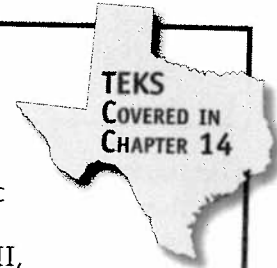




# THE SIXTIES: A DECADE OF PROTEST AND CHANGE



- **History 2(D)** Explain the significance of the following years as turning points: 1968–1969 (Martin Luther King Jr. assassination and U.S. lands on the moon).
- **History 6(A)** Analyze causes and effects of events and social issues such as race relations and the changing role of women.
- **History 7(G)** Explain the opportunities and obstacles for women and ethnic minorities.
- **History 8(A)** Describe U.S. responses to Soviet aggression after World War II, including John F. Kennedy's role in the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- **History 8(D)** Explain reasons and outcomes for U.S. involvement in foreign countries and their relationship to the Domino Theory, including the Vietnam War.
- **History 8(E)** Analyze the major issues and events of the Vietnam War such as the Tet Offensive, the escalation of forces, Vietnamization, and the fall of Saigon.
- **History 8(F)** Describe the responses to the Vietnam War such as the draft, the 26th Amendment, the role of the media, the credibility gap, the silent majority, and the anti-war movement.
- **History 9(B)** Describe the roles of political organizations that promoted civil rights, including ones from Chicano, American Indian, women's, and other civil rights movements.
- **History 9(C)** Identify the roles of significant leaders who supported various rights movements, including Cesar Chávez, Hector P. García, and Betty Friedan.
- **History 9(D)** Compare and contrast the approach taken by some civil rights groups such as the Black Panthers with the nonviolent approach of Martin Luther King Jr.
- **History 9(F)** Describe presidential actions and congressional votes to address minority rights in the United States, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- **History 9(I)** Describe how litigation such as the landmark cases of *Mendez v. Westminster*, *Hernandez v. Texas*, *Delgado v. Bastrop I.S.D.*, and *Edgewood I.S.D. v. Kirby* played a role in protecting the rights of the minority during the civil rights movement.
- **Economics 17(D)** Identify actions of government and the private sector such as the Great Society, affirmative action, and Title IX to create economic opportunities for citizens and analyze the unintended consequences of each.
- **Government 19(B)** Explain constitutional issues raised by federal government policy changes during times of significant events, including the 1960s.
- **Government 20(A)** Describe the impact of events such as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the War Powers Act on the relationship between the legislative and executive branches of government.
- **Government 21(A)** Analyze the effects of landmark U.S. Supreme Court decisions, including U.S. Supreme Court decisions such as *Hernandez v. Texas*, *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, and *White v. Regester*.
- **Citizenship 23(A)** Identify and analyze methods of expanding the right to participate in the democratic process, including lobbying, non-violent protesting, litigation, and amendments to the U.S. Constitution.
- **Citizenship 23(B)** Evaluate various means of achieving equality of political rights, including the 24th and 26th Amendment ....
- **Citizenship 24(B)** Evaluate the contributions of significant political leaders in the United States such as Barry Goldwater ....

CONTINUED

- **Culture 25(B)** Describe both the positive and negative impacts of significant examples of cultural movement in arts, movies and literature such as the Beat Generation, rock and roll, the Chicano Mural Movement ... on American society.
- **Culture 26(D)** Identify the political, social, and economic contributions of women such as Dolores Huerta to American society.
- **Culture 26(F)** Discuss the importance of Congressional Medal of Honor recipients including individuals of all races and genders such as Roy Benavidez.
- **Science, Technology, and Society 28(B)** Explain how space technology and exploration improve the quality of life.

The sixties were a time of protest and change. When John F. Kennedy took office, he announced that the “torch was being passed to a new generation.” Advances in civil rights spread from African Americans to other minority groups and women. President Johnson dreamt of ending poverty in America, but his hopes were derailed when the United States became involved in the Vietnam War. By the late 1960s, a new generation of young Americans began to question the conformity of the 1950s. New forms of art, music and self-expression appeared.

### — IMPORTANT IDEAS —

- A. **John F. Kennedy** brought a new spirit of youthful vigor to the White House. He supported civil rights, the space program, and freedom around the world.
- B. **Fidel Castro** came to power in 1959 and turned Cuba into a Communist dictatorship. Cuban exiles with U.S. support landed at the **Bay of Pigs** but were defeated. Castro and the Soviets tried to install nuclear missiles. U.S. spy planes saw the missile silos and Kennedy ordered a blockade around Cuba. During the **Cuban Missile Crisis** the world was on the brink of nuclear war. Under a compromise, the U.S. would not invade Cuba and the missiles were withdrawn.
- C. Soviet leaders began building the **Berlin Wall** in 1961. In 1963, Kennedy reassured West Berliners when he told them “*Ich bin ein Berliner.*”
- D. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963. **Lyndon B. Johnson**, the new President, steered civil rights legislation and his **Great Society** programs through Congress. His program gave aid to cities, fought poverty, and established **Medicare**. **Barry Goldwater**, who revived conservatism, lost to Johnson in the election of 1964.
- E. During the 1960s, gains achieved by the Civil Rights Movement spread to other groups. **Betty Friedan** focused on the plight of middle-class suburban housewives. During the **Women’s Liberation Movement**, women sought greater socioeconomic opportunities. **Affirmative action** programs and **Title IX** led to gender equality in education. Feminists also drew attention to biased attitudes. The **Equal Pay Act** required equal pay for men and women doing the same job.
- F. During the late 1960s, some African Americans became more militant. The **Black Power Movement** believed African Americans should rely more on themselves. **Malcolm X** believed that violence might be necessary to achieve equal rights. The **Black Panthers** demanded equal opportunities and reparations for past oppression. In 1968, African-American frustration led to rioting in cities after the assassination of Dr. **Martin Luther King, Jr.**

## — IMPORTANT IDEAS (continued) —

- G.** Mexican Americans also struggled for equal rights. Chicano Wall murals celebrated their culture. Organizers like **Cesar Chávez** and **Dolores Huerta** fought for the rights of migrant farm workers, most of whom were Mexican Americans. **Hector Pérez García** fought discrimination against Mexican Americans.
- H.** A series of various court cases ended the segregation of Mexican-American children in public schools and the exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries.
- I.** American Indians organized the **American Indian Movement**, or AIM.
- J.** Young people in the sixties sought greater personal freedom. The right to vote to all citizens over 18 years old was given by the **Twenty-sixth Amendment**.
- K.** In 1954, **Vietnam** in Southeast Asia was divided in two: North Vietnam came under Communist control, while South Vietnam had the support of the West. When South Vietnamese leaders decided to oppose elections to re-unify the country, the **Vietcong** launched a guerilla war to win control of the country.
- L.** After Congress passed the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** (1964), President Johnson sent in thousands of U.S. ground troops. Even so, the Vietcong were able to launch attacks on South Vietnamese cities during the **Tet Offensive** (1968).
- M.** In the U.S., the war became very divisive. The **Anti-war Movement** staged demonstrations throughout the country. President **Richard Nixon**, elected in 1968, escalated the war. He bombed the North and began a policy of **Vietnamization** to give the South Vietnamese a larger stake in the war. The U.S. signed an agreement with North Vietnam, withdrawing its forces from Vietnam. Fighting continued until the **fall of Saigon** in 1975, when Vietnam was re-united under Communist rule.
- N.** In the 1960s, American youths challenged the conforming behavior of their parents. The **Beat** poets and writers, like **Allen Ginsberg** and **Jack Kerouac**, were forerunners of this new counter-culture.

## KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE IN THIS CHAPTER

- |                        |                                 |                             |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| ■ John F. Kennedy      | ■ Black Power Movement          | ■ <i>White v. Regester</i>  |
| ■ John Glenn           | ■ Black Panthers                | ■ Vietnam War               |
| ■ Bay of Pigs Invasion | ■ Chicano Movement              | ■ Domino Theory             |
| ■ Cuban Missile Crisis | ■ Hector García                 | ■ Gulf of Tonkin Resolution |
| ■ Lyndon B. Johnson    | ■ Cesar Chávez                  | ■ Vietnamization            |
| ■ Great Society        | ■ Dolores Huerta                | ■ Roy Benavidez             |
| ■ Barry Goldwater      | ■ Am. Indian Movement           | ■ Tet Offensive             |
| ■ Anti-war Movement    | ■ <i>Mendez v. Westminster</i>  | ■ Credibility Gap           |
| ■ Feminist Movement    | ■ <i>Hernandez v. Texas</i>     | ■ "Silent Majority"         |
| ■ Betty Friedan        | ■ <i>Delgado v. Bastrop ISD</i> | ■ Fall of Saigon            |
| ■ Title IX             | ■ <i>Edgewood ISD v. Kirby</i>  | ■ Beat Generation           |

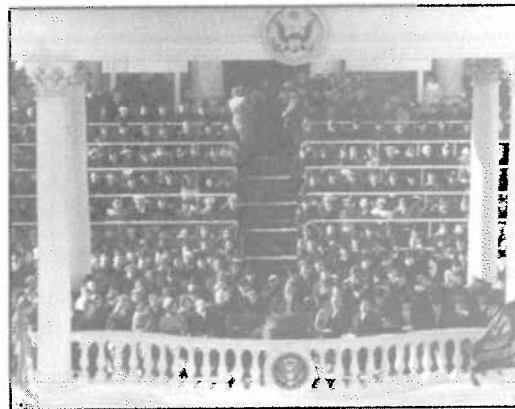
## ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

- How did the Cold War continue during the 1960s?
- How did the Civil Rights Movement show the way for the expansion of rights to other groups, including women, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans?
- Why was the Vietnam War so controversial among Americans?

## THE KENNEDY PRESIDENCY, 1960-1963

The 1960 Presidential election marked the first time the major candidates debated each other on national television. **John F. Kennedy** narrowly defeated Richard Nixon and became the youngest man ever elected to the Presidency. In his Inaugural Address, Kennedy challenged Americans to “ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country.” His speech sought to ignite the spirit of American idealism.

*John F. Kennedy delivering his inaugural speech, January 20, 1961.*



## DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER KENNEDY

Kennedy's **New Frontier** symbolized the vigor of youth. The President and his wife, Jackie, brought an elegant style to the White House. Kennedy sought to use the powers of the federal government to solve the nation's problems. He proposed a tax cut to stimulate the economy, the creation of Medicare, civil rights legislation, and increased aid to education. None of these proposals, however, passed under Kennedy. Kennedy did create the **Peace Corps**, a program in which American volunteers went to developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to share their skills. The program continues today.

