UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINE 1 FRERES MENTOURI
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF LETTERS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Course of American Civilization for Master I Students

Lecturer: Dr Fatima HAMADOUCHE

Associate Professor/ American Civilization

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COURSE OVERVIEW

TARGET AUDIENCE

The present course of American Civilization is intended for Master I students, Department of English, Faculty of Letters and Languages, University of Constantine 1 Frères Mentouri.

PREREQUISITES

There are some specific requirements for this course. In order to be able to follow the course of American Civilization at the Master level, students are required to have prior knowledge, in the first, second and third years of the following key components of U.S. history:

- The geo-historical growth of the USA
- Colonization of the New World
- Life in colonial America
- The Revolutionary Context of the American War of Independence
- The Articles of Confederation
- The American Constitution
- Slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction

OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

The primary objectives of the present course are to guide Master I students toward analyzing key U.S. historical transformations; namely 1920s economic booms, Great Depression impacts, New Deal reforms, identity politics, feminism, Vietnam's end, Watergate scandals, and 1970s cultural shifts (e.g., environmentalism, diversity via Bakke). Students build skills in evaluating political events (e.g., Harding scandals, Nixon Doctrine), social movements (e.g., Chicano activism, women's ERA), and economic policies (e.g., NIRA, AAA crop controls)

OUTLINE OF THE COURSE

The course surveys 20th-century American civilization from the 1920s "New Era" through the 1970s "limits" era. It covers '**14**' lectures on economic expansions (1920s big business, consumerism), social revolutions (migrations, flappers, Klan revival), crashes (1929 Depression), New Deal programs, postwar divisions (civil rights splinters, counterculture), Vietnam escalation/conclusion, Nixon-Ford-Carter presidencies, Watergate, and cultural evolutions (Harlem Renaissance, Earth Day, therapeutic culture).

Recommended Reading

The course offers a compilation of recommended sources for Master I students to supplement their grasping and knowledge of the presented lectures. A considerable number of pertinent sources are recommended by the end of every single part of the course. Examples include: for 1920s, Negro with a Hat (Garvey), The Modern Temper (culture), Rainbow's End (1929 crash); for later eras, Choosing War (Vietnam), Suburban Warriors (New Right), I've Got the Light of Freedom (civil rights). The compilation emphasizes historical analysis over primary texts.

LECTURE ONE

BIG BUSINESS, POLITICS, AND CONSUMER BOOM: THE 1920S ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Lecture Outline

- **Big Business Triumphant**

New Economic Expansion

Associations and "New Lobbying"

Setbacks for Organized Labor

Languishing Agriculture

- **Politics and Government**

Scandals of the Harding Administration |

Coolidge Prosperity

Extensions of Progressive Reform

Indian Affairs and Politics

Women and Politics

- **A Consumer Society**

Effects of the Automobile

Advertising

Radio

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Identify key economic trends of the 1920s, including post-WWI recession, electrification, consumerism, and the rise of oligopolies.
- Analyze the role of trade associations, lobbying, and government policies in supporting big business under Republican administrations.

- Explain setbacks for organized labor, including court decisions, welfare capitalism, and declining union membership.
- Describe challenges in agriculture, such as overproduction, debt, and falling prices.
- Discuss major political events, including Harding's scandals (e.g., Teapot Dome), Coolidge's prosperity policies, and the 1924 election.
- Evaluate extensions of Progressive reforms at state/local levels, reforms in Indian affairs (e.g., Snyder Act), and women's political activism post-suffrage.
- Assess the impact of consumerism, automobiles, advertising, and radio on American society and culture.

Big Business Triumphant

Economic deterioration marked the start of the 1920s. As military orders vanished after World War I, manufacturing output fell. Railroads and the mining sector suffered in the West, and when textile companies left antiquated plants in favor of the South's easy access to raw materials and inexpensive labor, layoffs spread throughout New England. The unemployment rate, which was about 2% in 1919, rose to 12% in 1921 as a result of the demobilized troops flooding the labor market. Spending by consumers decreased, which led to more downturn and unemployment.

New Economic Expansion

In 1922, electric energy spurred a rebound that lasted unevenly until 1929. Steam engines were replaced by electric motors, which allowed for more economical and effective production of commodities. Now that most urban homes had electricity, they could use new gadgets like vacuum cleaners and refrigerators. Americans had more money to spend on new services like dining establishments, salons, and movie theaters as a result of the expanding economy. The new consumerism was driven by time-payment arrangements, sometimes known as installment plans. Eighty percent of the 3.5 million cars sold in 1923 were purchased on credit.

Trust-busting during the Progressive era had curbed big business, but oligopoly—the ownership of an entire industry by one or a few major firms—had not been eradicated. By the 1920s, oligopolies controlled marketing, distribution, and banking, while a small number of large corporations, including General Electric and U.S. Steel, controlled fundamental industries.

Associations and "New Lobbying"

In the 1920s, professional and business associations also grew. Professionals grew their groups, and manufacturers and retailers established trade associations to exchange information. Farm bureaus worked to stabilize markets and advance scientific agriculture. These special interest groups took part in the so-called "new lobbying." Hundreds of organizations tried to persuade lawmakers to promote their interests as the government's influence grew.

Business prospered thanks to government legislation, and lawmakers relied on the knowledge of lobbyists. Congress passed the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act in 1922 after lowering taxes on corporations and rich persons in 1921 at the behest of lobbyists. Business-friendly cabinet ministers were appointed by Presidents Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover. Instead of regulating companies, regulatory bodies like the Federal Trade

Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission collaborated with them. Significant rulings by the Supreme Court hampered organized labor and protected corporations from government regulation. In Maple Floor Association v. U.S. (1929), the Court determined that trade associations that disseminated anti-union information were not engaging in restraint of trade, despite Chief Justice and former President William Howard Taft's ruling in Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers (1922) that a striking union, similar to a trust, could be prosecuted for unlawful restraint of trade. Additionally, the Court struck down a minimum wage rule that affected women because it violated their right to contract freedom (Adkins v. Children's Hospital, 1923) and nullified limits on child labor (Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Company, 1922).

Setbacks for Organized Labor

In the 1920s, organized labor was seen negatively by the public, who associated it with communism introduced to the United States by radical immigrants. In 1922, the Harding government used Red Scare tactics to get a broad court injunction to put an end to a 400,000 railroad workers' strike. Businesses were allowed to sue unions for labor action damages, and state and federal courts imposed injunctions to stop further strikes.

Yellow dog contracts, which made refusing to join a union a requirement of employment, were implemented by several businesses. By providing pensions, profit-sharing, and company-sponsored sporting events and picnics—a practice known as welfare capitalism—companies also undercut the allure of unions. By outlawing closed shops—workplaces where union membership was required—and allowing open shops—where employers could hire nonunion workers—state lawmakers supported companies. Union membership decreased from 5.1 million in 1920 to 3.6 million in 1929 due to welfare capitalism, legal action, and poor leadership.

Languishing Agriculture

During the 1920s, agriculture stagnated because farmers had to contend with global competition and incurred debt when attempting to boost production by purchasing equipment like tractors and harvesters. Large-scale farming became so effective with irrigation and mechanization that fewer farmers were able to produce more crops than ever before. Crop prices fell, large agribusinesses seized control, and small landowners and renters suffered as a result, particularly as earnings fell and debts increased.

Politics and Government

The government-business collaboration that Theodore Roosevelt promoted was continued by a string of Republican presidents, but they transformed the government into a passive manager rather than the proactive manager Roosevelt favored. When he was elected president in 1920, Warren G. Harding represented the government's favorable attitude toward business. He received 16 million votes, compared to Ohio Governor James M. Cox's 9 million for the Democratic nomination. (As a result of women voting for the first time, the total number of votes cast in the 1920 presidential election was 36% greater than that in the 1916 election.)

Scandals of the Harding Administration

Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon, and Secretary of Agriculture Henry C. Wallace were among the aides appointed by Ohio senator and small-town newspaperman Harding to foster economic expansion. Harding supported improvements as well. However, he had personal flaws, most notably his adulterous affairs and bad appointment decisions. He started dating 31-

year-old Nan Britton in 1917, and the two became parents to a daughter in 1919. In his book The President's Daughter (1927), Britton disclosed the truth, although Harding never acknowledged his illegitimate children.

More significantly, Harding appointed friends who took advantage of their position to further their own agendas. The head of the Veterans Bureau, Charles Forbes, was found guilty of bribery and fraud in government contracts and sentenced to federal prison. Albert Fall, the Secretary of the Interior, was notorious for accepting bribes to lease federal property to oil firms, according to a Senate investigation conducted in 1923 and 1924. Fall's involvement in the so-called Teapot Dome scandal—named for the Wyoming oil reservoir he turned over to the Mammoth Oil Company—led to a $100,000 fine and a year in prison.

Harding had lost faith in these scandals by the middle of 1923. He fell ill while on a speaking tour that summer and passed away on August 2 in San Francisco. Some conjectured that Harding was poisoned by his wife or committed suicide to avoid impeachment, despite the fact that his death came before the Teapot Dome affair was made public. However, the majority of the data suggests that natural causes, most likely heart disease, are the cause of mortality.

Coolidge Prosperity

Harding was more gregarious than vice president Calvin Coolidge, who went on to become president. As governor of Massachusetts, Coolidge gained business support and the vice presidential candidacy in 1920 after gaining national notoriety in 1919 for his opposition to striking Boston police officers.

With the help of Andrew Mellon, who was kept on as Treasury Secretary, and a respect for private enterprise, Coolidge's government decreased income tax rates, particularly for the wealthy, reduced the federal debt, and started building a national highway system. In response to declining farm prices, Congress approved the McNary-Haugen legislation in 1927 and 1928, which established government-backed price supports for staple crops. These laws would have created a system whereby the government would purchase excess agricultural products and either hold them until prices increased or sell them overseas, much like the Farmers' Alliances subtreasury plan of the 1890s. However, Coolidge vetoed the initiatives because he believed they were inappropriate government meddling in a free market economy.

The key issue in the 1924 presidential election was "Coolidge prosperity." Candidates from both major parties supported individual initiative over governmental involvement. Democrats at their national convention deadlocked for 103 votes between southern prohibitionists who supported former Treasury Secretary William G. McAdoo and antiprohibition easterners who supported New York Governor Alfred E. Smith. They voted 542 to 541 against condemning the resurrected Ku Klux Klan. In the end, they settled on corporate attorney John W. Davis of New York.

The aging Wisconsin reformer Robert M. La Follette was nominated by the Progressive Party, which was founded by remnants of the Progressive movement as well as labor, socialist, and farm organizations. The new party placed a strong emphasis on public ownership of power plants and railroads, preservation of natural resources, support for farmers, organized labor rights, and business regulation. Coolidge defeated Davis by 382 to 136 electoral votes and 15.7 million to 8.4 million popular ballots. Thirteen electoral votes and 4.8 million popular votes went to La Follette.

Extensions of Progressive Reform

The 1920s saw a decline in the urgency of political and economic revolution that had motivated the preceding Progressive generation. However, a lot of reform took place at the local and state levels. In the 1920s, thirty-four states expanded or established public welfare programs and workers' compensation laws in response to pre-World War I initiatives. Planning and zoning commissions were in place in all large cities and many smaller ones by 1926 in order to control physical growth for the benefit of all. A new generation of reformers gained experience in statehouses, city halls, and universities before going on to influence national politics.

Indian Affairs and Politics

In order to secure justice and social services for Native Americans, including improved education and the restitution of tribal lands, groups like the Indian Rights Association, the Indian Defense Association, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs worked. However, Indians experienced prejudice and pressure to integrate, much like other minorities. Severalty, a government policy established by the Dawes Act of 1887 that gave land to individuals instead of tribes, was unable to help Indians become self-sufficient. They were firmly rooted in their country and had no desire to relocate to urban areas. While generally disregarding indigenous customs, white people nonetheless aspired to transform Native Americans into "productive" citizens. Indian women, who disapproved of middle-class homemaking customs and objected to sending their kids to boarding institutions, were particularly criticized by reformers.

Status as a citizen was yet unknown. Indians who accepted land allotments were granted citizenship under the Dawes Act, while those who stayed on reservations were not. All Indians were granted citizenship in 1924 when Congress passed the Indian Citizenship Act (Snyder Act) following multiple judicial challenges. By declaring that citizenship was the greatest way for Indians to assimilate, President Hoover reaffirmed the purpose of this measure.

Women and Politics

Women were granted the right to vote after the 19th Amendment was ratified in 1920, but they were still shut out of municipal and national power structures. Rather, they used volunteer organizations to influence lawmakers on topics like lynching resistance, education, peace, birth control, and Indian affairs.

In order to lower infant mortality, women's organizations convinced Congress to enact the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921, which gave states money to establish maternity and pediatric clinics. (The initiative came to an end in 1929 when Congress stopped financing due to pressure from doctors.) The provision that allowed an American woman to keep her U.S. citizenship after marrying a foreigner was overturned by the Cable Act of 1922. Women were granted certain privileges at the state level, including the capacity to serve on juries.

However, women had different objectives as new voters. For instance, women in the National Association of Colored Women battled for minority rights. To guarantee women's equality under the law, other organizations, like the National Woman's Party, pushed for an equal rights amendment. However, the National Consumers League, the Women's Trade Union League, the League of Women Voters, and other groups that backed protective laws to restrict hours and enhance working conditions for women were offended by such actions.

A Consumer Society

The nation's significant economic shifts were mirrored in the materialism portrayed in Why Change Your Wife? The gross national product, or the total value of goods and services

produced in the United States, increased by 40% between 1919 and 1929. The cost of living stayed constant while wages and earnings increased (but not as sharply). People's purchasing power increased (Table 24.1). In 1912, only one-sixth of Americans had electricity; by 1929, two-thirds did. One in four families had a vacuum cleaner in 1929. Many were able to purchase items like radios, cosmetics, and movie tickets because the breadwinner took on a second job or because other family members worked. However, not only the wealthy could now access new goods and services.

Effects of the Automobile

By 1929, there was one car for every five Americans, as car registrations skyrocketed from 8 million to 23 million during the 1920s. Cars were affordable due to competition and mass production. By 1926, when industrial workers made about $1,300 a year and clerical workers made about $2,300, a Chevrolet sold for $700, and a Ford Model T cost less than $300. People might view the car as a need rather than a luxury at those rates.

American life was changed by cars. Roads got cleaner as cars took the role of horses, and owners abandoned packed streetcars. Newfound independence was attained by female drivers. By 1927, the majority of cars—which had previously had open tops—were enclosed, opening up new private areas for sex and courting. The car was the ultimate social equalizer, for the most part. As one author noted in 1924, "It is difficult to persuade Steve Popovich, Antonio Branca, or just plain John Smith that he is being crushed by Capital when he can freely travel the same highways... and enjoy his journey just as much as the contemporary Midas."

Farmers and bikers had been fighting for better roads for decades, and after World War I, drivers joined them. A national highway system was designed by the Bureau of Public Roads in 1923 after Congress passed the Federal Highway Act in 1921, which provided funding for state roads. Concrete mixers and automated graders are examples of technology advancements that were influenced by roadbuilding. The gasoline-producing oil-refining sector grew in strength. Approximately 65 percent of the world's oil was produced in the United States in 1920. After the General Electric Company produced the first timed stop-and-go traffic light in 1924, public officials began to pay more attention to traffic control.

Advertising

By 1929, advertising was spending more money than formal schooling. Advertising theorists who combined psychological theory with pragmatic cynicism claimed that anyone's preferences could be influenced. For instance, movie stars and beauty tips in magazines were exploited by cosmetics manufacturers like Max Factor, Helena Rubenstein, and African American businesswoman Madame C. J. Walker to attract female consumers. Babe Ruth was engaged by other businesses to promote food and athletic products.

Radio

Radio became as a powerful advertising medium. Over 10 million Americans had radios by 1929, and they spent $850 million a year on radio gear. Congress decided in the early 1920s that, unlike in Great Britain, broadcasting should be a private enterprise rather than a public service funded by taxes. Because entertainment drew greater audiences and hence higher advertising earnings, American programming prioritized amusement above educational material. In 1920, Westinghouse Electric Company's Pittsburgh station KDKA became the first commercial radio station. Commercials were broadcast on a New York City station owned by AT&T in 1922. There were 508 commercial stations by the end of 1922.

American culture was revolutionized by radio. Both political parties held wide-ranging presidential nominating conventions in 1924, which allowed candidates to address a larger American audience. Additionally, radio's mass marketing and standardized programming contributed to the blurring of ethnic boundaries and the development of a homogenous American culture, which was furthered throughout the twentieth century by television and other mass media.

Cities, Migrants and Suburbs

For the first time, the majority of Americans lived in urban areas (those with 2,500 or more residents), according to the federal census conducted in 1920. Urbanization was accelerated by the expansion of manufacturing and services. Birmingham, Houston, and Detroit were energized by industries such as steel, oil, and automobile manufacturing; Seattle, Atlanta, and Minneapolis were stimulated by services and retail trades.

Six million Americans moved from farmland to cities in the 1920s. Many young people relocated to the West or to regional hubs like Kansas City in search of adventure and openness. California's population grew by 67% between 1920 and 1930, and the state continued to be a leader in agricultural production despite being heavily urbanized.

LECTURE TWO

CITIES, MIGRANTS, AND CULTURAL CLASHES: THE 1920S SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Lecture Outline

- **Cities, Migrants, and Suburbs**

African American Migration
Marcus Garvey
Newcomers from Mexico and Puerto Rico
Suburbanization

- **New Rhythms of Everyday Life**

Household Management
Health and Life Expectancy
Older Americans and Retirement
Social Values
Women in the Work Force
Employment of Minority Women
Alternative Images of Femininity
Gay and Lesbian Culture

- **Lines of Defense**

Ku Klux Klan
Immigration Quotas
Fundamentalism
Scopes Trial
Religious Revivalism

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Analyze patterns of migration, including the Great Migration of African Americans, Marcus Garvey's UNIA movement, and influxes from Mexico and Puerto Rico, along with their urban challenges like ghettos and discrimination.

- Describe suburbanization trends, its causes (e.g., automobiles, prosperity), and impacts on cities, including resource disparities and environmental spread.
- Examine shifts in everyday life, such as new work/leisure rhythms, household technologies, improved health/life expectancy, and emerging retirement support systems.
- Evaluate changes in social values, including dating culture, women's workforce participation (especially minorities), flapper imagery, and the visibility of gay/lesbian subcultures.
- Assess nativist and conservative "lines of defense," including the Ku Klux Klan's revival, immigration quotas (1921/1924 Acts), and anti-immigrant sentiments (e.g., Sacco-Vanzetti case).
- Discuss religious conflicts, such as Fundamentalism vs. Modernism, the Scopes Trial, and urban revivalism led by figures like Aimee Semple McPherson.

African American Migration

During the 1920s, a significant majority of those migrating were African Americans in what is now known as the Great Migration. Pushed from cotton fields by a boll weevil scourge and drawn by industrial jobs, 1.5 million blacks moved, dou gling the African American populations of New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Houston. They found work as domestic servants for white people, longshoremen, and janitors, jobs that were similar to those in the South.

Black arrivals were pushed into ghettos like Chicago's South Side in search of affordable housing due to prejudice and low earnings. Black people, however, discovered better neighborhoods nearby. They can overflow into neighboring white areas or cram into heavily populated black districts. Neighborhood associations adopted restrictive covenants, in which white homeowners promised not to sell or rent to black people, as a result of fears of "invasion," which also led to violence.

Marcus Garvey

Thousands of black urbanites joined movements that extolled racial independence in response to discrimination and violence. Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican immigrant who felt that black people should distance themselves from corrupt white society, was the leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), the most powerful of these black nationalist organizations. The UNIA was made up entirely of black people, mostly from lower socioeconomic strata, in contrast to the NAACP, which was founded by white liberals and affluent African Americans (see page 553).

By supporting black-owned companies that would produce and market goods to black customers, Garvey advanced Booker T. Washington's concepts of economic independence (see page 552). He established the Black Star steamship line to move manufactured commodities among black firms in North America, the Caribbean, and Africa, and he promoted black independence in his publication, Negro World. The FBI's predecessor, the U.S. Bureau of Investigation (BOI), started keeping an eye on Garvey's radical activities in 1919. J. Edgar Hoover, the deputy chief of the BOI, declared Garvey to be among the most dangerous black people in America.

Garvey's goals were beset by mismanagement, which led to the UNIA's downfall in the mid-1920s. Garvey was deported in 1923 for committing mail fraud regarding the defunct Black Star line. But he was prosecuted for political reasons. W. E. B. Du Bois and other middle-class African American leaders opposed the UNIA because they believed its fanaticism would jeopardize their work. However, the UNIA had a sizable fan base for years (Garvey claimed 6 million, while contemporaries estimated 500,000), and many African Americans developed a stronger sense of racial pride as a result of Garvey's speeches.

Newcomers from Mexico and Puerto Rico

The most recent immigrants were from Puerto Rico and Mexico, where people were driven from the land by dwindling riches. Mexican migrants made up three-fourths of the farm work force in the American West by the 1920s after Anglo farmers' associations pushed them to supply inexpensive labor in the 1910s. Mexican workers were paid pitiful wages by growers who treated them like slaves. While a few became middle class, the majority flocked into urban low-rent neighborhoods with subpar schools, police protection, and sanitation. Mexicans created a style of life they called sans fronteras—without borders—by moving back and forth over the border.

Due to a labor surplus brought about by the island's economy shifting from sugar to coffee production, Puerto Ricans also migrated to the mainland in the 1920s. They established barrios (communities) and sought employment in factories, hotels, restaurants, and domestic service after being drawn by contracts from employers looking for inexpensive labor. To aid in their assimilation into American society, Puerto Ricans, like Mexicans, preserved their traditions and established enterprises, such as bodegas (grocery stores), cafés, boarding homes, and social groups. Doctors, attorneys, and business entrepreneurs were among the educated elites who rose to positions of leadership in their communities.

Suburbanization

Suburban expansion accelerated when urbanization peaked. In the 1920s, people who wanted to leave metropolitan areas could more easily access the suburbs because to prosperity and vehicle transportation. The suburbs of Los Angeles (Burbank and Inglewood), Cleveland (Shaker Heights), and Chicago (Oak Park and Evanston) expanded five to 10 times faster between 1920 and 1930 than the neighboring major cities. Builders in Los Angeles alone constructed 250,000 homes for suburbanites who owned cars. Some suburbs, like Highland Park near Detroit, were industrial satellites, but the majority were bedroom communities for the middle and upper classes.

In addition to fighting to maintain control over the police, schools, and gas and water utilities, suburbanites sought to avoid the crime, filth, and taxation of the major city. Because of the suburbs' independence, center cities were unable to access the resources and tax bases of wealthy suburban residents, especially in the Northeast and Midwest. The environmental issues associated with city living, such as noise, pollution, and litter, extend throughout the metropolitan region as a result of population dispersal.

The majority of the customers who crowded stores, movie theaters, and sporting venues are NAs who resided in or near cities and embraced trends like crossword puzzles and miniature golf. While some people wore outrageous clothing, danced to jazz, and patronized speakeasies (illegal saloons during the Prohibition era), others reflected on the simplicity of a bygone era.

New Rythms of Everyday Life

People are increasingly dividing their day into three separate time zones: work, family, and leisure. Employers were able to reduce the workweek for many industrial workers from six days to five and a half thanks to mechanization and increased production. White-collar workers frequently put in forty hours a week, took the weekend off, and were entitled to yearly vacation time.

Between 1920 and 1930, as birth control became increasingly popular, the size of families shrank. Just 20% of women married in the 1920s had five or more children, compared to over half in the 1870s and 1880s. In the meantime, divorce rates increased from 1 per 7.5 marriages in 1920 to 1 per 6 by 1929.

Household Management

Some home chores were made easier by machines. Wives' tasks were made easier by electric washing machines and irons, particularly in middle-class homes. The transportation of wood, coal, and water, as well as the upkeep of a kitchen fire and the removal of ashes, were all replaced by gas and oil-powered central heating and hot water heaters.

However, new demands on women's time were also brought about by economic and technological advancements. Working-class daughters were less able to assist with household chores because they attended school for longer. Commercial soap, vacuum cleaner, and washing machine advertisers attempted to make women feel bad about having dirty homes. A housewife became the family's shopper and driver instead of producing food and clothing like her ancestors did. According to one survey, urban housewives drove for seven and a half hours per week to shop and pick up their kids.

Health and Life Expectancy

Nutritionists promoted specific meals to prevent illness after vitamins were discovered between 1915 and 1930, and large corporations promoted goods as being rich in vitamins and minerals. Because little was known about these tasteless, undetectable compounds, producers of milk, canned fruits and vegetables, and other foods made claims that were difficult to refute. For instance, Welch's Grape Juice claimed to be "Rich in Health Values" without noting its high sugar content.

Americans become healthier as a result of better nutrition and hygiene. Between 1920 and 1930, infant mortality fell by two-thirds and life expectancy at birth rose from fifty-four to sixty years. Life-threatening illnesses like diphtheria and tuberculosis were decreased by bacteriological study and public sanitation. However, not everyone benefited equally from medical advancements; in inner-city slums, tuberculosis remained dangerously prevalent, and infant mortality rates were 50–100% higher among non-whites than among whites. However, between 1920 and 1930, the overall population over 65 increased by 35%.

Older Americans and Retirement

Due to forced retirement and lower income, industrialism pushed older people into poverty by placing a premium on youth and agility. In the early 1900s, the majority of European nations set up state-sponsored pension plans. However, a lot of Americans thought that saving money in their youth was the best way to prepare for old age and that pensions smacked of socialism.

Nearly one-third of Americans aged 65 and over were financially dependent on someone else, and the majority of prisoners in state poorhouses were elderly. The federal government

was one of the few employers that offered benefits to retiring workers. The 1920s saw a breakdown in state-level opposition to pension plans. Reformers convinced politicians, labor unions, and voluntary organizations to support old-age aid under the leadership of journalist Abraham Epstein and physician Isaac Max Rubinow. By 1933, nearly all states offered at least some assistance to elderly people in need, paving the way for a nationwide old-age insurance policy.

Social Values

Values and habits were changed by new influences. Compared to their parents' generation, both men and women wore more colorful and casual fashions. When drinking, smoking, and being open about sex grew popular, it became harder to distinguish between proper and improper behavior. In reputable circles, birth control became very popular. Popular songs like "I Don't Care," magazines, movies like "Why Change Your Wife?" and newspapers all worked to prevent "sex starvation" among Americans.

Children were socialized more by peer groups than by parents since governmental child labor prohibitions and mandatory attendance regulations kept them in school longer. Children of the same age were continuously brought together by school courses, sports, and clubs, which kept them away from the influence of adults.

Ritualized middle- and upper-class courtship, which involved males formally "calling on" women and escorting them to social events, declined between 1890 and the middle of the 1920s in favor of unsupervised "dating." Young people who were single and unrestricted by their families gladly went on dates to new commercial entertainment venues like movie theaters and nightclubs. Dating was extended by automobiles. Although a woman's profession rarely paid enough for entertainment, she may still enjoy it if a guy "treated" her. The practice was often accompanied by romance and perhaps sexual exploitation, particularly when a woman was required to exchange sexual favors for treatment. A woman had control over who could "call" on her under the courtship system, yet depending on a man's money for pleasure created moral dilemmas.

Women in the Work Force

Women kept entering the workforce after World War I. 10.8 million women had paid jobs by 1930, up 2 million since the conclusion of the war. While the percentage of women employed in agriculture decreased, their share of urban employment categories increased or remained constant (see to Figure 24.1). The majority of women took employment that males rarely sought, and sex segregation remained. As a result, more than a million women were employed as nurses and teachers. Since 1920, the number of women working as typists, bookkeepers, and filing clerks has increased tenfold to almost 2.2 million. A further 736,000 worked as store clerks, and the number of personal service employees—such as servers and hairdressers—was increasing. Despite the fact that about 2 million women were employed in manufacturing, their numbers did not increase much over the course of the decade. Seldom did women's pay surpass half of men's.

One of the main reasons women worked was to support their families. Families in the working and middle classes were seduced by consumerism to live above their means or supplement their incomes with the pay of women. The percentage of married women in the workforce increased by 30% during the 1920s, and the number of married women in employment increased from 1.9 million to 3.1 million, despite the fact that the majority of married women did not have paid jobs (only 12% were working in 1930).

Employment of Minority Women

Non-white women made up twice as many workers as white women. They frequently joined the workforce as a result of their husbands' underemployment or unemployment. Domestic jobs accounted for the majority of employed African American women. The few who worked in factories did the lowest-paying, least-desired occupations. Opportunities in social work, education, and nursing became available to educated African American women, but these women still had to deal with low pay and prejudice. Black working mothers were more likely than white mothers to ask female relatives for childcare assistance.

Japanese American women, who faced racial hostility and low pay while working as domestics and field hands, were the second most likely to have paid jobs behind African American women. Thousands of Mexican American women entered the workforce due to economic necessity, despite their cultural opposition to women working. The majority were employed as domestic helpers, textile factory workers, and farm laborers.

Alternative Images of Femininity

Women abandoned the long hair and bulky, floor-length gowns of earlier generations in favor of a new definition of femininity. Many chose the independence and sexual liberation of the flapper of the 1920s, with her short skirts and bobbed hair, instead. Office professionals, store clerks, and college coeds adopted the flapper look, despite the fact that few women actually lived the flapper lifestyle. Movie temptresses like Clara Bow, dubbed the "It Girl," and Gloria Swanson, infamous for having passionate love affairs both on and off screen, were among the new female icons, as demonstrated by Cecil B. DeMille's films. Many women claimed to be on an equal footing with males in society. "The new woman," according to one observer, is fascinatingly independent.

She adopts a male perspective, something her mother was never able to do. She will drive you from the station in her own small sports vehicle, but she will never knit you a necktie or sew you a hatband. She will put on panties and go skiing with you, dive just as good as you, if not better, and dance for as long as you want.

Gay and Lesbian Culture

The sexual openness of the time allowed for some emergence of the underground homosexual society. Gay men and lesbians frequented dance halls, speakeasies, and cafés in nontraditional metropolitan districts like New York's Greenwich Village because of the low rent and relative tolerance. However, police raids continued to target gay establishments, indicating a lack of societal acceptability.

These developments marked a departure from the more conservative culture of the nineteenth century. However, societal reform seldom goes as planned. As the decade went on, organizations came together to support traditional beliefs.

