Grade 8 Louisiana Social Studies

The Postwar Era

Rosa Parks

Student Volume

Vietnam War

Second Red Scare

Fall of the Berlin Wall

Civil Rights Movement

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The Postwar Era

Student Volume

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The Postwar Era

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Chapter 1

Post–World War II United States and the Early Cold War (1945–1960s)

The Framing Question

How did the Cold War shape domestic and foreign policy?

The Postwar World

The United States emerged from the Second World War as an economic powerhouse and a military superpower. U.S. foreign policy in these years was framed by the "Cold War," a time of great tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. During this era, the United States acted to stop the spread of Soviet communism.

The term *Cold War* was coined to indicate that while the United States and the Soviet Union never fought each other directly with weapons, it was a very tense time marked by several conflicts, known as "proxy wars," fought in other countries.

The American economy boomed after World War II. In fact, economists often refer to the three decades following World War II as the "golden era" of American economic growth. Unlike in parts of Europe and Asia, industries in the United States had not been destroyed by war. The U.S. dollar was also stronger than ever following a new international monetary system put in place after World War II. **Per capita GDP (gross domestic product)** nearly doubled. New opportunities for prosperity and success benefited millions of Americans. However, not everyone shared equally in the nation's prosperity.

Vocabulary

per capita, adj. per person

GDP (gross domestic product), n. the value of all goods and services produced in one country during a specific period, usually a year or part of a year

Differing Worldviews

The United States and the Soviet Union had been allies against Nazi Germany during World War II. This alliance crumbled in the war's aftermath, fracturing the world into American and Soviet spheres of influence. The United States now led what was called the "First World," which included most countries in western Europe as well as Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The Soviet Union led the

The Cold War conflict played out in popular culture, including on the pages of comic books like *Captain America*.

"Second World." This included the **bloc** of Soviet-controlled communist countries in eastern Europe. In these same years, the world's developing countries were often called the "Third World." (Today we no longer use the terms *First*, *Second*, and *Third World*. Instead, countries are often referred to as *developed* or *developing* nations.)

The U.S. and Soviet governments were committed to sharply contrasting **ideologies**—sets of beliefs that support a political system, party, or group. The United States was and is a liberal democracy in which representative government, freedom of speech and religion, and individual rights are central to politics and society. The American economy during the Cold War was grounded in "commercial society." This was America's traditional system of competitive markets, privately owned businesses, and consumer demand that many people call capitalism.

In contrast, the Soviet Union was a communist country. As you learned earlier, under communism, the government owns all property and makes most economic choices on behalf of the country. The Soviet government was led by dictatorial leaders and a small inner circle of Communist Party advisers. It held sham elections that were won by Communist Party members. There was no freedom of speech. Additionally, the Soviet Union officially promoted atheism, and the government restricted all religious practices. Soviet citizens could not peaceably assemble to express their **dissent**. Protesters could be arrested, detained, imprisoned, and even killed. A politically linked police organization known as the "secret police" enforced Soviet power with terror. Despite this, some writers secretly circulated manuscripts of their writings that opposed communist rule. While Soviet propaganda promoted the supposed successes of Soviet communism, the reality was that Soviet citizens lived very restricted lives.

Vocabulary

bloc, n. a group of nations united by a political agreement or common interest

ideology, n. a set of beliefs that support a political system, party, or group

dissent, n. opposition to or dissatisfaction with a government or its policies

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about how everyday life was restricted in the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

Writers' Corner

Using your research on the Soviet Union during the Cold War, record a podcast describing what daily life was like for many people.

Containment and the Truman Doctrine

In February 1946, American diplomat George F. Kennan sent a long, secret telegram from his post in Moscow to Washington, D.C. In it, he expressed his view that the United States should make containing the spread of Soviet communism a priority. The following year, Kennan published an article in the journal *Foreign Affairs* advocating his policy of **containment**. Containment became the guiding policy of U.S. foreign relations for the four decades of the Cold War. It was designed to address what would later be called the *domino theory*, or the belief that if one country fell to communism, others nearby would also fall to communism—like a row of dominoes.

In a 1947 address to Congress, President Harry S. Truman explained America's commitment to the policy of containment. His remarks about why and how the United States should undertake containment came to be known as the Truman Doctrine. This statement of U.S. foreign policy committed the United States to "support free peoples" around the world who might face the threat of authoritarian forces. This support would take the form of economic, military, and political assistance.

To be sure, the United States has not always lived up to its commitment to "support free peoples," especially with regard to domestic issues of race. The commitment to containment and anti-communism also led the United States to support political leaders and rulers in other countries simply because they, too, opposed communism. This included brutal, authoritarian dictators who denied their people basic human rights, such as General Augusto Pinochet in Chile.

Vocabulary

containment, n. the act or process of keeping something within certain limits, such as stopping the spread of communism during the Cold War

Think Twice

What potential problems do you see with the policy of containment?

Postwar Europe

After World War II, European countries were faced with harsh realities. Great Britain had been largely bankrupted by the war effort. And it was in no condition to continue administering its colonies around the world. France, Germany, and other countries lay in ruins. Factories, infrastructure, and farms had been destroyed. Indeed, the war had reduced a great many European cities to rubble. In the months after the war ended, millions of people were displaced, homeless, and hungry. Europe needed to rebuild. But it lacked the money and resources to do so.

After the First World War, the United States had demanded its allies pay back the money it had lent them. But after the Second World War, the United States did just the opposite. It abandoned its prewar isolationism and embraced **active internationalism**. The United States did not require its allies to pay for weapons and supplies given through the Lend-Lease Act, which you read about earlier.

Remaining true to the Truman Doctrine, the United States also adopted the Marshall Plan, which gave postwar western European countries money to rebuild. The U.S. government hoped

Vocabulary

"active internationalism" (phrase) a policy of working or cooperating with other nations; the opposite of isolationism

Think Twice

Why do you think U.S. foreign policy toward Europe following World War II was so different than it was after World War I?

This 1948 poster promotes the Marshall Plan, which aided economic recovery in Europe after World War II.

that providing financial aid would help promote democracy in Europe. Funding through the Marshall Plan was offered to most European countries, including those in eastern Europe. A total of seventeen countries, all in western and southern Europe, accepted a little more than $13 billion in Marshall Plan funds.

The Marshall Plan helped western European countries rapidly rebuild their economies. At the same time, the American economy benefited from the Marshall Plan, too. The many orders placed by European countries for food, new tools, and farming and industrial equipment expanded markets for American companies and provided jobs for American workers.

The Cold War Heats Up

At the end of World War II, the Allied powers agreed to divide Germany. West Germany, they agreed, would fall under American, British, and French control. East Germany would come under Soviet control. Berlin, Germany's capital city, would be similarly divided, even though all of the city lay inside the Soviet zone.

In 1948, the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, tried to force the United States, Britain, and France out of West Berlin. He cut off train and truck routes into Berlin, preventing residents from receiving supplies. What Stalin had not counted on was that the United States and Britain would supply West Berlin by way of airlifts. American and British airplanes filled with supplies landed at airports in West Berlin. At its peak, the Berlin Airlift landed a plane in West Berlin every forty-five seconds. After eleven months of this activity, Stalin reopened the routes into West Berlin.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the impact of the Berlin Airlift on residents of West Berlin.

For months, American, British, and French planes dropped food, medicine, and fuel to the people of West Berlin.

Writers' Corner

Using your research on the Berlin Airlift, write a journal entry from the perspective of a teenager living in West Berlin at this time.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

The United States and its allies were increasingly concerned about Soviet aggression. The presence of Soviet armies in central and eastern Europe was seen as a threat to the democratic West. Stalin's blockade of Berlin further heightened these worries.

On April 4, 1949, a month before the end of the Berlin Blockade, the United States and eleven other nations formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)—an organization that still exists today. Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty states that an attack against any NATO member "shall be considered an attack

Cold War in Europe (1960)

This map shows how much of western and eastern Europe had become divided by membership in either NATO or the Warsaw Pact.

against them all." The message to the Soviet Union was clear: any aggression in western Europe would result in a united response.

