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# 39

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## The Stormy Sixties, 1960–1968

### PART I: Reviewing the Chapter

#### A. Checklist of Learning Objectives

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

1. describe the high expectations Kennedy's New Frontier aroused and the political obstacles it encountered.
2. analyze the theory and practice of Kennedy's doctrine of "flexible response" in Asia and Latin America.
3. describe Johnson's succession to the presidency in 1963, his electoral landslide over Goldwater in 1964, and his Great Society successes of 1965.
4. discuss the course of the black movement of the 1960s, from civil rights to Black Power.
5. indicate how Johnson led the United States deeper into the Vietnam quagmire.
6. explain how the Vietnam war brought turmoil to American society and eventually drove Johnson and the divided Democrats from power in 1968.
7. describe the cultural rebellions of the 1960s, and indicate their short-term and long-term consequences.

#### B. Glossary

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms.

1. **free world** The noncommunist democracies of the Western world, as opposed to the communist states. "But to the free world the 'Wall of Shame' looked like a gigantic enclosure around a concentration camp." (p. 919)
2. **nuclear proliferation** The spreading of nuclear weapons to nations that have not previously had them. "Despite the perils of nuclear proliferation or Soviet domination, de Gaulle demanded an independent Europe. . . ." (p. 919)
3. **exile** A person who has been banished or driven from her or his country by the authorities. "He had inherited . . . a CIA-backed scheme to topple Fidel Castro from power by invading Cuba with anticommunist exiles." (p. 921)
4. **peaceful coexistence** The principle or policy that communists and noncommunists—specifically, the United States and the Soviet Union—ought to live together without trying to dominate or destroy each other. "Kennedy thus tried to lay the foundations for a realistic policy of peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union." (p. 923)
5. **détente** In international affairs, a period of relaxed agreement in areas of mutual interest. "Here were the modest origins of the policy that later came to be known as 'détente.'" (p. 923)
6. **sit-in** A demonstration in which people occupy a facility for a sustained period to achieve political or economic goals. "Following the wave of sit-ins that surged across the South. . . ." (p. 923)

7. **establishment** The ruling inner circle of a nation and its principal institutions. "Goldwater's forces had . . . rid[den] roughshod over the moderate Republican 'eastern establishment.'" (p. 929)
8. **literacy test** A literacy examination that a person must pass before being allowed to vote. "Ballot-denying devices like the poll tax, literacy tests, and barefaced discrimination still barred black people from the political process." (p. 931)
9. **ghetto** The district of a city where members of a religious or racial minority are forced to live, either by legal restriction or by informal social pressure. (Originally, ghettos were enclosed Jewish districts in Europe.) ". . . a bloody riot exploded in Watts, a black ghetto in Los Angeles." (p. 932)
10. **black separatism** The doctrine that blacks in the United States ought to separate themselves from whites, either in separate institutions or in a separate political territory. ". . . Malcolm X trumpeted black separatism. . . ." (p. 932)
11. **hawk** During the Vietnam War, someone who favored vigorous prosecution or escalation of the conflict. "If the United States were to cut and run from Vietnam, claimed prowar 'hawks,' other nations would doubt America's word. . . ." (p. 935)
12. **dove** During the Vietnam War, someone who opposed the war and favored de-escalation or withdrawal by the United States. "New flocks of antiwar 'doves' were hatching daily." (p. 935)
13. **militant** In politics, someone who pursues political goals in a belligerent way, often using paramilitary means. "Other militants . . . shouted obscenities. . . ." (p. 938)
14. **dissident** Someone who dissents, especially from an established or normative institution or position. ". . . Spiro T. Agnew [was] noted for his tough stands against dissidents and black militants." (p. 939)
15. **coattails** In politics, the ability of a popular candidate at the top of a ticket to transfer some of his or her support to lesser candidates on the same ticket. "Nixon was . . . the first president-elect since 1848 not to bring in on his coattails at least one house of Congress. . . ." (pp. 939-940)

## PART II: Checking Your Progress

### A. True-False

Where the statement is true, mark T. Where it is false, mark F, and correct it in the space immediately below.

- \_\_\_ 1. Kennedy's attempt to control rising steel prices met strong opposition from big business.
- \_\_\_ 2. The Kennedy doctrine of "flexible response" was applied primarily to conflicts with Soviet communism in Europe.
- \_\_\_ 3. The U.S.-supported coup against the corrupt Diem regime brought South Vietnam greater democracy and political stability.
- \_\_\_ 4. Kennedy financed and trained the Cuban rebels involved in the Bay of Pigs invasion but refused to intervene directly with American troops or planes.
- \_\_\_ 5. The Cuban missile crisis ended in a humiliating defeat for Khrushchev and the Soviet Union.
- \_\_\_ 6. Kennedy encouraged the civil rights movement to become more outspoken in its opposition to segregation and discrimination.

