# Chapter 36 American Zenith, 1952–1963

Presented by:

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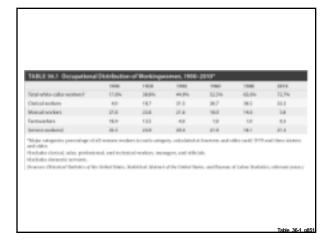


#### I. Affluence and Its Anxieties

- Prosperity boom
  - Housing:
    - Fabulous surge in home construction
      - 1960: 25% of all homes had been built in decade of 1950s
         » 83% of those new houses in suburbia
  - Science and technology:
    - Invention of transistor (1948) sparked revolution in electronics, especially computers
      - First electronic computers were massive machines
      - Computer giant International Business Machine (IBM) prototype of "high-tech" corporation in new "information age"

## I. Affluence and Its Anxieties (cont.)

- Computers transformed business practices
- Aerospace industries:
  - Connection between military and civilian aircraft production
  - Seattle-based Boeing Company (1957)—first large passenger jet, "707," based on long-range bomber, B-52
- Nature of work force changing:
  - "White collar" workers outnumbered "blue collar"
    - Passage from industrial to postindustrial or service-based economy
    - Union membership peaked at about 35% of labor force in 1954; then began steady decline (see Figure 32.3)





I. Affluence and Its Anxieties (cont.)

- Women and industry:
  - Surge in white-collar employment opened special opportunities for women (see Table 36.1)
  - After WWII, many women left paid work
  - A "cult of domesticity" emerged in popular culture to celebrate eternal feminine functions of wife and mother
  - Quite revolution occurred:
    - Of 40 million new jobs created from 1950-1980,
    - $-\mbox{ more than 30 million jobs in clerical and service work}$
  - "Pink-collar ghetto" were occupations dominated by women (see Figure 36.1)

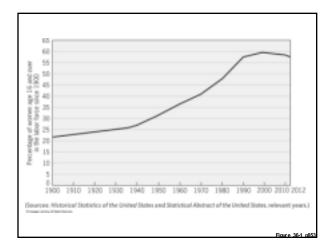
#### I. Affluence and Its Anxieties (cont.)

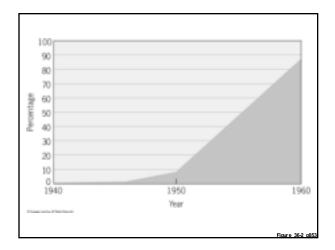
- Urban age and women:
  - Women's new dual role: both worker and homemaker raised urgent questions:
    - About family,
    - And traditional definitions of gender differences
  - Feminist Betty Friedan:
    - **The Feminine Mystique** (1963): a classic of feminist protest literature that launched modern women's movement
    - Criticized stifling boredom of suburban housewifery

#### II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties

- 1950s: expansion of middle class and blossoming of consumer culture defined a distinctive lifestyle:
  - Dinner's Club introduced plastic credit card (1949)
  - 1948: First "fast-food" style McDonald's opened in San Bernardino, California
  - 1955: Disneyland opened in Anaheim, California
  - Easy credit, high-volume "fast food," and new forms of leisure marked emerging culture of consumption
  - especially critical was development of television (see Figure 36.2)











## II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties (cont.)

- Attendance at movies sank:
  - Entertainment industry changed from silver screen to picture tube
  - $-\,$  \$10 billion  $\,$  spent on advertising on television in mid-1950s
  - Critics fumed that new mass medium degrading public's aesthetic, social, moral, political, and educational standards
- Religion:
  - Capitalized on powerful new electronic pulpit
  - Billy Graham, Oral Roberts, Fulton J. Sheen took to TV to spread Christian gospel
- $\bullet \ \ Catalyzed \ commercialization \ of \ sports:$ 
  - Once numbered in stadium-capacity thousands, viewers could now be counted in couch-potato millions

## II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties (cont.)

- Sports reflected shift in population to West and South
- 1958: NY Giants to San Francisco; Brooklyn Dodgers to LA
- Expansions in major league baseball, football, and basketball followed
- Popular music dramatically transformed
  - Chief revolutionary was Elvis Presley:
    - » Fused black rhythm and blues with white bluegrass and country styles
    - » Created rock 'n' roll
- Marilyn Monroe helped popularize and commercialize new standards of sensuous sexuality, as did *Playboy* magazine (1953)



## II. Consumer Culture in the Fifties (cont.)

- As 1950s closed:
  - Americans becoming free-spending consumers of massproduced, standardized products
  - Critics lamented implications of new consumerist lifestyle:
    - David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (1950), portrayed postwar generation as pack of conformists
      - As did William H. Whyte, The Organization Man (1956)
      - And Sloan Wilson, The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit (1955)
    - John Kenneth Galbraith bemoaned spectacle of private opulence amidst public squalor in The Affluent Society (1958)
      - His call formore investment in public good ignored during affluent 1950s

