

# 15

## The Kennedy and Johnson Years 1960–1968



### WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

#### The Trumpet Summons Us

On January 20, 1961, John F. Kennedy was sworn in as President of the United States. His stirring Inaugural Address announced the dawn of a new era and rallied the nation to battle against the common enemies of man.

“Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, ‘rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation,’ a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself. . . .

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.”

—John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address

The challenge of fulfilling these goals would inspire the agenda of President Kennedy and that of his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson. *Listen to the Witness History audio to learn more about the Kennedy and Johnson years.*

◀ Senator John F. Kennedy, the 1960 Democratic presidential candidate, is greeted by his supporters.

#### Chapter Preview

**Chapter Focus Question:** How did the policies of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson affect the nation?

#### Section 1


Kennedy and the Cold War

#### Section 2

Kennedy’s New Frontier

#### Section 3

Johnson’s Great Society

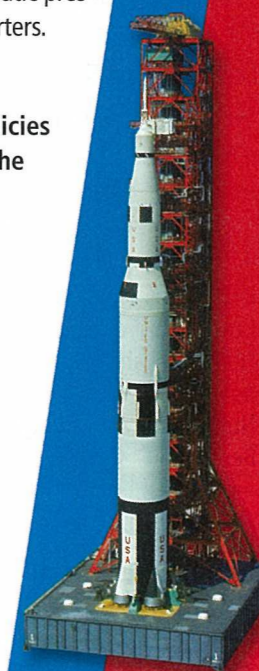
Use the  **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Kennedy campaign button



Peace Corps logo



The space rocket Saturn V

#### Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector  
Web Code: nee-1501



KENNEDY  
FOR  
PRESIDENT



KENNEDY  
FOR PRESIDENT  
JOHNSON  
FOR VICE PRESIDENT

N. Y. Democratic State Campaign Committee  
Siltman Hotel, N. Y. 17, N. Y.



A TIME FOR  
GREATNESS  
U. S. SENATOR  
JOHN F.  
KENNEDY  
FOR  
PRESIDENT

◀ Kennedy campaign posters

## Kennedy and the Cold War

### Objectives

- Explain the steps Kennedy took to change American foreign policy.
- Analyze the causes and effects of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Assess the results of the Berlin Crisis and other foreign-policy events of the 1960s.

### Terms and People

John F. Kennedy	Bay of Pigs invasion
Richard M. Nixon	Cuban missile crisis
Fidel Castro	Nikita Khrushchev
flexible response	hot line
Peace Corps	Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
Alliance for Progress	Berlin Wall

### NoteTaking

**Reading Skill: Understand Effects** As you read, list the Cold War crises Kennedy faced and the effects of each event.

Cold War Crisis	Result
Bay of Pigs Invasion	

**Why It Matters** As the Cold War continued into the 1960s, Kennedy took office facing the spread of communism abroad and the threat of nuclear war. Determined to succeed where he felt Eisenhower had failed, Kennedy's enthusiasm and commitment to change offered the hope that with hard work and persistence the United States could win the Cold War. **Section Focus Question:** How did Kennedy respond to the continuing challenges of the Cold War?

### Kennedy Defeats Nixon in 1960

For eight years, President Dwight Eisenhower had presided over a nation that had generally enjoyed peace and prosperity. But even so, there were a number of issues that caused Americans grave concern. The launch of *Sputnik 1* showed that the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union was still intense. The U-2 spy plane incident demonstrated that the Cold War might heat up at a moment's notice. The Montgomery bus boycott provided clear evidence that the *Brown* decision had not ended racial discrimination in the land. Deep, unsettled problems remained—problems for a new decade and a new generation of political leadership.

**The Candidates** In the presidential election of 1960, Democrat **John F. Kennedy** and Republican **Richard M. Nixon** were quite similar in a variety of ways. For the first time in U.S. history, both candidates had been born in the twentieth century, Nixon in 1913 and Kennedy in 1917. Both had served in the navy during World War II.

### WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

#### The Democratic Candidate

During the election of 1960, John F. Kennedy's Catholicism became an important issue. Some Americans openly questioned whether a Catholic was independent enough from his church to serve as President. Kennedy dismissed such questions, insisting that a candidate's religion should not be a factor in running for office:

“I am not the Catholic candidate for President. I am the Democratic Party's candidate for President, who happens also to be a Catholic.”

—John F. Kennedy, address to Southern Baptist Leaders, 1960

Both had been elected to Congress in 1946 and to the Senate in the early 1950s. Both were passionate about foreign affairs and supported the Cold War fight against communism. Young and energetic, intelligent and hard-working, both wanted to be the first of their generation to lead the country.

Their differences, however, were as significant as their similarities. Kennedy was the son of a wealthy Boston businessman. His grandfather had been a state senator, and his father had served as the ambassador to Great Britain. Kennedy attended Harvard University. Although he was a Catholic and his religion was an issue in the election, he insisted that what church he attended should not be a factor.

Nixon, born in California, did not enjoy the advantages of a wealthy upbringing. His father struggled to make a living. As a young man, Nixon had to balance his time between his school studies and work to help support the family. Many voters, however, respected him for his experiences as Vice President under Eisenhower.

**Televised Debates Make the Difference** The 1960 election highlighted the growing power and influence of television. The candidates agreed to four televised debates. During the campaign, Nixon was hospitalized with a knee infection. After getting out of the hospital, he committed himself to a grueling schedule of public appearances. By the time of the first debate, held in late September in Chicago and watched by about 70 million people, Nixon looked pale and exhausted. Nixon arrived at the television studio an hour early, but he refused the offer to have makeup applied to hide his newly-growing beard. By contrast, Kennedy, tanned from open-air campaigning in California, looked healthy and confident. His relaxed manner, easy charm, and quick sense of humor added to his appeal.

In many ways, the debate boiled down to how the candidates looked and spoke, rather than what they said. Most Americans who listened to the debate on radio believed that Nixon had won. But the larger audience who watched the debate on television concluded that Kennedy was the clear victor. Although Nixon tried to change his image in the later debates, he was unable to significantly alter the country's initial impression of him. Kennedy's “victory” in the Chicago debate proved crucial in the election.

#### Kennedy Wins a Close Election

Kennedy not only looked better on television, he also demonstrated an ability to react more quickly to unexpected events. For example, several weeks before the election, civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and a group of African American students were imprisoned during a protest in Atlanta, Georgia. Nixon said nothing publicly about the episode. Kennedy, however, telephoned King's wife, Coretta Scott King, to express his concern. He also worked behind the scenes to obtain King's release on bail. Kennedy's actions attracted the strong support of African Americans in the election.

The election of 1960 was the tightest presidential election since 1888.

### Televised Debate

Richard Nixon (left) and John Kennedy (right) face each other in a televised debate. Kennedy won the election by a slim margin. *How did TV change political campaigns?*



The Presidential Election of 1960

Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	% Electoral Vote	% Popular Vote
John Kennedy (Democrat)	303	34,227,096	56.4	49.7
Richard Nixon (Republican)	219	34,107,646	40.8	49.6

In an election that witnessed the largest voter turnout in the country's history, Kennedy won by less than 120,000 of the 68 million popular votes cast. Had a few thousand people voted differently in Illinois and Texas, the election would have gone to Nixon. Kennedy's electoral victory was more convincing. He carried enough states to give him 303 electoral votes to Nixon's 219.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did the television debates affect the 1960 presidential election?

## Kennedy Launches New Cold War Strategies

John Kennedy's 1960 campaign stressed the need for the United States to move forward with vigor and determination. Kennedy argued that during the Eisenhower years America had lost ground in the Cold War struggle against communism. He pointed to the new communist regime under **Fidel Castro** in Cuba and charged that there was now a "missile gap" that left the U.S. nuclear missile force inferior to that of the Soviet Union. The first goal of the Kennedy administration would be to build up the nation's armed forces.

Nowhere was the difference between Eisenhower and Kennedy more evident than in two important 1961 addresses. In his Farewell Address, Eisenhower counseled caution in foreign affairs. "The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist," he said.

### Comparing Viewpoints

## How Should the United States Fight the Cold War?

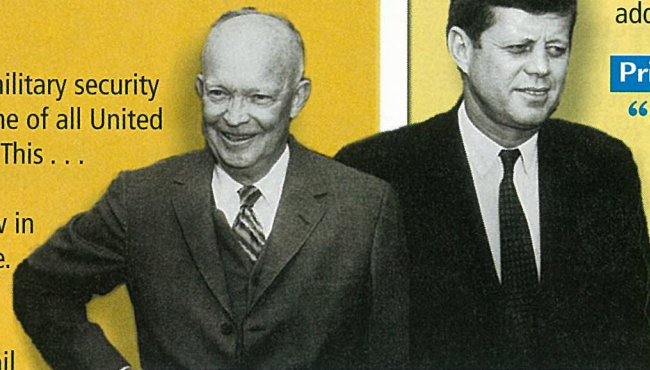
Both Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were strongly committed to containing communism. Their differences lay in their beliefs about the amount of military spending needed to carry out their goals.

### DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

In spite of numerous Cold War challenges, Eisenhower prided himself on having maintained peace. In his Farewell Address, he warned Americans about the effects of heavy defense spending.

#### Primary Source

"We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations. . . . This . . . immense military establishment . . . is new in the American experience. We recognize the . . . need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved."