Lines of Defense

Two public relations specialists, Edward Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler, were employed by the head of a recently established organization in the early months of 1920. Numerous people were willing to pay a $10 membership fee and $6 for a white uniform after they canvassed the Midwest, Southwest, and South. By 1923, Clarke and Tyler had amassed 5 million subscribers, keeping $2.50 from each one.

Ku Klux Klan

This was the resurrected Ku Klux Klan, a hooded order that terrorized populations in the South following the Civil War. In 1915, William J. Simmons, an insurance salesman and evan gelist from Atlanta, Georgia, reorganized the Klan, adopting its predecessor's hoods, coercive methods, and esoteric language (its leader was the Imperial Wizard; its book of rituals, the Kloran).

From the Deep South, the new Klan spread, gaining influence in a variety of locations, including Indiana, where Klansmen held the governorship and multiple legislative seats, and Oregon, where the mayor of Portland was a member of the Klan. Many members were from the urban middle class, who were anxious about a new young culture that slipped family control and feared losing social and economic advantages. One of its adjuncts was a women's organization with about 500,000 members.

The Klan's objectives were summed up in one sentence: "Native, white, Protestant supremacy." Being native meant not immigrating or dehumanizing Americans. "The world has been so made so that each race must fight for its life, must conquer, must accept slavery, or must die," said Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans. Evans said that the Catholic Church enslaved people to foreign pope and priests while inhibiting assimilation.

The Klan imposed vigilante justice on suspected bootleggers, wife beaters, and adulterers through the use of threatening assemblies, violence, and political and economic pressure. They also forced schools to stop teaching evolution, ran campaigns against Jewish and Catholic political candidates, and stoked racial tensions against Mexicans in Texas's border cities. In addition to promoting local white Protestantism, Klan women fought for prohibition and moral reform. Housewives occasionally resorted to the Klan to punish abusive or careless husbands since the organization pledged to uphold women's virtue. Flogging was the Klan's means of administering justice.

But by 1925, the moral foundation of the Klan had been compromised by scandal. David Stephenson, an Indiana grand dragon, was found guilty of second-degree murder after raping and napping a deceased lady. The Klan's divisive message of purity and patriotism eventually lost ground in a pluralistic society.

In the 1920s, bigotry was rampant in American culture. Catholic and Jewish immigrants, according to nativists, packed urban slums, disregarded social conventions, and obstinately adopted foreign political and theological ideologies. A spectacular trial of two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who were found guilty of killing a paymaster and guard in Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1921, was also sparked by fear of radical immigrant groups. There was scant evidence of their guilt.

Immigration Quotas

Support was garnered for immigration restrictions. Labor leaders cautioned that immigrants would increase unemployment and lower salaries. Previously seeking low-cost immigrant labor, business executives now understood that mechanization would maintain low salaries. In the Emergency Quota Act of 1921, Congress established annual immigration allotments for each country with the help of these organizations. The Act encouraged Anglo-Saxon Protestant immigrants by limiting the annual immigration of a certain nation to 3 percent of immigrants from that nation already living in the United States in 1910. Catholics and Jews from southern and eastern Europe, whose numbers were relatively minor in 1910, were subjected to discrimination.

The Quota Act was superseded by the National Origins Act by Congress in 1924. With the exception of Asians, who were outright prohibited, this law set quotas at two percent of each nationality living in the United States in 1890 and restricted yearly immigration to 150,000. Although it permitted foreign-born spouses and children of U.S. citizens to enter as nonquota immigrants, the legislation further limited southern and eastern Europeans, as fewer of those groups resided in the United States in 1890 than in 1910.

Quotas were redesigned in 1927 by a revised National Origins Act, which stated that they should be divided among European nations according to the national origins (country of birth or descent) of Americans in 1920. With the exception of those the Labor Department classified as possible paupers, people from the Western Hemisphere were exempt from the quotas and grew to be the largest immigrant groupings.

Fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalists were aroused by the quest for spiritual purity as millions of people sought redemption from what they saw as the hedonistic, materialistic society's disrespect. They denounced the theory of evolution as heresy because they firmly believed that the universe was created by God's wonders. Fundamentalists tried to control what was taught in schools wherever they made up the majority of a community. Modernists, who interpreted behavior using social sciences like psychology, were their adversaries. Modernists believed that while science improved knowledge, God was crucial to the study of culture and history.

Scopes Trial

At the Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee in 1925, Christian fundamentalism and modernism collided. The idea that humans descended from lesser forms of life instead of Adam and Eve was prohibited from being taught in public schools by the state government. John Thomas Scopes, a high school teacher, was arrested for breaking the law after volunteering to be a test subject. The prosecution was represented by former secretary of state and three-time presidential contender William Jennings Bryan, while Scopes was represented by civil liberties attorneys led by Clarence Darrow. Radio stations aired the proceedings, and news reporters flocked to the town.

Modernists declared victory even though Scopes was found guilty—it was obvious that he had breached the law. They thought the testimony demonstrated the illogic of fundamentalism. Bryan's testimony as a Bible expert was the high point of the trial. He claimed that Jonah had been ingested by a large fish, that Eve had indeed been formed from Adam's rib, and that the Tower of Babel was the cause of the linguistic diversity. Dayton spectators applauded Bryan, while the liberal media made fun of him. Fundamentalists nevertheless persisted in pressuring educational institutions to cease teaching evolution and established a distinct subculture complete with missionary groups, radio ministries, and schools of their own.

Religious Revivalism

Due to its portrayal of a personal Savior, urban Pentecostal churches drew both white people and African Americans who were experiencing economic hardship and were concerned about modernism's assault on traditional religion. Revivalist enthusiasm was sparked by charismatic preachers like Los Angeles' Aimee Semple McPherson, former baseball player Billy Sunday, and Father Divine, an African American who gained an interracial following, using sophisticated radio broadcasts and contemporary advertising.

All religions' clergy and educators denounced dancing, fashionable clothing, and sex in movies and parked cars. Many city people backed prohibition because they thought it would

defeat vice, corruption, and poverty. However, as they attempted to adapt to the contemporary order, the majority of Americans sought balance. Few avoided radio and films such as Why Change Your Wife?, which turned out to be less corrupting than critics had anticipated. In civic groups like women's clubs, Elks, and Rotary, Americans looked for camaraderie. Most significantly, people found solace in their free time.

LECTURE THREE

PLAY, CULTURE, AND CRASH: THE 1920S CULMINATION AND COLLAPSE

Lecture Outline

- **The Age of Play**

Movies and Sports

Sports Heroes

Movie Stars and Public Heroes

Prohibition

- **Cultural Currents**

Literature of Alienation

Harlem Renaissance

Jazz

- **The Election of 1928 and the End of the New Era**

Herbert Hoover

Al Smith

Hoover's Administration

Stock Market Crash

Declining Demand

Corporate Debt and Stock Market Speculation

Economic Troubles Abroad; Federal Failures at Home

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Examine the "Age of Play," including the rise of movies, sports heroes (e.g., Babe Ruth, Lindbergh), and cultural fads like dance crazes and miniature golf.
- Analyze Prohibition's implementation, failures, and links to organized crime (e.g., Al Capone).
- Discuss cultural currents such as the Lost Generation literature (Hemingway, Fitzgerald), Harlem Renaissance (Hughes, Hurston), and jazz's emergence as America's distinctive art form.

- Evaluate the 1928 presidential election between Herbert Hoover and Al Smith, highlighting class, ethnic, and religious divides.
- Identify causes of the 1929 stock market crash and Great Depression, including declining demand, speculation, income inequality, corporate debt, international factors, and federal policy shortcomings.

The Age of Play

Commercial entertainment gained popularity in the 1920s, with Americans spending $2.5 billion on leisure in 1919 and over $4.3 billion in 1929. Twenty-one percent of the total in 1929 was spent on spectator amusements, such as sports, music, and movies; the other portion was spent on participatory recreation, including games, pastimes, and travel. An desire for fads and spectacles was satiated by entrepreneurs. The Chinese tile game mahjong was the rage in the early 1920s. Crossword puzzles gained popularity in the middle of the 1920s when they were published in widely read newspapers and periodicals. The country had thirty thousand miniature golf courses by 1930. Jazz's rising popularity was aided by dance fads like the Charleston and radio recordings of music.

Movies and Sports

Americans embraced movies and sports. In total capital investment, motion pictures became among the top industries in the country. In 1922, there were 40 million moviegoers per week; by 1929, that number had risen to about 100 million, despite the country's population of 120 million and its weekly church attendance of 60 million. The Technicolor Corporation created a method for making color films between 1922 and 1927. This increased the excitement of movies, as did the addition of sound with The Jazz Singer in 1927.

DeMille's most well-known movies, The Ten Commandments (1923) and The King of Kings (1927), were biblical in nature, despite the fact that his romantic comedies, such as Why Change Your Wife?, examined worldly topics. Large crowds were also drawn to slapstick comedies featuring Harold Lloyd and Charlie Chaplin, as well as lurid tragedies like Souls for Sale (1923) and A Woman Who Sinned (1924). Producers implemented self-censorship in 1927 in response to pressure from lawmakers and religious authorities, outlawing strong language, nudity, and storylines that did not conclude with justice and morality prevailing. Social stereotypes were also perpetuated in movies, where the few black actors could only play butlers and maids.

Every year, millions of people watched spectator sports. Sports offered the unpredictable nature that people desired in a time when mass production and technology had stripped experiences of their individuality. This tension was amplified by newspapers and radio, which exalted events with such dramatic narrative that promoters didn't require advertising.

Baseball has a large fan base due to its long-lasting intrigue, variety of plays, and ability to maintain statistics. Baseball changed with the 1919 "Black Sox scandal," in which eight Chicago White Sox players were banned for supposedly tossing the World Series to the Cincinnati Reds (despite the fact that they were found not guilty by a jury). The six-game 1921 World Series between the New York Giants and New York Yankees drew a record 300,000 spectators. On the radio, millions of people listened to professional games. Despite being barred from the main leagues, African American baseball players established their own teams, and the first prosperous Negro League was established in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1920.

Sports Heroes

People clung to heroic figures when mass society and technology diminished the importance of the individual. Famous athletes included Bobby Jones in golf, Gertrude Ederle in swimming (she became the first woman to cross the English Channel in 1926), and Bill Tilden in tennis. However, the most well-liked sports stars were from baseball, football, and boxing. When heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey, often known as the "Manassa (Colorado) Mauler," faced Frenchman Georges Carpentier in 1921, he drew the first of many million-dollar gates.

George Herman "Babe" Ruth, who started out as a pitcher but broke home run records, was baseball's greatest hero. Ruth set records with twenty-nine home runs in 1919, fifty-four in 1920 (the year the Boston Red Sox moved him to the New York Yankees), fifty-nine in 1921, and sixty in 1927. Millions were won over by his talent and innocent smile. Known for overindulging in food, alcohol, and sex, he visited sick youngsters to win over his supporters' forgiveness for his excesses.

Movie Stars and Public Heroes

Movie idols provided Americans with the romance and adventure they craved. Rudolph Valentino was one of the most beloved movie stars of the decade, and his persona capitalized on the sexual openness of the time. Valentino portrayed a fervent sheik who dragged attractive women to his tent in his most well-known movie. The press made his funeral a big spectacle after he passed away at the age of thirty-one due to complications from appendicitis and ulcers.

But the most renowned hero of the time was Charles A. Lindbergh, an indomi table aviator who made a solo flight from New York to Paris in May 1927. America was captivated by the flight as Lindbergh's progress was reported in newspapers and telegraphs. President Coolidge sent a cruiser to return "Lucky Lindy" home after the pilot made a successful landing, where he was met with a procession. Lindbergh was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor and the Distinguished Flying Cross. Promoters promised him a $700,000 movie contract and millions of dollars to tour the world. His flight was a symbol of personal success and bravery, traditional ideals that were respected by the general population.

Prohibition

The production, distribution, and transportation of alcoholic beverages were outlawed by the Volstead Act of 1920 and the Eighteenth Amendment of 1919. At first, it was successful. Both the amount of alcohol consumed per person and the number of arrests for intoxication decreased. However, it was little enforced: by 1927, the majority of state budgets did not include funds to implement prohibition, and Congress provided the Prohibition Bureau with less than $7 million for nationwide enforcement in 1922.

Prohibition collapsed after 1925 when thousands of people illegally produced their own wine and gin and bootleg importers eluded the few patrols in place. Additionally, alcohol was a business with willing consumers, and criminal groups took advantage of this demand. Al Capone led the most infamous of these mobs, seizing control of Chicago's illegal booze and vice trade and used murder, bribery, and intimidation to keep control of politicians and the vice industry. Up until 1931, when a federal court found Capone guilty of income-tax evasion—the only offense for which police could gather concrete evidence—he gave alcohol to Americans who desired it.

Cultural Currents

The hypocrisies of the time were quickly exposed by intellectuals. The rejection of materialism and conformity by writers and artists was sharp and resentful, and they felt at war with society.

Literature of Alienation

A number of authors from the so-called Lost Generation left the United States for Europe, including poets T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound and novelist Ernest Hemingway. Others, such as the novelists Sinclair Lewis and William Faulkner, stayed in America but expressed disenchantment with the materialism they saw. Eugene O'Neill's plays and F. Scott Fitzgerald's novels This Side of Paradise (1920) and The Great Gatsby (1925) mocked Americans' obsession with money. In books like The Age of Innocence (1920), Edith Wharton examined the conflict between traditional and modern morality. Hemingway's A Farewell to Arms (1929) combined criticism of the hollowness of contemporary relationships with antiwar emotion.

Harlem Renaissance

A new generation of African American painters was inspired by dissatisfaction. Black writers, who were educated, middle-class, and proud of their African ancestry, rejected white society and praised the aggressively assertive "New Negro." During what became known as the Harlem Renaissance, black intellectuals and artists embraced black culture in New York's Harlem, a "Negro Mecca," with the help of a few white benefactors.

The well-known 1921 musical comedy Shuffle Along, which included gifted African American performers like vocalist Josephine Baker and composer Eubie Blake, is frequently credited with starting the Harlem Renaissance. The Harlem Renaissance also produced a number of talented authors, including novels Zora Neale Hurston, Jessie Fauset, and Alain Locke, as well as poets Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Claude McKay. Despite appreciating their African ancestry and the folk culture of the slave South, these thinkers and artists understood that black Americans had to accept their freedom. "We young Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame," Langston Hughes wrote. We are happy if white people are happy. It makes no difference if they aren't. We are aware of our beauty.

Jazz

The 1920s are commonly referred to as the Jazz Age because of African American music. Early jazz, which developed from African and African American folk music, conveyed the joy, humor, and independence that African Americans rarely encountered in their public and political lives. The line between composer and performer was eroded by the improvisation and emotive rhythms of jazz. Blues singer Bessie Smith and trumpeter Louis Armstrong performed in urban dance halls and nightclubs, some of which had multiracial patrons. African Americans gained a position in commercial culture through music produced by African American musicians and targeted at African American consumers, frequently referred to as "race records." More significantly, jazz gave America a unique artistic medium.

The 1920s were the country's most inventive decade in many respects. A distinctively American visual art style was created by painters like Georgia O'Keeffe, Aaron Douglas, and John Marin. Aaron Copland created symphonic pieces based on indigenous folk themes, and composer Henry Cowell invented electronic music. In his serious compositions (such as Rhapsody in Blue (1924) and Piano Concerto in F (1925), as well as his popular songs like "The Man I Love," George Gershwin combined jazz rhythms, classical forms, and folk

melodies. Skyscrapers brought American architectural forms to the attention of the globe. By 1929, there was no longer the "emotional and aesthetic starvation" that author Harold Stearns had bemoaned at the beginning of the decade.

The Election of 1928 and the End of the New Era

Political discourse was rarely impacted by intellectuals' concerns about materialism. When Herbert Hoover accepted the 1928 Republican presidential candidacy, he expressed such confidence. Hoover claimed, "We in America today are closer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land."

Herbert Hoover

Hoover, the Republican nominee in 1928 (Coolidge decided not to run for reelection), combined the new emphasis on corporate action with the old value of individual hard effort. Hoover, an Iowa Quaker who was left an orphan at the age of 10, attended Stanford University and went on to become a successful mining engineer. He made a name for himself as the U.S. food administrator both during and after World War I.

Hoover supported associationalism when serving as secretary of commerce under Harding and Coolidge. Hoover advocated government and corporate collaboration after realizing that industry and commerce were controlled by national groupings. In order to increase productivity and profits, he turned the Commerce Department into a hub for business promotion by supporting trade associations, hosting conferences, and publishing studies.

Al Smith

In stark contrast, Democrats elected Alfred E. Smith as governor of New York in 1928. Despite having Protestant, business, rural, and native-born roots, Hoover had never sought public office. Smith was an Irish-born urban politician who worked in the Tammany Hall political organization in New York City. The give-and-take of city streets was something he enjoyed.

Smith was the first member of a major party to run for president. Intense anti-Catholic sentiments cost him votes in the South and rural areas, but his religion made him more appealing to urban ethnic voters. Although Smith had a solid record on civil rights and progressive reform, his campaign focused on topics that were unlikely to bring these groups together, especially his opposition to prohibition.

Hoover, who focused on the prosperity of the country during Republican administrations, won the electoral vote by 444 to 87 and the popular vote by 21 million to 15 million. The twelve biggest cities in the country, which had previously been Republican strongholds, were won by Smith. The Democratic Party maintained this urban base for the course of the following four decades, which, when combined with its historical dominance in the South, made the party a powerful force in national elections.

Hoover's Administration

Hoover declared a "bright with hope" New Day at his inauguration. Six millionaires were among the merchants who made up the majority of his government. Hoover appointed young professionals who believed that a scientific approach might resolve national issues to lower-level positions. Like Hoover, most Americans thought that success came from hard work and that poverty was a sign of weakness. Additionally, the prevailing view was that business cycle changes were normal and should not be influenced by the government.

Stock Market Crash

On October 24, 1929, also referred to as Black Thursday, this trust was dissolved due to a sharp decline in stock market values that destroyed $10 billion in value (about $100 billion in today's dollars). Panic struck. Many stock prices fell to all-time lows, and some sellers were unable to find any purchasers. Leading bankers ceremoniously started purchasing equities at midday after contributing $20 million. Some equities rose as the mood improved.

Fearful investors, however, sold off when word got out in order to prevent more losses. Prices fell once further on October 29, Black Tuesday. According to Hoover, "the crisis will be over in sixty days." He agreed with the widely held belief that the economy was robust enough to last until the market corrected itself. Rather, the crash ultimately caused a catastrophic global downturn.

In retrospect, the depression started much earlier than the stock market meltdown. The 1920s were not as prosperous as optimists thought. Many regions, particularly in the South, were excluded from the new prosperity of consumer society, and agriculture had been in decline for decades. Even the automobile and home goods industries had been stagnating since 1926, and sectors like mining and textiles were unable to maintain profitability throughout the decade. The flurry of speculation concealed the unhealthy aspects of the national economy and featured reckless real estate and stock market investments in Florida and California.

Declining Demand

The Great Depression was caused by a number of interconnected economic weaknesses. Sales of building materials and unemployment had decreased since the middle of 1928 due to a decline in the demand for new homes. When demand leveled down in growing industries like cars and electric appliances, factory owners reduced output and employees. Retailers began placing fewer orders after accumulating big stocks that were going unsold. Farmers had less money for new machinery and products as a result of the ongoing decline in farm prices. Families were unable to purchase consumer goods as employment and wages declined. As a result, by 1929, a significant number of underconsumers were having detrimental effects.

Americans with middle-class and lower-class incomes hardly made any progress as the wealthy got richer. The income of the richest 1 percent increased by 75% between 1920 and 1929, despite an average increase of 9% in per capita disposable income (income after taxes). Rather than consumer products, a large portion of this gain was invested in the stock market.

Corporate Debt and Stock Market Speculation

Additionally, a lot of companies took on too much debt. They concealed their incapacity to repay loans by making false claims about their assets. These practices put the country's financial system in jeopardy since lending firms ignored them.

The depression was partly brought on by reckless stock market speculation. Millions of stocks were purchased on margin by both individuals and corporations, who used the partially paid-for equities as collateral for more stock purchases after making an investment with a down payment that was only a small portion of the stock's true price. Investors attempted to sell what they had purchased on March Gin when stock prices ceased to rise. However, prices fell when several investors sold at once. For equities purchased on margin, brokers required full payment. The more commitments that were not fulfilled, the more the system faltered. Banks and investment firms inevitably failed.

Economic Troubles Abroad; Federal Failures at Home

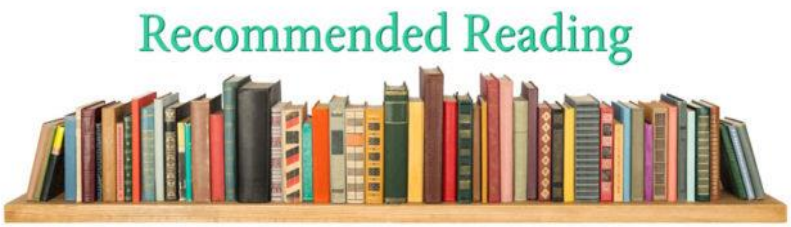
The Depression was also influenced by global economic circumstances. Americans gave European countries billions of dollars in loans during and after World War I. Instead, American investors retained their capital in the profitable U.S. stock market by the late 1920s. Due to high tariffs, Europeans were unable to sell their goods in the American market or borrow more money, thus they purchased less items from the US. Furthermore, the German government relied on American bank loans to pay the war reparations, and the Allied nations relied on German war reparations to pay their commitments to the United States. The western economy came to a complete standstill when the crash cut off American loans.

The administration didn't try to control conjecture. Even though these loans were funding the speculative mania, the Federal Reserve Board adopted easy credit policies in order to stimulate business expansion, charging low discount rates (interest on its loans to member banks).

Experts and ordinary citizens alike were unaware of the true events of 1929. Based on past depressions, conventional wisdom believed that economic issues had to pass. Unaware that the new period was over and that the economy, politics, and society would need to be rebuilt, people in 1929 waited for the tailspin to stop.

Summary

The 1920s were defined by two pivotal occasions: the end of World War I and the start of the Great Depression. Traditional practices waned after the war as both men and women looked for new ways to express themselves and find fulfillment. Mass media, movies, sports, cars, and electric appliances are just a few examples of how modern science and technology have impacted the lives of both the rich and the poor. Furthermore, the decade's unrestrained materialism made it possible for regular Americans to imitate those who were wealthier by making larger purchases and speculating on the stock market.
The American dream was tarnished by bigotry and ethnic tensions beneath the materialism of the new period. Discrimination against racial minorities and ethnic groupings was promoted by immigration restrictionists and Klansmen. The decade became genuinely "new" as the defining elements of twentieth-century life—technological advancement, bureaucratization, popular culture, and the expansion of the middle class—accelerated.



Colin Grant, Negro with a Hat: The Rise and Fall of Marcus Garvey (2008)

David Montgomery, The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Activism, 1865–1925 (1987)

George Sanchez, Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945 (1993)

Lynn Dumenil, The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s (1995)

Mae M. Ngai, Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America (2004)

Maury Klein, Rainbow's End: The Crash of 1929 (2003)

Nathan Miller, New World Coming: The 1920s and the Making of Modern America (2004)

Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940 (1985)

Susan Thistle, From Marriage to the Market: The Transformation of Women's Lives and Work (2006)

LECTURE FOUR

HOOVER'S HARD TIMES AND THE NEW DEAL DAWN (1929-1933)

Lecture Outline

- **Hoover and Hard Times, 1929–1933**

Farmers and Industrial Workers

Marginal Workers

Middle-Class Workers and Families

Hoover's Limited Solutions

Protest and Social Unrest

Bonus Army

- **Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Launching of the New Deal**

Banking Crisis

First Hundred Days

National Industrial Recovery Act

Agricultural Adjustment Act

Relief Programs

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Describe the human impacts of the Great Depression on farmers, industrial/marginal workers, middle-class families, and vulnerable groups like African Americans, Mexican Americans, and women.

- Analyze President Hoover's policies, including voluntarism, RFC, and public works, and their limitations amid rising protests like the Bonus Army.

- Explain the 1932 election and Franklin D. Roosevelt's launch of the New Deal, focusing on the banking crisis and First Hundred Days reforms.

- Evaluate key New Deal programs: NIRA (industrial codes, unions), AAA (crop controls), and relief efforts (CCC, CWA, PWA).

Hoover and Hard Times 1929-1933

Tens of millions of Americans were in extreme poverty by the early 1930s as the Great Depression worsened. Some rummaged through trash cans for food, while others waited in line at soup kitchens in urban areas. Due to severe hunger and scarce supplies, the American Friends Service Committee in West Virginia and Kentucky only provided meals to people who weighed 10% less than their average height. One-sixth of Americans were at risk of famine, The Nation reported in November 1932.

Families were forced to leave. Shantytowns dubbed "Hoovervilles" in sarcastic homage to the once-popular president were filled with the new homeless. To find work, more than a million men hit the road or the trains. Married individuals postponed having children, and couples postponed getting married. The birth rate fell below replacement rates in 1933. During the Great Depression, almost 25% of women between the ages of 20 and 30 never had children.

Farmers and Industrial Workers

Nearly 25% of American workers were involved in the agriculture industry, which was severely impacted and missed the prosperous 1920s. Farm prices reached their lowest point as urbanites reduced spending and international rivals dumped agricultural surpluses onto the world market. In an attempt to make up for it, farmers increased their output, which increased the surplus and further lowered prices. By 1932, farmers in North Dakota were only receiving 33 cents for a bushel of wheat that had cost them 77 cents to produce. Farmers with little money were unable to make mortgage or property tax payments. Banks went into foreclosure. In order to pay off debts, around one-fourth of Mississippi's farmland was put up for sale on a single day in April 1932. The Dust Bowl would also force thousands more farmers off their property by the middle of the decade. The 1920s saw a rise in the standard of life for America's industrial workers, whose consumer spending supported the country's economic expansion. However, when incomes fell, manufacturing sales fell and factories shut down; by 1933, over 70,000 had failed. When automobile sales fell from 4.5 million in 1929 to 1 million in 1933, Ford fired off over two-thirds of its Detroit employees. The average wage for industrial workers fell by over one-third, and nearly a quarter of them were unemployed.

Marginal Workers

The depression was devastating for people at the bottom of the job ladder. Jobs that white men had previously viewed as beneath their dignity, such as garbage collector and bellhop, suddenly sounded appealing in the South, where African Americans experienced the worst discrimination. With the catchphrase "No Jobs for Niggers Until Every White Man Has a Job!" the Black Shirts, a short-lived fascist group, gained 40,000 members in 1930. Additionally, Black people were usually the first laid off when industry in the North reduced output. African American unemployment hit nearly 50% by 1932.

Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans in the Southwest were also severely impacted. By 1932, their wages on California farms had dropped from a pitiful 35 cents per hour in 1929 to 14 cents. Campaigns against "foreigners" harmed American residents of Hispanic heritage and Mexican immigrants who had resided in the Southwest for generations before the region was a part of the United States. In order to free up work for Americans, the Labor Department announced intentions to deport illegal immigrants in 1931. Those of Mexican descent were most affected by this policy. Even people who had lawful immigration frequently lacked complete documents. Between 1929 and 1935, 82,000 Mexicans were deported by the US government. During the 1930s, about half a million people returned to Mexico. While some chose to go, many were duped into thinking they had no other option.

Women of all racial and socioeconomic backgrounds were paid much less than men and were excluded from many jobs even before to the financial crisis. The majority of Americans were concerned about women taking employment from men and thought that men should be the breadwinners and women should be the homemakers. Actually, males who were fired from U.S. Steel would not have been employed as maids, secretaries, or "salesgirls." However, 82 percent of respondents (including 75 percent of women) said that spouses should not work if their husbands were employed in a 1936 Gallup poll. Policy was influenced by such beliefs. Married women were not allowed to teach in 77% of urban school systems in 1930 and 1931.

The effects of the depression on female employees were not uniform. Initially, women workers lost their employment more frequently than males. In low-paying manufacturing positions, women were let go before men. As middle-class families cut back on spending, nearly 25% of domestic workers—many of whom were African American—lost their employment. But in spite of a discriminatory country and a weak economy, women's employment rose in the 1930s. Teaching and secretarial work were among the "women's jobs" that were not as severely impacted as "men's jobs" in heavy industry, and women were increasingly looking for work to support their families. However, only 15.2 percent of married women had jobs by 1940.

Middle-Class Workers and Families

The majority of Americans did not lose their houses or jobs during the depression, despite the fact that unemployment rose to 25%. Farmers and industrial workers did worse than professionals and white-collar workers. However, a lot of middle-class families "made do" with less. Women were frugal and extended food by utilizing inexpensive items ("Cracker-Stuffed Cabbage"). The decline in the cost of consumer items mitigated the impact of the decline in the incomes of most families. Men frequently considered themselves "failures" when they were unable to support their families effectively. However, the psychological effects of the depression were unavoidable, even for those who were quite well off. Economic security was no longer taken for granted, and the human cost of the slump was evident everywhere.

Hoover's Limited Solutions

Even though Herbert Hoover, often known as "the Great Engineer," was known for his ability to solve problems, nobody knew how to handle the situation. Regarding the causes of the depression and possible remedies, experts couldn't agree. Even if they were unpleasant, many business executives thought that financial panics and depressions were a normal "business cycle." According to this theory, economic depressions opened the door for genuine growth by bringing down inflated prices.

Herbert Hoover was not in agreement. He claimed that the "economic fatalist" holds that these crises are unavoidable. I would remind these pessimists that smallpox, cholera, and typhoid were all originally described in the same way. Hoover believed in "associationalism," which envisioned business and professional associations working together under federal coordination to address the country's issues. The federal government would act as a repository for concepts that private sector, state and municipal governments, and others could choose to adopt.

Hoover pushed the boundaries of his views on the role of government, despite the fact that many Americans believed he was doing nothing. He experimented with limited government involvement, persuasion, and voluntarism. He started by asking business associations to voluntarily commit to maintaining stable wages and renewing investments. However, few businesspeople were able to keep their word when they considered their personal financial results.

