In this module you will learn about how the Kennedy and Johnson administrations pushed for social reforms from within the government. You will also learn how citizens banded together to create movements that changed the social climate in the 1960s and 1970s.

What You Will Learn . . .

Lesson 1: Kennedy and the New Frontier . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1016
The Big Idea: John F. Kennedy brought energy, initiative, and important new ideas to the presidency.

Lesson 2: Johnson and the Great Society . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1026
The Big Idea: The demand for reform helped create a new awareness of social problems, especially on matters of civil rights and the effects of poverty.

Lesson 3: Culture and Counterculture . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1038
The Big Idea: The ideals and lifestyle of the counterculture challenged the traditional views of Americans.

Lesson 4: Environmental Activism . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1044
The Big Idea: During the 1960s and 1970s, Americans strengthened their efforts to address the nation’s environmental problems.
An Era of Social Change

Timeline of Events 1959–1980

United States Events

1962 Rachel Carson publishes *Silent Spring*.

1966 Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister of India.

1969 400,000 people attend the Woodstock Music and Art Fair in upstate New York.

1970 America celebrates the first Earth Day.

1975 Communists capture Saigon; South Vietnam surrenders.

1979 A nuclear power accident occurs at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania.

World Events

1961 Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human in outer space.

1966 Egyptian and Israeli leaders meet and sign the Camp David Accords with President Carter.

1979 Iranian militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran and hold 52 people hostage.

Additional Events

1960 John F. Kennedy is elected president.

1961 Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human in outer space.

1963 President Kennedy is assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson becomes president.

1964 Lyndon B. Johnson is elected president.


1967 Thurgood Marshall becomes the first African American justice of the Supreme Court.

1968 Richard M. Nixon is elected president.

1972 The U.S. government outlaws DDT.

1972 Terrorists kill 11 Israeli athletes at the XX Olympiad in Munich.

1973 Israel and Arab states fight the Yom Kippur War.

1975 Communists capture Saigon; South Vietnam surrenders.

1978 Egyptian and Israeli leaders meet and sign the Camp David Accords with President Carter.

1979 Iranian militants seize the U.S. embassy in Tehran and hold 52 people hostage.

1980 Jimmy Carter is elected president.
One American’s Story

John F. Kennedy became the 35th president of the United States on a crisp and sparkling day in January 1961. Appearing without a coat in freezing weather, he issued a challenge to the American people. He said that the world was in “its hour of maximum danger,” as Cold War tensions ran high. Rather than shrinking from the danger, the United States should confront the “iron tyranny” of communism.

“Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed. . . .

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any . . . foe, in order to assure . . . the survival and the success of liberty.”

John F. Kennedy, from his Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961
The Election of 1960

In 1960, as President Eisenhower’s second term drew to a close, a mood of restlessness arose among voters. The economy was in a recession. The USSR’s launch of Sputnik I in 1957 and its development of long-range missiles had sparked fears that the American military was falling behind that of the Soviets. Further setbacks including the U-2 incident and the alignment of Cuba with the Soviet Union had Americans questioning whether the United States was losing the Cold War.

The Democratic nominee for president, Massachusetts senator John Kennedy, promised active leadership “to get America moving again.” His Republican opponent, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, hoped to win by riding on the coattails of Eisenhower’s popularity. Both candidates had similar positions on policy issues. Two factors helped put Kennedy over the top: television and the civil rights issue.

THE TELEVISED DEBATE AFFECTS VOTES Kennedy had a well-organized campaign and the backing of his wealthy family. He was also handsome and charismatic. Yet many felt that, at 43, he was too inexperienced. If elected, he would be the second-youngest president in the nation’s history.

Americans also worried that having a Roman Catholic in the White House would lead either to influence of the pope on American policies or to closer ties between church and state. Kennedy was able to allay worries by discussing the issue openly.

