UNIT 9 1945-1975

Postwar America

Chapter 27 Early Years of the Cold War

Chapter 28 The Civil Rights Movement

Chapter 29 The Vietnam War Years





CHAPTER 2 7 1945–1959

Early Years
of the Cold War

Essential Question How did the Cold War and domestic changes in the postwar years affect the nation?



What You Will Learn...

In this chapter you will learn how American life changed as a result of the Cold War.

SECTION 1: Adjusting to Peace 844

The Big Idea After World War II, Americans adjusted to new challenges both at home and around the world.

SECTION 2: War in Korea and a New Red Scare 852

The Big Idea During the Cold War, the U.S. government confronted communism globally and within the United States.

SECTION 3: The Nation Prospers 858

The Big Idea An expanding economy led to new ways of life for many Americans in the 1950s.

Focus on Writing

Song Lyrics The end of World War II brought economic prosperity to the United States, along with new fears and challenges. Americans adjusted to changes in their everyday lives and the new threat of nuclear war. In this chapter you will read about life at the beginning of the Cold War. Then you will write the words to a song that reflects some aspect of American life in the 1950s.





1945

After Roosevelt's death, Harry S. Truman becomes president.

1945



1946 Winston Churchill declares an "iron curtain" between Western powers and the Soviet Union.



The nation of Israel is established.



is formed between Eastern European powers.

Union launches the first satellite. Sputnik, into orbit.



Castro takes over Cuba.

Reading Social Studies

Economics

Geography

Politics

Society and Culture

Science and **Technology**

Focus on Themes In this chapter, you will learn about the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. This war was unlike other wars in that it was often fought between **politicians** instead of soldiers. Each country used developments in **science and technology** to declare itself superior. You will also read about U.S. society and its reaction to the Cold War.

Visualizing

Focus on Reading Visualizing how your life might have been different if you had been alive during a period in history can help you understand life at that time.

Understanding Visualizing Using clues about everyday life that you find in a history book like this one can help you imagine what life was like in the past. You can imagine yourself and your life, and how life would have been different if you had lived in the past. Or, you can try to imagine what life was like for the people alive then.

Notice the clues in this passage that give you an idea of the feelings of people living during the Civil War.

All the time, in the homely [plain], cluttered rooms of our private lives the television displayed the continuing spectacle of public life all of it still going on in the windless places on the other side of the screen. Presidents and First Secretaries trod [climbed] down the metal staircases from the bellies of great aircraft to shake hands on the tarmac [runway] and climb into big black cars. Tanks wheeled down blind streets and across muddy fields. Rolls of heavy wire netting were unwound and veered [turned] upwards against a dawn sky.

— From The Cruel Peace, by Fred Inglis

The author is using description to inform the reader about the feeling of watching the Cold War unfold on television.

Here the author uses frightening images to help the reader understand the fear of the Cold War.

You Try It!

The following passage is from the chapter you are getting ready to read. As you read the passage, look for details that help you visualize the past.

In 1946 Winston Churchill described how Soviet control cut these countries off from the Western world. "An iron curtain has descended [fallen] across the [European] Continent," he said. The term *iron curtain* thus came to be used to describe this division. Presidential adviser Bernard Baruch warned of the seriousness of the Soviet threat, saying, "Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war." The phrase *Cold War* came to be used to describe the struggle for global power between the United States and the Soviet Union.

From Chapter 27, p. 846

After you read the passage, answer the following questions.

- 1. Which details help you understand the attitude existing between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- **2.** How does the quote by Winston Churchill help you visualize the political atmosphere of the time?
- **3.** How does the phrase *Cold War* help you visualize the political atmosphere of the time?

As you read Chapter 27, look for details that help you visualize the past.

Key Terms and People

Chapter 27

Section 1

Yalta Conference (p. 844)
Nuremberg trials (p. 845)
United Nations (p. 846)
Cold War (p. 846)
containment (p. 847)
Truman Doctrine (p. 847)
Marshall Plan (p. 847)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (p. 848)
GI Bill of Rights (p. 848)
Fair Deal (p. 850)

Section 2

Mao Zedong (p. 852)
38th parallel (p. 852)
Joseph McCarthy (p. 855)
hydrogen bomb (p. 856)
arms race (p. 856)
Sputnik (p. 856)
brinkmanship (p. 856)

Section 3

baby boom (p. 858) Sun Belt (p. 858) urban renewal (p. 859) beats (p. 861)

Academic Vocabulary

In this chapter, you will learn the following academic words: concrete (p. 855)

SECTION

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- As World War II ended, leaders began planning the future of the postwar world.
- 2. The United States and the Soviet Union went from being allies to enemies after World War II.
- **3.** Americans adjusted to postwar life.

The Big Idea

After World War II, Americans adjusted to new challenges both at home and around the world.

Key Terms and People

Yalta Conference, p. 844
Nuremberg trials, p. 845
United Nations, p. 846
Cold War, p. 846
containment, p. 847
Truman Doctrine, p. 847
Marshall Plan, p. 847
North Atlantic Treaty
Organization, p. 848
GI Bill of Rights, p. 848
Fair Deal, p. 850



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the results of the end of World War II.

Adjusting to Peace

If YOU were there...

You are an adviser to President Harry S. Truman in July 1945. You have traveled with him to Potsdam, outside the ruined city of Berlin, where Allied leaders are discussing postwar plans. Everyone agrees that steps must be taken to prevent another world war. But you are worried that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin cannot be trusted.

What advice would you give to President Truman?

BUILDING BACKGROUND U.S. leaders had mistrusted the Soviet government before World War II. The goals of the totalitarian, Communist Soviet state conflicted with American democratic, capitalistic ideals. In addition, Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin used brutal tactics, including murder, to maintain power and control political opposition. During the war, the rivals put aside their differences to defeat Germany. After the war, however, old tensions resurfaced.

The Future of the Postwar World

As 1945 began, it was becoming clear that the Allies were going to win World War II. In February Allied leaders known as the Big Three—Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, Winston Churchill of Great Britain, and Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union—met in the Soviet city of Yalta to discuss plans for peace.

At the **Yalta Conference**, the three leaders made important decisions about the future of European governments. They expressed support for the creation of an international peacekeeping organization. They also agreed that nations freed from Germany should have the right "to create democratic institutions of their own choice." Stalin promised to allow free elections in the Soviet-occupied countries in Eastern Europe. However, after driving German troops out of Poland, Soviet forces set up a pro–Soviet Communist government.

In July 1945 President Truman met with British and Soviet leaders near Berlin, Germany, at the Potsdam Conference. The Allied leaders divided conquered Germany into four zones. Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union would each occupy one zone. The capital city of Berlin—located deep inside the Soviet zone—was also divided into four zones.

War Crimes Trials

After World War II, Allied leaders formed a special court, called the International Military Tribunal, to try Axis leaders accused of war crimes. In November 1945 the tribunal put high-ranking Nazis on trial in the German city of Nuremberg in what became known as the Nuremberg trials. U.S. Supreme Court justice Robert H. Jackson served as the chief American attorney. In his opening statement, Jackson explained the importance of the trials:

The wrongs which we seek to condemn and punish have been so calculated [well planned], so malignant [evil] and devastating, that civilization cannot tolerate their being ignored because it cannot survive their being repeated.

—Robert H. Jackson, quoted in *The Nuremberg Trial*, edited by Mitchell Bard

The court charged Nazi officials with "crimes against humanity." One defendant was Hermann Goering, a key planner of Hitler's "final solution." Another was Hans Frank, Poland's wartime governor, who had

organized the killing of hundreds of thousands of Poles and Polish Jews. The tribunal found 19 Nazi leaders guilty. Of these, 12, including Goering and Frank, were sentenced to death.

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East held trials in Japan. Japan's wartime leader Hideki Tojo was convicted and executed. Seven other Japanese leaders were also sentenced to death. The trials in Germany and Japan helped establish the principle that individuals must be held responsible for committing war crimes, even when acting on behalf of a government.

The United Nations

During the war, President Roosevelt had spoken of the need for a new international organization to promote world peace. Roosevelt did not believe the United States alone could bring peace to the whole world. "The structure of world peace," he said, "must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world."

FOCUS ON READING

How does the quote from Robert H. Jackson help you visualize the atmosphere of the Nuremberg trials?

Yalta Conference, February 1945

Who attended?

- · Franklin Roosevelt, United States
- Winston Churchill, Great Britain
- · Joseph Stalin, Soviet Union

What was the outcome?

- Free elections for countries liberated from German control
- Strong support for creation of an international peacekeeping organization



Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin (seated left to right) met at Yalta in 1945.

Potsdam Conference, July 1945

Who attended?

- Harry S. Truman, United States
- Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee, Great Britain
- Joseph Stalin, Soviet Union

What was the outcome?

 Germany and the city of Berlin would be divided into four zones. Britain, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union would each control one zone.



Clement Attlee, Harry Truman, and Joseph Stalin (seated left to right) met at Potsdam in 1945.

LINKING TO TODAY

The United Nations

Written in 1945, the United Nations Charter declared the organization's commitment "to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security." Since 1945 the UN has grown from 51 member nations to more

than 190. In addition to working to prevent war, the United Nations today works to provide disaster relief, prevent hunger and disease, and combat international terrorism.



In 1944 American, British, Soviet, and Chinese representatives met to draft a plan for the **United Nations** (UN)—an organization dedicated to resolving international conflicts. In 1945, representatives from 50 countries met to write the UN Charter. President Truman appointed Eleanor Roosevelt as one of the first U.S. delegates to the UN.

One of the UN's first actions concerned Palestine, occupied by the British after World War I. The UN General Assembly voted to divide the area into separate Arab and Jewish states. Jews had begun moving to Palestine, an area important to the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic religions, after World War I. Many more moved there before and during World War II. On May 14, 1948, Jewish leaders announced the creation of the nation of Israel.

The United States quickly recognized the new Jewish state. Arab leaders refused to do so and claimed the land as their own. Armies from five Arab states attacked Israel. Israeli forces drove them back, and the two sides reached a truce in 1949. Israel then joined the UN. But tensions remained high.

READING CHECK Finding Main Ideas What steps did world leaders take to establish peace?

From Allies to Enemies

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union cooperated to win the war. Afterward, the differences between the two nations led to new hostility. The Soviet Union hoped to spread communism around the world. Americans remained committed to capitalism and democracy.

The Iron Curtain

After Stalin created a Communist government in Poland, the Soviet Union expanded its control over Eastern Europe by creating "satellite states"—countries under complete Soviet control. In 1946 Winston Churchill described how Soviet control cut these countries off from the Western world. "An iron curtain has descended [fallen] across the [European] Continent," he said. The term iron curtain thus came to be used to describe this division. Presidential adviser Bernard Baruch warned of the seriousness of the Soviet threat, saying, "Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war." The phrase Cold War came to be used to describe the struggle for global power between the United States and the Soviet Union.

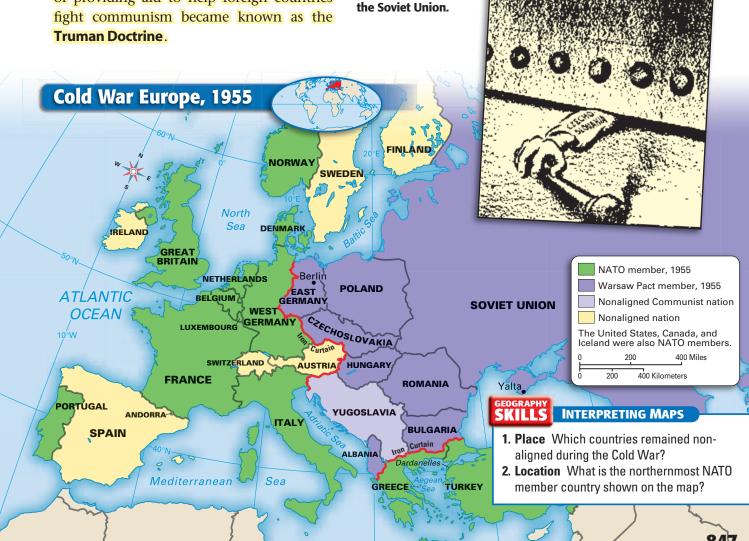
Cold War Policies

The United States quickly developed a new foreign policy to deal with the Cold War. It was based on the goal of **containment**, or preventing the Soviet Union from expanding its influence around the world.

In 1945 the Soviet Union began demanding control over areas in the Mediterranean Sea that were under Turkish authority. In 1946 Communist rebels in Greece threatened to topple the Greek monarchy. At Truman's request, Congress passed an aid package worth millions of dollars for Greece and Turkey. The money, the president said, would "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [conquest] by armed minorities or outside pressures." U.S. aid helped the Greek army defeat the Communist rebels and protected Turkey from Soviet expansion. This policy of providing aid to help foreign countries **Truman Doctrine.**

The nations of Europe, meanwhile, were still devastated from World War II. American secretary of state George C. Marshall saw this as a threat both to stability in Europe and to the U.S. economy, which depended on trade with Europe. Marshall called on European leaders to develop plans for economic recovery, which the United States would help fund. Under the Marshall Plan, Western Europe received more than \$13 billion in U.S. loans and grants for European economic recovery between 1948 and 1952. Soviet leaders rejected Marshall Plan aid. They also kept Eastern European nations from participating.

Cold War tensions rose further in 1948 when France, Britain, and the United States



This cartoon shows

Czechoslovakia's freedom being crushed by decided to join their occupation zones of Germany into one unit. The Soviet Union had good reason to fear the creation of a strong West German state. On June 24, the Soviet Union suddenly blocked all rail, highway, and water traffic between western Germany and the city of Berlin. West Berlin's 2 million residents were trapped behind the iron curtain.

To respond to this crisis without using military force, U.S. and British planes began airlifting supplies into West Berlin. For more than a year, planes delivered lifesaving food, fuel, and machinery to West Berliners. The Soviet Union made no determined effort to stop the airlift, fearing a war. It then lifted the blockade in May 1949.

That same year, the **United States** joined nine Western European countries, along with Iceland and Canada, to form the North **Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).** NATO members promised to defend each other if attacked. In 1955 the Soviet Union created the Warsaw Pact, which provided a unified system of military command between the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite countries for their mutual defense.

READING CHECK Comparing How were NATO and the Warsaw Pact similar?

BIOGRAPHY



Harry S. Truman grew up in Independence, Missouri. He was an artillery officer in France during World War I, then he returned to Missouri and later became active in politics. He was

elected to the U.S. Senate in 1934, where he served until becoming vice president in 1945. When President Roosevelt died, Truman was sworn in as president of the United States. "I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me," he said. Truman later called his first year in office a "year of decisions," as he led the country through the end of World War II and the start of the Cold War.

Analyzing Information What made Truman's first year as president especially challenging?

Postwar America

You have read about the economic depression that followed the end of World War I. As World War II ended, President Truman was worried about a similar downturn. More than 16 million Americans had served in the armed forces during the war. Now they were coming home, and most would be looking for work.

The Postwar Economy

To provide jobs for returning veterans, the government urged the millions of women who had gone to work during the war to give up their jobs. New laws also eased the transition for returning soldiers. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act, or GI Bill of Rights, offered veterans money for school as well as loans for houses, farms, and businesses. The GI Bill's home loans enabled veterans to buy about 20 percent of the new houses built right after the war. Some 8 million veterans used the GI Bill's educational benefits to attend colleges and technical schools. Bob Dole, former U.S. senator from Kansas, described how the GI Bill changed his life:

In my case, I went from a couple of nondescript [ordinary] years in college before the war, and came back and made excellent grades. I went on to law school and got involved in politics. None of that would have happened without the GI Bill.

> —Bob Dole, quoted in GI Bill: The Law That Changed America, by Milton Greenberg

Another major postwar change was Truman's decision to end the rationing of scarce products. Prices skyrocketed as people rushed to buy gasoline and other products that had been limited during the war. The inflation rate in 1946 rose above 18 percent. The U.S. economy remained strong, however.

Labor Unrest

More than 35 percent of all nonfarm workers were members of unions in 1946, more than ever before. With prices rising quickly,

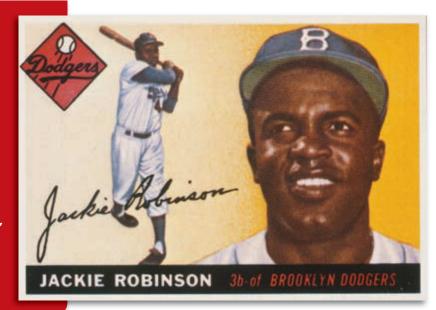


When the Cold War ended. many former Warsaw Pact nations joined NATO. Today NATO has 28 member nations.

Jackie Robinson

On April 15, 1947, Jackie Robinson played his first game for the Brooklyn Dodgers. Robinson became a hero to millions by ending segregation in major league baseball. He went on to be a Hall of Fame player—and an outspoken supporter of equal rights. "The right of every American to first-class citizenship is the most important issue of our time," Robinson said.

How did Robinson show his support for equal rights for all Americans?



workers went on strike to demand higher wages. In 1946 alone, 4.5 million workers participated in nearly 5,000 strikes.

The strikes became a major political problem for President Truman. Many people began to wonder if he could handle the presidency. In April 1946 the 400,000-member United Mine Workers Union went on strike. When Truman was unable to negotiate a settlement, he placed the mines under government control. In May Truman ended a railroad strike by threatening to draft all the striking workers into the army.

To reduce the power of labor unions, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947. This act outlawed closed shops—businesses that could hire only union members. It also allowed the president to order an 80-day "cooling-off" period before a strike began. In addition, union leaders had to swear they were not Communists. In spite of his clashes with unions, Truman thought this bill went too far to weaken unions. He vetoed the bill, but Congress overrode his veto.

Civil Rights

After serving their country in World War II, many African Americans faced prejudice and segregation at home. "Black servicemen were overseas dying for this country," said civil rights lawyer Constance Baker Motley. "And . . . they would be coming home to a situation that said, in effect, You're a second-class citizen." African American veterans helped lead a major effort to gain equal rights.

Truman responded in 1946 by appointing the Committee on Civil Rights to investigate discrimination and suggest solutions. As a result of the committee's report, Truman recommended that Congress pass antilynching laws, outlaw segregation, and protect civil rights. Congress failed to act on Truman's ideas. But in 1948, under pressure from African American groups, Truman issued an executive order ending segregation in the armed forces. He also banned discrimination in the hiring of federal employees.

The Election of 1948

As the election of 1948 drew near, President Truman's chances of re-election looked bleak. The Republicans had gained control of Congress in 1946. They felt confident that their presidential candidate, New York governor Thomas Dewey, could beat Truman.

Truman faced challenges from within the Democratic Party as well. Some southern Democrats protested Truman's support for civil rights laws by walking out of the 1948 Democratic National Convention. Many joined the States' Rights Party, or Dixiecrats, which favored racial segregation. The Dixiecrats nominated their own presidential candidate—South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond.

Truman took his case for re-election directly to the American people. He traveled more than 30,000 miles by train and delivered hundreds of speeches. He attacked what he called the "do-nothing, good-for-nothing" Congress for refusing to pass his legislation.

"I spoke I believe altogether to between fifteen and twenty million people," he later said. "I met them face to face, and I convinced them, and they voted for me." Truman won a surprise victory. The Democratic Party also regained control of both houses of Congress.

In his 1949 State of the Union Address, Truman urged

Congress to support his plans for the nation. Truman's domestic program, called the **Fair Deal**, included a higher minimum wage, the creation of a national health insurance plan for all Americans, and expanded Social Security benefits for the elderly. It also asked for federal protection of civil rights and an end to racial discrimination in hiring.

Congress approved some parts of the Fair Deal, such as a higher minimum wage and expanded Social Security benefits. Congress rejected other Fair Deal proposals. These included civil rights legislation that would have created a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee.

READING CHECK Analyzing How did the GI Bill help returning soldiers?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW The United States faced a series of new challenges after World War II. In the next section you will learn how the fear of communism grew in the 1950s.