In 1955, NATO admitted the newly established West Germany to its ranks. The Soviet Union responded by creating its own military alliance with countries in eastern Europe called the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union already had military alliances with individual countries. But the Warsaw Pact unified the Eastern bloc under one agreement. It was also used to strengthen the Soviet Union's influence in eastern Europe—and helped Stalin establish a buffer zone to protect the Soviet Union from future invasions.

However, Stalin reneged on his promise to allow free elections in eastern European countries by ordering assassinations of noncommunist leaders in Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. The countries of eastern Europe, except Yugoslavia, joined the Soviet bloc. And in 1948, Stalin ordered a **coup d'état** in Czechoslovakia in central Europe.

Vocabulary

coup d'état, n. a sudden and illegal takeover of government by force

In 1953, Stalin died. Nikita Khrushchev (/kroosh*chov/) soon took power and continued Stalin's aggressive policies. In 1956, he sent Soviet troops and tanks to quash the Hungarian Revolution, an uprising in Hungary opposing Soviet domination. Later, in 1968, people in Czechoslovakia's capital rose up against communist rule during the Prague Spring. The Soviets ruthlessly crushed this uprising, too.

The struggle for control over Berlin also persisted during this time. West Berlin reflected and symbolized the economic prosperity and political freedom of the United States and western Europe. East Berlin, on the other hand, was communist, and many of its residents struggled economically. Increasingly, East Germans relocated to West Berlin. Others used West Berlin as a gateway to other parts of Europe.

The Berlin Crisis began in 1958 when Khrushchev told the United States and its allies they had six months to vacate West Berlin. He threatened to use force to get what he wanted. U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower refused the demand. Yet by this time, the population of West Berlin had grown far too large to support through

In 1961, the Soviet Union began constructing a wall that separated East Berlin from West Berlin.

another airlift. The crisis reached its climax in 1961 when the Soviet Union constructed one of the most iconic symbols of the Cold War era: the Berlin Wall.

Built of concrete and barbed wire and patrolled by snipers, the Berlin Wall prevented people from escaping East Berlin and communism.

Think Twice

What impression might the Soviets have wanted to create by building the Berlin Wall? Consider people living inside and outside of East Berlin.

Think Twice

Why might the creation of NATO have been a deterrent against war?

The Korean War

In early October 1949, the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, gained control of China. The world's largest country by population was now communist. America's goal of containing the spread of communism was not proving to be successful.

The situation became more worrisome when communist North Korea launched a surprise invasion of democratic South Korea in 1950. Formerly controlled by Japan beginning in 1910, Korea had been divided by the United States and the Soviet Union into North Korea and South Korea in 1945. Now, Kim Il Sung, North Korea's communist leader, hoped to reunite the Korean peninsula as a fully communist nation.

The United States petitioned the United Nations Security Council to support military action to repel North Korean aggression. The Security Council voted in favor of intervention and placed the United States in charge of the United Nations Command. Initially, North Korea made rapid advances into the south. In September, however, General Douglas MacArthur launched a successful amphibious landing of American forces at Inchon, South Korea. From there, MacArthur's troops advanced into North Korea and soon made their way to the border with China. Mao Zedong, China's leader, feared that the American forces might cross the Yalu River and attack China. He ordered thousands of Chinese soldiers across the border to help North Korea attack the Americans. The Chinese and North Korean counterpunch drove the American-led forces back down to the thirty-eighth parallel—the line of latitude dividing North Korea and South Korea.

After a year of fighting, both sides controlled roughly the same territories on the Korean peninsula that they had before the war began. Talks began, but it took two more years before an armistice was agreed. The armistice also established a demilitarized zone (DMZ) along the thirty-eighth parallel. Thirty-six thousand

Korean War, 1950

The Korean War changed radically from mid to late 1950.

Americans died in the Korean War, as did hundreds of thousands of Korean soldiers and civilians. Korea remains divided to this day.

Think Twice

Describe the progress and ultimate conclusion of the Korean War.

The Suez Crisis

Three years after the Korean War, the global community was confronted with another crisis, this time in the Middle East. Once again, a situation in a region far from both the United States and the Soviet Union pitted the two superpowers against each other.

The Suez Canal runs across the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt and connects the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea. This makes it an important shipping lane for goods, especially oil, between Europe and Asia and East Africa. Great Britain and France controlled the canal and all its profits, leaving Egypt with nothing. In the 1950s, the United States and Great Britain promised the Egyptian government that they would pay for the construction

Suez Canal

of a new dam on the Nile River in Egypt. They went back on this promise once the Egyptian government formed a close relationship with the Soviet Union.

In response, the president of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, seized control of the Suez Canal on July 26, 1956. Nasser declared that the Egyptian government would now collect revenues from the ships that passed through the canal so that Egypt could pay for the dam itself.

The United States, concerned about Soviet intervention, worked hard to resolve the crisis, but negotiations failed, and French and British forces invaded Egypt in the fall of 1956. The United Nations ordered a ceasefire, and all foreign troops left Egypt by the spring of 1957. Egypt maintained control over the Suez Canal. As a result of the Suez Crisis, President Dwight Eisenhower announced the United States' intention to assist any country in the Middle East that needed economic or military support to repel communist aggression. This focus of U.S. foreign policy became known as the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Think Twice

Why would the United States have been concerned about Soviet intervention in the Suez Crisis?

The Second Red Scare

The spread of communism was not just a foreign policy concern. It was a concern at home in the United States as well.
As you have read, the initial Red Scare took place following the Russian Revolution. The Second Red Scare was a domestic consequence of the Cold War. This panic, based on the fear that communists would take over the world unless Americans were watchful and vigilant, gripped Americans in the late 1930s and 1940s. In 1938, the U.S. House of Representatives established the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC's stated goal was to protect the United States from communism by investigating certain citizens. Those considered a threat to national security were forced to testify before the committee. They were asked if they or anyone they knew were communists. In the late 1940s, many Hollywood actors, writers, and directors were accused of being communists or sympathetic to the communist cause. In reality, most of these people were not actually communists. However, they did often hold liberal political views that were at odds with those of HUAC members. HUAC used those

views as grounds for its investigations. The HUAC hearings resulted in the creation of **blacklists** in Hollywood and in the media.

Vocabulary

blacklist, n. a list of people or groups to be avoided or excluded

The media contributed to the Second Red Scare. William Randolph Hearst, a wealthy newspaper mogul, had used his papers for decades to stir up anti-communist sentiment. Television had also begun to play an increasingly important role in American culture and media, and anti-communist groups used this to their advantage. If a person working for or appearing on a television show was on a blacklist or accused of "un-American" activities, anti-communist groups would organize a boycott of the companies who paid to advertise their products during the show's time slot.

Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin was not a part of HUAC, but he did follow the committee's example by taking advantage of Americans' fear of a communist threat. Tensions with the Soviet Union were growing. China had fallen to communism. And the North Koreans had attacked and invaded South Korea without provocation. Adding to these causes for fear in 1950, McCarthy publicly claimed in a speech that more than two hundred communists were working in the State Department.

McCarthy spent the next four years accusing, investigating, and interrogating employees from a number of federal government departments and agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the U.S. Army. McCarthy even questioned the motives and reputation of former secretary of state George Marshall, after whom the Marshall Plan had been named. While McCarthy claimed he had evidence for his accusations, he never produced any. However, the threat of communism was not pure fantasy. In 1950, an American married couple, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, were arrested for passing nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union. They were found guilty of espionage and were put to death in 1953.