One event in the fall determined the course of the election. This event showed how the spread of mass media would impact politics for years to come:

John F. Kennedy (right) appeared confident and at ease during a televised debate with his opponent, Richard M. Nixon.
come. Kennedy and Nixon took part in the first televised debate between presidential candidates. On September 26, 1960, some 70 million TV viewers watched the two articulate and knowledgeable candidates debating issues. Nixon, an expert on foreign policy, had agreed to the forum in hopes of exposing Kennedy’s inexperience. However, Kennedy had been coached by television producers. He looked and spoke better than Nixon. Kennedy also had a tan from campaigning in Southern California and looked rested and fit. According to some sources, Nixon was running a high fever the night of the debate. He looked pale, ill, and tired in his gray suit. Radio listeners thought Nixon narrowly won the debate, but those watching on television gave Kennedy the edge.

Kennedy’s success in the debate launched a new era in American politics: the television age. As journalist Russell Baker, who covered the Nixon campaign, said, “That night, image replaced the printed word as the natural language of politics.” Nixon and Kennedy’s debate was the first of four televised debates between the candidates for president. The debates brought the candidates into America’s living room in a brand new way. The candidate could appeal directly to the voters. Scenes of the candidates’ presentations could be repeated indefinitely, adding to the public’s exposure to the candidates’ views. As a result, television began to undercut the value of a party structure in drumming up support for a candidate. Running a political campaign now demanded tapping into the power of television to gain an advantage.

KENNEDY AND CIVIL RIGHTS A second major event of the campaign took place in October. Police in Atlanta, Georgia, arrested the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. and 33 other African American demonstrators for sitting at a segregated lunch counter. Although the other demonstrators were released, King was sentenced to months of hard labor. Officially his offense was a minor traffic violation. The Eisenhower administration refused to intervene, and Nixon took no public position.

When Kennedy heard of the arrest and sentencing, he telephoned King’s wife, Coretta Scott King, to express his sympathy. Meanwhile, Robert Kennedy, his brother and campaign manager, persuaded the judge who had sentenced King to release the civil rights leader on bail, pending appeal. News of the incident captured the immediate attention of the African American community. African American votes would help Kennedy carry key states in the Midwest and South.

The Camelot Years

The election in November 1960 was the closest since 1884. Kennedy won by fewer than 119,000 votes. His inauguration set the tone for a new era at the White House: one of grace, elegance, and wit. On the podium sat over 100 writers, artists, and scientists that the Kennedys had invited. Included was opera singer Marian Anderson, who had once been barred from singing at Constitution Hall because she was African American. Kennedy’s inspiring speech called for hope, commitment, and sacrifice. “And so, my fellow
Americans,” he proclaimed, “ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.”

**THE KENNEDY MYSTIQUE** During his term, the president and his beautiful young wife, Jacqueline, invited many artists and celebrities to the White House. In addition, Kennedy often appeared on television. The press loved his charm and wit and helped to bolster his image.

Critics of Kennedy’s presidency argued that his smooth style lacked substance. But the new First Family fascinated the public. For example, after learning that JFK could read 1,600 words a minute, thousands of people enrolled in speed-reading courses. The First Lady, too, captivated the nation with her eye for fashion and culture. It seemed the nation could not get enough of the First Family. Newspapers and magazines filled their pages with pictures and stories about the president’s young daughter, Caroline, and his infant son, John.

**THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST** With JFK’s youthful glamour and his talented advisers, the Kennedy White House reminded many of a modern-day Camelot, the mythical court of King Arthur. Kennedy surrounded himself with a team that one journalist called “the best and the brightest.” They included McGeorge Bundy, a Harvard University dean, as national security advisor; Robert McNamara, president of Ford Motor Company, as secretary of defense; and Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, as secretary of state. Of all the advisers who comprised Kennedy’s inner circle, he relied most heavily on his 35-year-old brother, Robert, whom he appointed attorney general.

**Background**
The fictional King Arthur was based on a real fifth- or sixth-century Celt. In literature, Arthur’s romantic world is marked by chivalry and magic.

**Reading Check**
Draw Conclusions
What factors help explain the public’s fascination with the Kennedys?
The Promise of Progress

Kennedy had often promoted his plans for changing the nation in his campaign speeches. Once in office, he set out to transform his broad vision of progress into what he called the New Frontier. “We stand today on the edge of a New Frontier,” Kennedy had announced upon accepting the nomination for president. He called on Americans to be “new pioneers” and explore “uncharted areas of science and space, . . . unconquered pockets of ignorance and prejudice, unanswered questions of poverty and surplus.”