#### Compare

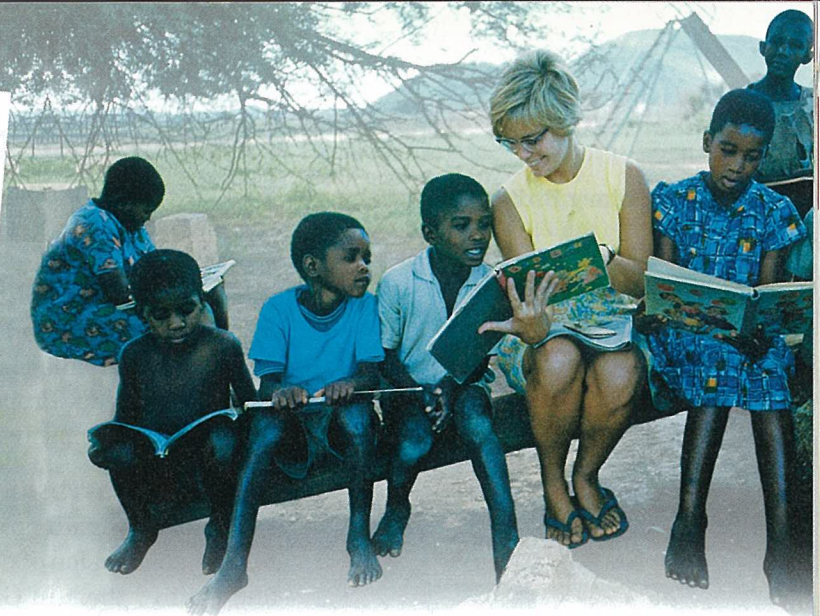
1. How does Eisenhower's plan for containing communism differ from Kennedy's?
2. Which plan may have prevented an attack on the United States? Explain.

### JOHN F. KENNEDY

Determined to prepare the United States against nuclear attack, Kennedy supported programs that resulted in a \$6 billion rise in defense spending. He defends his action in a State of the Union address:

#### Primary Source

"Our moral and physical strength begins at home. . . . But it includes our military strength as well. . . . [W]e must arm to deter others from aggression. We have increased the previous defense budget . . . not in the expectation of war but for the preservation of peace."



As the first President born in this century, Kennedy proclaimed that a "new generation of Americans" was ready to meet any challenge. In his Inaugural Address, Kennedy warned his country's enemies:

#### Primary Source

"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."

—John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961

Kennedy issued a challenge to Americans: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

**Building the Nation's Military** Eisenhower's defense policy of "massive retaliation" had emphasized the construction of nuclear weapons. Although Kennedy did not ignore the possibility of a nuclear war, he wanted to make sure that the United States was prepared to fight both conventional wars and conflicts against guerrilla forces. Kennedy therefore gave increased funding to conventional United States Army and Navy forces as well as to Army Special Forces, such as the Green Berets. He wanted a "**flexible response**" defense policy, one that prepared the United States to fight any type of conflict.

**Pursuing New Initiatives in the "Third World"** The "Third World," as it was known at the time, was the developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America that did not align with the United States or the Soviet Union. According to Soviet propaganda, Western capitalism created poverty and inequalities in the Third World, whereas communism promoted equality.

Like previous American leaders, Kennedy believed that democracy combined with prosperity would contain or limit the spread of communism. Therefore, he initiated programs to economically and politically strengthen the Third World. The **Peace Corps**, created in 1961, sent American volunteers around the world on "missions of freedom" to assist developing countries. They worked to provide technical, educational, and health services. Other programs stressed purely economic development. The **Alliance for Progress** promised to resurrect America's Good Neighbor policy toward Latin America. During the 1950s, many Latin Americans had grown increasingly resentful of the United States, claiming that it had too much influence in their region. Kennedy hoped to change that view with this program. It promoted economic assistance to Latin America. Unlike the Peace Corps, the Alliance for Progress was not successful.

✓ **Checkpoint** What strategies did Kennedy use to improve relations between the United States and developing countries?

### Kennedy's Plan

Special fighting forces (left), such as the Green Berets, were ready at all times for any attack. But Kennedy's Cold War strategy also involved creating goodwill among nations. The establishment of the Peace Corps (right) fulfilled that goal. *How could the Peace Corps help America win the Cold War?*

### Vocabulary Builder

**align**—(uh LIN) *v.* to decide to publicly support or not support a political group or country

**Vocabulary Builder**  
**regime**—(ruh ZHEEM) *n.*  
 particular administration or  
 government

## Confronting Communism in Cuba

In 1959, Cuban revolutionary Fidel Castro had succeeded in overthrowing the regime of Fulgencio Batista. Initially, the United States attempted to cultivate good relations with Castro. However, it soon became clear that the Cuban leader was determined to nationalize land held by private U.S. citizens, enforce radical reform measures, and accept Soviet economic and military aid. Thousands of wealthy and middle-class Cubans fled their country, many settling in Miami and southern Florida. Proud of their heritage and deeply anticommunist, they made new lives for themselves and their families in the United States.

**Bay of Pigs Invasion** After breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961, the Eisenhower administration authorized the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to plan an invasion of Cuba to overthrow Castro. The CIA recruited Cuban exiles and trained them in Guatemala. But when Eisenhower left office, the invasion plan was still that—an unexecuted, untried plan.

Pressured by members of the CIA and his own aides, Kennedy decided to implement the plan. On April 17, 1961, a CIA-led force of Cuban exiles attacked Cuba in the **Bay of Pigs invasion**. The invasion was badly mismanaged. The poorly equipped forces landed at the site with no protective cover. All but 300 of the 1,400 invaders were killed or captured. Not only did the Bay of Pigs invasion fail, it probably strengthened Castro's position in Cuba. It also turned many Cuban Americans against Kennedy.

Kennedy took personal responsibility for the failed invasion. However, he emphasized that the United States would continue to resist “communist penetration” in the Western Hemisphere.

### Effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis

#### Quick Study

- The Soviet Union removes missiles from Cuba.
- Kennedy and Khrushchev establish a “hot line” telephone system to keep communications open.
- The United States removes missiles from Turkey.
- In 1963, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.
- The United States and the Soviet Union avoid nuclear war.

### WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch *Showdown: The Cuban Missile Crisis* on the **United States Witness History DVD** to explore the tense confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union that nearly resulted in a nuclear war.

**Discovery**  
**EDUCATION**

Kennedy demanded the removal of the missiles. In a dramatic television address on October 22, 1962, he blamed **Nikita Khrushchev**, the Soviet premier, for causing a “reckless and provocative threat to world peace.” He also announced that he had approved a naval quarantine (blockade) of Cuba to prevent the Soviets from completing the bases. Behind the scenes, however, Kennedy worked toward a diplomatic settlement. He indicated that he would remove U.S. missiles in Turkey and Italy if the Soviets removed their missiles in Cuba.

After six tense days when nuclear war seemed a real possibility, Khrushchev agreed to honor the blockade and remove the missiles. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk later told a reporter, “Remember, when you report this, that, eyeball to eyeball, they blinked first.”

**The Results of the Crisis** During the Cuban missile crisis, Kennedy and Khrushchev stood on the edge of a nuclear war and then slowly backed away. In the Soviet Union, Khrushchev lost prestige and more hard-line leaders chipped away at his power. In the United States, Kennedy emerged as a more mature and thoughtful leader, one who had faced a frightening test and had remained calm and resolute. The crisis prompted both leaders to move toward détente. They installed a “hot line” telephone system between Moscow and Washington, D.C.,

**The Cuban Missile Crisis** Kennedy's efforts to contain communism were severely threatened during the **Cuban missile crisis**. In August and September of 1962 U.S. intelligence discovered that the Soviets were building nuclear missile sites in Cuba, apparently to protect Castro from another American invasion. When the sites were completed, major East Coast cities and the Panama Canal would be in range of the missiles.

## The Cuban Missile Crisis

### Geography Interactive

For: Interactive map  
 Web Code: nep-1502



Aerial photographs such as the one below, taken by an American U-2 spy plane, revealed the presence of Soviet missile bases in Cuba.



### Cuban Missile Bases



The location of missile bases in Cuba posed an immediate threat to several major American cities.

**Map Skills** Kennedy, aware of the Soviet arms buildup in Cuba, faced a difficult crisis.

1. **Place** Which U.S. city shown on the map was in the greatest danger from a nuclear attack? How long would it take a missile to reach that city?
2. **Draw Conclusions** How did the crisis affect U.S. relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union?

to improve communication. In 1963, the year after the crisis, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union signed the **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**, the first nuclear-weapons agreement, which ended aboveground nuclear tests. Thirty-six other nations soon signed the agreement.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why was the United States concerned about the missile sites in Cuba?

## The Berlin Crisis

Since 1958, Khrushchev wanted to sign a peace treaty that would put the western zones of Berlin under control of East Germany. His actions were motivated by the steady flow of skilled East German workers into West Berlin. Desiring to show his strength, Kennedy stood firm on America's commitment to defending the rights of West Berliners and West Germans. At a conference in Vienna in June 1961, Kennedy and Khrushchev focused on Berlin as the key issue. Khrushchev called the present situation "intolerable." He demanded that the United States recognize the formal division of Germany and end its military presence in West Berlin. Kennedy refused. He did not want to give up occupation rights he considered critical to defending Western Europe. In a tense atmosphere, Khrushchev said, "I want peace, but if you want war, that is your problem." Kennedy answered, "It is you, not I who wants to force a change." The meeting ended abruptly. The conference, meant to relax Cold War tensions, only increased them.

After returning home, both world leaders made moves that threatened the peace. Kennedy asked Congress to dramatically increase military spending. Khrushchev ordered the construction of a wall between East and West Berlin. The **Berlin Wall** became a visible symbol of the reality of the two Germanys and the gulf between the communist East and democratic West. Kennedy responded by sending 1,500 U.S. troops to West Berlin. For a time, Russian and American tanks moved within sight of each other. Yet, neither side could fully claim a victory.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did the meeting in Vienna affect relations between Kennedy and Khrushchev?

SECTION

1

## Assessment

### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice  
Web Code: nea-1503

### Comprehension

**1. Terms and People** For each item below, explain its significance to the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

- John F. Kennedy
- Fidel Castro
- Bay of Pigs invasion
- Cuban missile crisis
- Nikita Khrushchev
- Berlin Wall

**2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:**

**Understand Effects** Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Kennedy respond to the continuing challenges of the Cold War?