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ONLINE QUIZ

The Fair Deal

The Fair Deal included

- · National health insurance
- · Expanded social security
- · Higher minimum wage
- · Public housing
- Civil rights legislation
- Federal aid to education

Section 1 Assessment

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Describe** How did the Allies divide Germany at the Potsdam Conference?
 - **b. Explain** Why were the **Nuremberg trials** important?
 - c. Predict Based on its founding and early years, do you think the **United Nations** would be an effective organization?
- 2. a. **Define** What was the **Truman Doctrine**?
 - **b. Analyze** How did the **Marshall Plan** help stabilize Western Europe?
 - **c. Elaborate** Why do you think the United States and Western European countries were concerned about Soviet expansion?
- **3. a. Recall** What kinds of programs were included in President Truman's **Fair Deal**?
 - **b. Explain** What was the purpose of the Taft-Hartley Act?
 - **c. Evaluate** Do you think President Truman did enough to promote civil rights? Why or why not?

Critical Thinking

4. Categorizing Review your notes on the results of World War II. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to identify the effects of the war's end on the United States and the world.

Results of World War II	
In the United States	In the World

Focus on Writing

5. The Postwar World Take notes on postwar developments in the United States and the world. Which events might have given Americans hope? Which might have made them concerned? If you had lived during the 1950s, which issue would have been of the most interest to you?

BIOGRAPHY

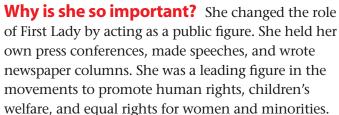
Eleanor Roosevelt

How would you work for human rights for all?

When did she live? 1884–1962

Where did she live? She lived much of her life in New York, where she married Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1905. She also lived in Washington, D.C., when her husband was assistant secretary of the navy and, later, president.

What did she do? During the Great Depression, Eleanor Roosevelt acted as President Roosevelt's "eyes and ears" by traveling around the United States to study conditions among the people. She investigated New Deal programs and reported on their effectiveness. She also worked for equal rights for African Americans. Serving on the UN Commission on Human Rights from 1946 to 1951, she helped write the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which the UN adopted in 1948. In 1961 President John F. Kennedy chose her to chair his Commission on the Status of Women.



KEY EVENTS

1905

Marries Franklin D. Roosevelt

1921

Becomes active in politics

1936

Begins writing daily newspaper columns; holds press conferences for women correspondents

1945

Appointed delegate to the UN

1946

Becomes chair of the UN Commission on Human Rights

1961

Appointed chair of the Commission on the Status of Wome



SECTION

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- 1. The United States fought Communist North Korea in the Korean War.
- 2. Fear of Communists led to a new Red Scare at home.
- 3. President Eisenhower faced Cold War crises around the world.

The Big Idea

During the Cold War, the U.S. government confronted communism globally and within the United States.

Key Terms and People

Mao Zedong, p. 852 38th parallel, p. 852 Joseph McCarthy, p. 855 hydrogen bomb, p. 856 arms race, p. 856 Sputnik, p. 856 brinkmanship, p. 856



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the conflicts and crises of the Cold War.

War in Korea and a New Red Scare

If YOU were there...

A radio broadcast on June 26, 1950, delivers a shocking announcement. Communist forces from North Korea have just invaded South Korea. President Truman has demanded that the North Koreans halt their invasion, but they seem to be ignoring this demand. Now Truman has to decide whether to use American. military force to stop the North Koreans.

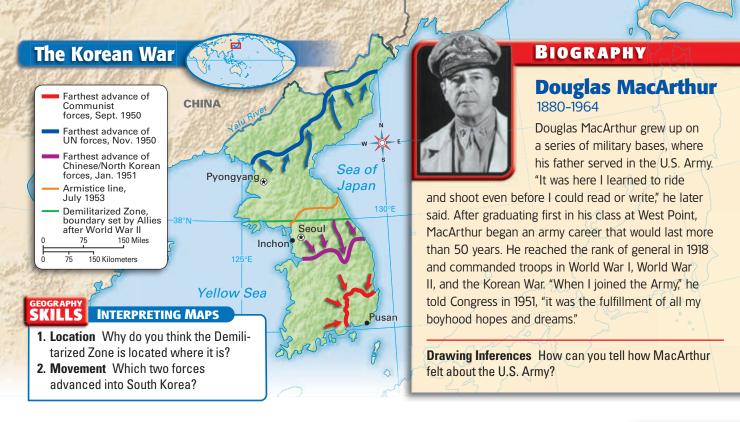
> Do you think the United States should send troops to Korea? Why or why not?

BUILDING BACKGROUND The earliest Cold War conflicts were in Central and Eastern Europe, where countries were divided by the Iron Curtain. But the Truman Doctrine committed the United States to containing communism on a wider scale. The Communist takeover of China in 1949 soon focused Cold War fears on Asia.

The Korean War

The Cold War began in Europe but quickly spread to the Asian nations of China and Korea. In China, the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party had been struggling for control of the country since the early 1900s. The two rivals joined forces against Japan during World War II but then resumed their civil war after Japan's defeat. The United States, as part of its commitment to stop the spread of communism, backed the Nationalists. The Nationalists were defeated, however, and were forced to flee to the island of Taiwan. Led by **Mao Zedong**, the Communists officially established the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. Many Americans saw this as a disastrous failure of U.S. foreign policy. They feared that all of Asia might soon fall to communism.

These fears were heightened by a crisis in Korea. Japan had controlled Korea from 1910 to the end of World War II. After the war, the Allies divided Korea at the 38th parallel. The Soviet Union



controlled the northern part of Korea, and the United States occupied the south. Both sides set up governments, neither of which recognized the other as legitimate.

Fighting in Korea

On June 25, 1950, North Korea's Soviettrained and equipped army stormed across the 38th parallel and invaded South Korea. The United Nations called for a cease-fire. But the North Koreans continued their attack.

President Truman had to make an immediate decision: Should the United States use force to try to stop the North Korean invasion? On June 27 Truman announced: "I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the [South] Korean government troops cover and support." That same day, the UN decided to help South Korea "to repel the armed attack." American general Douglas MacArthur was put in command of the UN forces, which included troops from the United States and 15 other countries. The majority of the troops were from the United States and South Korea.

In the early battles, MacArthur's forces were driven back to the southeastern tip of the Korean Peninsula, near the city of Pusan. Fierce fighting raged for six weeks before the UN troops turned the tide of the war with a surprise attack. Landing at the port city of Inchon on September 15, UN forces attacked the North Koreans from behind. About a month later, MacArthur's troops captured Pyongyang, North Korea's capital. They then advanced north to the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. MacArthur told Truman he would "have the boys home by Christmas."

Then China suddenly sent hundreds of thousands of soldiers across the border to join the North Koreans. They drove UN forces south again, back below the 38th parallel. MacArthur suggested air strikes on Chinese cities and an attack on mainland China. Truman refused permission. He was determined to contain the war in Korea.

When MacArthur publicly criticized the president's strategy, Truman relieved the general of command. "I fired General MacArthur because he wouldn't respect the authority of the president," Truman said. This was a very unpopular decision with the American public. MacArthur came home to a hero's welcome.



The War Ends

By the spring of 1951 the fighting in Korea settled into a violent stalemate. The UN forces had driven the North Koreans and Chinese back across the 38th parallel. But neither side seemed able to win the war.

Primary Source POLITICAL CARTOON Fear of Communism In the 1950s the fear of communism caused some government leaders to ignore the civil liberties of suspected Communists. Some critics, like this cartoonist, believed these tactics threatened the freedom of all Americans. Here, a frightened man climbs the arm of the Statue of Liberty to put out her torch. "FIRE!" The Statue of Liberty's burning torch symbolizes freedom. *Hysteria* means 'senseless excitement." The frightened man carries water to put out the fire. "FIRE!" from Herblock: A Cartoonist's Life (Times Books 1998) **ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES** Why is the man shown to be putting out Liberty's torch?

Americans' frustration with the war dominated the 1952 presidential election. The Republicans nominated war hero Dwight D. Eisenhower. He promised to end the increasingly unpopular conflict, saying, "The first task of a new administration will be to . . . bring the Korean War to an early and honorable end."

This promise helped Eisenhower win the election. Eisenhower visited Korea, but the conflict dragged on. A cease-fire finally ended the fighting on July 27, 1953. After three years of fighting, North and South Korea were again divided near the 38th parallel. More than 130,000 Americans had been killed or wounded. Korean and Chinese casualties topped 2 million.

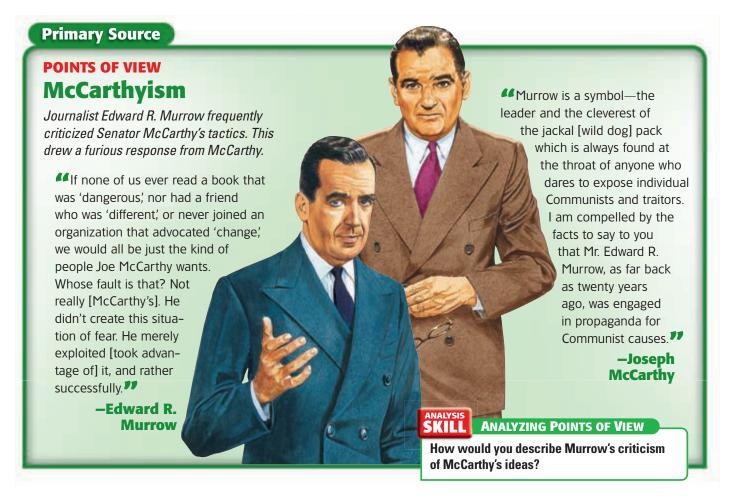
READING CHECK Summarizing What were the effects of the Korean War?

A New Red Scare

The first Red Scare swept America after the Russian Revolution in 1917. Cold War fears led to another Red Scare in the late 1940s and 1950s. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath summed up these fears when he said, "There are today many Communists in America. They are everywhere—in factories, offices, butcher shops, on street corners."

Fear of Communists

A congressional committee called the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigated Communist influence in America. In 1947 HUAC launched a series of hearings to expose what it believed was Communist influence in the Hollywood movie industry. The committee branded as "red," or Communist, actors and writers who would not answer questions or who refused to reveal the names of suspected Communists. People suspected of Communist sympathies were often blacklisted, or denied work. Some of these people never worked in movies again.



Explosive spy cases also fed the fears that Communists were at work in the United States. In 1950 a German-born physicist was convicted of providing the Soviets information about the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, New Mexico, that allowed them to develop an atomic bomb at least one year earlier than they would have. In 1951 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg also were tried for providing Soviet spies with secret details about atomic bomb design. The Rosenbergs denied the charges but were found guilty and executed in 1953.

The Rise of McCarthy

Wisconsin senator **Joseph McCarthy** contributed to fears in the early 1950s by charging that Communists were working inside the State Department. He claimed to have the names of 57 people who were "either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party."

McCarthy produced no <u>concrete</u> proof of crimes. When challenged, he made up new charges, labeling those who questioned him as "soft on communism." This method of making aggressive accusations without proof became known as McCarthyism.

McCarthy finally went too far in 1954. In televised Senate hearings, he charged that there were Communists in the U.S. Army. For five weeks, Americans watched McCarthy's bullying tactics. At one point, McCarthy tried to discredit Joseph Welch, the army's attorney, by attacking a young assistant in Welch's law firm. This shocked Welch—and the nation. "Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator," Welsh said. "Have you left no sense of decency?" A later Senate vote condemned McCarthy's actions, but it came too late for those whose careers had been ruined by his attacks.

READING CHECK Comparing How were HUAC's and McCarthy's actions similar?

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

concrete specific, real

Eisenhower and the Cold War

Cold War tensions increased around the world during the presidency of Dwight Eisenhower. In this hostile atmosphere, Americans adjusted to the reality of living with the constant threat of nuclear war.

The Arms Race

Today Americans,
Russians, and
astronauts from
other countries
work side by
side on the
International
Space Station,
which has
been in orbit

since 1998.

In 1950 President Truman approved work on the **hydrogen bomb**, a weapon far more powerful than the atomic bombs used in World War II. American scientists tested the first hydrogen bomb in the South Pacific in 1952. "The fireball expanded to three miles in diameter," said a test observer. He soon saw that the entire island on which the bomb exploded "had vanished, vaporized."

The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb in 1949 and its first hydrogen bomb in 1953. In what became a nuclear **arms race**, both the United States and the Soviet Union rushed to build more and more weapons. American school children practiced "duck-

and-cover" drills, in which they were taught to crouch under their desks in case of nuclear attack. Some families built underground bomb shelters in their backyards.

In October 1957 the Soviets launched **Sputnik**, the world's first artificial satellite. Americans feared that if the Soviet Union could launch a satellite, it could launch missiles to attack the United States. In January 1958 the United States responded by launching its own satellite. Later that year, the U.S. government established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to conduct space research.

Cold War Crises

President Eisenhower modified Truman's policy of containment. He and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles supported **brinkmanship**—a willingness to go to the brink of war to oppose communism. "The ability to get to the verge [edge] without getting into war is the necessary art," Dulles explained. The president and Dulles also

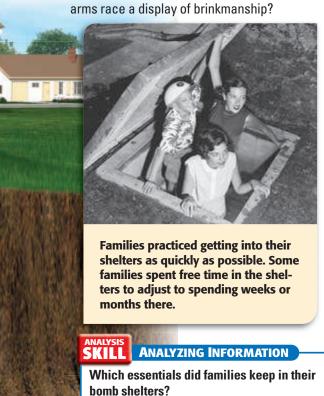


threatened the Soviet Union with "massive retaliation" against Soviet advances.

As part of his effort, Eisenhower used covert, or secret, operations around the world. In 1953, for example, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped overthrow the premier of Iran. American officials had feared he was a Communist. In 1954 the CIA helped organize the removal of the Guatemalan president for similar reasons.

In 1956 a crisis in Egypt seemed to push the world to the brink of a third world war. Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, a vital waterway connecting the Mediterranean and Red seas, in an attempt to collect tolls from the canal to finance a major dam project. Britain and France, which relied on the canal for trade, allied with Israel, a longtime enemy of Egypt, and invaded the area around the canal. The Soviet Union, an ally of Egypt, threatened to crush the invaders. This would force the United States to defend its allies. Finally, the Americans and the Soviet Union agreed to condemn the invasion, and the Suez crisis ended. After the brief moment of cooperation, the Cold War continued.

READING CHECK Analyzing How was the arms race a display of brinkmanshin?



SUMMARY AND PREVIEW After World War II, Americans responded to Communist threats at home and abroad. In the next section you will read about how America prospered during these challenging times.

Section 2 Assessment



Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Identify** What is the **38th parallel**, and why was it important in the Korean War?
 - **b. Analyze** How did the outcome of China's civil war affect the U.S. response to North Korea's attack?
 - **c. Evaluate** Do you think President Truman should have fired MacArthur? Explain your answer.
- **2. a. Describe** Why did a second Red Scare occur in the late 1940s and 1950s?
 - **b. Explain** How did television affect **Joseph McCarthy**'s power?
 - **c. Elaborate** Why do you think the Red Scare lasted so long?
- **3. a. Recall** How did Eisenhower deal with Cold War crises during his administration?
 - b. Make Inferences How can you tell that the U.S. government took the launch of *Sputnik* seriously?c. Elaborate Why do you think the United States and
 - the Soviet Union were able to cooperate during the Suez crisis?

Critical Thinking

4. Categorizing Review your notes on Cold War conflicts and crises. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list each event under its appropriate location.



Focus on Writing

5. Taking Notes on Challenges at Home and AbroadTake notes on the challenges and fears Americans faced during the Korean War, McCarthy era, and Eisenhower presidency. How did the government and individuals respond to these challenges and fears?

SECTION 3

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- 1. America's economy boomed in the 1950s.
- 2. Americans enjoyed new forms of popular culture.
- **3.** Social critics found fault with 1950s society.

The Big Idea

An expanding economy led to new ways of life for many Americans in the 1950s.

Key Terms and People

baby boom, *p. 858* Sun Belt, *p. 858* urban renewal, *p. 859* beats, *p. 861*



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the suburban lifestyle and culture of the 1950s.

The Nation Prospers

If YOU were there...

You live with your parents in an apartment building in 1954. You have grown up in the city, and you are used to walking or taking the subway everywhere you need to go. But your parents are talking about moving out to the suburbs. They like the idea of having a house of their own, with a driveway and a backyard. They ask what you think about moving to the suburbs.

How would you respond?

BUILDING BACKGROUND A long economic boom after World War II led to a rapid rise in the income of many Americans. By the mid-1950s nearly 60 percent of the U.S. population qualified as middle class, with annual incomes between \$3,000 and \$10,000. The prosperity of the 1950s brought many changes to American life.

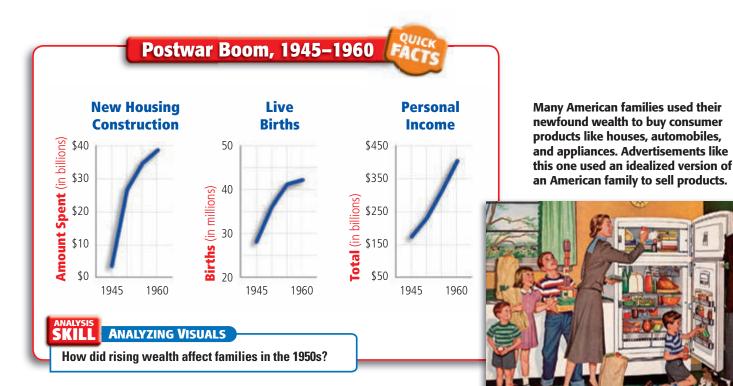
America's Economy in the 1950s

The American economy boomed during the 1950s. Millions of Americans earned more money than ever before and, therefore, had more money to spend on homes, cars, vacations, and large appliances. Feeling better off than they had during the Depression and World War II, many young Americans were getting married and starting families. This led to a **baby boom**, or a significant increase in the number of babies born.

A Nation on the Move

Americans were also on the move in the 1950s, as people relocated to new parts of the country to take jobs and improve the quality of their lives. Many businesses and workers moved to the **Sun Belt**—southern and western states that offered a warm climate year-round and low tax rates. As a result, the region's population doubled in the 30 years after World War II.

The 1956 Highway Act also encouraged travel. This new law provided billions of dollars for the construction of a 41,000-mile



interstate highway system. New highways helped to greatly increase both business and personal travel between cities throughout the country. The roads also made it easier for people to move to suburbs and commute to jobs in cities.

Suburbs and Cities

The rising demand for homes in the suburbs encouraged developers to build new suburban neighborhoods. On Long Island, New York, William Levitt created Levittown, one of the nation's first preplanned suburbs. Between 1946 and 1951, Levitt built more than 17,000 low-priced, mass-produced houses. Like Henry Ford's Model T, Levitt's homes were designed to be simple and affordable. By the mid-1950s, builders were constructing similar suburban homes all over the country. By 1970 more Americans lived in suburbs than in cities.

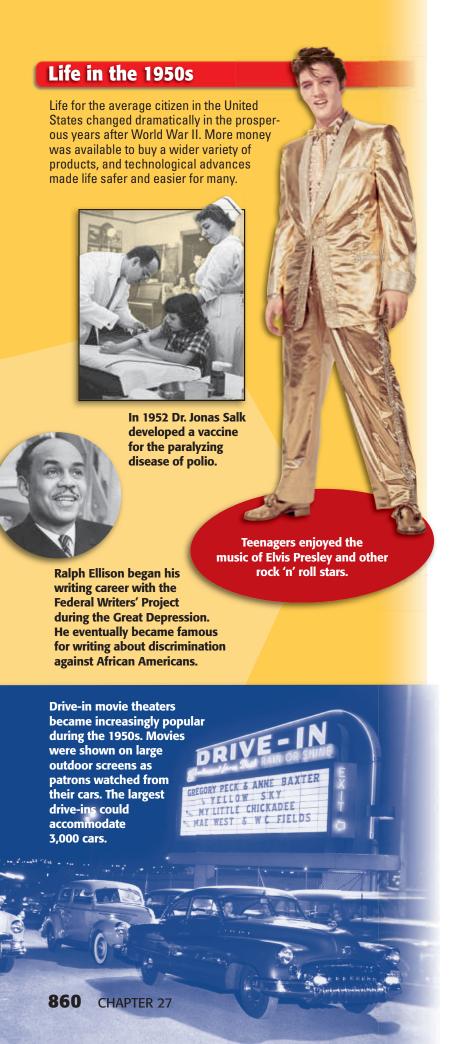
Many families welcomed the comfort and convenience of suburban living. Suburban homes usually had driveways, large lawns, and labor-saving appliances. Suburban children could participate in a wide variety of sports and other activities. Many mothers spent so much

time driving their children from one activity to another that one commentator referred to the task as "motherhood on wheels."

