state. Taken as a whole there is a culture of poverty . . . bad health, poor housing, low levels of aspiration and high levels of mental distress. Twenty percent of a nation, some 32,000,000.”

MICHAEL HARRINGTON,
The Culture of Poverty, 1962

“I have a dream.”

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
1963

“I don’t see an American dream; . . . I see an American nightmare . . . Three hundred and ten years we worked in this country without a dime in return.”

MALCOLM X,
1964

“The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice.”

LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
1964

“In 1962, the starving residents of an isolated Indian village received 1 plow and 1,700 pounds of seeds. They ate the seeds.”

PEACE CORPS AD,
1965

Space Race

Want to capture some of the glamour and excitement of space exploration? Create a new nickname for your city. You won't be the first.

CITY	NICKNAME
Danbury, CT	Space Age City
Muscle Shoals, AL	Space Age City
Houston, TX	Space City, USA
Galveston, TX	Space Port, USA
Cape Kennedy, FL	Spaceport, USA
Blacksburg, VA	Space Age Community
Huntsville, AL	Rocket City, USA Space City, USA Space Capital of the Nation Space Capital of the World



John Glenn,
first American
to orbit Earth

RALPH MORSE/TIMEPIX

NUMBERS

7% of African American adults registered to vote in Mississippi in 1964 before passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

67% of African American adults in Mississippi registered to vote in 1969

70% of white adults registered to vote in 1964, nationwide

90% of white adults registered to vote nationwide in 1969

57 Number of days senators filibustered to hold up passage of the Civil Rights Bill in 1964

14½ Hours duration of all-night speech delivered by Senator Robert Byrd before a cloture vote stopped the filibuster

72% of elementary and high school teachers approve of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in 1961



HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

\$80-90 Weekly pay for a clerk/typist in New York in 1965

\$200 Rent for a two-bedroom apartment at Broadway and 72nd Street on New York City's Upper West Side in 1965

Milestones

PERFORMED IN ENGLISH, 1962. THE CATHOLIC MASS, following Pope John XXIII's Second Vatican Council. "Vatican II" allows the Latin mass to be translated into local languages around the world.

ENROLLED, 1962. JAMES MEREDITH, at the University of Mississippi, following a Supreme Court ruling that ordered his admission to the previously segregated school. Rioting and a showdown with state officials who wished to bar his enrollment preceded Meredith's entrance to classes.

BROKEN, 1965. 25-DAY FAST BY CÉSAR CHÁVEZ, labor organizer. His protest convinced others to join his nonviolent strike against the grape growers; shoppers boycotted table grapes in sympathy.

STRIPPED, 1967. MUHAMMAD ALI, of his heavyweight champion title, after refusing induction into the army following a rejection of his application for conscientious objector status. The boxer was arrested, given a five-year sentence, and fined \$10,000.

PICKETED, 1968. The Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City, by protesters who believe the contest's emphasis on women's physical beauty is degrading and minimizes the importance of women's intellect.



AP

REMOVED, 1968. TOY GUNS, from the Sears, Roebuck Christmas catalog after the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy.

JFK and the Cold War

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the Kennedy administration and the Warren Court. In this section, you will discover how President Kennedy worked to end the spread of communism.

Main Idea

- President Kennedy developed new programs to combat the spread of communism. (p. 715)
- President Kennedy faced foreign policy crises in Cuba and Berlin. (p. 717)
- President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963. (p. 718)

Content Vocabulary

flexible response, space race

Academic Vocabulary

institute, symbol, theory

People and Terms to Identify

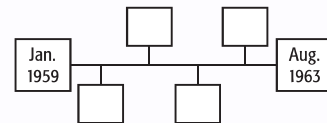
Peace Corps, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** Kennedy's plan for the armed forces.
- **Explain** how the Cold War influenced foreign aid and the space program.

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the crises of the Cold War, complete a time line similar to the one below to record the major events of the Cold War in the late 1950s and early 1960s.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

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

11.8.7 Describe the effects on society and the economy of technological developments since 1945, including the computer revolution, changes in communication, advances in medicine, and improvements in agricultural technology.

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

The Big Idea

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.

President Kennedy believed the United States should prepare to fight Communist aggression by increasing troops and weapons and depending less on nuclear arms. He also hoped to improve relations with Latin America. Adding to the tensions of the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union began a space race. Cold War tensions heightened with the Bay of Pigs invasion, the construction of the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban missile crisis. Kennedy's presidency came to a shocking end when he was assassinated on November 22, 1963.

Kennedy Confronts Global Challenges

Main Idea President Kennedy developed new programs to combat the spread of communism.

Reading Connection Would you consider joining the Peace Corps and working in Latin America and other parts of the world? Read on to find out about diplomatic efforts in Latin America during Kennedy's presidency.