### Writing About History

**3. Quick Write: Support a Point of View** Identify one point of view regarding President Kennedy's actions in starting the Peace Corps. List three arguments in favor of this point of view. Then, prioritize them by identifying the most persuasive argument.

### Critical Thinking

**4. Draw Conclusions** Television played an important role in the 1960 presidential election. How influential is television in presidential elections today? Explain.

**5. Synthesize Information** The flexible response policy increased the military budget. How do you think this affected the nuclear arms race?

**6. Identify Point of View** How did the Cuban missile crisis affect public opinion about President Kennedy?

SECTION  
2



▲ President Kennedy with prominent civil rights and labor leaders in 1963. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is at the far left.

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

## Civil Rights

Although Kennedy did not have a strong civil rights record while in the Senate, he did portray himself as a crusader for African American rights during his campaign. Toward the end of his presidency, he abandoned his cautious approach. In a special report to the American people on civil rights, he talked about the racial inequality that had long endured in the nation:

“It ought to be possible for American students of any color to attend any public institution. . . . It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation . . . and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election. . . . We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish it here at home, but are we to say to the world and, much more importantly, to each other that this is the land of the free except for the Negroes . . . ?”

—John F. Kennedy, June 11, 1963

# Kennedy's New Frontier

## Objectives

- Evaluate Kennedy's domestic policies.
- Assess the impact of the Kennedy assassination.

## Terms and People

New Frontier  
Equal Pay Act  
deficit spending

space race  
Warren Commission

**Why It Matters** Kennedy's determination to change life at home resulted in his domestic agenda called the New Frontier. Faced with a conservative Congress, Kennedy met with opposition as he fought to turn his vision into a reality. Still, he had some success in making changes in Social Security benefits, dealing with poverty and racial discrimination, and spurring new interest and expectations for the space program. **Section Focus Question:** What were the goals of Kennedy's New Frontier?

## The Kennedy Style

As John Kennedy showed in his 1960 campaign and in his Inaugural Address, he had a special quality—or charisma—that separated him from other politicians. With his exquisitely tailored clothes, quick smile, and sense of humor, he seemed closer to a movie star than to a run-of-the-mill politician. Although he suffered many health problems, he projected youthful health and energy.

He surrounded himself with other distinguished men. Reporters dubbed them “the best and the brightest.” They came from some of the country's most prestigious businesses and universities. Robert McNamara, president of Ford Motor Company, agreed to serve as Secretary of Defense. Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller

## NoteTaking

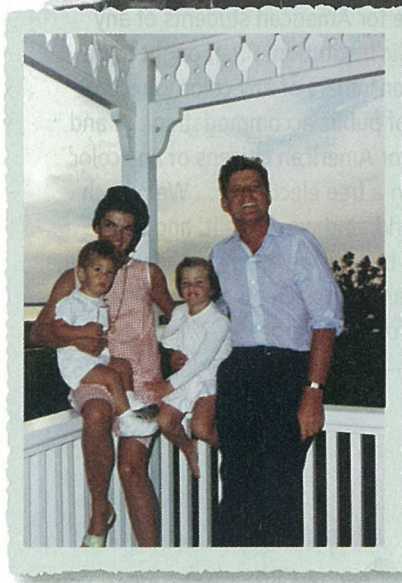
**Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas** List the characteristics of John F. Kennedy's style that appealed to the American people.

### The Kennedy Image

- Youthful
- 
-



**The Kennedy Family**  
The new First Family charmed Americans with their youth and energy. Often, the President's children, Caroline and John, Jr., visited their father in the Oval Office.



Foundation, signed on as Secretary of State. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, worked at the White House as a spokesperson for liberal causes and was a source of ideas for the President.

President Kennedy promised Americans that his administration would blaze a “**New Frontier**.” The term described Kennedy’s proposals to improve the economy, education, healthcare, and civil rights. He also hoped to jump-start the space program. In his presidential acceptance speech on July 15, 1960, in Los Angeles, California, Kennedy said,

**Primary Source** “I stand tonight facing west on what was once the last frontier. . . . From the lands that stretch three thousand miles behind me, the pioneers of old gave up their safety, their comforts and sometimes their lives to build a new world here in the West. . . . But the problems are not all solved and the battles are not all won, and we stand today on the edge of a new frontier—the frontier of the 1960s—the frontier of unknown opportunities and perils—a frontier of unfulfilled hopes and threats.”

—John F. Kennedy, July 15, 1960

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did people feel that Kennedy was a different kind of politician?

## Kennedy’s Domestic Program

Early in his presidency, occupied by events in Cuba and Berlin, Kennedy devoted most of his attention to foreign affairs. But by 1963 he had become more concerned about pressing problems at home.

Kennedy—like millions of other Americans—was troubled by the high levels of poverty in the United States. *The Other America*, Michael Harrington’s best-selling and influential 1962 exposé of poverty in America, shocked Kennedy and many other Americans.

While Kennedy failed to get Congress to accept his more ambitious social programs, he did push through an increase in the minimum wage, an extension in Social Security benefits, and improvements in the welfare system.

In addition, in 1962 Kennedy established the President’s Commission on the Status of Women, a blue-ribbon panel that studied how poverty and discrimination affected women. The differences in wages received by men and

women for the same work was an especially glaring problem. The **Equal Pay Act** (1963) required equal wages for “equal work” in industries engaged in commerce or producing goods for commerce. Although it contained various loopholes, the law was a **crucial** step on the road to fair and equal employment practices. The next year Congress would prohibit discrimination by employers on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex.

**Stimulating a Sluggish Economy** Kennedy believed that increased prosperity would help to eliminate some of the nation’s social problems. When he became President, the country was suffering from a high unemployment rate and a sluggish economy. To help the sagging economy, Kennedy proposed tax credits to encourage business investment in new factory equipment. At the same time, increased military spending created new jobs and boosted the economy. Finally, Kennedy accepted the “new economics” of theorist John Maynard Keynes that **advocated deficit spending** to stimulate the economy. Deficit spending is the government practice of borrowing money in order to spend more than is received from taxes. In 1963, Kennedy called for dramatic tax cuts for middle-class Americans as a way to put more money in the pockets of more people. At the same time, he increased the tax burden on wealthier citizens. Kennedy’s economic initiatives jump-started the tremendous economic growth of the late 1960s.

**Moving Cautiously on Civil Rights** Kennedy pursued a timid approach toward civil rights. He had narrowly won the 1960 election, and he had little real influence in Congress or even complete partisan support. He did not want to anger conservative, white southern members of Congress in his own party. They stood ready to block any civil rights legislation.

While Kennedy remained largely passive on civil rights issues, African Americans and their white allies challenged segregation in the South. In 1961, they took “freedom rides” to desegregate interstate bus travel. In 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr., took the civil rights struggle to Birmingham, Alabama. Such actions took courage and were met by angry, oftentimes violent, responses by white southerners.

In early 1963, Kennedy introduced a civil rights bill that demanded prosecution for voting-rights violations and federal money to aid school desegregation. Further violence in the South prompted Kennedy to introduce stronger civil rights legislation.

**Racing Into Space** The launching of the satellite *Sputnik 1* by the Soviet Union in 1957 called into question American technological superiority. Although Congress created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in 1958, the Soviets’ space program remained several steps ahead of the American program. In April 1961, for example, the Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first human to orbit Earth.

Kennedy recognized that the United States and the Soviet Union were locked in a “**space race**.” *Space race* was the term used to describe the competition between the Soviet Union and the United States to develop technology to successfully land on the moon. In May 1961, NASA put astronaut Alan Shepard into a sub-orbital space flight aboard the Project Mercury space capsule *Freedom 7*. Encouraged by the success of Project Mercury, Kennedy committed the United States to landing a man on the moon by 1970.

**Vocabulary Builder**  
**crucial**—(CROO shuhl) *adj.* of vital importance

**Vocabulary Builder**  
**advocate**—(AD vuh kayt) *v.* to speak or write in support of; be in favor of



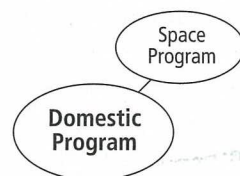
### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**Civil Rights** This cartoon, titled “Eclipse,” appeared in 1963, at a time when the civil rights struggle reached national prominence.

1. Define *eclipse*. Why do you think the cartoonist chose this title?
2. Do you think all Americans responded the same way to this cartoon? Explain.

## NoteTaking

**Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas** As you read, identify details of Kennedy’s domestic program.





● INFOGRAPHIC  AUDIO

# SPACE EXPLORATION

After the successful space flight of Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin in April 1961, President Kennedy announced the goal of the United States to place a man on the moon before the end of the decade. In July 1969, the launching of the *Apollo 11* (shown left) was the first successful manned mission to land on the moon.



▲ President Kennedy congratulates Alan Shepard.

▲ By 1995, Soviet and American crew members worked together on MIR, the Russian space station.



Edwin Aldrin stands ▶ on the surface of the moon next to the American flag in 1969.



Ed White ▶ floats outside *Gemini 4* during a mission in 1965.

**October 1958** NASA is created.

**May 1961** Alan Shepard becomes the first American to make a space flight.

**February 1962** John Glenn is the first American to orbit Earth.

**January 1967** Fire kills *Apollo* astronauts Roger Chaffee, Virgil Grissom, and Edward White.

**July 1969** *Apollo 11* astronauts successfully land on the moon.

**June 1976** *Viking 1* transmits the first close-up images of Mars.

**January 1986** Spacecraft *Challenger* explodes 73 seconds after takeoff. Seven astronauts are killed.

**April 1990** Hubble Space Telescope is launched.

**April 1997** *Pathfinder* lands on Mars.

**November 1998** Construction of the International Space Station begins.

**November 2000** The first crew takes residence in the International Space Station.

### Thinking Critically

- 1. Identify Causes** How did international competition lead to space exploration?
- 2. Identify Central Issues** How did the loss of *Challenger* lead Americans to reexamine the costs and benefits of the space program?