**The Space Race.** To counter the Soviet space program, President Kennedy announced that America would place a man on the moon. In 1962, **John Glenn** became the first American to orbit the earth. Few Americans at that time realized that they were just setting off on a road of exploration and discovery that would greatly improve their lives on Earth. Later Presidents continued the space program, and by 1969, the United States became the first country to land two men, **Neil Armstrong** and **Buzz Aldrin**, on the surface of the moon.

*John H. Glenn being fitted for a space suit prior to his liftoff.*



Space exploration has led to advances in technology that have improved the quality of our lives. For example, as a result of space exploration we now have satellites with improved television and radio signals. These satellites help us communicate faster, predict the weather, and forecast impending tsunamis, cyclones, hurricanes and tornadoes. They also allow us to make telephone calls overseas and to use GPS (*global positioning systems*).

The space program also has led to the invention of high-performance solar cells, new lubricants, infrared ear thermometers, enriched baby food, cordless power tools, and tempur-pedic foam for mattresses and pillows

## FOREIGN POLICY UNDER KENNEDY

Like Truman and Eisenhower, President Kennedy staunchly opposed Communism and pledged to contain it. One of the greatest challenges Kennedy faced was in Cuba, only 90 miles from Florida. In 1959, while Eisenhower was President, **Fidel Castro** led an uprising to overthrow the brutal Cuban dictator General Batista. At first, Americans looked at Castro's revolution as an attempt to introduce democracy into Cuba. However, shortly after taking power, Castro made new agreements with the Soviet Union. President Eisenhower reduced the amount of sugar Cuba could sell to the United States, and Castro nationalized American businesses in Cuba. Then he announced his plans to make Cuba a pro-Soviet Communist nation. Landholding was limited and opponents were thrown in jail.



*Fidel Castro*

### BAY OF PIGS INVASION (1961)

President Eisenhower approved a plan to overthrow Castro. This included secretly training a group of Cuban exiles in the United States and Guatemala to invade the island. When Kennedy became President, he let the plan continue, but he refused to provide air power, which would openly tie the invasion to the United States. The exiles landed in Cuba three months after Kennedy took office, but were quickly defeated by the Cuban military. This was an embarrassing foreign policy failure for President Kennedy.

### APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

If you had been President during the invasion at the Bay of Pigs, would you have used U.S. airpower to overthrow Castro? Explain your answer.

### ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS (1961)

To meet the Communist challenge, Kennedy created a program of grants and loans to Latin American nations to promote economic progress, land reform, and trade.

## THE BERLIN WALL (1961)

A few months after the Bay of Pigs failure, President Kennedy met Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** face-to-face in Vienna. Kennedy did not feel the meeting went well. Only a few weeks after that, Soviet officials actually began construction of the **Berlin Wall**, cutting off access to the West for East Berliners.

## CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS (1962)

The exiles invading the Bay of Pigs had been instructed to say they were acting independently, but disobeyed their orders. Castro and Khrushchev became aware that the United States had been behind the invasion, and took steps to protect Cuba. In 1962, U.S. spy planes flying over Cuba discovered that Cuba was secretly preparing silos for missiles with nuclear warheads. At this time, Soviet missiles still could not reach the United States easily from Europe or Asia. Now, they would be able to launch missiles from only 90 miles away. President Kennedy was determined to prevent this from happening. But how could he stop them without causing a nuclear war?



*U.S. spy photo of a nuclear warhead silo under construction in Cuba.*

In October 1962, Kennedy gathered a group of his top officials to form a special committee in the White House. He encouraged them to consider every option to find a way out of the crisis. In good decision-making, one examines all of the alternatives and weighs the pros and cons (*advantages and disadvantages*) of each option. Some urged an immediate strike on the missile silos. After a week of intense debate, Kennedy decided to announce a naval blockade around Cuba to prevent the arrival of any additional Soviet weapons. One Soviet ship was even stopped and boarded. Kennedy also threatened to invade Cuba if the offensive missiles were not withdrawn.



How would Khrushchev react? Kennedy put U.S. armed forces at their highest state of alert, while Soviet commanders in Cuba prepared to defend the island. For a brief moment, the **Cuban Missile Crisis** became the closest the world has ever come to a nuclear war. After several days of extreme tension, Khrushchev agreed to withdraw the missiles for a pledge that the United States would not invade Cuba. Kennedy also agreed to pull U.S. missiles out of Turkey. After the Cuban crisis, U.S. and Soviet leaders set up a special "hot line" telephone. They also agreed to a treaty banning further nuclear testing except for underground.

## ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN



On October 22, 1962, President Kennedy spoke to the nation:

“This secret and extraordinary buildup of Communist missiles — in an area known to have a special relationship to the United States and the nations of the Western Hemisphere, in violation of Soviet assurances, and in defiance of American and hemispheric policy — this decision to station weapons for the first time outside of Soviet soil — is an unjustified change in the status quo which cannot be accepted by this country ....”

In your opinion, did President Kennedy choose the right course of action during the Cuban Missile Crisis? Explain your answer.

President Kennedy reiterated his commitment to resisting Communism when he visited West Berlin in 1963. He told its citizens “*Ich bin ein Berliner*” (I am a Berliner), reassuring West Germans of the U.S. commitment to their safety and freedom.

## THE JOHNSON PRESIDENCY, 1963-1968

The nation was shocked when Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas on November 22, 1963. Vice-President **Lyndon B. Johnson** became the next President.

### THE GREAT SOCIETY

Soon after becoming President, Johnson proposed the most far-ranging program of social legislation since the New Deal. Johnson proposed federal legislation designed to transform American society. Johnson’s goal was to turn the nation into a **Great Society** by opening up opportunities and improving the quality of life for all Americans. His Great Society programs included equality of opportunity, enrichment of urban life, restoration of natural beauty, expansion of education, ending poverty, health care for the elderly, and greater racial equality.

**Civil Rights.** As you learned in Chapter 13, Johnson pushed through a broad program of Civil Rights legislation, including the **Civil Rights Act (1964)** and the **Voting Rights Act (1965)**. He also introduced **affirmative action**.

**War on Poverty.** Johnson called for a “war on poverty.” The **Economic Opportunity Act (1964)** created a new government office to administer programs established by the act. These included the **Job Corps**, to train underprivileged youths, and a domestic “Peace Corps” to help in depressed areas.

#### JOHNSON’S GREAT SOCIETY PROGRAMS

**Medicare Act of 1965.** Social Security was expanded to provide medical care, hospital insurance, and post-hospital nursing for people over age 65.

**Aid to Cities.** A new cabinet post was created to help the nation’s cities. Money was provided for urban planning, slum clearance, rental assistance for the poor, and the reconstruction of buildings.

**Changes in Immigration Policy.** Johnson also proposed important changes in immigration policy. The post-war **McCarren-Walter Act** (1952) had kept immigration quotas at 1920 levels, favoring Western Europe. Asian countries had received only token immigration. The **Immigration Act of 1965** aimed to be less biased. Each country was given an identical quota for its number of legal immigrants. Preference was given to those with relatives already in the United States or with valuable skills. The act also restricted immigration from Latin America for the first time.

**Johnson's Landslide Election.** In 1964, **Barry Goldwater** (1909–1998), a Senator from Arizona, won the Republican nomination for President. Goldwater helped revive conservatism at a time when it seemed out of fashion. He called for a tough stance in dealing with the Soviets, opposing arms-control talks. He also attacked Johnson's Great Society programs for extending the reach of the government too far into our lives. His slogan "that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice," actually hurt Goldwater in the election. Many Americans feared that Goldwater was an "extremist" who might lead the nation into a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.



Barry Goldwater

## ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN



In 1960, Goldwater helped revive Conservative political thought with his book, *Conscience of a Conservative*. Here he defines what he sees as the key principle of American Conservatism:

"[T]he Conservative looks upon politics as the art of achieving the [most] freedom for individuals consistent with [maintaining] social order. ... the Conservative recognizes that the utmost care is required to keep political power within its proper bounds. The delicate balance that exists between freedom and order has long since tipped against freedom everywhere on earth. In some countries, freedom is down and order holds absolute sway. In our country the trend is less advanced, but gaining momentum. Thus, for the American Conservative, there is no difficulty in identifying the day's real challenge: to preserve and extend freedom. As he surveys the institutions and laws that currently prevail, the Conservative's first concern is always: Are we maximizing freedom? I suggest we [look at] the issues facing us today with this question in mind."

- ★ According to Goldwater, what two forces are in constant conflict?
- ★ What issues facing Americans today illustrate this same conflict?

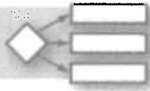
## FAILURE OF THE GREAT SOCIETY

Despite Johnson's Great Society programs, many Americans remained in poverty. The cost of the Vietnam War eventually forced Johnson to withdraw much of the funding from these domestic programs. Because of the growing divisions in the nation over this war, Johnson did not seek another term as President in 1968.



### APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

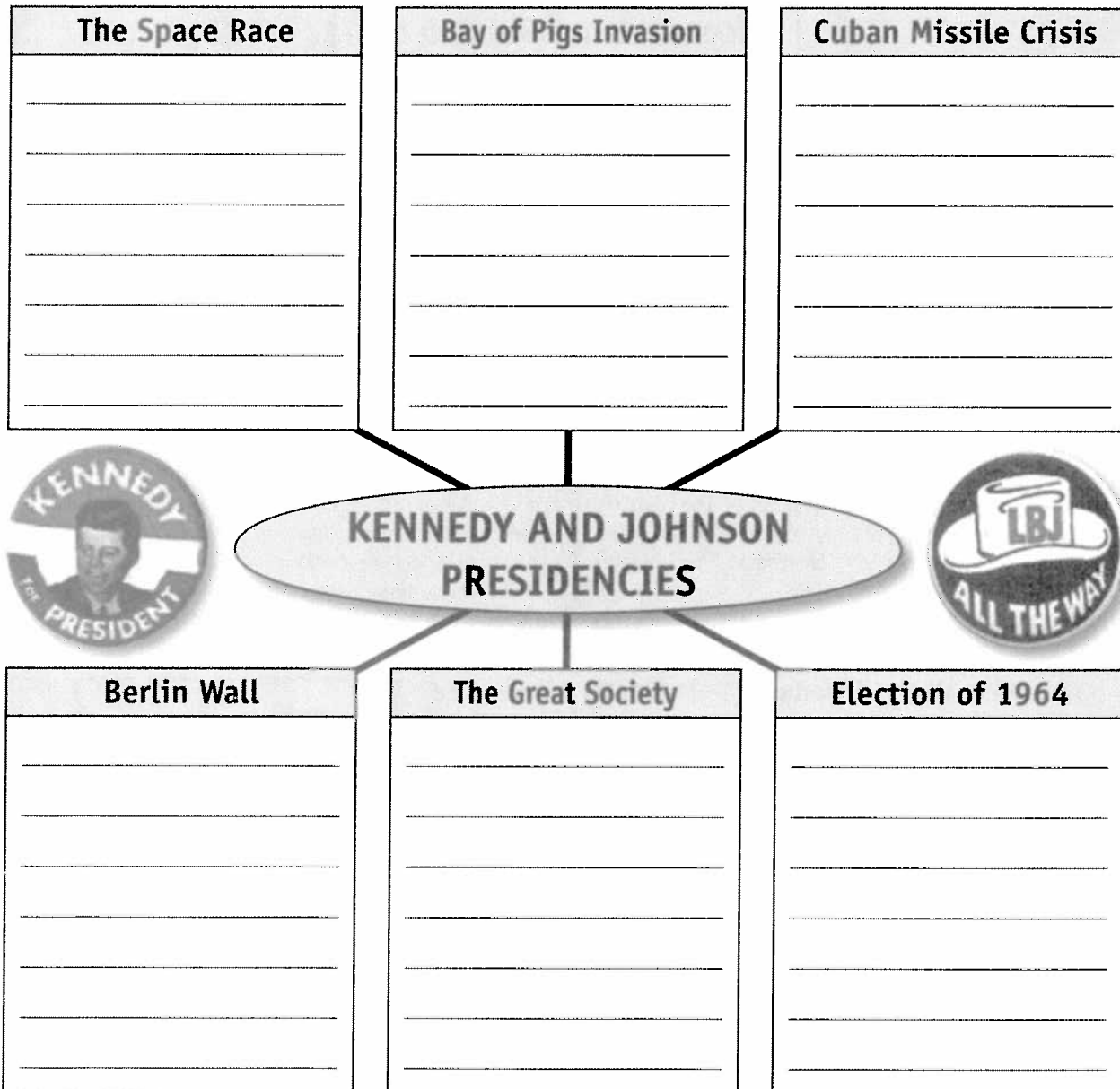
Half century later, poverty in America is still an important problem. Was President Johnson too optimistic in believing that poverty could be reduced or even eliminated by federal programs? Explain your answer.



### LEARNING WITH GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS



Complete the graphic organizer below by describing some of the key events of the Kennedy and Johnson Presidencies.



## THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

One of the most important events of the 1960s was the **Women's Liberation** (or *Feminist*) **Movement**. In the 1950s and early 1960s, most American women had occupied traditional roles as wives and mothers. Working class women worked outside the home, but middle class women were often restricted to the household. Movies, television, and magazines reinforced this stereotype. Married women who did not conform to the ideal housewife were even regarded as outcasts. Although they could now vote, women still had not achieved full equality either at work or in the home. Unlike the earlier Suffrage Movement, which focused on securing the vote, the Women's Liberation Movement was directed at achieving greater economic and social equality.

### REASONS FOR THE EMERGENCE OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

**Dissatisfaction.** Many women were dissatisfied with their roles as housewives and sought freedom to express themselves in careers and work.

**Influence of Civil Rights Movement.** Many women leaders had been active in the Civil Rights Movement. Its success inspired them to adopt the same techniques to promote women's rights — lobbying, sit-ins, demonstrations, boycotts, and strikes.

**Impact of Social Science.** Social scientists, especially women such as anthropologist **Margaret Mead**, began to see women's low status in Western society as the creation of a male-dominated power structure rather than as biological necessity.

**The "Sexual Revolution."** Sex education courses began to be taught in the schools. Birth control pills protected women from pregnancy. The Women's Movement attacked the myth of female passivity. Women objected to being treated as "sex objects" instead of as full human beings.

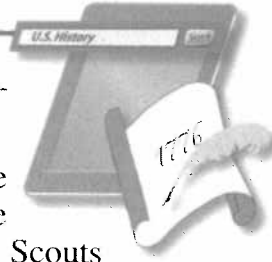
**Dynamic Leadership.** Highly educated and talented women provided dynamic leadership. Feminist leaders included Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem. Steinem founded *Ms. Magazine*, devoted to women's concerns and viewpoints decidedly different from traditional woman's magazines.

In 1963, **Betty Friedan** (1921–2006) wrote *The Feminine Mystique*. Her book galvanized middle class women. It challenged the belief that educated suburban housewives were happy doing nothing more than keeping their homes clean and preparing dinner for their families. Friedan wrote that women were as capable as men and should be permitted to compete for the same jobs. In 1966, Friedan helped form the **National Organization of Women (NOW)**, which became the chief voice of the Women's Movement.



*Betty Friedan (l.) leads a feminist demonstration.*

## ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN



In her book, Friedan challenged the belief that all women were content leading lives as mothers and housewives:

“Each suburban wife struggles with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, [and] lay beside her husband at night — she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question — ‘Is this all?’”

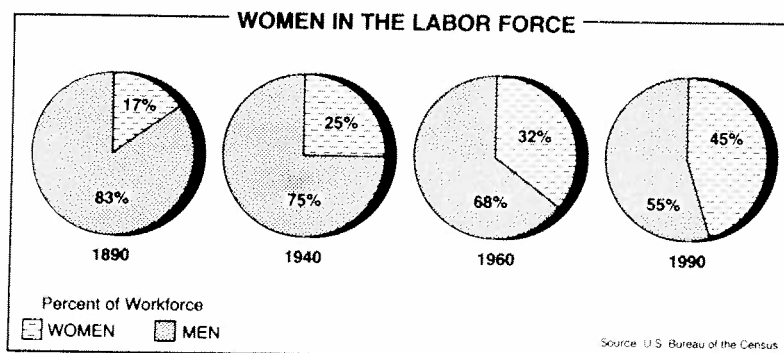
Some criticized Betty Friedan for limiting her focus to middle-class, educated women. They claimed she ignored other women’s voices. Do you think this was a valid criticism? Explain your answer.

## ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE WOMEN’S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Feminist goals were far-reaching. Women sought greater freedom and a fuller social and economic life.

**Education.** As a result of affirmative action, universities receiving federal support could no longer discriminate on the basis of sex in their admissions policy. Most colleges became co-educational and hired women professors. In fact, they had to hire more women faculty quickly because most professors were males. Greater gender equality was also achieved in admissions to military academies, law schools, and medical schools.

**Employment.** Feminists sought to end discrimination in hiring, to establish equal job opportunities for women, and to place women in positions of greater responsibility. In 1963, Congress passed the **Equal Pay Act**, requiring companies to pay women the same wages as men for the same work.



**New Attitudes.** Feminists objected to beauty contests and introduced the title “Ms” to replace “Miss” and “Mrs.” They opposed sexist language (“policeman” and “fireman”), the use of women as sex objects in advertising, or the idea that men cannot do housework. Women’s leaders opposed sexual discrimination in textbooks that ignored women’s contributions. They lobbied for more funds to research women’s diseases, like breast cancer.

**Roe v. Wade (1973).** Many states had laws that prohibited abortion. Feminists believed that a woman should have the right to decide for herself whether to end her pregnancy. “Pro-choice” became a rallying cry for the Women’s Movement. In *Roe v. Wade*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that a woman had a constitutional right to privacy. This gave her the right to end her pregnancy in the first three months if she chose to do so. The decision overturned all those state laws prohibiting an abortion in the first three months.

## TITLE IX (1972)

A major landmark in women’s rights in education was reached with the passage of Title IX, part of the Educational Amendments Act (1972). **Title IX** banned sex discrimination in educational institutions. Title IX promoted gender equity by guaranteeing girls in school the same opportunities as boys. By linking enforcement of the act to federal funding, lawmakers created a powerful financial incentive for schools to provide gender equality to keep from losing federal aid.

Title IX has had an major impact on American society. For example, before Title IX, only one in 27 girls played varsity high school sports. By 2001, that figure had risen to one in 2.5. Title IX helped women to pursue higher degrees, compete in sports, and enter jobs and educational fields that had previously been dominated by men. Before Title IX, the number of women attending colleges was significantly lower than men. Today, more women than men are in college.



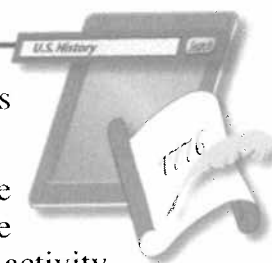
*Title IX promoted gender equality in sports.*

### ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

The excerpt below is from Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act:

“No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance, ....”

- ★ Why is it important for women and men to enjoy equal opportunities for participation in school activities? Explain your answer.
- ★ Interview your parents or grandparents and ask them how opportunities for women have changed in their lifetime. Then write up the results of your interview and share them with your classmates.





## THE EXPANDING STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

The 1960s and early 1970s were a watershed in American history. Many groups — women, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Native American, and the young — became more vocal in their demands for a more equal and diverse American society.

### INCREASING AFRICAN-AMERICAN MILITANCY

The demand for change was particularly strong among young African Americans. The Civil Rights Movement had ended public segregation and discrimination in voting. But it did not end private bias or provide equal opportunities for members of those groups that had suffered from previous oppression. Many young African Americans concluded that Dr. King's methods of non-violence were not powerful enough to overcome such obstacles.

The new militants believed in **Black Power** — that African Americans should use their votes to win concessions from government and that they should control their own communities and patronize their own businesses to free themselves from the economic, cultural, and political domination of whites.

**Search for a New Identity.** In the late 1960s, many African Americans began to search for the roots of their cultural identity. They rejected imitating whites or being absorbed into American culture, believing that they should be proud of themselves and that "Black is Beautiful." They developed distinctive styles like Afro haircuts and fashions based on African culture.