EARLY CHALLENGES Kennedy had difficulty turning his vision into reality, however. As part of his New Frontier plans, he offered Congress proposals to provide medical care for the aged, rebuild blighted urban areas, and improve education, but he couldn’t gather enough votes. The makeup of Congress reflected the American public’s mood. Kennedy faced the same conservative coalition that had blocked President Truman’s Fair Deal.

In his efforts to push his domestic reform measures through Congress, Kennedy showed little skill. Since he had been elected by the slimmest of margins, he lacked a popular mandate—a clear indication that voters approved of his plans. As a result, he often tried to play it safe politically. Nevertheless, Kennedy did persuade Congress to enact measures to boost the economy, build the national defense, provide international aid, and fund a massive space program. He also succeeded in making significant improvements to education through measures such as increasing funding to school libraries, allocating special funds to teach children with specialized needs, and expanding opportunities for vocational training.

STIMULATING THE ECONOMY One domestic problem the Kennedy team tackled was the economy. By 1960 America was in a recession. A recession is, in a general sense, a moderate slowdown of the economy marked by increased unemployment and reduced personal consumption. In 1961 the nation’s jobless rate climbed from just under 6 percent to nearly 7 percent, one of the highest levels since World War II. Personal consumption of several major items declined that year. People worried about job security and, as a result, spent less money.

During the campaign, Kennedy had criticized the Eisenhower administration for failing to stimulate growth. The American economy, he said, was lagging behind those of other Western democracies and the Soviet Union. Kennedy’s advisers pushed for the use of deficit spending, which had been the basis for Roosevelt’s New Deal. They said that stimulating economic growth depended on increased government spending and lower taxes, even if it meant that the government spent more than it took in.

Accordingly, the proposals Kennedy sent to Congress in 1961 called for increased spending. The Department of Defense received a nearly 20 percent budget increase for new nuclear missiles and nuclear submarines, as well as for an expansion of the armed services. Congress also approved a package that increased the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, extended unemployment insurance, and provided assistance to cities with high unemployment.
ADDRESSING POVERTY ABROAD One of the first campaign promises Kennedy fulfilled was the creation of the Peace Corps. It was a program of volunteer assistance to the developing nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Critics in the United States called the program “Kennedy's Kiddie Korps” because many volunteers were just out of college. Some foreign observers questioned whether Americans could understand other cultures.

Despite these reservations, the Peace Corps became a huge success. It succeeded in its goal of increasing goodwill toward the United States throughout the world. People of all ages and backgrounds signed up to work as agricultural advisers, teachers, or health aides or to do whatever work the host country needed. By 1968 more than 35,000 volunteers had served in 60 nations around the world.

Today, the mission of the organization remains the same: to promote world peace and friendship. However, the role of the Peace Corps has evolved along with the changing world. Volunteers now bring along cutting-edge technology to tackle the modern challenges facing the countries they serve. Many volunteers serve as teachers and health workers, but there is now a wider variety of volunteer opportunities to address a broader span of global issues, such as gender equality and climate change. In 2014 policy changes allowed volunteers to choose specific countries and missions for the first time, causing a surge in applications.

A second foreign aid program, the Alliance for Progress, offered economic and technical assistance to Latin American countries. Between 1961 and 1969, the United States invested almost $12 billion in Latin America, in part to deter these countries from picking up Fidel Castro’s revolutionary ideas. While the money brought some development to the region, it didn’t bring fundamental reforms.

CONFRONTING DOMESTIC PROBLEMS Although progress was being made internationally, many Americans suffered at home. Poverty continued to be a serious issue. The number of poor shocked many Americans. A number of Americans also faced racial discrimination and segregation.

Gradually, the fight against segregation took hold. Throughout the South, demonstrators raised their voices in what would become some of the most controversial civil rights battles of the 1960s. Kennedy had not pushed aggressively for legislation on the issues of poverty and civil rights, although he effected changes by executive action. For example, Kennedy’s administration introduced affirmative action policies to place more African Americans in federal jobs and banned discriminatory hiring practices by government contractors. However, now he felt that it was time to take further actions to live up to his campaign promises.
In 1963 Kennedy began to focus more closely on the issues at home. He called for a “national assault on the causes of poverty.” He also confronted discrimination, ordering Robert Kennedy’s Justice Department to investigate racial injustices in the South. Finally, he presented Congress with a sweeping civil rights bill and a proposal to cut taxes by over $10 billion.