America's quest to reach the moon was punctuated by enormous successes and heartbreaking failures. Astronaut John Glenn became the first American to orbit Earth in February 1962. But astronauts Virgil Grissom, Edward White, and Roger Chaffee burned to death when their docked capsule exploded in fire during a routine test. Finally, in July of 1969, astronaut Neil Armstrong left his spacecraft *Columbia's* landing vehicle and became the first man to step on the moon. The mission was a successful completion of Kennedy's bold dream.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did Kennedy change the way in which he addressed civil rights issues?

## The President Is Assassinated

During his first two and a half years in office, Kennedy made the transition from politician to national leader. In foreign affairs he confronted Soviet challenges, made hard decisions, and won the respect of Soviet leaders and American citizens. He also spoke eloquently about the need to move toward a peaceful future. In domestic affairs he finally came to the conclusion that the federal government had to lead the struggle for civil rights. Added to his new maturity was his ability to inspire Americans to dream noble dreams and work toward lofty ends.

In November 1963, Kennedy traveled to Dallas, Texas, to mend political fences for his 1964 reelection bid. He never lived to see 1964. While his motorcade moved through the city, assassin Lee Harvey Oswald, perched by a window on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository, fired three shots at the President. The third shot hit Kennedy in the back of his head. A half hour later, doctors at Parkland Memorial Hospital pronounced him dead. Texan Lyndon B. Johnson, Kennedy's Vice President, was sworn in as the new President. Although many people would later question whether Oswald acted alone, the **Warren Commission**, which conducted the official investigation of the assassination, described Oswald as the "lone killer."

The senseless murder deeply saddened Americans across the nation. Millions of people watched Kennedy's funeral procession on television, and many reacted as if they had lost a family member. It seemed as if part of America's innocence had died with him.

✓ **Checkpoint** What was the purpose of the Warren Commission?



### A Son's Farewell

John F. Kennedy, Jr., salutes his father's casket as it passes by in the funeral procession.

## SECTION 2 Assessment

### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice  
Web Code: nea-1504

### Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** Discuss how each of the following terms met a goal of Kennedy's domestic program.
  - New Frontier
  - Equal Pay Act
  - deficit spending
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas** Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the goals of Kennedy's domestic program?

### Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Identify Counterarguments** Identify one point of view regarding President Kennedy's decision to move cautiously on civil rights. Then, identify one argument that someone might use *against* this point of view. Remember, an effective counterargument does not simply state that the original argument was wrong but gives specific reasons for the opposing point of view.

### Critical Thinking

- 4. Analyze Information** Why did Kennedy consider foreign policy to be the most important issue of his administration?
- 5. Draw Inferences** Why do you think Kennedy called his domestic program the New Frontier?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Was Kennedy's commitment to the space program an extension of the Cold War? Explain.

## Can a Poor Person Get a Fair Trial?

The Sixth Amendment gives a person accused of a crime the right to “the assistance of counsel.” But what about poor defendants? They don’t have the money to pay for a lawyer. If a poor person goes to trial without a lawyer and is convicted, was justice done?

### *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963)

The Facts	The Issue	The Decision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Clarence Gideon was tried in a Florida court for breaking into a building.</li> <li>Gideon said he was too poor to afford a lawyer and asked the court to appoint one.</li> <li>After the judge refused, Gideon defended himself and was found guilty.</li> </ul>	<p>Gideon claimed he had been denied his rights to an attorney and to due process.</p>	<p>The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Florida should have provided an attorney for Gideon.</p>

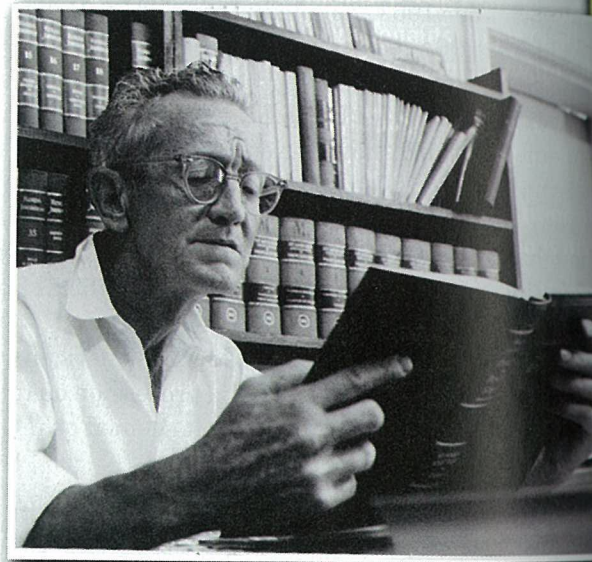
### Why It Matters

The Court’s ruling in *Gideon* was forceful. All nine justices agreed that Florida should have given Gideon an attorney. They clearly stated why having an attorney is so important:

“Any person hauled into court, who is too poor to hire a lawyer, cannot be assured a fair trial unless counsel is provided for him. This seems to us to be an obvious truth.”

The decision had a tremendous impact on the country’s legal system. Public defenders are state-paid officials who defend people who are too poor to hire their own lawyers.

But has the promise of *Gideon* been fulfilled? Critics say problems still remain. Many states do not fully fund the public defenders’ offices that furnish lawyers for poor defendants. These defenders are overworked and underpaid, making it harder for them to do their job well. They lack the resources to hire experts to evaluate evidence. Many public defenders are not brought into a case as soon as a charge is made. This prevents them from properly advising their clients. Finally, public defenders do not have the time or resources to effectively carry out appeals to higher courts.



▲ Clarence Gideon

### Connect to Your World

Research the use of public defenders in your state or community. Then, write an essay titled “*Gideon* Today,” in which you explain whether you think the justice system is fair for poor people or not.

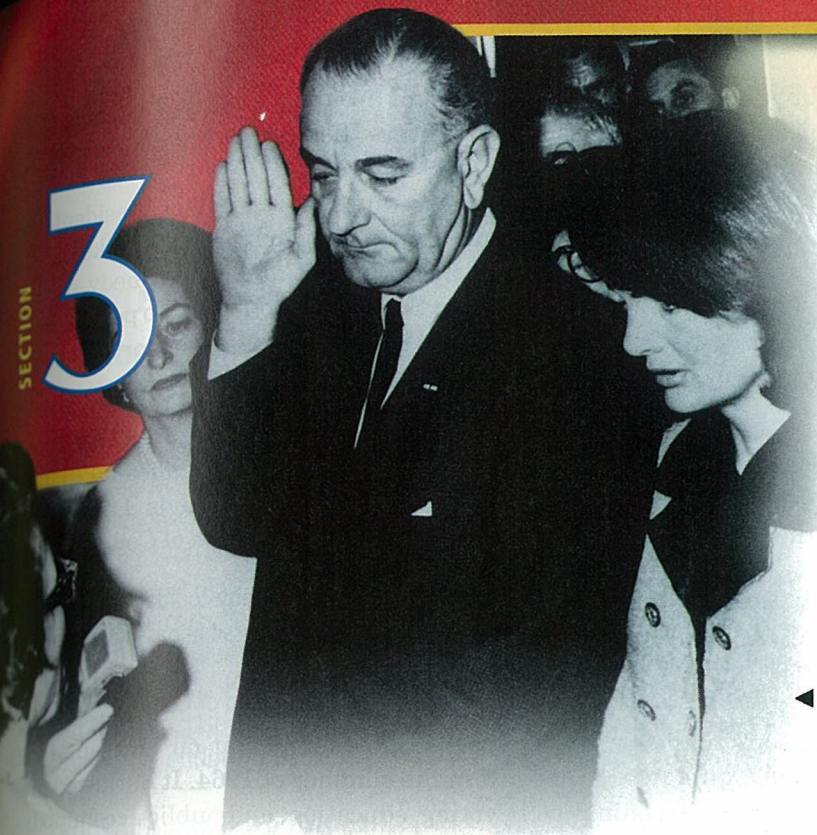
For: Supreme Court cases

Web Code: nee-1509

◀ A public defender and his client face the judge during a court hearing.

# 3

SECTION



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

### President Johnson’s Hopes for America

In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson addressed a joint session of Congress. In the speech he talked about some of his hopes for America and how he wished to be remembered by history. He explained,

“I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or extended dominion. I want to be the President who educated young children . . . who helped to feed the hungry . . . who helped the poor to find their own way. . . .”

—President Johnson, speech before Congress, March 15, 1965

◀ Lyndon Johnson is sworn in as President, in 1963, after Kennedy’s assassination.

## Johnson’s Great Society

### Objectives

- Evaluate Johnson’s policies up to his victory in the 1964 presidential election.
- Analyze Johnson’s goals and actions as seen in his Great Society programs.
- Assess the achievements of the Great Society.

### Terms and People

Lyndon B. Johnson	Medicare
Civil Rights Act	Medicaid
War on Poverty	Immigration and
Economic Opportunity Act	Nationality Act of 1965
Great Society	Warren Court

**Why It Matters** Lyndon B. Johnson, who became President after Kennedy’s assassination, shared the same goals as his predecessor. These goals shaped the purpose of Johnson’s Great Society program. A seasoned politician, Johnson successfully pushed through significant domestic legislation that he hoped would become the first step to achieving the quality of life he thought all Americans should enjoy. **Section Focus Question:** How did Johnson’s Great Society programs change life for most Americans?

### Johnson’s Rise to Leadership

Born in Stonewall, Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson was raised in the Hill Country town of Johnson City. He attended Southwest Texas State College and then taught for several years in Cotulla, Texas. There, at a tiny segregated school for Mexican Americans, he confronted firsthand the challenges faced by poverty-stricken minority students, and the lessons he learned remained with him for the rest of his life.