Some critics of suburbs complained that suburban life was too heavily based on consumer culture. They also criticized the suburbs for encouraging conformity, or sameness. Most of the people living in the suburbs were white and middle class. In fact, some communities—including Levittown—refused to sell homes to black families.

As middle-class families moved to the suburbs, cities collected fewer tax dollars. This led to a decline in city services. Those who were unable to afford a move to the suburbs lived in increasingly decaying urban areas. As conditions worsened, the federal government began an **urban renewal** program—a plan to improve life in cities. Urban renewal projects focused on improving city services and urban housing. In reality, however, the programs sometimes led to more problems for urban residents.

READING CHECK Contrasting How was life different in suburbs and cities?



American Pop Culture

American life was changing quickly in the 1950s as new technology developed. Many people began shopping in malls and eating at new fast-food restaurants. By the end of the decade, nearly 90 percent of all American families owned at least one television set. On average, American families watched about six hours of television a day.

Americans all over the country shared the experience of watching the same news, comedies, and sports programs. Many shows, such as *The Lone Ranger*, were versions of shows that began on the radio. Early hits included Milton Berle's variety show *Texaco Star Theater* and the Western drama *Gunsmoke*. But the most popular show was *I Love Lucy*, a situation comedy (or sitcom) starring Lucille Ball and her real-life husband, Cuban American bandleader Desi Arnaz. About 44 million Americans tuned in to one episode of *I Love Lucy* in 1953 to see the birth of their son—twice the number that watched President Eisenhower's inauguration the next day.

New styles of music also helped reshape American culture in the 1950s. African American jazz greats Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie became known as the Fathers of Bebop, a complex jazz style often played at a rapid pace. Meanwhile, musicians like Elvis Presley, Buddy Holly, Chuck Berry, and Little Richard helped rock 'n' roll sweep the nation. Teenage music fans powered the rock 'n' roll revolution, buying more than 70 percent of all records sold in the late 1950s. Just like jazz in the 1920s, rock music drew criticism from some adults. One journalist even labeled rock 'n' roll "a menace to morals." An Arizona teenager responded to this type of criticism by saying, "Man, I believe the older generation just doesn't want the younger generation to have any fun."

READING CHECK Finding Main Ideas What changes took place in American pop culture during the 1950s?

Social Critics

Though the postwar years were happy and productive for many Americans, not everyone was happy with American society in the 1950s. Some women, for instance, were frustrated that they could only find work in a limited number of fields such as teaching, nursing, or office work. Others were discouraged by the expectation that they would give up their jobs when they got married. One woman recalled,

There was always the assumption, even when I was getting my graduate degree in education, that any work I did was temporary, something to do until I assumed [began] my principal role in life which was to be the perfect wife and mother, supported by my husband.

—Sally Ann Carter, quoted in *The Fifties:* A Women's Oral History, by Brett Harvey

Many writers commented on 1950s society in their work. In 1951 J. D. Salinger published *The Catcher in the Rye*. The novel's teenage narrator, Holden Caulfield, criticizes the "phoniness" of the adults around him, who he believed loved only money and wanted everyone to be the same. In his 1952 novel *Invisible Man*, Ralph Ellison wrote about how

African Americans felt left out by American society. "I am an invisible man," Ellison wrote. "I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me."

Young people known as beatniks, or beats, criticized society with unusual writing styles and rebellious behavior. The works of beat poet Allen Ginsberg and novelist Jack Kerouac inspired many young people to question the rules of mainstream American society. Many young people also identified with rebellious characters in popular movies of the 1950s. In the 1953 film *The Wild One,* actor Marlon Brando plays Johnny, a wild biker who challenges the rules of society. When asked, "Hey Johnny, what are you rebelling against?" Johnny replies, "Whadda ya got?"

READING CHECK Finding Main Ideas Why did people criticize 1950s society?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW In the 1950s, suburban life, television, and pop culture changed American society. In the next chapter you will learn how the civil rights movement affected the United States.

Section 3 Assessment

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Recall** How did a booming economy affect life in the United States in the 1950s?
 - **b. Explain** How did the growth of suburbs affect cities?
 - **c. Elaborate** How do you think the **baby boom** affected 1950s society?
- **2. a. Identify** How did American pop culture change in the 1950s?
 - **b. Make Inferences** Based on what you have read, how was teenage culture in the 1950s different from adult culture?
- 3. a. Describe What was Invisible Man about?
 - **b. Compare** What did J. D. Salinger and Jack Kerouac have in common?
 - **c. Predict** How do you think some women in the 1950s might have wanted to change their lives?

Critical Thinking

4. Analyzing Information Review your notes on 1950s suburban life and culture. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list the benefits and challenges of suburban life and culture.



Focus on Writing

5. Taking Notes on Daily Life and Culture Take notes on daily life and pop culture during the 1950s. What did Americans want, and what was important to them? What kind of music would be appropriate for a song about the 1950s?

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ONLINE QUIZ

Social Studies Skills

Analysis

Critical Thinking

Civic Participation

Study



Interpreting Battle Maps

Define the Skill

Battle maps show events during a battle or war. They may show army movements or locations of battles. A single battle map often shows events that occurred at different times. Reading the map key is very important when you interpret battle maps. Battle maps usually include many different symbols. The map key explains the symbols used on the map.

Learn the Skill

Follow these steps to interpret battle maps.

- 1 Read the title to determine what the map is about.
- 2 Study the map key to understand what the symbols on the map mean. Locate the symbols from the key on the map.

- 3 Look for labels and other information on the map. Use what you already know about the time period to determine the importance of these features.
- 4 Use the map to make a generalization about a battle or war, such as which side won.

Practice the Skill

- 1. What is this map about?
- **2.** What does the solid blue line on this map represent? What does the solid red line represent?
- **3.** What does the green line on the 38th parallel show? Why is this important?

Based on this map, make a generalization about the Korean War.



Chapter Review CHAPTER

Review the video to answer the closing question:

How might Americans' awareness of world events have changed once television became popular?

Visual Summary



Use the visual summary below to help you review the main ideas of the chapter.



Reviewing Vocabulary, Terms, and People

Match the numbered person or term with the correct lettered definition.

- 1. GI Bill of Rights
- **4.** Joseph McCarthy
- 2. Yalta Conference
- **5.** Fair Deal
- 3. Truman Doctrine
- a. U.S. senator who unfairly accused many citizens of being Communists
- **b.** meeting at which Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin discussed strategy for postwar peace
- **c.** package of domestic reforms proposed by President Truman
- **d.** U.S. policy of containing communism through economic aid
- **e.** program that offered veterans money for school after World War II

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (*Pages 844–850*)

- **6. a. Recall** What is the United Nations?
 - **b. Explain** Why did Franklin Roosevelt support the formation of the UN?
 - **c. Elaborate** Would you have supported the policy of containment? Why or why not?

SECTION 2 (*Pages 852–857*)

- **7. a. Identify** How did the United States battle communism in Asia in the 1950s?
 - **b. Explain** What effect did the launch of *Sputnik* have on the United States?
 - **c. Evaluate** What were some risks and advantages of the strategy of brinkmanship?

SECTION 3 (Pages 858–861)

- **8. a. Describe** How did life in the United States change in the 1950s?
 - **b. Summarize** Why were some women frustrated with 1950s society?
 - **c. Elaborate** How has American popular culture changed since the 1950s? How has it stayed the same?

Reviewing Themes

- **9. Politics** How did the Cold War affect political relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- **10. Science and Technology** How did science and technology advance during the 1950s?

Reading Skills

Visualizing Use the Reading Skills taught in this chapter to answer the question below.

Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy contributed to fears in the early 1950s by charging that Communists were working inside the State Department. He claimed to have the names of 57 people who were "either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party." (p. 855)

11. What elements of the selection above help you visualize the feelings created by the Red Scare?

Social Studies Skills



Interpreting Battle Maps *Use the Social Studies Skills* taught in this chapter to answer the question below.

12. Look back at the battle map on page 853. In what year did North Korean forces make their farthest advance?

Using the Internet



13. Activity: Researching the Second Red Scare Fear of communism and spies grew during the late 1940s and 1950s. What were Americans' fears? How did Senator Joseph McCarthy and congressional hearings affect the lives of those accused of Communist activities? What did the hearings accomplish? Through your online textbook, learn more about the second Red Scare. Then write a journal entry from the point of view of Senator McCarthy, a blacklisted writer, or Joseph Welch, attorney for the U.S. Army. Your journal entry should include direct references to your research.

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Focus on Writing

14. Writing Your Song Lyrics Review your notes. Decide on a theme for your song about the 1950s. It can focus either on one event or idea or on several. Remember that the lyrics should address something specific about what it was like to live in the United States in the 1950s. You may even want to write from the point of view of a young person living in the 1950s. What would that person think about? What would be his or her hopes and fears?



Standardized Test Practice

DIRECTIONS: Read each question and write the letter of the best response.

- At the Yalta Conference, Joseph Stalin promised
 - A to allow free elections in the Soviet Union.
 - **B** to allow free elections in Eastern Europe.
 - **C** to prosecute Soviet war criminals.
 - **D** that the Soviet Union would join the United Nations.
- The United Nations was formed to
 - A promote world peace.
 - **B** deal with problems in Palestine.
 - C bring Nazi leaders responsible for the Holocaust to justice.
 - **D** plan how to divide Germany among the Allies.
- 3 What is McCarthyism?
 - A denying people work
 - **B** a type of communism
 - C going to the brink of nuclear war
 - D making accusations of Communist activity without proof
- 4 Which president decided to use U.S. troops to help defend South Korea in 1950?
 - A Franklin Roosevelt
 - **B** Dwight Eisenhower
 - C Harry Truman
 - **D** Herbert Hoover
- 5 What new kind of music was popular with teenagers in the 1950s?
 - A suburban swing
 - **B** big band jazz
 - C rock 'n' roll
 - **D** beatnik

- 6 Which country sent hundreds of thousands of troops to fight alongside North Korean forces in the Korean War?
 - A Japan
 - **B** China
 - C the United States
 - **D** the Soviet Union
- Social critics in the 1950s spoke out against which of the following?
 - A containment
 - **B** the United Nations
 - C Douglas MacArthur
 - **D** consumer culture
- 8 Read the following excerpt from a 1953 speech by President Eisenhower and use it to answer the question below.

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower, April 16, 1953

Document-Based Question What desire do you think Eisenhower was expressing in this passage?

CHAPTER 28 1945-1975

The Civil Rights Movement

Essential Question How did Americans respond to discrimination during the civil rights movement?

What You Will Learn...

In this chapter you will learn about the efforts of African Americans and others to gain civil rights protections in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

SECTION 1: The Civil Rights Movement Takes Shape...... 870

The Big Idea Civil rights activists used legal challenges and public protests to confront segregation.

SECTION 2: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights... 876

The Big Idea The civil rights movement made major advances during the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

SECTION 3: Rights for Other Americans 882

The Big Idea Encouraged by the success of the civil rights movement, many groups worked for equal rights in the 1960s.

Focus on Writing

A Civil Rights Bill In the 1950s and 1960s, African Americans began successfully to challenge the discrimination they had faced for so many years. In this chapter, you will read about the civil rights movement and about the passage of new civil rights laws. Imagine that you are a member of Congress at this time. You will write a new civil rights bill to help people gain fair treatment under the law.





Marshall argues against segregation in the Supreme Court case Brown v. Board of Education.

1945



1953 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin dies.



1963 Lee Harvey Oswald assassinates President John F. Kennedy.

1966 The National Organization for Women is formed.

1969 La Raza Unida is organized to support the rights of Mexican Americans.

1973 The American Indian Movement protests at Wounded Knee.

1960

1957 The Soviets launch *Sputnik*, the first human-made satellite.

1961 The Berlin Wall divides East and West Berlin. **1966** Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister of India.



Reading Social Studies

Economics

Geography

Politics

Society and Culture

Science and Technology

Focus on Themes In this chapter, you will read about the important changes in American **society** during the period called the civil rights era. You will learn about how many people came to see **politics** as a way to correct social

inequalities that existed for minority groups in the United States, such as African Americans, women, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and people with disabilities. You will also read about life in the 1960s.

Using Context Clues: Synonyms

Focus on Reading Some words mean almost the same thing. Understanding the similarities can help you understand words whose meaning you may not know.

Understanding Synonyms Words that have similar meanings are called synonyms. Often, a synonym is given as a definition. The synonym will probably be a word you already understand. This will help you learn the new word through context clues.

Notice how one reader uses synonyms to understand words she does not understand.

An AIM leader described the group's goals, saying, "We don't want civil rights in the white man's society—we want our own *sovereign* [self-governing] rights."

This is a word I don't know the meaning of.

These brackets mean that the word inside is a synonym of the word or phrase that comes before. The word inside is a synonym of sovereign.



The word sovereign must mean to govern on one's own.



You Try It!

The following passage is from the chapter you are getting ready to read. As you read the passage, look for synonyms in the definitions of unfamiliar words.

On February 1, 1960, the students went into Woolworth and staged a sit-in—a demonstration in which protesters sit down and refuse to leave. They sat in the "whites-only" section of the lunch counter and ordered coffee. They were not served, but they stayed until the store closed. The next day, they returned with dozens more students to continue the sit-in. Soon, another sit-in began at the lunch counter of a nearby store.

Chapter 28. p. 874

After you read the passage, answer the following questions.

- 1. What word is a synonym of sit-in that is given in that word's definition?
- 2. What clue is given that helps you find the synonym in the above passage?
- **3.** Can you think of another synonym for sit-in that might have been used?

As you read Chapter 28, look for synonyms that can help you define words you don't know.

Key Terms and People

Chapter 28

Section 1

Thurgood Marshall (p. 871) Brown v. Board of Education (p. 871) Little Rock Nine (p. 871) Rosa Parks (p. 872) Montgomery bus boycott (p. 873) Martin Luther King Jr. (p. 873) sit-in (p. 874) Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (p. 874)

Section 2

John F. Kennedy (p. 876) Freedom Rides (p. 877) March on Washington (p. 878) Lyndon B. Johnson (p. 879) Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 879) Voting Rights Act of 1965 (p. 879) Great Society (p. 880) Black Power (p. 880) Malcolm X (p. 880)

Section 3

Cesar Chavez (p. 882) United Farm Workers (p. 882) Betty Friedan (p. 883) National Organization for Women (p. 883) Shirley Chisholm (p. 883) Equal Rights Amendment (p. 883) Phyllis Schlafly (p. 883) American Indian Movement (p. 885) Disabled in Action (p. 885)

Academic Vocabulary

In this chapter, you will learn the following academic words: implement (p. 871) consequences (p. 883)

SECTION

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- 1. Civil rights leaders battled school segregation in court.
- 2. The Montgomery bus boycott helped end segregation on buses.
- 3. Students organized sit-ins to protest segregation.

The Big Idea

Civil rights activists used legal challenges and public protests to confront segregation.

Key Terms and People

Thurgood Marshall, p. 871
Brown v. Board of Education, p. 871
Little Rock Nine, p. 871
Rosa Parks, p. 872
Montgomery bus boycott, p. 873
Martin Luther King Jr., p. 873
sit-in, p. 874
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee, p. 874



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on key events in the fight against segregation.

The Civil Rights Movement Takes Shape

If YOU were there...

You are an African American student in the 1950s. You get up early every day and take a long bus ride across the city to an African American public school. There is another school just three blocks from your home, but only white students are welcome there. You have heard, however, that this school will soon be opening its doors to black students as well.

Would you want to be one of the first African Americans to attend this school? Why or why not?

BUILDING BACKGROUND African Americans continued to face segregation and discrimination after World War II. Early victories in the civil rights movement included the end of segregation in baseball in 1947 and President Truman's ban on segregation in the military in 1948. These successes were the beginning of a national movement for civil rights.

Battling School Segregation

The 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* established the "separate-but-equal" doctrine. This doctrine stated that federal, state, and local governments could allow segregation as long as separate facilities were equal. One result of this ruling was that states in both the North and South maintained separate schools for white and black students. Government officials often insisted that though these schools were separate, they were equal in quality.

In fact, however, schools for black children typically received far less funding. Early civil rights leaders, led by members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), focused on ending segregation in America's public schools.

Brown v. Board of Education

The NAACP's strategy was to show that separate schools were unequal. The NAACP attorneys Thurgood Marshall, who went on to become Supreme Court justice, and Jack Greenberg led the courtroom battles against segregation. In the early 1950s, five school segregation cases from Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Washington, D.C., came together under the title of **Brown** v. Board of Education. The "Brown" in the case title was a seven-year-old African American girl from Topeka, Kansas, named Linda Brown. Though she lived near a school for white children, Linda Brown had to travel across town to a school for black children. Linda's father and the NAACP sued to allow Linda to attend the school closer to her home.

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court issued a unanimous ruling on Brown v. Board of Education. Segregation in schools and other public facilities was illegal.

The next year, the Court ordered public schools to desegregate, or integrate, "with all deliberate speed." These rulings would prove difficult to enforce.

Little Rock Nine

In the entire South, only three school districts began desegregating in 1954. Most others implemented gradual integration plans. In Little Rock, Arkansas, the school board started by integrating one high school. It allowed nine outstanding black students to attend Central High School. These students became known as the **Little Rock Nine**. Arkansas governor Orval Faubus worked to prevent desegregation at Central High School, however. He used National Guard troops to block the Little Rock Nine from entering the school.

On the morning of September 4, 1957, eight of the nine students arrived at the school together and were turned away by the National Guard. Then the ninth student, 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford, arrived at the school by herself. She found the entrance blocked by the National Guard. Turning around, she faced a screaming mob. Someone began yelling, "Lynch her! Lynch her!"" Finally, a white man and woman guided Eckford to safety.

Elizabeth Eckford and the rest of the Little Rock Nine went home. For weeks, Governor

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

implement put in place

FOCUS ON READING

What is a synonym for desegregrate?

hmhsocialstudies.com **ANIMATED GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY**

> School Segregation 1952

Brown v. Board of Education (1954)

Background of the Case In 1896 the Supreme Court had ruled in Plessy v. Ferguson that "separate-butequal" facilities were constitutional. In 1951 the NAACP sued the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, It argued that segregated schools did not give equal opportunities to black and white children. After hearing many arguments, the Court made its ruling in 1954.

The Court's Ruling

The Supreme Court overturned the Plessy doctrine of "separate-but-equal." It ruled that racially segregated schools were not equal and were therefore unconstitutional. All of the justices agreed to the ruling, making it unanimous.

The Court's Reasoning

The Supreme Court decided that segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws." Its opinion stated, "We conclude that, in the field of public education, the doctrine of

'separate-but-equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently [naturally] unequal."

Why It Matters

The ruling in Brown v. Board of Education led to integrated public schools. It also opened the door to other successful challenges to segregation in public places.



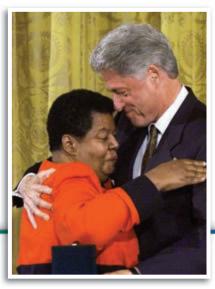
Linda Brown, age 9

SKILL ANALYZING INFORMATION

- 1. How did the ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* overturn the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson?
- 2. How might parents of both black and white children at the time have reacted to the ruling in Brown v. Board of Education?