- \_\_\_ 7. Johnson's landslide victory came in every part of the country except the traditionally Republican Midwest.
- \_\_\_ 8. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution authorized the president to respond to naval attacks but kept the power to make war in Vietnam firmly in the hands of Congress.
- \_\_\_ 9. Johnson's Great Society programs attempted to balance the federal budget and return power to the states.
- \_\_\_ 10. The nonviolent civil rights movement, led by Martin Luther King, Jr., achieved great victories in integration and voting rights for blacks in 1964 and 1965.
- \_\_\_ 11. The urban riots of the late 1960s demonstrated that the South had not been improved by the civil rights movement.
- \_\_\_ 12. The campaigns of Senators McCarthy and Kennedy forced Johnson to withdraw as a presidential candidate and promoted de-escalation of the Vietnam War.
- \_\_\_ 13. The deep Democratic divisions over Vietnam helped elect Nixon as president in 1968.
- \_\_\_ 14. One major American institution largely unaffected by the cultural upheaval of the 1960s was the Roman Catholic Church.
- \_\_\_ 15. The "sexual revolution" of the 1960s included the introduction of the birth control pill and the increasing visibility of gays and lesbians.

### B. Multiple Choice

Select the best answer and write the proper letter in the space provided.

- \_\_\_ 1. President Kennedy's proposals for increased educational aid and medical assistance
  - a. succeeded because of his skill in legislative bargaining.
  - b. were traded away in exchange for passage of the bill establishing the Peace Corps.
  - c. were stalled by strong opposition in Congress.
  - d. were strongly opposed by business interests.
- \_\_\_ 2. The industry that engaged in a bitter conflict with President Kennedy over price increases was
  - a. the aircraft industry.
  - b. the meat industry.
  - c. the steel industry.
  - d. the oil industry.
- \_\_\_ 3. The fundamental military doctrine of the Kennedy administration involved
  - a. "flexible response" to "brushfire wars" in the Third World.
  - b. a massive nuclear retaliation against communist advances.
  - c. a heavy buildup of conventional armed forces in Western Europe.
  - d. reliance on rapid-response jet and helicopter air power.

- \_\_\_ 4. The first major foreign-policy disaster of the Kennedy administration came when
  - a. Middle East governments sharply raised the price of imported oil.
  - b. American-backed Cuban rebels were defeated at the Bay of Pigs.
  - c. Khrushchev threatened American interests in the Cuban missile crisis.
  - d. American forces suffered severe battlefield losses in Vietnam.
  
- \_\_\_ 5. The Cuban missile crisis ended when
  - a. the American-backed Cuban invaders were defeated at the Bay of Pigs.
  - b. the United States agreed to allow Soviet missiles in Cuba as long as they were not armed with nuclear weapons.
  - c. the Soviets agreed to pull all missiles out of Cuba and the United States agreed not to invade Cuba.
  - d. The United States and the Soviet Union agreed that Cuba should become neutral in the Cold War.
  
- \_\_\_ 6. The Kennedy administration was pushed into a stronger stand on civil rights by
  - a. the civil rights movement led by the Freedom Riders and Martin Luther King, Jr.
  - b. the political advantages of backing civil rights.
  - c. the pressure from foreign governments and the United Nations.
  - d. the threat of violence in northern cities.
  
- \_\_\_ 7. Lyndon Johnson won an overwhelming landslide victory in the 1964 election partly because
  - a. he repudiated many of the policies of the unpopular Kennedy administration.
  - b. he promised to take a tough stand in opposing communist aggression in Vietnam.
  - c. Republican candidate Senator Barry Goldwater was seen by many Americans as a "trigger-happy" extremist.
  - d. Johnson had achieved considerable personal popularity with the electorate.
  
- \_\_\_ 8. President Johnson was more successful in pushing economic and civil rights measures through Congress than President Kennedy because
  - a. he was better at explaining the purposes of the laws in his speeches.
  - b. the Democrats gained overwhelming control of Congress in the landslide of 1964.
  - c. Republicans were more willing to cooperate with Johnson than with Kennedy.
  - d. Johnson was better able to swing southern Democrats behind his proposals.
  
- \_\_\_ 9. The Civil Rights Act of 1965 was designed to guarantee
  - a. desegregation in interstate transportation.
  - b. job opportunities for African-Americans.
  - c. desegregation of high schools and colleges.
  - d. voting rights for African-Americans.
  