**A Determined Texan** After teaching for several years, Johnson entered politics—first as a Texas congressman’s secretary and then as the head of the Texas National Youth Administration.

In 1937, Johnson was elected to Congress, and during the next several decades he became the most powerful person on Capitol Hill. Elected to the Senate in 1948, Johnson proved himself a master of party politics and rose to the position of Senate majority

### NoteTaking

**Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas** Identify details about the Great Society programs.

The Great Society			
Education	Healthcare	Immigration	Poverty
	• Medicare	•	•



leader in 1955. In the Senate, he was adept at avoiding conflict, building political coalitions, and working out compromises. His skill was instrumental in pushing the 1957 Civil Rights Act through Congress.

In 1960, he hoped to be chosen by the Democratic Party to run for President, but when Kennedy got the nomination Johnson agreed to join him on the ticket as the vice presidential nominee. A New Englander and a Catholic, Kennedy needed Johnson to help carry the heavily Protestant South. Johnson was also popular both with Mexican American voters and in the Southwest. He was an important part of Kennedy's victory in 1960.

**The Kennedy Legacy** On becoming President after Kennedy's assassination, Johnson radiated reassurance and strength. His every action indicated that he was ready for the job and that the government was in good hands. Less than a week after the assassination, Johnson addressed a joint session of Congress.

**Primary Source** "... [N]o memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Bill for which he fought so long."

—President Johnson, speech before a Joint Session of Congress, 1963

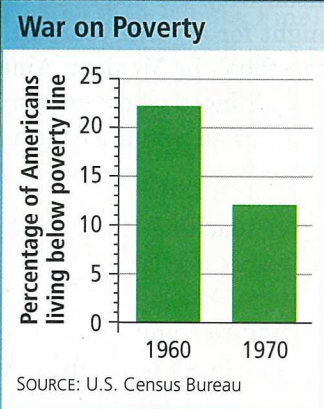
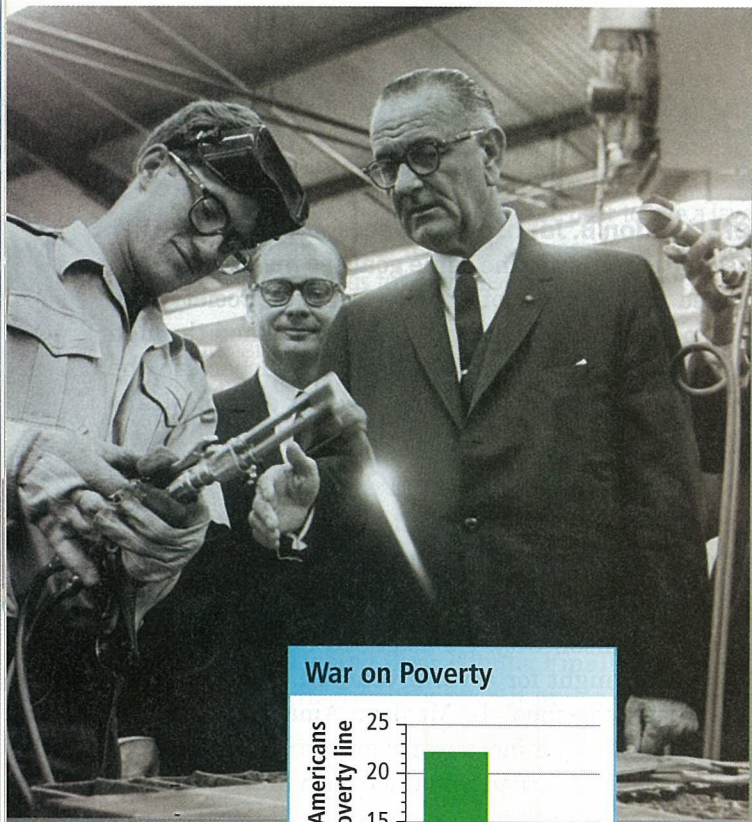
With Johnson's ability to build consensus, or agreement on an issue by a group, the **Civil Rights Act** became law in the summer of 1964. It outlawed discrimination in voting, education, and public accommodations. The act demanded an end to discrimination in hospitals, restaurants, theaters, and other places open to the public. It also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to fight discrimination in hiring. African Americans and Mexican Americans who faced almost daily discrimination benefited immeasurably from the legislation. Finally, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex.

**Johnson Declares a War on Poverty** Johnson had made his intentions clear in his first State of the Union address when he said it was time to "declare an unconditional war on poverty." The new President planned to fuse his own dreams for America onto Kennedy's legislative agenda. Although Kennedy had failed to get Congress to approve his tax bill calling for dramatic tax cuts for middle-class Americans, Johnson was able to maneuver it through. In addition, he had added a billion-dollar **War on Poverty** to the bill.

Johnson's War on Poverty introduced measures to train the jobless, educate the uneducated, and provide healthcare for those in need. The 1964 **Economic Opportunity Act** created the Job Corps to train young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 in the work skills they needed to acquire better jobs and move out of poverty. The act also established Volunteers in Service to America, or VISTA, patterned after Kennedy's Peace Corps, which sent American volunteers into poverty-stricken American communities in an effort to solve the country's pressing economic, educational, and medical problems. The volunteers served in inner-city schools and on Indian reservations. They worked in rural health clinics and urban hospitals.

### Job Training

President Johnson visits a job training center in Texas. The success of Johnson's antipoverty programs is reflected in the declining numbers of Americans living below the poverty line.

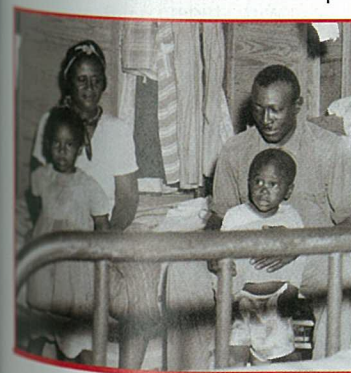


### TRACK THE ISSUE

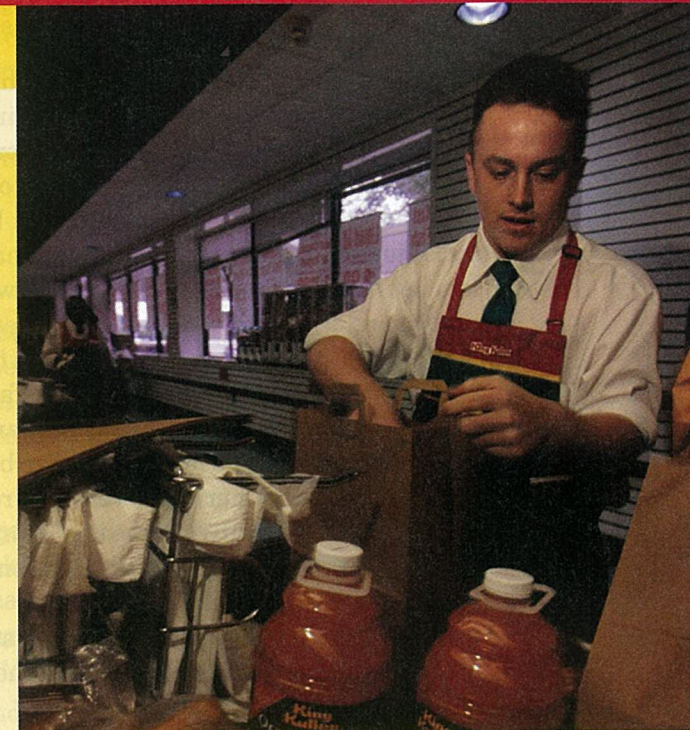
#### How should Americans deal with the gap between rich and poor?

Over the years, Americans have tried to balance the extremes of wealth and poverty in society. Some have favored private charity to help the poor, while others have backed government policies to distribute wealth. Still, there remains a wide gap between rich and poor in America. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

- **1800s Community Aid** Private charities provide aid for the poor.
- **1900 Poverty Level** An estimated 40 percent of Americans live in poverty.
- **1933 New Deal** Federal government provides aid for the poor.
- **1964 War on Poverty** President Johnson expands programs to reduce poverty.
- **1980s Reaganomics** President Reagan promotes business growth to reduce poverty.
- **1996 Welfare Reform** Government limits welfare programs.



Migrant farm family in Virginia



Many workers, such as the grocery clerk shown here, hold minimum-wage jobs.

### DEBATE THE ISSUE

**The Minimum Wage** The government has tried to reduce poverty for working people by setting a minimum wage. Supporters say this wage is too low to provide a decent living. Critics say an increase would hurt employers and make it harder for them to provide low-level jobs.

"We're . . . the richest nation on Earth and yet millions of Americans make wages so low they have to choose between eating or heating, healthcare or childcare. . . . The federal minimum wage can and should be increased to \$8 per hour. . . . That's the average amount needed for a single full-time worker to meet basic needs."

—Holly Sklar, Columnist, *Knight Ridder*/Tribune News Service

"Supporters of a . . . minimum wage continue to claim that additional increases are needed. . . . [But] a policy decision like increasing the minimum wage is not cost-free; someone has to pay for it. . . . Those who pay the most are unskilled youth through fewer job opportunities, consumers through higher prices, and taxpayers through higher taxes. . . ."

—D. Mark Wilson, The Heritage Foundation

### Connect to Your World

1. **Compare** Why does Holly Sklar support the minimum wage? Why does D. Mark Wilson oppose it?
2. **Analyze** Would a minimum wage help reduce poverty? Explain.
3. **Debate** Learn more about recent debates on the pros and cons of raising the minimum wage. Then, prepare an argument supporting one viewpoint. **Web Code:** neh-1506

Perhaps the most successful element of the Economic Opportunity Act was the Head Start program. Funds were provided for play groups, day care, and activities designed to help underprivileged children get ready for elementary school. Head Start enjoyed bipartisan support for decades.