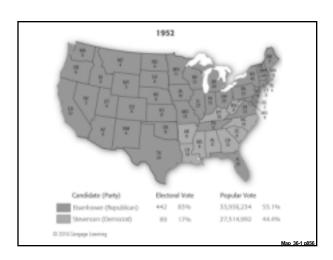
#### III. The Advent of Eisenhower

- Election of 1952:
  - Democrats
    - Nominated a reluctant Adlai E. Stevenson
  - Republicans
    - Enthusiastically chose war hero General Dwight D. Eisenhower on first ballot
    - "Ike's" running mate was Richard M. Nixon, who gained notoriety as a red-hunter
    - Nixon campaigned with bare-knuckle style of political combat



## III. The Advent of Eisenhower (cont.)

- Politics and television:
  - Nixon, accused of taking illegal donations, denied charges on television—Checkers Speech saved his spot on ticket
    - Television now a formidable political tool
    - Allowed candidates to bypass party machinery
- Results of 1952 presidential election:
  - Eisenhower pledged to go to Korea to end war if elected:
    - Won 33,936,234 votes to Stevenson's 27,314,992
    - 442 electoral votes to 89 (see Map 37.1)
    - Ike brought Republicans to GOP control of new Congress



#### III. The Advent of Eisenhower (cont.)

- Eisenhower's presidential term:
  - Fulfilled pledge with three day visit to Korea
    - Took him seven more months to get armistice signed
  - Korean War lasted three years (1950-1953):
    - more than 30,000 Americans lay dead
    - more than one million Chinese, North Koreans, South Koreans dead
    - Tens of billions American dollars spent
    - War bought only return to conditions of 1950
    - Korea remained divided at 38th parallel
    - Cold War continued



## III. The Advent of Eisenhower (cont.)

- Eisenhower as a leader (military and civilian):
  - Cultivated style that self-consciously projected image of sincerity, fairness, and optimism
  - As President, struck pose of "unpolitical" president
    - Serenely above partisan fray
  - His greatest "asset" was "affection and respect of our citizenry"
    - Critics charged he hoarded "asset" of immense popularity, rather then spend it for a good cause (e.g., civil rights)
    - Ike failed to stand up to McCarthyist demagogurery in GOP

### IV. Desegregating American Society

- America's black community in 1950s
  - 15 million African American citizens in 1950
    - Two-thirds of whom lived in South
    - Jim Crow laws:
      - Rigid set of laws governed black life in South
      - Array of separate social arrangements kept blacks insulated from whites, economically inferior, and politically powerless
      - Only about 20% of those eligible to vote were registered
         Fewer than 5% in Deep South
      - Where law proved insufficient to enforce regime, vigilante violence did job:



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## IV. Desegregating American Society (cont.)

- » Six black war veterans, claiming rights for which they had fought overseas, murdered in summer of 1946
- » Mississippi mob lynched 14-year-old Emmett Till in 1955 for allegedly leering at a white woman
- Segregation tarnished America's international image
  - African American entertainers Paul Robeson and Josephine Baker toured world recounting horrors of Jim Crow
  - Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma ex*posed scandalous contradiction between
    - "American Creed" of liberty and
    - Nation's shameful treatment of black citizens

### IV. Desegregating American Society (cont.)

- International pressure combined with grassroots and legal activism
  - Propelled some racial progress in North during and after WWII
    - · Fought for and won equal access to public accommodations
  - Jackie Robinson cracked baseball's color barrier when Brooklyn Dodgers signed him in 1947
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) pushed Supreme Court:
  - To rule in Sweatt v. Painter (1950) that separate professions schools for blacks failed to meet test of equality
  - Other rulings benefited blacks as well as other minorities

### IV. Desegregating American Society (cont.)

- African American suffering continued, especially in South:
  - Increasingly blacks refused to suffer in silence
  - In Dec. 1955 Rosa Parks made history in Montgomery, Alabama, when she boarded a city bus, took a seat in "whites only" section, and refused to give it up
    - » Her arrest for violating city's Jim Crow statutes sparked year-long black boycott of city buses
    - » Served notice throughout South that blacks would no longer submit meekly to absurdities and indignities of segregation

### IV. Desegregating American Society (cont.)

- Montgomery bus boycott:
  - Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.:
    - Unlikely champion of downtrodden and disfranchised
    - Had been sheltered from grossest cruelties of segregation
    - His oratorical skill, strategic savvy, mastery of biblical and constitutional conceptions of justice, and devotion to nonviolent principles of India's Mohandas Gandhi thrust him to forefront of black revolution.