- \_\_\_ 10. Most of the racial riots of the 1960s occurred in
  - a. northern inner-city areas.
  - b. southern inner-city areas.
  - c. white neighborhoods where black families attempted to move in.
  - d. college campuses.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Escalation of the aerial bombardment in Vietnam
- bolstered the stability of the South Vietnamese government.
  - forced the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese to turn to conventional warfare.
  - strengthened the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese will to resist.
  - enabled the United States to limit the use of ground forces in Vietnam.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Opposition to the Vietnam War in Congress was centered in
- the House Foreign Affairs Committee.
  - the Senate Armed Services Committee.
  - the Republican leadership of the House and Senate.
  - the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. The antiwar presidential candidates whose political showing forced Johnson to withdraw from the race were
- Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan.
  - Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy.
  - J. William Fulbright and George McGovern.
  - George Wallace and Curtis LeMay.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. One dominant theme of the 1960s "youth culture" that had deep roots in American history was
- conflict between the generations.
  - distrust and hostility toward authority.
  - the widespread use of mind-altering drugs.
  - a positive view of sexual experimentation.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. The cultural upheavals of the 1960s could largely be attributed to the "three P's" of
- pot, promiscuity, and publicity.
  - presidential failure, political rebellion, and personal authenticity.
  - poverty, protest, and the "pill."
  - population bulge, protest against racism, and prosperity.

### C. Identification

Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Kennedy administration program that sent youthful American volunteers to work in underdeveloped countries
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. High barrier between East and West erected during the 1961 Berlin crisis
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Elite antiguerrilla military units expanded by Kennedy as part of his doctrine of "flexible response"
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. An attempt to provide American aid for democratic reform in Latin America that met with much disappointment and frustration
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Site where anti-Castro guerrilla forces failed in their U.S.-sponsored invasion
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Tense confrontation between Kennedy and Khrushchev that nearly led to nuclear war in October 1962
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. New civil rights technique developed in the 1960s to desegregate lunch counters and other public facilities in the South

- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. LBJ's broad program of welfare legislation and social reform that swept through Congress in 1965
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. The 1964 congressional action that became a "blank check" for the Vietnam War
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Law, spurred by Martin Luther King, Jr.'s march from Selma to Montgomery, that guaranteed rights originally given blacks under the Fifteenth Amendment
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Racial slogan that signaled a growing challenge to King's non-violent civil rights movement by militant younger blacks
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. The Vietnamese New Year celebration, during which the communists launched a heavy offensive against the United States in 1968
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Student activist protest at the University of California that criticized corporate interests and impersonal university education
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Student organization that moved from nonviolent protest to underground terrorism within a few years
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Site of an off-duty police raid in 1969 that spurred gay and lesbian activism

#### D. Matching People, Places, and Events

Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.

- |                                  |                                                                                                                              |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| _____ 1. John F. Kennedy         | A. First black student admitted to the University of Mississippi, shot during a civil rights march in 1966                   |
| _____ 2. Robert S. McNamara      | B. Cabinet officer who promoted "flexible response" but came to doubt the wisdom of the Vietnam War he had presided over     |
| _____ 3. Nikita Khrushchev       | C. New York senator whose antiwar campaign for the presidency was ended by an assassin's bullet in June 1968                 |
| _____ 4. Martin Luther King, Jr. | D. Former vice president who staged a remarkable political comeback to win presidential election in 1968                     |
| _____ 5. Lyndon B. Johnson       | E. Charismatic Black Muslim leader who promoted separatism in the early 1960s                                                |
| _____ 6. Barry M. Goldwater      | F. Minnesota senator whose antiwar "Children's Crusade" helped force Johnson to alter his Vietnam policies                   |
| _____ 7. James Meredith          | G. Early student activist and leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California                             |
| _____ 8. Malcolm X               | H. Nonviolent black leader whose advocacy of peaceful change came under attack from militants after 1965                     |
| _____ 9. Mario Savio             | I. Vice president whose loyalty to LBJ's Vietnam policies sent him down to defeat in the 1968 presidential election          |
| _____ 10. Eugene J. McCarthy     | J. Charismatic president whose brief administration experienced domestic stalemate and foreign confrontations with communism |
| _____ 11. Robert F. Kennedy      | K. Third-party candidate whose conservative, hawkish 1968 campaign won 9 million votes and carried five states               |
| _____ 12. Richard M. Nixon       | L. Aggressive Soviet leader whose failed gamble of putting missiles in Cuba cost him his job                                 |
| _____ 13. George C. Wallace      | M. Controversial Indiana University "sexologist" who documented Americans' changing sexual behavior                          |
| _____ 14. Hubert Humphrey        | N. Conservative Republican whose crushing defeat opened the way for the liberal Great Society programs                       |
| _____ 15. Alfred Kinsey          |                                                                                                                              |

- O. Brilliant legislative operator whose domestic achievements in social welfare and civil rights fell under the shadow of his Vietnam disaster

### E. Putting Things in Order

Put the following events in correct order by numbering them from 1 to 5.