In 1954, public opinion began to turn against McCarthy. Americans were watching McCarthy make his baseless accusations on television. People began to call McCarthy's hearings "witch hunts" and to decry *McCarthyism*, the use of reckless and unproven attacks to bully people and damage their reputations. In June 1954, the country watched as McCarthy questioned

During the 1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy accused so many individuals of being communists that the term *McCarthyism* was coined for the practice of attacking someone's reputation or character with no factual evidence.

the actions and political beliefs of U.S. Army officials, during what are now known as the "Army-McCarthy hearings." His accusations led to an angry interruption by one of the lawyers in the room, who asked McCarthy, "Have you no sense of decency?" The senator's popularity plummeted after this exchange as Americans realized that McCarthy was not helping the country and was harming real people.

Think Twice

How would someone accused of being a communist prove that they are not one?

Intelligence Agencies and the Cold War

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the CIA were both used to counter communism during the Cold War. However, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover did not distinguish between communists who wanted to overthrow the government and critics who objected to specific government policies and actions. In Hoover's eyes, protest and dissent were un-American and therefore unacceptable.

For instance, in the name of fighting communism, Hoover used the bureau to disrupt or shut down law-abiding organizations fighting to improve workers' rights. Later, Hoover's FBI repeatedly violated the rights of members of the Civil Rights Movement, about which you will soon read.

Unlike the FBI, the CIA has no law enforcement function and is prohibited from collecting information regarding "U.S. persons." Instead, it collects and analyzes information gleaned from foreign countries and their citizens. This information is used to shape U.S. policy, especially in areas that impact national security.

In 1960, one of the CIA's covert missions went badly wrong. A high-altitude U-2 aircraft was shot down while taking photographs of Soviet military bases. At first, U.S. officials lied, saying the aircraft was a weather research plane that had gone off course. The Soviets responded by presenting the surviving CIA pilot, Francis Gary Powers, to the press, along with the photographs captured by the plane. The U-2 incident heightened tensions between the United States and the Soviets.

Fear and Deterrence in the Atomic Age

The Atomic Age had begun on July 16, 1945, when the United States detonated the world's first atomic bomb at a test facility in New Mexico. Then, in August of the same year, the United States had dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. World War II ended shortly after. Four years later, in 1949, the Soviet Union successfully tested its first nuclear bomb. This marked the beginning of the nuclear arms race. The threat of a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union was constant from 1949 until the end of the Cold War in 1991. It could begin by accidental launch, by miscalculation, or by coldhearted intent. Year after year, the countries competed to amass the bigger stockpile of nuclear weapons, which were cheaper to build and maintain than the large army of soldiers each country had.

Millions of people would have died had nuclear war occurred. But it was precisely this threat of mass casualties that was a deterrent to nuclear war. Since any nuclear

In the 1960s, U.S. schoolchildren practiced "duck-and-cover" drills intended to teach them how to be safe in the event of nuclear war. Today, we know that such drills could never truly protect a person during a nuclear attack.

attack would be met with retaliation of a similar nature, the reasoning ran, it would be madness to even think of starting such a war. This deterrence theory was known as *mutually assured destruction* (MAD). As you will read, the effectiveness of this theory was put to the test in Cuba in 1959.

Think Twice

What was a drawback of mutually assured destruction (MAD) theory?

Concern about radiation fallout, or radioactive particles resulting from a nuclear explosion, led to the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. The agreement banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in space, and underwater. It did, however, allow both sides to continue underground testing.

The Space Race

The space race was a contest of technological superiority between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was

not enough to influence other countries on Earth—controlling space was now the ultimate form of dominance.

The Soviet Union took an early lead in the space race. It launched *Sputnik I*, the first human-made satellite to orbit Earth, in October 1957. It followed one month later with *Sputnik II*, a satellite that put the first earthling, a dog named Laika, into space. The United States put its first satellite into orbit a few months later, on January 31, 1958.

Sputnik sparked at least two concerns about U.S. national security. Besides the worry that the Soviets were winning the space race, Americans feared that the Soviets could use satellites to spy on them and on U.S. military bases. The federal government responded by creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in 1958. Lawmakers were also inspired to pass the National Defense Education Act, signed into law by President Dwight Eisenhower. This act provided federal funding for education, including scholarships and resources to improve teaching of science, math, and engineering—all fields considered essential in the country's endeavors to strengthen its national defense.

When President John F. Kennedy took office in 1961, he made it a national priority to put a person on the moon by the end of the decade. In 1962, he said:

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

Shortly after President Kennedy's speech, Yuri Gagarin, a Soviet **cosmonaut**, became the first person in space and the first person to orbit Earth. The United States would not put an astronaut into orbit until 1962. Through the mid to late 1960s, the United States and Soviet Union jockeyed for space superiority. The United States experienced a major setback when the *Apollo 1* spacecraft caught fire during a televised event, causing all passengers to lose their lives.

Vocabulary

cosmonaut, n. an astronaut who is part of the Soviet, and later Russian, space program

It was not until 1968 that the United States gained an upper hand in the space race. On December 21, *Apollo 8* orbited the moon with a crew on board. The following July, the United States proved itself the victor of the space race when *Apollo 11* made the first lunar landing and Americans Neil Armstrong and Edwin "Buzz" Aldrin walked on the moon.

Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis

In 1959, the island nation of Cuba came under the control of communist leader Fidel Castro. Despite its small size, Cuba now posed a threat to U.S. security. The island is just ninety miles (145 km) off the coast of Florida, and Castro had ties to the Soviet Union.

Millions of people around the world watched the *Apollo 11* mission land on the moon in 1969. This photo, taken by fellow astronaut Neil Armstrong, shows Buzz Aldrin working with NASA equipment as the freshly planted American flag can be seen in the background.

In 1961, the U.S. government backed a mission to overthrow Castro. Cuban exiles trained by the CIA attempted to land secretly in Cuba's Bay of Pigs on April 17. Castro's troops quickly put down the invasion and captured or killed most of the invaders. The Bay of Pigs invasion was a major failure and source of embarrassment for the United States.

President Kennedy's focus was again directed to Cuba in 1962 after an American U-2 spy plane confirmed that nuclear missile launch sites were being built on the island. The plan was to install Soviet nuclear missiles at the launch sites. Kennedy responded by ordering a naval blockade of Cuba in an attempt to prevent Soviet ships from reaching the island. The Cuban Missile Crisis was resolved after several days of tense negotiations between Kennedy and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev agreed to remove the nuclear missiles from Cuba. In return, Kennedy agreed that the United States would not attempt to invade Cuba again. Secretly, Kennedy also agreed to remove U.S. missiles from Turkey. The Cuban Missile Crisis was the closest the United States and the Soviet Union came to nuclear war during the Cold War.

American women protesting the Cuban Missile Crisis

The Baby Boom Years

The period between 1946 and 1964 saw robust economic and population growth. With the Great Depression and World War II behind them, millions of American couples decided to have children. Some seventy million babies were born during the so-called *baby boom*. The baby boom years saw many changes to American society. By 1960, there were fifty-two million television sets in the nation. Millions of growing families moved from crowded urban areas into new housing developments built outside cities. A counterculture emerged among some young people. They embraced traditional folk music, rock and roll music, and alternative lifestyles and fashions.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about how the Cuban Missile Crisis started, why it was so serious, how the United States reacted, and how the crisis ended.

Writers' Corner

Using your research on the Cuban Missile Crisis, create a slideshow presentation that explains what the crisis was and how it was resolved.

Conflict in Vietnam

The Vietnam War was a major conflict of the Cold War that had a profound impact on the United States. The country first stepped up its military involvement in Vietnam in May 1954, after Vietnamese **guerrillas** defeated French colonial forces at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. The Geneva Accords of 1954 had divided Vietnam into communist North Vietnam and American-aligned South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese nationalist, became the leader of North Vietnam and received the backing of the Soviet Union and China. Ho's goal was to expel the colonial powers and reunite Vietnam under a communist government.

Vocabulary

guerrilla, n. a soldier who uses nontraditional ways of fighting

One reason the United States became involved in Vietnam was the domino theory, the term coined by President Eisenhower in 1954 to explain his and other officials' beliefs that the loss of Vietnam to communist forces would lead to other countries in Southeast Asia also becoming communist. By the early 1960s, the Viet Cong—communist forces in South Vietnam—were battling American soldiers, including U.S. Army Special Forces known as the "Green Berets." As you will soon learn, the U.S. war effort peaked in the late 1960s, when hundreds of thousands of young Americans were deployed.