#### SPOTLIGHT ON THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

**New Groups Emerge.** New groups challenged the leadership of traditional, non-violent organizations like the NAACP. The militant **Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** barred white participation. **Black Muslims** believed Islam should be the religion of African Americans, who should form their own black state. **Black Panthers** demanded that reparations be given to the black community for centuries of oppression.

**Malcolm X**, a leading black Muslim, questioned King's policy of non-violent resistance. Malcolm X believed that African Americans should meet violence with violence and should not depend on the goodness of white people. He urged African Americans to obtain control of their own businesses and communities. He was assassinated by rival Black Muslims in 1965.

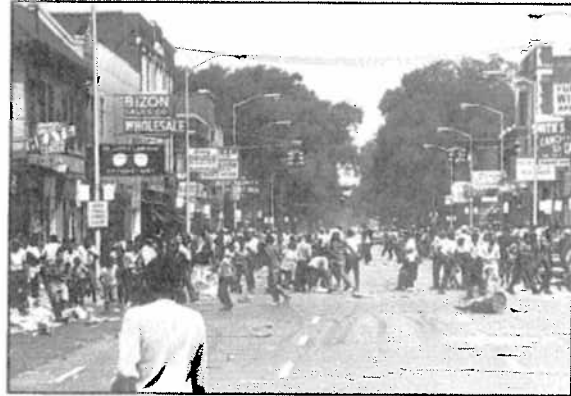
The **Black Panthers** were a group of African-American activists founded in Oakland, California. They had their own newspaper and claimed the right to carry weapons to protect black neighborhoods from the police. They also ran a free breakfast program for African American children. Their ten-point program demanded greater opportunities and benefits for African Americans, including full-employment, decent housing, education, and the freedom to determine their destiny.

## THE GHETTOS ERUPT, 1968

In the North, African Americans often faced segregation based on residential living patterns rather than on state laws. Homeowners in middle class white communities often refused to sell their homes to African Americans. Many African Americans were confined to ethnic communities, known as **ghettos**, in decaying inner cities. Landlords often failed to maintain their buildings and city officials cut back on inspections. African-American frustration erupted in a series of riots that shook Northern cities three summers in a row.

In April 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated by a white supremacist in Memphis, Tennessee. King's assassination led to an outpouring of anger among young African Americans, as well as a period of national mourning. King's death sparked race riots across the nation that cost dozens of lives, destroyed property, and led to hundreds of millions of dollars in damage. Rioters smashed windows, overturned cars, and started fires.

A commission investigating the causes of the unrest found that the lack of job opportunities for African Americans, urban poverty, and white racism were the chief factors behind the riots. The riots showed that there was still work to be done to eliminate racism and introduce equality of opportunity in America.



*Cities like Detroit erupted in riots following the assassination of Dr. King.*

### ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

- ★ Research the views of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and leaders of the Black Panthers such as Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. Then make your own chart comparing and contrasting these divergent points of view.
- ★ Psychologists have given various explanations for the political violence that followed King's assassination. They have pointed to rising expectations (African Americans had expected more rapid change), economic deprivation, and general frustration. Do you think any of these reasons can explain the violence? If not, what do you think were the main causes of the rioting?



## THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

Like African Americans, Mexican Americans, also known as **Chicanos**, had often faced discrimination, racism and exploitation in the United States. In the 1960s, a **Chicano Movement** emerged: its main focus was on such issues as farm workers' voting and political rights.

An early leader of this movement was **Hector Pérez García**, a surgeon and World War II veteran. García noticed that Mexican Americans in his Texas community were barred from restaurants, swimming pools and hospitals. They also faced restrictions in voting, office holding, and employment.

In 1949, García learned that a local Texas funeral home had refused to allow its chapel to be used by the family of a Mexican-American soldier who had been killed in World War II. García arranged for a highly publicized burial at Arlington National Cemetery for the soldier. Dr. García became the first Mexican American to serve on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Another leader of the Chicano Movement was **Cesar Chávez**, an organizer of farm workers in California. Migrant farm workers normally perform seasonal farm work, such as planting or harvesting grapes and strawberries. They travel from farm to farm as the need for work appears.

Chávez started a group that supported farm workers' rights and demanded increased wages and better working conditions. Chávez emphasized reliance on nonviolent means — using strikes, pilgrimages, and fasts to achieve his goal. Chávez organized nation-wide consumer boycotts of farm products, asking Americans to support migrant farm workers by refusing to buy certain crops such as grapes. He also took part in hunger strikes, refusing to eat until violence against strikers ended and state legislators passed laws to improve the lives of farm workers.

**Dolores Huerta**, a courageous Mexican-American labor leader, was closely associated with Cesar Chávez. In the 1960s, she met Chávez and helped him to form the National Farm Workers Association, which later became the United Farm Workers. She spent her life using strikes, marches, boycotts, and hunger strikes in her campaign for legislation to extend aid to the families of farm workers. In the 1980s, Huerta expanded her efforts to include women's rights, environmental protection, and immigration policy. In 2012, Huerta was awarded the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, by President Obama.



*Hector Pérez García (1914–1996)*



*Cesar Chávez (1927–1973)*



*Huerta holds a sign with  
"strike" in Spanish.*

## THE CHICANO MURAL MOVEMENT

Mexican Americans also expressed themselves through a greater appreciation of their culture. Copying great Mexican muralists of the 1930s like Diego Rivera, Mexican-American artists began painting murals in *barrios* (ethnic neighborhoods) throughout the Southwest in the 1960s.



Murals soon became an important artistic medium to support identity and justice in Mexican-American communities. Wall murals provided a visual presence to people who often lacked representation in public life, with few voices on city councils or school boards. In El Paso alone, more than a hundred Chicano wall murals were completed. These murals show Taíno legends and heroes like Cesar Chávez.



*An example of a wall mural in El Paso, Texas.*

## THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM)

American Indians also grew restless in the 1960s. Back in 1953, the federal government had transferred its responsibility for those American Indians still living on reservations to state governments. Lacking sufficient funds, many states were unable to provide the same level of services previously provided by the federal government. The new policy turned out to be largely a failure.

In 1963, the federal government reversed its policy and began encouraging tribal life on the reservations. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination against Native Americans. In 1970, President Nixon announced the federal government would honor its treaty obligations. Nevertheless, many American Indians still felt they were being mistreated. Under the slogan “**Red Power**,” they formed the **American Indian Movement** to mobilize public opinion in their favor. American Indians sought greater respect for their heritage. They introduced the term “Native American” and protested against textbooks, television shows and movies that showed anti-American Indian bias. They dramatized the plight of American Indians by temporarily occupying government monuments on Alcatraz Island and at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.



*American Indians march to demand more rights.*

### APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Create a chart comparing the roles of various political organizations that supported civil rights in this period. For example, you might compare the National Organization of Women, the United Farm Workers, and AIM.



## HOW COURTS WORK

Not only **legislation** (*the passage of new laws like the Civil Rights Act of 1964*) but also **litigation** (*disputes settled by courts*) has played a key role in the expansion of civil rights for minority groups in the United States. This is clear not only from the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (*you can see this case in the last chapter*), but also from a series of cases in which courts ruled on Mexican-American rights.

### HOW DOES A COURT RULE ON A CASE?

It is important to recall just how courts in the United States work. A case involving a federal law or right can be brought before a federal district court. The court listens to the witnesses and arguments for each side. Then it applies the law to the facts of the case. The "law" consists of any laws passed by the state legislature or Congress, prior court precedents and requirements of the U.S. Constitution.

*The room where cases are heard  
before the Supreme Court.*



### APPEALING A DECISION

The losing side may appeal the decision to a **U.S. Court of Appeals**. The twelve Courts of Appeal are organized by region, and each region is known as a "circuit." Finally, the side that loses in the U.S. Court of Appeals can appeal the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court. In a typical year, approximately 10,000 cases are appealed to the Supreme Court. However, the Supreme Court only accepts about 100 cases each year. The cases the Supreme Court decides to hear usually involve important questions about the U.S. Constitution or federal law.

## ***MENDEZ V. WESTMINSTER SCHOOL DISTRICT (1947)***

In 1945, some places in California sent Mexican-American children to separate public schools. Several Mexican-American parents challenged this practice in U.S. district court. The district court ruled that this practice violated the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees citizens the right to the "equal protection" of the laws. Westminster School District appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. The latter concluded that the case did not involve a constitutional question. California law at the time required the segregation of Chinese or Japanese children, but did not "include segregation of school children because of their Mexican blood." The court held that separation within a race was not permitted if not required by a specific state law. The court thus did not need to rule on the Fourteenth Amendment. Later that year, California repealed its school segregation laws.

## **DELGADO v. BASTROP ISD (1948)**

Based on *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, the Texas Attorney General decided that the segregation of Mexican-American children was illegal. Delgado and others sued Bastrop ISD, claiming that the separation of Mexican-American children from other children of the same race without a specific state law was a violation. The U.S. District Court agreed, and ordered the school district to stop the segregation of Mexican-American children.

## **HERNANDEZ v. TEXAS (1954)**

Hernández was convicted of murder in a Texas court by an all-white “Anglo” jury. No Mexican American had served on a jury in the county where Hernández was tried for more than 25 years. Lawyers always objected to having any Mexican-American jurors. Hernández appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, claiming his right to “equal protection of the law” under the Fourteenth Amendment had been violated. Texas argued that Mexican Americans were white and not entitled to any special protection. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Mexican Americans, formed a separate class that was entitled to protection. Hernández had “the right to be tried by juries from which members of his class are not excluded.”



*Pete Hernandez (c) with two  
of his lawyers.*

## **WHITE v. REGESTER (1973)**

State legislatures periodically change district boundaries to account for shifts in population. Each district should have about the same number of voters. In 1970, the Texas legislature changed its district boundaries. Bexar and Dallas counties became districts with several members. The way the new plan worked out, Mexican Americans and African Americans in these two districts would have no real chance of being elected. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld a district court ruling that the legislature had to make these into smaller, one-member districts, giving Mexican-American *barrios* the chance to elect their own candidates. The Supreme Court held that Texas did not have the right to discriminate by setting up multi-member districts.