An Apology

The famous photograph to the right shows Elizabeth Eckford walking to Little Rock's Central High School on September 4, 1957. The young woman shouting at Eckford is Hazel Massery. In 1963 Massery apologized to Eckford. Massery had decided she did not want to be, she said, the "poster child of the hate generation." The two women have since become friends. In 1999 President Bill Clinton presented Eckford and the other Little Rock Nine with Congressional Gold Medals for their contributions to the civil rights movement.





Faubus refused to allow them to attend the school. The tense situation lasted until President Eisenhower sent federal troops to escort the students into the school.

The Little Rock Nine began attending classes, but resistance to integration continued. Some white students insulted, harassed, and attacked the black students. In spite of these obstacles, eight of the nine remained at the school. In May 1958 Ernest Green became the first African American student to graduate from Central High. When Green's name was called at the graduation ceremony, no one clapped. "But I figured they didn't have to," he later said. "After I got that diploma, that was it. I had accomplished what I had come there for."

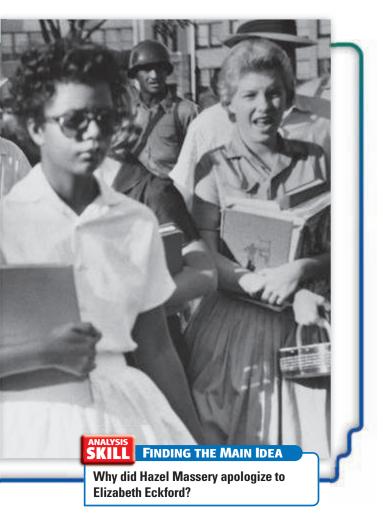
READING CHECK Summarizing What obstacles faced supporters of desegregation?

Montgomery Bus Boycott

The victory in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was part of a larger struggle against segregation. Most facilities in the South, including public transportation, remained segregated.

The NAACP decided to continue the battle against segregation in Montgomery, Alabama. Black passengers there were required to sit in the back of city buses. If the whites-only front section filled up, black passengers had to give up their seats.

On December 1, 1955, a seamstress and NAACP worker named **Rosa Parks** boarded a bus and sat in the front row of the section reserved for black passengers. When the bus became full, the driver told Parks and three others to give their seats to white passengers. Parks refused. The bus driver called the police, and Parks was taken to jail.



To protest Parks's arrest, African American professor Jo Ann Robinson organized a boycott of Montgomery buses. Local leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) to help strengthen the boycott. In the **Montgomery bus boycott**, thousands of African Americans stopped riding the buses. Some white residents supported the boycott as well. Bus ridership fell by 70 percent.

To lead the MIA, African American leaders turned to **Martin Luther King Jr.**, a young Baptist minister. The 26-year-old King already had a reputation as a powerful speaker whose words could motivate and inspire listeners.

As the boycott continued, bus drivers guided nearly empty buses down the city streets. Leaders planned a carpool system that helped people find rides at more than 40 locations throughout Montgomery. For 381 days, boycotters carpooled, took taxis, rode

bicycles, and walked. Still, Montgomery's leaders refused to integrate the bus system.

As in Little Rock during the school segregation fight, many white residents were angry about the attempt to end segregation. Some people resorted to violence. King's home was bombed, and he received hate mail and phone calls threatening him and his family. The police also harassed and arrested carpool drivers. In spite of this intimidation, the boycott gained national attention, sparking similar protests in other cities.

Finally, in November 1956 the Supreme Court ruled that segregation on public transportation was illegal. The next month, King joined other black and white ministers to ride the first integrated bus in Montgomery. "It . . . makes you feel that America is a great country and we're going to do more to make it greater," remembered Jo Ann Robinson.

The Montgomery bus boycott helped make Martin Luther King Jr. a nationally known civil rights leader. He formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which led campaigns for civil rights throughout the South.

READING CHECK Identifying Cause and Effect
What event sparked the Montgomery bus boycott?



BIOGRAPHY

Rosa Parks

1913-2005

Rosa Parks was born in Tuskegee, Alabama, and spent most of her childhood in Montgomery. While working as a seamstress, Parks became an active member of the NAACP.

She was fired from her seamstress job for her leading role in the Montgomery bus boycott. After the boycott succeeded, she and her husband moved to Detroit, Michigan. She continued working for fair treatment for all Americans and started a program to teach children about the Underground Railroad and the civil rights movement.

Finding the Main Idea How did Rosa Parks work for equal rights?

Sit-ins and the SNCC

Like public schools and buses, many private businesses in the South were segregated. In Greensboro, North Carolina, four students decided to challenge this form of segregation. They targeted a lunch counter at Woolworth, a popular department store. Black customers were supposed to eat standing up at one end of the counter. White customers sat down to eat at the other end.

On February 1, 1960, the students went into Woolworth and staged a **sit-in**—a demonstration in which protesters sit down and refuse to leave. They sat in the whitesonly section of the lunch counter and ordered coffee. They were not served, but they stayed until the store closed. The next day, they returned with dozens more students to continue the sit-in. Soon, another sit-in began at the lunch counter of a nearby store.

People across the country read newspaper stories about the Greensboro sit-ins. Other black students in the South began to hold similar protests. The student protesters practiced the strategy of nonviolent resistance. No matter how much they were insulted or threatened, they refused to respond with violence. They were inspired by Martin Luther King Jr., who was a strong supporter of nonviolent action.

Over time, some restaurants and businesses, including Woolworth, began the process of integration. To continue the struggle for civil rights, the leaders of the student protests formed the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (SNCC) in the spring of 1960. The SNCC activists trained protesters and organized civil rights demonstrations. Bob Moses, a leader of the SNCC, helped organize sit-ins and voter registration drives.

READING CHECK Comparing How were sit-ins similar to other civil rights protests?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW In the 1950s court rulings and protests challenged segregation. In the next section you will learn how the civil rights movement continued the fight against inequality.

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ONLINE QUIZ

THE IMPACT TODAY

Today Bob Moses runs the Algebra Project. Its goals include helping students in poor communities become skilled in math, get into college, and compete for jobs.

Section 1 Assessment

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- **1. a. Summarize** How did the Supreme Court impact the desegregation of public schools?
 - **b. Identify** Who were the **Little Rock Nine**?
- 2. a. Recall What was the purpose of the Montgomery bus boycott?
 - **b. Analyze** Why was the arrest of **Rosa Parks** a turning point in the civil rights movement?
 - **c. Elaborate** Why do you think the bus boycott lasted so long?
- **3. a. Identify** What means did the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** use to protest segregation?
 - **b. Make Inferences** What might have inspired the Greensboro students to stage a **sit-in**?
 - **c. Evaluate** Do you think nonviolent resistance is an effective form of protest? Why or why not?

Critical Thinking

4. Sequencing Review your notes on events that challenged segregation. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to show the sequence of major events in the civil rights movement described in this section.



Focus on Writing

5. Explaining Major Issues Take notes on the major issues behind the civil rights movement. What were these issues? Why were they important to African Americans? What changes did the movement try to make?

Martin Luther King Jr.

How would you help lead a national movement?

When did he live? 1929–1968

Where did he live? King grew up in Atlanta, Georgia, where his father was a pastor. He studied to become a minister in Pennsylvania. He received his doctorate in Massachusetts, then became pastor of a church in Alabama. He traveled throughout the country as a civil rights leader.

What did he do? As a powerful and moving speaker, King became one of the leading voices of the civil rights movement. He was committed to achieving equality through nonviolent protest. He led a series of successful marches and protests, including the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and the 1963 March on Washington.

Why is he so important? His leadership helped make the civil rights movement a success. His belief in and passion for nonviolence led to the boycotts, sit-ins, and marches that helped African Americans gain equal treatment.

King's work helped bring an end to legal segregation and led to new laws guaranteeing equal rights for all Americans.

Evaluating Which of Martin Luther King Jr.'s contributions to the civil rights movement was most important? Why?

KEY EVENTS

1953

Marries Coretta Scott

1955 Becomes leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association

1957 Founds Southern Christian Leadership Conference

1963 Writes "Letter from Birmingham Jail"; gives the "I Have a Dream" speech at the March on Washington

1964 Wins the Nobel Peace Prize; Civil Rights Act of 1964 is passed

1968 Shot and killed in Memphis, Tennessee

1986 Martin Luther King Jr. Day becomes a national holiday.

"I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

—Martin Luther King Jr., speech at March on Washington



SECTION 2

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- 1. John F. Kennedy was elected president in 1960.
- Civil rights leaders continued to fight for equality.
- Lyndon B. Johnson became president when Kennedy was assassinated.
- Changes occurred in the civil rights movement in the late 1960s.

The Big Idea

The civil rights movement made major advances during the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Key Terms and People

John F. Kennedy, p. 876
Freedom Rides, p. 877
March on Washington, p. 878
Lyndon B. Johnson, p. 879
Civil Rights Act of 1964, p. 879
Voting Rights Act of 1965, p. 879
Great Society, p. 880
Black Power, p. 880
Malcolm X, p. 880



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the leaders of the civil rights movement and their goals.

Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights

If YOU were there...

You are a civil rights activist living and working in the South. It is 1960, a presidential election year. The battle for fair treatment has been difficult, and you hope that the next president will support civil rights. Both major presidential candidates will be visiting your area soon, and you might have a chance to meet them and ask some questions.

What questions would you ask the candidates?

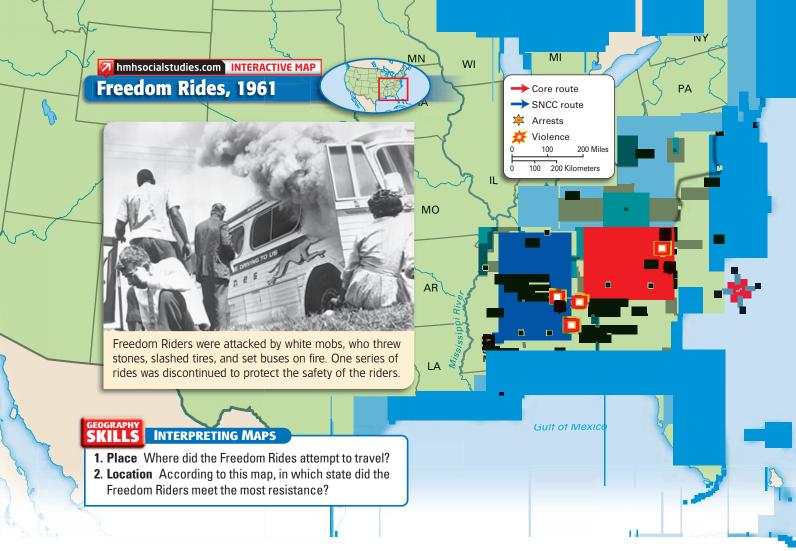
BUILDING BACKGROUND In the 1960 presidential election Republican Richard M. Nixon, who had served as Eisenhower's vice president, ran against Democrat John F. Kennedy, a senator from Massachusetts. For the first time, presidential candidates debated each other on television. Kennedy's performance in the televised debates helped him win a very close election.

Kennedy Elected

When **John F. Kennedy** won the election of 1960, he became the youngest person ever elected president of the United States. For many Americans, Kennedy and his wife, Jacqueline, brought a sense of style and excitement to the White House. Kennedy was also the first Roman Catholic to become president.

In his inaugural address, Kennedy spoke of the opportunities and dangers facing Americans. "Man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life," he said. He encouraged all Americans to support freedom throughout the world, saying, "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country."

As president, Kennedy pursued a set of proposals he called the New Frontier. His plan included a higher minimum wage and tax cuts to help stimulate economic growth. It called for new spending on the military and on the space program, and new programs to help



poor and unemployed Americans. Kennedy also proposed providing greater financial help to public schools. Fearing a budget imbalance, Republicans and conservative southern Democrats blocked much of the legislation Kennedy introduced.

Kennedy also spoke of his support for the goals of the civil rights movement. This had helped convince many African Americans to vote for him in the election of 1960. As president, however, Kennedy moved slowly on civil rights legislation. He was reluctant to anger Republicans and conservative southern Democrats in Congress, whose support he needed to pass other items on his agenda. Kennedy was also busy dealing with foreign policy crises, as you will read in the next chapter.

READING CHECK Drawing Inferences What do you think African American voters hoped for from the new president?

The Fight for Rights Continues

Public schools and some businesses had begun to desegregate. But other facilities remained strictly segregated.

Freedom Rides

In 1947 a civil rights group called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began protests in which African Americans rode in the whitesonly section of interstate buses. In 1960 the Court ruled that segregation of bus stations was illegal. CORE decided to put pressure on President Kennedy to enforce this ruling.

To accomplish this, CORE organized a series of protests called the **Freedom Rides**, in which black and white bus riders traveled together to segregated bus stations in the South. White riders planned to use facilities set aside for African Americans in bus stations. Black riders would use whites-only facilities.

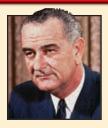
BIOGRAPHIES



John F. Kennedy 1917–1963

John F. Kennedy was born to a politically powerful and wealthy family in Massachusetts. He graduated from Harvard University, then joined the U.S.

Navy. He commanded a patrol boat in the South Pacific during World War II and was wounded in a sea battle. Kennedy was elected to the House of Representatives at the age of 29 and to the Senate six years later. He was elected president in 1960, bringing a youthful energy to the White House. He had served for fewer than three years when he was assassinated.



Lyndon B. Johnson 1908–1973

Lyndon B. Johnson grew up in rural Texas. After working his way through college, Johnson taught school for a year. In 1937, at the age of 29, he was elected to the

House of Representatives. He was elected to the Senate in 1948. Johnson was known for his ability to guide bills through Congress by convincing members from both political parties to support them. As one fellow member of Congress said, "Lyndon got me by the lapels [jacket collar] and put his face on top of mine and he talked and talked." Johnson was elected vice president in 1960 and became president in 1963.

Contrasting How were Kennedy's and Johnson's careers similar, and how were they different?

The Freedom Rides began in May 1961, when 13 riders boarded a bus traveling from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, Louisiana. In one Alabama town, the riders were viciously attacked by a white mob. After more attacks, CORE leaders decided to stop the protest to protect the riders' lives.

The leaders of the SNCC decided to continue the Freedom Rides. The SNCC activists faced the same violence as the CORE riders. Arriving in Montgomery, Alabama, in late May, they were attacked by a furious mob. Many freedom riders were jailed in Jackson, Mississippi. That same month, President Kennedy ordered the Interstate Commerce Commission to enforce strict bans on segregation in interstate bus terminals.

King in Birmingham

In 1963 Martin Luther King Jr. organized marches in Birmingham, Alabama. King was arrested and jailed for marching without a permit. While jailed, he wrote a "Letter from Birmingham Jail," explaining his commitment to nonviolence. "We will reach the goal of freedom in Birmingham and all over the nation, because the goal of America is freedom."

King was released from prison and led a new round of marches. In May 1963, some 2,500 demonstrators marched through downtown Birmingham. Police commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor ordered his officers to unleash their attack dogs and blast the marchers with high-pressure water hoses. Televised images of their tactics shocked Americans.

The March on Washington

Pressure for civil rights legislation continued to grow. President Kennedy called racial discrimination "a moral crisis." In June 1963 he announced support for a sweeping civil rights bill to end racial discrimination completely.

To demonstrate support for the civil rights bill, African American leaders held the **March on Washington**—a massive demonstration for civil rights. On August 28, 1963, Martin Luther King Jr. stood at the Lincoln Memorial before a diverse crowd of more than 200,000 people. In his famous "I Have a Dream" speech, King expressed his hope for a future in which all Americans would enjoy equal rights and opportunities.

READING CHECK Summarizing How did the Birmingham marches affect public opinion?



Johnson Becomes President

In the months following the March on Washington, Congress debated Kennedy's civil rights legislation. In November 1963 Kennedy began a quick tour of Texas cities.

Kennedy Assassinated

On November 22, 1963, Kennedy rode through Dallas in a convertible, waving to supporters in the streets. Suddenly, gunshots rang out. Kennedy had been shot twice, and he died soon afterward in a Dallas hospital. Vice President **Lyndon B. Johnson** was quickly sworn in as president. Dallas police arrested an alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald.

The assassination stunned Americans, who grieved the young president's death. Many of Kennedy's goals were left unfinished. Vowing to continue Kennedy's work, President Johnson urged Congress to pass a civil rights bill.

Civil Rights Laws

On July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**. The act banned segregation in public places. It also outlawed discrimination in the workplace on the basis of color, gender, religion, or national origin.

That summer, activists began to push for

equal voting rights for African Americans in the South. Legally, of course, African Americans had the right to vote. But in much of the South, threats and unfair election rules often kept them from the polls. During the "Freedom Summer" of 1964, hundreds of volunteers, including many white college students, came to Mississippi. Their goal was to help African Americans register to vote.

Volunteers were threatened and attacked. On June 21 three civil rights workers—James Chaney, a young black Mississippian plasterer's apprentice; Andrew Goodman, a Jewish Queens College student; and Michael Schwerner, a Jewish social worker from New York City—were murdered by members of the Ku Klux Klan. Martin Luther King Jr. organized a voting rights march from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery, during which many marchers were beaten and jailed. Violence against civil rights workers convinced many people to support voter registration efforts.

Congress approved the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which Johnson signed into law in August. This law gave the federal government new powers to protect African Americans' voting rights. Within three years, more than half of all qualified African Americans in the South registered to vote.



VIDEO

Assassination of JFK





In June 2005 a judge in Mississippi sentenced Edgar Ray Killen to 60 years in prison for his role in the murder of the three civil rights workers. The 1967 case had ended in a deadlocked jury.

The Great Society

Great Society Legislation:

- · Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Voting Rights Act of 1965
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965
- Medicare and Medicaid Bill, 1965
- Department of Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965

The Great Society

President Johnson won the election of 1964 by a huge margin. He saw this as a vote of approval for his program of domestic reforms that he called the **Great Society**. "The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all," Johnson said.

Congress quickly passed most of Johnson's Great Society legislation. Great Society programs included Medicare

and Medicaid, which help senior citizens and low-income citizens afford health care. Another act gave local schools more than \$1 billion to help students with special needs. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was created to help low-income families get better housing. Robert Weaver served as HUD's secretary, becoming the first African American appointed to a presidential cabinet.

READING CHECK Summarizing How did President Johnson support civil rights?

Changes in the Civil Rights Movement

Many young civil rights reformers found the pace of change too slow. Others entirely rejected the goal of racial integration.

New Directions

One such activist was Stokely Carmichael, who had participated in the Freedom Rides and many marches. But in the mid-1960s, he broke with the goal of nonviolence. Carmichael was a founder of the **Black Power** movement, which called for African American independence. Black Power activists believed that blacks should reject integration, focusing instead on controlling their own communities.

Malcolm X helped inspire the Black Power movement. He was a leader of the Nation of Islam, an organization that combined ideas about African American independence with the teachings of Islam. Malcolm X argued that African Americans should work for social and political independence. He believed that African Americans had the right to defend themselves, using violence if necessary.

hmhsocialstudies.com ANIMATED HISTORY

Technology of the Time: The Power of Images

Time Line

Civil Rights Movement, Key Events

1955 An African American tailor's assistant named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus, sparking a citywide bus boycott that would last more than a year.

1950



1960 The first sit-in at a lunch counter occurs in Greensboro, North Carolina. During these sit-ins, young African Americans sat at segregated lunch counters along with their white counterparts and asked to be served.



In 1964 Malcolm X traveled to the Muslim holy city of Mecca, where he met Muslims of many races. He began to hope that different races could coexist in peace, although he still supported freedom "by any means necessary." But in 1965 Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam and was killed by three of its members.