Think Twice

Why do you think some people believed in the domino theory? Why do you think some people doubted it?

PRIMARY SOURCE: THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE (1947)

In early 1947, President Truman gave a speech to Congress requesting funding to help Greece and Turkey defend against communist rebels. The speech announced that the United States was committed to helping any country fighting for democracy, a policy that became known as the Truman Doctrine.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. . . .

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. . . .

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Source: "President Truman's Message to Congress," March 12, 1947. Document 171; 80th Congress, 1st Session. *Records of the United States House of Representatives*; Record Group 233. National Archives.

PRIMARY SOURCE: MARGARET CHASE SMITH'S DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

Senator Margaret Chase Smith was one of the first to speak out against Joseph McCarthy's tactics. This excerpt comes from her 1950 speech to the Senate.

I think that it is high time that we [the United States Senate and its members] remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think that it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation.

Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism—

The right to criticize.

The right to hold unpopular beliefs.

The right to protest.

The right of independent thought.

The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us does not? Otherwise none of us could call our souls our own. Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as "Communists" or "Fascists" by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. It has been so abused by some that it is not exercised by others.

Source: Smith, Margaret Chase. "Declaration of Conscience," June 1, 1950. U.S. Congress, Senate. *Congressional Record*. 81st Congress, 2nd Session. pp. 7894–95.

Chapter 2
The Civil Rights Movement

The Framing Question

What were the causes and effects of the Civil Rights Movement?

The Movement Takes Shape

Although the institution of slavery was abolished in the United States in 1865, discrimination against African Americans continued into the twentieth century. As you have read, after Reconstruction, southern states passed Jim Crow laws that restricted the rights of African Americans. In Louisiana, the state constitution adopted in 1898 disenfranchised Black voters. These laws stayed on the books until the state adopted its 1974 constitution. A movement to overturn such laws and secure the civil rights of African Americans and other minorities emerged during the Second World War and grew into the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

The Civil Rights Movement took shape during the 1950s and gained momentum during the 1960s. This photograph shows protesters at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963.

During World War II, half a million African Americans migrated from the South to the North and the West. There were more economic opportunities in these parts of the country. However, African American workers still faced discrimination in wartime industries. A. Philip Randolph was the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an all-Black union. He threatened to organize a march on Washington, D.C., to protest conditions for African Americans in the defense industry and the military. In response, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 in June 1941. This order barred discrimination in federal employment based on "race, creed, color, or national origin."

One million African American men and women served in the military in World War II. Millions more worked in defense industries. These people were fighting to secure the freedom of people in other countries while their own freedoms were restricted at home. *The Pittsburgh Courier*, the largest African American newspaper in the United States, called attention to this double standard. A common slogan during World War II was "V for Victory." *The Pittsburgh Courier* took this a step further and promoted the "Double V" campaign, which called for victories in the fight for democracy overseas and in the fight against racism and segregation at home. The Double V campaign's main goal was to desegregate the military. This was achieved after the war, when President Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in 1948.

Think Twice

What might the American people and their government have done to help the Double V campaign succeed?

Ending "Separate but Equal"

One of the most powerful moments in modern civil rights history came on May 17, 1954. On that day, the United States Supreme Court issued its landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*. In its decision, the court overturned its 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. As you have read, that ruling had declared "separate but equal" segregation legal in facilities ranging from hotels and schools to trains and buses.

Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund was the lead attorney for

Segregation in U.S. Public Schools Before *Brown v. Board of Education*

This map shows segregation in public schools before the landmark decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

the **plaintiffs** in the case. The case was brought because Linda Brown, a third grade student in Topeka, Kansas, was forced to take a bus to a "colored" school across town instead of attending a school for white children close to her home. Marshall argued that segregated public schooling violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court's nine justices agreed. They released a unanimous opinion that read, "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are **inherently** unequal." The next year, the court ruled in *Brown II* that the desegregation of public schools had to be undertaken with "all deliberate speed."

Think Twice

What statement do you think the Supreme Court was making when it directed states to desegregate public schools with "all deliberate speed"?

Vocabulary

plaintiff, n. a person who begins a legal action

inherently, adv. in a way that reflects the innermost nature of a thing or person

But instead of following the Supreme Court's ruling, 101 southern congressmen issued the "Southern Manifesto." In it, they vowed to use "all lawful means" to oppose the court's order to desegregate. Across the South, white citizens' councils were formed. In Louisiana, a political boss from Plaquemines Parish named Leander Perez used his wealth and influence to defend and uphold segregation in the state and across the South. Perez was known for his vicious racism and how he wielded his local power to try to influence both state and federal legislation related to desegregation.

Resistance to desegregation was so intense that President Eisenhower had to send U.S. Army troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1957. They were there to protect nine African American high school students known as the Little Rock Nine. Each day, these students walked past angry white mobs to attend Central High School, which formerly had been an all-white school.

After the *Brown* decision, some school districts instituted entrance exams for African American students in an effort to keep them out of all-white schools.

African American students attending the recently desegregated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, needed an armed escort to safely enter the school building.

In New Orleans, six-year-old Ruby Bridges passed her exam and in November 1960 began classes at the formerly all-white William Frantz Elementary School. For her safety, Bridges was escorted by federal marshals. Angry white parents withdrew their children from the school, and eventually Bridges was in a class of just one. Despite constant intimidation and threats of violence, she persevered. The next year, more African American students enrolled at the school.

Southern resistance to school desegregation continued into the 1960s. In 1963, the governor of Alabama, George Wallace, declared, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." Later that year, Wallace fulfilled his promise to "stand in the schoolhouse door." He personally blocked the door of a building on the University of Alabama campus to keep African American students from registering for classes.

James Meredith played an important role in desegregating higher education in the South. After returning from his service in the U.S. Air Force, he applied repeatedly to the University of Mississippi but was denied entrance because of his race. In 1962, the NAACP helped Meredith sue the university, and the Supreme Court ordered the University of Mississippi to desegregate. The school ignored the order and, with the governor's help, prevented Meredith from entering campus and registering for classes. Riots protesting his acceptance to the school resulted in two deaths, and federal marshals and the Mississippi National Guard were brought in to prevent further violence. James Meredith was finally granted admittance and graduated in 1963.

Think Twice

Why do you think some people in the South resisted desegregation?

Emmett Till

On August 28, 1955, a fourteen-year-old African American boy from Chicago was visiting his family in Mississippi. The boy, Emmett Till, allegedly offended a white woman in a grocery store. In response, the woman's husband and his half-brother kidnapped, beat, and brutally murdered the teenager.

Such racist violence was not unheard of. The threat of lynching kept many

The murder of Emmett Till, shown here with his mother Mamie, brought national attention to racial violence in the South.

African Americans afraid of taking action against the racism they faced. But neither Emmett Till's family nor organizations like the NAACP acted afraid. They made Till's violent death a symbol of institutional racial injustice. Images of Till's wounded body were printed in publications across the country. The story also received international press coverage.

People around the world were shocked and horrified, especially when the two murderers were found not guilty by an all-white, all-male jury and set free without any punishment.

Think Twice

Why do you think Emmett Till's death had such a strong impact on public opinion?

Desegregating Buses

In 1950, the Baton Rouge Bus Company secured an exclusive contract with the city. The contract prevented African American–owned bus services from continuing to

operate routes to Black neighborhoods in the Louisiana city. This meant that all city buses, like so many places and other services in the South, were segregated.

