

CHAPTER 39

The Stormy Sixties, 1960–1968

Key questions in this chapter: How close did the world actually come to a nuclear catastrophe in incidents such as the Berlin and Cuban missile crises? What lessons can be learned from the Vietnam War? Why and how were the passions of the civil rights movement released and what is its legacy today? How have the cultural, sexual, and feminist revolutions of the 1960s affected life in America today?

- 1. Kennedy and the “New Frontier” (pp. 916–918)** Kennedy took office in early 1961 and appointed to the highest offices the “best and the brightest” including his brother _____ as Attorney General and Robert S. _____ as Secretary of Defense. Much of his domestic “New _____” program was stalled in Congress, but Kennedy brought an inspiring and energetic new leadership style to the presidency. What did Kennedy mean in his inaugural address (p. 916) when he declared that “the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans”?

- 2. Cold War and “Flexible Response” (pp. 918–921)** Soviet Premier Nikita _____ tried to test the young president at a summit conference in _____ in June 1961. He threatened again to cut off access to _____ and, in August 1961, constructed a wall separating the two halves of that city. Kennedy pushed to integrate Europe further under American leadership, a move resisted by Charles _____ of France. Civil conflict involving communist elements in newly independent countries such as the _____ (African country) and _____ (Asian country) convinced Kennedy that a new Cold War strategy was needed. He didn’t like the “devil’s choice” inherent in the Eisenhower reliance on the doctrine of “massive retaliation,” i.e., keeping the peace by threatening “aggressors” with atomic weapons. What was this new strategy called “flexible response”? *** While seemingly a more realistic strategy, what was the dangerous aspect of the concept of “flexible response” that might have encouraged Kennedy to increase the U.S. presence in South Vietnam to a level of _____ thousand men before his death in November 1963 and to engineer a coup against its leader _____ that same month?
 - (1) “Flexible response”:

 - (2) Dangerous aspect:

- 3. Cuban Missile Crisis (pp. 921–923)**
 - a. This is the closest the world has yet come to a global nuclear catastrophe. Kennedy had pushed Cuban leader Fidel _____ into an even closer relationship with the Soviets by going ahead with an invasion of Cuba by CIA-supported Cuban exiles initiated under Eisenhower. The April 1961 invasion at the Bay of _____ turned into a fiasco, as did other American efforts to topple Castro. Soviet Premier Nikita _____ responded by sending nuclear missiles to Cuba. Kennedy eventually decided to impose a naval “_____” of Cuba. After a high-stakes game of “nuclear chicken,” the Soviets agreed to withdraw their missiles in return for an American promise not to invade and a quiet agreement to dismantle U.S. missiles in Turkey. *** Besides the blockade, what other options did Kennedy have? What other options did Khrushchev have in responding to the blockade?
 - (1) Kennedy’s options:

(2) Khrushchev's options:

b. What are the consequences (or "fallout") of the Cuban missile crisis listed by the authors for both the Soviets and the Americans?

(1) Soviet consequences:

(2) American consequences:

4. Kennedy and Civil Rights (pp. 923–926)

a. A grassroots movement beginning at the local level was now beginning to drag government leaders into action. This section reviews the mounting civil rights tensions in the early 1960s, including the lunch counter _____-ins begun in 1960; the _____ Rides designed to integrate interstate transport facilities forcibly in 1961; the federal troops needed to protect the enrollment of James _____ at the University of _____ in 1962; the nationally televised suppression of King-led protests in _____, Alabama, in 1963; and the famous March on _____ later in 1963. Why do the authors say that Kennedy was initially reluctant to support civil rights? *** When did he change his mind and why do you think he did so?

(1) JFK's original position:

(2) JFK's changed position:

b. Look at the section on "Examining the Evidence" about differing newspaper interpretations of the March on Washington. *** What factors do you think contribute to this type of "press bias"?