Hoover persisted in promoting voluntary responses as unemployment rose, establishing the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief (POUR) to raise private donations to help the poor. Record philanthropic contributions were made in 1932, yet they were insufficient. Due to a lack of funding, 25% of New York's private charities had closed by the middle of 1932. The treasuries of state and local officials also dried up. Hoover believed that the poor's ability to rely on themselves would be destroyed by government "relief." As a result, Obama approved federal funding to help Arkansas farmers feed their drought-stricken cattle, but he turned down a lesser award that would have provided food for poor farm people. The seeming insensitivity of Hoover infuriated a lot of Americans. Hoover was the most despised person in America just two years after he was elected.

In the end, Hoover supported a small amount of federal intervention to address the situation, but it was insufficient. Some jobs were created by federal public works projects, like Washington's Grand Coulee Dam. Established in 1929, the Federal Farm Board supported agricultural prices by providing loans to cooperatives so they could purchase commodities and keep them off the market. However, the board was short on funds, and warehouses were overflowing with unsold excess.

Hoover also enacted the Hawley-Smoot Tariff (1930), which increased import taxes to an astounding 40% in order to assist American businesses and farmers. Instead, as other countries imposed their own protective tariffs, it hindered global trade. Additionally, foreign countries had less money to pay back their U.S. debts or purchase American goods as a result of selling less to the US. Hoover declared a suspension on the payment of First World War debts and reparations in 1931 out of fear that the global monetary system would collapse.

The administration's most aggressive move was in January 1932. Hoover hoped that by giving federal loans to banks, insurance firms, and railroads, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) would support these businesses and stop the deinvestment in the American economy. Hoover violated his ideological convictions in this case. This was not "voluntarism," but rather outright government action. Why not help the millions of unemployed people if he would back direct aid to private businesses?

Protest and Social Unrest

That question became more and more common among Americans. As the depression worsened, social unrest and violence emerged. This raised the possibility of a popular uprising, and Chicago Mayor Anton Cermak threatened to send troops if the federal government did not provide aid to his city.

The law was enforced by tens of thousands of farmers. Auctioneers were forced by irate crowds to take only a few dollars for foreclosed property before giving it back to the original owners. A brand-new organization called the Farmers' Holiday Association urged farmers to withhold agricultural products in August 1932 in order to restrict supply and raise prices. In order to impede other farmers' trucks, farmers in the Midwest blocked roadways and subsequently disposed of the contents in ditches beside the roads. Unemployed Councils, local organizations for unemployed workers founded and run by Communist Party members, were responsible for the most militant acts in cities. Communist leaders saw the depression as a chance for revolution and a sign of capitalism's downfall. Although they demanded action, the quarter-million Americans who joined their local Unemployed Councils did not seek revolution. In 1932, Ford security guards opened fire on a mob of 3,000 Detroit Unemployment Council members who were marching to the company's River Rouge plant, killing four men and injuring fifty. Racial violence increased in tandem with social upheaval. To get African Americans off the Illinois Central Railroad's payroll, vigilante groups offered bounties: $100

for the murder of a black employee and $25 for the maiming of another. At least seven individuals were injured and ten men were killed. In the early years of the depression, white mobs tortured, lynched, and disfigured thirty-eight black individuals as the Ku Klux Klan reappeared. Lynchings also occurred in Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Colorado, and Ohio, demonstrating that racial violence was not limited to the South.

Bonus Army

The summer of 1932 saw the worst altercation. As Congress considered a bill permitting the immediate payment of financial "bonuses" that veterans were supposed to receive in 1945, over 15,000 unemployed World War I soldiers and their families gathered in the nation's capital. Across the river from the Capitol, they established a vast "Hooverville" shantytown under the name Bonus Army. The Senate rejected the bonus bill because President Hoover was worried about how it would affect the federal budget. A few thousand Bonus Marchers remained in Washington, but the most fled. The president set a deadline for their departure and labeled them "insurrectionists," even though many of them were just poor. Hoover dispatched General Douglas MacArthur's U.S. Army on July 28. The veterans and their families were surrounded by four infantry companies, four cavalry battalions, a machine gun squadron, and six tanks. Americans were stunned by what happened next: shacks were set on fire, children were tear-gassed, and men and women were pursued by horsemen. Unrepentant, Hoover insisted, "Thank God we still have a government that knows how to deal with a mob," at a campaign speech.

The need for a strong leader who would act decisively increased as the depression deepened. The U.S. Senate passed a resolution in February 1933 urging Franklin D. Roosevelt, the recently elected president, to take on "unlimited power." A clear analogy was the ascent to power of Hitler and his National Socialist Party in Germany during the Great Depression.

Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Launching of the New Deal

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a Democratic contender for president in 1932, said that the federal government needed to take on more responsibility. Declaring that such government assistance was "a matter of social duty," Roosevelt backed direct relief payments for the unemployed. He promised "a new deal for the American people," but he never gave many specifics about what it would entail. In actuality, his most specific suggestions were occasionally at odds with one another. Roosevelt, however, pledged to fight the crippling economic crisis by using the federal government's authority. Roosevelt was vastly preferred by voters over Hoover.

Born amid upper-class luxury, Franklin Roosevelt became the most popular president of the 20th century among the "common people" of America. He married Eleanor Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt's niece and his own fifth cousin, once removed, after earning degrees from Harvard College and Columbia Law School. At the age of thirty-eight, he campaigned for vice president in 1920 on the losing ticket of the Democratic Party after serving in the New York State legislature and being named assistant secretary of the navy by Woodrow Wilson.

Roosevelt suffered from polio in 1921 and spent two years in bed. According to his wife Eleanor, he earned a new strength of character despite losing the use of his legs. Roosevelt recovered enough by 1928 to run for and win the governorship of New York, and in 1932 he accepted the Democratic Party's presidential candidacy.

Roosevelt was elected in November 1932, but he wouldn't start work until March 4, 1933. (The Constitution's Twentieth Amendment moved subsequent inaugurations to January 20.) The American banking system was on the verge of collapse during this protracted interregnum.

Banking Crisis

The banking crisis began when American banks made unsafe loans during the prosperous years of World War I and the 1920s. These loans soured when the 1929 stock market and real estate bubbles burst and agricultural prices fell, leaving many banks unable to pay their customers' deposits. Depositors withdrew funds from banks and placed them beneath mattresses or in gold out of fear of losing their savings. Crowds of terrified consumers demanded their money in what became known as "bank runs."

The bank crisis was getting worse by the time of the 1932 election. Roosevelt refused to support acts he could not control, while Hoover, the lame duck president, refused to act without Roosevelt's backing. Every state had either halted banking operations or limited depositors' access to their funds by the time Roosevelt took office on March 4. The nation's survival would be in jeopardy if the U.S. banking system completely collapsed, as the new president recognized.

In his inaugural speech, Roosevelt pledged to address the situation "frankly and boldly." "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror," is one of his speech's most memorable quotes. Roosevelt's statement that, if necessary, "I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe" was the only one that elicited a loud cheer.

The following day, Roosevelt summoned Congress to an emergency session and shuttered the country's banks for a four-day "holiday" utilizing authority legally granted under the World War I Trading with the Enemy Act. He introduced the Emergency Banking Relief Bill, which was quickly signed into law after being voted 73 to 7 in the Senate and passed sight unseen by the House. It enabled the use of federal funds to support private banks and gave the federal government the power to reopen banks that were solvent and restructure the others. Critics of the banking system's failure hoped Roosevelt intended to take the banks out of private hands after he denounced "unscrupulous money changers." Rather, Roosevelt's financial strategy was essentially conservative and maintained the existing quo, much like Hoover's.

Only if Americans felt secure enough to deposit money in the reopened banks would the banking bill be able to salvage the American banking sector. Roosevelt solicited support from the American people in the first of his radio "Fireside Chats." People waited in line to deposit money when banks opened the following morning. For the new president, it was a huge victory. It also showed that Roosevelt was not as radical as some wanted or feared, despite his willingness to take decisive action.

First Hundred Days

The federal government assumed drastically new responsibilities during the ninety-nine-day special session of Congress, which journalists called "The First Hundred Days." With the help of advisors—a group of lawyers, academics, and social workers known as "the Brain Trust"—and the brilliant First Lady, Roosevelt attempted to revitalize the American economy. Roosevelt alternated between balancing the budget and enormous deficit spending (spending more than is collected in taxes and borrowing the difference), and these "New Dealers" lacked a consistent agenda. However, the new administration generated an abundance of legislation with the support of a Democratic-controlled Congress and a mandate for action. During the First Hundred Days, two fundamental tactics surfaced. The New Dealers developed a number of "relief" initiatives for the poor and experimented with national economic planning.

National Industrial Recovery Act

The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) were the cornerstones of the New Deal experiment. The NIRA was founded on the idea that "destructive competition" made industry's financial problems worse. The NIRA allowed rival companies to work together to create industry-wide rules that permitted manufacturers to set industry-wide wages and pricing without avoiding antitrust laws. The idea was that once prices and wages stabilized, consumer spending would rise and businesses would be able to rehire people. Importantly, industrial workers were granted the ability to "organize and bargain collectively"—that is, to form a union—under Section 7(a). Although this National Recovery Administration (NRA) program was more extensive than earlier government-private sector collaboration, it was not all that different from Hoover-era "associationalism" because individual enterprises' participation was optional.

The NRA-mandated cartels were controlled by big business, as small company owners feared. The inexperience of NRA employees prevented them from confronting corporate officials. Twenty well-paid oil business lawyers "aided" the 26-year-old NRA worker who was in charge of drafting the petroleum sector code. The NRA approved 541 codes, most of which represented the interests of large businesses rather than workers, consumers, or small company owners. In essence, economic recovery was not brought about by the NRA. The shaky, collapsing system came to an end in 1935 when the Supreme Court declared that the NRA had overreached its constitutional authority.

Agricultural Adjustment Act

The effects of the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) were more persistent. By establishing a nationwide crop management system, it provided farmers with incentives in exchange for limiting the production of particular crops. (Crop prices fell due to overproduction.) The country's farmers plowed beneath crops in the fields and killed 8.5 million piglets in 1933. This food waste was hard for millions of starving Americans to comprehend.

Tenant farmers and sharecroppers were forced off their property as landlords reduced production, and government crop subsidies proved disastrous for them. Between 1930 and 1940, the number of sharecropper farms in the South decreased by nearly one-third, and many African American farmers who were left behind moved to cities and towns. Many did benefit from the handouts, though. Nearly three-quarters of the overall farm revenue in the Dakotas in 1934 came from government handouts.

Like the NRA, the AAA was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1936. However, unlike the NRA, the AAA was too well-liked by its members, American farmers, to go extinct. Farm subsidies persisted into the twenty-first century when the law was amended to accommodate the Supreme Court's concerns.

Relief Programs

Roosevelt acted swiftly to provide inadequate relief, allocating $3 billion in federal funds in 1935. Many Americans, even New Dealers, opposed immediate relief contributions. Thus, "work relief" was a key component of New Deal programs. The Civil Works Administration employed 4 million workers by January 1934, the majority of whom made $15 per week. Additionally, young men without spouses were paid $1 a day by the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to perform strenuous outdoor labor, such as constructing reservoirs and dams and establishing trails in national parks. Eighty thousand Native Americans who

worked on western Indian reservations were among the 2.5 million men employed by the CCC by 1942.

Poor women were rarely included in work relief initiatives. According to historian Linda Gordon, mothers of small children were typically labeled as "unemployable" and given "mother's-aid" grants, which were insignificant in comparison to the pay granted by federal works programs. Local politicians did not repudiate the poor-law legacy that made a distinction between the "deserving" and the "undeserving" poor, but federal assistance programs did. "A woman who isn't a good housekeeper is apt to have a pretty rough time of it," journalist Lorena Hickok told Harry Hopkins.

Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act established the Public Works Administration (PWA), which in 1933 received $3.3 billion for PWA projects. Public works initiatives of the New Deal constructed infrastructure across the country, particularly in underdeveloped areas.

However, the PWA's primary goal was to stimulate the economy with federal funds. This massive appropriation demonstrates the Roosevelt administration's willingness to employ the contentious strategy of deficit spending to boost the economy, given that government revenues for 1932 had only reached $1.9 billion.

Roosevelt sent fifteen communications proposing key legislation, and Congress passed fifteen important laws in the three months leading up to Congress's adjournment on June 16, 1933. After almost collapsing, the United States recovered. Unemployment decreased gradually from 13 million in 1933 to 9 million in 1936 as a result of the New Deal's implementation. Wages and incomes increased in tandem with farm prices, while business bankruptcies decreased.

LECTURE FIVE

SECOND NEW DEAL: POPULISM, LABOR WARS, AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Lecture Outline

- **Political Pressure and the Second New Deal**

Business Opposition

Demagogues and Populists

Left-Wing Critics

Shaping the Second New Deal

Works Progress Administration

Social Security Act

Roosevelt's Populist Strategies

- **Labor**

Rivalry Between Craft and Industrial Unions

Sit-Down Strikes |

Memorial Day Massacre

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Analyze pressures shaping the Second New Deal, including business opposition (Liberty League), demagogues (Coughlin, Townsend, Long), and left-wing critics.
- Describe major programs: WPA (public works, arts), Social Security Act (pensions, unemployment, aid), and Roosevelt's strategies for security and redistribution.
- Evaluate labor's resurgence via Wagner Act, CIO vs. AFL rivalry, sit-down strikes (UAW vs. GM), and conflicts like the Memorial Day Massacre.

Political Pressure and the Second New Deal

Roosevelt's New Deal did not enjoy the unparalleled backing of the public and Congress. Deep divisions within the country were concealed by the First Hundred Days' seeming togetherness, and after the immediate crisis was resolved, the fight for solutions started. While some advocated for more government action to alleviate persistent poverty and inequality, others sought to halt the growth of governmental authority.

Business Opposition

The New Deal was condemned by many rich business executives as the economy began to partially recover. They denounced taxes, regulations, and the use of deficit funding for public works projects. The American Liberty League was founded in 1934 by a number of business executives, disgruntled conservative Democrats, and former presidential candidate Al Smith to fight against New Deal "radicalism." The Liberty League also covertly gave money to a racist organization in the South that attempted to incite outrage by disseminating images of the First Lady with African Americans in an effort to turn southern whites against the New Deal and split the Democratic Party.

Demagogues and Populists

Other Americans (sometimes called “populists”) thought the government favored business over the individuals. Despite a decline in unemployment, 9 million individuals remained unemployed. A wave of 1.5 million worker strikes struck the country in 1934. Massive dust storms swept over the southern plains in 1935, killing cattle and forcing families like the Montgomerys off their land. As their discontent grew, so did the attraction of different demagogues who exploited people's biases.

Roman Catholic priest Father Charles Coughlin, whose weekly radio sermons reached 30 million listeners, addressed people who thought faraway elites had taken control of their lives. He was anti-Semitic and increasingly anti-New Deal, accusing listeners of having their troubles due to a global conspiracy of Jewish financiers.

Dr. Francis E. Townsend, a public health official in Long Beach, California, presented another difficulty after losing his job at the age of sixty-seven and having only $100 saved. His predicament was typical. Of the 6.6 million senior Americans, only roughly 400,000 got any state-provided pensions because social assistance was left to the states. Many elderly folks became impoverished as jobs and savings vanished. Townsend suggested that a new "transaction" (sales) tax be used to fund a $200 monthly government pension for Americans over sixty. Townsend's idea was fundamentally regressive (because sales tax rates are the same for everyone, they take a disproportionate share of income from those who earn the least) and financially unfeasible (almost three-quarters of working Americans made $200 per month or less). However, one in five individuals, or 20 million Americans, signed petitions in favor of this plan.

And then there was Huey Long, who was arguably America's greatest effective populist demagogue. Long, a U.S. senator, first backed the New Deal but later concluded that Roosevelt had been bought off by big business. Long proposed in 1934 that all income above $1 million annually and wealth exceeding $5 million per family be seized (by taxes) by the government, which would then use the money to give each American family a $2,000 annual income and a $5,000 one-time homestead allowance. There were seven million members of Long's movement by the middle of 1935, and few people questioned his presidential ambitions. However, in September 1935, Long was shot and killed by a bodyguard during an attempted assassination.

Left-Wing Critics

Additionally, the political left made progress. The New Deal was attacked by both socialists and communists for attempting to preserve capitalism rather than reduce the disparity in wealth and power in America. With the catchphrase "End Poverty in California," socialist and muckraker Upton Sinclair won the Democratic nomination for governor of California in 1934. Seven of Wisconsin's ten representatives in Congress came from the left-wing Progressive Party. even the United States. As it ran for relief and social welfare, the Communist Party gained new supporters. The party declared that "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism" and collaborated with left-wing trade unions, student organizations, and authors' associations in a "Popular Front" against racism domestically and fascism abroad, while denying any desire to overthrow the US government. In order to combat lynching, it founded the League of Struggle for Negro Rights in the late 1920s. Beginning in 1931, it gave the "Scottsboro Boys," who were wrongfully convicted of raping two white women in Alabama, vital legal and financial support (see page 673). The party had 55,000 members in 1938.

Shaping the Second New Deal

Roosevelt was pressured to concentrate on social justice by more than just outside criticism. Many progressive activists served in the president's administration as a result of Eleanor Roosevelt's influence. Both Roosevelt's close advisor Harold Ickes and Frances Perkins, the country's first female cabinet member, had backgrounds in social work. African Americans had an unprecedented voice in this White House, and women social reformers who united around the First Lady played significant roles. By 1936, at least fifty African Americans were employed in cabinet-level departments and New Deal agencies in reasonably key positions. Journalists referred to these people as the "black cabinet." They gathered on Friday nights at the residence of Mary McLeod Bethune, the National Youth Administration's Director of Negro Affairs.

Roosevelt realized he needed to appeal to seemingly incompatible desires as the 1936 election drew closer. Americans who were severely affected by the Great Depression turned to the New Deal for assistance. Those who held a shaky grip on the middle class want stability and security. Others wanted the New Deal to protect American business because they were alarmed by the populist promises made by individuals like Long and Coughlin. Roosevelt took the initiative once more in light of this.

Roosevelt implemented progressive policies during what historians refer to as the Second New Deal with the goal of giving "the average man greater security than he has ever known before in the history of America." The measure Roosevelt dubbed "the Big Bill" was the first success of the Second New Deal. $4 billion in new deficit expenditure was made available by the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act, mostly for extensive public works initiatives for the unemployed. Additionally, it created the National Youth Administration, which funded work-relief programs for young adults, the Rural Electrification Administration, which brought electricity to remote areas, and the Resettlement Administration, which organized rural homestead communities and suburban greenbelt towns for low-income workers.

Works Progress Administration

The Works Progress Administration (WPA), which was subsequently renamed the Work Projects Administration, was the biggest and most well-known initiative. Over 8.5 million people were engaged by the WPA, which constructed 125,000 public buildings, 650,000 miles of highways and roads, bridges, reservoirs, irrigation systems, sewage treatment facilities, parks, playgrounds, and swimming pools across the country. WPA employees ran preschool

nurseries, constructed or rebuilt schools and hospitals, and taught 1.5 million adults to read and write.

In its cultural activities, the WPA also hired actors, musicians, writers, and artists. Cities and towns were introduced to vaudeville, circuses, and theater, including Yiddish and African American productions, under the WPA's Federal Theater Project. Its Arts Project commissioned artists to paint murals of American life on the walls of post offices and employed painters and sculptors to teach in rural schools. The Federal Writers' Project (FWP), one of the WPA's most ambitious initiatives, employed writers like Richard Wright and John Steinbeck to write about Americans and produce guidebooks for each state. In what are known as "slave narratives," almost two thousand elderly former slaves shared their memories with FWP authors. These Are Our Lives (1939) published the life tales of textile workers and sharecroppers. The WPA's artistic endeavors were contentious since many of its writers, artists, and performers sympathized with the political plight of farmers and laborers, and some of them were communists.

Social Security Act

Roosevelt's long-term plan focused on the Social Security Act, while the Big Bill projects were a component of his short-term "emergency" plan. With this action, a federal system for the social welfare of American citizens was established for the first time. One of its main features was a pension system, whereby qualified employees paid Social Security taxes on their earnings and their employers made a matching contribution. These employees then earned government retirement benefits. A combined federal-state system of unemployment benefits and Aid to Dependent Children (later renamed Aid to Families with Dependent Children, AFDC) for needy children in families without dads were among the welfare programs established under the Social Security Act.

The U.S. social security system was rather conservative when compared to the national systems in the majority of western European countries. First, employees and their employers paid for old-age benefits rather than the government. Second, the tax was regressive, meaning that workers paid less in proportion to their income. Lastly, domestic employment, agricultural labor, and "casual labor not in the course of the employer's trade or business" (such as hospital janitorial work) were not covered by the statute. As a result, a disproportionately large number of persons of color who were employed in service positions, domestic work, or farm labor were not eligible for benefits. Many teachers, nurses, librarians, and social workers—the majority of whom were women—were left unprotected by the act since it also excluded personnel in the public sector. (Although spouses and widows of covered workers were not eligible for retirement benefits under the original Social Security Act, Congress added these benefits in 1939.) The federal government assumed some responsibility for the financial stability of the elderly, those who were temporarily unemployed, dependent children, and individuals with impairments in spite of these restrictions.

Roosevelt's Populist Strategies

Roosevelt adopted his enemies' populist rhetoric as the 1936 election drew near. He advocated for the government to "cut the giants down to size" through antitrust lawsuits and high corporate taxes, denouncing the "unjust concentration of wealth and power." Additionally, he backed the Wealth Tax Act, which aided in economic redistribution.

Roosevelt easily won the presidency in November 1936. Some were concerned that the two-party system may fall apart because Democrats earned such huge majorities in the House and Senate. The eleven Confederate states (the "Solid South"), organized labor, the urban

working class (particularly immigrants from southern and eastern Europe), and northern blacks had really formed a strong "New Deal coalition" under Roosevelt and the Democrats. In northern cities, African Americans now made up voting blocs, and the advantages of the New Deal lured them away from the Republican Party, which they had long favored as Lincoln's party. Democrats would hold the White House for the majority of the following three decades thanks to this New Deal alliance.

Labor

During the depression's worst years, American workers struggled for the rights of labor. However, management opposed unionization; some hired armed thugs to intimidate employees, while others refused to recognize unions. Employers substituted strike breakers for workers as they left the office. The scenario frequently descended into violence as workers attempted to prevent the strikebreakers from crossing picket lines. For management, local police or National Guard members frequently stepped in. Violence broke out among forestry workers in the Pacific Northwest, among teamsters in the Midwest, and in the steel, automobile, and textile industries as strikes expanded.

With the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935, the Roosevelt government promoted labor. It protected employees' ability to form unions and prevent collective bargaining. It forbade management from supporting corporate unions, outlawed "unfair labor practices" such firing employees who joined unions, and mandated that employers negotiate salaries, hours, and working conditions with labor's elected union representatives. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was established as an enforcement mechanism by the Wagner Act. By the conclusion of the decade, the NLRB was a major player in conflict resolution. Union membership increased from 3.6 million in 1929 to 7 million in 1938 under federal protection.

Business elites were further estranged from the New Deal by the Wagner Act. An editorial of a prestigious business publication declared, "No Obedience."

Rivalry Between Craft and Industrial Unions

An already-existing split between "craft" and "industrial" unions was made worse by the labor movement's expansion and growing militancy. The elite of labor, or expert workers in a particular trade, like carpentry, were represented by craft unions. All employees, both skilled and unskilled, in a particular industry were loathed by industrial unions. The number of industrial unions increased significantly in the 1930s.

The American Federation of Labor, a potent umbrella organization for particular unions, was dominated by craft unions. Industrial organizing had scant support from the majority of AFL leaders. Industrial workers, who were disproportionately immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, were despised by many. Craft unionists who were more conservative were concerned about what they perceived as the radicalism of industrial unions, and skilled workers had different economic interests from unskilled workers.

The most well-known labor leader in the country and the leader of the United Mine Workers, John L. Lewis, resigned as AFL vice president in 1935. The Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) was established by him and other industrial unionists; all CIO unions were subsequently suspended by the AFL. The Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was renamed somewhat, had 3.7 million members in 1938, which was marginally greater than the AFL's 3.4 million. Women and people of color were included in the CIO, unlike the AFL, which provided these "marginal" workers with more job security and the advantages of collective bargaining.

Sit-Down Strikes

The United Auto Workers' (UAW) demand for recognition from General Motors (GM), Chrysler, and Ford was the most significant labor dispute. On December 30, 1936, UAW organizers and employees at the Fisher Body plant in Flint, Michigan, staged an internal "sit-down strike" after GM refused. They stopped GM production by refusing to leave. GM turned off the heat in an attempt to evict them. Strikers used water hoses on police as they attempted to use tear gas.

Car output fell as the sit-down strike extended to nearby plants. Despite a court order requiring General Motors to evacuate the plant, the strikers refused to back down, running the danger of jail time and fines. The governor of Michigan made a crucial decision by declining to deploy the National Guard. Fourty-four days later, GM and Chrysler both agreed to recognize the union. Ford waited until 1941.

Memorial Day Massacre

However, a reminder of the price of labor's effort followed this victory. In an effort to assist strikers picketing at the Republic Steel mill in Chicago, picnicking workers and their families marched toward the facility on Memorial Day 1937. They were told to leave by the police. The police attacked after one of the marchers threw something. Seven of the ten men were shot in the back and died. A mother and three children were among the thirty demonstrators who sustained injuries. Many Americans had little empathy for the workers because they were tired of labor disputes and violence.

As the National Labor Relations Board effectively resolved conflicts, violence gradually decreased. The standard of life increased for unionized workers, who make up around 23% of the nonagricultural workforce. The typical steelworker could now afford to purchase his kids a pair of shoes every other year by 1941.

LECTURE SIX

NEW DEAL'S REACH, LIMITS, AND LEGACY

Lecture Outline

- **Federal Power and the Nationalization of Culture**

New Deal in the West

New Deal for Native Americans

New Deal in the South

Mass Media and Popular Culture

- **The Limits of the New Deal**

Court-Packing Plan

Roosevelt Recession

Election of 1940

Race and the Limits of the New Deal

African American Support

An Assessment of the New Deal

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Assess New Deal transformations in the West (dams, grazing), South (TVA), and for Native Americans (Indian Reorganization Act).
- Examine mass media's role (radio, movies) in nationalizing culture during the Depression.
- Analyze New Deal limits: court-packing failure, 1937 recession, 1940 election, and racial exclusions despite African American support.
- Evaluate the New Deal's legacy, including expanded federal power, Roosevelt's leadership, and unresolved issues like unemployment.

Federal Power and the Nationalization of Culture

The 1930s saw a rise in the influence of the federal government, national media, and politics on the lives of Americans from various geographical areas, socioeconomic groups, and ethnic backgrounds. Americans had minimal direct contact with the federal government in 1930, except for the post office. Nearly 35% of the population benefited from federal government assistance by the end of the 1930s, whether it was crop subsidies through the federal AAA, a WPA job, or disaster payments under FERA. Americans anticipated that the federal government would be heavily involved in national affairs starting with the New Deal.

New Deal in the West

The American West was the region most affected by the New Deal, as the region's environment and economy were altered by federally funded dam construction and other public works initiatives. By harnessing the Colorado River, the Boulder Dam (later renamed in Herbert Hoover's honor) supplied water to towns in southern California and generated electricity for southern Arizona and Los Angeles through hydroelectric power. Such dams' water allowed western towns to grow and opened up new agricultural lands; industry was drawn to the inexpensive energy they generated. Following the building of the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington State in 1941, the federal government effectively gained influence over the future of the area by controlling a significant amount of water and hydroelectric power.

In the 1930s, the federal government also gained control over millions of acres of land in the West. Federal policies aimed to restrict production in order to prevent future declines in agricultural prices and to counteract the environmental catastrophe of the Dust Bowl. The Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 placed more limitations on ranchers' usage of public lands for livestock grazing. The Navajos' traditional economy was damaged by government stock reduction programs that forced them to lower the number of sheep herds on federally protected reservation lands, even though they likely preserved the western cattle industry. Federal crop supports and subsidies helped large western farms and ranches, but they also gave the federal government more influence over the area.

New Deal for Native Americans

The people of the West were likewise affected by new federal activities. The federal government's previous treatment of Native Americans, particularly those living on reservations, was terrible. Corrupt practices plagued the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which prohibited tribal religious rituals, suppressed native languages, and separated children from their parents in an effort to "assimilate" Native Americans. Tribal land division did not encourage private land ownership. With an infant mortality rate twice as high as that of white Americans, Native Americans were the poorest group in the country at the beginning of the 1930s.

Roosevelt appointed one of the BIA's most outspoken detractors to lead the organization in 1933. The American Indian Defense Agency's founder, John Collier, intended to totally undo American Indian policy. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 sought to return Indian territories to tribal ownership and put a stop to forced assimilation. Indian tribes were granted "internal sovereignty" in subjects not restricted by congressional acts, regaining their position as semisovereign states.

On the basis of romantic ideas of "authentic" Indian culture, several Indians condemned the IRA as a "back-to-the-blanket" measure. Tribes like the Papagos, whose language lacked a word for "representative," were culturally unfamiliar with the tribal government structure that the IRA had outlined. The IRA was not ratified by the Navajo nation. However, 181 tribes

eventually united under the IRA, setting the stage for further economic growth and restricted political independence among indigenous peoples.

New Deal in the South

The New Dealers intended to change the South, which had been enmeshed in poverty for a long time, but they did not set out to change the American West. In 1929, the South's annual per capita income was $365, while the West's was $921. Ten ants or sharecroppers made up more than half of agricultural households in the South. Nearly 15% of South Carolina's population was illiterate.

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), approved by Congress during Roosevelt's First Hundred Days, was the biggest federal intervention in the South. Similar to the multifunctional dams of the West, the TVA was established to produce a water and hydroelectric power project (see Map 25.1). However, the TVA grew to support economic development, provide electricity to rural areas, restore fields worn out from overuse, and combat malaria in response to the poverty of the Tennessee River Valley region, which included portions of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Kentucky.

The TVA was an environmental catastrophe even though it helped a lot of people in the South. Soil erosion was brought on by TVA strip mining. Acid rain was created when sulfur oxides from its coal-burning units mixed with water vapor. Above all, the TVA contaminated the water by discharging metal contaminants from strip mining, hazardous chemicals, and untreated sewage into rivers and streams.

Senators from the South profited from federal funds sent to their states. However, many also viewed government action with suspicion. The South rebelled when federal action endangered its racial hierarchy. The South would be difficult to incorporate into the national economy and culture because it is the poorest and least educated section of the country. However, New Deal initiatives started that process and made life better for at least a few residents in the area.