In 1953, Reverend T. J. Jemison petitioned the Baton Rouge city council. He argued that because African American and white bus passengers paid the same fare, African American passengers should be allowed to sit in open seats in the "whites only" section. In response, the city council passed Ordinance 222, which made seating "first come, first served." But the bus drivers refused to follow the ordinance, and the city council failed to enforce it. Jemison and other local leaders organized a boycott of the Baton Rouge Bus Company starting on June 19, 1953. It was the first major boycott of a segregated bus system. Thousands of African Americans supported the boycott. After five days, Jemison struck a deal with the city council. The buses would designate fewer "whites only" seats, but African American passengers could not sit in them—even if they were open.

The Baton Rouge boycott was soon surpassed by what happened in Montgomery, Alabama. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was riding home from work on a bus when a white passenger got on and wanted her seat. When she refused to move, the driver had her arrested. Four days later, civil rights leaders organized a boycott of Montgomery's bus system in protest of its segregation policies. They also organized the Montgomery Improvement Association and elected Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as its president. The city refused to end segregation, and the boycott lasted more than a year, ending only after the U.S. Supreme Court in December 1956 upheld a ruling that declared segregation on public buses unconstitutional.

The Montgomery bus boycott had several effects. It made Dr. King a national figure. It increased nonviolent efforts to achieve civil rights in other parts of the country. It also led to the creation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. The SCLC worked closely with other civil rights groups to coordinate and support nonviolent direct action to attain civil rights in the South.

Think Twice

Why do you think the Montgomery bus boycott was more successful than the Baton Rouge bus boycott?

Rosa Parks is shown being fingerprinted after her refusal to move to the back of a bus to accommodate a white passenger.

Nonviolent Resistance

Today, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is the most celebrated leader of the Civil Rights Movement. He was the head of the SCLC and a Baptist minister with a PhD in theology from Boston University. King encouraged peaceful, organized resistance to racism and to the oppression of Black people in American society.

Such nonviolent protests took the form of sit-ins, marches, public gatherings, and boycotts. Many protests included acts of **civil disobedience**, or refusing to obey a law because it goes against one's conscience.

Vocabulary

civil disobedience, n. the refusal to follow the law or government because it goes against one's conscience; an act of protest

When the peaceful protesters refused to disperse, they were often beaten and jailed. Still, King urged that success would come as a result of nonviolence.

African American college students in particular played an important role in organizing peaceful protests. For example, in 1960, four students from Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina sat down at a Woolworth store's lunch counter in Greensboro and ordered a cup of coffee. When refused service and asked to leave, they instead remained in their seats, practicing peaceful passive resistance. They returned the next day, along with others, and were again refused service. In the following days, so many participants arrived that they filled all of the lunch counter's seats and occupied the sidewalk outside. Their Woolworth lunch counter sit-ins helped spark further civil rights actions of protest by college students.

The Greensboro sit-ins inspired the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to organize similar protests and resulted in the desegregation of lunch counters across the South. In September 1960, four college students staged a sit-in at the lunch counter of McCrory's Five and Dime in New Orleans, Louisiana. The students were asked repeatedly to leave and were eventually arrested and convicted for their actions. They appealed their convictions, and the Supreme Court overturned them, ruling in *Lombard v. Louisiana* (1963) that the store's segregation policies were unconstitutional.

Think Twice

Why do you think sit-ins were such an effective means of bringing about change during the Civil Rights Movement?

The Freedom Rides

The Civil Rights Movement scored another victory in 1960 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Boynton v. Virginia* that it was illegal for bus terminals to discriminate against interstate travelers based on race. In 1961, SNCC and another civil rights group, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), helped organize Freedom Rides to see this ruling enforced. Groups of African American and white civil rights

activists rode buses from Washington, D.C., into the segregated South.

The Freedom Riders faced violence at bus terminals from South Carolina to Alabama. In some instances, the riders were brutally beaten with baseball bats. One of the buses was firebombed. The violence became so intense that U.S. attorney general Robert Kennedy (President John F. Kennedy's brother) sent federal marshals to protect the riders.

In November 1961, the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) banned

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about some individual participants in the Freedom Rides.

Writers' Corner

Create a social media profile for one of the Freedom Riders you researched that details their background and contributions to the Civil Rights Movement.

Freedom Riders are shown sitting on the ground outside of a bus after it was set on fire upon arriving in Anniston, Alabama, on May 14, 1961.

segregation in interstate travel. The following year, three African American men living in Jackson, Mississippi, brought a case against the state's attorney general. In *Bailey v. Patterson* (1962), the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with them that segregating transportation facilities violated African Americans' civil rights and was unconstitutional.

The Birmingham Campaign

In 1963, the SCLC and civil rights leaders including Dr. King organized the Birmingham campaign to desegregate Birmingham, Alabama. The campaign began on April 3 with sit-ins, marches, and boycotts. After a week, the city obtained a court order to stop the protests, but the campaign continued anyway. King was arrested on April 12 and sent to jail for eight days. While there, he wrote a letter to eight local religious leaders who opposed the Birmingham campaign. These men believed African Americans should wait patiently and negotiate for their civil rights instead of protesting and breaking the law. In his "Letter from Birmingham Jail," King wrote, "For years now, I have heard the word 'Wait!' . . . This 'Wait' has almost always meant 'Never.'" He went on to assert that people have a moral responsibility to take direct action to end injustice, even if that means breaking unjust laws.

Find Out the Facts

Read Dr. King's "Letter from Birmingham Jail."

Writers' Corner

Using your research, write a summary of Dr. King's main points in "Letter from Birmingham Jail."

On May 2, hundreds of students were arrested as they attempted to march on downtown Birmingham. The city's public safety commissioner, Eugene "Bull" Connor, approved the use of extreme force

Police used violent means against peaceful protesters during the Birmingham Campaign.

against the protesters. Police attacked peaceful protesters, including children, with clubs, fire hoses, and police dogs. The horrific images made national news and swayed public opinion in support of the nonviolent protesters. Eventually, the city of Birmingham agreed to desegregate lunch counters and other public spaces. It also agreed to encourage merchants to hire African Americans in their stores.

Medgar Evers

Medgar Evers was a World War II veteran and civil rights activist. After returning home from the war, he was prevented from voting in a local election. This event inspired him to fight for equal rights for himself and all Americans. Evers became the first NAACP field officer in Mississippi and helped found new NAACP chapters. As a local civil rights leader, he organized protests, boycotts, and voter registration drives. Evers then entered the national spotlight as an investigator during the Emmett Till case. This made him the target of death threats and violence. On June 12, 1963—after President Kennedy gave a televised speech supporting civil rights—Medgar Evers was murdered in his driveway by white supremacists. As with Emmett Till, Medgar Evers's murderer was not convicted. Evers's death became the subject of songs by protest musicians like Bob Dylan and Phil Ochs and brought further attention to the Civil Rights Movement.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

After the Birmingham campaign, Dr. King and other organizers turned their sights on the nation's capital. Inspired by A. Philip Randolph's proposed march during World War II, leaders from CORE, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the SCLC, and the SNCC began organizing the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Supporters of the march grew to include other groups, like the American Jewish Congress and the United Auto Workers.

Think Twice

What does the support from the United Auto Workers tell you about the Civil Rights Movement?

On August 28, 1963, a crowd of some 250,000 people of all races and backgrounds gathered at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Civil rights

leaders gave speeches, including Dr. King's now-famous "I Have a Dream" speech. In this speech, he set out his vision for a world in which people are judged not "by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." Organizers of the event also presented their marchers' demands, which included the passage of a civil rights bill, the desegregation of public schools, and a living wage.

After the march, King and other civil rights leaders met with President John F. Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson to discuss civil rights legislation. The March on Washington led President Kennedy to introduce a new and strong civil rights bill to Congress. Kennedy was assassinated only months later, before the bill was passed. His death, however, encouraged now-president Lyndon Johnson to push the bill through Congress. The result was the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This legislation was a great triumph for the Civil Rights Movement. It prohibited discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The act also established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and gave the federal government the power to desegregate public spaces.

Freedom Summer

Voter registration drives were another important part of the Civil Rights Movement. In Mississippi, for example, fewer than 7 percent of eligible African Americans were registered to vote in 1964. SNCC organizer Bob Moses helped set in motion the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project, known simply as the Freedom Summer, whose main goal was to register as many African American voters as possible.