5. Kennedy to Johnson (pp. 926–929)

a. The innocence of the age was shattered on November 22, 19____ when Kennedy was shot in _____, Texas, by _____ Oswald, who was himself mysteriously murdered (**on national TV!**) while in police custody a few days later. An investigation headed by Chief Justice Earl _____ concluded that Oswald had acted alone, but controversy over this issue remains to this day. Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Johnson, was a New Deal-style legislative wheeler-dealer who vowed to finish off the Kennedy program. What were the principal features, including an originally unintended one, of the major Civil Rights Act which he forced through in 1964?

b. Johnson's liberal leanings were evident in his call for a "War on _____" and his package of new proposals called his "Great _____" program. Johnson wanted to make history, as FDR had done, by using the massive power and resources of the federal government to uplift the bottom third of American society. Unfortunately, Vietnam got in the way of this plan. In the middle of his 1964 presidential campaign, in which he defeated conservative Republican Barry _____, Johnson took advantage of a dubious attack on a U.S. destroyer off the coast of Vietnam to secure passage by Congress of the Gulf of _____ Resolution. This

resolution gave the president almost unlimited power to wage war in Vietnam. The Constitution (Appendix p. A37) gives what branch of government the power to declare war?

- 6. The “Great Society” (pp. 929–930)** With a strong economy and a willing Congress, Johnson was able to secure passage of most of his massive “Great Society” legislative agenda. This included two new government departments (HUD and the Department of _____), plus federal agencies to support the arts and humanities; Medicare and _____ for the poor; removal of immigration restrictions (vastly increasing immigration from Latin America and _____); and other programs aimed at the disadvantaged, such as Project _____ Start. *** In general, do you feel that future taxpayers should be obligated by the government to pay for “entitlement” programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and unemployment insurance?

7. The Civil Rights Movement Turns Nasty (pp. 931–934)

a. This section summarizes the high-water mark of the multiracial Civil Rights movement symbolized by passage of the _____ Rights Act of 1964 and the _____ Rights Act of 1965. The 1965 Act outlawed many of the ploys used by southern segregationists to deny blacks their voting rights under the Fifteenth Amendment. Black voter registration and the number of black officeholders increased dramatically thereafter. Despite this slow but steady progress, many more radical black leaders, such as the Black Muslim preacher _____ X and Stokeley _____, grew impatient, distrustful of liberal white allies, and convinced that blacks would be better off by separating themselves from white mainstream society. The focus of the movement now shifted from the South to the inner cities of the North, where riots broke out in the mid- and late 1960s from Watts in Los Angeles to New York City. The end of the moderate phase of the movement was symbolized by the April 1968, assassination of King in _____, Tennessee. On p. 932, the authors say that 1965 marked the “end of an era” in the civil rights movement. Compare and contrast the two eras by completing the chart below:

	Pre-1965	Post-1965
(1) Geographic focus:	Rural South	_____
(2) Main issues:	Civil rights	_____
(3) Ultimate objective:	Integration	_____
(4) Representative leaders:	M. L. King, Jr.	_____
(5) Tactics used:	Nonviolent protest	_____
(6) Representative slogan:	“We shall overcome”	_____

b. *** What theories can you come up with as to why the nonviolent, multiracial phase of the Civil Rights movement ended in 1965/1966—just after Congress had passed two monumental pieces of legislation advancing the cause of equal rights for all?

- 8. Vietnam Quagmire (pp. 934–937)** This section describes Johnson’s “gradual escalation” strategy in Vietnam instituted in 1965 and designed to convince the Viet _____ (essentially fighting a civil war for control of their own country) to give up. Against a mounting antiwar movement, LBJ had placed more than _____ U.S. soldiers in Vietnam by 1968. *** Why do you think that all of this American firepower couldn’t defeat a small army from a third-world country?

- 9. Johnson to Nixon (pp. 937–941)** The massive North Vietnamese and Viet Cong offensive launched during _____ (the Vietnamese New Year) in January 1968 proved to many that victory was impossible and convinced Johnson not to run for re-election in 1968. But once Robert F. _____ was murdered in Los Angeles in June 1968, the

only antiwar candidate remaining in that contest was Sen. Eugene _____. Prowar VP Hubert H. _____ won the Democratic nomination at a riotous convention in _____, but he was defeated in the election by Republican anticommunist hard-liner Richard M. _____. Though an increasing number of Americans were against the war by 1968, those views were not represented by any of the candidates, including third-party candidate George C. _____. The “Obituary” of Lyndon Johnson at the end of this section gives him credit as a great domestic legislator who could have gone down in history alongside FDR but for his understandable yet ultimately disastrous policies in Vietnam. *** After looking over this section, to what extent can you sympathize with his dilemma and that of the country in responding to a potential communist takeover in Vietnam? Where do you think government leaders went wrong?