#### V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

- President Truman
  - Horrified by murder of black war veterans in 1946
  - Commissioned report "To Secure These Rights"
  - Ended segregation in federal civil service and in armed forces (1948)
  - Congress resisted civil rights legislation
  - Truman's successor, Eisenhower, showed no interest in racial issues



### V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution (cont.)

- Supreme Court and civil rights:
  - Assumed political leadership in civil rights struggle
  - Chief Justice Earl Warren:
    - Courageously led Court to address urgent issues that Congress and Ike preferred to avoid
    - Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954):
      - Segregation in public schools "inherently unequal" and thus unconstitutional
      - Reversed Court's verdict in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) that "separate but equal" facilities were constitutional

### V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution (cont.)

- Desegregation must go ahead with "all deliberate speed"
  - Border States made reasonable efforts to comply
  - Deep South organized "massive resistance"
  - Southern members of Congress signed "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" in 1956:
    - » Pledged unyielding resistance to desegregation
  - Some states diverted public funds to start private schools
  - Ten years later, fewer than 2% of eligible blacks in Deep South in classrooms with whites

## V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution (cont.)

- Eisenhower reluctant to promote integration
  - His personal attitudes helped restrain him
    - Felt Court's ruling upset "customs and convictions of at least two generations of Americans"
    - Refused to issue public statement endorsing Court's conclusion
  - September 1957, Ike forced to act:
    - Orval Faubus, governor of Arkansas, mobilized National Guard to prevent 9 black students from enrolling in Little Rock's Central High School
    - Ike sent troops to escort children to their classes

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## V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution (cont.)

- Congress passed first Civil Rights Act since Reconstruction
  - Set up permanent Civil Rights Commission to investigate violations of civil rights
  - Authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights
- Martin Luther King formed Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957
  - Mobilized black churches on behalf of black rights
  - Churches were largest and best-organized black institutions







## V. Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution (cont.)

- Black "sit-in" movement launched Feb. 1, 1960
  - By four black college freshmen in Greensboro, NC

     Demanded service at whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter
  - Swelled into wade-ins, lie-ins, and pray-ins to compel equal treatment
  - April 1960: southern black students formed Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
    - $\, \mathsf{Gave} \, \mathsf{more} \, \, \mathsf{focus} \, \, \mathsf{to} \, \, \mathsf{these} \, \, \mathsf{efforts}$
    - Impassioned, young SNCC members would eventually:
      - » Lose patience with more stately tactics of SCLC
      - » And even more deliberate legalism of NAACP

#### VI. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home

- Eisenhower pledged "dynamic conservatism"
  - When dealing with people: "Be liberal, be human" but with "people's money, or their economy, or their form of government, be conservative"
  - Balanced, middle-of-the-road course
  - No effort to roll back major achievements of New Deal
  - Halt further expansion of government programs
  - Strove to balance federal budget:
    - Guard Republic from what Ike called "creeping socialism"
    - Supported transfer of control over offshore oil fields from federal government to states

## VI. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home (cont.)

- Tried to curb TVA by encouraging a private company to build a generating plant to compete with TVA
- Eisenhower responded to domestic pressures and Mexican government concerns about illegal Mexican immigration
  - Operation Wetback—One million Mexicans apprehended and returned to Mexico in 1954
- Eisenhower sought to cancel tribal preservation policies of "Indian New Deal"
  - Proposed to "terminate" tribes as legal entities
  - Revert to assimilationist goals of Dawes Severalty Act of 1887
  - Most Indians resisted termination
  - Policy abandoned in 1961



## VI. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home (cont.)

- Ike backed Federal Highway Act of 1956:
  - \$27 billion plan to build 42,000 miles of fast motorways
  - Dwarfed public  $\,$  work programs of New Deal  $\,$
  - Ike saw interstates as essential to national defense
  - Also created countless construction jobs
  - $\, \mathsf{Sped} \,\, \mathsf{suburbanization}$
  - $\boldsymbol{-}$  Offered big benefits to trucking, automobile,  $\,$  oil, and travel industries
  - Robbed railroads, especially passenger trains, of business
  - Exacerbated problems of air quality and energy consumption
  - Disastrous for cities as downtown shopping replaced by shopping malls in suburbs

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## VII. A "New Look" in Foreign Policy

- 1952 Republican platform condemned "containment" and called for "new look" in foreign policy
- John Foster Dulles, secretary of state, promised:
  - To "roll back" red tide and "liberate captive peoples"
- lke also promised to balance budget by cutting military spending
- Dulles announced policy of boldness in 1954:
  - Relegated army and navy to backseat; built up fleet of Strategic Air Command's superbombers equipped with city-flattening weapons
  - Inflict "massive retaliation" on Soviets or Chinese