As President Kennedy entered the White House, the nation's dangerous rivalry with the Soviet Union continued to intensify. In the fall of 1962, the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union reached a boiling point.

★ An American Story ★

Like millions of other Americans in late October 1962, Tami Gold was having trouble concentrating on anything. For several tension-filled days that fall, the world seemed headed for nuclear destruction. U.S. officials had discovered that the Soviet Union had placed missiles in Cuba—a mere 90 miles (145 km) from the shores of the United States. When the Soviets refused to remove the weapons, a bitter weeklong standoff ensued in which the two superpowers hurled threats and warnings at each other and moved to the brink of nuclear war. Gold, then a seventh-grade student in Long Island, New York, recalled the events of one particular day:

“I remember I was in the bathroom of the school . . . when they had said over the loud speaker . . . that everyone had to return to their homerooms immediately and get instruction from their homeroom teacher. And it was probably one of the scariest moments of my life, it was like the sensation that our country could go to war and I didn't understand at all what it was about, but the fact that the country could go to war at any moment was really really present. . . . It was chilling, it was scary, it was really nauseating. . . .”

—quoted in *Collective Memories of the Cuban Missile Crisis*

The Cuban missile crisis, as the standoff came to be called, may have been the most dramatic foreign

policy episode Kennedy faced. It was not the only one, however, the president had to deal with.

From the start, Kennedy appeared ready to stand up to the Soviets. Upon taking the oath of office, the new president devoted much of his Inaugural Address to the role of the United States in a divided world:

“Let the word go forth from this time and place . . . that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed. . . . Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty.”

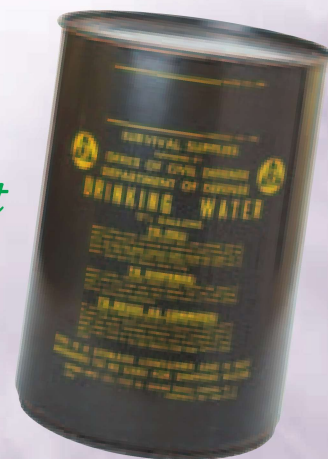
—quoted in *Let the Word Go Forth*

A More Flexible Response Kennedy took office at a time of growing global instability. Nationalism was exploding throughout the developing world, and the Soviet Union actively supported “wars of national liberation.” *Newsweek* magazine wrote that the “greatest single problem that faces John Kennedy is how to meet the aggressive power of the Communist bloc.”

Kennedy felt that Eisenhower had relied too heavily on nuclear weapons, which could only be used in extreme situations. To allow for a “flexible response” if nations needed help against Communist movements, the president pushed for a buildup of conventional troops and weapons.

“. . . it was probably one of the scariest moments of my life. . . .”

—Tami Gold



▲ Emergency water supplied by Department of Defense



The Peace Corps A Peace Corps volunteer describes the construction of a new school for villagers in Dadar, India.

In adopting this plan, Kennedy supported the Special Forces, a small army unit created in the 1950s to wage guerrilla warfare in limited conflicts. Kennedy expanded it and allowed the soldiers to wear their distinctive “Green Beret” headgear.

Aid to Other Countries One area of the world where Kennedy wanted to renew diplomatic focus was Latin America. Conditions in much of Latin American society were not good: Governments were often in the hands of the wealthy few and many of their citizens lived in extreme poverty. In some Latin American countries, these conditions spurred the growth of leftwing movements aimed at overthrowing their governments. When the United States was involved in Latin America, it was usually to help existing governments stay in power in order to prevent Communist movements from flourishing. Poor Latin Americans resented this intrusion, just as they resented American corporations that had business operations in their countries, a presence that was seen as a kind of imperialism.

To improve relations between the United States and Latin America, President Kennedy proposed an Alliance for Progress, a series of cooperative aid projects with Latin American governments. The alliance was designed to create a “free and prosperous Latin America” that would be less likely to support Communist-inspired revolutions.

Over a 10-year period, the United States pledged \$20 billion to help Latin American countries establish better schools, housing, health care, and fairer land distribution. The results were mixed. In some countries—notably Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, and the Central American republics—the alliance did promote real reform. In others, governing rulers used the money to keep themselves in power.

The Peace Corps Another program aimed at helping less developed nations fight poverty was the **Peace Corps**, an organization that sent young Americans to perform humanitarian services in these countries.

After rigorous training, volunteers spent two years in countries that requested assistance. They laid out sewage systems in Bolivia and trained medical technicians in Chad. Others taught English or helped to build roads and construct new schools. By late 1963 thousands of Peace Corps volunteers were serving in over 30 countries. Today, the Peace Corps is still active and remains one of Kennedy’s most enduring legacies.