## **EDGEWOOD ISD v. KIRBY (1984)**

In 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that children do not have a fundamental right under the U.S. Constitution to an education. Civil rights activists then filed lawsuits in various state courts, based on the provisions of state constitutions. A Mexican-American legal group (MALDEF) filed a suit against Kirby, the Texas Education Commissioner, on behalf of Edgewood ISD, a poor district with a large Mexican-American population. The school district claimed that the state method for funding public schools resulted in major differences between the funds available for students in rich and poor districts. This violated the Texas Constitution, which promised a “fair and efficient” public school system.

The Texas Supreme Court agreed with the school district and ordered the state to create a more equitable system of public school finance.

### APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Match the following cases with the decision in that case:

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| ★ <i>Mendez v. Westminster ISD</i> | ◆ Segregation of children of a group was illegal without a special state law requiring it.   |
| ★ <i>Delgado v. Bastrop ISD</i>    | ◆ Segregation of Mexican-American children was illegal in Texas.   |
| ★ <i>Hernandez v. Texas</i>        | ◆ Required single-member districts in Dallas and Bexar counties, so local groups could elect their own representatives.            |
| ★ <i>White v. Regester</i>         | ◆ Required changes in school finance to increase funding for students in poorer school districts.                                  |
| ★ <i>Edgewood ISD v. Kirby</i>     | ◆ Ruled that Mexican Americans, though not a separate race, were still entitled as a class to protection under the 14th Amendment. |

## THE "YOUTH CULTURE" OF THE SIXTIES

A large number of "baby boomers" reached their twenties in the 1960s and 1970s. This generation was influenced by the post-war prosperity, new permissive methods of child care, and exposure to television. By the mid-1960s, some baby boomers adopted a spirit of rebelliousness. They objected to the impersonal life-style of corporate America, and challenged the materialism of those in charge of society — whom they called the "Establishment." These youths were shocked at the Establishment's seeming indifference to poverty and other problems.

### NEW LIFE-STYLES

The new "youth culture" was especially affected by rock music. The **Beatles**, a rock band from England, introduced new fashions and long hair for males, which became symbols of the new culture. The new youth culture experimented openly with drugs and sex. They adopted new fashions that set them apart from more traditional styles. Some "hippies" even left mainstream society altogether and went to live on self-sufficient communes.

### TWENTY-SIXTH AMENDMENT (1971)

In the 1960s, most states set the age for voting at 21 years old. During the Vietnam War, 18-year olds were considered old enough to be drafted into military service to fight and die for their country, but were told they were not old enough to vote. Many Americans believed this was unfair. The Twenty-sixth Amendment was ratified in 1971. It lowered the voting age to 18.

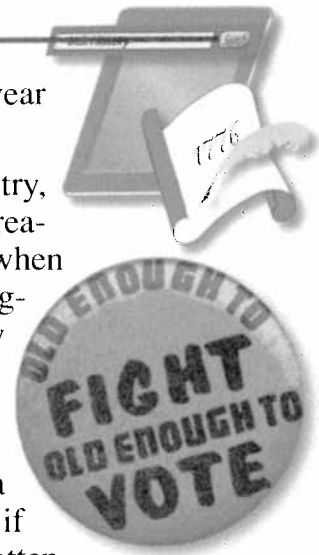
## ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

Several years ago a writer for CNN took a look at giving 18-year olds the right to vote. Here is what he found:

“Imagine being called to fight and even die for your country, but not being allowed to vote. Many people had good a reason to protest the Vietnam War. That changed 25 years ago when the 26th Amendment lowered the voting age to 18. The legacy of this amendment is mixed. Youth turnout has steadily declined since 1972, when 50% of 18 to 24 year-olds voted. By 1988, turnout dropped to 36%. It rebounded a bit in 1992, but remains behind the turnout of older voters. One election expert says that despite this, the amendment had a major impact on American politics. ‘The result of 25 years if nothing else is for several million young people to have gotten their minds, bodies and ballots engaged in politics.’”

*Twenty-five Years of 18-Year-Old Voting* by Jonathan Karl/CNN

- ★ What evidence is presented about the legacy of the 26th Amendment?
- ★ Do you intend to vote when you reach 18? Why or why not?



## THE VIETNAM WAR, 1954-1973

The “decade of change” saw Americans deeply divided over the Vietnam War. Vietnam had once been a French colony in Indochina. In 1954, Vietnamese nationalists, led by **Ho Chi Minh**, defeated their French rulers. At the **Geneva Conference** that followed, Laos and Cambodia were made into independent states. Vietnam was divided into two states: Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Communists controlled the north, while a pro-Western state was established in the south. The country was to be reunited after elections were held in 1956.



*The French learned that tanks were unsuited to Vietnam's jungles.*

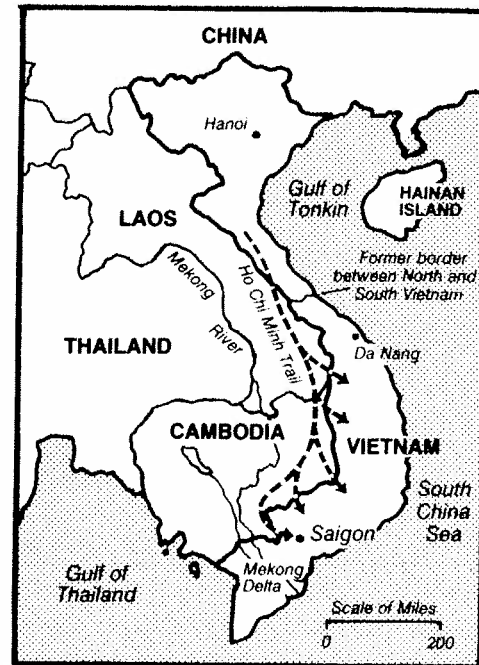
After the Geneva Conference, the United States replaced France as South Vietnam's principal supporter. After 1954, Ho Chi Minh introduced land reform, “re-education,” and other policies in the North similar to those of Mao in China. Catholics fled from the North to the South. South Vietnam refused to hold elections for the re-unification of Vietnam, since they feared elections in the North would not be free. Soon afterwards, South Vietnamese Communists (**Vietcong**) with North Vietnamese support began a guerrilla war against the government of South Vietnam. They assassinated South Vietnamese officials and seized control of South Vietnamese villages.

At the same time, South Vietnam was far from a democracy. Its President was a dictator who was opposed by Vietnam's Buddhists. In 1963, he was overthrown and murdered in a coup.

## THE WAR UNDER PRESIDENT KENNEDY, 1960–1963

President Eisenhower had suggested that the fall of French Indochina might create a “domino” effect. According to this **Domino Theory**, if South Vietnam fell to Communism, neighboring Southeast Asian countries would also fall to Communism like a row of dominos. After taking Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, Communists would threaten Thailand to the west and the Strait of Malacca to the south. Resisting the Communists in Vietnam might prevent this collapse.

The Domino Theory greatly affected President Kennedy's thinking. Responding to requests from the South Vietnamese government for help, Kennedy sent aid and U.S. military advisers to assist South Vietnam in fighting the Vietcong. Kennedy also felt that a successful democracy in South Vietnam might serve as a model for other developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.



## THE WAR UNDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON, 1963–1968

Under President Johnson, the United States became even more deeply involved in Vietnam.

### GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION (1964)

In 1964, Johnson announced that the North Vietnamese had attacked U.S. ships in international waters in the Gulf of Tonkin. Congress voted to give Johnson full military powers to stop North Vietnam's aggression. Years later, it was revealed that the U.S. ships had actually been in North Vietnamese waters in cooperation with South Vietnamese warships that were bombing North Vietnam.

### JOHNSON ESCALATES THE WAR

Although Congress had not officially declared war, President Johnson used the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution to escalate (*increase*) the war.

Johnson ordered massive bombing raids over North Vietnam. He also sent more combat troops to South Vietnam. By 1968, half a million U.S. soldiers were stationed in South Vietnam. New weapons like **napalm**, a sticky gasoline-based jelly that burns, inflicted great damage on the Vietnamese, while herbicides like **Agent Orange** destroyed the jungle cover used by the Vietcong to hide.

## THE TET OFFENSIVE

In 1968, the Vietcong launched a massive offensive throughout South Vietnam, seizing many major cities, including the capital city of **Saigon**. Once in control, the Vietcong committed brutal acts of terror against South Vietnamese officials. Although American forces finally drove the Vietcong from these strongholds, the offensive marked a turning point in the war. It demonstrated to the American public that victory was far away. In addition, it disproved the rhetoric of the American government that the Vietcong were weak, under-supplied, disorganized, and low in morale.

In May 1968, **Roy Benavidez**, facing constant enemy fire, carried wounded members of his platoon to rescue-helicopters. Benavidez was critically wounded, but he refused to stop gathering survivors, saving the lives of eight men. At first, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his heroism. When the full story of his daring became known, Benavidez was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor by President Ronald Reagan in 1981. Benavidez died in San Antonio in 1998.



*Soldiers during the Tet Offensive.*



*Roy Benavidez  
(1935–1998)*

## INCREASING DIFFICULTIES IN VIETNAM

By the end of 1968, the United States had dropped more bombs on Vietnam than it had in all of World War II. The war was costing \$25 billion a year. Despite these efforts, the United States was unable to win the war for a number of reasons:

## POPULARITY OF THE NATIONALIST CAUSE

The North Vietnamese and many South Vietnamese saw Ho Chi Minh as the “father” of their country. They felt they were fighting for their independence and were willing to suffer large losses to re-unify their country. On the other hand, the disruptions of the war weakened the government of South Vietnam. Corruption became widespread. Successive South Vietnamese governments failed to gain popular support. After 1967, South Vietnam was ruled by a military dictator.



## THE DIFFICULTIES OF GUERILLA WARFARE

Most American soldiers were unfamiliar with the Vietnamese language, people, or physical environment. American forces were unable to tell who was friendly and who was the enemy. The jungles of Vietnam provided an ideal cover for guerilla warfare and secret enemy movements. Vietnam's location made it easy for Communists to send a steady flow of supplies through neighboring countries.

## GROWING DISCONTENT: THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The **media** (*newspapers, radio, television*) had a great influence in shaping public opinion. It was the first time American audiences could watch the destructiveness of the war on their television sets while sitting at home. President Johnson told Americans they were winning the war, but journalists reported otherwise. This created a “**credibility gap**”: many Americans lost faith in their government's reliability.



*Protesters burn their draft cards to show their opposition to the war.*

Nowhere was this discontent more evident than among young Americans who objected to the country's involvement in Vietnam. Mass anti-war movements occurred throughout the country from 1965 onwards. Young people burned their draft cards, marched on the Pentagon, held rallies, and staged demonstrations. By 1968, millions of young people were actively protesting the war.