Tragedy in Dallas

In the fall of 1963, public opinion polls showed that Kennedy was losing popularity because of his advocacy of civil rights. Yet most Americans still supported their beloved president. No one could foresee the terrible national tragedy just ahead.

FOUR DAYS IN NOVEMBER

On the sunny morning of November 22, 1963, Air Force One, the presidential aircraft, landed in Dallas, Texas. President and Mrs. Kennedy had come to Texas to mend political fences with members of the state’s Democratic Party. Kennedy had expected a cool reception from the conservative state. Instead, he basked in warm waves of applause from crowds that lined the streets of downtown Dallas.

Jacqueline and her husband sat in the back seat of an open-air limousine. In front of them sat Texas governor John Connally and his wife, Nellie. As the car approached a state building known as the Texas School Book Depository, Nellie Connally turned to Kennedy and said, “You can’t say that Dallas isn’t friendly to you today.” A few seconds later, rifle shots rang out, and Kennedy was shot in the head. His car raced to a nearby hospital, where doctors frantically tried to revive him, but it was too late. President Kennedy was dead.

As the tragic news spread through America’s schools, offices, and homes, people reacted with disbelief. Questions were on everyone’s lips: Who had killed the president, and why? What would happen next?

During the next four days, television became “the window of the world.” A photograph of a somber Lyndon Johnson taking the oath of office aboard the presidential airplane was broadcast. Soon, audiences watched as Dallas police charged Lee Harvey Oswald with the murder. His palm print had been found on the rifle used to kill John F. Kennedy.

The 24-year-old ex-Marine had a suspicious past. After receiving a dishonorable discharge, Oswald had briefly lived in the Soviet Union, and he supported Castro. On Sunday, November 24, millions watched live television coverage of Oswald being transferred from the
Dallas Police Department to the county jail. Then Jack Ruby, a Dallas nightclub owner with ties to organized crime, broke through the crowd and shot and killed Oswald.

The next day, all work stopped for Kennedy’s funeral as America mourned its fallen leader. The assassination and televised funeral became a historic event. Americans who were alive then can still recall what they were doing when they first heard about the shooting of their president.

**UNANSWERED QUESTIONS** The bizarre chain of events made some people wonder if Oswald was part of a conspiracy. In 1963 the Warren Commission investigated and concluded that Oswald had shot the president while acting on his own. Later, in 1979, a reinvestigation concluded that Oswald was part of a conspiracy. Investigators also said that two persons may have fired at the president. Numerous other people have made investigations. Their explanations have ranged from a plot by anti-Castro Cubans, to a Communist-sponsored attack, to a conspiracy by the CIA.

What Americans did learn from the Kennedy assassination was that their system of government is remarkably sturdy. A crisis that would have crippled a dictatorship did not prevent a smooth transition to the presidency of Lyndon Johnson. Some worried that the assassination would have a negative impact on the progress being made on civil rights legislation, but Johnson vowed to continue the work that Kennedy had begun.

In a speech to Congress, Johnson expressed his hope that “from the brutal loss of our leader we will derive not weakness but strength.” Right away, he began to push for the passage of the civil rights legislation that had been stalled in Congress. Johnson wanted to do more than follow in Kennedy’s footsteps, however. He had ambitious plans of his own. As president, Johnson would be a strong leader, using his considerable political talents to achieve greater legislative success than Kennedy.

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**Vocabulary**

conspiracy: an agreement by two or more persons to take illegal political action

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**Lesson 1 Assessment**

1. **Organize Information** Use a web diagram to list the programs of the New Frontier.

   ![Web Diagram](image)

   Which do you think was most successful? Why?

2. **Key Terms and People** For each term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Evaluate** Do you think President Kennedy was a successful leader and successful civil rights advocate? Explain your viewpoint.

   **Think About:**
   - the reasons for his popularity
   - the goals he expressed
   - his foreign policy
   - his legislative record

4. **Make Inferences** Why do you think Kennedy lost popularity for supporting civil rights?