The Cold War Moves Into Space In 1961 Yuri Gagarin, a Soviet astronaut, became the first person to orbit the earth. Again, as in 1957 when they launched *Sputnik*, the first satellite, the Soviets had beaten the United States in the **space race**. President Kennedy worried about the impact of the flight on the Cold War. Soviet successes in space might convince the world that communism was better than capitalism. “Is there any place we can catch them?” Kennedy asked Vice President Johnson.

After consulting experts, Johnson gave Kennedy an idea. Less than six weeks after the Soviet flight, the president appeared before Congress. “Whatever mankind must undertake, free men must fully share,” Kennedy announced. “I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon.”

Kennedy’s speech set in motion a massive effort by NASA and American industry to produce the necessary technology. In early 1962 John Glenn became the first American to orbit the earth. By 1965 American spacecraft had begun carrying two men at a time into orbit. Three years later the United States launched three men into orbit in a capsule called *Apollo*. *Apollo* was launched using the Saturn V, the largest and most powerful rocket ever built. Standing 363 feet (111 m) tall, the Saturn V was capable of giving both *Apollo* and the lunar module—which astronauts would use to land on the moon—enough velocity to escape Earth’s gravitational pull and reach the moon.

On July 16, 1969, a Saturn V lifted off a launch pad in Florida carrying three American astronauts: Neil Armstrong, Edwin “Buzz” Aldrin, and Michael Collins. On July 20, Armstrong and Aldrin boarded their lunar module, named *Eagle*, and headed to the moon. After a few tense minutes, Armstrong radioed the NASA flight center in Texas: “Houston . . . the *Eagle* has landed.”

Armstrong opened the hatch and climbed down to the surface, becoming the first human being to walk on the moon. As he set foot on the lunar soil, Armstrong announced: "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind." American technology and determination had reached out across 238,000 miles to put men on the moon. America had won the space race and decisively demonstrated its technological superiority over the Soviet Union.

Reading Check **Examining** What global challenges did Kennedy face during his presidency?

Crises of the Cold War

Main Idea **President Kennedy faced foreign policy crises in Cuba and Berlin.**

Reading Connection Do you believe that the embargo against Cuba should be lifted? Read on to learn about the difficulties President Kennedy faced from that country.

President Kennedy's efforts to combat Communist influence in other countries led to some of the most intense crises of the Cold War. At times these crises left Americans and people in many other nations wondering whether the world would survive.

The Bay of Pigs The first crisis occurred in Cuba, only 90 miles (145 km) from American shores. There, Fidel Castro had overthrown the corrupt Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Almost immediately, Castro established ties with the Soviet Union, instituted drastic land reforms, and seized foreign-owned businesses, many of them American. Cuba's alliance with the Soviets worried many Americans. The Communists were now too close for comfort, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev had indicated he would strengthen Cuba's military.

Fearing that the Soviets would use Cuba as a base to spread revolution throughout the Western Hemisphere, President Eisenhower authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to secretly train and arm Cuban exiles, known as La Brigada, to invade the island. The invasion was intended to ignite a popular uprising against Castro.

When Kennedy became president, his advisers approved the plan. In office fewer than three months and trusting his experts, Kennedy agreed to the operation

HISTORY Online 

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Picturing History

Cold War Peak Fears of communism peaked during the Cuban missile crisis. Routine reconnaissance flights over Cuba revealed the construction of missile sites, fueling facilities, and launch pads. **What steps did Kennedy take to deal with the crisis?**

with some changes. On April 17, 1961, 1,400 armed Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs on the south coast of Cuba. The invasion was a disaster. La Brigada's boats ran aground on coral reefs, Kennedy cancelled their air support to keep United States involvement a secret, and the expected popular uprising never happened. Within two days, Castro's forces killed or captured almost all the members of La Brigada. The outcome alarmed Kennedy. The action exposed an American plot to overthrow a neighbor's government and made the United States look weak and disorganized.

The Berlin Wall Goes Up Still reeling from the Bay of Pigs fiasco, Kennedy faced another foreign policy challenge in June 1961 when he met with Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria. Khrushchev wanted to stop the flood of Germans pouring out of Communist East Germany into West Berlin. He demanded that the Western powers recognize East Germany and that the United States, Great Britain, and France withdraw from Berlin, a city lying completely within East Germany. Kennedy refused and reaffirmed the West's commitment to West Berlin.

Khrushchev retaliated by building a wall through Berlin, sealing off the Soviet sector. Guards posted along the wall shot at anyone trying to escape from the East. For nearly 30 years afterward, the **Berlin Wall** stood as a visible **symbol** of the Cold War division between East and West.