The anti-war movement greatly influenced U.S. military policy. American “doves” wanted the United States to withdraw, since they saw the contest as a civil war between the North and South Vietnamese. They believed American leaders were acting immorally by bombing civilians and burning villages. The “hawks” supported the war, which they saw as an attempt to defend free Vietnamese from Communist repression.

## THE WAR UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON, 1969–1973

Division among Democrats over the war, the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy (*younger brother of President Kennedy*), and violence at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1968 led to the election of Republican **Richard Nixon** as President. During the campaign, Nixon, a staunch anti-Communist, promised Americans “peace with honor” in Vietnam. However, the war dragged on for five more years under Nixon.

During these years, Nixon, aided by **Henry Kissinger**, adopted a complex approach in Vietnam consisting of “Vietnamization,” increased bombing, and diplomacy.

**Vietnamization.** Under Nixon's Vietnamization policy, the army of South Vietnam gradually took over the brunt of the fighting, allowing the withdrawal of U.S. forces. At the same time, Nixon increased American bombing of North Vietnam and provided military aid to South Vietnam.

#### NIXON'S VIETNAM POLICY

**Invasion of Cambodia.** Nixon believed the war would be shortened if supply routes through Cambodia from North to South Vietnam could be cut. In 1970, American troops invaded Cambodia.

**Diplomatic Overtures.** Nixon negotiated with Vietnam's Communist allies, China and the Soviet Union, to put pressure on North Vietnam.

The anti-war movement increased in intensity during the Nixon Presidency. Anti-war protesters were shocked by his escalation of the war with the bombing of Cambodia. In 1969, national guardsmen shot at and killed four student demonstrators at Kent State, Ohio. College campuses across the nation closed down due to student demonstrations and sit-ins. Students engaged in mass marches in Washington, D.C. and other major cities.

President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew insisted that most Americans still supported the war. They referred to their supporters as the "**silent majority.**" Sometimes exchanges between anti-war protesters and supporters became violent.

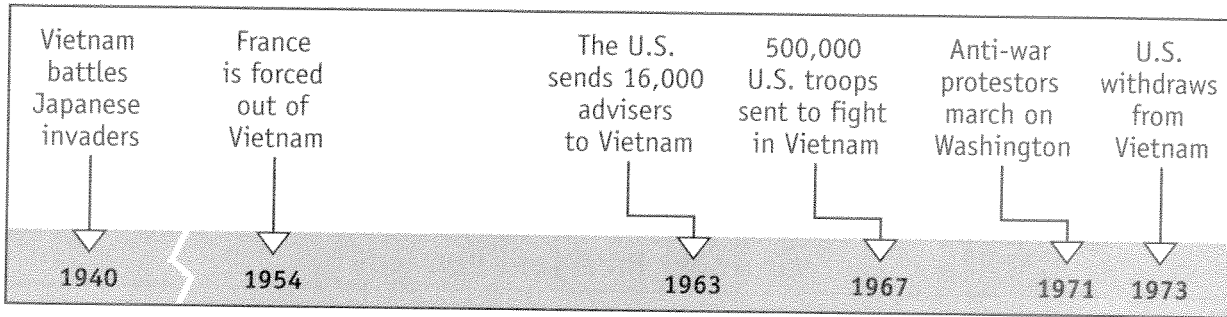


*A Kent State student cries over the body of a student killed by Guardsmen.*

Leaked government documents, known as the **Pentagon Papers**, were published in the *New York Times* in 1971. The government had tried to stop the publication of these documents, but lost its case in the U.S. Supreme Court. These documents showed that several Presidents before Nixon had lied to the American people about Vietnam; although these Presidents felt they could not win in Vietnam, none of them wanted the disgrace of defeat associated with their Presidency.

## THE FALL OF SAIGON: The End of the War

After President Nixon introduced **Vietnamization**, American forces were gradually reduced. In 1973, U.S. negotiators in Paris, led by Henry Kissinger, worked out a cease-fire agreement with the North Vietnamese. Nixon agreed to pull out all remaining U.S. troops from Vietnam, and North Vietnam agreed to release American prisoners of war. After the U.S. withdrawal, fighting still continued.



By 1975, what remained of the South Vietnamese Army was incapable of preventing the advance of the North Vietnamese. In April 1975, Saigon finally fell to North Vietnamese forces. The **fall of Saigon** (today called *Ho Chi Minh City*) marked the end of the Vietnam War. South Vietnamese government officials, military officers, and soldiers who had supported the American presence in Vietnam were sent to Communist “re-education camps,” where they faced torture, disease and malnutrition.

### APPLYING WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED

Have your class stage a debate — *Resolved: America’s leaders made a mistake in engaging in the war in Vietnam.* Appoint teams for and against the resolution. Or pretend to be having a debate between Hawks and Doves in 1969.

## THE LEGACY OF THE VIETNAM WAR

The War in Vietnam had many important effects:

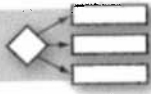
**Death and Destruction.** Over 58,000 Americans died, and many others suffered physical and psychological injuries. Over a million Vietnamese were killed, while many more were left homeless.

**Impact of the War on the U.S. and Abroad.** Wartime expenses led to the end of some Great Society programs and brought rising inflation. The war demonstrated that government actions can be greatly affected by public opinion. It also led to a crisis of American self-confidence. Next to the Civil War, the Vietnam War was the most divisive war in U.S. history. As a result, Americans became more aware of the limits of U.S. power and cautious about where they should act abroad.

**Limits on Presidential Power.** In both Korea and Vietnam, Presidents had sent American troops into extended combat without first obtaining a declaration of war from Congress. In 1973, Congress attempted to re-claim its constitutional powers by passing over Nixon’s veto, the **War Powers Resolution**. This set limits on Presidential power in a conflict without a formal declaration of war by Congress. The act requires the President to inform Congress within 48 hours of sending troops to fight overseas. If within 60 days the Congress does not approve of the use of these overseas forces, the President must withdraw them.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

UNLAWFUL TO PHOTOCOPY OR  
PROJECT WITHOUT PERMISSION



## LEARNING WITH GRAPHIC ORGANIZERS



Complete the graphic organizer below describing some of the key developments during the War in Vietnam.

### The War Under President Kennedy



### The War Under President Johnson



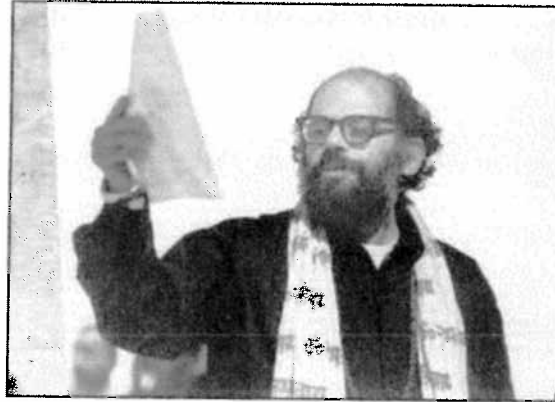
### The War Under President Nixon



## POST-WAR LITERATURE, ART, AND MUSIC

American literature has been marked by movements of varying styles and directions. Some of the best writing just after World War II dealt with the war experience itself, including such works as Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), describing the capture of an island from the Japanese, and James Jones' *From Here to Eternity* (1951), showing army life in Hawaii up to the Pearl Harbor attack.

In the 1950s, the **Beat Generation** rebelled against the conformity of their era. This movement began with a small and tightly connected group of young writers who were college students together in New York City and later most moved to San Francisco. They showed a care-free, often reckless and fresh approach to literature.



Allen Ginsberg

Two of the founders of the movement, **Allen Ginsberg** and **Jack Kerouac**, began giving public readings of their works in the mid-1950s. They became even more well-known after Ginsberg's best known poem, *Howl* (1955), was seized for obscenity. The Beats opposed the conventions of the 1950s and saw the solution to the lifeless materialism of the fifties in the heightened sense of freedom and spirituality in their own works. Kerouac's novel, *On the Road*, tells the story of the narrator's adventures crossing the country in a car several times with a character named Dean Moriarty. Kerouac's theme was the experience of life itself.

The Beats experimented with both sexuality and drugs. From the name "beat," a newspaper columnist coined the term "beatnik," which became associated with artistic lifestyles in the 1950s, in which young men wore beards, berets, and sandals, while young women dressed in leotards. They recited poetry and discussed European philosophy. The beatniks represented an early form of what would later become known as the counter-culture.

By the 1960s, the counter-culture was in full swing. Two late World War II novels, **Joseph Heller's** *Catch 22* (1961) and **Kurt Vonnegut's** *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), challenged mainstream thinking by exposing the absurdity of armed conflict. Mailer became a critic of the Vietnam War, as shown in his novel, *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967), and also wrote books on anti-war protests, such as *Armies of the Night* (1968).

In the 1960s, literature also became much more open in its treatment of human consciousness and sexuality, as demonstrated by the novels and short stories of **Philip Roth**, including *Goodbye Columbus* (1959) and *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969). In a much later work, *American Pastoral* (1997), Roth dealt with coming to terms with the middle class radicalism of the 1960s.

Popular music also went through important changes. During World War II, Big Band music had been popular, but in the 1950s, African-American gospel music, jazz, blues, and country music were brought together and adopted by artists like **Chuck Berry**, **Little Richard** and **Elvis Presley** to create **rock and roll music**. Rock and roll music depended on the invention of the electric guitar, amplifier and microphone, as well as the use of smaller records (45 RPM) and radio stations to play them to audiences across the country.

In the early 1960s, the **Motown Sound** from Detroit, with African-American artists like the Temptations, the Four Tops, and the Supremes, swept the nation. Artist and song writer Bob Dylan brought the influence of folk music to rock and roll. In 1964, the Beatles launched the “British invasion,” followed by such groups as the Rolling Stones and the Who. By the late 1960s, artists like Jimi Hendrix, Country Joe and the Fish, and Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young became icons of the counter-culture and the anti-war movement. Many of their songs protested the war in Vietnam or celebrated the psychedelic experience.