**Johnson Defeats Goldwater** If Johnson was to continue his War on Poverty and other social goals, he needed to win the 1964 presidential election. In that year, the Republicans nominated Arizona senator Barry Goldwater, whose economic and social views were directly opposed to Johnson's. Whereas Johnson believed the federal government could best regulate the economy and promote social justice, Goldwater maintained that the federal government was the problem not the solution. According to Goldwater, social and economic issues, such as racism and poverty, should not be addressed by the federal government.

If elected, Goldwater would rein in the federal government by reducing its size and restricting its activities. He favored significant tax cuts and right-to-work laws, and he opposed social welfare legislation and government spending on educational, public housing, and urban renewal programs.

In 1964, most Americans were not ready either for Goldwater's belligerent tone or his conservative message. Johnson's campaign played up Goldwater's extremism, suggesting that his election would ensure the repeal of civil rights legislation and economic ruin.

Johnson had prosperity on his side, as well as his own impressive legislative record and the legacy of Kennedy. In the November election, he won a landslide



▲ President Johnson signs the Higher Education Act on November 8, 1965, at the one-room schoolhouse near Stonewall, Texas, where his own education began.

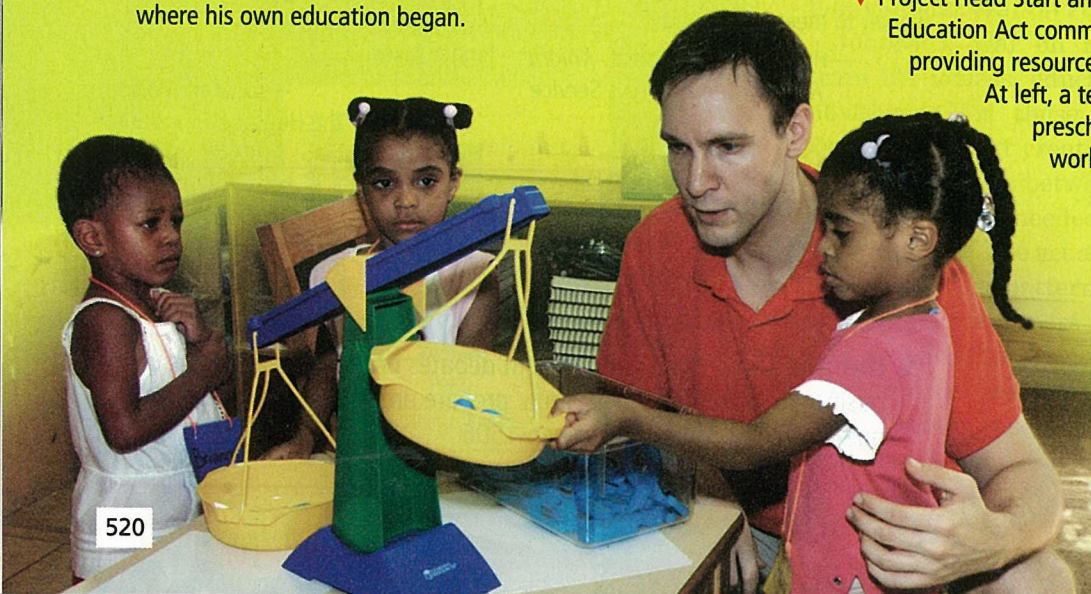
● INFOGRAPHIC

## The Great Society Arts and Education

At a 1965 news conference, President Johnson declared, "When I was young, poverty was so common that we didn't know it had a name. And education was something you had to fight for . . ." Seemingly inspired by his own upbringing, Johnson set out to create the Great Society. The program included support for education and the arts.

▼ Project Head Start and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act committed the federal government to providing resources for individuals and schools.

At left, a teacher works with students at a preschool program. Below, students work together in a school library.



**History Interactive**

For: To discover more about the Great Society programs  
Web Code: nep-1509

victory, capturing more than 60 percent of the popular vote and carrying all but six states. Goldwater carried only Arizona and five southern states—Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Furthermore, the **outcome** of the election was significant. The South was no longer solidly Democrat. Not only had Johnson won a ringing victory, but Democrats had captured both houses of Congress.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did Johnson continue Kennedy's plan to eliminate poverty in the United States?

## The Great Society

In the spring of 1964, in a speech at the University of Michigan, Johnson outlined his vision for America, calling it the **Great Society**. He said that during the previous several centuries, Americans had spread across the continent, developed industrially, and created great wealth. But the work of America was not complete. He added,

**Primary Source** "The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization. . . . [W]e have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society."

—President Johnson, University of Michigan, May 22, 1964

For Johnson, the Great Society demanded "an end to poverty and racial injustice" and opportunity for every child.



◀ Public radio and television gained support through the sponsorship of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. *Sesame Street*, featuring Big Bird and the Muppets, combines education and entertainment for children.

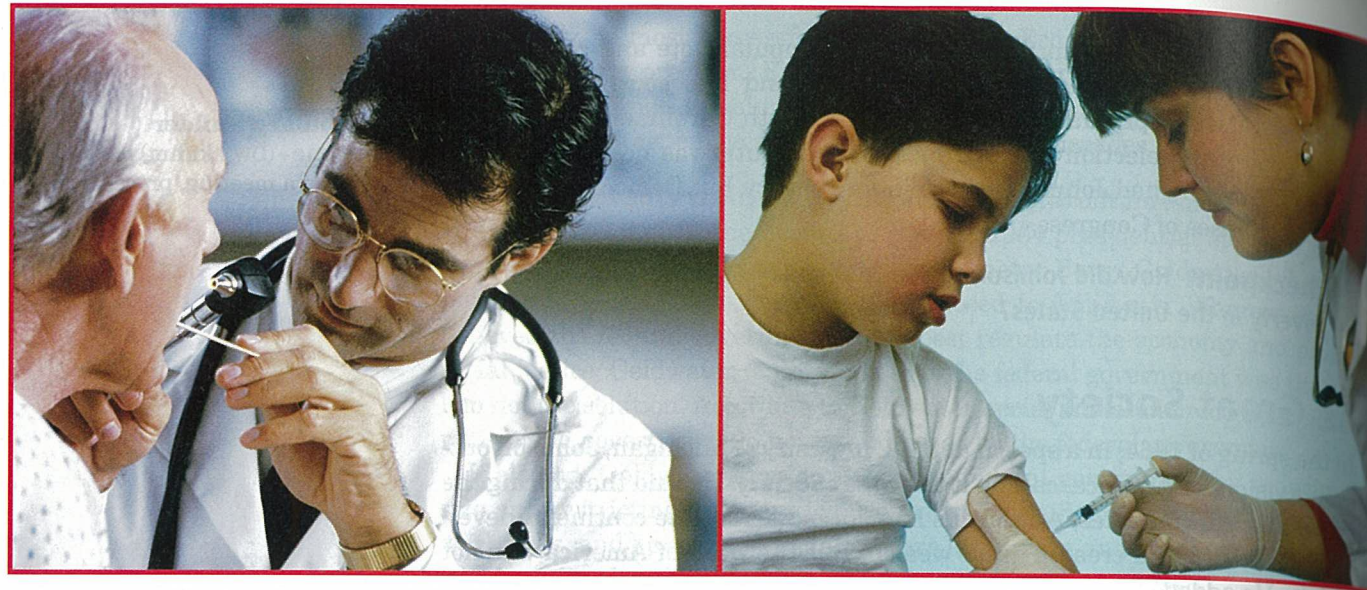
▲ The National Endowment for the Arts financially assists artists, arts education, and arts organizations. Wynton Marsalis (above) and Helen Frankenthaler (left) each won the National Medal of Honor.

**Thinking Critically**

- 1. Draw Inferences** How might education programs be used to create a great society?
- 2. Identify Point of View** Should the government provide funds to support the arts? Explain.



**Vocabulary Builder**  
**outcome**—(OWT kuhm) *n.* final result of a meeting, process, or series of events



### Healthier Citizens

President Johnson gave healthcare special attention. With Medicare and Medicaid, more Americans could receive basic healthcare.

**Healthcare Insurance** In the first half of 1965, Congress passed parts of Johnson's Great Society legislation. Kennedy had supported similar legislation that failed to win congressional support. Johnson's agenda amended the Social Security Act by adding the Medical Care for the Aged Program, or **Medicare** as it was more popularly called. Medicare provided basic hospital insurance for Americans in the Social Security system who were age 65 and older. It also included a **Medicaid** feature that provided basic medical services to poor and disabled Americans who were not part of the Social Security system.

Johnson signed the bill into law in Independence, Missouri, home of former President Harry Truman, who had called for a national health insurance program almost 20 years earlier.

**Education** Along with health, education was one of the centerpieces of the Great Society program. Improved healthcare and education were necessary steps toward the goal of ending poverty. The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act was designed to aid schools in poorer communities. It provided federal funds to improve school libraries, learning centers, language laboratories, and services in impoverished school districts. The act dramatically increased funding for Indian, inner city, and Mexican American schools.

**Protecting the Environment and the Consumer** The Great Society program extended to improving the overall quality of American life. In the early 1960s, several best-selling books raised Americans' awareness about environmental and consumer problems. Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) detailed how chemical fertilizers and pesticides were damaging the fragile ecosystem. Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965) attacked the automotive industry for its lack of concern for passenger safety.

Both these books helped to foster environmental and consumer activity and led to several important pieces of legislation. The Water Quality Act (1965) and the Clean Water Restoration Act (1966) aimed at improving water and air standards in the country. The National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act (1966) established safety standards for automotive vehicles.