#### VII. A "New Look" in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- Advantage: nuclear intimidation with cheaper price tag
- Ike sought thaw in Cold War after Stalin's death:
  - Through negotiations with new Soviet leaders
  - In the end, "new look" proved illusory
  - Nikita Khrushchev rejected Ike's call for "open skies" mutual inspection program
  - Ike refused aid to Hungarian uprising (1956)
    - America's nuclear sledgehammer too heavy for relatively minor crisis
    - Exposed strategic limitations of "massive retaliation"

#### VIII. The Vietnam Nightmare

- · Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh:
  - Nationalists sought to end French colonial rule
    - Ho appealed to Wilson for self-determination in 1919
  - Cold War damped dreams of anticolonial Asians:
    - Their leaders became increasingly communists while United States became increasingly anticommunist
    - By 1954, America paying 80% of war costs in Indochina
      - Amounted to \$1 billion a year
      - Done partly to getFrench approval for rearmed W. Germany
         W. Germany entered NATO in 1955

### VIII. The Vietnam Nightmare (cont.)

- French rule crumbled under Ho's nationalist guerrillas—called Viet Minh
- French garrison trapped in fortress of Dien Bien Phu
- "Policy of boldness" tested:
  - Some (e.g., Nixon) favored intervention with U.S. bombers
- Eisenhower held back
- Battle of Dien Bien Phu (1954) a victory for nationalists
- Multination conference in Geneva halved
   Vietnam at seventeenth parallel (see Map 36.3)

## VIII. The Vietnam Nightmare (cont.)

- Ho in north consented to arrangement on assurance that Vietnam-wide elections held within two years
- South: pro-Western government under Ngo Dinh Diem entrenched at Saigon
  - Refused to hold promised elections
- U.S.A. proved aid to Diem
- Diem faced growing campaign by communist guerrillas
- Americans backed a losing horse (Diem) but could see no easy way to call off bet


#### IX. Cold War Crises in the Middle East

- Fears that Soviets would penetrate oil-rich Middle East heightened Cold War tensions
  - Iranian government resisted Western oil companies
  - CIA helped engineer coup in 1953 that installed Mohammed Reza Pahlevi as dictator
    - U.S. intervention created resentment among Iranians
  - Two decades later, Iranians took revenge on shah and his American allies (see Chap. 38)



## IX. Cold War Crises in the Middle East (cont.)

- Suez crisis:
  - Egypt's Nasser sought funds to build dam on Nile
  - America tentatively offered financial help
  - When Nasser began to deal with communists, Dulles withdrew dam offer
    - Nasser then nationalized  $\,$  Suez Canal, owned chiefly by  $\,$  British  $\,$  and French stockholders  $\,$
    - Britain and France, with help from Israel, staged assault on Egypt (Oct. 1956) thinking they would get help from U.S.A.
    - A furious Eisenhower refused to release emergency oil supplies
    - U.N. force sent in after oil-less invaders withdrew



## IX. Cold War Crises in the Middle East (cont.)

- Suez crisis last time U.S.A. could use "oil weapon"
  - 1940: U.S.A. produced 2/3 of world's oil, with 5% coming from Middle East
    - By 1948, U.S.A had become net oil importer
  - Arab nations attempted to keep more of profit from their oil exports
  - 1960 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) formed:
    - Member nations: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Venezuela
  - Within two decades, OPEC's stranglehold on Westem economies would tighten

#### X. Round Two for Ike

- Election of 1956:
  - Eisenhower pitted against Adlai Stevenson
    - Voters still liked lke
    - Results:
      - 35,590,472 for Eisenhower; 26,022,752 for Stevenson
      - Electoral College: 457 for Republicans, 73 for Democrats
      - Eisenhower made deep roads into Democratic South
      - Ike failed to win either house of Congress for GOP

### X. Round Two for Ike (cont.)

- Fraud and gangsterism tarnished unions, especially Teamsters
  - AFL-CIO expelled James R. "Jimmy" Hoffa
    - Convicted of jury tampering, served part of sentence before disappearing without trace
  - Eisenhower persuaded Congress to pass Landrum-Griffin Act (1959):
    - Designed to bring labor leaders to account for financial shenanigans and bullying tactics
      - Expanded some antilabor strictures of Taft-Hartley Act (see Chap. 35)

### X. Round Two for Ike (cont.)

- Soviets launched Sputnik I and II into space (1957)
  - Shock to American self-confidence and security
- "Rocket fever" swept nation:
  - Eisenhower created National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
  - Vanguard missile exploded on national television
  - By end of decade, several satellites had been launched and U.S.A. successfully tested its own ICBMs
  - Sputnik spurred changes in U.S. educational system
  - 1958: National Defense and Education Act (NDEA)
    - » Promoted research and teaching in sciences, engineering, and foreign languages

#### XI. The Continuing Cold War

- Nuclear arms race and tensions over Berlin continued
- Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to Washington 1959
  - Khrushchev met with Eisenhower at Camp David
  - Optimism evaporated prior to Paris "summit" of 1960
    - On eve of conference, American U-2 plane shot down over USSR
    - "Honest Ike" eventually took full personal responsibility
    - This ended Paris conference

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#### XI. The Continuing Cold War (cont.)