Mass Media and Popular Culture

Regional barriers were dismantled and national ties were strengthened by America's popular culture.

The days and nights of the Great Depression were dominated by radio. By 1937, consumers were purchasing radios at a rate of twenty-eight per minute as more affordable versions became accessible. Families listened to radios for an average of five hours every day, and 27.5 million households owned one at the end of the decade. Roosevelt conducted "Fireside Chats" on the radio to address the American people directly.

Radio provided citizens with instant access to political news and the real voices of elected officials during a period of uncertainty. Radio provided an escape during difficult times: Flash Gordon's escapades for kids, and new soap operas like The Romance of Helen Trent for housewives. Families came to enjoy the comedy of former vaudevillians Gracie Allen, George Burns, and Jack Benny.

Listeners were transported to distant locations for major league baseball games (started by the St. Louis Cardinals in 1935), to the Moana Hotel on the beach in Waikiki via the live broadcast of Hawaii Calls, and to New York City for Saturday afternoon performances of the Metropolitan Opera. Black Americans in the urban North and rural South witnessed the

victories of African American boxer Joe Louis, sometimes known as "the Brown Bomber," while millions of people shared the agony of pilot Charles Lindbergh's son asleep in 1932. Radio reduced isolation and contributed to the development of a more uniform mass culture that cut over regional and class boundaries.

Hollywood films also played a significant role in the shared popular culture of 1930s America. After 1933, the film business recovered from the early years of the downturn. By the mid-1930s, between 80 and 90 million cinema tickets were sold every week in a country of less than 130 million people, as Americans went to the theaters to escape. From the subtle banter of My Man Godfrey to the slapstick of the Marx Brothers, comedies were particularly popular.

However, many Americans were concerned about the glamorization of crime as gangster films, such as Scarface and Little Caesar, attracted large audiences in the early 1930s. In response to a boycott spearheaded by the Roman Catholic Legion of Decency, the motion picture industry instituted a production code in 1934 that would shape what American viewers saw—and didn't see—for decades to come.

Lastly, federal measures to direct employment toward male family heads unintentionally increased the influence of popular culture in the country. 1.5 million young people lost their jobs during Roosevelt's first two years in power; many of them chose to remain in school instead of going to work at the age of fourteen in more prosperous times. Three-quarters of American adolescents attended high school by the end of the decade, compared to half in 1920, and graduation rates doubled. More young people engaged in national youth culture when they attended high school, adopting comparable speech patterns, dances, and attire as well as listening to more of the same music. Ironically, youth culture expanded among America's youth throughout the difficult depression years.

The Limits of the New Deal

Roosevelt had a clear mandate for reform at the start of his second administration. However, the president's actions quickly called into question his New Deal objective. America was split along racial and labor lines. Foreign issues and defense took precedence over domestic measures as the world edged closer to war. New Deal reform came to an end by the end of 1938.

Court-Packing Plan

Roosevelt aimed to protect his progressive program after his resounding victory in 1936. Its biggest danger, in his opinion, was the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court rejected certain legislative provisions and the increase of presidential and federal power that the National Industrial Recovery Act (1935) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (1936) involved when it declared them unconstitutional. Roosevelt was certain that the Court would declare the majority of the Second New Deal laws unconstitutional since just three of the nine judges were consistently sympathetic to New Deal "emergency" measures. He requested permission from Congress to name up to six additional justices, citing the nine justices' senior age and tremendous workload. However, many Americans viewed Roosevelt's plan as an assault on constitutional government in a time when Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin had risen to power. Roosevelt suffered his first significant congressional loss when Congress rebelled.

Ironically, important swing-vote judges started to favor pro-New Deal decisions amid the protracted public discussion over court packing. The Court extended Congress's authority to control interstate trade by upholding the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act (NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.). Additionally, the president appointed seven new associate justices and urged senior judges to resign through a new judicial pen sion program. Roosevelt

ultimately received what he desired from the Supreme Court, but his reputation was tarnished by the court-packing scheme.

Roosevelt Recession

The 1937–1939 recession, sometimes known as the Roosevelt recession, was another New Deal setback. Roosevelt cut back on government spending in 1937, certain that the slump had ended. The Federal Reserve Board curtailed credit because it was worried about an inflation rate of 3.6 percent. The economy collapsed as a result of these two measures, with unemployment rising from 7.7 million in 1937 to 10.4 million in 1938.

The course of liberal reform caused conflict for the New Dealers. While some called for the revival of national economic planning, others encouraged trust busting. Roosevelt, however, decided to use deficit finance in order to boost consumer demand and generate employment. And the New Deal ended in 1939 as the European struggle that had sparked the world war demanded more American focus. In exchange for conservative backing for his military readiness and rearmament projects, Roosevelt gave up additional domestic reforms.

Election of 1940

Americans wondered if Franklin Roosevelt would run for a third term in 1940, since no president had ever held office for more than two terms. Before Adolf Hitler's military victories in Europe in the spring persuaded Roosevelt to remain, he appeared unsure. "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars," Roosevelt assured the American people. Although the New Deal coalition prevailed, Roosevelt did not win this election by a wide margin. With the help of African Americans, ethnic Americans, and blue-collar workers, Roosevelt triumphed once more in the cities. He also won every state in the South.

Race and the Limits of the New Deal

Although many Americans benefited from the New Deal, individuals of color were not treated equally. Local implementation of national programs took place. In the South, African Americans were paid less for WPA labor and received less relief than whites. Additionally, Federal Emergency Relief Agency representatives in Tucson, Arizona, separated applications into four categories: Indians, Mexican immigrants, Mexican Americans, and Anglos. They then distributed relief funds in descending order.

These racist discriminatory tactics benefited whites' and Anglo's economic interests. The bulk of Mexican American and African American laborers received wages so low that they were paid less for "relief" than poor white people. If government assistance or labor programs offered greater income, why would these folks accept low-paying private jobs? Local communities recognized the threat posed by federal programs to a racialized political, social, and economic structure.

In the 1930s, the Scottsboro Boys case serves as an example of racism in disputes between local and national authority. On a Southern Railroad freight train traveling through Alabama one night in March 1931, young black and white "hobos" began fighting. The whites were thrown off the train by the victorious black teenagers. The black lads were then thrown into the Scottsboro, Alabama, jail after a posse stopped the train. The men allegedly raped two white ladies who were "riding the rails." The women were later proven to be lying by medical proof. However, within two weeks, all-white juries found eight of the so-called Scottsboro Boys guilty of rape and sentenced them to death. By a single vote, the ninth, a thirteen-year-old child,

was spared the death penalty. The case, which was obviously a result of racism in the South, gained national and international attention thanks to the Communist Party's efforts.

The Supreme Court stepped in and declared that Alabama's exclusion of African Americans from juries and denial of defendants' counsel denied black defendants equal protection under the law. However, Alabama held fresh trials and found five of the young men guilty (one escaped from prison, and four would be granted release by 1950). The South would not readily submit to federal authority on matters of race.

Second, the political realities of southern resistance hampered the progress gained by people of color under the New Deal. For instance, in 1938, Southern Democrats used a six-week Senate filibuster to thwart an anti-lynching law. Roosevelt declined to break the filibuster and get the law passed by using his political might. Although he was certain that African Americans would stick with the Democratic Party, his legislative agenda was doomed in the absence of senators from the South. Roosevelt did not have a strong commitment to civil rights, but he did want all Americans to experience democracy.

African American Support

So why did African Americans back Roosevelt and the New Deal? Because African Americans benefited from the New Deal despite discriminatory policies. Nearly one-third of African American households were subsisting on WPA wages by 1939. The First Lady openly demonstrated her support for racial equality, and African Americans occupied important posts in the Roosevelt administration. Eleanor Roosevelt made arrangements for renowned black contralto Marian Anderson to sing at the Lincoln Memorial after the Daughters of the American Revolution forbade Anderson from performing in Constitution Hall in Washington.

However, some African Americans felt that self-help and direct-action movements were a safer option given the limitations of New Deal change. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was founded in 1934 by poor whites and black sharecroppers and tenant farmers. African American customers in the North boycotted white businesses that did not recruit black people. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" was their catchphrase. Additionally, A. Philip Randolph led the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in their fight for black workers' rights. During the 1930s, these initiatives improved the lives of African Americans.

An Assessment of the New Deal

Roosevelt must be the starting point for any analysis of the New Deal. During his presidency, opinions of him varied greatly: he was both intensely liked and intensely hated. Hundreds of thousands of Americans wrote to him with advice and requests for assistance after he spoke to them in his Fireside Chats.

During the Roosevelt administration, Eleanor Roosevelt had an unparalleled role. She promoted social justice as First Lady by bringing reformers, trade unionists, and defenders of women's and African Americans' rights to the White House. She adopted public stances that were significantly more radical than those of her husband's administration, particularly on African American civil rights, and was sometimes referred to as the conscience of the New Deal. By directing conservative criticism away from her husband and toward herself, she acted as a lightning rod. Additionally, she strengthened the commitment of groups like African Americans to the New Deal.

Franklin Roosevelt is regarded by the majority of political scientists and historians as a truly exceptional president because of his bravery, willingness to try new things, and ability to motivate the country. Some accuse Roosevelt of lacking vision, viewing the New Deal as a

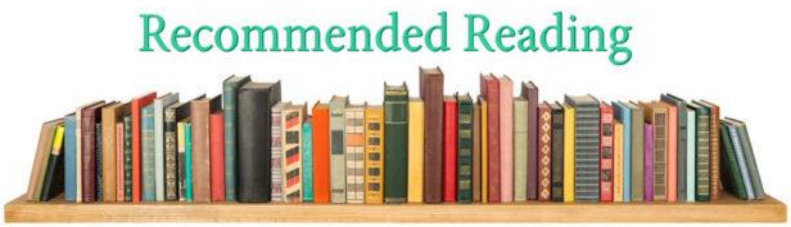
wasted chance for real change. They evaluate Roosevelt according to objectives that were not his own: Roosevelt was a pragmatist who wanted to keep the system in place. However, even his detractors concur that he changed the presidency. This raises concerns for some, who link the Roosevelt administration to "the imperial presidency."

Roosevelt fortified the federal government and the presidency during his more than twelve years in power. The government increased the scope of its regulatory duties, including monitoring the country's financial systems, through New Deal initiatives. The federal government used deficit spending to boost the economy and provided aid to the unemployed and poor for the first time. Social Security is one of the government programs that continue to benefit millions of Americans.

But as late as 1939, the unemployment rate in the country was 19 percent, and over 10 million people were still unemployed. The unemployment rate did not drop to 10% until 1941, when the country was preparing for war. Just 1% of the workforce was unemployed by 1944. The American economy was revitalized by World War II rather than the New Deal.

Summary

A severe economic crisis faced the country in the 1930s. Nearly 25% of American workers were unemployed by 1933. Millions of people were homeless or starving. Herbert Hoover, who was elected president in 1928, thought that the government should only manage the economy to a certain extent. He attempted to use "associationalism," a voluntary collaboration between corporations and the federal government, to address the country's economic issues. Voters supported Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1932 presidential contest because he had promised them a "New Deal."
A liberal reform program known as the New Deal emerged within the democratic and economic framework of the United States. It increased the federal government's authority. Federal regulations were imposed on banks, utilities, stock markets, farms, and the majority of enterprises as a result of New Deal reforms. Employers were compelled by federal law to negotiate pay, hours, and working conditions with workers' unions, and the government guaranteed workers' right to join. A national welfare system run by the federal government provided protection for a large number of unemployed workers, Americans who were aged or disabled, and dependent children. There were critics of the New Deal. Its backing for organized unions and new laws were criticized by business leaders. Conflicts between national and local authorities occasionally erupted as the federal government's role grew, and policymakers faced difficulties due to disparities in regional social and economic systems. Federal government action changed both the West and the South, but white southerners opposed challenges to the Jim Crow racial system, and individuals in the South were wary of federal intrusion. New Deal policies were influenced and constrained by the political realities of a weak coalition and fierce opposition. Nonetheless, the New Deal significantly altered how the American government would respond to future economic downturns and citizen demands.



Alan Brinkley, The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War (1995)

Alan Brinkley, Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression (1982)

Anthony J. Badger, The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–1940 (1989)

Blanche Wiesen Cook, Eleanor Roosevelt, Vols. 1 and 2 (1992, 1999)

David M. Kennedy, Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War (1999)

Donald Worster, Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s (2004)

James E. Goodman, Stories of Scottsboro (1994)

Lizabeth Cohen, Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago (1990)

Robert McElvaine, The Great Depression: America, 1929–1941 (1984)

Sidney Fine, Sitdown: The General Motors Strike of 1936–37 (1969)

Timothy Egan, The Worst Hard Time (2005)

LECTURE SEVEN

POSTWAR BOOM: VETERANS, SUBURBS, AND COLD WAR POLITICS

Lecture Outline

- **Shaping Postwar America**

The Veterans Return

The G.I. Bill

Economic Growth

Baby Boom

Suburbanization

Inequality in Benefits

- **Domestic Politics in the Cold War Era**

Harry S Truman and Postwar Liberalism

Postwar Strikes and the Taft- Hartley Act

1948 Election

Truman's Fair Deal

Eisenhower's Dynamic Conservatism

Growth of the Military-Industrial Complex

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Describe postwar changes: veterans' reintegration via GI Bill, economic boom, baby boom, suburbanization, and unequal benefits by race/gender.
- Analyze Truman's Fair Deal liberalism, postwar strikes/Taft-Hartley Act, and 1948 election amid Cold War context.
- Evaluate Eisenhower's dynamic conservatism, including education funding, recessions, and warnings about the military-industrial complex.

Shaping Postwar America

At the close of World War II, Americans faced numerous difficulties. The country had to change its economy from one that operated during the war to one that operated during peacetime and reintegrate veterans into civilian society. The Cold War and the shifting global power dynamics were other issues it had to deal with. The economy quickly prospered despite rising unemployment and a wave of strikes that shook the country. Together with new federal initiatives, this robust economy revolutionized American culture.

The Veterans Return

The United States confronted a new task in 1945 after Germany and Japan submitted: demobilizing over 15 million military personnel. Homecomings for veterans were frequently happy but not always simple. Many warriors came home to children they hardly knew and women whose lives had continued without them. A few suffered severe injuries. Due in great part to the psychological effects of the war on veterans, the National Mental Health Act of 1946 was established, and over half a million veterans received diagnoses of neuropsychiatric illnesses. The way the economy will handle the millions of returning veterans was another concern for Americans. Workers were being laid off by factories as the war came to an end. Ten days following the Allied victory over Japan, 640,000 workers applied for unemployment benefits and 1.8 million people nationwide were given pink slips.

The GI Bill

During the war, the federal government made plans for demobilization. The GI Bill of Rights, also known as the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, was overwhelmingly passed by Congress in the spring of 1944. In addition to expressing thanks to the military, it made an effort to prevent demobilized veterans from depleting the American economy. In order to delay their return into the workforce, around half of all veterans claimed unemployment compensation. Additionally, the GI Bill offered low-interest home or business loans as well as stipends to help pay for living expenses and tuition at technical or college schools.

All veterans, regardless of gender or ethnicity, were eligible for the GI Bill as long as their discharge was honorable. However, state and local agencies were left to handle implementation due to legislative squabbling, which made racial discrimination possible. Additionally, those accused of homosexuality were refused benefits since they were not honorably discharged. However, GI education benefits were utilized by nearly half of returning soldiers. Approximately 2.2 million veterans pursued professional, graduate, or college education. Approximately two-thirds of college students in America were veterans in 1947. Negro colleges expanded but racial segregation continued. Higher education saw a golden age as a result of the influx of students and federal funds into colleges and universities, and the economy profited from the rise in educated workers that followed. Social mobility was facilitated by education, since children of low-wage workers went on to become white-collar professionals. A new middle-class culture was cultivated nationwide by the G.I. Bill. Students lost their ties to their ethnic or regional cultures as they were exposed to new ideas at college.

Economic Growth

American fears that the end of the war would bring back economic depression were unjustified. Thanks to consumer spending, the postwar economy recovered swiftly. During the war, Americans earned stable incomes, but they had little money to spend. For instance, since 1942, no new automobiles had been produced. After four years of saving, Americans were prepared to spend. After the war, businesses like General Motors found millions of eager customers and expanded their operations. U.S. firms increased their global domination because

the majority of manufacturing worldwide were in ruins. Additionally, farming underwent a revolution. As agricultural labor productivity tripled, new machinery like crop dusting planes and automated cotton, tobacco, and grape pickers, as well as increasing usage of fertilizers and pesticides, significantly raised the overall value of farm produce. Large investors were attracted by the prospect for profit, and the average farm size rose from 195 to 306 acres.

Baby Boom

America's birth rate fell, and many put off getting married during the Great Depression. Marriage and birth rates increased after the war. In 1946, the United States had the highest marriage rate of any country that kept records, with the exception of Hungary. The declining trend of the preceding 150 years was reversed by the skyrocketing birth rate. In her syndicated weekly column, Sylvia F. Porter said, "Take the 3,548,000 babies born in 1950." Put them in a bunch and bounce them across the fertile country of America. What do you receive? Porter responded, "Boom. The largest and most prosperous boom in history. Imagine the amount of money that these new markets and additional people will spend on housing, services, food, clothing, and technology. More than 4 million kids were born annually until 1965, despite the fact that the baby boom peaked in 1957 (see Figure 29.1). Housing, nursery schools, elementary, middle, and high schools, fads and popular music, colleges, the labor market, and retirement funds, including Social Security, were all impacted in turn as this large group grew older.

Since the 1920s, very little new housing had been constructed. In 1948, 50,000 people lived in quonset huts, 250 repurposed trolley cars were marketed as residences in Chicago due to housing shortages, and over 2 million families were doubled up with relatives.

Suburbanization

Many Americans' lives were altered as the housing crisis was resolved through a combination of market forces, governmental initiatives, and personal choices. White Americans relocated to the suburbs throughout the postwar era. Due to the influx of African American families, some white families left urban areas. However, the majority just wanted a place of their own, and suburban projects were reasonably priced. The enormous influx of 18 million Americans into the suburbs between 1950 and 1960 was on a completely new scale, even though suburban development existed before World War II (see Table 29.1). Home building was revolutionized in 1947 when builder William Levitt adopted Henry Ford's assembly-line techniques. By 1949, Levitt's company was building 180 custom homes per week, as opposed to four or five a year. They were extremely simple, consisting of four and a half rooms on a 60-by-100-foot property with identical floor layouts hidden under four distinct exteriors. Levitt ensured that just one out of every 28 homes would be the same by switching up the seven paint colors. The price of the basic dwelling was $7,990. Levitt's methods were swiftly adopted by other builders. Federal policies promoted suburban expansion, which is why it occurred on such a huge scale. Low-interest GI loans and mortgages were provided by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). In order to establish a 42,500-mile interstate highway system, Congress passed the Highway Act in 1956 after authorizing the construction of a 37,000-mile highway chain in 1947. Workers were able to dwell further away from their major city jobs because to these routes, which were designed to speed up military mobilization and commerce.

Inequality in Benefits

Not all Americans benefited equally from postwar federal initiatives. First, women were frequently disadvantaged by federal policies that favored men. Women lost jobs at a rate that was 75 percent greater than men's as industry laid off civilian workers to make room for

veterans. Despite being forced into lower-paying positions, many women continued to work. Universities excluded eligible female students in order to make room for veterans on the GI Bill.

Racial disparities also existed. African American, Native American, Mexican American, and Asian American veterans were given precedence in employment for public service positions and received educational benefits, much like European American veterans. However, these groups' war workers were among the first to be let go. African American or racially mixed communities were frequently deemed "high risk" by federal loan officials and bankers, who refused to grant mortgages to members of racial minorities irrespective of their personal creditworthiness. African Americans and many Hispanics were prevented from participating in the postwar economic boom by this practice, known as "redlining" since such communities were marked in red on lenders' maps. Over time, white families' investments in homes purchased with federally backed mortgages increased significantly.

Domestic Politics in the Cold War Era

Federal policies and initiatives played a major role in the social and economic changes that occurred in the United States during the postwar era, but given the difficulties posed by the escalating Cold War, foreign policy was crucial. On the home front, Eisenhower aimed for balanced budgets and business-friendly policies, while Truman tried to expand on the leftist agenda of the New Deal. Neither government came close to the New Deal's level of legislative and political activism in the 1930s.

Harry S Truman and Postwar Liberalism

The straightforward former Missouri haberdasher Harry Truman never imagined becoming president. Truman nearly declined Franklin Roosevelt's invitation to run for vice president in 1944. The president had little time for his new vice president during the fourth year of the war, and he kept Truman in the dark on everything from plans for postwar domestic policy to the Manhattan Project. Truman was preparing for Roosevelt's unexpected death in April 1945. But Truman took the initiative and put a sign that said, "The Buck Stops Here," on his desk. As he guided the country through the conclusion of World War II and into the Cold War with the Soviet Union, Truman's administration was primarily centered on international relations. He handled the country's transition from war to peace and worked to preserve Roosevelt's New Deal's liberal agenda. President Roosevelt presented Americans with a "Second Bill of Rights" in his 1944 State of the Union speech, which included the rights to housing, food, healthcare, work, and education. The foundation of postwar liberalism was this proclamation of the government's duty to ensure the wellbeing of its inhabitants. The federal government's active engagement in ensuring social welfare, advancing social justice, controlling the economy, and regulating industry was also encouraged by Truman's legislative agenda. In the winter of 1945, congressional Democrats submitted the Full Employment Act, which guaranteed job to anyone who could and would find it through public-sector employment if needed, and Truman suggested raising the minimum wage. Truman's gamble that full employment would result in enough tax revenue and that consumer spending would spur economic growth paid off, but the Full Employment Act, which was passed in 1946 without any guarantees of work, was sabotaged by a conservative coalition of southern Democrats and Republicans in Congress who refused to raise the minimum wage. A Council of Economic Advisers was established, meanwhile, to assist the president in averting economic downturns.

Postwar Strikes and the Taft-Hartley Act

Workers were severely impacted by the transition to a peacetime economy because, after wartime price controls were abandoned, inflation surged. Over 5 million employees quit their jobs. In addition to stopping railroad and sea transportation, unions shut down the coal, automotive, steel, and power industries. Americans started hoarding food and petrol because the strikes were so disruptive. Americans became frustrated with the strikes by the spring of 1946 and partially blamed the Democratic government. President Truman declared that he would urge Congress to draft strikers into the armed services if they defied a presidential order to return to work in an industry considered essential to national security, in response to union threats of a nationwide railway strike. The Democratic Party would not give organized labor unrestricted backing.

The Taft-Hartley Act was then passed in 1947 by conservative Democratic allies and pro-business Republicans in an attempt to limit the influence of labor unions. If a majority supported a union shop, it permitted states to enact right-to-work laws that prohibited "closed shops," requiring all employees to join the union. Additionally, the law required a cooling-off period of eighty days prior to unions initiating strikes that could jeopardize national security. The ability of unions to grow their membership was hampered by these limitations. Despite Truman's objections, Congress overrode his veto of the Taft-Hartley Act, which reduced union power. Truman had to contend with severe inflation (which briefly reached 35 percent), shortages of consumer goods, and postwar strikes that slowed consumer goods production and raised prices as he oversaw the difficult transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. Between late 1945 and 1946, Truman's approval rating fell from 87% to 32%.

1948 Election

In 1948, it appeared like Republicans would win the November presidential election. Roosevelt defeated Thomas Dewey in 1944, and Dewey was the party's nominee. Republicans believed that the Democratic Party's divisions would guarantee victory. Henry A. Wallace, a former New Dealer, ran on the Progressive Party ticket and supported nationalization of essential industries, racial desegregation, and cordial ties with the Soviet Union. Additionally, some white Southerners founded the States' Rights Democratic Party (the Dixiecrats) in 1948 after the Democratic Party adopted a pro-civil rights platform. This party nominated South Carolina's strongly segregationist governor, Strom Thurmond. Truman remained steadfast. By criticizing "Henry Wallace and his communists," he turned to red-baiting. As the first presidential candidate to campaign in Harlem, he also sought the support of African American voters in northern cities. With the support of African American votes, Truman won. African Americans, union members, northern urban voters, and the majority of southern whites made up Roosevelt's New Deal alliance, and they persevered.

Truman’s Fair Deal

“I expect to give every segment of our population a fair deal,” Truman said in his 1949 State of the Union address. In contrast to Roosevelt, Truman promoted laws that upheld African American civil rights, such as those that prohibited lynching. He suggested federal funding for education as well as a national health insurance program. His civil rights legislation was crushed by conservatives from the South in Congress. The Roman Catholic Church opposed educational assistance since it would not include parochial schools, and the American Medical Association condemned his health insurance plan as "socialized medicine." Many national guardsmen and reservists objected to being summoned to active service when Truman dispatched soldiers to Korea in June 1950. As people hoarded sugar, coffee, and canned foods in remembrance of the previous war's shortages, inflation increased. The unpopular war and accusations of influence

peddling by Truman's friends caused the president's approval rating to plummet to an all-time low of 23% in 1951.

Eisenhower's Dynamic Conservatism

Voters agreed with the Republican presidential campaign slogan of 1952, "It's Time for a Change." The popular World War II hero, Republican nominee General Dwight D. Eisenhower, was seen by Americans as having the ability to put an end to the Korean War. Democrats attempted to enlist Eisenhower as their presidential candidate, demonstrating his appeal to moderates in both parties. For the first time in 20 years, a Republican was in the White House, and conservatives wanted to undo liberal New Deal initiatives like Social Security. Eisenhower was a centrist who supported "dynamic conservatism," which he defined as being "liberal when it comes to human beings and conservative when it comes to money." Eisenhower approved legislation in 1954 that increased Social Security benefits and added 7.5 million workers to the program's enrollment, the majority of whom were independent farmers. Cold War anxieties drove Eisenhower's administration to boost education spending as well. Politicians and decision-makers were concerned about the country's scientific vulnerability in 1957 after the Soviet Union successfully launched Sputnik, the first satellite to orbit the Earth, while the United States' first satellite exploded seconds after takeoff. The ensuing National Defense Education Act (NDEA) provided funding for science, math, and foreign language programs in elementary and high school as well as loans and fellowships for college students.

Growth of the Military- Industrial Complex

However, Eisenhower's administration was mostly pro-business and conservative. The president made an effort to balance the budget and cut back on federal spending. However, Eisenhower resorted to deficit spending in response to three recessions (1953–1954, 1957–1958, and 1960–1961) and the expense of America's international operations. Approximately half of the $92 billion in federal spending in 1959 went toward developing new weapons and maintaining a sizable standing military of 3.5 million troops. Eisenhower, however, was concerned about the consequences of such changes. The departing president denounced this new "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry" in his farewell speech in early 1961 and cautioned that the country's democratic process was in danger due to its "total influence—economic, political, even spiritual." The former five-star general and war hero Eisenhower advised Americans to "be on the lookout for the military-industrial complex."

LECTURE EIGHT

RED SCARE MCCARTHYISM AND CIVIL RIGHTS AWAKENING

Lecture Outline

- **Cold War Fears and Anticommunism**

Espionage and Nuclear Fears

Politics of Anticommunism

McCarthyism and the Growing "Witch Hunt"

Anticommunism in Congress

Waning of the Red Scare

- **The Struggle for Civil Rights**

Growing Black Political Power

Supreme Court Victories and School Desegregation

Montgomery Bus Boycott

White Resistance

Federal Authority and States' Rights

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Explain Cold War-driven anticommunism: espionage fears, loyalty oaths, HUAC/Hollywood blacklists, McCarthyism, and its decline.
- Analyze civil rights advances: black political power, Supreme Court wins (Brown v. Board), Montgomery boycott, white resistance, and federal intervention (Little Rock).

Cold War Fears and Anticommunism

Following World War II, domestic politics in America were significantly impacted by international affairs. The Cold War tensions between the US and the USSR frightened Americans, but these legitimate fears erupted into witch hunts and anticommunist demagoguery that violated civil liberties, stifled dissent, and persecuted thousands of innocent Americans. Anticommunism was not new; after the 1917 Russian Revolution, the country experienced a

Red Scare, and opponents of the American labor movement used accusations of communism to prevent unionization until the 1930s. Many drew a frightening comparison between Nazi Germany's occupation of nearby states and the Soviet Union's virtual occupation of eastern Europe in the late 1940s. People were concerned about being "too soft" toward the Soviet Union because they recalled the failure of "appeasement" at Munich.

Espionage and Nuclear Fears

In a top-secret effort known as "Venona," 79 U.S. intelligence agents deciphered nearly 3,000 Soviet telegraph lines, demonstrating that Soviet spies had infiltrated U.S. government institutions and nuclear programs. There were American spies in the Soviet Union as well. In order to prevent the Soviets from realizing that their codes had been broken, intelligence authorities kept this information from the American people.

American anticommunism was partly influenced by fear of nuclear war. President Truman launched a national atomic civil defense program in 1949 when the Soviet Union joined the United States in acquiring atomic weapons. He told Americans, "I cannot tell you when or where the attack will come or that it will come at all." All I can do is remind you that we need to be prepared. Children learned how to protect their faces from the atomic flash by practicing "duck-and-cover" poses in classes. Backyard fallout bunkers were featured in Life magazine. Americans were concerned that the US was now more open to attack.

Politics of Anticommunism

Sometimes American officials failed to distinguish enough between anticommunist scare tactics and efforts to stop Soviet spies from entering government institutions. Republican leaders eventually targeted the Truman administration by "red-baiting" Democratic opponents. President Truman issued an order in 1947 to look into the loyalty of over 3 million government workers. Alcoholics, homosexuals, and debtors believed to be vulnerable to blackmail were among those the authorities released as "security risks" as anticommunist hysteria increased. The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was at the forefront of the anticommunist movement. Created in 1938 to investigate “subversive and un-American propaganda,” the committee lost credibility by suggesting that cinema stars—including eight-year-old Shirley Temple—were Communist Party dupes. Using Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) documents and the testimony of individuals such as Screen Actors Guild president Ronald Reagan (a covert FBI agent), HUAC launched another onslaught on Hollywood in 1947. The "Hollywood Ten," a group of directors and screenwriters, were imprisoned for contempt of Congress when they refused to "name names" suspected communists. At least a dozen others killed themselves. Hundreds of actors, screenwriters, directors, and even makeup artists who were thought to have communist ties were placed on blacklists by studios. People's careers were destroyed without any proof of misconduct.