**New Immigration Policies** Meanwhile, the civil rights movement was raising questions about America's long-standing immigration policy. The National Origins Acts of 1921 and 1924 had established a quota system that favored Western European immigrants and limited immigrants from other parts of the

world. Such a discriminatory policy was clearly out of touch with the mood of the country in the early 1960s.

The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** altered America's quota system. Nearly 170,000 immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere were allowed into the country. Nearly 120,000 immigrants from the Western Hemisphere were welcomed. Immigrants from Latin America, Central America, the Caribbean, and Asia soon began to pour into the United States, providing the country with a pool of ideas, talent, and skills. During the 1960s and 1970s, millions of immigrants would arrive on American shores. Once again, the doors of America were open to immigrants from around the world. As in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, New York and the urban East and West coasts attracted many of the country's newest immigrants.

**The Legacy** While the Great Society programs did not completely alter America, they did improve the lives of millions of individual Americans. Poverty and infant mortality rates declined. Medicare and Medicaid delivered needed healthcare to millions of elderly and poor Americans. Head Start and other anti-poverty programs provided the educational tools many underprivileged Americans needed to escape poverty. Furthermore, Congress also provided artists and scholars with assistance through the National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities, created in 1965. The Great Society victories may not have been as grandiose as Johnson predicted, but they were victories. The simple fact that 22.2 percent of all Americans lived below the poverty line in 1960 and 12.6 percent lived below the poverty line in 1970 says something about the triumphs of the Great Society.

**Checkpoint** Which immigrant groups were affected by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965?

### The Supreme Court and Reform

During the 1960s, the Supreme Court demonstrated a willingness to take the lead on controversial social, religious, and political issues. Led by Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court at this time—often called the **Warren Court**—became the most liberal in American history. Its decisions supported civil rights, civil liberties, voting rights, and personal privacy.

**Congressional Districts and Voters' Rights** In several decisions the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the "one man, one vote" principle. The problem was one of apportionment of seats in state legislatures. During the twentieth century, large numbers of voters moved from rural to urban areas, but many state governments had not changed, or reapportioned, electoral districts to reflect the new conditions. This led to an electoral imbalance. In many states, rural areas had more power and urban areas had less power than their populations actually mandated.

In *Baker v. Carr* (1962), the Supreme Court ruled in favor of reapportionment on the basis of "one man, one vote." Electoral districts, it said, had to reflect the numbers of people in those districts. In *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), the Court reaffirmed its decision, adding that any arrangement other than "one man, one vote" violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

#### HISTORY MAKERS



#### Earl Warren (1891–1974)

One of the country's most influential Chief Justices, Earl Warren was governor of California before being named to head the Supreme Court. As Chief Justice, he guided the Court to a unanimous ruling outlawing school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Warren Court issued many landmark rulings in the areas of civil rights, criminal justice, First Amendment issues, and legislative districting.

These decisions led many Americans to call for Warren's removal, though he remained on the Court until retiring in 1969.

**Rights of the Accused** The Warren Court also showed a heightened concern for the constitutional rights of accused lawbreakers. In four landmark cases, the Court broadened the individual rights of accused criminals and narrowed those of federal, state, and local government officials. In *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961), the Court ruled that evidence obtained illegally violated the Fourth Amendment and had to be excluded from federal and state trials. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the Court decided that all accused criminals had the right to a lawyer whether or not they could pay for one. In *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964), the Warren Court expanded on *Gideon v. Wainwright* by adding that every accused lawbreaker had to be offered access to a lawyer before questioning, and all evidence obtained from a suspect who had not been informed of his or her right to a lawyer could not be used in court. Finally, in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), the Court ruled that an accused criminal had to be informed of his or her Fifth and Sixth Amendment rights before being questioned.

Critics of these decisions argued that the Warren Court had tipped the balance of justice in favor of the rights of accused criminals. Today, many conservative justices still side with this opinion. The majority of the members of the Warren Court, however, have countered that the rights of individuals had to be protected, especially when freedom hung in the balance.

**Separation of Church and State** The Warren Court addressed the separation of church and state in the case of *Engel v. Vitale* (1962). The case involved whether or not a public school could require students to recite a state-sanctioned prayer. The Court ruled that school prayer was a violation of the First Amendment and an attempt by a governmental body to promote religion. The next year, the Court ruled in *Abington v. Schempp* that Bible reading in public schools also violated the First Amendment. The two decisions divided religious groups and the American people. Some welcomed the rulings, saying the government should have no say in personal religious matters. Others insisted the decisions were hostile to religion. The two decisions ignited, and continue to ignite, controversy. For more than 40 years, various religious groups have railed against these decisions.

✓ **Checkpoint** What major court ruling gave a person accused of a crime the right to have a lawyer?

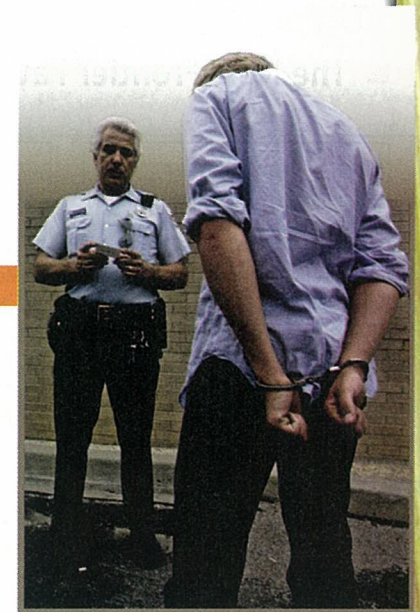
## Landmark Decisions of the Supreme Court

### What Rights Should an Accused Person Have?

Police officers try to obtain confessions from suspects. Yet, the Fifth Amendment protects people from self-incrimination—stating facts that will result in their being accused of a crime. The Sixth Amendment gives them the right to an attorney. How do those guaranteed rights come into play when a person is being questioned by police?

#### Miranda v. Arizona (1966)

The Facts	The Issue	The Decision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ernesto Miranda, under questioning by police, confessed that he had kidnapped and assaulted a woman.</li> <li>Miranda was convicted in state court of the crimes in part because of the confession.</li> </ul>	Miranda claimed the confession should not be used because police had not warned him of his right to avoid self-incrimination or to have a lawyer present.	A 5:4 majority ruled that the conviction should be thrown out because police had violated Miranda's rights when it obtained the confession.



▲ A suspect is advised of his Miranda rights.

#### Why It Matters

The majority based its reasoning on “the necessity for procedures which assure” the protection of Fifth Amendment rights. It spelled out those procedures:

“Prior to any questioning, the person must be warned that he has a right to remain silent, that any statement he does make may be used as evidence against him, and that he has a right to the presence of an attorney.”

That statement is familiar to many Americans from hearing it on television crime dramas. The majority also ruled that people who request a lawyer must be provided with one, even if they are too poor to pay for one themselves.

The decision has had a profound effect on the criminal justice system. Police officers must inform suspects of their rights. Only then can statements made by the suspect be used in a trial.

#### Connect to Your World

The Court addressed the issue of confessions by minors in *Yarborough v. Alvarado* (2004). Research the case. Write a summary that explains the facts, the Court's decision, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's concerns about the rights of minors, and the views of the dissent.

For: Supreme Court Cases  
Web Code: nee-1508

## SECTION 3 Assessment

### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice  
Web Code: nea-1505

#### Comprehension

**1. Terms and People** Explain the relationship of the following terms to social reform.

- War on Poverty
- Great Society
- Medicare
- Medicaid

**2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:**

**Identify Main Ideas** Use your chart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Johnson's Great Society programs change life for most Americans?

#### Writing About History

**3. Quick Write: Chart Arguments and Counterarguments** Identify one point of view regarding the use of government funds to support massive social programs. Then, make a chart with two columns. In the first column, list two arguments in favor of that point of view. In the second column, list two arguments against that point of view.

#### Critical Thinking

- 4. Make Comparisons** Were there differences in the goals of the New Frontier and the Great Society? Explain.
- 5. Recognize Cause and Effect** How do you think the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 changed political activity in the nation?
- 6. Identify Point of View** Why did some Americans feel that Supreme Court decisions during the 1960s considered only the rights of the poor?



◀ A police officer holds the Miranda Warning card.

## Quick Study Guide

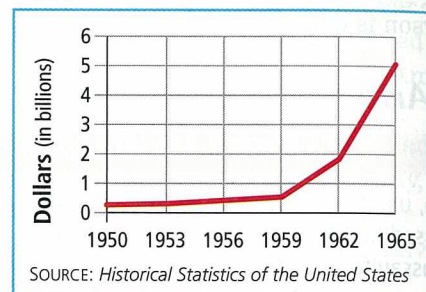
### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice  
Web Code: nea-1506

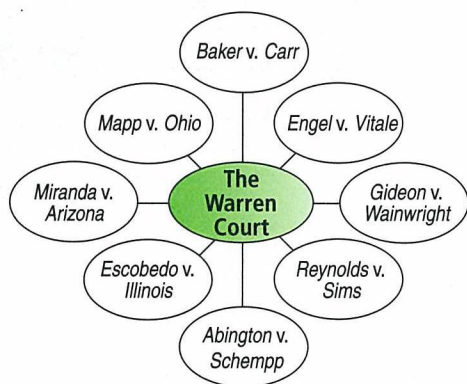
### The New Frontier Paves the Way

<p><b>New Frontier</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-poverty legislation</li> <li>• Peace Corps, Alliance for Progress</li> <li>• Education legislation</li> <li>• Healthcare legislation</li> <li>• Civil rights goals</li> </ul>	<p><b>Great Society</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic Opportunity Act</li> <li>• Volunteers in Service to America</li> <li>• Head Start</li> <li>• Medicare, Medicaid</li> <li>• Civil Rights Act, 1964</li> </ul>
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### NASA Spending 1950–1965



### The Warren Court



### Cold War Challenges

Bay of Pigs	Berlin	Cuban Missile Crisis
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• American CIA arms and trains anti-Castro forces.</li> <li>• Bay of Pigs invasion fails.</li> <li>• Soviets suspect weakness in Kennedy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kennedy meets with Khrushchev in Vienna.</li> <li>• East Germans and Soviets build Berlin Wall.</li> <li>• In West Berlin, Kennedy delivers speech assuring West Germans of continued U.S. support.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• United States discovers Soviet missile sites in Cuba.</li> <li>• Kennedy imposes blockade of Cuba.</li> <li>• Khrushchev removes missiles from Cuba.</li> </ul>

## American Issues Connector

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: [www.PHSchool.com](http://www.PHSchool.com) Web Code: neh-1508).