- Uncle Sam and Latin America:
  - · Latin Americans resented meager U.S. aid
  - Chafed at America's continuing habit of intervening in Latin American affairs (CIA in Guatemala, 1954)
  - Washington supported dictators who claimed to be combating communists
- Cuba: Dictator Fulgencio Batista encouraged huge investments of American capital
  - Washington gave him support
  - 1959 Fidel Castro engineered revolution to oust Batista
  - Castro denounced Yankee imperialists

### XI. The Continuing Cold War (cont.)

- Castro began to expropriate American properties and pursue land-distribution program
- Washington then cut off U.S. imports of Cuban sugar
- Castro retaliated by confiscating Yankee property
  - Made his dictatorship an economic and military satellite of Moscow
- Anti-Castro Cubans headed for United States, especially FL
- Washington broke diplomatic relations with Cuba (1961)
- Imposed strict embargo on trade with Cuba

#### XII. Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency

- Election of 1960
  - Republicans:
    - "New" Nixon represented himself as mature, seasoned statesman
      - Gained notice in kitchen debate with Khrushchev (Moscow, 1959) where Nixon extolled virtues of American consumerism over Soviet economic planning
    - Won Republican nomination

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## XII. Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency (cont.)

- Democrats:
  - John F. Kennedy won impressive victories in primaries
  - Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, JFK's rival for nomination and Senate majority leader, accepted VP slot on ticket
  - Kennedy was first Roman Catholic to be nominated by a major party since AI Smith in 1928
  - Kennedy rebutted attacks on his religion
  - His Catholicism a problem in Protestant Bible Belt South, which was ordinarily Democratic
  - JFK's support from Northern Catholics made up for any Southern Democrats who rejected him

## XII. Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency (cont.)

- Television may have tipped scales:
  - Nixon agreed to meet Kennedy in four debates
  - Reinforced importance of image over substance in TV age
  - Viewers found Kennedy's glamour and vitality more appealing than Nixon's tired and pallid appearance



## XII. Kennedy Challenges Nixon on the Presidency (cont.)

- · Election results:
  - Kennedy-303 electoral votes to 219 for Nixon
  - JFK's popular vote margin only 118,574 votesout of over 68 million cast (see Map 36.2)
    - First Roman Catholic and youngest person elected to presidency
    - Kennedy ran well in industrial centers
    - Had strong support from African Americans
      - Telephoned Coretta King while Dr. King imprisoned in GA
    - 1960: two parties exhibited different racial strategies



## XII. Kennedy Challenges Nixon on the Presidency (cont.)

- Eisenhower continued to enjoy extraordinary popularity to final curtain:
  - Admired for his decency, goodwill, and moderation
  - U.S.A. grew economically and geographically during his presidency
    - Alaska and Hawaii attained statehood in 1959



#### XIII. A Cultural Renaissance

- U.S. power in post-WWII decades matched by international ascendancy in arts
  - - Americans supported countless painters, sculptors
    - Tradition-free environment congenial to experimental modern art that probed contemporary life
    - Jackson Pollock pioneered abstract expressionism
      - "action paintings" that expressed painter's individuality and made viewer a participant in defining painting's meaning

        Mark Rothko and his fellow "color field" painters enveloped whole canvases with bold, shimmering swaths of color



- "Pop" (short for popular) artists:
  - Andy Warhol canonized on canvas mundane items of consumer culture
  - Roy Lichtenstein parodied old-fashioned comic strips
- Architecture:
  - Residential building boom erected look-alike, ranchstyle houses across suburban landscape
  - Ultra-modern skyscrapers arose in nation's cities
    - —"International Style"—modernist, massive corporate highrises were essentially giant steel boxes wrapped in glass (U.N. headquarters in NYC (1952)

### XIII. A Cultural Renaissance (cont.)

- Frank Lloyd Wright produced original designs: roundwalled Guggenheim Museum (1959)
- Louis Kahn employed plain geometric forms and basic building materials: Salk Institute (1965)
- I. M. Pei designed East Wing of National Gallery of Art (1978) as well as John F. Kennedy Library (1979)