Violence in the Streets

Slow progress in the civil rights movement frustrated many members of the black community. In some U.S. cities, tensions exploded into violent, sometimes deadly, riots. One such riot occurred in August 1965 in the Watts section of Los Angeles. Twenty-four people were killed, and much of Watts was destroyed.

In April 1968 Martin Luther King Jr. was shot and killed in Memphis, Tennessee. As televised reports spread the news of King's assassination, furious rioters took to the streets in more than 100 American cities. The movement had lost its most visible leader.



1963 Four young girls die in the racially motivated bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, church. The deaths lead to riots and civil unrest during which police attack African Americans.



READING CHECK Contrasting How did Malcolm X's goals differ from Martin Luther King Jr.'s?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW Under Kennedy and Johnson, major civil rights legislation was passed. In the next section, you will learn how more groups began to push for equal rights.

Section 2 Assessment



Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Describe How was John F. Kennedy different from previous presidents?
 - **b.** Analyze Why did many African Americans vote for Kennedy?
- 2. a. Identify What were the Freedom Rides?
 - **b.** Explain How did television influence public opinion about the civil rights movement?
- 3. a. Recall What happened in Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963?
 - **b. Draw Conclusions** Based on Johnson's plans for the Great Society, what do you think he believed was the purpose of government?
- **4. a. Recall** What challenges did the civil rights movement face in the late 1960s?
 - b. Elaborate Why did Malcolm X reject the goal of racial integration?

Critical Thinking

5. Evaluating Review your notes on the goals and achievements of leaders who supported civil rights. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to evaluate the leaders discussed in the section. Tell whether or not you think the leaders' actions were effective.

Leader	Evaluation	

Focus on Writing

6. Listing Laws List new civil rights laws passed in the 1960s. What were the goals of these laws? What problems or events did they respond to? As a member of Congress, would you have approved of these laws? Why or why not?

SECTION 3

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- 1. Hispanic Americans organized for civil rights and economic opportunities.
- The women's movement worked for equal rights.
- **3.** Other Americans also fought for change.

The Big Idea

Encouraged by the success of the civil rights movement, many groups worked for equal rights in the 1960s.

Key Terms and People

Cesar Chavez, p. 882
United Farm Workers, p. 882
Betty Friedan, p. 883
National Organization for
Women, p. 883
Shirley Chisholm, p. 883
Equal Rights Amendment, p. 883
Phyllis Schlafly, p. 883
American Indian Movement, p. 885
Disabled in Action, p. 885



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the major events that occurred as various groups worked for equal rights.

Rights for Other Americans

If YOU were there...

Your parents came to the United States from Mexico, and you were born in California in the 1950s. You and your family work year-round picking crops—the work is hard, and the pay is low. You're trying to put aside some money for school, but your family barely makes enough to get by. Some farmworkers are talking about going on strike for better wages.

Would you join the strike? Why or why not?

BUILDING BACKGROUND Many Americans faced unfair treatment in the 1960s. Women were paid lower wages and had fewer job opportunities than men. Hispanic Americans had long faced discrimination as well. The victories of the civil rights movement inspired many groups to struggle for equal rights.

Hispanic Americans Organize for Change

The Hispanic population of the United States grew to 4 million by 1960, and to more than 10 million by 1970. Though people of Mexican descent made up the majority of this population, Hispanic Americans were a diverse group. Many people from Puerto Rico, Cuba, and other Latin American countries also lived in the United States.

The success of African Americans encouraged Hispanic Americans to fight for their own rights. **Cesar Chavez** was one of many Hispanic Americans who worked to improve conditions. In 1962 Chavez formed a union that would later become the **United Farm Workers** (UFW). This union was committed to the goal of better pay and working conditions for migrant farmworkers—those who move seasonally from farm to farm for work. Chavez led the UFW in a five-year strike and boycott against California grape growers. The workers finally won better wages and benefits in 1970. The UFW became a national organization in 1976.

Chavez shared the commitment to nonviolent protest. To those who complained about the slow pace of change, he replied:

Nonviolence takes time . . . I despise exploitation [unfair gain] and I want change, but I'm willing to pay the price in terms of time. There's a Mexican saying, 'Hay más tiempo que vida'—there's more time than life. We've got all the time in the world."

> —Cesar Chavez, quoted in Chávez, César: Autobiography of La Causa

Chavez helped inspire young leaders in what became known as the Chicano movement. To fight discrimination and gain greater political influence, Chicano activists formed a political party called La Raza Unida, or the United Race. The Hispanic civil rights movement had important consequences. A 1968 amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act required schools to teach students whose first language was not English in both languages until they learned English. The Voting Rights Act of 1975 required communities with large immigrant populations to print ballots in the voters' preferred language.

READING CHECK Sequencing What group helped inspire the Chicano movement?

The Women's Movement

Activists also brought public attention to women's position in society. In 1963 a government commission reported that women had fewer job opportunities than men and were often paid less for the same work. President Kennedy responded by ordering an end to discrimination based on gender in civil service jobs. That same year Congress passed the Equal Pay Act, which required many employers to pay men and women equal salaries for the same work. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination based on both gender and race.

Some women also began to question their traditional roles in society. In her 1963 book The Feminine Mystique, Betty Friedan described the dissatisfaction some women felt with their traditional roles of wife, mother, and homemaker.



BIOGRAPHY

Cesar Chavez

1927-1993

Cesar Chavez was born on a small family ranch in Arizona. After losing their land during the Great Depression, Chavez and his family began working as migrant farmworkers. Moving from

town to town in search of work, Chavez went to more than 30 different schools. He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II, then returned to the fields to help migrant workers fight for better pay and working conditions. The soft-spoken Chavez seemed to many an unlikely leader of a protest movement. But Chavez quickly became an influential leader, continuing to lead the struggle for farmworkers' rights into the 1990s. Before his death, Chavez insisted, "It's not me who counts, it's the Movement."

Making Inferences Why do you think Chavez began the farmworkers' movement?

Friedan became a leader of the modern women's rights movement. In 1966 she helped found the **National Organization for Women** (NOW) to fight for equal educational and career opportunities for women. Other women worked for change by running for public office. In 1968 Shirley Chisholm was elected to represent a New York City district in the House of Representatives. She was the first African American woman elected to the U.S. Congress.

In the early 1970s, NOW and other women's rights activists supported an amendment to the Constitution. The **Equal** Rights Amendment (ERA) would outlaw all discrimination based on sex. The ERA was approved by Congress in 1972.

For an amendment to go into effect, it must be ratified by three-fourths of the states—or 38 out of 50 states. The ERA was ratified by 30 state legislatures by the end of 1973. But many opponents came forward to block the ERA. Phyllis Schlafly, a conservative activist, founded the group STOP ERA to prevent its ratification. Schlafly and her supporters argued that the ERA would hurt

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

consequences the effects of a particular event or events

THE IMPACT TODAY

Ninety-six women served in the 111th Congress, the highest total in history. In 2007, Nancy Pelosi was elected the first female Speaker of the House. She was elected to serve a second term as Speaker in 2009.

Debate over Women's Rights

In the 1960s, women began to organize to demand equal rights. The movement became known as women's liberation. Many activists supported a woman's right to equal pay and equal protection under the law. Some opposing activists worked to maintain what they saw as women's protected status under the law.

Shirley Chisholm became the first African American woman elected to Congress in 1968.





families by encouraging women to focus on careers rather than on motherhood. Such opposition weakened support for the ERA. In June 1982 the amendment fell three states short of ratification.

Despite this failure, the women's movement achieved many of its goals. Women found new opportunities in education and the workplace. For example, women began attending many formerly all-male universities. Increasing numbers of women pursued careers in traditionally all-male fields such as law and medicine. Many women also won political office at all levels of government.

READING CHECK Finding Main Ideas

What were some achievements of the women's movement of the 1960s?

Other Voices for Change

Other Americans also began to demand change in laws and other discriminating practices during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1974 the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund was founded with the purpose of building an "informed and active Asian America." The National Italian American Foundation (1975) advocates for Italian Americans. League of United Latin American Citizens, which was founded much earlier, played an important activist role for Hispanic Americans during this period as well and continues to do so today. Native Americans and people with disabilities were also inspired by the civil rights movement.

Native Americans

One major issue for Native Americans was their lack of control over tribal lands. Many worked through the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) to gain more control over reservation lands from the federal government. They helped win passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Other activists thought that groups like the NCAI worked too slowly. In November 1969 a group of young Native Americans occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay to protest the government's takeover of Native American lands.

One of the groups that participated in the Alcatraz protest was the **American Indian** Movement (AIM), founded in 1968 to fight for Native Americans' rights. In February 1973 AIM activists seized a trading post and church at Wounded Knee, South Dakota—the site of the U.S. Army's massacre of Sioux Indians in 1890. Federal marshals surrounded Wounded Knee, and the standoff ended with a gun battle killing two protesters and wounding one federal agent.

Such protests brought attention to issues facing Native Americans. In the early 1970s Congress began passing laws granting Native Americans greater self-government on tribal lands.

The Disability Rights Movement

In 1970 Judy Heumann and other activists created **Disabled in Action** (DIA) to make people aware of challenges facing people with disabilities. People with disabilities often lacked access to both job opportunities and to public places. The DIA's work led to the passage of new laws. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 banned federal agencies from discriminating against people with disabili-

Disabled in Action

Judy Heumann and other activists formed Disabled in Action in 1970. The group promotes legislation and access to independent living for people with disabilities.

What kind of rights might people with disabilities seek?



ties. The Education of Handicapped Children Act of 1975 required public schools to provide a quality education to children with disabilities. In 1990 the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) outlawed all discrimination against people with disabilities.

READING CHECK Contrasting How were the tactics of AIM and DIA different?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW The fight for equal rights had far-reaching effects on American society. In the next chapter you will learn about world conflicts that also affected Americans.

Section 3 Assessment

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Evaluate How did Hispanic Americans fight for civil rights?
 - **b.** Describe Who benefited from laws like the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968 and the Voting Rights Act of 1975?
- 2. a. Recall What were the goals of the women's movement?
 - **b. Explain** What happened during the ratification process of the **Equal Rights Amendment**?
 - c. Elaborate Do you think we need the ERA today? Explain your answer.
- 3. a. Compare In what way was the American Indian Movement similar to the Black Power movement?
 - **b. Identify** What laws banned discrimination against people with disabilities?

Critical Thinking

4. Categorizing Review your notes on the achievements of groups that worked for equal rights. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to identify the achievements of each group.

Hispanic Americans	Women	Native Americans	People with Disabilities

Focus on Writing

5. Describing New Movements Describe new rights movements inspired by the success of the African American civil rights movement. What groups did these movements represent? What were their

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ONLINE QUIZ

Social Studies Skills

Analysis

Critical Thinking

Civic Participation

Study



Making Speeches

Define the Skill

In a democracy, activists, government leaders, and candidates for public office often need to address people directly. Speeches allow public figures to deliver a message to many people at once. People can use speeches to make their views known. They can use speeches to try to persuade people to support their ideas or programs.

Learn the Skill

Think about the role of speeches in the civil rights movement. Speakers increased awareness of and support for the movement's goals. Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. is remembered as a powerful and effective speaker. His words moved and inspired many listeners—and continue to do so today. Here is a brief excerpt from King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech, delivered during the March on Washington on August 28, 1963:

"I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood."

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

"I have a dream today."

In his speech, King followed one basic idea. He used the same words over and over to emphasize his

hopes for racial equality. Every time he said "I have a dream," however, King gave a different example of equality. With these different examples on the same topic, King laid out a powerful vision for the future.

The words of the "I Have a Dream" speech are powerful, but King's delivery made the speech even stronger. King spoke with confidence in a loud, clear voice. He also looked at his audience and connected with them.

Following these steps can help you make a persuasive speech.

- **1) Write the speech.** Make sure it includes a clear main idea, good examples, and convincing language.
- **Practice.** Practice reading your speech out loud to a friend. You can also practice at home in front of a mirror.
- **3 Give the speech.** Remember to speak loudly and clearly and to look at your audience.

Practice the Skill

Suppose that you are a civil rights leader in the 1960s. Following the steps above, write a short speech in favor of equal rights for African Americans, Hispanic Americans, women, Native Americans, or Americans with disabilities. After you have written and practiced your speech, give the speech to the class.

CHAPTER

Chapter Review

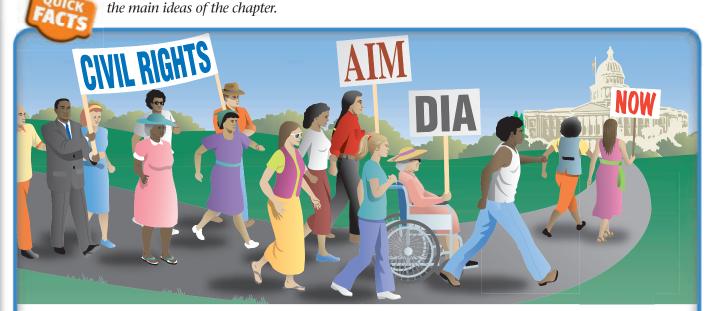
Use the visual summary below to help you review

▶ video series

Review the video to answer the closing question:

How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 inspire a push for equality among other minority groups?

Visual Summary



Many groups of Americans organized to demand their civil rights during the 1960s and 1970s.

Reviewing Vocabulary, Terms, and People

Complete each sentence by filling in the blank with the correct term or person from the chapter.

- 1. _____ was an African American civil rights leader and minister who believed in nonviolent, direct action.
- **2.** In 1960, black students staged a at a Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.
- **3.** The Congress of Racial Equality organized the _ to protest segregation in bus stations throughout the South.
- **4.** The _____ protected the voting rights of African Americans.
- **5.** The _____ worked to get better pay and working conditions for migrant farmworkers.
- **6.** _____ was the first African American woman elected to the U.S. Congress.

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (*Pages 870–874*)

- **7. a. Describe** What was the Court's ruling in the Brown v. Board of Education case?
 - **b. Explain** What did the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee do to fight segregation?
 - **c. Draw Conclusions** Why do you think Martin Luther King Jr. was chosen to lead the MIA?

SECTION 2 (*Pages 876–881*)

- **8. a. Recall** What was the New Frontier?
 - **b. Contrast** What roles did leaders from CORE and SNCC play in the Freedom Rides?
 - **c. Contrast** How did Malcolm X's ideas about integration differ from those of Martin Luther King Jr.?

SECTION 3 (*Pages 882–885*)

- **9. a. Identify** What is the National Organization for Women?
 - **b. Summarize** How did Cesar Chavez help migrant farmworkers?
 - **c. Elaborate** How did the Americans with Disabilities Act help disabled Americans?

Reviewing Themes

- **10. Politics** How did political changes help minorities achieve their goals?
- 11. Society and Culture How did society change during the civil rights era?

Reading Skills



Using Context Clues: Synonyms *Use the Reading Skills* taught in this chapter to answer the question below.

The Little Rock Nine began attending classes, but resistance to integration continued. Some white students insulted, harassed, and attacked the black students. In spite of these obstacles, eight of the nine remained at the school. (p. 872)

- **12.** Which of the following would be a good synonym for the word *harassed*?
 - a. comforted
 - **b.** assisted
 - **c.** helped
 - d. insulted

Social Studies Skills (45)



Making Speeches *Use the Social Studies Skills taught* in this chapter to answer the question below.

13. What steps should you follow to make a persuasive speech?

Using the Internet CENTURY



14. Activity: Creating a Newspaper Even after the ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, integration was slow to take effect. Many districts began gradual integration plans, as in Little Rock, Arkansas, where local leaders chose the Little Rock Nine to start the process. Through your online textbook, research the Little Rock Nine. Then create two pages of a newspaper about them. Make sure your newspaper articles include direct references to your research. Include quotations from the historical figures that were involved in the integration of Central High School.

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Focus on Writing

15. Writing Your Bill Review your notes. Then start writing your civil rights bill. What is its goal? Explain how it will expand civil rights. Is it designed to help a certain group of people? Discuss the reasons you believe it is important to expand civil rights in this way. You may refer to problems or events the bill responds to as well as to earlier civil rights laws and legal decisions.

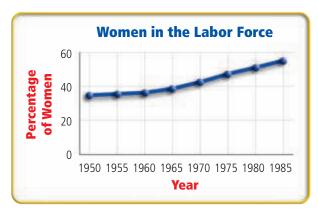


CHAPTER

Standardized Test Practice

DIRECTIONS: Read each question and write the letter of the best response.

1 Use the following graph to answer the question below.



By about how much did the percentage of women in the workforce increase between 1960 and 1980?

- A 5 percent
- B 25 percent
- C 15 percent
- **D** 50 percent
- **The Supreme Court case that led to the** integration of public schools was called
 - A Plessy v. Ferguson.
 - **B** Brown v. Board of Education.
 - C Chisholm v. Marshall.
 - **D** King v. Alabama.
- 3 Leaders of the MIA organized the **Montgomery Bus Boycott after**
 - A black students staged a sit-in at a Woolworth lunch counter.
 - **B** Martin Luther King Jr. founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
 - C Rosa Parks was arrested for sitting in the whites-only section of a public bus.
 - **D** the Little Rock Nine began attending Central High School.

In the 1960s Cesar Chavez became

- A the first Hispanic American to serve in the U.S. Congress.
- **B** a nationally recognized Hispanic rights leader.
- C a member of President Johnson's cabinet.
- **D** a leader of the Native American rights movement.

In 1969 a group of activists seized Alcatraz Island to

- A demand better wages and conditions for migrant farmworkers.
- **B** protest the government's takeover of Native American lands.
- **C** demonstrate in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- **D** call attention to the needs of Americans with disabilities.
- 6 Read the following excerpt from Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech and use it to answer the question below.

When we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet [community], from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles [non-Jews], Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

> —Martin Luther King Jr., speech at the March on Washington

Document-Based Question What is the main idea King is expressing in this passage?

CHAPTER 29 1960-1975

The Vietnam War Years

Essential Question What were the causes and effects of the Vietnam War?

?

What You Will Learn...

In this chapter you will learn how the U.S. commitment to stop the spread of communism worldwide led the United States into a long and costly war in Vietnam.

SECTION 1: Kennedy and Foreign Policy...... 894

The Big Idea The United States confronted Communist nations in Cold War conflicts around the world.

SECTION 2: Escalation in Vietnam............................. 901

The Big Idea Johnson quickly expanded U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but American soldiers faced a determined enemy.

SECTION 3: The End of the War..... 908

The Big Idea Growing antiwar feelings in the United States helped convince the government to end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Focus on Writing

Newscast Writing in the 1960s, Michael Arlen called the Vietnam War the first American "living room war." For the first time, Americans could sit in their homes and watch scenes from the war on TV newscasts. In this chapter, you will read about American involvement in Cold War conflicts, such as the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam War. Then you will present a newscast on major events of the Cold War.





1961

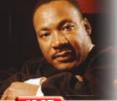
Kennedy sends military advisers to Vietnam.

1960



1960 Cuba and the Soviet Union sign a trade agreement and establish diplomatic relations.





1968 Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy are assassinated. 1969 Joan Baez, The Who, and Jimi Hendrix headline the Woodstock Music Festival.



1973 Last U.S. ground troops leave Vietnam.

1965

1965 North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh refuses peace talks with President Lyndon Johnson.



1969 Ho Chi Minh dies in Hanoi.

1970



1975 North Vietnamese troops capture Saigon.

1975

Reading Social Studies

Economics

Geography

Politics

Society and Culture

Science and Technology

Focus on Themes In this chapter, you will learn about the Vietnam War years. American soldiers faced many obstacles in Vietnam, including the country's **geography**. Jungles and mountains

prevented Americans from gaining an easy victory. You will read about how the long, drawn-out conflict caused divisions between the nation's leaders and many Americans.

Setting a Purpose

Focus on Reading Setting a purpose for your reading can help you to understand the things that you read. Understanding the author's goal is often an important part of this task.

Setting a Purpose When you open this book to a page you have been assigned to read, there will be clues about what you will be learning. The information in this book is organized under headings that help explain the text. When you read a section like the one below, try to determine how the text explains the heading.