### Issues You Learned About

● **Poverty and Prosperity** While some people find America to be a true “land of opportunity,” others face a daily struggle to make ends meet.

1. What was revealed in Michael Harrington’s book *The Other America*? How did Kennedy respond to this book?
2. Did Kennedy’s new tax policies benefit upper-class Americans? Explain.
3. What did Johnson hope to accomplish with his War on Poverty? Describe one new program that was part of this effort.

● **Social Problems and Reforms** In the 1960s, the government grew concerned with social problems and made efforts to fix them.

7. In 1963, Kennedy told the nation in a televised address that civil rights was a “moral issue . . . as clear as the American Constitution.” Did Kennedy always hold this belief about civil rights? Explain.
8. List at least five different areas in which reform legislation was passed in the 1960s. Which was the most significant? Explain your choice.

● **America and the World** As part of the Cold War, the United States combated communism in Latin America.

4. What was the Cold War, and when and why did it begin?
5. Did the Peace Corps serve as a tool for promoting democracy or for helping developing nations? Explain.
6. Why do you think that the U.S. government was willing to invade communist Cuba in hopes of overthrowing its leader, but was not willing to invade other communist countries?

### Connect to Your World

### Activity

**Technology and Society** The television broadcast of the first presidential debate between Kennedy and Nixon strongly influenced the outcome of the election. Choose an important event from a print or online newspaper. Then, locate coverage of that same story on a reputable television news program. Write a paragraph explaining how coverage of the event differed between the sources. Did your perception of the events change after you saw the newscast? Explain.

### Quick Study Timeline

#### In America



**1961**  
Peace Corps established

**1962**  
Cuban missile crisis

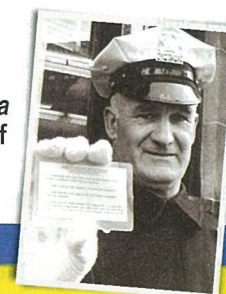
**1963**  
President Kennedy assassinated



**1965**  
Immigration and Nationality Act



**1966**  
*Miranda v. Arizona* protects rights of the accused



### History Interactive

For: Interactive timeline  
Web Code: nep-1507

#### Presidential Terms

John F. Kennedy 1961–1963

Lyndon B. Johnson 1963–1969

**1960**

**1963**

**1966**

**1969**

#### Around the World

**1961**  
Berlin Wall is built

**1963**  
Civil War breaks out in Cyprus between Greeks and Turks

**1965**  
India and Pakistan fight over control of Kashmir

**1968**  
Fighting breaks out between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland

# Chapter Assessment

## Terms and People

1. Define a “flexible response” defense policy. How did this defense policy differ from Eisenhower’s defense policy?
2. What was the **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**? Why was it so important?
3. What was the **Warren Commission**? What were its findings?
4. What was the purpose of **Medicare** and **Medicaid**? Who led the campaign for this legislation, and which legislation were they part of?
5. What was the **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965**? Where did most of the new immigrants come from?

## Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the policies of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson affect the nation?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 3 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

### Section 1

6. How did Kennedy respond to the continuing challenges of the Cold War?

### Section 2

7. What were the goals of Kennedy’s New Frontier?

### Section 3

8. How did Johnson’s Great Society programs change life for most Americans?

## Writing About History

**Writing a Persuasive Essay** An effective persuasive essay does not simply argue its own point of view. It also anticipates and counters arguments that might be used by the other side. Write a three-paragraph persuasive essay on the subject of the Warren Court and its decisions regarding the rights of the accused.

### Prewriting

- Identify the point of view that you will take in your essay.
- List any arguments you can think of in favor of your point of view. Prioritize them from the most persuasive to the least persuasive.
- Make a chart listing the two most persuasive arguments in one column and a possible counterargument to each argument in the other.

## Critical Thinking

9. **Identify Central Issues** How did the education legislation passed during the Great Society build upon the War on Poverty’s education program?
10. **Investigate Problems** How did the issues surrounding East and West Germany contribute to Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union?
11. **Analyze Information** The Equal Pay Act of 1963 required that women be paid the same wages as men for “equal work.” Do you think this legislation had an effect on the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Explain.
12. **Analyze Charts** The chart below shows successful space launches. Use the chart, as well as your reading of the chapter, to describe the progress of the space race for the years shown. According to one source, the space program is a way to “unite” all nations. Do you agree or disagree? Explain.

Country	1957–1964	1965–1969	1970–1974
Soviet Union	82	302	405
United States	207	279	139
Japan			5
China			2
France			3
United Kingdom			1
<b>Total</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>581</b>	<b>555</b>

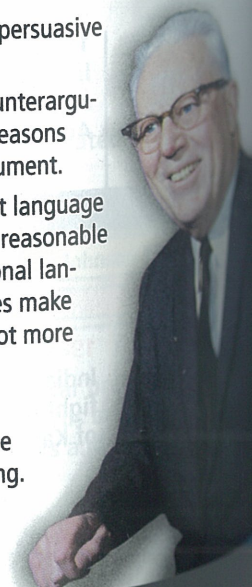
13. **Analyze Information** In what ways might Johnson’s career as a teacher have made him aware that the nation faced serious social problems that needed to be addressed and reformed?

### Drafting

- Write an introductory paragraph in which you define the issue and state your viewpoint.
- In the first paragraph, state your most persuasive argument.
- In the second paragraph, identify a counterargument to your argument. Give specific reasons why you disagree with the counterargument.
- Throughout your essay, use clear, direct language that makes your argument sound both reasonable and forceful. Remember, overly emotional language and name-calling can sometimes make your argument seem less persuasive not more persuasive.

### Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH22 of the Writing Handbook to revise your writing.



# Document-Based Assessment

## The Effectiveness of President Johnson’s Great Society Programs

In 1964, President Johnson proposed his vision for the United States called the Great Society. Johnson’s goal was to end poverty and racial injustice and to give every child an opportunity to receive a good education. Would President Johnson’s Great Society programs meet his goals or would they become a burden to taxpayers? Use your knowledge of Johnson’s Great Society legislation and Documents A, B, and C to answer questions 1 through 4.

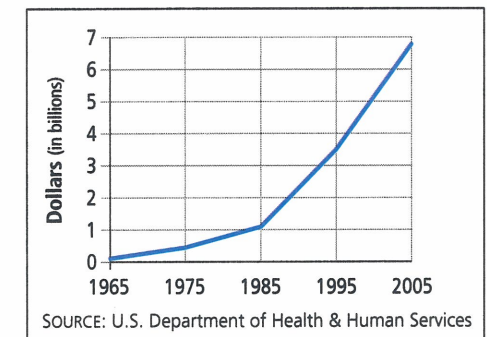
### Document A

“Project Head Start was created during the heady, idealistic days of the mid-1960s. President Lyndon Johnson believed that it was the nation’s duty to provide not just legal equality but also equality of opportunity. In his 1965 commencement address at Howard University, he called for the ‘next and the more profound stage’ in the civil rights struggle. ‘We seek not just freedom but opportunity.’ . . . Johnson’s War on Poverty would include a host of initiatives designed to bring blacks and other disadvantaged Americans to what he called ‘the starting line’ of American life with the skills and abilities necessary to compete on a level playing field. The War on Poverty focused on education as a tool for upward mobility, and Head Start was to become one of the cornerstones of the federal effort.”

—“Competing Visions,” Ron Haskins, 2004

### Document B

Head Start Budget, 1965–2005



### Document C

“On many domestic issues, [Senator] Dirksen continued the balancing act so central to his effectiveness, as he saw it: maintain a constructive relationship with the opposition and the loyalty of the Republican troops. He took issue with Medicare, for example: ‘I would be eligible,’ he said indignantly. ‘Why should I be allowed to use dollars the government is taking from some young factory worker in Cleveland in the promise of providing for his old age?’ The accumulation of Great Society spending programs appalled Dirksen. The taxpayers would have to come up with nearly \$160 billion to fund them. Moreover, the programs brought with them an expanding federal bureaucracy and increasing centralization. To Dirksen, the Great Society was a misguided attempt at creating an immediate, utopian ‘blueprint for paradise.’”

—*The Education of a Senator*, Frank H. Mackaman, 1998

1. According to Document A, why did President Johnson use Head Start as part of his War on Poverty?
  - A He wanted to use Head Start to provide legal equality for disadvantaged Americans.
  - B He wanted to create Head Start for Americans with exceptional abilities.
  - C He wanted to use Head Start as a tool to help people achieve upward mobility.
  - D He wanted to use Head Start to maintain a constructive relationship with the Republicans.
2. Which documents imply that the Great Society had a positive effect on the lives of Americans?
  - A Documents A and C
  - B Documents B and C
  - C Documents A and B
  - D Documents A, B, and C

3. In Document C, what viewpoint does Senator Dirksen take toward the Great Society programs?
  - A He believed that Medicare would not help him.
  - B He opposed the Republican view of the Great Society programs.
  - C He proposed his own Great Society programs.
  - D He believed that the Great Society programs would lead to an expanding federal government.
4. **Writing Task** Would President Johnson’s Great Society programs meet his goals, or would they become a burden to taxpayers? Use your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.