Hundreds of mostly white volunteers joined with Black Mississippians to register African American voters. The volunteers first underwent training to prepare them for conditions in Mississippi. They were aware that arrest was likely. One week in, three volunteers—two white and one African American—went missing. Their bodies were later found dumped in a shallow grave. Despite such violent acts of intimidation, volunteers persisted and succeeded in registering 1,600 new voters. SNCC volunteers also founded Freedom Schools that were attended by three thousand African American students.

Fannie Lou Hamer was an important figure during the Freedom Summer. She was

born to a poor sharecropping family in Mississippi. In 1961, she began working with the SNCC on voter registration drives. During the Freedom Summer, she promoted integrated activism and encouraged the participation of white students. She cofounded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). MFDP candidates challenged the all-white slate of Mississippi delegates attending the Democratic National Convention later that year. At the convention, Hamer made a moving speech defending the need for integrated **delegations**. Four years later, in 1968, she became a member of Mississippi's first integrated delegation.

Fannie Lou Hamer worked tirelessly to fight racial oppression in the South.

Vocabulary

delegation, n. a group chosen to represent others, such as at the national convention of a major political party

Think Twice

Why do you think Fannie Lou Hamer supported integrated activism?

Shirley Chisholm

Shirley Chisholm was a symbol of the Civil Rights Movement and a pioneer for African American women in American politics. The daughter of immigrants, she went on to earn a master's degree from Columbia University. Chisholm was a member of civil rights and political organizations, including the League of Women Voters, the NAACP, and the Urban League. In 1964, she became the second African American to serve in the New York State Legislature. Four years later, she became the first African American woman to serve in Congress. Chisholm also ran for president in 1972. As a U.S. representative, she introduced dozens of pieces of legislation aimed at improving gender, income, and racial equality.

The Selma March

Voting is an important responsibility of citizens. It is also a powerful tool. Voters are the ones who elect representatives and can choose to remove them from office. This affects the legislation that governments at all levels enact, enforce, and in some cases, overturn. One purpose of Jim Crow laws was to disenfranchise African American voters and prevent them from exercising this power. In 1964, the states ratified the Twenty-Fourth Amendment. It made the use of poll taxes in federal elections illegal. Despite this step forward, African Americans in the South still faced significant, and occasionally violent, obstacles to voting.

These continued obstacles were made very clear to the nation during the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965. This march was part of a series of protests in support of voting rights for African Americans in Alabama. The first attempt at the march took place on March 7, a date now known as Bloody Sunday. Governor George Wallace was determined to stop the march and ordered state troopers to form a blockade. The world watched on television as police and white supremacist groups viciously beat six hundred marchers as they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge.

This graph illustrates the changes in white and non-white voter registration in selected southern states after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

On March 21, the march began again. But now it was twenty-five thousand strong and under the protection of the National Guard. Marchers arrived in Montgomery four days later.

In response to the Freedom Summer and the events in Selma, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Among several other things, the act abolished the use of literacy tests to prevent people from voting and established federal oversight of specific voting jurisdictions in the South.

Shifts in the Civil Rights Movement

During the second half of the 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement began to further evolve. The growing "Black Power" movement emphasized Black consciousness, cultural pride, and self-reliance. Some leaders advocated a departure from the nonviolent action embraced by Dr. King.

Malcom X was one such leader. Born Malcom Little, he became a very active member of the Nation of Islam, a movement made up of ideas from both Islam and Black nationalism, while still in his twenties. Malcolm X was soon a major spokesperson of the movement and became known for his harsh criticism of nonviolent protest action, claiming it was not bringing about the changes African Americans needed. He eventually turned his focus to bringing the human rights struggle of African Americans to the world stage.

Inspired by Malcolm X's slogan—"Freedom by any means necessary"—Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party in 1966. The Black Panther Party fought against police brutality, established community assistance programs, and championed exempting African Americans from serving in the military.

Despite making significant gains, the effects of the Civil Rights Movement were not immediate. Centuries of economic, political, and social inequality heightened racial tensions, especially in urban areas where African American communities had insufficient access to housing, jobs, and education. In some instances, rising tensions led to violence. Riots occurred in more than 150 cities across the United States during the "long, hot summer" of 1967, resulting in deaths, injuries, arrests, and property damage.

Think Twice

Why might some African Americans have rejected nonviolence and embraced the Black Power movement?

1968

On April 4, 1968, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated by a gunman as he stood on the balcony of his hotel in Memphis, Tennessee. President Johnson used the momentum following Dr. King's death to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This act expanded the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by making housing discrimination illegal and extended most of the Bill of Rights protections to Native Americans. The quest for a true and equal society had begun, but it had most certainly not been completed.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about major legislative changes made during the Johnson administration.

Writers' Corner

Using your research, create a visual presentation showing the legislative changes made during the Johnson administration.

On April 11, 1968, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This legislation became part of Johnson's Great Society program, which in part focused on removing barriers to voting.

PRIMARY SOURCE: RUBY BRIDGES INTEGRATING WILLIAM FRANTZ ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, NEW ORLEANS (1960)

PRIMARY SOURCE: FREEDOM SUMMER LEAFLET

What You Can Do:

This is your FREEDOM SUMMER. It will not work without your help.

COFO is asking you to:
- provide housing for the people who are coming to work here.
- look for buildings which can be used for Freedom Schools and Community Centers.
- get names of students who want to go to Freedom Schools.
- let us know when you have meetings or arrange meetings so we can come answer questions about the FREEDOM SUMMER.

Many people are coming here to work during our FREEDOM SUMMER. They want to learn about Mississippi. They feel that the problems here are the problems of people all over the country. Most of them will be college students, both Negro and white.

COFO is your organization. The things it is trying to do should be done by the state. The people who have been elected to run the state say that they do not have to do things for Negroes.

IT IS THE FAULT OF THE STATE that you cannot:
- find work
- read and write
- send your children to better schools.

If you work with COFO you will be working to get yourself the better conditions you deserve.

What Is COFO?

COFO is an organization made up of all the civil rights and local citizenship groups in Mississippi which decided they must work together to improve conditions in Mississippi.

For more information:

Write to - COFO STATE OFFICE
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Or call - 352-9605

Other offices near you:

CLARKSDALE - 213 4th Street
phone - 624-2913

COLUMBUS - 1323 6th Ave. North
phone - 328-8916

GREENWOOD - 708 Avenue N
phone - 453-1282

HATTIESBURG - 507 Mobile Street
phone - 584-7670

MERIDIAN - 2505 1/2 5th Street
phone - 485-9286

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MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

Chapter 3
The Later Cold War (1960s–1991)

The Framing Question

What factors contributed to the end of the Cold War?

The Cold War Continues

The Cold War continued through the 1960s until 1991. During that time, the arms race continued to evolve, and tensions between the United States and Soviet Union cooled and thawed. The countries also continued to engage in a series of conflicts in other nations, where they supported groups that represented their interests. The most significant of these conflicts was the Vietnam War.

American soldiers in Vietnam are seen here on a seek-and-destroy mission to search out the enemy, defeat them, and withdraw using helicopters.

The Vietnam War

U.S. involvement in Vietnam increased dramatically after 1964. On August 2 of that year, the North Vietnamese attacked a U.S. spy ship, the *Maddox*, in the Gulf of Tonkin, off the coast of North Vietnam. Two days later, the *Maddox* reported a second attack but then canceled that report, blaming the mistake on the weather. President Johnson gave a televised speech reporting two unprovoked attacks. Three days later, Congress issued the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. This gave President Johnson the power to "take all necessary measures" against North Vietnam to secure peace. In effect, it authorized the president to wage full-scale war.

A kind of jungle warfare characterized the early years of the Vietnam War. Small U.S. and South Vietnamese units responded to sudden attacks by North Vietnamese soldiers who hid in the dense jungle. The United States also provided support from the air. In January 1968, the Tet Offensive changed the course of the conflict, both in Vietnam and in the eyes of the American public.