McCarthyism and the Growing “Witch Hunt”

When HUAC wanted names of textbooks used at eighty-one colleges in 1949, university instructors became the focus of the expanding "witch hunt." Protests throughout the country caused the University of California, Berkeley's board of regents to change their mind after they implemented a loyalty oath for academics and dismissed 26 who objected on principle. However, a lot of instructors started to minimize contentious topics in their classes. Eleven labor unions with almost 900,000 members were expelled by the CIO due to alleged communist domination. When relatively unknown Republican U.S. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin accused the U.S. State Department of being "thoroughly infested with Communists" in February 1950, the red panic hit its lowest point. McCarthy, who is not a particularly reliable

source, initially stated that the State Department had 205 communicators, then 57, and finally 81. He had a history of dishonesty as a judge and attorney, and he had a serious drinking problem. However, McCarthy made Americans' fears abundantly clear, and such anticommunist excesses became known as McCarthyism.

Anticommunism in Congress

Most public personalities felt it was dangerous to oppose McCarthyist practices in such an environment. Congress approved the Internal Security (McCarran) Act in 1950, which forbade members of "Communist-front" organizations from working for the government or going overseas and mandated that they register with the government. Hubert H. Humphrey, a Democrat from Minnesota, proposed the Communist Control Act, which was passed by the Senate in 1954 and essentially outlawed Communist Party membership.

When California Congressman Richard Nixon, a member of HUAC, accused former State Department official Alger Hiss of espionage in 1948, he shot to national prominence. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were arrested in the same year for giving the Soviets nuclear secrets; they were convicted of treason and put to death in 1953. Although there was compelling proof of Julius Rosenberg's involvement at the time (and evidence that Ethel Rosenberg was less engaged), many historians for decades thought the Rosenbergs were the victims of a witch hunt. For reasons of national security, this evidence was kept top secret until 1995, when a Clinton administration initiative made the files public.

Waning of the Red Scare

When Senator McCarthy was disgraced on national television in 1954, the greatest excesses of Cold War anticommunism subsided. McCarthy was an expert at manipulating the media, making dramatic claims that would make headlines right before reporters' deadlines. Newspaper back pages included retractions after McCarthy's accusations were shown to be false. However, McCarthy made a critical error when he claimed on television that the U.S. Army was protecting communists, citing the example of an army dentist. During the 1954 Senate subcommittee proceedings known as the Army-McCarthy hearings, McCarthy, who appeared to be intoxicated, alternately ranted and slurred his words. The Senate decided to "condemn" McCarthy for undermining the Senate's honor in December 1954. He continued to serve as a senator, but his health declined due to drinking and exhaustion, and he passed away in 1957 at the age of 48. The most extreme anti-communist sentiment had reached its limit when McCarthy was disgraced. However, two chilling effects of the Cold War were the limitation of American freedoms and rights and the employment of scare tactics for political ends.

The Struggle for Civil Rights

African American social justice movements and the country's reactions to them were also influenced by the Cold War. The Soviet Union noted that the United States could scarcely claim to be the head of the free world or denounce the Soviet Union's and eastern Europe's violations of human rights while maintaining segregation. Additionally, if African Americans continued to face racial violence, discrimination, disenfranchisement, and segregation, the United States would be unable to persuade new African and Asian nations of its commitment to human rights. Any criticism of the United States was seen by many Americans as an attempt to undermine the country, motivated by the Soviet Union. African Americans found it difficult to take the political initiative in this contentious atmosphere.

Growing Black Political Power

Politicians like Harry Truman were paying attention to black goals, particularly when black voters in some urban-industrial states started to affect the political balance of power. African Americans who had contributed to the victory of World War II were resolved to live better lives in postwar America. President Truman sincerely thought that all Americans should have equal citizenship rights, which is why he supported African American civil rights. After World War II, a resurgent Ku Klux Klan destroyed crosses and killed black people pursuing civil rights, which alarmed Truman. The news that police in Aiken, South Carolina, had gouged out a black sergeant's eyes three hours after his army discharge, however, truly appalled Truman. The President's Committee on Civil Rights was established by an executive order signed by Truman in December 1946. For the following twenty years, the civil rights movement's agenda would be shaped by its report, To Secure These Rights. It demanded laws protecting voting rights, fair employment opportunities, and anti-lynching and anti-segregation legislation. Truman issued two executive orders in 1948. One established the Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission to consider discrimination cases and declared a goal of "fair employment throughout the federal establishment." The racial desegregation of the military was mandated by the other. By the start of the Korean War, segregated units were being phased out of the military despite considerable opposition to desegregation. These changes were made possible by shifting societal views and experiences in postwar America. A new and visible black middle class was beginning to take shape, made up of union workers, college-educated activists, and veterans of the war. Richard Wright's novel Native Son (1940) and autobiography Black Boy (1945), as well as Gunnar Myrdal's social science study An American Dilemma (1944), increased white awareness of social injustice. In service groups like the National Council of Churches and CIO unions, blacks and whites collaborated. Jackie Robinson, a black baseball player, delighted Brooklyn Dodgers fans in 1947 by breaking the color barrier in major league baseball.

Supreme Court Victories and School Desegregation

Racial discrimination was successfully contested by African Americans in state and local legislatures as well as in the courts. In the 1940s and 1950s, civil rights campaigners pushed northern state legislatures to enact laws prohibiting discrimination in the workplace. Head of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Educational Fund Thurgood Marshall and his associates sought to dismantle the separate-but-equal theory put forth in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) in the 1940s. The NAACP estimated that the price of equality in racially segregated schools would be too costly for higher education. One university administrator said, "You can't build a cyclotron for one student." African American students gained entrance to professional and graduate programs at previously segregated state colleges through NAACP lawsuits. In Smith v. Allwright (1944), which prohibited the Democratic Party from holding white-only primaries in some southern states; Morgan v. Virginia (1946), which invalidated segregation in interstate bus transportation; and Shelley v. Kraemer (1948), which ruled that racially restrictive covenants—private agreements among white homeowners not to sell to blacks—could not be legally enforced, the NAACP also won victories before the Supreme Court. Black people still had to deal with violence, job discrimination, and disenfranchisement. However, the NAACP achieved a landmark Supreme Court victory in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka in 1954. The court's majority ruling, authored by Chief Justice Earl Warren, found that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." However, the decision that reversed Plessy v. Ferguson did not call for instant adherence. The Court mandated school desegregation a year later, but only "with all deliberate speed."

Montgomery Bus Boycott

African Americans were fighting for civil rights at the grassroots level in both the north and the south by the middle of the 1950s, although the southern fights received the greatest national attention. Rosa Parks, an NAACP activist and department store seamstress, was jailed in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 for refusing to give up her seat to a white man on a public bus. Local civil rights and black women's organizations were able to plan a boycott of the city's bus system as a result of her arrest. As their leader, they chose Martin Luther King Jr., a twenty-six-year-old Baptist pastor who had just received his ordination and had earned a Ph.D. from Boston University. King, who was raised in the philosophy of Indian leader Mohandas K. Gandhi, saw peaceful civil disobedience as a means of drawing the country's attention to the wrongdoings of Jim Crow laws. Black people demonstrated in their churches throughout the year-long Montgomery bus boycott. Despite the intense summer heat and torrential rains, they continued their boycott, frequently traveling miles every day. City officials used harassing techniques to put a stop to the boycott because the bus company was on the verge of going bankrupt and downtown businesses were experiencing a decline in sales. However, Montgomery's black residents persisted, and thirteen months later, the Supreme Court ruled that Alabama's bus segregation rules were unconstitutional.

White Resistance

White responses to civil rights victories were not all the same. Moderates in the South favored a gradual reversal of segregation, while some communities in border states like Kansas and Maryland surreptitiously enacted school desegregation. Others, however, advocated disobedience. White violence against Blacks escalated, and the Klan saw another revival. Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old from Chicago, was beaten, disfigured, and killed by white men in Mississippi in 1955 because they were offended by the way he addressed a white woman. An all-white jury found the accused innocent in under sixty-seven minutes. White Citizens' Councils, also referred to as "uptown Ku Klux Klans," were established by business and professionals to oppose school desegregation and wield financial influence against civil rights advocates. J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, warned of communist connections among civil rights activists and proposed that Citizens' Councils would "control the rising tension" when he briefed President Eisenhower on racial tensions in the South in 1956. Large northern cities also saw an increase of white resistance. The number of African Americans in Chicago grew from 275,000 in 1940 to 800,000 in 1960, giving them political clout. They encountered racism and housing segregation even though the majority had successful careers in industry. Chicago was so racially divided that it was referred to as "the most residentially segregated city in the nation" by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1959. Not far behind were other northern cities.

Federal Authority and States' Rights

President Eisenhower opposed "compulsory federal law" despite his disapproval of racial segregation because he thought that racial relations would improve "only if [desegregation] starts locally." Additionally, he was concerned that quick desegregation would endanger Republican gains in the South. Eisenhower did not explicitly declare that the federal government would uphold the Brown ruling as national law. The president has to take action after what happened in Little Rock, Arkansas. Governor Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas disregarded a court-backed desegregation plan for Central High School in Little Rock in September 1957, claiming on television that "blood would run in the streets" if black pupils attempted to enter the institution. Eight black kids attempted to enter Central High on the second day of classes, but Arkansas National Guard soldiers turned them away. With the assistance of

a kind white woman, the ninth student just managed to escape the jeering white crowd. More than two weeks later, and only when a federal court stepped in, the "Little Rock Nine" made their first appearance at Central High. Eisenhower made the decision to nationalize the Arkansas National Guard (putting it under federal, not state, control) and dispatch 1,000 army paratroopers to protect the students for the remainder of the year as a furious mob approached the school and the scene was shown on television to the entire globe. Because he explicitly addressed the tension between federal authority and state sovereignty, Eisenhower's use of federal power was a crucial step toward racial equality. But the following year, instead of desegregating Little Rock's public high schools, Faubus shuttered them, demonstrating the victory of state power. Congress established the Commission on Civil Rights to look into systemic discrimination, including voting discrimination, in 1957 when it passed the first Civil Rights Act since Reconstruction. Despite its shortcomings, this measure gave civil rights federal legitimacy. Growing grassroots activism was crucial, though. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which was founded to coordinate civil rights efforts, elected Martin Luther King Jr. as its first president in 1957. The Supreme Court's ruling and Montgomery's success put African Americans in a position to start a national civil rights campaign.

Creating a Middle Class Nation

The United States was growing more inclusive in the 1950s, despite opposition to civil rights. As the country prospered, more and more Americans were able to enter the middle class and enjoy material stability and comfort. As less and fewer Americans were first- or second-generation immigrants, old European ethnic identities dwindled. Communities were formed in the new suburbs by individuals from various origins. For guidance on everything from how to raise children to how to celebrate Thanksgiving, middle-class Americans were increasingly turning to national media. Disparate Americans were also brought together by new consumption opportunities, whether they were suburban ranch-style homes or adolescent fads. A new middle-class lifestyle emerged in the United States during the postwar era.

Prosperity for More Americans

More Americans than ever were financially comfortable in the 1950s because to robust economic expansion. Consumer spending propelled this economic boom as businesses increased production and Americans purchased consumer products that were unavailable during the war. Government defense spending stimulated the economy and produced jobs as the Cold War dragged on. The need for highly qualified scientists, engineers, and other white-collar personnel was spurred by Cold War military and aerospace initiatives. Billions of dollars were given to universities to support research, increasing their influence in American society. Beyond the space race and military weaponry, government-funded research produced the transistor, which was utilized in radios and ignited the computer revolution in the 1950s. More Americans now enjoy economic prosperity because to a new age of labor relations. When it came to offering health insurance, pension schemes, and guaranteed cost-of-living increases, or COLAs, to employees, the United Auto Workers (UAW) and General Motors set the standard for other businesses. A five-year contract with regular compensation increases based on business productivity was granted to GM employees in 1950. Labor sided with management when salary increases were linked to corporate productivity, arguing that stability and efficiency in the workplace—rather than strikes—would result in greater salaries. Wages and perks helped union households rise to the economic middle class in the 1950s.

Sunbelt and Economic Growth

Roosevelt referred to the South as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem" in the 1930s. New defense facilities and military training facilities brought federal funds to the area during World War II, promoting economic expansion. The Sunbelt—the South and Southwest—saw a shift in economic development in the postwar era due to increased defense spending (see Map 29.1). The location of military installations, tax benefits for oil businesses, and contracts for aerospace and defense were among the government initiatives that were essential to the area's newfound affluence. Agribusiness, the oil sector, real estate development, and recreation all contributed to the Sunbelt's remarkable expansion. With lower taxes and heating costs, as well as right-to-work legislation prohibiting closed shops, Sunbelt states were able to attract industry and effectively attract international investment. The invention of air conditioning, which made the hottest days tolerable, was also essential. As a result of the booms in Houston, Phoenix, Los Angeles, San Diego, Dallas, and Miami, California became the most populous state in the Union by 1963.

A New Middle Class Culture

America appeared to be developing into a middle-class country by the 1950s. Veterans with GI Bill college degrees expanded the managerial and professional class, while unionized blue-collar workers earned middle-class wages. For the first time, there were more white-collar than blue-collar workers in the United States in 1956, and 60 percent of households earned between $3,000 and $9,000 annually in the mid-1950s. Ironically, working-class identity declined throughout the postwar era due to the presence of unions; as many blue-collar workers engaged in suburban middle-class society, the boundaries between working-class and middle-class people appeared less significant. The standard of life for a family was becoming more important than the type of work that enabled it. People of color were typically absent from American depictions of "the good life" and did not partake equally in the country's postwar prosperity. Nonetheless, a large number of Asian Americans, Latinos, and African Americans with middle-class incomes did engage in the general middle-class society.

Whiteness and National Culture

America's population was more homogeneous in the 1950s than it had been before or since, which contributed to the development of a national middle-class culture. While the United States welcomed millions of European immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it restricted or outright banned immigration from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. By the 1920s, this massive European immigration was stopped, and by 1960, only 5.7% of Americans were foreign-born, down from almost 15% in 1910 and 12.4% in 2005. Eighty-eight percent of Americans were of European descent in 1950 (compared to sixty-nine percent in 2000), ten percent were African American, two percent were Hispanic, and roughly one-fifth of one percent were Native Americans and Asian Americans. However, nearly every European American was at least one generation apart from the immigrants. They were more likely to identify as "white" rather than "Italians," "Russians," or "Jews." With the creation of Alaska and Hawai‘i in 1959, the number of Americans of aboriginal, Asian, or Pacific ancestry increased. The new suburbs were more varied than the communities from which their residents had migrated, despite the fact that white families made up the majority of their population. Small villages and urban ethnic enclaves in America were homogeneous and typically intolerant of threats to tradition. Many people came across diverse practices and beliefs in the suburbs. However, the provincial homogeneity of certain ethnic or regional cultures was frequently exchanged for a new kind of homogeneity—a national middle-class culture—by new suburbanites.

Television

Many white Americans were unfamiliar with the expectations of the middle class because they were new to it. The national mass media provided them with training. Housewives were assisted by women's magazines in substituting "American" recipes produced from national brand-name products, including casseroles prepared with Campbell's Cream of Mushroom soup, for ethnic cuisines. America's common culture was also promoted via television. By 1953, over half of American houses had televisions, despite the fact that television sets cost around $300, or $2,000 today. By 1960, 90% of American households owned a television, surpassing the number of houses with a washing machine. The Cleavers (Leave It to Beaver) and other suburban families were shown on television eating supper at a table that was set up properly. June Cleaver worked around the home while wearing a meticulously ironed dress. Paternal knowledge was the solution to every dilemma. The suburban middle-class ideal that many American families aspired to was reinforced by these well-liked family situation comedies. Advertising contributed to the "middle-classness" of television programs. Businesses purchasing airtime didn't want to annoy prospective customers. Consequently, despite drawing millions of people to his NBC television program, African American performer Nat King Cole was never able to secure a sponsor. National firms were concerned that their sales among whites, particularly in the South, might suffer if they were associated with a black singer. African Americans had minimal impact because they accounted for only 10% of the population and many of them had low levels of disposable income. Ten years passed before the networks once more centered a program around a black performer after the Nat King Cole Show was canceled in less than a year. Since there was only network television available (ABC, CBS, NBC, and, until 1956, DuMont), it's possible that at least 70% of all viewers were viewing the same well-liked show. (The most popular shows might draw up to 12 percent of the viewership in the early 21st century.) In addition to providing Americans with common experiences, television contributed to the development of a more homogeneous, middle-class, white-focused culture.

Consumer Culture

Consumer products also helped Americans come together. Americans had a dizzying amount of options after decades of scarcity, and even the most functional items were given rocket-ship embellishments or two-tone paint treatments. Purchases were utilized by people to claim status and express their own identities. More than anything else, cars represented the imaginations of consumers. Tail fins were first introduced by expensive Cadillacs and quickly extended to intermediate Chevys, Fords, and Plymouths. In 1955, Americans spent $65 billion on cars, or about 20% of the country's GDP. From $5.7 billion in 1945 to $58 billion in 1961, consumer debt increased to cover the cost of modern appliances, cars, and suburban homes.

Religion

Between 1945 and the early 1960s, church attendance (mostly in mainline Christian congregations) doubled. Preachers like Billy Graham built national congregations from television viewers with a message that combined the promise of salvation with Cold War patriotism, therefore the mass media most likely had an impact. However, nearby synagogues and churches also provided new suburbanites with a feeling of belonging by commemorating life's customs and helping individuals who lived far from their extended families.

LECTURE NINE

1950s CONFORMITY: FAMILIES, YOUTH, AND HIDDEN INEQUALITIES

Lecture Outline

- **Men, Women, and Youth at Midcentury**

Marriage and Families

Gender Roles in 1950s Families

Women and Work

"Crisis of Masculinity"

Sexuality

Youth Culture

Challenges to Middle-Class Culture

- **The Limits of the Middle-Class Nation**

Critics of Conformity

Environmental Degradation

Continuing Racism

Poverty in an Age of Abundance

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Examine 1950s family life: early marriages, gender norms (male breadwinners, female homemakers), women's workforce challenges, and masculinity concerns.
- Analyze youth culture (rock 'n' roll, teen spending) and cultural dissent (Beats, critics of conformity).
- Assess limits of prosperity: environmental damage, persistent racism, urban/rural poverty amid suburban abundance.

Men, women, and Youth at Midcentury

After surviving a world war and the Great Depression, many Americans looked to their private lives for contentment. They viewed their dedication as a sign of their hope for the future. Even though many people found fulfillment in family life, social pressure to fit into rigidly defined gender roles limited the options available to both men and women.

Marriage and Families

Few Americans stayed unmarried in the 1950s, and the majority got married early. Most American brides were under nineteen by 1959, and their husbands were typically only a year or so older. Experts and the majority of parents supported early marriage, in part to avoid premarital sex. "When two people are ready for sexual intercourse at the fully human level, they are ready for marriage. . . . And society has no right to stand in their way," stated a well-known women's magazine. By getting married, many young couples were able to break free from parental control. In their twenties, the majority of newlyweds completed their family with an average of three offspring. As couples planned the size of their families, birth control (condoms and diaphragms) was widely accessible and used. In 1940, Americans preferred to have two children; by 1960, most couples want four. Approximately 88% of children under the age of eighteen lived with two parents (compared to 69% in 2000). In 1950, just 3.9% of births were to unmarried women, compared to over one-third in 2000. This indicates that fewer children were born outside of marriage. Only nine divorces occurred for every 1,000 married couples as late as 1960.

Gender Roles in 1950s Families

Men and women typically played different responsibilities in 1950s families, with women taking care of the home and men providing the income. Commentators of the day maintained that this was founded on fundamental distinctions between the sexes. In actuality, the options accessible to American men and women were shaped by the country's postwar economic, social, and cultural structures. In the 1950s, a single (male) salary could support several families in modest middle-class comfort. Women were encouraged to stay at home, particularly while their children were young. Fewer families lived near family, and there was little access to quality child care. Professionals in childcare, such as Dr. Spock, whose 1946 book Baby and Child Care sold millions of copies, maintained that a mother's full-time care was essential for her children's health. Women who could afford to stay at home frequently did not find the available jobs appealing enough to warrant balancing paid work and housekeeping because of hiring discrimination. Rather, women's voluntary work helped educational institutions and places of worship.

Women and Work

Many women felt cut off from the wider world that their husbands lived in as a result of suburban domesticity. Unreasonably high demands were placed on marriages by the widespread notion that one should find whole emotional fulfillment in one's private life. Lastly, many women were juggling work and family obligations despite the almost universal acceptance of women's home roles (see Figure 29.2). In 1960, there were twice as many working women as there were in 1940, and 39 percent of them had children between the ages of six and seventeen. For a particular family objective, such as a new car or college tuition, the majority worked part-time. Instead of being independent from the family, they viewed these jobs as a service to it. However, prejudice against women persisted in the workplace. "Help Wanted—Male" and "Help Wanted—Female" categories were used to separate the want adverts. On average, women who worked full-time were paid 60% less than men and were only

allowed to work in lower-paying "female" occupations like teaching, nursing, secretarial work, and maid work. According to the well-known book Modern Woman: The Lost Sex, "feminists" and ambitious women experienced "penis envy." Magazine stories referred to "career women" as a "third sex," and college psychology courses cautioned women against "competing" with men. Female admission to medical schools was typically restricted to 5% of each class. Less than 4 percent of judges and attorneys were women in 1960. Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the future justice of the Supreme Court, was unable to obtain employment after graduating first in her class at Columbia Law School in 1959.

"Crisis of Masculinity"

The predicament of the American male received equal attention from scholars and critics of the media. The country's mass-circulation magazines declared that American men were facing a "crisis of masculinity." Sociologist William H. Whyte described how postwar corporate workers had turned into "organization men," prospering via cooperation and conformity rather than initiative and risk, in a best-selling book. Experts asserted that men's innate spirit of adventure was being suppressed by women's "natural" need for safety and comfort. Social condemnation was meted out to men who did not fulfill the roles of husband, father, and provider. Some connected worries about masculinity to the Cold War, contending that the future of the country was in jeopardy unless American males regained the manhood that had been reduced by white collar job or suburban family life.

Sexuality

In postwar America, sexuality was a complex topic. It was socially acceptable to engage in only heterosexual sexual activity while married. Women who got pregnant before being married were frequently shunned by friends and family and kicked out of school. Being gay was a reason to lose your job, get kicked out of college, or even go to jail. Dr. Alfred Kinsey, director of the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University, observed in his seminal works on human sexuality, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (1948) and Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (1953), that although 80% of his female sample disapproved of premarital sex on "moral grounds," half of them had engaged in premarital sex. Additionally, he stated that 37% of American men claimed having "some homosexual experience." Kinsey's dry, quantitative studies were bestsellers in America, and the Chicago Tribune referred to him as a "menace to society." Many Americans learned from Kinsey's studies that they were not alone in breaching certain boundaries, even though it did not paint an entirely true picture of American sexual conduct. Hugh Hefner, who founded Playboy magazine in 1953, also challenged the sexual norms. Its circulation surpassed one million within three years. Hefner saw Playboy as a way for males to fight against what he saw as the increasingly "blurred distinctions between the sexes" in American society, and he saw his naked "playmates" as an attack against America's "ferocious anti-sexuality."

Youth Culture

The "baby boom" generation was a powerful force in American society due to their enormous numbers. A unique youth culture emerged as this population transitioned from childhood to youth. Peer groups developed its traditions and rituals, and national media—teen magazines, films, radio, advertisements, and music—influenced them. As children's fads gave rise to multimillion-dollar industries, American corporations swiftly realized the potential of youth. In 1952, Mr. Potato Head—possibly the first toy to be promoted on television—sold $4 million. Every youngster (and many adults) had to wear a coonskin cap during the mid-1950s when Davy Crockett, "King of the Wild Frontier," starred in Walt Disney's television series

Disneyland. American popular culture was influenced by the purchasing power of these baby-boom youngsters as they grew up.

The 18 million teenagers in America were spending $10 billion annually by 1960. In the 1950s, 72% of cinema tickets were sold to teenagers, and Hollywood produced a variety of teen films, from forgettable B-movies to contentious ones like James Dean's Rebel Without a Cause. Teenage guys did imitate Dean's rebellious appearance, which alarmed adults who feared that teenagers might adopt the delinquent style portrayed in Rebel Without a Cause. However, the film used popular psychology theories about sexuality and the "crisis of masculinity" to blame parents for teenage turmoil. Music was the most important factor in defining youth culture. The energizing vitality of Buddy Holly, Chuck Berry, Little Richard, and Bill Haley and the Comets captivated young Americans. When Elvis Presley first on TV's Ed Sullivan Show in 1956, it sparked a wave of teenage admiration and a deluge of mail from parents who were appalled by his "gyrations." African American rhythm and blues served as the foundation for rock 'n' roll, despite the fact that few white performers recognized this. Early rock music's raw energy and occasionally sexually provocative lyrics diminished as the music industry looked for white artists, such as Pat Boone, to deliver more palatable, "cover" versions of black musicians' songs. Many adults felt worried about this unique young culture. Parents were concerned that kids would be encouraged to "go too far" in their sexual behavior by "going steady." One of the main concerns was juvenile delinquency. After World War II, youth crime rates had sharply increased, but a large portion of these crimes were "status" crimes, such as curfew breaches, underage drinking, and sexual experimentation—activities that were illegal due to the perpetrator's age. Experts testified at congressional hearings on juvenile delinquency about the corrupting influence of youth-oriented popular culture, particularly comic books. However, the majority of young conduct was consistent with the consumption culture that young people and their parents shared. Seldom did "rebellious youth" challenge the rationale of postwar American society.

Challenges to Middle Class Culture

Pockets of cultural resistance were sparked by the rise of middle-class culture. Beat (a word that implied both "down and out" and "beatific") writers disapproved of modern literary norms as well as middle-class social decorum. The Beat Generation loved unrestricted sexuality and drug usage, welcomed spontaneity in their creativity, and sought solace from the stresses of daily life. Allen Ginsberg's irate, incantational poem "Howl" (1956), which was the focus of an obscenity prosecution whose result allowed American publishing to publish a wider variety of works, was arguably the most important beat piece. The beats were mocked by the mainstream media, who referred to them as "beatniks" (after Sputnik, implying that they were not American). Nevertheless, they helped create the counterculture of the 1960s.

The Limits of the Middle-Class Nation

America's mass media and popular culture embraced new possibilities in the 1950s. However, prominent critics denounced middle-class culture as a wasteland of homogeneity, conformity, and shameful consumerism.

Critics of Conformity

These critics weren't isolated individuals expressing their disapproval. Americans hurried to purchase works like J.D. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye and Norman Mailer's The Naked and the Dead, which were highly critical of American society, despite the fact that the majority of them fully embraced the joyous "consensus" culture of their era. Even challenging scholarly publications that attacked conformity, like William H. Whyte's The Organization Man

(1955) and David Riesman's The Lonely Crowd (1950), became bestsellers in America. Additionally, these criticisms were published in widely read maga zines such as Reader's Digest and Ladies' Home Journal. Many Americans interpreted Invasion of the Body Snatchers, a 1956 movie in which human residents of a town are progressively replaced by zombie-like aliens raised in pods, as a critique of postwar cultural homogeneity and suburban conformity. The majority of reviewers were trying to comprehend the profound and wide-ranging shifts in American culture. Americans did encounter the homogenizing power of mass production and a national consumer culture; they witnessed the fading of divisions between ethnic groups and even socioeconomic strata; and they did lose some autonomy in the workplace as huge corporations supplanted smaller enterprises. However, critics were frequently elitist and antidemocratic, seeing only sterility and bland conformity in the burgeoning middle-class suburban culture. They failed to recognize that affordable suburban housing provided healthier, potentially happier lives for millions of people who had grown up in dilapidated farmhouses without indoor plumbing or dank, dark basements.

Environmental Degradation

The new consumer culture damaged the environment and promoted wasteful behaviors. According to BusinessWeek, companies don't have to rely on "planned obsolescence," which is the deliberate design of a product to wear out. Automakers encouraged the tendency by redesigning their designs every year, and Americans replaced things because they were "out of date," not because they didn't work. A growing portion of global resources were used by America's emerging consumer society. Despite making up only 5% of the global population, the United States was consuming more than one-third of its commodities and services by the 1960s. Rapid economic expansion came at a cost to the environment. Internal combustion automobile engines that burned lead-based gasoline, steel mills, and coal-powered generators all contaminated the air and endangered human health. Americans relied on private automobiles as suburbanites traveled longer commutes to work and areas were constructed without public transportation, using nonrenewable resources like gasoline and oil and contributing to the haze that filled cities and suburbs. In order to supply the growing Sunbelt towns, as well as the swimming pools and golf courses that dot arid Arizona and southern California, water was diverted from lakes and rivers. Among the worst polluters in the nation were farmers and defense contractors. Refuse to visit the nuclear weapons sites in Hanford, Washington, and the Rocky Flats arsenal in Colorado, which contaminated water and soil. Pesticides and other chemicals were employed in agriculture. During the war, DDT was used extensively in the United States to remove lice and mosquitoes on Pacific islands. However, in her best-selling book Silent Spring, published in 1962, wildlife biologist Rachel Carson accused DDT of killing fish, birds, and mammals. Few people realized the effects of the economic shift occurring in the midst of prosperity. As the country transitioned to a postindustrial economy, delivering goods and services to customers took precedence over manufacturing goods. Because the majority of new positions were in the union-resistant white-collar service trades, union membership expanded slowly even if union members profited during the 1950s. In addition to increasing productivity, technological advancements forced workers from high-paying blue-collar jobs into the expanding but lower-paying service industry.