Notice how one reader used the headings to determine his purpose for reading the passage below.

Society in the 1960s

As the Vietnam War continued, growing numbers of Americans began to criticize the war...

From Chapter 29, p. 908 about everyday life during the 1960s.

Antiwar Protests

College students often took the lead in organizing antiwar protests . . .

The text below this heading might answer questions about what antiwar protests are and who took part in them.

This large heading lets me know that the text below will be



I guess protests were frequent during the 1960s. I should read to find out what they were and why they took place.

You Try It!

The following passage is from the chapter you are getting ready to read. As you read the passage, look for information in the headings that tell you what to look for.

The Vietnam War Ends

While Nixon was running for re-election in 1972, Henry Kissinger started peace negotiations with the North Vietnamese . . .

From Chapter 29, pp. 911–912

The Impact in Southeast Asia

The war ended when North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon in April 1975 . . .

The Impact at Home

The Vietnam War carried heavy costs for the United States as well . . .

After you read the passage, answer the following questions.

- **1.** After reading the headings, what do you think this section is going to be about?
- **2.** What are some questions you might ask before reading this section?
- **3.** What information do you think you will learn from the section?

As you read Chapter 29, set a purpose before you read each section.

Key Terms and People

Chapter 29

Section 1

Peace Corps (p. 894)
Fidel Castro (p. 895)
Berlin Wall (p. 896)
Cuban missile crisis (p. 896)
Neil Armstrong (p. 898)
Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin (p. 898)
Ho Chi Minh (p. 898)
domino theory (p. 898)
Vietcong (p. 899)

Section 2

Tonkin Gulf Resolution (p. 902)
Ho Chi Minh Trail (p. 902)
escalation (p. 902)
William Westmoreland (p. 903)
search-and-destroy missions (p. 903)
Tet Offensive (p. 904)
doves (p. 904)
hawks (p. 904)

Section 3

Students for a Democratic Society (p. 908)
hippies (p. 909)
Richard M. Nixon (p. 910)
Henry Kissinger (p. 910)
Vietnamization (p. 910)
Twenty-sixth Amendment (p. 911)
War Powers Act (p. 913)
Vietnam Veterans Memorial (p. 913)

Academic Vocabulary

In this chapter, you will learn the following academic words: aspect (p. 896)

aspect (p. 896) values (p. 909)

SECTION

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- President Kennedy confronted Communist threats around the world.
- 2. The United States and the Soviet Union raced to send a person to the moon.
- 3. The Cold War conflict in Vietnam led the United States into war.

The Big Idea

The United States confronted Communist nations in Cold War conflicts around the world.

Key Terms and People

Peace Corps, p. 894
Fidel Castro, p. 895
Berlin Wall, p. 896
Cuban missile crisis, p. 896
Neil Armstrong, p. 898
Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin, p. 898
Ho Chi Minh, p. 898
domino theory, p. 898
Vietcong, p. 899



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the Cold War crises that took place during the Kennedy administration.

Kennedy and Foreign Policy

If YOU were there...

You are a student in 1960. Whenever you discuss current events in class, students talk nervously about the ongoing nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. If Cold War tensions ever spark an all-out nuclear war, entire cities and populations could be destroyed in just a matter of minutes.

Do you think Cold War tensions PACIFIC OCEAN

will lead to a nuclear war?

MEXICO

BUILDING BACKGROUND In the 1950s some Americans feared that the United States was falling behind the Soviet Union in missile production. The United States began using U-2 spy planes to gather information about Soviet military technology. On May 1, 1960, a U-2 plane was shot down over Soviet territory. Soviet leaders reacted angrily. Cold War tensions were running high as the Kennedy

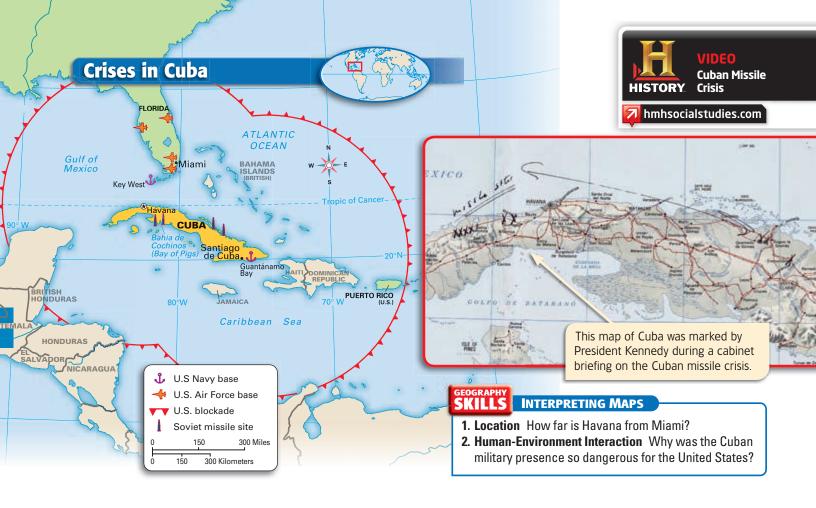
Kennedy Confronts Communism

presidency began in 1961.

As president, John F. Kennedy was committed to the Cold War policy of stopping the spread of communism worldwide. He maintained strong military forces and expanded the nation's supply of nuclear weapons. He also sought nonmilitary ways to defeat communism. For example, in a program called the Alliance for Progress, the United States pledged \$20 billion in aid to countries in Latin America. This assistance did little to improve conditions in Latin America or U.S.–Latin American relations, however. Another nonmilitary program was more successful. Beginning in 1961, the **Peace Corps** sent volunteers to developing countries to help with projects such as digging wells and building schools.

Bay of Pigs

Much of Kennedy's attention, in his early days as president, involved confronting communism with U.S. military forces. The first Cold



War crisis during his administration took place in Cuba. In the late 1950s Cuban rebel **Fidel Castro** had led a revolution against an unpopular dictator. In 1959 he overthrew the dictator and soon established a Communist government allied to the Soviet Union. Many Cubans who had opposed Castro fled to the United States.

Castro's close ties with the Soviet Union worried Kennedy, especially since Cuba is only about 90 miles from Florida. Soviet leaders could use Cuba as a base from which to attack the United States.

While president, Dwight Eisenhower had developed a plan to remove Castro from power. The Central Intelligence Agency began training Cuban exiles to invade the island and overthrow Castro. Kennedy learned of the plan when he became president. He approved the operation.

On April 17, 1961, about 1,500 Cuban exiles landed by boat at Cuba's Bay of Pigs. Castro's forces quickly responded, killing

about 300 of the invaders and capturing the rest. Many Americans criticized Kennedy for the disastrous invasion attempt. His administration was off to a shaky start.

The Berlin Wall

Located behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany, the city of Berlin was the site of Kennedy's second crisis. East Berlin was part of Communist East Germany. West Berlin remained a part of democratic West Germany and stood as a model of prosperity and freedom. Desperate for freedom and better economic opportunities, about 2.5 million East Germans fled to West Berlin between 1949 and 1961. The steady loss of skilled workers alarmed Communist officials. Calling the open border between East and West Berlin a "handy escape route," Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev demanded that the border be closed.

Khrushchev threatened to take over West Berlin. President Kennedy responded by vowing to defend the free city. "We cannot and will not permit the Communists to drive us out of Berlin," he warned. Then, on the night of August 12–13, 1961, the East German government began building the **Berlin Wall**, a barrier of concrete and barbed wire between East and West Berlin. Kennedy rushed American troops to West Berlin. But he was unwilling to go to war with the Soviet Union over the Berlin Wall. The wall stood as a symbol of the Cold War for nearly three decades.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

In October 1962 Kennedy faced yet another problem in Cuba when American U-2 spy planes discovered that the Soviets were installing nuclear missiles in Cuba. If launched, the missiles could reach, and possibly destroy, American cities within minutes.

At a press conference on October 22, Kennedy demanded that the Soviet Union remove the missiles. During the **Cuban missile crisis**, the U.S. Navy formed a blockade around Cuba to prevent Soviet ships from bringing in more weapons. As Soviet ships approached

the blockade, terrified Americans waited tensely for news updates. Then came some welcome news—the Soviet ships had turned back.

After the crisis ended, Khrushchev agreed to remove the nuclear missiles from Cuba. In return, Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba. He also agreed to remove some missiles in Italy and Turkey. To improve future communication, Kennedy and Khrushchev set up a telephone "hotline" so the leaders could talk directly to each other at a moment's notice. They also signed the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which banned the testing of new nuclear weapons aboveground.

READING CHECK Sequencing When did Kennedy's three Cold War crises occur?

Race to the Moon

Although Kennedy and Khrushchev had taken some steps to prevent conflicts, the Cold War continued. One <u>aspect</u> of the Cold War that heated up in the 1960s was the space race—the competition between the United

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

aspect part

Primary Source

BOOK

Thirteen Days

During the Cuban missile crisis, President Kennedy considered several options: blockade Cuba, invade the island, or bomb missile sites by air. After choosing the blockade, Kennedy and his advisers could only wait to see how Khrushchev would respond. The president's brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, later described these tense moments in the White House.

Robert Kennedy describes the doubts he and others in the room felt.

ANALYSIS SKILL

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

What details from the passage show that the moment was tense?

I think these few minutes were the time of gravest concern for the President. Was the world on the brink of a holocaust? Was it our error? A mistake? Was there something further that should have been done? Or not done?... The minutes in the Cabinet Room ticked slowly by. What could we say now—what could we do?

Then it was 10:25—a messenger brought in a note . . . 'Mr. President . . . some of the Russian ships have stopped dead in the water . . . Six ships . . . have stopped or have turned back toward the Soviet Union' . . .

Then we were back to the details. The meeting droned on. But everyone looked like a different person. For a moment the world had stood still, and now it was going around again.

—Robert F. Kennedy, from *Thirteen Days:*A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis

States and the Soviet Union to explore space. The Soviet Union pulled ahead in April 1961 when Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin became the first person to travel into space, orbiting Earth once.

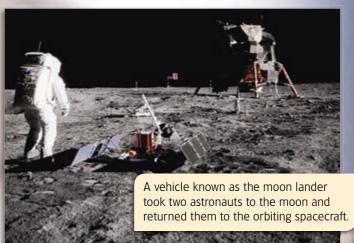
The United States was determined to catch up to and surpass the Soviet Union in the space race. Kennedy outlined a bold plan in a 1961 speech to Congress:

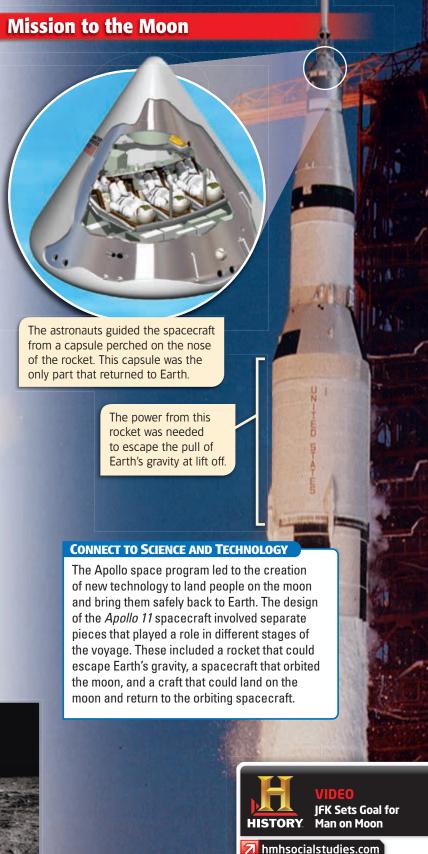
I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to the earth.

— John F. Kennedy, speech to Congress, May 25, 1961

It is difficult for us to imagine what it was like for Kennedy's audience to hear these words. Space travel seems normal to us today. But to people in the early 1960s, the idea of humans landing on the moon seemed like something out of a science fiction novel. Still, Americans supported the project. Congress provided NASA with billions of dollars to fund the development of new technology.

In May 1961 astronaut Alan Shepard Jr. became the first U.S. astronaut in space. The next year, John Glenn became the first American to orbit Earth. Then NASA pushed ahead with Project Apollo, with the goal of landing an astronaut on the moon. Even with careful planning, Apollo astronauts faced great danger. Three astronauts died in a fire during a prelaunch test in 1967.



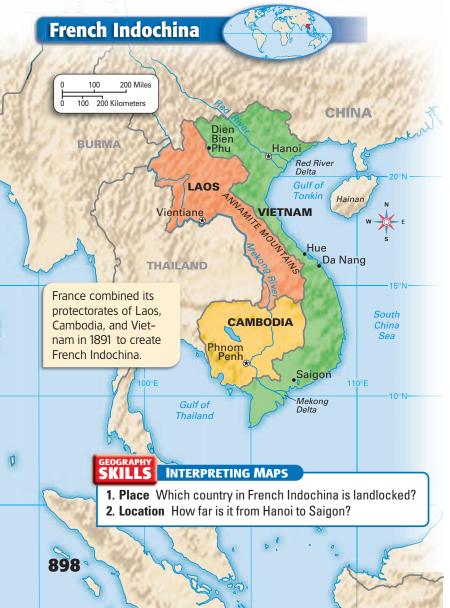




On July 20, 1969, while millions of people around the world watched on television, the lunar module *Eagle* landed on the surface of the moon. American astronauts **Neil Armstrong** and **Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin** climbed out and became the first people to walk on the moon. "That's one small step for [a] man, one giant leap for mankind," said Armstrong as he touched the lunar surface. Armstrong and Aldrin planted the American flag on the moon's surface and collected samples of moon rocks. The Apollo program continued, achieving five more successful moon landings by 1972.

ANIMATED
GEOGRAPHY
AND HISTORY
Southeast
Asia 1954

READING CHECK Analyzing How did the events of July 20, 1969, fulfill the hope Kennedy had expressed in 1961?



Conflict in Vietnam

The most serious and deadly event of the Cold War took place in Vietnam, a country in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese struggled against the domination of China for centuries. By the early 1880s all of Vietnam was conquered by France. The French combined Vietnam with neighboring Laos and Cambodia to create a colony called French Indochina. French leaders imposed harsh taxes and put limits on political freedoms. Vietnamese nationalists began a struggle for independence in the early 1900s.

France and Vietnam

One of the leading Vietnamese nationalists was **Ho Chi Minh**. Ho believed that only a Communist revolution could free the Vietnamese people.

During World War II, Japan drove the French out of Indochina. Ho Chi Minh did not want Vietnam to be controlled by yet another foreign power. He organized a group called the Vietminh to resist Japanese occupation. When Japan was defeated by the Allies in 1945, Ho declared Vietnamese independence. Using words echoing those of the American Declaration of Independence, he said, "All men are born equal: the Creator has given us inviolable rights, life, liberty, and happiness." In reality, Ho did not believe in the democratic principles outlined in the American document.

Vietnam was still not free of foreign rule. France insisted that Vietnam was a French colony. French forces moved to regain control of Vietnam, leading to new fighting between the two sides.

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower both supported France with military aid. They were concerned that a Vietminh victory would lead to the spread of communism in Asia. American leaders feared that if one country became Communist, nearby countries would also fall to communism. This was called the **domino theory**. Americans had already watched Communist victories in China and North Korea. They did not want Vietnam to be next.

The Vietminh had fewer weapons and supplies than the French, but they used hit-and-run guerrilla tactics to gradually weaken French forces. In May 1954 the Vietminh trapped a French army at Dien Bien Phu, where the French surrendered. In July French and Vietnamese leaders worked out an agreement called the Geneva Accords. This compromise temporarily divided Vietnam into North and South. It also called for democratic elections in July 1956 that would unite the two countries under one government.

North and South Vietnam

North Vietnam became a Communist dictatorship led by Ho Chi Minh. South Vietnam had a Western-style government led by Ngo Dinh Diem (en-GOH DIN de-EM) and supported by the United States. U.S. officials hoped Diem would win control of the country in the 1956 elections.

Diem, however, quickly proved to be a disappointing leader. He put his own family members in top government positions and used his security forces to imprison and torture his political enemies. President Eisenhower was concerned, but he and his advisers saw Diem as the only realistic alternative to a Communist Vietnam.

In North Vietnam, meanwhile, Ho Chi Minh introduced land redistribution plans. Like Diem, Ho and the Vietminh violently persecuted their opponents. During the land redistribution process, they imprisoned and killed thousands of landowners.

As the 1956 reunification elections approached, however, a growing number of South Vietnamese supported Ho and the Vietminh. Diem refused to allow South Vietnam to participate in the elections. The United States backed this decision. Diem also arrested thousands of people who supported Ho.

In 1960 members of the North Vietnamese government formed the National Liberation Front (NLF). The NLF recruited South Vietnamese who were opposed to Diem to fight against the South Vietnamese



South Vietnamese soldiers plot a firing pattern under the guidance of American military personnel.

government. The NLF relied on Communist guerrilla forces called the **Vietcong** as its army, which was supplied and funded by the North Vietnamese.

American Involvement

President Eisenhower sent aid, weapons, and military advisers to South Vietnam to aid Diem. Soon after taking office in 1961, President Kennedy sent more advisers and special forces. Although they were not official combat troops, the U.S. military advisers often accompanied the South Vietnamese army on combat missions. Some were killed in action. By late 1963 about 16,000 U.S. military personnel were serving in Vietnam.

The increased U.S. support did not help Diem, who was becoming less and less popular in South Vietnam. Several attempts were made to overthrow his government, all of which failed. Diem would not hold elections, and his opponents began to consider violence as their only option. He lost more support when he ordered his troops to fire on Buddhist demonstrators.

Some Buddhist monks protested by setting themselves on fire. Horrifying images of these protests helped turn U.S. public opinion against Diem.

In November 1963 a group of South Vietnamese army officers seized power and killed Diem and his brother. Only weeks later, Kennedy was assassinated, and Vice President Lyndon Johnson became president. Johnson immediately faced tough decisions about how to handle an increasingly unstable South Vietnam.

READING CHECK Evaluating Why did the United States see the Vietnam conflict as a Cold War struggle?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW In the 1950s and early 1960s, Cold War tensions caused conflicts around the world. In the next section you will read about increased U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

The Beginning of the Vietnam War



Causes

- · French lose control of Vietnam
- Cold War tensions
- Civil war in Vietnam
- Assassination of President Diem

Effects

- Eisenhower and Kennedy send military advisers
- · Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

Section 1 Assessment

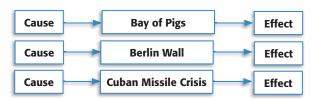


Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Describe What nonmilitary tactics did President Kennedy use to confront communism?
 - **b. Explain** How was the **Cuban missile crisis** resolved?
 - c. Evaluate In which Cold War crisis do you think President Kennedy showed the strongest leadership? Explain your answer.
- 2. a. Recall How did the Soviet Union take the lead in the space race in 1961?
 - b. Predict How do you think the Soviet Union responded to the successful U.S. landing of a man on the moon?
- 3. a. Identify Who was Ho Chi Minh? **b. Describe** According to the **domino theory**, what did U.S. leaders think might happen if Vietnam became a Communist country? c. Analyze Do you think the United States was justified in supporting Ngo Dinh Diem? Why or

Critical Thinking

4. Identifying Cause and Effect Review your notes on Cold War crises during the Kennedy administration. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list the causes and effects of each crisis.



Focus on Writing

5. Listing Cold War Conflicts List Cold War conflicts the United States faced during the 1960s. Who was involved in each conflict? How could you explain each conflict to a television audience? What could you show in your newscast to illustrate the conflicts?

why not?

Escalation in Vietnam

If YOU were there...

It is 1965, and you have just been elected to Congress. You know voters are concerned about events in Vietnam, and you are carefully following the progress of the war. No one knows what will happen if the United States gets more deeply involved in the conflict. It might turn back the tide of communism. On the other hand, thousands of young soldiers might die.

Would you support sending U.S. troops to Vietnam?
Why or why not?