The Tet Offensive was an organized series of attacks by the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong against the anti-communist forces in South Vietnam. The attacks took place in more than one hundred cities and American positions in South Vietnam. Although American forces were able to defend against the attacks, the offensive convinced many American officials that the war could not be won at any reasonable cost. Then in 1969, Americans learned of a terrible atrocity. A group of American soldiers had brutally killed more than three hundred unarmed women, children, and old men in the village of My Lai in South Vietnam.

During more than eight and a half years of war, the United States dropped millions of tons of bombs on Vietnam. As the conflict progressed, targets came to include communist supply lines in neighboring Laos and Cambodia. The United States also used chemical weapons, including Agent Orange and napalm. Agent Orange is a chemical that causes leaves to drop off trees, making it more difficult for enemy troops to hide in the jungle. Napalm is a sticky liquid that was used to burn forests, villages, and people.

The war became a lightning rod for debate, disagreement, and protest in the United States. Television evening news showed families across the country graphic depictions of the Vietnam War, including military abuses, as

the events unfolded. More and more Americans, including government officials and members of the media, began to favor the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Anti-war protests became common occurrences. Others supported the war effort as part of the larger fight to contain the spread of communism.

Think Twice

Why did news reporting of the Vietnam War differ from reporting on earlier conflicts in U.S. history?

Tensions in the nation were heightened on May 4, 1970, after a tragic event at Kent State University. Four unarmed students were shot and killed by the Ohio National Guard during a campus peace rally. This became known as the Kent State massacre. The war debate was further inflamed by the release of the Pentagon Papers. This top-secret study of American involvement in Vietnam revealed that President Johnson's administration had misled the American people about many things, including the reasons for U.S. involvement, the growing scope of U.S. attacks and bombings, and military leaders' skepticism that the war could ever be won. With this information in the public domain, anti-war protests grew on college campuses and elsewhere across America.

Large-scale anti-war protests were held throughout American cities, including Washington, D.C.

The Nixon Years

President Johnson decided not to seek reelection in 1968. The Vietnam War had made him unpopular with many Americans. Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate, won the 1968 presidential election. His "Vietnamization" plan called for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and for South Vietnamese soldiers to take over all fighting. In 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act. This legislation limited presidential power during military conflicts when Congress had not passed a declaration of war. As a result, Nixon proposed supporting allies with economic and military aid but not ground troops. In 1973, the Vietnam War officially came to an end with the signing of the Paris Peace Accords.

The early 1970s was also a time in which President Nixon and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, initiated **détente**, a policy intended to relax the long-standing Cold War tension between the United States and other countries. One step toward decreasing this tension was President Nixon's

Vocabulary

détente, n. a policy that relaxes tensions between nations

Between 1965 and 1971, the Gallup Poll asked respondents the following question: "In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Vietnam, do you think the U.S. made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?" This graph shows the percentage of "No" responses during this time.

U.S. president Richard Nixon's 1972 visit to the People's Republic of China was an important step in normalizing relations between the United States and China.

groundbreaking trip to China in 1972. Nixon's visit was the first by a U.S. president since China had become communist, and it made a lasting impression on international relations between the two countries and others around the world.

Another key part of détente was cooling the nuclear arms race. President Johnson had begun negotiations with the Soviet Union in 1967, called Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT). These were agreements to limit the type and quantity of nuclear weapons each country possessed. It was thought that reducing the number of nuclear weapons would reduce the chance that anyone would use them. President Nixon continued the SALT negotiations in 1969, and the United States and the Soviet Union signed the SALT I treaty in 1972. The agreement was the first of its kind.

Nixon is perhaps best remembered for the Watergate scandal. In 1972, while President Nixon was running for reelection as the Republican candidate, five men were arrested after breaking into the Democratic Party national headquarters. The offices were in the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C. Investigators found the burglary was instigated by the White House and the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CRP) and that Nixon and his top advisers had lied about it. In 1974, the House Judiciary Committee sent articles of impeachment to the House accusing Nixon of obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and contempt of Congress. Nixon resigned rather than face impeachment.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about President Nixon's role in the Watergate break-in and the subsequent cover-up.

Writers' Corner

Using your research on the Watergate scandal, imagine you are a journalist who has been assigned to write a front-page report on the scandal. In your report, explain why Nixon would have faced impeachment.

President Ford

Following President Nixon's resignation, Gerald R. Ford became the thirty-eighth president and served from August 1974 to January 1977. The war in Vietnam was nearing its end, and the United States was in an economic recession. During his two and a half years in office, President Ford introduced Whip Inflation Now (WIN), a plan to reduce "stagflation." The term *stagflation* was coined in the 1970s to describe a time when the economy faces both **stagnation** in job growth and price inflation.

Vocabulary

stagnation, n. a condition noted for a lack of growth or development

President Ford's economic plans called for government spending cuts and reducing energy costs. Ford's Energy Policy Conservation Act of 1975 included funding for alternative energy research. For the first time, the federal government mandated mileage standards for American cars. And, hoping to decrease U.S. dependence on foreign energy sources, the bill also called for the expansion of domestic oil and coal production.

President Ford also oversaw the end of the war in Vietnam. Once U.S. troops had left, the North Vietnamese Army overran the South. By the spring of 1975, it was closing in on Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam. The United States evacuated thousands of people from the city by helicopter, including American and South Vietnamese diplomats. After the South Vietnamese government surrendered on April 30, the country was unified and became the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Fifty-eight thousand Americans and millions of Vietnamese had died in the war. Many American soldiers returned from the war with terrible injuries—both physical and mental. These returning soldiers were rarely hailed as heroes, and their medical needs were often ignored.

Think Twice

What does the United States' involvement in Vietnam suggest about how the United States saw its global role during this time?

President Carter

In 1976, former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter defeated President Ford by a narrow margin to become the thirty-ninth

U.S. president. Like Ford, Carter struggled to address stagflation. Then in 1979, oil prices spiked after Iran stopped exporting oil for a time during the Iranian Revolution. In July of that year, Carter gave a televised speech addressing widespread concern about gasoline shortages and the state of the economy. He told the American people that American democracy was threatened by a "crisis of confidence." He went on to say:

> It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation.

The crisis, he said, was "threatening to destroy the social and political fabric of America." Carter's so-called "malaise speech" was meant to inspire Americans to cooperate for the good of the country by making sacrifices and changing their patterns of consumption. It was, for the most part, well received by many Americans. Yet President Carter failed to capitalize on this momentum to make meaningful change.

The Carter administration also faced many challenges abroad. Carter had entered the presidency committed to global human rights. He came under criticism, however, for some of his foreign policy. The Carter administration withdrew support from anti-communist authoritarian governments, only to see those governments replaced by regimes that many considered more extreme. Critics of Carter's foreign policy pointed to Nicaragua, where a revolution brought in a communist-aligned government. They also noted the takeover of Iran by an Islamist revolution. Critics thought Carter failed to understand the complexities of international relations.

In 1978, President Carter won acclaim for his role in facilitating the Camp David Accords, a set of agreements between Israel and Egypt. Egyptian president

Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin (left), U.S. president Jimmy Carter (center), and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat (right) came together for talks at presidential retreat Camp David, Maryland, in 1978.

Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin negotiated Egypt's recognition of the state of Israel and Israel's return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control. Many hoped the Camp David Accords would mark the beginning of wider peace in the Middle East. Unfortunately, this was not to be the case.

Find Out the Facts

Find out what President Carter and the Egyptian and Israeli leaders hoped to achieve in the long term in the Middle East. Then find out what the situation in the Middle East is today.

Writers' Corner

Create a podcast about the Camp David Accords and the Middle East today using your research.