10. “CounterCulture” of the 1960s (pp. 941–943)

a. In this section, the authors cite elements of the new youth-oriented counterculture that they say was “launched in youthful idealism” but which “sputtered out in violence and cynicism.” This transformation was characterized by a disillusionment with all kinds of authority, dropouts, draft-dodging, drugs, unconventional dress, peace signs, acid rock, antimaterialism, gay rights, and a much more liberal attitude toward sex partially facilitated by the new birth control pill. Explain what the authors mean when they say that these cultural upheavals can be “largely attributed to three P’s.”

(1) Population bulge:

(2) Protest:

(3) Prosperity:

b. Many elements of the 1960s counterculture can seem quaint to us today. In fact, most “hippies” went “straight” when they began having families of their own. *** However, what are the elements of this cultural revolution that you think have been most permanent? Which ones have had the most impact on the values and cultural norms generally accepted today?

11. Varying Viewpoints (pp. 944–945) The authors say that four issues dominate historical debate about the 1960s: civil rights, the “War on Poverty,” Vietnam, and the “counterculture.” Pick ONE of these four and summarize the essence of the historical debate.

CHAPTER 39 TERM SHEET

The Stormy Sixties

Pages 916–918

John F. Kennedy

Robert F. Kennedy

J. Edgar Hoover

Robert S. McNamara

“New Frontier”

Peace Corps

“Man on the moon” (1969)

Pages 918–921

Nikita Khrushchev

Vienna Conference (1961)

Berlin wall (1961)

Trade Expansion Act (1962)

“Atlantic Community”

Charles de Gaulle

“Massive retaliation”

“Flexible response”

Green Berets

Anti-Diem coup (1963)

Pages 921–922

Alliance for Progress (1961)

Bay of Pigs (1961)

Cuban missile crisis (October 1962)

Peaceful coexistence/détente

Pages 923–926

Freedom Riders (1961)

James Meredith (1962)

Birmingham protests (1963)

March on Washington (August 1963)

Medgar Evers

Pages 926–929

Lee Harvey Oswald (November 22, 1963)

Jack Ruby

Earl Warren

Lyndon B. Johnson

Civil Rights Act (1964)

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

Title VII

“Affirmative action”

“War on Poverty”

“Great Society”

Michael Harrington (1962)

Barry Goldwater (1964)

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964)

Pages 929–930

Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)

DOT and HUD (1965)

Robert C. Weaver

National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities

Medicare

Medicaid

“Entitlement” programs

Immigration and Nationality Act (1965)

Project Head Start

Pages 931–934

Voting Rights Act (1965)

Twenty-fourth Amendment (1964)

Mississippi “freedom summer” (1964)

Selma march (1965)

Watts (1965)

Malcolm X

Elijah Muhammed

Black Panther Party

Stokeley Carmichael

“Black Power”

King assassination (1968)

Pages 934–937

Dominican intervention (1965)

“Operation Rolling Thunder” (1965)

Vietnam “escalation” (1965)

“Domino” theory

Six-Day War (1967)

“Teach-ins” (1965)

Sen. William Fulbright

“Credibility gap”

“Doves” and “hawks”

Pages 937–941

Tet offensive (1968)

Sen. Eugene McCarthy

Johnson’s “abdication” (1968)

Hubert H. Humphrey

R. F. Kennedy assassination (1968)

Chicago Democratic convention (1968)

Richard M. Nixon

Spiro T. Agnew

George C. Wallace

Pages 941–943

“Beat” poets (1950s)

James Dean

Free speech movement

Mario Savio

“Counterculture”

“Sexual revolution”

Birth-control pill (1960)

Dr. Alfred Kinsey

Stonewall incident (1969)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

“Weathermen”

“Flower children”