- \_\_\_ A southern Texas populist replaces a Harvard-educated Irish-American in the White House.
- \_\_\_ An American-sponsored anticommunist invasion of Cuba fails.
- \_\_\_ Kennedy successfully risks nuclear confrontation to thwart Khrushchev's placement of Russian missiles in Cuba.
- \_\_\_ A candidate running on a "peace" platform obtains a congressional "blank check" for subsequent expanded military actions against the Communist Vietnamese.
- \_\_\_ Communist military assaults, political divisions between hawks and doves, and assassinations of national leaders form the backdrop for a turbulent election year.

### F. Matching Cause and Effect

Match the historical cause in the left column with the proper effect in the right column by writing the correct letter on the blank line.

Cause	Effect
___ 1. Kennedy's unhappiness with the corrupt Diem regime	A. Pushed Johnson into withdrawing as a presidential candidate in 1968
___ 2. Khrushchev's placement of missiles in Cuba	B. Brought ever-rising American casualties and a strengthened will to resist on the part of the Communist Vietnamese
___ 3. Johnson's landslide victory over Goldwater in 1964	C. Led to a U.S.-encouraged coup and greater political instability in South Vietnam
___ 4. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution	D. Helped push through historic civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965
___ 5. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s civil rights marches	E. Brought along huge Democratic congressional majorities that passed a fistful of Great Society laws
___ 6. Angry discontent in northern black ghettos	F. Helped Nixon win a minority victory over his divided opposition
___ 7. American escalation of the Vietnam War	G. Became the questionable legal basis for all of Johnson's further escalation of the Vietnam War
___ 8. The Communist Vietnamese Tet Offensive in 1968	H. Led to a humiliating defeat when Kennedy forced the Soviet Union to back down
___ 9. Senator Eugene McCarthy's strong antiwar campaign	I. Sparked urban riots and the growth of the militant "Black Power" movement
___ 10. The deep Democratic party divisions over Vietnam	J. Led to an American military request for 200,000 more troops as well as growing public discontent with the Vietnam War

## G. Developing Historical Skills

### Interpreting Line Graphs

Read the line graph of *Poverty in the United States* on p. 931 carefully and answer the following questions.

1. In what year did the number of people below the poverty line return to approximately the same level it had been at in 1964?
2. In what two years did the percentage of the American population below the poverty line reach its lowest point since 1960?
3. Between what years did the absolute numbers of people below the poverty line *rise* slightly at the same time those in poverty *declined* slightly as a percentage of the total population? What would explain this difference?
4. The number of people in poverty in 1966 was about the same as the number in poverty in which subsequent year?

## H. Map Mastery

### Map Discrimination

Using the maps and charts in Chapter 39, answer the following questions.

1. *Vietnam and Southeast Asia*: Besides North Vietnam, which two other Southeast Asian countries bordered on South Vietnam?
2. *Presidential Election of 1964*: How many electoral votes did Barry Goldwater win outside the Deep South in 1964?
3. *Presidential Election of 1968*: What four northeastern states did Nixon carry in 1968?
4. *Presidential Election of 1968*: Which five states outside the Northeast did Humphrey carry in 1968? (One of them is not in the continental United States.)



**Map Challenge**

Using the electoral maps of the five elections of 1952, 1956, 1960, 1964, and 1968 (pp. 889, 902, 906, 928 and 940 (in Chapters 38 and 39), write a brief essay describing the changing fortunes of the Republican and Democratic parties in different regions of the country from 1952 to 1968. Include a discussion of which states and regions remained relatively loyal to a single party, which shifted loyalties, and which were most contested. What are the most plausible explanations for these patterns?

### **PART III: Applying What You Have Learned**

1. What successes and failures did Kennedy's New Frontier experience at home and abroad?
2. How did the civil rights movement progress from difficult beginnings to great successes in 1964–1965 and then encounter increasing opposition from both black militants and “white backlash” after 1965?
3. What were Johnson's major domestic achievements, and why did they come to be overshadowed?
4. Why did the Vietnam War, and the domestic opposition to it, come to dominate American politics in the 1960s?
5. How was the cultural upheaval of the 1960s related to the political and social changes of the decade? Is the “youth rebellion” best seen as a response to immediate events, or as a consequence of such longer-term forces as the population bulge and economic prosperity? What were the long-term results of the “counter-culture” in all its varieties?
6. What led the United States to become so deeply involved in the Vietnam War? (See Chapters 37 and 38 for background on the Cold War, anticolonialism, and earlier events in Vietnam.)