*The birthplace of the Motown Sound.*

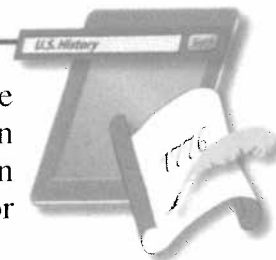
Perhaps even more than literature and popular music, the visual arts went in diverse directions in these years, from abstract expressionism to pop art. “Action painters” like **Jackson Pollock** expressed their feelings with the rapid movement of color and texture across the canvas. **Mark Rothko** was another leading abstract expressionist. **Andy Warhol** was one of the creators of a new kind of art — **Pop Art**, or popular art. Warhol used symbols from our mass-produced, mass-marketed consumer culture, like a Campbell’s soup can or a portrait of Marilyn Monroe, which he repeated multiple times. Warhol was also post-modern in producing his own music groups and films. **Jasper Johns** and **Roy Lichtenstein** were two other prominent pop artists.



*Andy Warhol's Four Colored Campbell Soup Can.*

## ACTING AS AN AMATEUR HISTORIAN

Look up on the Internet or in your school library for one of the writers, musicians or artists found on these two pages. Or you can select another artist from the time period who interests you. Then prepare a short biography of about one page. Finally, analyze his or her work to show how it was representative of the time period.



## CHAPTER STUDY CARDS

### The Kennedy and Johnson Presidencies

- ★ **President John F. Kennedy (1961–1963).**
  - Space Race: Sent John Glenn into space.
  - Alliance for Progress / Peace Corps.
  - Bay of Pigs Invasion (1961).
  - Cuban Missile Crisis (1962).
- ★ **President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–1968).**
  - Proposed the Great Society.
    - Civil Rights Act of 1964.
    - Medicare Act of 1965.
    - War on Poverty and aid to the cities.
  - Instituted changes in immigration policy.
  - Involvement in Vietnam War.
- ★ **Space Race. Armstrong and Aldrin Land on Moon (1969).**

### The Sixties: A Decade of Change

- ★ **New Lifestyles.** Impact of music; Beatles.
  - Challenged materialism, Establishment.
- ★ **Birth of Anti-War Movement.**
  - Youth objected to Vietnam War.
  - Influenced U.S. policy.
- ★ **Twenty-sixth Amendment.**
  - Lowered the voting age from 21 to 18.
- ★ **Women's Liberation Movement.**
  - Objected to traditional roles of women.
  - Focus: Gain economic and social equality.
  - **Betty Friedan**, *The Feminine Mystique*.
  - **Title IX.** Promoted gender equality in high school and college education.

### Rising Ethnic Dissent Among Minorities

- ★ **African-American Militancy.**
  - Ghettos erupted with assassination of Dr. King in 1968.
  - A commission looked into cause of unrest and found a lack of job opportunities.
- ★ **Black Power Movement.**
  - One leader was Malcolm X.
  - Sought African American control of their own communities to free themselves from domination of white culture.
  - Emergence of **Black Panthers**.

### Rising Ethnic Dissent Among Minorities

- ★ **Chicano Movement.** Mexican Americans.
  - Sought to correct past discrimination and racism against Mexican Americans.
  - Leaders of movement:
    - **Hector García.** Challenged discrimination.
    - **Cesar Chávez** organized farm workers using non-violent methods.
- ★ **American Indian Movement (AIM).**
  - "Red Power": Raise respect for Indians.
  - Occupation of Alcatraz/Wounded Knee.

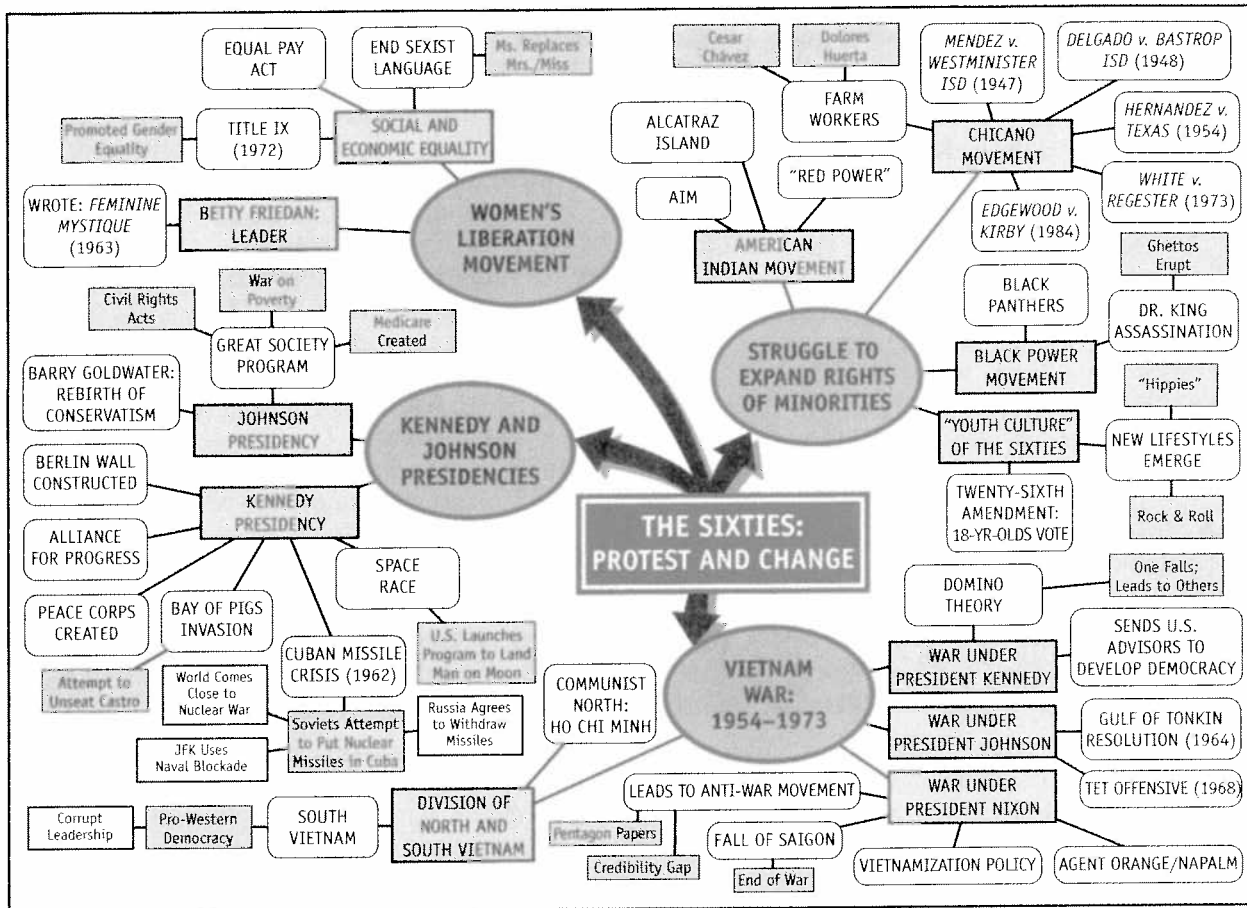
### The Battle for Racial Equality in the Courts

- ★ **Mendez v. Westminster School District.**
  - No segregation of Mexican-American children without specific state law.
- ★ **Hernandez v. Texas (1954).**
  - Mexican Americans cannot be systematically excluded in practice from juries.
- ★ **Delgado v. Bastrop ISD (1948).**
  - Segregation of Mexican-American children in schools in Texas is illegal.
- ★ **Edgewood ISD v. Kirby (1984).**
  - State must revise its school funding system.

### Vietnam War, 1954–1973

- ★ **Causes.** Vietcong with North Vietnamese support attacked South Vietnamese government.
  - U.S. intervened to stop fall of a "row of dominoes" to Communism.
- ★ **Highlights.**
  - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964).
  - Tet Offensive (1968).
  - Fall of Saigon (1975).
- ★ **Impact.**
  - Large number of U.S. casualties.
  - Distrust of American leaders.
  - Led to passing War Powers Resolution.

# CHAPTER 14 CONCEPT MAP



## CHECKING YOUR UNDERSTANDING

**Directions:** Put a circle around the letter that best answers the question.

Use the chart and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

Legislation	Description
Economic Opportunity Act	Created programs such as Job Corps and Head Start
Voting Rights Act	Ended race-based restrictions on voting
Medicare/Medicaid Act	Provided medical coverage for the elderly and disabled

1 The legislation in this chart was an effort to solve problems related to —

- A illegal immigration and terrorism
- B poverty and discrimination
- C illiteracy and domestic abuse
- D budget deficits and famine

Econ 17(0)



**EXAMINE the question.** This question tests your ability to identify the purpose behind the three legislative acts shown on the chart. You should read each act and its description carefully. **RECALL what you know.** You should recall that all three of these acts were part of Johnson's "Great Society" programs. **APPLY what you know.** The best answer is **Choice B**. All three of these Great Society programs were focused on the goal of eliminating either poverty or discrimination in America.



*Now try answering some additional questions on your own.*

- 2 During the 1940s and 1950s, the primary goal of Mexican-American litigation was to —
- F eliminate the legal segregation of Mexican Americans
  - G form a new nation for Mexican Americans
  - H create separate Mexican-American economic and social institutions
  - J establish affirmative action programs to compensate for past wrongs

Hist 9(I)

Use the statement and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

“[T]he war against poverty will not be won here in Washington. It must be won in the field, in every private home, in every public office, from the courthouse to the White House....”