Continuing Racism

In the majority of 1950s America, racial prejudice was uncontested. North and South suburbs were nearly invariably separated based on race. Due in part to the unequal distribution of the comparatively small non-white American populations around the country, many white Americans had little to no interaction with persons of other races. In 1960, Vermont had 519 African Americans and 68 people of Chinese heritage, West Virginia had 181 Native

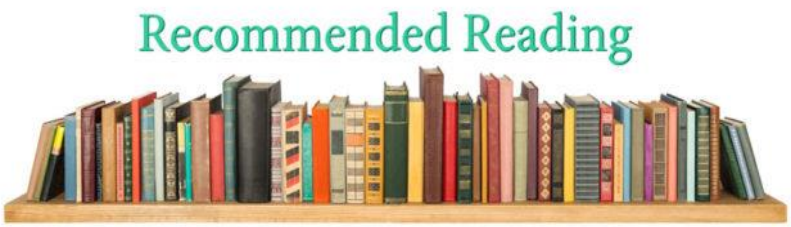
Americans, and Mississippi had only 178 Japanese Americans. In the 1950s, the majority of white Americans, particularly those living outside the South, did not think much about race. Instead, they marginalized persons of color in both image and actuality by viewing the burgeoning middle-class society as "American" rather than "white." Over one in five Americans lived in poverty during a time of prosperity. People of color, including nearly half of the country's African Americans and more than half of all Native Americans, made up one-fifth of the impoverished. One-fourth of the impoverished lived in households with a single woman, and two-thirds lived in households with a person who had completed the eighth grade or less. One-fourth of the impoverished were over 65, and almost one-third were under the age of 18. Although Social Security benefits were helpful, many seniors were still uninsured, and the high expense of healthcare forced many older Americans into poverty.

Poverty in an Age of Abundance

The impoverished were concentrated in inner cities as millions of Americans, the most of whom were white, moved to the suburbs. Poor whites from the southern Appalachians joined African American migrants from the South, relocating to Detroit, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Chicago. A growing number of Latin Americans from Cuba, Ecuador, Colombia, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic arrived. Many newcomers experienced an improvement in their standard of living as a result of the robust economy. However, discrimination hindered their progress, and they had to put up with subpar schooling and cramped, run-down housing. The lives of the poor were occasionally made worse by federal programs that benefited middle-class Americans. For instance, "urban redevel opment" was made possible by the National Housing Act of 1949, which was created with the goal of providing "a decent home... for every American family." Slum clearance and the construction of upscale high-rise structures, parking lots, and even highways in place of impoverished communities were all part of the redevelopment process. Tenant farmers and small farm owners were driven off the land in rural areas by the expansion of major agribusinesses. The number of people living on farms in the country fell from 24.4 million to 14.8 million between 1945 and 1961. In the 1940s and 1950s, mechanization of cotton harvesting in the South resulted in the displacement of almost 4 million people. Southern tobacco growers employed migrant laborers, purchased tractors, and fired tenant farmers. The bracero program turned Mexican nationals into inexpensive migrant workers throughout the West and Southwest. In 1959, almost a million Mexican laborers entered the US lawfully. Whole families toiled, living in circumstances that were not much better than those of the Great Depression. With an average yearly income that was only around half of the poverty line, Native Americans were the poorest people in America. Termination, a federal policy put in place during Eisenhower's presidency, made things worse. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was overturned by termination, which gave Indians the ability to end their tribal status and remove reservation properties from federal protection that forbade their sale. Between 1954 and 1960, sixty-one tribes were abolished. Only with a tribe's consent could termination take place, but pressure to do so might occasionally be strong, particularly when reserve land was abundant in natural resources. Nearly four-fifths of the Oregon Klamaths opted to sell their shares of the forest land, lured by the promise of financial payments. For the city, many Indians gave up their reservation territory. When termination ended in the 1960s, observers likened Native Americans' predicament to that of their ancestors in the nineteenth century. In general, the postwar period was relatively prosperous for many Americans. However, the hardship of those left behind was frequently disregarded by those who had achieved the comfortable middle class. The baby-boom generation, their offspring, would perceive racism, poverty, and postwar suburban culture's self-satisfaction as a betrayal of American values.

Summary

Americans married and had children at record rates in the years after World War II. The GI Bill was used by millions of veterans to start businesses, purchase homes, and attend college. Consumer spending brought growth, despite American officials' fears that the country would return to economic stagnation after wartime government expenditure finished. Most Americans were propelled into the growing middle class by sustained economic expansion. Truman and Eisenhower's Cold War administrations prioritized international connections over home affairs. Extreme anticommunism sparked by Cold War anxieties in the US suppressed political opposition and reduced Americans' civil liberties and freedoms. During the Montgomery bus boycott, the ongoing African American struggle for civil rights attracted national attention. The famous Brown v. Board of Education ruling was one of the Supreme Court's victories for African Americans. African Americans' rights were guaranteed by Truman and Eisenhower using federal power as a national civil rights movement came together. As most Americans engaged in a national, middle-class, consumer-oriented culture in the 1950s, the United States became a more inclusive country despite ongoing racial tensions. The American Dream appeared to be a reality for the increasing number of middle-class people, yet this culture mostly ignored the poverty in the country's cities and rural areas.



Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans (2009)

Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963 (1988)

Lizabeth Cohen, A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (2003)

Stephanie Coontz, The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap (1992)

Thomas Patrick Doherty, Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture (2003)

Mary Dudziak, Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy (2000)

James Gregory, The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed the Nation (2007)

Thomas Hine, Populuxe (1986)

Grace Palladino, Teenagers (1996)

Michael Sherry, In the Shadow of War (1995)

Thomas J. Sugrue, Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North (2008)

LECTURE TEN

KENNEDY'S COLD WAR AND CIVIL RIGHTS SURGE (1960-1964)

Lecture Outline

- **Kennedy and the Cold War**

John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Election of 1960
Nation Building in the Third World
Soviet-American Tensions
Bay of Pigs Invasion
Cuban Missile Crisis

- **Marching for Freedom**

Students and the Movement
Freedom Rides and Voter Registration
Kennedy and Civil Rights
Birmingham and the Children's Crusade
"Segregation Forever!"
March on Washington
Freedom Summer

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Analyze Kennedy's presidency: 1960 election, Third World nation-building (Peace Corps, Alliance for Progress), and Soviet crises (Bay of Pigs, Cuban Missile Crisis, Berlin Wall).
- Describe civil rights milestones: student sit-ins/SNCC, Freedom Rides, voter drives, Birmingham Children's Crusade, March on Washington, and Freedom Summer.

Kennedy and the Cold War

John F. Kennedy was a young, attractive, and inquisitive man who added elegance and humor to the White House. His affluent father, Joseph P. Kennedy, was ambassador to Great Britain, and his Irish American grandfather had been Boston's mayor. The young Kennedy ran for representation of Boston in the U.S. House of Representatives after returning from World War II as a navy hero in 1946 (the boat he commanded was sunk by a Japanese destroyer in 1943, and Kennedy saved his crew). He was elected to the Senate in 1952 after serving three terms.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy

Kennedy inherited the New Deal commitment to America's social welfare system as a Democrat. He typically voted in accordance with the pro-labor views of his blue-collar, low-income constituency. However, he steered clear of contentious topics like civil rights and Joseph McCarthy's criticism. Although Kennedy's study of moral politicians, Profiles in Courage (1956), was written primarily by his adviser Theodore Sorensen (from more than one hundred pages of notes dictated by Kennedy), he distorted the facts by claiming sole authorship. Senator Kennedy supported the containment strategy of the Cold War. He had a fervent fan base despite his lackluster legislative record, particularly following his resounding reelection to the Senate in 1958. Kennedy worked to project an image of a contented, healthy family man. However, even after marrying Jacqueline Bouvier in 1953, he continued to be a habitual womanizer. He was also not the epitome of physical vitality; he almost died of scarlet fever as a child and subsequently suffered from serious back issues that were made worse by his involvement in World War II. Kennedy was given a diagnosis of Addison's disease, an adrenaline shortage that frequently caused him agony and necessitated daily cortisone injections. He would need a lot of bed rest and regular therapeutic swimming in the White House pool while serving as president.

Election of 1960

In the 1960 presidential election, Kennedy defeated Republican Richard Nixon by just 118,000 votes out of a total of around 69 million. Kennedy did well in the Northeast and Midwest but had mixed results in the South. His Roman Catholic faith aided him in states with sizable Catholic populations but damaged him in others where voters thought he would follow the pope's lead. Nixon, the vice president at the time, was held accountable for the Soviet downing of a U-2 spy plane and declining economic numbers. Nixon was anxious and irritable during televised debates against the telegenic Kennedy, and the camera made him appear unshaven. Even worse, Eisenhower said, "If you give me a week, I might think of one," in response to a question about Nixon's major vice presidential choices. AP Photos Writer David Halberstam described the youthful advisors the new president surrounded himself with as "the best and the brightest." Robert McNamara, the forty-four-year-old secretary of defense, was a Harvard assistant professor at the age of twenty-four before becoming the brilliant young president of Ford Motor Company. Kennedy's personal assistant for national security matters, 41-year-old McGeorge Bundy, only had a bachelor's degree when he became a Harvard dean at 34. In his early years, fifty-two-year-old Secretary of State Dean Rusk was a Rhodes scholar. Kennedy's brother Robert, the attorney general, was thirty-five years old, while Kennedy was only forty-three.

Winning the Cold War was Kennedy's greatest priority. During the campaign, he accused Eisenhower of following an unimaginative foreign policy that damaged America's reputation in the Third World and failed to lessen the prospect of nuclear war with the Soviet Union.

Nation Building in the Third World

Kennedy recognized the boundaries of American influence abroad before his advisors did. He shown a greater willingness than his predecessor to start a dialogue with the Soviets, occasionally utilizing his brother Robert as a covert conduit to Moscow. Kennedy, however, also aimed to win the Cold War. Kennedy advocated for "peaceful revolution" through nation-building after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev supported "wars of national liberation," like the one in Vietnam. The administration provided aid to developing countries to enhance communications, transportation, and agriculture. In order to promote economic growth in Latin America, Kennedy thus approved the establishment of the multibillion-dollar Alliance for Progress in 1961. He also established the Peace Corps that year, sending American educators, farmers, and medical professionals to support leaders in developing countries. The Alliance and the Peace Corps were rejected by cynics both then and later as Kennedy's Cold War instruments for thwarting anti-American sentiment and destroying communism in the developing countries. It's true, yet true humanitarianism also gave rise to the initiatives. The Peace Corps "broached an age-old dilemma of U.S. foreign policy: how to reconcile the imperatives and temptations of power politics with the ideals of freedom and self-determination for all nations," according to historian Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman. Only a portion of the Alliance for Progress's efforts were successful; while infant mortality rates decreased, Latin American economies saw weak development and class divisions grew, escalating political upheaval. Many foreigners desired American material culture and appreciated U.S. economic aid, but many disliked meddling. Additionally, aid frequently never reached the impoverished because it was typically distributed through a self-interested elite. Kennedy and his associates opposed communist participation in Third World social revolutions, despite their support for such revolutions. As a result, the administration used counterinsurgency to crush revolutionaries who opposed Third World regimes that supported the United States. To put an end to turmoil, U.S. military and technical advisors taught local police and troops.

Soviet-American Tensions

Relationships with the Soviet Union were difficult for the new president. In June 1961, a summit conference with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna ended badly because the two leaders couldn't agree on the criteria for global peace and security. As a result, there was no progress during the administration's first year in stopping the nuclear arms race or obtaining a superpower ban on testing nuclear weapons underground or in the stratosphere. Rather, both superpowers increased their manufacturing of weapons. The United States' military expenditure climbed by 15% in 1961, and by the middle of 1964, the country's nuclear arsenal had grown by 150%. The government's recommendation that people construct fallout shelters in their backyards heightened popular anxiety about a catastrophic conflict. Many thought Berlin would be the reason for any conflict. Khrushchev insisted on the United States' commitment to West Berlin and West Germany in the middle of 1961, demanding an end to the Western occupation of West Berlin and the reunification of East and West Germany. At the request of the East German government, the Soviets built a roadblock in August using concrete and barbed wire to stop East Germans from fleeing to the more affluent and politically independent West Berlin. Kennedy privately lamented that "a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war," despite the fact that the Berlin Wall sparked protests across the noncommunist globe. The situation ended when the barrier stopped the refugee flow.

Bay of Pigs Invasion

Kennedy, however, was especially irritated by the Soviet Union's increasing support for Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba and was aware that Khrushchev would continue to pursue advantages elsewhere. A partially developed CIA plan to overthrow Fidel Castro was given to the Kennedy administration by the Eisenhower administration, which opposed the Cuban revolution. The plan called for CIA-trained Cuban exiles to land and establish a beachhead, while the Cuban people would rebel against Castro and welcome a new government supported by the United States. The assault occurred on April 17, 1961, when 1,200 exiles touched down in Cuba's marshy Bay of Pigs. Rather than seeing unhappy Cubans, Castro's army welcomed them and swiftly took them into custody. Kennedy made an effort to conceal American involvement in the operation, but the CIA's position quickly came to light. Latin America was rife with anti-American sentiment. Castro looked more and more to the Soviet Union for financial and military support after coming to the conclusion that the United States may invade again. Kennedy, embarrassed by the Bay of Pigs disaster, promised to overthrow Castro. Soon after, the CIA devised Operation Mongoose, a plan to murder Castro, obstruct trade on the island, and assist Miami-based operations on Cuba. One of the agency's assassination plots involved giving Castro cigars loaded with poison and explosives. Additionally, the United States conducted military operations in the Caribbean and strengthened its economic blockade. The Joint Chiefs of Staff devised plans to incite an uprising in Cuba, which would be followed by an American military invasion.

Cuban Missile Crisis

Castro and Khrushchev both anticipated an invasion, which helps to understand why the Soviet leader took the bold decision to covertly station nuclear weapons in Cuba in 1962 as a deterrent. However, Khrushchev also believed that the action would strengthen the Soviet position in the nuclear balance of power and compel Kennedy to address the German issue at last. Khrushchev was concerned that Washington might give nuclear weapons to West Germany and wanted the West to leave Berlin. By placing Soviet missiles only 90 miles off the coast of Florida, he believed he could stop it. Soon, the world was confronted with the most terrifying form of brinkmanship. A U-2 aircraft photographed missile locations over Cuba in mid-October 1962. In order to compel the missiles and their nuclear warheads to leave Cuba, the president promptly established a special Executive Committee (ExComm). The options that were taken into consideration included quiet diplomacy, limited bombing, and full-scale invasion. A naval quarantine of Cuba was suggested by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara as an option that the president approved of. On October 22, Kennedy called for the Soviets to withdraw in a national television speech. While B-52s carrying nuclear bombs took to the skies, American warships started circling the Caribbean. In exchange for the United States vowing never to attack Cuba and removing Jupiter missiles directed at the Soviet Union from Turkey, Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles. The world was on the verge of catastrophe for days. Then a compromise was reached on October 28. In return for the Soviet Union's offensive forces leaving Cuba, the United States acceded to Soviet demands. Khrushchev reached a settlement without involving the Cubans out of concern that Castro may exacerbate the situation.

The Soviet-American relationship underwent a sea change during the Cuban Missile Crisis. In the years that followed, Kennedy and Khrushchev took more cautious measures to mend fences. A pact prohibiting nuclear tests in the atmosphere, oceans, and space was signed by the antagonists in August 1963. To enable almost instantaneous communication between the capitals, they also set up a coded wire-telegraph "hot line" that was manned 24/7. They did not engage in any more conflict in Berlin. Together, these modest actions started to foster much-needed trust. As both sides came to terms with the status quo of a divided continent and a

reinforced border, the Cold War in Europe was coming to an end by the fall of 1963. Nevertheless, the Third World superpower struggle remained fierce, and the weapons race persisted and intensified.

Marching for Freedom

According to President Kennedy, the Cold War was the most significant problem facing Americans. However, young civil rights activists took over the national scene in the early 1960s and insisted that the federal government support them.

Students and the Movement

Just 10% of southern public schools had started desegregation in 1960, six years after the Brown ruling ruled that "separate but equal" was unconstitutional. Water fountains were still marked "White Only" and "Colored Only," and less than one in four adult African Americans in the South were able to cast a ballot. However, more than 70,000 Americans, primarily college students, had taken part in sit-ins within a year of the young men sitting down at the all-white lunch counter in Greensboro. In the spring of 1960, a group of young people dedicated to nonviolence founded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to organize the sit-in movement. These young people would go on to risk their lives in the fight for social justice in the years to come.

Freedom Rides and Voter Registration

Thirteen members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a nonviolent civil rights organization founded during World War II, bought bus tickets for a 1,500-mile journey to New Orleans in Washington, D.C., on May 4, 1961. This mixed-race group, known as the Freedom Riders, sought to show that Jim Crow laws persisted in the South even after the Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of interstate buses. They were aware of the danger to their life. A bus outside of Anniston, Alabama, was firebombed. In Birmingham, riders were severely defeated. A thousand white people used steel bars and baseball bats to attack riders in Montgomery. The police commissioner labeled the freedom riders troublemakers, so the cops remained out of the way. The brutal attacks made headlines all around the world. The "savage nature of American freedom and democracy" was emphasized by Soviet pundits. When images of the Birmingham attacks surfaced in Tokyo newspapers, a southern business executive who was in Tokyo to promote Birmingham as a location for international commercial development saw his interest wane. Many Americans were forced to face racial prejudice and hostility in their country as a result of the violence. After the Brown ruling, many white middle-class and upper-class Southerners opposed integration; however, the Freedom Rides caused others to reconsider their positions. “[I]t is time for the decent people . . . to muzzle the jackals,” wrote the editorial in the Atlanta Journal. A reluctant President Kennedy was forced to dispatch federal marshals to protect the Freedom Riders in Alabama as a result of the international outcry. However, he gave in to pressure from the white southern community and permitted the Freedom Riders to be detained in Mississippi. In order to encourage African Americans in rural Mississippi to register to vote, thousands of SNCC volunteers—many of them were high school and college students—risked their lives starting in 1961. While there were some white and northern SNCC volunteers, the majority were black southerners, frequently from low-income households. They personally witnessed the confluence of poverty, prejudice, and helplessness.

Kennedy and Civil Rights

Kennedy understood that racial injustice affected the United States in the Cold War war for foreign opinion, and he was sympathetic to the civil rights movement, albeit not particularly devoted to it. Like Franklin D. Roosevelt, he recognized that his legislative initiatives would fail if he alienated conservative southern Democrats in Congress. As a result, he postponed until late 1962 his campaign promise to abolish segregation in federally supported housing (by executive order) and named five ardent segregationists to the federal bench in the Deep South. He permitted J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, to harass Martin Luther King and other activists by gathering personal information through wiretaps and monitoring and discrediting them with widespread accusations of communist affiliations and personal irregularities. However, white mob violence and grassroots civil rights organizing compelled Kennedy to act. James Meredith, the first African American student at the University of Mississippi, was ordered to be protected by 500 U.S. marshals by the president in September 1962. Two federal marshals were killed and 160 were gravely injured when thousands of white people attacked them with rifles, gasoline bombs, bricks, and pipes. Neither James Meredith nor the marshals gave up.

Birmingham and the Children's Crusade

The country and the wider Cold War globe took notice of the Freedom Riders in 1961. After rising to prominence in the movement through the Montgomery bus boycott, Martin Luther King Jr. came to the conclusion that the civil rights movement could only progress by inciting a crisis. In Birmingham, Alabama, King and the SCLC organized a campaign in 1963. They dubbed their strategy Project C—for confrontation—because they anticipated a harsh reaction. King wished for Americans to witness the racism, violence, and hatred that plagued their country. Hundreds of people were arrested during peaceful protests in Birmingham through April 1963. Then, in a contentious move, King and Birmingham parents deployed their kids to the front lines on May 2. Eugene "Bull" Connor, the police commissioner, ordered police to train "monitor" water guns—strong enough to remove bark from a tree at a distance of 100 feet—on around 1,000 African American children, some of whom were as young as six, as they marched. As the country watched in horror on television, the police unleashed attack dogs and the children were mowed down with water cannons. President Kennedy insisted that a settlement be negotiated by the white political and corporate leadership in Birmingham. More significantly, the victory of the Birmingham movement elevated racial rights to the top of Kennedy's agenda.

"Segregation Forever!"

George C. Wallace, the rebellious governor of Alabama, kept his pledge to "bar the schoolhouse door" in order to stop the University of Alabama from desegregating on June 11. Kennedy pledged the federal government to ensure racial fairness, even in the face of state resistance, after hearing echoes of Wallace's inauguration declaration, "Segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever!" and confronting a nation shaken by civil rights demonstrations. Kennedy declared, "Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise," during a televised speech on June 12. Civil rights activist Medgar Evers was killed in his Jackson, Mississippi, driveway a few hours later. The president requested that Congress enact a comprehensive civil rights package that would outlaw legal racial discrimination the next week.

March on Washington

A quarter of a million Americans flocked to the Washington Mall on August 28, 1963, to express their support for Kennedy's civil rights legislation. Major civil rights organizations, including the SCLC, CORE, SNCC, NAACP, Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph's Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, struggled behind the scenes with escalating conflict within the movement. Kennedy's proposed legislation was viewed by SNCC activists as being too little, too late. Moderation was advised by King and other elder leaders. The motion was breaking. But what the majority of Americans witnessed was a celebration of solidarity. Folk singers sung songs of freedom while white and black celebrities linked hands. A day when "all God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, Free at last!" was predicted by Martin Luther King Jr. and shown on television. Finally free! We are now free, thank God Almighty! A great example of African Americans' dedication to justice and equality was the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Four black girls were killed when white nationalists bombed Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church a few days later.

Freedom Summer

Over a thousand white students joined the Mississippi voter mobilization effort in the summer of 1964. As an alternative to the white-only Democratic Party, they helped develop the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and established Freedom Schools, which taught literacy and constitutional rights. Large numbers of white volunteers, according to SNCC organizers, would draw national attention to Mississippi's brutality and repression. In addition to being shot at, bombed, and abused, project workers were arrested more than a thousand times. A Klan mob killed two white volunteers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, and local black activist James Cheney on June 21. Black and white activists jointly put their lives in danger that summer to oppose the racial caste system in the Deep South.

LECTURE ELEVEN

GREAT SOCIETY TRIUMPHS AND VIETNAM QUAGMIRE (1963-1968)

Lecture Outline

- **Liberalism and the Great Society**

Kennedy Assassination
Johnson and the Great Society
Civil Rights Act
Election of 1964
Improving American Life
War on Poverty

- **Johnson and Vietnam**

Kennedy's Legacy in Vietnam
Tonkin Gulf Incident and Resolution
Decision for Escalation
Opposition to Americanization
American Soldiers in Vietnam
Divisions at Home

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Evaluate Kennedy's New Frontier domestic limits and assassination's impact, contrasted with Johnson's Great Society (Civil Rights Act, War on Poverty, Medicare).
- Analyze Johnson's 1964 landslide, legislative triumphs, and Vietnam decisions (Tonkin Gulf, escalation, Americanization challenges).
- Examine growing domestic divisions over Vietnam, including protests and policy critiques.

Liberalism and the Great Society

Kennedy appeared to be going in a different direction by 1963. During his 1960 campaign, he pledged to guide Americans into a New Frontier where the federal government would fight to end poverty, ensure healthcare for the aged, and provide all children with good schools. However, not many of Kennedy's domestic policies were enacted. Kennedy allowed his social policy program to stall because he did not receive a popular mandate in the 1960 election and was afraid of upsetting southern Democrats in Congress.

Kennedy, on the other hand, concentrated on the economic because he thought that sustained prosperity would address social issues. Perhaps the US space program best embodied Kennedy's goal. Kennedy pledged in 1961 to send a man to the moon before the end of the decade as the Soviet Union advanced in the space race. The Apollo program was launched by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) with billions of dollars in additional financing. Additionally, astronaut John Glenn traveled around the planet in the Friendship 7 spacecraft in February 1962.

Kennedy Assassination

John Kennedy's potential as president would remain unknown to the country. Thousands of people cheered Kennedy as he and his wife, Jackie, drove through Dallas, Texas, on November 22, 1963, in an open-top limousine. Shots rang out abruptly. The president was shot in the head and crumpled. When CBS anchor Walter Cronkite announced the president's death to the country, tears streamed down his cheeks.

Lee Harvey Oswald, a former U.S. Marine who had been dishonorably discharged and had once tried to obtain Soviet citizenship, was apprehended by authorities that same day. Jack Ruby, the owner of the nightclub, shot and killed Oswald two days later. Startled Americans questioned whether Ruby was keeping Oswald quiet so he wouldn't implicate anyone else. Oswald acted alone, according to the seven-member Warren Commission, which was led by Chief Justice Earl Warren of the US Supreme Court. Millions of Americans watched the funeral of their president, which featured a courageous young widow, a horse without a rider, and a three-year-old named "John-John" saluting his father's coffin. The Kennedy administration's reality had been turned into myth and the man into a martyr in one terrible moment in Dallas. Lyndon Johnson used Kennedy's memory to accomplish the most comprehensive legislative agenda since the New Deal during the post-assassination national mourning.

Johnson and the Great Society

Johnson was raised in humble circumstances in the Texas hill country and attended Southwest Texas State Teachers' College, whereas Kennedy was wealthy and attended Harvard. As earthy as Kennedy was graceful, he was also prone to swearing and eager to take advantage of his size. Johnson first came to Congress in 1937. He developed his ability to control others and exercise power while serving as Senate majority leader from 1954 to 1960. He employed these abilities as president to bring the country together. Johnson, a liberal in the vein of Franklin D. Roosevelt, felt that Americans' lives needed to be actively improved by the federal government. His vision of "abundance and liberty for all... demanding[ing] an end to poverty and racial injustice... where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods" was articulated in a graduating speech at the University of Michigan in 1964. This idea was dubbed "The Great Society" by Johnson.

Civil Rights Act

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which Johnson signed into law, prohibited discrimination in federal programs, voting, employment, and public accommodations on the grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin. Sex discrimination was not included in the original measure; it was introduced by a member from the South who believed it would spark resistance and destroy the bill. However, it was passed with sex as a protected category thanks to a bipartisan coalition of female members of the House of Representatives. Importantly, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to look into and decide cases of work discrimination and granted the government the power to withhold federal payments from federal contractors or public organizations that engaged in discrimination. But because sex discrimination was mostly disregarded by the EEOC, women's equality advocates founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. Many Americans didn't think it was the role of the federal government to eradicate poverty and racial discrimination. Millions of conservative Americans felt that the federal government had overreached its constitutional bounds since the New Deal, and many white Southerners disliked the federal government's meddling in regional traditions. They wanted states' rights and local authority to be restored. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, a Republican contender, promoted this conservatism in the 1964 election.

Election of 1964

Goldwater opposed Social Security and voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Like many conservatives, he thought that the most important thing was individual liberty rather than equality. In addition, Goldwater thought that the US required a stronger national military to combat communism; during his campaign, he advocated using tactical nuclear weapons against adversaries. Lyndon Johnson supporters turned Goldwater's campaign slogan, "In your heart you know he's right," against him, saying, "In your heart you know he's right... far right," as one punned. Johnson ran on a platform of economic growth exceeding 6% and an unemployment rate below 4%. However, he claimed to an assistant that his advocacy for civil rights for African Americans had "delivered the south to the Republican Party for my lifetime and yours." At the 1964 Democratic National Convention, tensions erupted. Two Mississippi del egations insisted on being seated. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was racially mixed, whereas the official Democratic Party delegation was all white. If the MFDP representatives were seated, the white southern delegates threatened to depart. The MFDP rejected Johnson's request for a compromise. MFDP delegate Fannie Lou Hamer declared, "We didn't come all this way for no two seats," and the group left. Johnson, the first Democrat to lose the Deep South since the Civil War, won the election by a wide margin. The most liberal Congress in history was also elected by voters. Johnson began his Great Society with the support of a record 61.1 percent of the popular vote. The most comprehensive reform law passed by Congress since 1935. Voting rights became the SCLC's major issue in late 1964. In search of another public confrontation that might spur national support and government action, Martin Luther King Jr. and other activists traveled to Selma, Alabama. On March 6, state troopers used tear gas, chains, and electric cattle prods against peaceful protesters. The Voting Rights Act, a second significant civil rights bill, was approved by the president on March 15. It made it illegal for the majority of Black people in the Deep South to vote and allowed for federal election supervision in districts where there was proof of prior discrimination. In Mississippi, the percentage of African Americans who are registered to vote increased from 7% to over 60% in just two years. Over the next ten years, the number of black elected officials in southern states increased.

Improving American Life

In an effort to enhance American life, the Johnson administration launched the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, as well as new student loan and grant programs to assist Americans with poor and moderate incomes in attending college. Racial quotas were abolished by the Immigration Act of 1965. Additionally, Johnson backed laws that protected consumers, such as the 1966 National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, which was prompted by Ralph Nader's 1965 exposé of the auto industry, Unsafe at Any Speed. Johnson backed legislation that addressed environmental contamination and signed "preservation" legislation that protected America's wilderness.

War on Poverty

Johnson's Great Society revolved around the War on Poverty, which included significant laws starting in 1964. In an era of prosperity, Johnson and other liberals felt that the country should use its resources to eradicate "poverty, ignorance, and hunger as intractable, permanent features of American society." Refer to Table 30.1. "To offer the forgotten fifth of our people opportunity, not doles" was Johnson's stated objective. Billions of federal dollars were given to municipalities and school districts to enhance possibilities for the impoverished, from young adults (Job Corps) to high school students (Upward Bound) to preschoolers (Head Start). The Model Cities program provided government funding to improve housing, health, education, and employment in certain urban areas, and Community Action Programs engaged low-income Americans in developing grassroots antipoverty initiatives at the local level.

Additionally, the Johnson administration allocated billions for building public housing and rent subsidies, as well as expanding the Food Stamp program. Medicare for people 65 and older and Medicaid for the underprivileged were two new federal programs that provided healthcare guarantees. Lastly, the welfare program established under the New Deal, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), expanded eligibility and benefits. There was controversy about the War on Poverty. The administration, according to leftists, was not doing enough to address structural inequalities. Conservatives contended that the Great Society's initiatives made America's impoverished more dependent. Some projects were poorly designed and executed, according to policy analysts. The majority of historians view the War on Poverty as a mixed success decades later. The underprivileged now have better access to housing, healthcare, and nourishment thanks to its initiatives. The number of Americans receiving food stamps increased from 600,000 in 1965 to 17 million in 1975, and government expenditure on Social Security, healthcare, welfare, and education more than doubled between 1965 and 1970. Senior poverty decreased from 40% in 1960 to 16% in 1974, mostly as a result of higher Social Security and Medicare benefits. Many Americans had better lifestyles as a result of the War on Poverty (see Figure 30.1).

However, the causes of poverty were not as effectively tackled by War on Poverty measures. There were no notable outcomes from the Community Action Programs or the Job Corps. The substantial decline in poverty rates throughout the 1960s, from 22.4 percent of Americans in 1959 to 11 percent in 1973, was mostly due to economic expansion.