### XIII. A Cultural Renaissance (cont.)

- Greatest cultural harvest in literature
  - Initial World War II literature—searing realism:
    - Norman Mailer, The Naked and the Dead (1948)
    - James Jones, From Here to Eternity (1956)
- Overtime realistic WWII literature replaced by lit that viewed war in fantastic and psychedelic prose
  - Joseph Heller, Catch-22 (1961) dealt with antics and anguish of U.S. airmen in wartime Mediterranean
  - Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., Slaughterhouse Five, darkly comic war tale (1969)

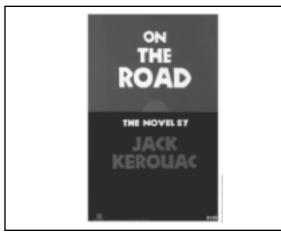
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- Literature debated post-WWII consumerist society
  - Counterculture "Beat" writers rejected modern American life outright, seeking self-expression in stridently nonconformist lifestyles (see Makers)
  - John Updike:
    - Rabbit, Run celebrated feats and failings of small-town America (1960)
    - Couples addressed suburban, middle-class infidelity (1968)
  - John Cheever, *The Wapshot Chronicle* (1957) chronicled suburban manners and morals
  - Gore Vidal wrote intriguing historical novels, *Myra Breckinridge* (1968)



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#### - Poets:

- Highly critical, even despairing about conformist character of midcentury America
- Experimented with "confessional" style, revealing personal experiences with sex, drugs, and madness
- Robert Lowell:
  - Helped inaugurate trend with psychologically intense *Life Studies* (1959)
  - For the Union Dead (1964) sought to apply wisdom of Puritan past to perplexing present in allegorical poems
- Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963) a disturbing autobiographical novel

- Playwrights:
  - Acute observers of postwar social mores
  - Tennessee Williams
    - Wrote blistering dramas about psychological misfits struggling to hold themselves together amid disintegrating forces of modern life
    - A Streetcar Named Desire (1947) and Cat on a Hot Tin Roof (1955) each critiqued restrictions placed on women's lives
  - Arthur Miller
    - Death of a Salesman (1949), tragic indictment of American drama of material success
    - The Crucible (1953), treated Salem witch trials as dark parable about dangers of McCarthyism

### XIII. A Cultural Renaissance (cont.)

- Lorraine Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959) offered realistic portrait of African American life
- Edward Albee, Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? (1962) exposed rapacious underside of middle-class life
- Novelists:
  - Often used form of a tale chronicling education and maturation of a young protagonist
    - J. D. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye painted unforgettable portrait of adolescent angst, alienation, and rebellion (1951)

#### XIII. A Cultural Renaissance (cont.)

- Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952) depicted African American's often tortured quest for personal identity
- Saul Bellow's *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953) told tale of Everyman struggling to make sense of world
- Harper Lee's To Kill a Mockingbird (1960) told of racial injustice and loss of youthful innocence

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#### XIV. New Cultural Voices

- Black authors built on earlier Harlem Renaissance
  - Richard Wright:
    - Native Son (1940), chilling portrait of black Chicago killer
    - Black Boy (1945), semi-autographical
  - James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time*, sensitive reflections on racial question
  - Black nationalist LeRoi Jones (changed name to Imamu Amiri Baraka) crafted powerful plays *Dutchman* (1964)

### XIV. New Cultural Voices (cont.)

#### - Southern Renaissance:

- Distanced themselves from earlier "Lost Cause" literature that glorified antebellum South
- Brought new critical appreciation to region's burdens of history, racism, and conservatism
- Led by William Faulkner, Nobel recipient in 1950
- Robert Penn Warren's All the King's Men (1946) immortalized Louisiana politico Huey Long
- Walker Percy, Eudora Welty, and Flannery O'Connor:
  - Perceptively tracked changes reshaping postwar South

#### XIV. New Cultural Voices (cont.)

 William Styron, The Confessions of Nat Turner (1967) confronted harsh history of Virginia in fictional representation of 1831 slave rebellion

#### - Jewish novelists:

- Bernard Malamud:
  - $-\ensuremath{\textit{The Assistant}}$  (1957) touching portrait of family of New York Jewish shopkeepers
- Philip Roth:
  - Goodbye, Columbus (1959) wrote comically about young New Jersey suburbanites
  - Portnoy's Complaint (1969) penned uproarious account of sexually obsessed middle-aged New Yorker


### XV. Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit

- John F. Kennedy:
  - Pledged to "get the country moving again"
  - Personified glamour and vitality of administration
    - · Youngest president ever elected
    - Assembled one of the youngest cabinets, including 35year-old brother, Robert F. Kennedy as attorney general
      - Tried to recast priorities of FBI away from internal security toward organized crime and civil rights enforcement
      - His efforts resisted by J. Edgar Hoover, who had served as FBI director longer than new attorney general had lived