In November 1979, militant followers of Iran's new leader, the Muslim cleric Ayatollah Khomeini, denounced the United States as the "Great Satan." They seized control of the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took Americans hostage. President Carter ordered a military rescue mission in April 1980, but it failed. Eight servicemen were killed during the rescue operation when an American helicopter crashed into a transport plane. Later that year, the United Nations passed a resolution that condemned Iran's actions and called for the hostages' release. On January 20, 1981—a few minutes after President Ronald Reagan's inaugural address—Ayatollah Khomeini released the fifty-two hostages.

In December 1979, at the same time as the Iran crisis, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Previously, President Carter had succeeded in negotiating a second round of arms reductions with the Soviet Union, SALT II. In response to the invasion, Carter withdrew SALT II from consideration by the U.S. Senate. He also embargoed American grain shipments to the Soviet Union. Additionally, he announced that American athletes would not participate in the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow.

The Reagan Years

Republican Ronald Reagan soundly defeated Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election, becoming the fortieth U.S. president. Reagan's victory ushered in an era of conservative political leadership in the United States. Reagan denounced communism,

championed free enterprise, and spoke out against big government. In his campaign for president, he called for a "return to spiritual values" and promised to "make America great again." He said, "Government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem."

President Reagan was propelled into office by a groundswell of support from the "New Right," a movement that emerged following the successes of the Civil Rights Movement and other efforts for social change. Members of the New Right supported business **deregulation** and school choice. They opposed the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling in *Roe v. Wade* creating a constitutional right to abortion. They also opposed the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) that would have granted men and women legal equality in all circumstances, with such equality to be enforced by the federal government. Others in the movement were people angered by court-ordered school busing to better integrate public schools and those who wanted organized prayer in school. And New Right members included those who believed that **affirmative action** gave women and African Americans preferential treatment in hiring, promotion, or university admissions. The New Right helped reelect Ronald Reagan in 1984.

Reagan's economic policy was known as "Reaganomics." It promised to shrink the size of government and called for reduced government spending, tax cuts, deregulation of some industries, and increased defense spending. Reagan raised Social Security payments and did not cut Medicare payments. He did, however, make cuts to food stamps, low-income housing, and school lunch programs. His administration transferred management of welfare programs to the states as part of its effort to reduce the size, influence, and power of the federal government. Reagan also oversaw the continued deindustrialization of the American economy. More and more

Vocabulary

deregulation, n. the process of taking away regulations or restrictions

"affirmative action" (phrase) the use of policies or practices to increase the numbers of persons from certain groups in areas of employment or education where they have historically been underrepresented or excluded

jobs moved overseas, and American manufacturing declined. Reagan's tax cuts and increased defense spending caused the **national debt** to more than double during his time in office.

Vocabulary

national debt, n. the amount of money that the government of a country owes to lenders such as banks, companies, or other countries

President Reagan took a firm anti-communism stance in world politics, denouncing the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." He increased spending to fund anti-communist "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan and elsewhere and used U.S. forces to topple the leftist government of the small Caribbean island nation of Grenada. He also supported anti-communist authoritarian governments in several countries.

In 1983, Reagan announced the creation of the space-based Strategic Defense Initiative to shoot down Soviet missiles. The initiative was nicknamed "Star Wars" by the press. It was an ambitious idea and one that the president had come up with himself. Technology at the time, however, did not support his ambitions.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union began to improve after Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985. Gorbachev introduced policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (economic and political restructuring) in his country. In a few short years, the Communist Party's control over life in the Soviet Union began to unravel. By the end of Reagan's second term, communist rule in the Soviet Union was coming to an end.

Find Out the Facts

Find out more about Mikhail Gorbachev and his role in changing society in the Soviet Union.

Writers' Corner

Create a visual presentation about Mikhail Gorbachev and his role in changing society in the Soviet Union using your research.

One of the most notorious events of Reagan's presidency was the Iran-Contra Affair. The Contras were an anti-communist group fighting to overthrow the leftist government of Nicaragua. Reagan wanted to fund the Contras, but

President Reagan met multiple times with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1980s. The relationship between the United States and the soon-to-be-nonexistent Soviet Union improved markedly during these years.

Congress had made doing so illegal. To secure money for the Contras, the Reagan administration secretly sold weapons to Iran. It was hoped that selling arms to Iran might also persuade the Iranians to help gain the freedom of American hostages in Lebanon. However, these sales were illegal, because Iran was considered a sponsor of terrorism. After the details of the sales came out in 1986, the scandal tainted Reagan's last years in office.

President George H. W. Bush

President George H. W. Bush was elected the forty-first president in 1988. Bush was an accomplished politician. He had served in the U.S. House of Representatives, as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and as director of the CIA. He was also vice president under President Reagan.

During President Bush's four years in the White House, the Cold War came to an end. The Soviet Union was unable to stop a wave of democratization that occurred in the Eastern bloc. On November 9, 1989, the East German government opened the border to West Germany, including access through the Berlin Wall that divided West Berlin and East Berlin. German citizens on both sides of the wall began tearing down the long-standing symbol of Cold War divisions.

Eastern bloc states also began declaring their independence from the Soviet Union. Then, in December 1991, the communist Soviet Union collapsed. It was soon replaced by fifteen independent countries, with Russia the largest among them. With the Soviet Union gone, the Cold War was over, and President Bush announced the emergence of a "new world order." But Bush did not flaunt America's Cold War victory. Instead, he reached out to offer American aid to the nations of the now former Soviet Union.

The first parts of the Berlin Wall were demolished by citizens near the Brandenburg Gate in November 1989, after the opening of some border crossing points.

PRESIDENT CARTER'S "CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE" SPEECH (1979)

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America. . . .

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. For the first time in the history of our country a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years. Two-thirds of our people do not even vote. The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has fallen below that of all other people in the Western world.

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning.

These changes did not happen overnight. They've come upon us gradually over the last generation, years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

Source: Carter, Jimmy. "Energy and National Goals: Address to the Nation," July 15, 1979. National Archives: Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum.

PRIMARY SOURCE: PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPEECH AT THE BRANDENBURG GATE (1987)

On June 12, President Ronald Reagan gave a speech in front of the Brandenburg Gate in West Germany. The gate was built in the late 1700s, but it came to represent the division between East and West Germany during the Cold War.

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. . . .

As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph. . . .

In the 1950's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. . . .

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. . . .

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

Source: Reagan, Ronald. "Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin," June 12, 1987. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum.

Glossary

A

"active internationalism" (phrase) a policy of working or cooperating with other nations; the opposite of isolationism **(6)**

"affirmative action" (phrase) the use of policies or practices to increase the numbers of persons from certain groups in areas of employment or education where they have historically been underrepresented or excluded **(53)**

B

blacklist, n. a list of people or groups to be avoided or excluded **(14)**

bloc, n. a group of nations united by a political agreement or common interest **(4)**

C

civil disobedience, n. the refusal to follow the law or government because it goes against one's conscience; an act of protest **(32)**

containment, n. the act or process of keeping something within certain limits, such as stopping the spread of communism during the Cold War **(5)**

cosmonaut, n. an astronaut who is part of the Soviet, and later Russian, space program **(18)**

coup d'état, n. a sudden and illegal takeover of government by force **(9)**

D

delegation, n. a group chosen to represent others, such as at the national convention of a major political party **(38)**

deregulation, n. the process of taking away regulations or restrictions **(53)**

détente, n. a policy that relaxes tensions between nations **(48)**

dissent, n. opposition to or dissatisfaction with a government or its policies **(4)**

G

GDP (gross domestic product), n. the value of all goods and services produced in one country during a specific period, usually a year or part of a year **(3)**

guerrilla, n. a soldier who uses nontraditional ways of fighting **(21)**

I

ideology, n. a set of beliefs that support a political system, party, or group **(4)**

inherently, adv. in a way that reflects the innermost nature of a thing or person **(27)**

N

national debt, n. the amount of money that the government of a country owes to lenders such as banks, companies, or other countries **(54)**

P

per capita, adj. per person **(3)**

plaintiff, n. a person who begins a legal action **(27)**

S

stagnation, n. a condition noted for a lack of growth or development **(50)**

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