Long-term issues were brought about by political concessions. For instance, by permitting federal reimbursements of hospitals' "reasonable costs" and physicians' "reasonable charges" in the treatment of elderly patients, Congress made accommodations for physicians and hospitals in its Medicare legislation. National healthcare spending as a proportion of GDP increased by nearly 44% between 1960 and 1971 because there were no incentives for physicians or hospitals to keep costs down. Despite these issues, Johnson's Great Society was

a time when many Americans thought they could and ought to address the issues of prejudice, poverty, and illness.

Johnson and Vietnam

Johnson maintained views of the communist threat and American primacy in international affairs. He had little interest in foreign cultures and little interest in international politics. Johnson used a Texas cowboy cry to measure the reverberation of the Taj Mahal in India. He requested that cases of Cutty Sark, an American bed, and a particular showerhead be sent with him on a trip to Senegal. Johnson playfully remarked, "Foreigners are not like the folks I am used to."

Kennedy's Legacy in Vietnam

However, Johnson was aware that foreign policy would require his attention, particularly with regard to Vietnam. As Ho Chi Minh's North helped the Vietcong insurgents in the South reunite the country under a communist regime, hostilities in Vietnam escalated during the late 1950s. In order to starve the Vietcong out of hiding, President Kennedy launched herbicide crop devastation, airdropped additional raid teams into North Vietnam, and increased help to the Diem regime in Saigon. Kennedy significantly increased the number of American military advisers in South Vietnam; by 1963, there were over 16,000 of them, some of whom were permitted to fight with the American-equipped Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). Opposition to Diem's oppressive government grew in the meantime. Buddhist monks, in protest of the Roman Catholic Diem's religious persecution, poured gasoline over their robes and set themselves on fire in the streets of Saigon, while peasants protested being taken from their villages for their own protection. Ultimately, ambitious South Vietnamese generals were urged to overthrow Diem by U.S. officials. Three weeks prior to Kennedy's death, on November 1, 1963, they killed him. Vietnam would be the most contentious aspect of Kennedy's legacy because of the timing of his assassination, which occurred weeks later. He authorized a coup against Diem and increased American involvement, but he declined to commit American ground forces in spite of pressure from senior advisors. After gaining reelection in 1964, he expressed doubts about South Vietnam's future and suggested that the United States might withdraw its commitment. It will never be known what he would have done if he had survived, but it is evident that Kennedy came to Dallas that fatal day unsure of how to handle the Vietnam issue.

Tonkin Gulf Incident and Resolution

Lyndon Johnson too had mixed feelings about Vietnam and didn't want to do anything that would make it harder for him to win the 1964 election. However, Johnson also sought victory in the conflict, and the administration covertly intended to extend the conflict to North Vietnam during 1964. U.S. destroyers reported being attacked twice in three days by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin in early August 1964 (see Map 30.1). Johnson ordered retaliatory air strikes against North Vietnamese patrol boat bases and an oil storage, even though there was no proof that the second attack had taken place. Congress swiftly enacted the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, granting the president the power to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression," by a vote of 416 to 0 in the House and 88 to 2 in the Senate. By doing this, Congress effectively gave the executive branch the authority to declare war.

Decision for Escalation

Additionally, President Johnson was pleased that the Gulf of Tonkin incident increased his popularity and eliminated Vietnam as a campaign topic for Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee for president. However, the situation in South Vietnam remained dire on the ground. U.S. leaders secretly planned to increase U.S. involvement as the Vietcong gained ground. Johnson launched Operation Rolling Thunder, a bombing campaign that lasted, essentially unabated, until October 1968, in response to Vietcong attacks on American outposts in South Vietnam in February 1965 that claimed the lives of thirty-two Americans. The first American combat battalions landed close to Danang on March 8. In response, the North Vietnamese increased their infiltration into the South. Meanwhile, U.S. efforts were weakened in Saigon by coups and countercoups by self-serving military commanders. Johnson organized a number of high-level talks regarding U.S. policy in July 1965. These discussions confirmed that America's participation would be essentially unrestricted, even though the war had already started to escalate by that point. Johnson made a major troop surge public on July 28 and promised more in the days that followed. Over 180,000 American ground forces were in South Vietnam by the end of 1965. The number increased to 385,000 in 1966. U.S. aircraft conducted 108,000 flights and delivered 226,000 tons of bombs on North Vietnam in 1967 alone. The number of US troops in 1968 was 536,100. With every American escalation, North Vietnam escalated as well, while China and the Soviet Union reinforced their support for Hanoi.

Opposition to Americanization

Rolling Thunder and the commitment of US troops Americanized the conflict, turning it from a North-South civil war into an American conflict with the communist Hanoi regime. Democratic Senate leaders, prominent newspapers like the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, and columnists like Walter Lippmann cautioned against increasing involvement during the crucial months of decision-making. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Undersecretary of State George W. Ball also issued similar warnings. Nearly every ally of the US, including Canada, Japan, Britain, and France, warned against escalation and pushed for a diplomatic solution. Surprisingly, senior U.S. officials anticipated that these measures might force Hanoi to put a stop to the insurgency in the South, even though they realized the chances were slim. Leaders in the United States believed that if the US failed in Vietnam, other nations would lose faith in American might. China and the Soviet Union would threaten American interests abroad, and allies could decide they couldn't rely on Washington. Johnson feared embarrassment and damage to his domestic agenda if he failed in Vietnam. The declared goal of aiding a South Vietnamese friend in fending off external invasion was not as important as it would have been if the Saigon government, beset by internal strife and without popular support, had taken more action to defend itself.

American Soldiers in Vietnam

Johnson declined to mobilize reserve soldiers in an effort to reduce public awareness of the conflict. Vietnam became a young man's war as a result of the military's heavy reliance on the draft; the average age of soldiers was twenty-two, compared to twenty-six during World War II. It also turned into a conflict between the working class and the impoverished. College students, teachers, and engineers were all eligible for deferments during the years of significant escalation (1965–1968). (The draft was modified in 1969 so that a lottery mechanism was used to call up select pupils.) By promoting the military as a path to training and promotion, the armed forces aggressively recruited in underprivileged communities, many of which were predominantly African American and Latino. Frequently, the pitch was successful. Less skilled individuals have a much higher chance of encountering conflict and, hence, dying once in uni

form. In dense jungles, where land mines and booby traps were a continual danger, infantrymen navigated. The rains alternated with the dying suns, rotting human skin and boots. The enemy was difficult to locate because they frequently blended in with the populace or dug intricate underground tunnels where any Vietnamese may be a Vietcong.

The most immediate and fundamental goal of Americanization was accomplished when the American forces entered the battle and successfully fought, preventing a South Vietnamese loss. However, the war came to a standstill as the North Vietnamese responded to every American escalation with one of their own. General William Westmoreland, the U.S. commander, was wrong to think that the secret to victory was an attrition-based approach. As a result, the body count—the total number of North Vietnamese and Vietcong corpses discovered following combat—became the gauge of success. However, officers who wanted to prove the success of an operation falsified counts. Even worse, the U.S.'s heavy dependence on military technology, such as napalm (jellied gasoline), carpet bombing, and crop defoliants that damaged forests, alienated many South Vietnamese and attracted fresh Vietcong recruits.

Divisions at Home

The number of opponents increased as nightly television coverage carried the war into people's homes. After the civil rights movement's sit-ins, college instructors and students conducted lectures and debates on American politics that evolved into a type of protest known as "teach-ins." Early demonstrations were planned by pacifist organizations including the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the American Friends Service Committee. Senator William Fulbright conducted televised hearings on whether the war benefited the country's interests in the beginning of 1966. George F. Kennan surprised some by testifying that his containment strategy was intended for Europe rather than the unstable region of Southeast Asia. Kennan claimed that America's "preoccupation" with Vietnam was compromising its international responsibilities. The Fulbright hearings exposed strong disagreements among public figures over Vietnam and forced Americans to consider the war and the country's involvement in it.

Robert McNamara, the defense secretary who pushed for the Americanization of the war in 1965, grew more and more alarmed by the bombing and deaths. He was skeptical that victory was ever possible in November 1965. McNamara worried that rather than being shielded by the promise, American credibility was being severely harmed. Johnson, however, was adamant about winning in Vietnam. Even while he occasionally stopped the bombing to pacify critics and persuade Ho Chi Minh to engage in negotiations (on American conditions), these pauses were frequently followed by a rise in the number of American troops. Ho's unwavering rejection of American terms amounted to giving up on his long-held goal of an independent, united Vietnam.

LECTURE TWELVE

1968 CRISIS: RIOTS, RADICALS, AND NIXON'S RISE

Lecture Outline

- **A Nation Divided**

Urban Unrest
Black Power
Youth and Politics
Free Speech Movement
Student Activism
Youth and the War in Vietnam
Youth Culture and the Counterculture

- **1968**

The Tet Offensive
Johnson's Exit
Assassinations
Chicago Democratic National Convention
Global Protest
Nixon's Election

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Analyze domestic divisions: urban unrest (Watts, Newark), Black Power (Malcolm X, Panthers, SNCC shifts), and northern racial frustrations.
- Examine youth movements: Free Speech at Berkeley, New Left/SDS, antiwar protests, counterculture (hippies, Woodstock).
- Describe 1968 turning points: Tet Offensive, Johnson's withdrawal, King/RFK assassinations, Chicago Convention chaos, Nixon's victory.

A Nation Divided

Johnson's Great Society had difficulties at home while he was fighting in Vietnam. Black and white, young and old, radical and conservative were some of the divisions that were occurring in the United States.

Urban Unrest

Racial violence broke out in northern cities in 1964, soon after President Johnson signed the historic Civil Rights Act. After a black youngster was shot by a white police officer, angry Harlem residents flocked to the streets. Crowds in Los Angeles' Watts neighborhood, which is primarily black, burnt, looted, and fought police for five days the next summer. Thirty-four people were killed in the riot, which started when a white police officer tried to arrest a black resident on suspicion of driving under the influence. Twenty-six individuals lost their lives in street fights between African Americans and army soldiers and police in Newark, New Jersey, in July 1967. A week later, three square miles of Detroit burned down, killing forty-three people. There were 167 violent outbursts in 128 cities in 1967 alone. Unlike earlier race riots, which were usually initiated by white people, the "long, hot summers" of urban unrest were different. Black inhabitants of this area erupted in rage and disgust over their living circumstances. They destroyed their own neighborhoods and looted and set fire to stores, the majority of which were owned by white people. Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois convened the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1968, which accused white racism of causing the riots and warned that America was "moving towards two societies, one white, one black—separate and unequal." White society is closely linked to the ghetto, which is something that white Americans have never quite comprehended but that black people will always remember. The Kerner Commission came to the conclusion that "white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it." While some white Americans disapproved, others questioned why African Americans were expressing their annoyance at a time when civil rights were actually progressing. Regional variations played a role in the response. The civil rights movement primarily neglected issues in the North in favor of focusing on combating discrimination and legal disenfranchisement in the South. The majority of northern African Americans experienced discrimination in employment, finance, and housing, and they were increasingly confined in the dilapidated inner-city ghettos. Northern African Americans had twice the unemployment rate and a median income that was about half that of northern whites. Many African Americans in the north had given up on the Great Society and the civil rights struggle.

Black Power

In this climate, a new voice urged African Americans to seize freedom “by any means necessary.” Malcolm X, a onetime pimp and street hustler who converted in prison to the Nation of Islam faith, offered African Americans new leadership. Members of the Nation of Islam, known as Black Muslims, espoused black pride and separatism from white society. Their faith combined traditional Islam with a belief that whites were subhuman devils whose race would soon be destroyed and emphasized sobriety, thrift, and social responsibility. By the early 1960s, Malcolm X had become the Black Muslims’ chief spokesperson. But his murder in 1965 by members of the Nation of Islam who felt betrayed when he started his own, more racially tolerant organization, trans formed Malcolm X into a powerful symbol of black defiance and self-respect. A year after Malcolm X’s death, Stokely Carmichael, SNCC chairman, denounced “the betrayal of black dreams by white America.” To end white oppres sion, Carmichael proclaimed, blacks had to “stand up and take over” by electing black candidates, and organizing their own schools and institutions to embrace “Black Power.” That year, SNCC expelled its

white members and repudiated nonvio lence and integration. CORE followed suit in 1967. The best-known black radicals were the Black Panthers, an organization formed in Oakland, California, in 1966. Blending black separatism and revolutionary commu nism, the Panthers focused on destroying capitalism and its "military arm," the police. Male Panthers dressed in commando gear, carried weapons, and talked about killing "pigs" and did kill eleven police officers by 1970. Police responded in kind; most infa mously, Chicago police murdered the local Panther leader Fred Hampton in his bed. However, the Panthers also worked to improve life in their neighborhoods by institut ing free breakfast and healthcare programs for ghetto children, offering courses in African American history, and demanding jobs and housing. Before the end of the decade, a vocal minority of the United States's young would join in calls for revolution.

Youth and Politics

Forty-one percent of Americans were under twenty by the middle of the 1960s. Since nearly half of them attended college (up from 16 percent in 1940) and three-quarters of them graduated from high school (up from one-fifth in the 1920s), these young people spent more time with their peers than any preceding generation. Many members of this sizable baby-boom generation felt obligated to lead their country in a democratic manner as they grew older. Some white college students, from both political parties, were inspired to change the system by the sit-in movement at black universities. Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) was founded in the fall of 1960 by a group of conservative college students who gathered at William F. Buckley's residence in Sharon, Connecticut. In stark contrast to New Deal liberalism, their manifesto, known as the Sharon Statement, supported Cold War anticommunism and a limited government philosophy. Goldwater's election as the Republican presidential nominee in 1964 proved the YAF's early success in their strategy to seize control of the Republican Party and shift it to the political right. On the opposite end of the political spectrum, liberalism was likewise rejected by the burgeoning "New Left." The New Left held that liberalism was insufficient to achieve equality for all Americans, while conservatives felt that liberalism's activist government infringed upon individual liberty. The founding members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) met at Port Huron, Michigan, in 1962 and wrote their "Port Huron Statement," denouncing racism, poverty in the face of plenty, and the Cold War. By advocating for "participatory democracy," SDS aimed to reclaim power from politicians, the military, and businesses and give it back to "the people."

Free Speech Movement

At the University of California, Berkeley, the emergence of activist white youth solidified. The management of the university outlawed political activity in the fall of 1964, including recruiting volunteers for civil rights work in Mississippi, from its customary location along a walkway owned by the institution that bordered the campus. Four thousand students surrounded the police vehicle when officers attempted to arrest a CORE employee who disobeyed the order. "You've got to put your bodies upon the levers... [and] you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all," said Mario Savio, a graduate student at Berkeley and a veteran of the Mississippi Freedom Summer.Left and right student political organizations came together to form the Free Speech Movement (FSM). Nearly 800 student demonstrators were arrested by the police before the FSM regained the freedom to political speech. Although the FSM showed students their potential strength, many considered the administration's actions as a betrayal of America's democratic promises. By the end of the decade, hundreds of colleges and universities had adopted the Berkeley-born movement.

Student Activism

Protesting students wanted more control over their education, calling for more relevant course offerings, greater autonomy in choosing courses, and a bigger say in how institutions are operated. The in loco parentis theory, which placed institutions legally "in the place of parents" and permitted control over student behavior that went beyond the law, was contested by students. Women were most affected by in loco parentis because they were subject to stringent curfew rules known as parietals, but males were not. Protesters, such as those at the University of Kansas, demanded an end to sex discrimination as well as an explanation from administrators on how claims that "college students are assumed to have maturity of judgment necessary for adult responsibility" aligned with the minute regulation of students' extracurricular activities. "A high school dropout selling cabbage in a super market" has more rights and liberties than successful university students, according to a young man.

Youth and the War in Vietnam

However, a nationwide student movement was sparked by the Vietnam War. In 1965, university students and faculty organized teach-ins about U.S. involvement in Vietnam because they felt it was their civic duty to learn about and speak out about issues. That year, SDS organized the first significant antiwar march, which brought 20,000 demonstrators to Washington, D.C. Students protested military recruitment and research conducted on campuses, picketed ROTC buildings, and adopted civil rights movement methods on schools across the globe. The majority of students did not yet oppose the war, despite the prominence of antiwar protests: in 1967, just 30% of male students supported the war in Vietnam, whilst 67% supported it. However, as the conflict dragged on, more students began to fear both the government and the often capricious power of university administrators.

Youth Culture and the Counterculture

More than its politics, the nation's culture was altered by the sizable baby-boom generation. While many marched for social justice and denounced the war, the majority did not. Despite the rise of radicalism, fraternity and sorority life remained robust. Black, white, and Latino teenagers have distinct cultural customs, music, and attire, despite occasional crossing. However, in the late 1960s, young people drove American popular culture and exercised great cultural authority as potential buyers. Music was the biggest unifying factor in teenage culture. In 1964, the Beatles made their television debut on the Ed Sullivan Show, which attracted 73 million people. In "Blowin' in the Wind," Bob Dylan promised revolutionary answers; Janis Joplin introduced white youth to the sexual power of the blues; Aretha Franklin and James Brown declared black pride; and the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane's psychedelic rock, combined with hallucinogenic drugs, redefined reality. More than 400,000 people celebrated the music and a world they created at the 1969 Woodstock Festival in upstate New York, where they spent four days in the rain and muck without any protection or violence.

Some wanted to reject what they perceived as middle-class ideals that were hypocritical and turn young rebellion into a social revolution. They created a counterculture, or alternative way of living, free from the celebration of pleasure and competitive consumerism. For these hippies, "sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll" became a kind of mantra that led them to a new awareness. Whether in urban areas or in remote areas of the United States, many people put in the effort to establish intentional communities and communes. Many hippies did envisage revolutionary transformation through mind-altering drugs, sex, or music, notwithstanding the New Left's criticism of the counterculture as apolitical.

Tens of thousands of people flocked to San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, the epicenter of the country's psychedelic culture, for the summer of love in 1967, marking the beginning of the counterculture's national awareness. White teenagers adopted countercultural practices while an older generation of "straight" (or establishment) Americans looked on in disgust. Bras and stockings vanished, as did coats and ties. Parents grumbled, "You can't tell the boys from the girls," as young men began to grow long hair. Despite not completely dropping out of high school or college, millions of people used marijuana or hallucinogenic substances, read underground newspapers, and felt cut off from mainstream society.

Sex-related views were among the most enduring societal shifts. Premarital sex no longer damaged a woman's "reputation," and although some people welcomed promiscuous sexuality, the mass media were enthralled with "free love." By the late 1960s, the birth-control pill was widely accessible to unmarried women, significantly reducing the chance of an unintended pregnancy, and antibiotics were readily effective in curing sexual illnesses. Between 1960 and 1970, the number of couples living together rose by 900 percent. In 1969, 68% of American adults disapproved of premarital sex, despite the fact that many young people no longer concealed their sexual activity. The adult generation, who was raised during the difficult war and depression decades and believed that respectability in the middle class was essential to security and prosperity, did not comprehend. How could young people who use drugs, have sex without getting married, or oppose the Vietnam War jeopardize their futures?

1986

The country appeared to be disintegrating by 1968. Americans confronted the most significant domestic crises of the postwar era, whether they were divided over the Vietnam War, irritated by the slow pace of social progress, or incensed about racial violence.

The Tet Offensive

Province capitals throughout South Vietnam were taken by Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces on January 31, 1968, the first day of the Vietnamese New Year (Tet) (see Map 30.1). The presidential palace, the ARVN headquarters, and the Saigon airport were all attacked during the well-planned offensive. After regaining control, South Vietnamese and American forces devastated villages and caused significant fatalities.

The fierce combat cast doubt on U.S. military authorities' claims that the war would soon be won, even though the Tet Offensive did not result in the decisive battlefield victory that its strategists had hoped for. Had the North Vietnamese and Vietcong not shown that they could attack whenever and anywhere they pleased? Could the United States ever beat the Vietcong if its airpower, money, and half a million soldiers couldn't do it now? Notes of dread were raised by top presidential advisers. Johnson was informed by Clark Clifford, the new secretary of defense, that despite Westmoreland's request for an extra 206,000 soldiers, the war could not be won. Johnson's advisers were aware that the country was experiencing a financial crisis brought on by excessive deficit spending, and they understood that launching the effort in Vietnam would cost billions more, further derail the budget, frighten foreign dollar owners, and destroy the economy.

Johnson’s Exit

The Democratic Party was divided over the war at a time when a November presidential election was imminent. Strong opponents of Johnson's war policy, Senators Robert F. Kennedy (now a senator from New York) and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, vigorously contested the president in the early primaries. In a broadcast speech on March 31, Johnson surprised viewers by mentioning the presidential election while announcing a pause to the majority of the

bombing and requesting negotiations from Hanoi. His presidency was now a war victim. The fighting continued despite the start of peace negotiations in Paris in May.

Assassinations

Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in Memphis a few days after Johnson's startling declaration. Why 40-year-old white vagabond and small-time criminal James Earl Ray shot King is still unknown, as is whether he acted alone. By 1968, King was a vocal opponent of American capitalism and the Vietnam War. Although some Americans disapproved of his beliefs, the majority of Americans lamented his passing, and African American anger and sorrow erupted in 130 cities. White individuals, mostly from urban working-class backgrounds, retaliated against the violence because they did not understand the growing demands of African Americans. Richard Daley, the mayor of Chicago, gave the order for police to shoot protestors.

Just two months later, anti-war Democratic presidential candidate Robert Kennedy was shot and assassinated after winning the California primary, shocking an already shattered nation. Kennedy was the target of his killer, Arab nationalist Sirhan Sirhan, because he backed Israel.

Chicago Democratic National Convention

At the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August, violence broke out once more. Thousands of protesters flocked to the city, including antiwar organizations, members of the American counterculture attracted by the anarchist Yippies' promise of a Festival of Life to counter the Convention of Death, and students who had gone Clean for Gene, cutting long hair and dressing in "respectable" attire to support antiwar candidate Eugene McCarthy. In addition to 12,000 police officers working 12-hour shifts, Mayor Daley also had 12,000 army soldiers on standby with guns, flamethrowers, and bazookas. Journalists and nonviolent antiwar demonstrators were attacked by police. As cops pummeled people, demonstrators screamed, "The entire world is watching."

Global Protest

That spring and summer, there were upheavals all throughout the world. University students in France demonstrated against the Vietnam War and strict academic regulations. French workers supported them by occupying workplaces and paralyzing public transportation; the unrest helped Charles de Gaulle's government fall the next year. Students protested in Italy, Germany, England, Ireland, Sweden, Canada, Mexico, Chile, Japan, and South Korea. Hundreds of thousands of people protested in Prague, Czechoslovakia, calling for democracy and an end to Soviet persecution. Before being put down by Soviet tanks, this so-called Prague Spring grew into a widespread national uprising.

It's unknown why so many uprisings happened at the same time. By the late 1960s, the postwar baby boom had created a massive population of young adults, many of whom had grown up in relative prosperity and had great hopes for the future. Pro testing in one nation might easily spur similar activities in others due to technological advancements that made it possible for television images to be transmitted very instantly over the world. Even while there may have been protests anyhow, news reports depicting the richest country carpet bombing a developing nation undoubtedly contributed to the unrest.

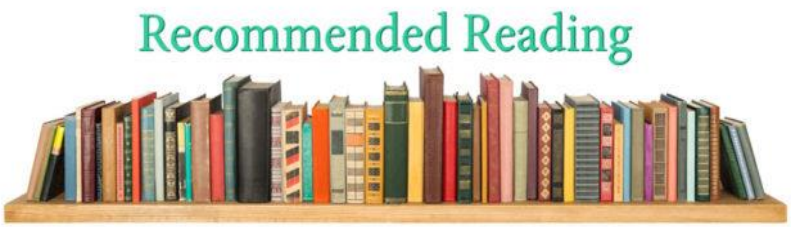
Nixon's Election

The nation was not much better off after the 1968 presidential election. Johnson's vice president and Democratic nominee Hubert Humphrey appeared to be a holdover from the past. People weary of societal upheaval were drawn to Republican candidate Richard Nixon. "The great, quite forgotten majority—the nonshouters and the non demonstrators" was the group he addressed. Nixon promised to "end the war and win the peace" regarding Vietnam. Running as a third-party candidate was Alabama Governor George Wallace, a segregationist who advocated the use of nuclear weapons against Vietnam. Wallace received about 14% of the popular vote and won five southern states. Nixon prevailed by a narrow margin. Americans become more divided.

However, Apollo 8 entered lunar orbit on Christmas Eve 1968, a step toward keeping John Kennedy's promise. The astronauts read aloud the first few lines of Genesis, "In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth... and God saw that it was good," while broadcasting images of a delicate blue orb floating in the dark above a troubled globe. Many of the audience members started crying.

Summary

There were great expectations for a more democratic United States at the start of the 1960s. The fight for racial equality was carried out across the country by civil rights volunteers, frequently at great personal risk. Two significant turning points were the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The 1963 killing of President John F. Kennedy rocked the United States, but President Johnson's liberal philosophy of government aimed at enhancing citizens' lives sparked laws intended to establish a Great Society. During the 1960s, the Cold War between the US and the USSR grew more intense, and the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis nearly resulted in nuclear war. The United States sent military forces to stop communist Vietnamese nationalists led by Ho Chi Minh from winning because they were determined not to let Vietnam "fall" to communists. More than 500,000 US ground forces were in Vietnam by 1968, which caused division among Americans at home, jeopardized Great Society initiatives, and ended Lyndon Johnson's administration. Despite the advancements in civil rights, many African Americans rejected the movement in favor of more rapid change. As riots spread across the country, impoverished African American neighborhoods burnt. Young people who were vocal—as well as some of their elders—questioned whether democracy in the US was a real thing. Many white young people in the country reacted by adopting a "counterculture" that disapproved of respectability in the white middle class. 1968 was a crisis year marked by street violence and assassinations. Severe political divisiveness marked the conclusion of the promising decade.



Beth Bailey, Sex in the Heartland (1999)

David Farber, Chicago ’68. (1988)

Lawrence Freedman, Kennedy’s Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam (2000)

George C. Herring, LBJ and Vietnam: A Different Kind of War (1994)

Michael Kazin and Maurice Isserman, America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s (1999)

Fredrik Logevall, Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam (1999)

Lisa McGirr, Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right (2001)

Charles Payne, I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle (1995)

LECTURE THIRTEEN

IDENTITY POLITICS, FEMINISM, AND VIETNAM'S END

Lecture Outline

- **The New Politics of Identity**

African American Cultural Nationalism

Mexican American Activism

Chicano Movement

Native American Activism

Affirmative Action

- **The Women's Movement**

Liberal and Radical Feminism

Accomplishments of the Women's Movement

Opposition to the Women's Movement

- **The End in Vietnam**

Protests and Counter-demonstrations

Costs of the Vietnam War

Debate over the Lessons of Vietnam

- **Nixon, Kissinger, and the World**

Nixon Doctrine

Détente

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Examine identity-based activism: African American cultural nationalism, Chicano Movement (Chávez, Tijerina), Native American Red Power (Alcatraz, AIM), and affirmative action debates.
- Analyze women's movement: liberal (NOW, Friedan) vs. radical feminism, gains (Roe v. Wade, Title IX), and backlash (STOP-ERA).
- Assess Vietnam's conclusion (Cambodia incursion, protests, costs) and Nixon-Kissinger shifts (Nixon Doctrine, détente).

The New Politics of Identity

By the end of the 1960s, as divisions among Americans deepened, movements for social justice and racial equality became stronger, louder, and often more radical. The civil rights movement, begun in a quest for equal ity and integration, splintered, as many young African Americans rejected nonviolence and integration in favor of separatism, and embraced a distinct African American culture. Mexican Americans and Native Americans, inspired by the civil rights movement, created powerful "Brown Power" and "Red Power" movements by the early 1970s. They, too, demanded equal rights and cultural recognition. These movements fueled a new "identity politics," which saw group identity as the basis for political action and argued that social policy should be based on the needs, not of individuals, but of different identity-based groups.

African American Cultural Nationalism

By 1970, the majority of African American activists had stopped focusing on racial justice and political power by highlighting the common humanity of all people. Rather, they drew a sizable audience by emphasizing how unique black culture is. Many African Americans thought that integration would entail subjugation in a society ruled by white people because they were disillusioned by the racism that persisted after legal segregation ended.

Many African Americans turned to culture for social change in the early 1970s, even as mainstream organizations like the NAACP persisted in pursuing equality through the legal system and voting booths. Young people claim the power of black "soul" by letting their hair grow into "naturals" and "Afros," rejecting the prevailing European American standards of beauty. Black academics and students battled valiantly to establish Black Studies departments in universities, seeking strength in their cultural heritage. African customs were either invented or restored. Black studies professor Maulana Karenga invented the new holiday Kwanzaa in 1966 to honor African ancestry.

Mexican American Activism

In 1970, the Southwest and California were home to the majority of the country's 9 million Mexican Americans, or 4.3% of the total population. Despite the fact that all Hispanics were counted as white in the federal census, discrimination in employment, compensation, housing, education, and the legal system was widespread. Just 21% of Mexican American males completed high school in 1974, and over half of Mexican Americans were functionally illiterate. In the 1970s, about 25% of Mexican Americans were still living below the poverty line, despite the fact that more of them were middle class.

Migrant farm workers were at the forefront of the national Mexican American movement for social justice. Labor activists César Chávez and Dolores Huerta led migrant workers in a huelga (strike) against major grape producers in the San Joaquin Valley of California from 1965 until 1970.

The working conditions of migrant laborers, who were paid as little as 10 cents per hour (the minimum wage in 1965 was $1.25) and frequently housed by employers in filthy housing without running water or indoor toilets, were brought to the attention of the country by Chávez and the United Farm Workers (UFW), an organization affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The UFW secured improved pay and working conditions in 1970 after a nationwide boycott of table grapes forced the growers to negotiate. The union was similar to Mexican mutualistas, or cooperative associations, of the nineteenth century. Its members established a theatrical group, a Spanish-language newspaper, and cooperative groceries.

Chicano Movement

In the same time frame, Reies Tijerina established the Federal Alliance of Grants, or Alianza Federal de Mercedes, in northern New Mexico. The group demanded the restitution of land that it said belonged to the indigenous Hispano peasants, whose ancestors had lived there before to the United States' annexation of the area in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In 1969, veteran boxer Rudolfo "Corky" Goncéles attracted over a thousand Mexican Americans to the National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference in Denver. The "brutal 'Gringo' invasion of our territories" was denounced in their manifesto, El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan.