BUILDING BACKGROUND Lyndon Johnson had spent most of his political career focused on domestic issues. After becoming president, he dedicated himself to civil rights legislation and his Great Society programs. But Johnson also had the same goal as presidents before him—to stop the spread of communism around the world.

Johnson Commits to Victory

Lyndon Johnson was determined to prevent Communists from taking over in South Vietnam. "We have the resources and the will to follow this course as long as it may take," Johnson said. He waited for a spark that might allow him to take action.

The Tonkin Gulf Resolution

In the summer of 1964, a naval skirmish led to a rapid expansion of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. On August 2, 1964, the USS *Maddox* reportedly exchanged gunfire with North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin, off the North Vietnamese coast. Two days later, during a night of thunderstorms, U.S. ships reported a second attack. The captain of the *Maddox* was not sure his ship had actually been attacked, but the USS *Turner Joy* claimed to have picked up high-speed vessels on its radar. Despite the conflicting stories, President Johnson declared the incident an act of war.

SECTION 2

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- President Johnson committed the United States to victory in Vietnam by expanding U.S. involvement.
- American soldiers faced new challenges fighting the Vietnam War.
- 3. The Tet Offensive was an important turning point in the war.

The Big Idea

Johnson quickly expanded U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but American soldiers faced a determined enemy.

Key Terms and People

Tonkin Gulf Resolution, p. 902
Ho Chi Minh Trail, p. 902
escalation, p. 902
Willliam Westmoreland, p. 903
search-and-destroy missions, p. 903
Tet Offensive, p. 904
doves, p. 904
hawks, p. 904

hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the events that led to the escalation of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Johnson asked Congress to give him the authority to take military action. Congress passed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, giving the president the authority "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States." Johnson used the Tonkin Gulf Resolution to greatly expand the U.S. role in Vietnam.

Air Strikes Begin

Johnson sent the first U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam in March 1965. At the same time, he ordered Operation Rolling Thunder, a series of air strikes on war industries in North Vietnam. The air strikes were also designed to disrupt the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a supply route used by the North Vietnamese. The trail was a network of paths and tunnels that led from North Vietnam, through Laos and Cambodia, and into South Vietnam.

Because some of the Ho Chi Minh Trail was located in neutral countries, U.S. soldiers could not surround it on the ground. Instead, U.S. airplanes bombed the route, sometimes with napalm, or jellied gasoline, to kill troops and destroy supplies. Planes also released chemicals such as Agent Orange to kill the dense forests on the trail and to increase

visibility from the air. American veterans and Vietnamese civilians later suffered serious health problems from exposure to these chemicals.

By late 1968 more than a million tons of explosives had been dropped on North and South Vietnam. Many Vietnamese soldiers and civilians were killed. The Communists' ability to wage war, however, was not destroyed.

READING CHECK Summarizing What authority did the Tonkin Gulf Resolution give to President Johnson?

U.S. Soldiers in Vietnam

From 1965 to 1968, President Johnson pursued a policy of **escalation**, or increased involvement, in the war. By 1968 more than 500,000 U.S. troops were serving in Vietnam. Backed by superior military technology, U.S. generals expected to win a quick victory. But the Vietnam War proved to be different from previous wars.

Strategies and Tactics

In Vietnam, there was rarely a front line where armies met face to face. Much of the war was



BIOGRAPHY

John McCain

1936-

John McCain's father and grandfather were both U.S. Navy admirals. The younger McCain also attended the Naval Academy and served in Vietnam as a combat pilot. On a bombing mission over Hanoi in 1967, his plane was shot

down. McCain was held as a prisoner of war (POW) for more than five years and was often tortured and kept in solitary confinement. McCain entered politics after the war. In 2004 he was elected to his fourth term as U.S. senator from Arizona. One of his priorities as a senator was to help repair and strengthen U.S. relations with Vietnam. McCain was the Republican nominee for president in 2008.

Drawing Inferences If you were John McCain, would you want to establish good relations with Vietnam? Why or why not?



fought in the jungles and villages of South Vietnam. General **William Westmoreland** commanded the U.S. ground forces involved in Vietnam. He developed a strategy based on **search-and-destroy missions**, where U.S. patrols searched for hidden enemy camps, then destroyed them with massive firepower and air raids.

To make up for their disadvantage in firepower, Vietcong and North Vietnamese Army (NVA) troops used guerrilla warfare tactics. Moving quickly, they set deadly traps and land mines. They also knew the local geography, which allowed them to make quick surprise assaults on small groups of U.S. soldiers. Though the Vietcong and NVA suffered high casualty rates, they were able to match U.S. escalation by continuing to send new troops into combat. They also received supplies and weapons from Communist China and the Soviet Union.

The civilians of South Vietnam were often caught in the middle of the fighting. Vietcong forces entered villages at night and killed people they believed were cooperating with the South Vietnamese government. South Vietnamese and American troops attacked villages they suspected of assisting the Vietcong. About 4 million South Vietnamese were driven from their homes. This undermined the crucial U.S. goal of winning the support and loyalty of South Vietnamese civilians.

Soldiers' Stories

More than 2 million American soldiers served in the Vietnam War. Their average age was 18–21, several years younger than in previous American wars. About one-quarter of the soldiers were drafted, many from minority groups and poor families. College students—most of whom were white and from wealthier families—were able to get draft releases called deferments.

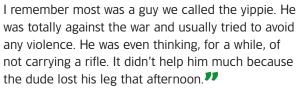
American troops patrolled jungles and rice paddies, carrying 75–90 pounds of equipment through 100-degree heat and rainstorms that

Primary Source

ORAL HISTORY Vietnam War

Charley Trujillo was a soldier in the Vietnam War. He later became a writer and filmmaker, focusing on the experiences of Latinos and Chicanos in the Vietnam War. Below he describes a day in Vietnam.

Throughout the day we received mortar and sniper fire. By that evening we had suffered more casualties. The one



—Charley Trujillo, quoted in Soldados: Chicanos In Việt Nam



ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Why might Trujillo have remembered this casualty the most?

could last for days. They never knew when they might run into enemy fire. Soldiers also faced the constant danger of land mines and booby traps. "We required this kind of instant hair-trigger alertness," said marine Philip Caputo. "You simply trusted absolutely no one. I mean, from a 5-year-old kid to a 75-year-old woman."

While American troops were often able to win individual battles, they were rarely able to control the territory they had won for long. "You were just constantly walking out over the same ground," Caputo explained. "The enemy you were supposed to be defeating statistically kept coming back for more."

READING CHECK Comparing and Contrasting

How was Vietnam different from previous wars for U.S. soldiers?

Turning Points in Vietnam

By the end of 1967, U.S. military leaders argued that they were nearing victory in Vietnam. General Westmoreland said that he saw "a light at the end of the tunnel." But events in 1968 weakened the American public's confidence in this claim.

The Tet Offensive

On January 30, 1968, the Vietnamese celebrated their New Year, called Tet. In previous years, a cease-fire had halted fighting on



this holiday. In 1968, however, Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces launched the **Tet Offensive**—surprise attacks all over South Vietnam, including an attack on the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, South Vietnam's capital.

South Vietnamese and U.S. forces successfully fought off the enemy strikes. Still, the massive size of the Tet Offensive shocked Americans. They had been told that the war would soon be over. Now they saw that the enemy was still strong and determined. Many began to wonder if government officials were being honest about the war. One poll taken after the Tet Offensive showed that only 33 percent of Americans believed that the United States was winning the war in Vietnam. About 49 percent said that the United States should never have become involved in the war.

In February 1968 Westmoreland asked for some 200,000 more troops. Many Americans questioned the wisdom of further escalation in Vietnam. President Johnson denied the general's request.

Hawks and Doves

Television reports had an important impact on public opinion about the war. Americans could watch action from the battlefield and see real images of the war's brutality on nightly news broadcasts. Many were dismayed by what they saw.

Gradually, some Americans who had been supporters of the Vietnam War began to call for an end to U.S. involvement. Opponents of the war were called doves—named after the birds that symbolize peace. Many doves believed that the war was draining money that should be spent on social programs at home. Supporters of the war were called hawks. Hawks called for increased military spending, based on the belief that winning the Cold War took priority over domestic programs.

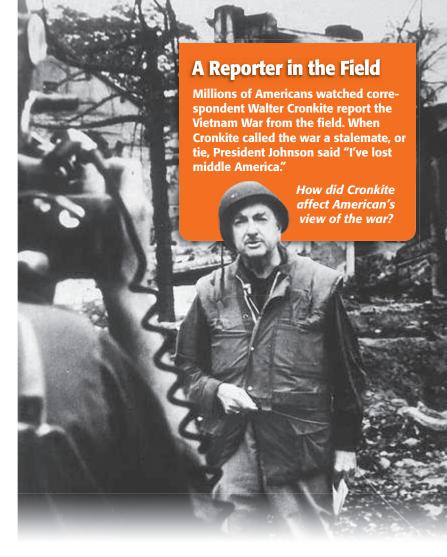
The bitter divisions between hawks and doves deepened as the Vietnam War continued. On March 16, 1968, a company of U.S. soldiers under the command of

Lieutenant William Calley entered the South Vietnamese village of My Lai. Calley and his men expected to find Vietcong forces in My Lai. Their search-and-destroy mission turned into a massacre when American soldiers opened fire, killing about 500 unarmed villagers, including women and children.

At first, U.S. military officials tried to cover up news of the massacre. But former soldiers eventually made details of the events public. Lieutenant Calley was tried by the military and convicted of murder. As with the Tet Offensive, the My Lai massacre caused many Americans to question U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

READING CHECK Summarizing What events made some Americans oppose the war?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW The Vietnam War escalated steadily under President Johnson. In the next section, you will learn about the final years of the war.



Section 2 Assessment

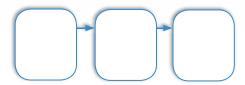
Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Recall What events led Johnson to ask Congress for authority to take military action in Vietnam?
 - **b. Explain** Why was the **Ho Chi Minh Trail** the target of U.S. air strikes?
 - c. Predict What problems might arise from giving a president powers such as those defined in the **Tonkin Gulf Resolution?**
- 2. a. Define What was escalation?
 - **b.** Contrast How did strategies and tactics of U.S. troops differ from those of the NVA and Vietcong?
- 3. a. Describe What were the goals of the doves and the **hawks** during the Vietnam War?
 - **b. Analyze** How did television influence public opinion during the Vietnam War?
 - c. Elaborate Why was the Tet Offensive such a surprise to U.S. forces?



Critical Thinking

4. Sequencing Review your notes on events that led to increased U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to put these events in the correct order.



Focus on Writing

5. Comparing Points of View Take notes on different people's points of view on the war. What different points of view should you present in your newscast to give a complete picture of the war in Vietnam? What kinds of people might you want to interview?

History and **Geography**

The I GCC The I

The Vietcong used the tunnel meeting rooms to plan attacks on U.S. soldiers.

Besides knowing the geography and terrain much better than U.S. forces, the Vietcong had the advantage of an underground system of tunnels. One large system of tunnels was installed some 47 miles north of Saigon in the Cu Chi district of South Vietnam. The picture on these pages is a re-created representation of these tunnels. The tunnels provided a place from which to fight that the Americans could not attack. A tunnel complex included special rooms in which to sleep, eat, plan, store weapons and supplies, and tend wounded soldiers.

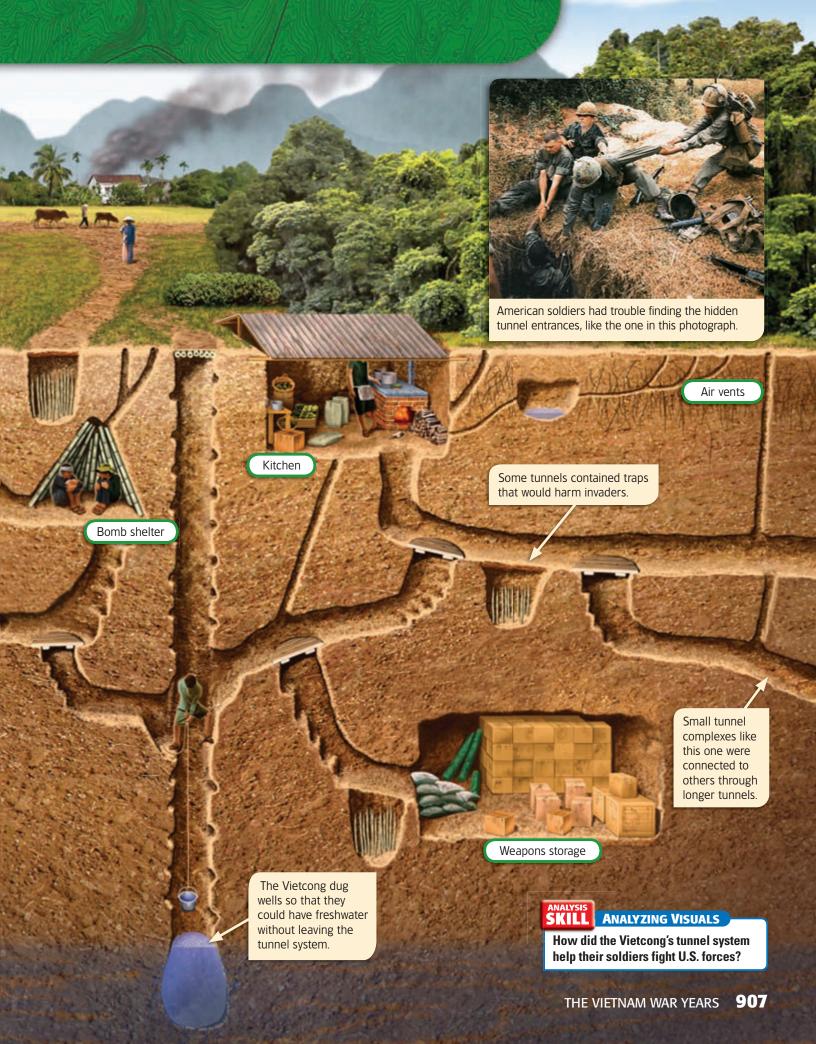
Firing post

Dormitory

Special doors were installed that could withstand bomb blasts and poisonous gases.

Hospital

Generators powered by bicycles provided electricity where needed.



SECTION 3

What You Will Learn...

Main Ideas

- Opinions about the Vietnam War divided American society in the 1960s.
- 2. The war under Nixon expanded from Vietnam to Laos and Cambodia.
- 3. The Vietnam War ended in 1973, but it had lasting effects on Vietnam and the United States.

The Big Idea

Growing antiwar feelings in the United States helped convince the government to end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.

Key Terms and People

Students for a Democratic Society, p. 908 hippies, p. 909 Richard M. Nixon, p. 910 Henry Kissinger, p. 910 Vietnamization, p. 910 Twenty-sixth Amendment, p. 911 War Powers Act, p. 913 Vietnam Veterans Memorial, p. 913



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the causes of the end of the Vietnam War.

The End of the War

If YOU were there...

You are a high school student in 1969. You follow events in Vietnam very closely and often talk about the war with your friends. Some of your friends are active in the antiwar movement, but you also have friends who support the war. You think each group makes good points, but you are having a hard time deciding which position you support.

Would you join the antiwar protests?
Why or why not?

BUILDING BACKGROUND Should the United States continue fighting in Vietnam? The debate over this question caused deep divisions in American society in the late 1960s. Antiwar demonstrators marched in cities and on college campuses. Others demonstrated in support of the war.

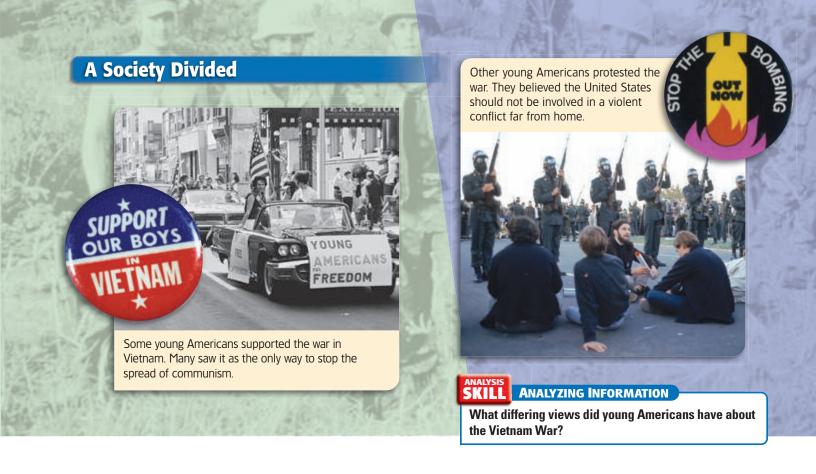
Society in the 1960s

As the Vietnam War continued, growing numbers of Americans began to criticize the war. "The peaceniks [war protesters] these days are legion [many]," said Charlotte Keyes, who helped organize a group called Women Strike for Peace. "They are ninety-years-old and fifteen, heads of families and housewives with babies, students, [and] young people."

Antiwar Protests

College students often took the lead in organizing antiwar protests. One of the most active protest groups was **Students for a Democratic Society** (SDS). Members of SDS protested the draft, as well as companies that made weapons used in Vietnam.

By the end of 1968, students had held antiwar demonstrations on nearly 75 percent of college campuses. Some young men protested by publicly burning their draft cards. Others avoided military service by moving to Canada. Many Americans, however, criticized the antiwar movement as anti-American. In 1970, for example, thousands of construction workers marched in New York City, shouting, "All the way with the U.S.A."



For some Americans, the antiwar movement was part of a rejection of traditional values and government authority. Some young people chose to "drop out" of mainstream society and built a counterculture—a culture with its own values and ways of behaving. Members of this counterculture, called hippies, emphasized individual freedom, nonviolence, and communal sharing. Hippies expressed their rejection of traditional society by growing their hair long and wearing unusual clothes. The views of hippies and war protesters upset many Americans. Commentators described a "generation gap," or division between older and younger Americans. "I know of no time in our history when the gap between the generations has been wider," said one university professor.

The Election of 1968

News of the Tet Offensive led to a sharp drop in the popularity of President Johnson. In early 1968 the percentage of Americans who approved of Johnson's performance as president fell from 48 to 36. The number of Americans who approved of the way Johnson was handling the war was even lower. As the 1968 presidential election approached, Johnson was even losing support within his own Democratic Party. On March 31 he went on live television and told Americans: "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as president."

Several other candidates campaigned for the Democratic nomination. Johnson backed his vice president, Hubert Humphrey. Eugene McCarthy, a senator from Minnesota, ran as an outspoken antiwar candidate. Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York argued that the United States should do everything possible to negotiate a quick and peaceful end to the war.

Kennedy won the California primary on June 5, 1968—an important step before the upcoming Democratic National Convention in Chicago. After giving his victory speech that night, he was assassinated by a man named Sirhan Sirhan.

The Democrats were badly divided going into their party's convention in Chicago.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

values ideas that people hold dear and try to live by Vice President Humphrey seemed certain to win the nomination. But many delegates disliked his close ties with President Johnson and the Vietnam War. Angry debates inside the convention hall were matched by antiwar protests on the streets. When police officers moved in to stop the demonstrations, a riot broke out. Television cameras broadcast live images of the violent chaos in Chicago. More than 100 police and 100 demonstrators were injured.

Humphrey won the Democratic nomination for president, but the events in Chicago damaged his chances of victory. Republican nominee **Richard M. Nixon** promised to restore order to American society and bring "peace with honor" to Vietnam. Nixon won the election, receiving 301 electoral votes to Humphrey's 191. Southern voters gave 46 electoral votes to George Wallace, a segregationist candidate of the American Independent Party.

READING CHECK Summarizing Who were the candidates in the 1968 election? What was the outcome of the election?

The War under Nixon

President Nixon wanted to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam without creating the appearance of an American defeat. "I will not be the first president of the United States to lose a war," he told his fellow Republicans. With his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, Nixon created a plan to pull U.S. troops from Vietnam and have the South Vietnamese Army take over all the fighting. This strategy was called Vietnamization.