— President Lyndon B. Johnson, *State of the Union Address*, January 8, 1964

- 3 This statement expresses President Lyndon B. Johnson's belief that the —
- A federal government is solely responsible for the war on poverty
  - B court system must be held accountable for poverty
  - C problem of poverty is easily solved
  - D entire country must help in the struggle against poverty
- 
- 4 The court decisions in *Delgado v. Bastrop ISD* and *Hernandez v. Texas* held that —
- F racially segregated schools are inherently unequal
  - G a student has no guaranteed rights while in a public school
  - H a student's right to privacy is limited under certain conditions
  - J Mexican Americans were entitled to protection from discrimination under the Fourteenth Amendment
- 5 The movements led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Cesar Chávez were similar in that both —
- A supported attempts to overthrow the established government
  - B used civil disobedience to bring about social change
  - C boycotted agricultural crops
  - D were elected to national political office

Econ 17(D)

Hist 9(I)

Hist 9(C)

- 6 What constitutional issue was raised by President Johnson's Great Society?  
F Should taxes be raised to stimulate consumer spending? **Govt 19(B)**  
G What foreign imports should be allowed into the United States?  
H How far can the federal government extend itself in helping the less fortunate?  
J Should certain key industries be taken over by the federal government?
- 7 Cesar Chávez, Hector García, and Betty Friedan were similar in that they all —  
A were members of the Black Panther Movement **Hist 9(C)**  
B were leaders in the fight for civil rights and equal opportunity  
C opposed the non-violent approach to obtaining civil rights  
D had as their main goal the achievement of greater opportunities for women
- 8 What did the Women's Liberation Movement see as its major goal in the 1960s?  
F obtaining the right to vote for women **Hist 6(A)**  
G guaranteeing women equal pay for equal work  
H enabling women to stay at home as well as work  
J laws that would allow women to own property
- 9 What was a major goal of the American Indian Movement (AIM)?  
A to gain U.S. citizenship and representation in Congress **Hist 9(B)**  
B to relocate American Indians to urban areas  
C to obtain greater understanding of the American-Indian point of view  
D to end segregation American Indians in public places

Use the passage and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

"Dear Mr. Barr,

... This letter does not express all that is in my heart, Mr. Barr. But if it says nothing else it says that we do not hate you or rejoice to see your industry destroyed; we hate the agri-business system [agricultural corporations] that seeks to keep us enslaved and we shall overcome and change it not by retaliation or bloodshed but by a determined nonviolent struggle carried on by masses of farm workers who intend to be free.

Sincerely yours,  
Cesar E. Chávez

— Cesar Chávez, letter to E.L. Barr Jr., 1969, in *Letters of a Nation*

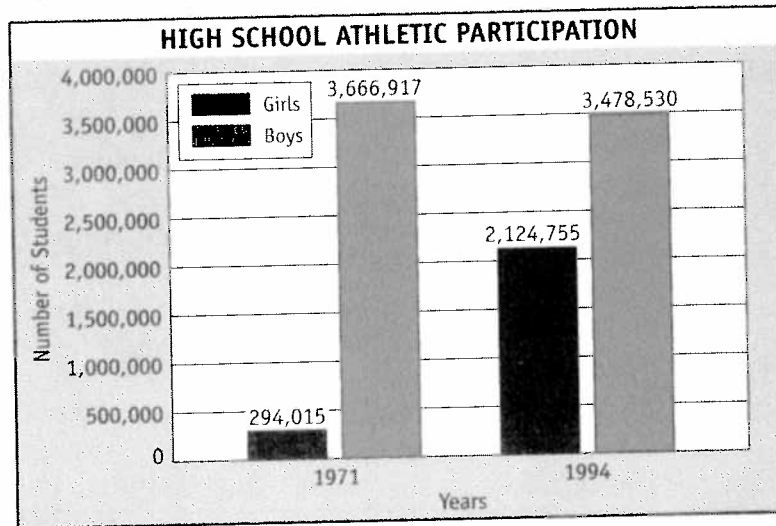
- 10 What action did Chávez take that was consistent with the message in this letter?  
F organizing a farm workers' union **Hist 9(C)**  
G calling for stricter enforcement of immigration laws  
H asking Congress to pass legislation for low-income housing  
J promoting the takeover of large corporations by farm workers

Use the graph and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question:

11 Which action led to the changes shown in the bar graph?

- A passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- B the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments Act
- C the introduction of Head Start programs
- D an increase in the number of nonpublic schools

Econ 17(D)



Source: 1994 The National Federation of State High School Associations

12 The United States began a trade embargo against Cuba in the 1960s to —

- F encourage political change in Cuba
- G promote domestic industries in Cuba
- H motivate Cubans to immigrate to the United States
- J end the domination of the sugar industry by Cuba

Hist 8(A)

Use the passage and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question.

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

— President John F. Kennedy, speech at Rice University, September 12, 1962

13 The main purpose of this speech was to win public support for —

- A establishing a missile defense system on the moon
- B cooperating with Communist countries in exploring space
- C surpassing the Soviet Union in the space race
- D controlling the spread of nuclear weapons

STS 28(B)

14 What was the main objective of the American Indian Movement’s occupation of Alcatraz Island and Wounded Knee?

- F to draw attention to their conditions
- G to obtain the right to vote
- H to reclaim lost lands
- J to protest the Vietnam War

Hist 9(B)

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question:

- 15 What is the main idea of the cartoon?
- A There was strong disagreement in the United States about American involvement in the Vietnam War.
  - B A sizeable anti-war movement emerged in the U.S. over the war.
  - C Most Americans feared if Vietnam fell to Communism, neighboring states would be threatened.
  - D Most Americans felt the conflict was a civil war and we should not be involved.

Hist 8(F)

...Meanwhile, Back on the Home Front



- 16 Which book played a role in changing attitudes about traditional gender roles in American society?
- F *Common Sense*
  - G *The Jungle*
  - H *How the Other Half Lives*
  - J *The Feminine Mystique*
- 17 How did the methods advocated by the Black Panthers to achieve their goals differ from those of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?
- A They formed a third political party.
  - B They were passionately anti-Communist.
  - C They restricted their actions to the use of passive resistance.
  - D They considered the use of violence to protect their own communities.

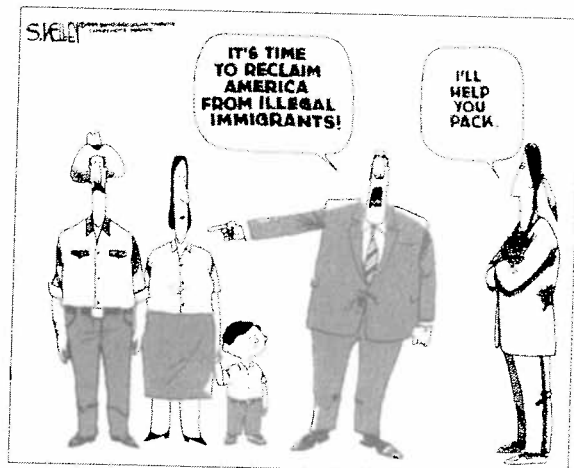
Hist 9(C)

Hist 9(D)

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question:

- 18 What American Indian viewpoint does the cartoonist support?
- F Illegal immigrants should not be allowed to settle on American Indian reservations.
  - G European settlers took American Indian lands.
  - H Government efforts to restrict immigration should be supported.
  - J American Indians should support government efforts to stop illegal immigration.

Hist 9(A)



Source: Steve Kelley, San Diego Union-Tribune

Use the table and your knowledge of social studies to answer the following question:

### MEDIAN EARNINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES, 1960–1990

Year	Women	Men	Women's Earnings as a Percent of Men's	Earnings Gap in Constant 1990 Dollars
1960	\$3,257	\$5,368	60.7	\$8,569
1970	\$5,323	\$8,966	59.4	\$11,529
1980	\$11,612	\$18,612	60.2	\$11,776
1990	\$19,822	\$27,678	71.6	\$7,856

- 19 The data in the chart shows that between 1960 and 1990 —
- A women's earnings compared to men's remained unchanged Hist 7(G)
  - B most higher paying jobs were still not legally open to women
  - C the government passed laws that successfully gave women equal jobs
  - D the earnings gap between men and women only slightly improved
- 
- 20 What has been an impact of the Chicano Mural Movement on American society?
- F It has raised fears of increased bias against Mexican Americans. Cult 25(B)
  - G It brought about alarm of another culture influencing the United States.
  - H It led people to a heightened appreciation of Mexican-American culture.
  - J It expanded the constitutional rights of most Mexican Americans.
- 21 Which best summarizes the main reason why the United States became involved in the Vietnam War?
- A to prevent the spread of Communism in Indochina Hist 8(D)
  - B to reduce French influence in Vietnam
  - C to stop Communist China from annexing Vietnam
  - D to support the government of North Vietnam
- 22 According to the Domino Theory, if South Vietnam fell to Communism, then —
- F neighboring countries would soon follow Hist 8(D)
  - G large numbers of refugees would seek U.S. entry
  - H anti-Communist forces would win it back
  - J the United Nations would be forced to intervene
- 23 What was President John F. Kennedy's response to Soviet plans to install nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962?
- A He attacked the missile silos with strategic air strikes. Hist 8(A)
  - B He had the army seize control of Cuba.
  - C He placed a blockade around Cuba and threatened war.
  - D He negotiated an agreement with Fidel Castro.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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326 MASTERING THE TEKS IN UNITED STATES HISTORY SINCE 1877

- 24 Which law helped women athletes obtain greater support in American high schools and universities?  
F Civil Rights Act of 1964  
G Title IX of the Educational Amendments Act  
H Twenty-sixth Amendment  
J Voting Rights Act of 1964
- 25 As a result of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954), a Mexican American could not be —  
A stopped from voting in a Presidential election  
B made to pay an unreasonable bail to be released from jail  
C denied an education in an all-white school  
D tried by a jury from which Mexican Americans had been systematically excluded
- 26 What contribution did Betty Friedan make to the movement for women's rights?  
F She campaigned for women's suffrage.  
G She championed the rights of poor women.  
H She demanded greater career opportunities for middle class women.  
J She agitated for the rights of African-American women.
- 27 How did the approach of the Black Panthers differ from the methods used by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr?  
A Black Panthers were willing to use violence, while Dr. King used only nonviolence.  
B Black Panthers believed in nonviolence, while Dr. King favored civil disobedience.  
C Black Panthers sought to use the court system, while Dr. King preferred passive resistance.  
D Black Panthers employed peaceful demonstrations, while Dr. King favored sit-ins and freedom rides.
- 28 Which group achieved the right to vote in the Twenty-sixth Amendment?  
F people unable to pay poll taxes  
G Americans 18 to 20 years old  
H Mexican-American women  
J impoverished women
- 29 What did the Beats in the 1950s and the youth culture of the 1960s have in common?  
A They failed to support equal rights for women.  
B They challenged conformity to "Establishment" thinking.  
C They supported America's anti-Communist containment policy.  
D They introduced new patterns of poetry and art, based on the rhythms of jazz music.
- 30 What has been an effect of space technology and exploration on the people of the United States?  
F It has forced them to find alternate sources of fuel.  
G It led to advances in the quality of life for most Americans.  
H It focused attention on the need to deregulate the uses of outer space.  
J It reduced tensions in the space race as a form of Cold War competition.