Instead of calling for equal rights, these young activists demanded that La Raza (from La Raza de Bronze, "the brown people") be freed from tyrannical American society. A hyphenated Mexican-American identity was likewise rejected by them. In El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, they clarified that the "Mexican American" "lacks respect for his culture." Rather, they referred to themselves as Chicanos or Chicanas, a barrio slang term for pachucos, the trendy, occasionally criminal young men who represented what "respectable" Mexican Americans hated.

Many older and middle-class Mexican Americans never accepted the term Chicano or the movement's separatist cultural goals. Younger activists succeeded in giving Mexican American teenagers a common cultural identity and in incorporating Chicano studies into the curricula of nearby high schools and colleges. Local elections were won by the Southwest-based political party La Raza Unida (RUP), which registered tens of thousands of voters. The Chicano movement successfully challenged discrimination locally and established a foundation for political action, although never having the same national impact as the African American civil rights movement.

Native American Activism

Native American activists compelled American society to pay attention to their demands and change the way the U.S. government treated Native Americans between 1968 and 1975. Cultural nationalism had an impact on young Native American activists. Seeking a return to the "old ways," they sided with "traditionalists" to oppose assimilation-promoting tribe elders.

Indians of All Tribes, an activist organization, took over Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay in November 1969 and demanded that the property be given back to the indigenous people so that it may be used as an Indian cultural center. Over 400 participants from fifty various tribes participated in the 19-month protest, which signaled the strengthening of pan-Indian activism that asserted a common "Indian" identity that cut beyond tribal boundaries. The demonstrators raised awareness of the expanding Red Power movement even though they were unable to retake Alcatraz Island. A Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Washington, D.C., was taken over by the radical U.S. Indian Movement in 1972. Later, in 1973, they took over a trading station near Wounded Knee, South Dakota, where in 1890 U.S. Army forces had killed three hundred Sioux men, women, and children.

In the meantime, moderate activists pushed Congress for more rights and funding to self-govern through pan-tribal groups like the Native American Rights Fund and the National Congress of American Indians. Millions of acres of land were recovered by Congress and federal courts as a result, and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act was passed by Congress in 1975. Nevertheless, American Indians had the highest rates of alcoholism, suicide, and tuberculosis in the 1970s and 1980s. Unemployment was close to 40 percent, and nine out of ten people lived in subpar housing.

Affirmative Action

Policymakers found it difficult to come up with solutions while activists brought inequality to the attention of the public. President Johnson called for "not just legal equality... but equality as a fact and equality as a result" in 1965, acknowledging the limitations of civil rights legislation. Johnson combined his conviction that the federal government should assist people in developing competitive talents with a novel idea: group results could be used to gauge equality.

The focus shifted to group outcomes due to practical concerns. Although discrimination was prohibited by the 1964 Civil Rights Act, it appeared that action could only be brought in cases where an employer "intentionally engaged" in discrimination against an individual. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) received tens of thousands of cases that indicated a widespread pattern of sexual and racial discrimination in employment and education, but each case required evidence of "intentional" acts against an individual. Instead, some contended that prejudice might be demonstrated by "results"—that is, by the proportion of women or African Americans that an employer promoted or recruited.

The first significant government affirmative action program was put into place in 1969 during the Nixon administration. The Philadelphia Plan, so named because it focused on government contracts in that city, mandated that companies entering into contracts with the federal government demonstrate "affirmative action to meet the goals of increasing minority employment" and set numerical "goals," or quotas, for employers. Affirmative action for women and racial and ethnic minorities was soon mandated for all significant government contracts, and several businesses and educational institutions started implementing similar policies.

Affirmative action proponents see it as a way to address the consequences of previous discrimination. Critics contended that group-based remedies went against the idea of evaluating people according to their qualities and that granting women and minorities proportional representation amounted to discrimination against those who had not founded the previous discriminatory nation. Programs to get members of underrepresented groups into law firms, fire departments, and college classrooms around the country were hampered by a worsening recession. As a result, hiring more women and minorities frequently meant hiring fewer white men, which led to animosity.

The Women's Movement

A "second wave" of the American women's movement began to take shape in the 1960s, and by the 1970s, radical and mainstream activists were fighting on multiple fronts for "women's liberation." The success of Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique in 1963 served as impetus for a resurgence of the women's movement. Despite having a lengthy history of political involvement, Friedan wrote as a housewife about "the problem with no name," the discontent of educated, middle-class moms and wives like herself who looked at their homes and families and guiltily wondered if that was all there was to life. Friedan criticized the role itself and the society that created it, rather than women for not adjusting to their correct place, as was common in 1950s periodicals.

Liberal and Radical Feminism

With the establishment of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966, the organized, liberal wing of the women's movement came into being. Primarily composed of professional, educated women, NOW started out as a lobbying organization that aimed to persuade the EEOC to implement the 1964 Civil Rights Act. (The EEOC prioritized racial

discrimination and gave sex discrimination a lower priority.) NOW had around 3,000 members across 100 chapters by 1970.

The country's increasingly radical social justice movements gave rise to another branch of the women's movement. Making coffee, not policy, many women who fought for civil rights or opposed the Vietnam War were viewed as second-class citizens. These women acknowledged the oppression of women while they examined inequality. A group of women protested the Miss America Pageant in Atlantic City in 1968, calling it a "degrading mindless-boob girlie symbol." Bra-burners, a derogatory epithet for feminists, originated from this incident, in which women dumped bras, high heels, girdles, and curlers—items of "enslavement"—into a Freedom Trashcan, despite the fact that nothing was burned.

There was never a singular collection of ideas that constituted feminism. However, the majority of radical feminists engaged in "personal politics," holding that "there is no private domain of a person's life that is not political, and there is no political issue that is not ultimately personal," according to feminist author Charlotte Bunch. Women started organizing consciousness-raising groups in the early 1970s, gathering in churches or synagogues, college dorm rooms, and suburban kitchens to discuss issues including power dynamics in marriage, sexuality, abortion, healthcare, employment, and family.

Accomplishments of the Women's Movement

The women's movement claimed significant victories in the 1970s, including the elimination of sex-segregated help needed ads, the right of married women to acquire credit in their own names, the freedom of unmarried women to obtain birth control, and the right of women to serve on juries. They created rape crisis centers, taught police and hospital officials how to protect rape survivors, and altered laws in an effort to combat ideas about rape that held the victim responsible for the assault.

To assist women in understanding and managing their sexual and reproductive health, the Boston Women's Health Collective released Our Bodies, Ourselves in 1971. The Supreme Court's 7-to-2 ruling in Roe v. Wade in 1973 gave women who fought for the right to safe and legal abortions a significant win, holding that a woman's right to privacy protected her decision to terminate a pregnancy.

Women's organizations banded together to support the Equal Rights Amendment, which was first put out in the 1920s and would have ended sex-based discrimination. The Senate passed the amendment on March 22, 1972, by a vote of 82 to 8, declaring that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." Of the 38 states required to modify the Constitution, 22 had ratified the ERA before the end of the year. Congress also established Title IX of the Higher Education Act in 1972, which prohibited universities or colleges that discriminated against women from receiving federal funding. Women's involvement in sports surged as universities started funding women's athletics.

The number of women applying to graduate schools increased as well. Women made up just 5.4% of law school graduates and 8.4% of medical school graduates in 1970. These numbers increased to 23 percent and 28.5 percent, respectively, by 1979.

Opposition to the Women's Movement

There was strong opposition to the women's movement, mostly from women. If equality meant eschewing established gender roles in marriage or taking low-paying employment, many people did not want it. Many African and Hispanic American women were involved in movements for their people's liberation, and some of them helped develop second-wave feminism. However, they frequently saw feminism as a white movement that disregarded their cultural traditions and took focus away from the struggle for racial equality.

Conservative, frequently religiously motivated men and women were the main source of organized opposition to feminism. "The Bible clearly states that the wife is to submit to her husband's leadership," asserted a conservative Christian writer. The STOP-ERA movement, spearheaded by lawyer and conservative political activist Phyllis Schlafly, was motivated by these ideas as well as concerns about evolving gender roles. The women's movement was criticized by Schlafly as "a total assault on the role of the American woman as wife and mother." The ERA, according to Schlafly's group, would discriminate against rape, compel Americans to use unisex restrooms, and subject women to the draft.

Tens of thousands of women gained political experience fighting the ERA, which fueled the burgeoning grassroots conservative movement that would flourish in the 1980s. The Equal Rights Amendment was stalled by the STOP-ERA movement by the middle of the 1970s. Congress extended the deadline, but the amendment was not ratified by three states and expired in 1982.

The End in Vietnam

The Vietnam War caused more division among Americans than any other issue. Richard Nixon promised to finish the conflict quickly, but he failed to do so. Like Johnson, he was concerned that an abrupt departure would damage both his domestic reputation and the United States' credibility abroad. Nixon was equally dedicated to maintaining an autonomous, noncommunist South Vietnam as he was to withdrawing American forces from the country. As a result, he implemented a strategy that simultaneously reduced and increased the scope of the conflict.

Protests and Counter Demonstrations

As thousands of people protested the administration's actions in numerous locations and students on over 450 college campuses went on strike, the antiwar movement was born. When Ohio National Guard members opened fire on a group of escaping students at Kent State University on May 4, killing four and injuring eleven, the crisis mood grew more intense. Ten days later, two students were killed and nine injured when police with automatic rifles destroyed a women's dorm at Mississippi's historically black Jackson State University. There was no evidence to support the police's assertion that they had been shot at. Outrage over Nixon's expansion of the war led to the Senate repealing the 1964 Tonkin Gulf Resolution in June. U.S. troops left Cambodia after two months.

50% of Americans stated they agreed with Nixon's assertion that the assault of Cambodia would shorten the conflict, and some were incensed by antiwar demonstrations, despite the majority of Americans telling pollsters they considered the initial troop commitment to Vietnam was a mistake. Over 200,000 people attended a "Honor America Day" program in Washington, where they heard Bob Hope and Billy Graham praise presidential policies. Nixon's options about the war were nevertheless limited by the chaos surrounding the invasion. From then on, strong majorities resisted any additional U.S. ground force missions in Southeast Asia.

Costs of the Vietnam War

Between 1.5 and 2 million Vietnamese and around 58,000 Americans lost their lives in the conflict. Hundreds of thousands of civilians died in Laos and Cambodia. The United States lost at least $170 billion as a result of the war, and later veterans' benefits cost billions more. The funds used for the conflict could not be used for domestic initiatives. Inflation, political division, and abuses of governmental authority plagued the country. In addition, the conflict exacerbated tensions with allies, alienated Third World countries, and postponed agreements with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

Communists installed oppressive regimes in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in 1975, but outside of Indochina, the cascade of events that U.S. officials had once foreseen never materialized. The inhabitants of those destroyed lands suffered from acute hunger. Boat people, or refugees, soon packed onto dangerous boats in an attempt to flee. Many of them immigrated to the US, where they were met with ambivalence by Americans who didn't want to be reminded of their defeat and their part in the suffering of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Debate over the Lessons of Vietnam

Regarding the war, Americans appeared perplexed and outraged. Failure in Vietnam undermined the country's legitimacy, according to hawkish observers. They cited a "Vietnam syndrome"—an American mistrust of foreign involvement—that they believed would prevent the United States from using its might in the future. They claimed that Americans lost their hearts at home, which is why America lost the Vietnam War.

Meanwhile, Dovish experts attributed the conflict to a weak Congress that gave the executive branch too much power and an imperial president that allowed strong-willed men to act without restriction. These critics advised the president to follow the checks and balances system and to submit a declaration of war to Congress. The War Powers Act of 1973, which restricted the president's ability to declare war and needed Congressional consent before committing American forces to battles longer than sixty days, was a manifestation of this viewpoint.

Nixon, Kissinger, and the World

Nixon and Kissinger saw the Vietnam War's challenges as a sign that American power was finite and, in comparison, declining. A new strategy for the Cold War was required in light of this reality. Specifically, they felt that the United States needed to adjust to a new multipolar international system that was no longer characterized by the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. Both Japan and Western Europe were becoming as significant players in their own right. America's rising reliance on oil was a major factor in the Middle East's expanding threat. For the most part, Americans have to reconsider their antagonistic isolationist stance toward China.

The reticent, aspirational Californian, who was born to Quaker parents, and the outgoing Jewish scholar who fled Nazi Germany as a youngster were an unusual pair. Kissinger established himself as a Harvard professor and international policy consultant, while Nixon, who was ten years older, was a career politician. What the two guys had in common was their ability to think broadly about America's role in the world and their worry about competitors.

Nixon Doctrine

Nixon and Kissinger agreed on the Nixon Doctrine in July 1969, which recognized the boundaries of American resources and power. They stated that while the United States will support its allies economically, these allies shouldn't rely on American military. Washington would have to rely on regional friends, particularly authoritarian regimes, to uphold an anticommunist global order since it could not afford to continue its overseas commitments. The 1947 Truman Doctrine's pledge to defend noncommunist countries under peril was somewhat abandoned in Nixon's doctrine.

Détente

Detente, or measured cooperation with the Soviets through negotiations in a hostile atmosphere, was the other tenet of the new foreign policy. Similar to containment, the main goal of détente was to limit the Soviet armaments buildup and prevent Soviet expansion by mutual concessions and diplomacy. The strategy's second component aimed to stop Third World upheaval and extremism as well as dangers to American interests. In particular, increased trade with more accommodative Chinese and Soviets might help to lower the massive U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. At a time when Sino-Soviet tensions were rising, strengthening ties with both communist nations may potentially undermine communism.

Due to the conflict between consumer expectations and defense requirements, the Soviet Union also discovered that the Cold War depleted its resources. Better relations with Washington might lead to progress on unresolved European issues, such as Germany and Berlin's status, and would also free up the USSR to concentrate on its increasingly tense relations with China. By limiting intercontinental ballistic missiles and antiballistic missile defenses, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed in the ABM Treaty (formally known as the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems) in May 1972 to slow down the arms race.

LECTURE FOURTEEN

WATERGATE, WEAK LEADERS, AND CULTURAL SHIFTS

Lecture Outline

- **Presidential Politics and the Crisis of Leadership**

Nixon's Domestic Agenda

Enemies and Dirty Tricks

Watergate Cover-up and Investigation

Impeachment and Resignation

Ford's Presidency

Carter as "Outsider" President

- **An Era of Cultural Transformation**

Environmentalism

Technology

Religion and the Therapeutic Culture

Youth

Diversity

By the end of this lecture, students will be able to:

- Assess Nixon's domestic pragmatism (revenue sharing, environmental laws), Watergate crimes (break-ins, cover-up), impeachment crisis, and resignation.
- Evaluate presidencies of Ford (pardon fallout) and Carter (outsider appeal, energy malaise, limited successes).
- Examine cultural changes: environmentalism (EPA, Earth Day), technology (computers), therapeutic religion, youth freedoms, and diversity (Bakke case).

Presidential Politics and the Crisis of Leadership

Nixon's domestic shortcomings eclipsed his achievements in foreign policy. He violated the law and betrayed the confidence of the public. Americans' trust in government was shaken by this as well as their perception that their leaders had frequently lied about the Vietnam War. Conservatives' long-standing fear of large, activist government combined with this new mistrust to cause a leadership crisis and erode the liberal principles that have guided the country since the New Deal. Watergate-exacerbated government suspicion would restrict the accomplishments of Nixon's successors, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford.

Nixon's Domestic Agenda

In addition to being intelligent and politically astute, Richard Nixon was also vile, prejudiced against African Americans and Jews, eager to exploit his position as president and dirty tricks to further his own agenda, and motivated by a bitterness that verged on paranoia. Nixon, the son of a grocery store owner from a rural area of southern California, detested the liberal elite, which detested him in return. His strong intellectual adherence to conservative values and his hatred of the establishment drove his presidency.

Nixon's domestic policy efforts all appeared to be liberal. Affirmative action was invented by the Nixon administration. The new National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) both saw their budgets doubled. Nixon backed the ERA, enacted significant environmental laws, established the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), employed deficit spending to control the economy, and suggested that all Americans receive a minimum wage.

Nixon, however, advocated a conservative program that included devolution—the transfer of federal government power to states and municipalities. He appealed to people who believed that high taxes supported liberal giveaway programs for underprivileged and minority Americans by promoting revenue-sharing systems that returned federal cash to the states. Nixon attempted to associate the Democrats with radicalism, drugs, crime, permissiveness, and a hippie lifestyle, while the Republicans were associated with law and order. He attacked war demonstrators as "naughty children" using Spiro Agnew, his vocal vice president. Lewis Powell Jr., William Rehnquist, Harry Blackmun, and Warren Burger were the four conservative justices he appointed to the Supreme Court.

It's difficult to say if Nixon was conservative, liberal, or just practical. For instance, the Nixon administration's overarching objective was to abolish the welfare system and its liberal social worker bureaucracy when it suggested a minimum wage guarantee for all Americans. Nixon also channeled prizes from the northeastern art establishment, or "elite," which he viewed as an enemy, to local and regional art groups, even though he quadrupled NEA funding.

Nixon also made an effort to strengthen the Republican Party's support among white Southerners. One of the two Southerners he nominated to the Supreme Court had a history of segregation. Nixon vehemently objected when Congress refused to confirm either nominee. Nixon condemned busing when the Supreme Court affirmed a school desegregation plan that required a highly segregated North Carolina school system to accomplish racial integration by busing both black and white children throughout the county (Swann v. Charlotte Mecklenburg, 1971). (In 1974, Boston people protested—sometimes violently—court-ordered busing to fight school segregation, demonstrating that opposition to busing was not limited to the South.)

Enemies and Dirty Tricks

In 1972, Nixon was virtually certain to win reelection. George McGovern, a left-leaning progressive senator from South Dakota who was a vocal opponent of the Vietnam War, was his Democratic opponent. After being crippled by an assassination attempt, Alabama Governor George Wallace, who was running on a third-party ticket, withdrew. But the Nixon campaign didn't take any chances. Five members of the Committee to Re-elect the President, or CREEP, were apprehended on June 17 for breaking into DNC offices at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. Nixon won 60 percent of the popular vote in November, and the break-in received little notice. Only the District of Columbia and Massachusetts were won by McGovern. However, Nixon's demise had already started as he won.

Nixon had an obsessive belief that he was surrounded by enemies from the start of his presidency. Charles Colson, a Nixon advisor, established a covert organization known as "the Plumbers" at his direction. Their first task was to search for evidence against Daniel Ellsberg, the former Pentagon employee who made the Pentagon Papers public, by breaking into the psychiatrist's office. The Plumbers fraudulently accused Democratic candidates of sexual impropriety in anonymous letters, tapped phones, and infiltrated campaign staffs during the 1972 presidential campaign. When they were apprehended by the D.C. police inside the Watergate complex, they were returning to plant additional surveillance equipment at the DNC headquarters.

Watergate Cover-Up and Investigation

Nixon had nothing to do with the Watergate scandal. However, he concealed their involvement in the break-ins rather than removing himself and dismissing the responsible parties. Claiming that the FBI's inquiry threatened national security, he ordered the CIA to halt it. Nixon stopped the inquiry at this point, but he also obstructed justice, which is a felony and an impeachable offense. But Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, two little-known Washington Post reporters, continued to follow the story. They tracked a money trail that led directly to the White House with the help of a high-ranking, unnamed government official they code-named Deep Throat (the title of a notorious 1972 X-rated movie). (W. Mark Felt, the FBI's second-in-command in the early 1970s, claimed to be Watergate's Deep Throat in 2005.)

The Senate held televised public hearings on the Watergate scandal from May to August 1973. White House Counsel John Dean provided devastating testimony because of fear that he would be held accountable for the Watergate scandal. Nixon routinely filmed his conversations in the Oval Office, a White House official informed the Senate Committee on July 13. Nixon declined to give Congress access to the tapes.

Impeachment and Resignation

Nixon was embroiled in other scandals. Vice President Spiro Agnew resigned in October 1973 after being accused of accepting bribes while serving as governor of Maryland. Gerald Ford, the House minority leader from Michigan, was chosen by Nixon and authorized by Congress to succeed Agnew. Nixon's frequent drinking and apparent mental instability, meanwhile, were a growing source of concern for his staff. The House of Representatives then started the impeachment process on October 24, 1973.

Nixon made modified versions of the Oval Office tapes public by court order. Nixon's racist slurs and profanities stunned the public, even though the initial tapes showed nothing illegal. The Supreme Court ordered Nixon to make all of the tapes public in July 1974. The House Judiciary Committee discovered evidence to impeach Nixon on three grounds—abuse of authority, contempt of Congress, and obstruction of justice—despite the erasures on two

important tapes. Richard Nixon became the first American president to resign on August 9, 1974, after he was found guilty and facing impeachment.

Americans' faith in the government was shaken by the Watergate affair. Additionally, it led Congress to enact the War Powers Act and other measures intended to limit presidential authority.

Ford's Presidency

A jaded populace confronted Gerald Ford, the country's first unelected president. The presidency lost credibility. The economy was deteriorating. Ford was a decent man who made an effort to put an end to the protracted national nightmare. However, his favor ratings fell from 71 to 41 percent after he pardoned Richard Nixon in full.

Ford's two and a half years in office saw little domestic progress. In the 1974 congressional elections, the Democrats won by a wide margin, and Congress was eager to use its authority following Watergate. Ford vetoed thirty-nine of its measures in a single year, although Congress frequently overrode his veto. In comedic monologues, political cartoons, and the recently popular Saturday Night Live television program, Ford was frequently shown as a fool and a klutz. Ford was affected by the disrespect that Nixon's actions had caused. They would no longer be stopped by reverence for the president.

Carter as "Outside" President

At first, Jimmy Carter's narrow victory in 1976 was aided by the public's mistrust of politicians. One of the new Southern leaders dedicated to racial equality, Carter served one term as governor of Georgia. After graduating from the Naval Academy and working as an engineer in the navy's nuclear submarine program, he was raised on his family's pea nut farm in rural Plains, Georgia. "I will never lie to you," Carter, a born-again Christian, assured the American people.

Carter highlighted his populist, outsider appeal from his inauguration, when he defied the custom of a motorcade and walked down Pennsylvania Avenue hand in hand with his wife and close advisor, Rosalynn, and their daughter, Amy. However, as president, such status became troublesome. Despite being a wise policymaker, he detested the compromises required to get legislation passed in Congress.

Carter had to deal with issues that would have tested any leader: the public's mistrust of the government, the ongoing economic downturn, and unrelenting energy shortages. Carter was more prepared to tell Americans things they did not want to hear than any other postwar American leader. During the severely cold winter of 1977, when natural gas shortages prompted businesses and schools to close, Carter, dressed in a cardigan sweater, advocated for sacrifice and instituted energy-saving measures at government buildings. Carter informed Americans in the pivotal address of his administration that the country was experiencing a spiritual crisis. He discussed the deceptive allure of consumption and self-indulgence. A "new commitment to the path of common purpose" is what he demanded. However, he did not provide many answers to the country's problems.

Carter established the Departments of Energy and Education and loosened onerous government rules without removing protections for workers and consumers. In addition, he put more than 100 million acres of Alaskan land under federal protection as national parks, forests, and wildlife refuges, and he created a $1.6 billion "superfund" to clean up defunct chemical waste sites.

An Era of Cultural Transformation

Major strands of late twentieth-century culture emerged as Americans grappled with social separation, economic crisis, and governmental treachery. This strange decade, which was positioned between the political vibrancy of the 1960s and the conservatism of the 1980s, is the origin of the current environmental movement, the development of technology, the emergence of born-again Christianity and a "therapeutic culture," modern forms of sexuality and the family, and America's emphasis on diversity.

Environmentalism

The vulnerability of the ecosystem was brought home by a string of ecological calamities. The contaminated Cuyahoga River, which flows through Cleveland, caught fire in 1969, the same year as a significant oil spill occurred off the coast of Santa Barbara, California. A nuclear accident occurred at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1979 as a result of human error. In 1980, President Carter declared a federal emergency at the Love Canal dump site in New York State, which was used by a local chemical manufacturer, after it was found that 30% of the local population had chromosome damage. The Nixon administration established the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in 1970 under intense public pressure, and Congress passed eighteen significant environmental laws during the decade as a result of public action.

On April 22, 1970, about 20 million Americans—half of them were students—celebrated the inaugural Earth Day, marking the success of a new understanding of ecology. The understanding that the earth's resources were limited and needed to be conserved and safeguarded was at the heart of this movement. In order to stop this new "epidemic," state public health officials regularly administered contraceptives. Many also noted that the world's population was growing at an alarming rate.

Technology

The science and technology that had contributed to America's power throughout these years caused unease among Americans. On July 20, 1969, Americans proudly witnessed astronaut Neil Armstrong land on the moon, yet technology was unable to address the problems of poverty, crime, pollution, and urban decay on Earth. As antiwar demonstrators questioned the morality of such equipment, technological warfare failed to bring about victory in Vietnam. The country relied on intricate technological systems, despite the fact that some Americans joined a movement for human-scale development. America's computer revolution started in the 1970s. The integrated circuit was developed in 1970, and by 1975, the MITS Altair 8800, which had 256 bytes of memory and required roughly thirty hours to assemble, could be mailed from Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Religion and the Therapeutic Culture

Americans increasingly sought spiritual fulfillment as they faced financial limitations. During this time, evangelical and fundamentalist Christian churches experienced significant growth, while Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian churches saw a decline in membership. Protestant evangelicals stressed the everyday presence of God in their lives, referring to themselves as "born again." A personal relationship with God was sought for by even some Catholics, such as the Mexican Americans who joined the cursillo movement (a "little course" in faith). The New Age movement incorporated ideas from western psychology and spiritually oriented environmentalism with nonwestern spiritual and religious practices, such as shamanic, yoga, and Zen Buddhism.

A therapeutic culture began to take shape in the United States in the 1970s. Bestselling books by therapists and self-help gurus maintained that personal sentiments provided the ultimate measure of reality, despite the revulsion of some with the self-centeredness of the Me-Decade. Fifteen percent of all best-selling books were self-help titles like I'm OK—You're OK.

Youth

In American society throughout the 1970s, youth were granted additional liberties and obligations. The 26th Amendment, which decreased the voting age to 18, was swiftly accepted by the states when Congress passed it in 1971 after realizing that 18-year-old men who were eligible for the draft could not vote. Likewise, 29 states reduced the legal drinking age. The usage of marijuana increased dramatically, and decriminalization was pursued in a number of states. Some young people tried to construct countercultural worlds outside of "the system" by starting communes in the early 1970s. Others founded the punk movement later in the decade, which gave young people access to new cultural and physical places through music and its DIY mentality.

Diversity

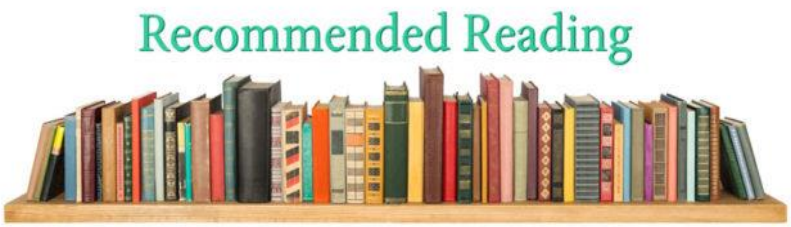
As Hispanic and Asian Americans became more visible due to an inflow of new immigrants from Latin America and Asia, the racial-justice and identity movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s made Americans more conscious of the differences among the nation's peoples. Finding a way to recognize the growing significance of "difference" in public policy was the challenge. The concept of "diversity" was the answer in the 1970s. Diversity was a strength rather than a problem, and the country should aim to promote the "diversity" of its public culture, workplaces, and educational institutions rather than enact laws that would lessen the disparities among its peoples.

An important first step was the 1978 Supreme Court ruling in Regents of the University of California v. Bakke. Allan Bakke, a thirty-three-year-old Caucasian guy with a stellar academic record, was turned away from the University of California at Davis medical school. Bakke filed a lawsuit, claiming he was denied equal protection because racial-minority applicants were subjected to lesser criteria and 16 percent of the medical school's spots were designated for them through the affirmative-action program. In a divided ruling in 1978, the Supreme Court ruled in Bakke's favor. Four justices viewed affirmative action policies as constitutionally permissible, while four contended that any choice based on race was unconstitutional under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Even though Bakke won the final vote, there was a crucial caveat. Justice Lewis Powell noted that having a "diverse student body" is "a constitutionally permissible goal for an institution of higher education." Educational institutions could take race into account when making admissions decisions in order to attain diversity.

Summary

The Vietnam War, the best way to achieve racial equality and equal rights, and the definition of America itself caused Americans to become more and more divided starting in the crisis year of 1968. Ideas of American unity appeared to be a thing of the past as many activists shifted to "cultural nationalism," or group-identity politics. Additionally, strong opposition emerged even if a new women's movement achieved successes against sex discrimination. Americans' disenchantment with politics and presidential leadership grew throughout this time. A deep mistrust of government resulted from Richard Nixon's abuses of power in the Watergate incident and cover-up, as well as growing knowledge that the administration had frequently misled about the United States' involvement in Vietnam. The post-World War II expansion was halted by a significant economic crisis, and Americans suffered from stagflation, which is the result of high inflation and growing unemployment rates.

A series of international defeats, including the oil embargo, the Iranian hostage crisis, and the defeat in Vietnam, signaled the decline of U.S. influence. For a while, détente with the Soviet Union had been successful, but by 1980, Cold War tensions had increased. Additionally, U.S. foreign policy began to place more emphasis on the Middle East. America's liberal era was over by the late 1970s due to political, economic, and foreign policy challenges; the conditions were set for a conservative comeback.



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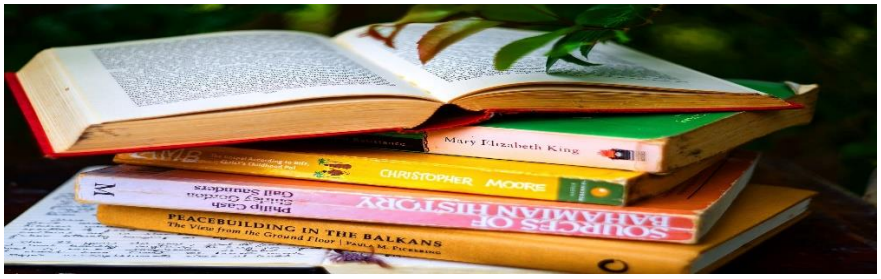

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