Nixon began slowly withdrawing American troops from Vietnam. Without the knowledge of Congress or the American public, however, he approved bombing raids on Cambodia and Laos. The goal of these raids was to disrupt Vietcong supply lines. On April 30, 1970, Nixon announced that he had sent U.S. troops into Cambodia to attack Communist bases. "If, when the chips are down," he said, "the United States of America acts like a pitiful helpless giant, the forces of totalitarian anarchy will threaten free nations." Many Americans were furious. Rather than seeking peace, Nixon seemed to be expanding the war.

LINKING TO TODAY

The United States and Vietnam Today

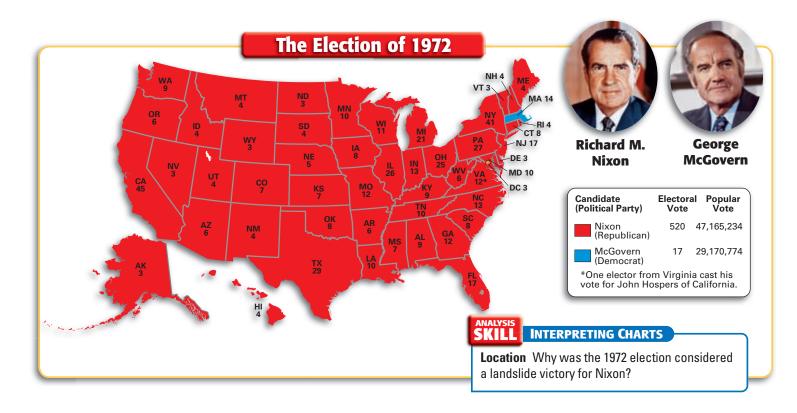
Since the end of the Vietnam War, relations between the United States and Vietnam have slowly improved. In 1994 the United States lifted its long-standing trade embargo against Vietnam. In 1995 the former enemies officially established diplomatic relations. It became more common for American veterans and tourists to visit Vietnam.

According to a 2007 U.S. Census survey, more than a million Vietnamese immigrants now live in the United States. Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian immigrants to the United States have made significant contributions to the communities they join, many of which are along the West and Gulf coasts.



SKILLS ANALYZING INFORMATION

How did the relationship between Vietnam and the United States change from the end of the war to today?



Student protests erupted on hundreds of college campuses. On May 4, at Kent State University in Ohio, the National Guard was called in to break up a demonstration. When the students refused to leave, guard troops used tear gas. Some students began throwing rocks at the National Guard. Several guard troops then opened fire into the crowd. Four students were killed. Horrified by the killings, antiwar activists expanded their protests all over the nation.

Antiwar feelings grew in June 1971 when the *New York Times* published secret government documents known as the Pentagon Papers. These documents revealed that U.S. officials had been lying to the American public about the progress of the war for years.

Public opinion was hardening against the war as the 1972 presidential race began. Democratic candidate George McGovern was an outspoken opponent of the war who promised voters an immediate U.S. troop withdrawal from Vietnam. "The doors of government will be opened, and that brutal war will be closed," he said.

McGovern hoped to appeal to young voters, many of whom would be voting for

the first time. The **Twenty-sixth Amendment**, which was ratified in 1971, lowered the federal voting age from 21 to 18. McGovern did win a majority of these younger voters in 1972, but a majority of voters over 21 from both parties supported Nixon. Many of these voters feared that a McGovern victory would lead to greater disorder and protests. Nixon won by a landslide, receiving 520 electoral votes to McGovern's 17.

READING CHECK Drawing Conclusions Why did McGovern lose in a landslide?

The Vietnam War Ends

While Nixon was running for re-election in 1972, Henry Kissinger continued peace negotiations with the North Vietnamese. On January 27, 1973, the United States signed a cease-fire called the Paris Peace Accords with representatives of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the Vietcong. The United States agreed to withdraw all its troops from Vietnam. North Vietnam agreed to return all American prisoners of war. Despite the peace agreement, fighting broke out between North and South Vietnam

FOCUS ON READING

What is a purpose you can set for reading this section?

in 1974. The United States refused to send troops back to South Vietnam.

In 1975 North Vietnam invaded the South. Thousands of panic-stricken American Embassy workers and South Vietnamese scrambled to evacuate Saigon. "The city was in flames," remembered one American worker. "And the Communists had the city surrounded with missiles . . . We realized that we were down to hours if not minutes." Helicopters lifted many people to ships waiting off the coast.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Today the U.S. government is more prepared to meet the needs of veterans with post-traumatic stress disorder. It offers counseling and information to vets and their families on how to deal with symptoms of trauma.

The Impact in Southeast Asia

The war ended when North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon in April 1975. Communist leaders created the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, uniting the former countries of North and South Vietnam. Hanoi became the capital, and Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.

Life remained extremely difficult in Vietnam. Cities, villages, forests, and farms had been destroyed. Some 250,000 South Vietnamese soldiers died in the war. About

1 million North Vietnamese and Vietcong soldiers were killed. The number of civilians killed is estimated at 2 million. Hundreds of thousands of former soldiers, officials, and other professionals were forced to live in "re-education camps." Another 1.5 million Vietnamese fled the country—about half of them settling in the United States.

Communist dictators took over Laos and Cambodia in 1975. The Cambodian Communist army, the Khmer Rouge, killed about 1.5 million people in a massive campaign to destroy supposed enemies of communism.

The Impact at Home

The Vietnam War carried heavy costs for the United States as well. Some 58,000 Americans were killed, and more than 300,000 were wounded.

Returning American soldiers were not always welcomed home as heroes as other war veterans had been. Some were insulted by antiwar protesters. As veterans struggled



BIOGRAPHY

Maya Ying Lin

Ohio-born Maya Lin was a 21year-old architecture student when she designed the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Her design was chosen from more than

1,400 proposed memorial designs. The memorial is a V-shaped black granite wall that lists the names of more than 58,000 dead and missing Americans. Explaining the design, Lin said, "It was important to me to be extremely honest; not be concerned with the politics of war, but the results. I wanted to bring the visitor a concrete realization of the great loss." The memorial is now one of the most-visited spots in Washington, D.C. Many visitors leave letters, flowers, or other objects at the memorial to honor loved ones.

Drawing Conclusions How does Lin's design achieve the goal she describes?



to readjust to civilian life, many suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder. This condition includes symptoms such as nightmares and flashbacks to traumatic experiences.

Another effect of the war was that Americans had less trust in government officials, including the president. This led to passage in 1973 of the War Powers Act, which requires the president to get congressional approval before committing U.S. troops to an armed struggle.

Americans took a step toward healing the wounds of the war with the 1982 dedication of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Designed by Maya Ying Lin, the black granite memorial lists the names of dead or missing American soldiers.

READING CHECK Summarizing What were the long-term effects of the Vietnam War?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW American society was deeply divided by the Vietnam War. In the next chapter, you will read about how American life changed in the 1970s and 1980s.

Causes and Effects of the Vietnam War



Long-Term Causes

- Fear of Communist expansion
- U.S. support of South Vietnam's government

Immediate Causes

- Gulf of Tonkin incident
- · Communist attacks against South Vietnam



Effects

- Many thousands of Americans and millions of Vietnamese killed and injured
- Vietnam united as a Communist nation
- Political divisions created in the United States
- Increased Vietnamese immigration to the **United States**

Section 3 Assessment

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Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Identify What was Students for a Democratic **Society?**
 - **b. Elaborate** How did **hippies** express their disapproval of traditional culture?
 - c. Evaluate How did the Republicans win the presidential election of 1968?
- 2. a. Explain What was Vietnamization?
 - **b. Summarize** Why did the Pentagon Papers fuel antiwar feelings?
 - c. Elaborate How did the Twenty-sixth **Amendment** affect the 1972 presidential election?
- **3. a. Recall** How did the Vietnam War end?
 - **b. Describe** What was the experience of veterans returning home from Vietnam?
 - c. Analyze Do you think U.S. leaders made the right decision in signing the Paris Peace Accords? Why or why not?

Critical Thinking

4. Identifying Effects Review your notes on the causes of the end of the Vietnam War. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list the effects of the end of the war.



Focus on Writing

5. Taking Notes on the Effects of the War Take notes on the effects of the Vietnam War. How did it affect American politics? How did it affect American culture? How did it affect the American and Vietnamese people? How will you explain these effects to television viewers?

Social Studies Skills

Analysis

Critical Thinking

Civic Participation

Study



Using Primary Sources: Oral Histories

Define the Skill

An important part of history is understanding the lives and experiences of people in the past. Oral histories and personal memoirs are primary sources that help historians understand how people in the past acted and felt.

Oral histories are interviews in which people talk about events they participated in or witnessed. In personal memoirs, people write about their memories of such events. Both oral histories and personal memoirs are different from other kinds of primary sources because they can be written long after an event takes place. However, they both include descriptions of firsthand experiences.

Learn the Skill

Follow these guidelines to analyze oral histories and personal memoirs.

- 1 Identify the situation that the oral history or memoir describes.
- 2 Find the emotions or events that stand out in the description.
- 3 Make a generalization about how the individual's experience helps us understand the time period or event. Do you think other people might have had similar experiences?

In the following quotation, Diana Dwan Poole describes her experience serving in the Army Nurse Corps in Vietnam.

One of my rules was that nurses were not allowed to cry. The wounded and dying men in our care need our strength, I told them. We couldn't indulge in the luxury of our own feelings ... I was always straight with the soldiers. I would never say, 'Oh, you're going to be just fine,' if they were on their way out. I didn't lie."

Poole was a nurse in Vietnam. In this quotation, she describes working with other nurses and with wounded and dying patients. Her strength in the face of sadness and her honesty stand out.

Other nurses might have had experiences similar to Poole's. The nurses' situation—treating the wounded and the dying—also suggests the dangers soldiers faced.

Practice the Skill

Harold Bryant was a combat engineer in Vietnam. Read the primary source quotation from Bryant below.

- Today I'm constantly thinking about the war. I walk down streets different. I look at places where individuals could hide. Maybe assault me or rob me or just harass me. I hear things that other people can't hear. My wife, she had a habit at one time of buying cheap watches and leaving them on top of the dresser. I could hear it ticking, so she would put it in a drawer. I could still hear it ticking.
- **1.** What situation does Bryant describe?
- **2.** Based on this description, how do you think Bryant felt at the time?
- **3.** How can Bryant's experience help us better understand soldiers serving in Vietnam?

CHAPTER

Chapter Review

▶ video series

Review the video to answer the closing question:

How was the passing of the War Powers Act a reaction to the Vietnam War?

Visual Summary

Use the visual summary below to help you review the main ideas of the chapter.



The spread of communism encouraged the United States to escalate the Vietnam War.

The Vietcong's superior knowledge of the geography helped them win the war.

Richard Nixon won the 1968 presidential election and pulled troops out of Vietnam.

Reviewing Vocabulary, Terms, and People

Identify the descriptions below with the correct term or person from the chapter.

- **1.** The Cuban rebel who overthrew an unpopular dictator and established a Communist government
- **2.** A barrier made of concrete and barbed wire that separated East Berlin and West Berlin
- **3.** The commander of U.S. ground forces in Vietnam who developed the strategy of searchand-destroy missions
- **4.** Supporters of the Vietnam War who believed winning the Cold War took priority over domestic reform
- **5.** The Republican nominee who won the 1968 election for president of the United States
- **6.** The amendment that lowered the voting age from 21 to 18

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (Pages 894–900)

- **7. a. Recall** What is the Peace Corps?
 - **b. Sequence** Describe the sequence of events that led to American astronauts landing on the moon in 1969.
 - **c. Evaluate** How do you think the Cuban missile crisis would have ended had the United States pursued air strikes or an invasion of Cuba?

SECTION 2 (*Pages 901–905*)

- **8. a. Define** What is guerrilla warfare?
 - **b. Describe** How did the American military try to disrupt the Ho Chi Minh Trail?
 - **c. Predict** Do you think Americans' opinions about the war would have been different had there been no television reporting? Explain your answer.

SECTION 3 (Pages 908–913)

- **9. a. Identify** What was the War Powers Act?
 - **b. Explain** What was Henry Kissinger's role in the Vietnam War?
 - **c. Summarize** What long-term effects did the Vietnam War have on the United States?

Reviewing Themes

- **10. Geography** How did the geography of Vietnam help the Vietcong?
- **11. Geography** How did the geography of Vietnam affect American forces?

Reading Skills

Setting a Purpose *Use the Reading Skills taught in* this chapter to answer the question about the reading selection below.

Johnson Commits to Victory

Lyndon B. Johnson was determined to prevent Communists from taking over in South Vietnam. "We have the resources and the will to follow this course as long as it may take," Johnson said . . .

The Tonkin Gulf Resolution

In the summer of 1964, a naval skirmish led to a rapid expansion of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. On August 2, 1964, the USS Maddox reportedly exchanged gunfire with North Vietnamese torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin, off the North Vietnamese coast . . . (p. 901)

- **12.** Which of the following is an example of a purpose you could set for the passage above?
 - a. Find out why the Vietnam War was fought.
 - **b.** Find out Johnson's view of the Vietnam War.
 - **c.** Find out when the Vietnam War ended.
 - **d.** Find out what the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is.

Social Studies Skills



Using Primary Sources: Oral Histories *Read this* passage from marine officer Philip Caputo. Then use the Social Studies Skills taught in this chapter to answer the question below.

"You simply trusted absolutely no one. I mean, from a 5-year-old kid to a 75-year-old woman." (p. 903)

13. How do you think Caputo felt about not being able to trust anyone? Do you think he felt safe? Why or why not?

Using the Internet



14. Activity: Mapping the Terrain Geography played a very important role in the Vietnam War. American soldiers struggled to fight against enemy soldiers who knew the land and were able to use that knowledge to their advantage. Through your online textbook, find information about the geography of Southeast Asia. Then create a map showing the area's various geographic features. Include notes on the map that describe some of the geographical challenges American soldiers faced.

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FOCUS ON WRITING

15. Presenting Your Newscast Review your notes and prepare your newscast. You will have about five minutes for your newscast. Include several segments on different topics from the chapter. One could be an interview with a friend in the role of a soldier back from Vietnam, a government official, or an antiwar protester. You can also use pictures to illustrate the events you are reporting. Write your script and practice reading it before your presentation.

Standardized Test Practice

DIRECTIONS: Read each question and write the letter of the best response.

The Berlin Wall separated

- A Eastern Europe and Western Europe.
- **B** East Berlin and West Berlin.
- **C** West Germany and the Soviet Union.
- **D** East Germany and the Soviet Union.

2 Ho Chi Minh was the leader of

- A Laos.
- **B** Cambodia.
- C North Vietnam
- D South Vietnam.

3 President Johnson's policy of escalation called for

- **A** a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.
- **B** an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.
- **C** a rapid buildup of U.S. forces in Vietnam.
- **D** expanding the war into Laos and Cambodia.

During the war, the Vietcong and NVA fought using what tactics?

- A quick, surprise assaults
- **B** air strikes
- C search-and-destroy missions
- **D** blockades

S Who were the Democratic and Republican candidates in the 1972 election?

- A Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon
- **B** Eugene McCarthy and John McCain
- C Robert F. Kennedy and Henry Kissinger
- **D** George McGovern and Richard M. Nixon

6 The Pentagon Papers revealed that

- **A** the Bay of Pigs invasion was a disaster.
- **B** U.S. officials had been lying about the progress of the war.
- C the USS Maddox was attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats.
- **D** the 1968 election was won by Richard Nixon.

What was the main purpose of the War **Powers Act?**

- A It allowed President Kennedy to blockade Cuba.
- **B** It allowed President Johnson to expand the U.S. role in Vietnam.
- C It repealed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.
- **D** It limited the right of any president to commit troops to an armed struggle.

8 Read the following quote from Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and use it to answer the question below.

On Tuesday morning, October 16, 1962, shortly after 9:00, President Kennedy called and asked me to come to the White House. He said only that we were facing great trouble. Shortly afterward, in his office, he told me that a U-2 had just finished a photographic mission and that the Intelligence Community had become convinced that Russia was placing missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba."

> —Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days:* A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis

Document-Based Ouestion What clues can you read that tell you how frightening the **Cuban missile crisis was for Americans?**



MULTIMEDIA CONNECTIONS

CTOBER FURY: THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS



The Cuban missile crisis was perhaps the most dangerous event of the Cold War period. For several days in October 1962, the United States and the Soviet Union stood on the brink of nuclear war. The crisis began when the Soviet Union sent weapons, including nuclear missiles, to Cuba. It deepened when the United States blockaded Cuba to prevent the Soviets from delivering more

missiles. With Soviet ships sailing toward the blockade, a confrontation seemed inevitable. However, at the last moment, the Soviet ships turned back and war was averted.







Getting Ready for War

Watch the video to see how the missiles in Cuba created tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.



Crisis Averted?

Watch the video to see how the Cuban missile crisis brought the United States and the Soviet Union to the brink of nuclear war.



Lessons Learned

Watch the video to learn about the impact of the Cuban missile crisis.



Assignment

Write a news article about the anniversary of either (1) the Nuremberg trials, (2) the Supreme Court's *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision, or (3) the opening of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Brainstorming Brainstorm ways to interest people in the topic of your article. Take a few minutes to review what you know about the topic. Then write down as many questions, interesting points, and examples as you can.

A News Article

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You have probably read many news articles in newspapers and magazines. News articles keep people informed about events in their communities, the nation, and the world. Sometimes they also remind people about important events from the past.

1. Prewrite

Considering Purpose and Audience

Remember that you are writing for people who have a choice about what to read. Your story must keep readers interested. How will you relate the topic of your story to their lives or emotions? At the same time, your story should give people information they need. In order to share information effectively, you must choose the most important details to include in your article.

Writing a Compelling Article

Make your article vivid and compelling by including

- **A short headline** showing what the article is about.
- **A** "**hook**"—an interesting fact or detail—to get the reader's attention at the beginning of the article.
- **Clear descriptions** of people and events.
- **■** Specific examples and quotations.
- **Reasons** why the event is important.

2. Write

You can use this framework to help you write the first draft of your article.

A Writer's Framework

Introduction

- Grab your reader's attention with a strong headline.
- Begin with a striking detail or quotation for a hook.
- Introduce the event and its importance to people today.

Body

- Describe what happened, who was involved, and where, when, and why the event took place.
- Explain the significance of the event.
- Use details to connect the event to readers' lives or emotions.

Conclusion

- Finish any incomplete thoughts.
- End with a quotation or example that sums up the main point of the article.

3. Evaluate and Revise

Evaluating

Use these questions to discover ways to improve your news article.

Evaluation Questions for a News Article

- Do you begin with a strong headline and hook?
- Do you introduce the event and its importance to people today?
- Do you describe what happened, who was involved, and where, when, and why the event took place?
- Do you explain the significance of the event?
- Do you use details to connect the event to readers' lives or emotions?
- Do you end with a quotation or example that sums up the main point of the article?

Vivid Writing Make sentences more interesting by using vivid words and images. Use strong words that help readers create a mental picture.

Revising

Newspapers and magazines often have limited space. News articles must express a sharply focused idea briefly. To make sure that your article does this, read each sentence carefully. Each sentence should

- Be clear and to-the-point.
- Contain no unnecessary words or phrases.
- Use only precise words. Eliminate words such as very unless they add meaning to the sentence.

4. Proofread and Publish

Proofreading

Read your essay aloud to catch any mistakes in your spelling or grammar. If something looks or sounds wrong, mark it. Come back to it later to correct the mistake. This is also a good strategy for identifying and fixing awkward sentences.

Publishing

Exchange articles with a classmate who wrote about a different topic. Did you learn from your classmate's article? Did you find it interesting? Put together a class newspaper that includes all the articles and headlines. Add pictures and display the newspaper on a bulletin board.

5. Practice and Apply

Use the steps and strategies in this workshop to write your news article.