The Cuban Missile Crisis By far the most terrifying crisis of the Kennedy era occurred the next year. Once again, the crisis dealt with Cuba. Over the summer of 1962, American intelligence agencies learned that Soviet technicians and equipment had arrived in Cuba. On October 22, President Kennedy announced on television that American spy planes had taken aerial photographs showing that the Soviet Union had placed long-range missiles in Cuba. Enemy missiles stationed so close to the United States posed a dangerous threat.

Kennedy ordered a naval blockade to stop the Soviets from delivering more missiles, and he demanded that they dismantle existing missile sites. As Soviet ships headed toward the blockade, Americans braced themselves for war.

After a flurry of secret negotiations, the Soviet Union offered a deal. It would remove the missiles if the United States promised not to invade Cuba and to remove its missiles from Turkey near the Soviet border.

Neither Kennedy nor Khrushchev wanted nuclear war. "Only lunatics . . . who themselves want to perish and before they die destroy the world, could do

this," wrote the Soviet leader. On October 28, the leaders reached an agreement. Kennedy publicly agreed not to invade Cuba and privately agreed to remove the Turkish missiles; the Soviets agreed to remove their missiles from Cuba. The world could breathe again.

The Impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis The Cuban missile crisis brought the world closer to nuclear war than at any time since World War II. Both the United States and the Soviet Union had been forced to consider the consequences of such a war. In the following months, each country seemed ready to work to lessen world tensions. In August 1963, the United States and the Soviet Union concluded years of negotiation by agreeing to a treaty to ban the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere—the first step toward mutual arms reduction since the beginning of the Cold War.

In the long run, however, the missile crisis had ominous consequences. The humiliating retreat the United States forced upon the Soviet leadership contributed to Nikita Khrushchev's fall from power in October 1964. Perhaps more importantly, the crisis gave the Soviets evidence of their military inferiority and helped produce a dramatic Soviet arms buildup over the next two decades. This buildup contributed to a comparable military increase in the United States in the early 1980s.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** How was the Cuban missile crisis resolved?

The Death of a President

 **President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963.**

Reading Connection Do you know someone who can recall the day Kennedy was assassinated? What do they recall about that day? Read on to discover the details of Kennedy's assassination.

Soon after the Senate ratified the test ban treaty, John F. Kennedy's presidency came to a shocking and tragic end. On November 22, 1963, Kennedy and his wife traveled to Texas with Vice President Lyndon Johnson for a series of political appearances. As the presidential motorcade drove slowly through the crowded streets of Dallas, gunfire rang out. Someone had shot the president twice—once in the throat and

once in the head. The country watched in horror as shocked government officials sped Kennedy to a nearby hospital, where he was pronounced dead moments later.

Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of killing Kennedy, appeared to be a confused and embittered Marxist who had spent time in the Soviet Union. He himself was shot to death while in police custody two days after the assassination. The bizarre situation led some to speculate that the second gunman, local nightclub owner Jack Ruby, killed Oswald to protect others involved in the crime. In 1964 a national commission headed by Chief Justice Warren concluded that Oswald was the lone assassin. The report of the **Warren Commission** left some questions unanswered, and **theories** about a conspiracy to kill the president have persisted, though none has gained wide acceptance.

In the wake of the assassination, the United States and the world went into mourning. Americans across the land sobbed in public. Thousands traveled to Washington, D.C., and waited in a line that stretched for several miles outside the Capitol in order to walk silently past the president's flag-draped casket. Millions of others spent hours in front of their televisions mourning the loss of the president by simply watching people file past the casket.

John F. Kennedy served as president for little more than 1,000 days. Yet his powerful personality and active approach to the presidency made a profound impression on most Americans. Aided by the tidal wave of emotion that followed the president's death, his successor, Lyndon Johnson, set out to implement the programs Kennedy had left behind.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How did Kennedy's presidency end?



 **Picturing History**

A Final Salute John F. Kennedy, Jr. (right) bravely salutes his father's coffin during the state funeral. [How did people around the world react to JFK's assassination?](#)

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

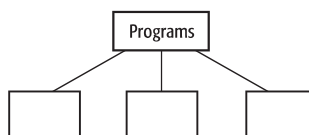
- Vocabulary** Define: flexible response, space race, institute, symbol, theory.
- People and Terms** Identify: Peace Corps, Berlin Wall, Warren Commission.
- Explain** the goals of the Alliance for Progress.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** What was Kennedy's goal for the United States in the space race?

Critical Thinking

- Interpreting** What was the role of foreign aid in the relations between the United States and Latin America?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the programs that Kennedy used to reduce the threat of nuclear war and to try to stem communism.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on pages 717. Explain how aerial photos were important for information during the Cold War.

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an American citizen during the Cuban missile crisis. Write a journal entry describing the mood of the country during that time.

CA 11WA2.1a; 11WA2.1e