## XV. Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit (cont.)

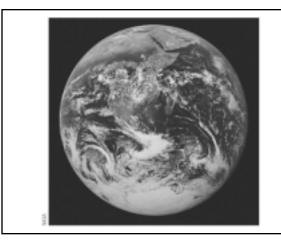
- Inner circle of confident and sophisticated advisors
  - Robert S. McNamara left presidency of Ford Motor Company to head Defense Department
- Kennedy inspired high expectations:
  - **New Frontier** depicted America's potential for greatness
  - Peace Corps: army of mostly youthful volunteers to bring American skills to undeveloped countries
  - Summoned citizens to serve their country
  - Soaring rhetoric not match political situation

## XV. Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit (cont.)

- Congress: Republicans and southern Democrats teamed up to oppose New Frontier proposals
  - JFK won first round when he forced Congress to expand House Rules Committee:
    - » Had been dominated by conservatives
  - Still New Frontier not expand swiftly
    - Key medical and education bills stalled in Congress
    - Congress rejected JFK's plan to cut taxes as economic boost
  - JFK had complex relationship with big business
    - Helped negotiate and enforce a noninflationary wage agreement in steel industry (1962)


## XV. Kennedy's "New Frontier" Spirit (cont.)

- New Frontier extended to "final frontier"
  - Promoted multibillion-dollar project to "landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to earth"
  - Moon shot a calculated plan to restore America's prestige in space race
    - Severely damaged by Soviet Sputnik successes
  - \$24 billion later, two NASA astronauts planted their footprints—and U.S. flag—on moon's surface (1969)
    - Apollo mission seen live on television around globe
    - Symbol of U.S. dominance

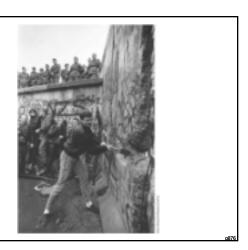




## XVI. Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response"

- Kennedy and Khrushchev:
  - First met in Vienna, June 1961
  - East Germany begin to build **Berlin Wall**, Aug. 1961
    - Designed to plug heavy population drain from East Germany to West Germany
    - Stood for almost three decades as symbol of post-WWII division of Europe into two hostile camps





## XVI. Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response" (cont.)

- European Economic Community (EEC):
  - Free trade area that later evolved into European Union
  - JFK secured passage of Trade Expansion Act, 1962
    - Authorizing tariff cuts of up to 50% to promote trade with EEC countries
    - Led to so-called Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations, concluded in 1967
  - Globalization—new era of robustly invigorated international commerce

### XVI. Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response" (cont.)

- Growing decolonization of European overseas possessions created problems for U.S. policy
  - Danger of Cold War competition there escalating into nuclear confrontation between USA and USSR
    - JFK moved from Ike's doctrine of "massive retaliation" to McNamara's strategy of "flexible response"
      - Developed array of military "options" that could be matched to gravity of crisis at hand
      - Kennedy increased spending on conventional military forces and bolstered Special Forces (Green Berets)

## XVI. Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response" (cont.)

- Doctrine of "flexible response":
  - Potentially lowered level at which diplomacy would give way to shooting
  - Provided mechanism for progressive, and possibly endless, stepping-up of use of force
  - South Vietnam presented proof of these pitfalls
    - Corrupt, right-wing government of Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon ruled shakily since 1954 partition
    - 1961, Kennedy ordered sharp increase in number of "military advisers" (U.S. troops) to South Vietnam

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### XVI. Foreign Flare-ups and "Flexible Response" (cont.)

- U.S. forces entered South Vietnam to foster political stability:
  - By protecting Diem from communists
  - Frustrated with Diem's refusal to reform, JFK administration encouraged coup against Diem (Nov. 1963)
  - JFK told South Vietnamese it was "their war," but he made dangerously deep political commitments
  - Ordered more than 15,000 Americans into Asian slaughter pen
  - A graceful pullout becoming increasingly difficult (see Map 36.3)

#### XVII. Cuban Confrontations

- Kennedy and Latin America:
  - Alliance for Progress (1961):
    - Hailed as Marshall Plan for Latin America
    - Intended to quiet communist agitation there
    - · Results disappointing:
      - Little alliance
      - Less progress
      - U.S. handouts had little positive impact on Latin America's immense social problems

### XVII. Cuban Confrontations (cont.)

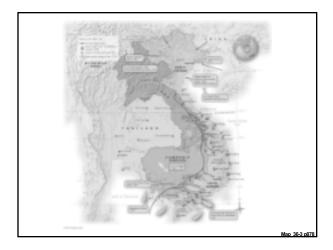
- Inherited from Eisenhower administration a CIAbacked scheme to topple Fidel Castro:
  - $\bullet$  By invading Cuba with anti-communist exiles
  - April 17, 1961: Bay of Pigs invasion failed
  - Events pushed Castro closer to USSR
  - Oct. 1962, U.S. spy plane revealed Soviets secretly installing nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba
  - Kennedy and Khrushchev began nerve-racking game of "nuclear chicken"
  - Oct. 22, 1962: JFK ordered naval "quarantine" of Cuba and demanded immediate removal of missiles

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## XVII. Cuban Confrontations (cont.)

- JFK further wamed that any attack on USA from Cuba would trigger nuclear retaliation against USSR
- World teetered on brink of global atomization
- Oct. 28, Khrushchev agreed to partial compromise:
  - He would remove missiles from Cuba
  - $-\mbox{ USA}$  agreed to end quarantine and not invade Cuba
  - USA agreed to remove from Turkey some of its missiles targeted at Soviet Union



#### XVII. Cuban Confrontations (cont.)

- Fallout from Cuban missiles crisis:
  - Khrushchev ultimately hounded out of office
  - USSR launched major program of military expansior
  - Kennedy pushed harder for nuclear test-ban treaty
    - Pact prohibiting trial nuclear explosions in atmosphere signed in 1963
  - Moscow-Washington "hot line" (1963) permitted immediate teletype communication
    - Another sign of thaw in Cold War

### XVII. Cuban Confrontations (cont.)

- Most significant was Kennedy's speech at American University (June 1963):
  - Urged Americans to abandon view of Soviet Union as Devil-ridden land filled with fanatics
  - Deal with world "as it is, not as it might have been had the history of the last 18 years had been different"
  - Tried to lay foundation for policy of peaceful coexistence with Soviet Union
  - Modern origins of policy known as "détente" (French for "relaxation of tension")

#### XVIII. The Struggle for Civil Rights

- JFK appealed to black voters in 1960, but
  - Moved slowly on civil rights because needed support of southerners in Congress for New Frontier
  - Freedom Riders: fanned out to end segregation in facilities serving interstate bus passengers
    - White mob torched Freedom Ride bus near Anniston, Alabama, May 1961
    - Attorney General Robert Kennedy's representative beaten unconscious in anti-Freedom Ride riot in Montgomery
    - When local governments wouldn't stop violence, Washington dispatched federal marshals to protect Freedom Riders

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## XVIII. The Struggle for Civil Rights (cont.)

- Kennedy administration reluctantly joined hands with civil rights movement:
  - Kennedy ultrawary about political associates of Martin Luther King, Jr.
    - Some thought King's advisers had communist links
    - Robert Kennedy ordered FBI to wiretap King's phone in 1963
    - Relationship between King and Kennedys overall fruitful one
      - Voter Education Project inaugurated to register South's historically disfranchised blacks

## XVIII. The Struggle for Civil Rights (cont.)

- Integration of southern universities:
  - Some did so painlessly, but University of Mississippi ("Ole Miss") became volcano
    - Veteran James Meredith encountered violent opposition when he attempted to register in October 1962
    - JFK forced to send in 400 federal marshals and 3,000 troops to enroll Meredith in his first class
  - Spring 1963, King launched campaign against discrimination in Birmingham, Alabama
    - Most segregated big city in America

## XVIII. The Struggle for Civil Rights (cont.)

- Since 1957, attempts to crack racial barriers there produced more than 50 cross burnings and 18 bomb attacks
- Violence occurred as police used attack dogs and high pressure hoses on demonstrators – all shown on TV
- Caused JFK to deliver televised speech to nation on June 11, 1963:
  - Called situation a "moral issue" and committed his personal and presidential prestige to finding a solution
  - Declared the principle at stake "is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution"
  - Called for new civil rights legislation to protect black citizens



## XVIII. The Struggle for Civil Rights (cont.)

- March on Washington (August 1963):
  - King led more than 200,000 on a peaceful march
    - In electrifying speech at Lincoln Memorial, King declared, "I have a dream..."
    - · Still violence continued
    - On night of Kennedy's television address:
      - White gunman murdered Medgar Evers, a black Mississippi civil rights worker
      - In September 1963, an explosion blasted a Baptist church in Birmingham, killing four black girls
      - Kennedy's civil rights bill stalled in Congress



#### XIX. The Killing of Kennedy

- November 22, 1963 (Dallas, Texas):
  - President Kennedy shot; died within seconds
  - VP Johnson sworn in as president
  - Alleged assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, killed in front of TV cameras by self-appointed avenger, Jack Ruby
  - Elaborate investigation by Chief Justice Warren could not quiet doubts and theories about what really happened

## XIX. The Killing of Kennedy (cont.)

- Kennedy had been in White House for slightly more than a thousand days
  - Acclaimed more for his ideals and the spirit he kindled, than for concrete goals he achieved
  - Inspirational figure for rising "baby boom" generation of 1960s

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