5. **Draw Conclusions** Why did the fate of President Kennedy affect people so deeply?
The Movement of Migrant Workers

The nation’s 2 million farm workers are responsible for harvesting much of the fruit and vegetables that families eat each day. Most fieldworkers on United States farms remain in one place most of the year. Others are migrant workers, who move with their entire family from one region to the next as the growing seasons change. Nationally, migrant workers make up some 50 percent of hired farm workers, depending on the season and other factors.

As the map shows, there were three major streams of migrant worker movements in the 1960s: the Pacific Coast, the Midwest, and the Atlantic Coast streams. While these paths may have changed slightly since then, the movement of migrant workers into nearly every region of the nation continues today.

THE PACIFIC COAST
The Pacific Coast region’s moderate climate allows for year-round harvesting. Most of California’s migrant farm workers work on large fruit farms for much of the year. About 65,000 workers make their way up to Washington each year to pick cherries, apples, and other crops.

THE MIDWEST
Workers along the Midwest and East Coast streams, where crops are smaller, must keep moving in order to find work. These workers picking strawberries in Michigan will soon move on. For example, one family may travel to Ohio for the tomato harvest and then return to Michigan to pick apples before heading back to Texas for the winter months.
The map shows the three major streams of migrant worker movements in the 1960s.

**THE ATLANTIC COAST**

While some workers along the Atlantic Coast stream remain in Florida, others travel as far north as New Hampshire and New York, like the workers shown here harvesting onions. There, they work from March through September. Due to the winters, migrant workers in most of the Midwest and Atlantic regions can find work for only six months out of the year.

**Critical Thinking**

1. **Analyze Patterns** Retrace the movement of migrant workers in the three regions. Why do you think migrant workers have to keep moving?

2. **Create a Database** Pose a historical question about the relationship between crops and planting seasons. For example, what types of crops are harvested in Michigan during the fall? Then research and create a database that answers this and other such questions.
One American’s Story

In 1966 family finances forced Larry Alfred to drop out of high school in Mobile, Alabama. He turned to the Job Corps, a federal program that trained young people from poor backgrounds. He learned to operate construction equipment, but his dream was to help people. On the advice of his Job Corps counselor, he joined VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America). VISTA was often called the “domestic Peace Corps.”

Both the Job Corps and VISTA sprang into being in 1964, when President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed the Economic Opportunity Act. This law was the main offensive of Johnson’s “war on poverty” and a cornerstone of the Great Society.

VISTA assigned Alfred to work with a community of poor farm laborers in Robstown, Texas, near the Mexican border. There he found a number of children with mental and physical disabilities who had no special assistance, education, or training. So he established the Robstown Association for Retarded People. He started a parents education program, sought state funds, and created a rehabilitation center. At age 20, Larry Alfred was a high school drop-out, Job Corps graduate, VISTA volunteer, and, in Robstown, an authority on people with disabilities. Alfred embodied Johnson’s Great Society in two ways. Its programs helped him turn his life around, and he made a difference in people’s lives.
LBJ’s Path to Power

By the time Lyndon B. Johnson, or LBJ, as he was called, succeeded to the presidency, his ambition and drive had become legendary. In explaining his frenetic energy, Johnson once remarked, “That’s the way I’ve been all my life. My daddy used to wake me up at dawn and shake my leg and say, ‘Lyn-don, every boy in town’s got an hour’s head start on you.’”

FROM THE TEXAS HILLS TO CAPITOL HILL A fourth-generation Texan, Johnson grew up in the dry Texas Hill Country of Blanco County. The Johnasons never knew great wealth, but they also never missed a meal.

LBJ entered politics in 1937 when he won a special election to fill a vacant seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Johnson styled himself as a “New Dealer” and spokesperson for the small ranchers and struggling farmers of his district. He caught the eye of President Franklin Roosevelt, who took Johnson under his wing. Roosevelt helped him secure key committee assignments in Congress and steer much-needed electrification and water projects to his Texas district. Johnson, in turn, idolized FDR and imitated his leadership style.

Once in the House, Johnson eagerly eyed a seat in the Senate. In 1948, after an exhausting, bitterly fought campaign, he won the Democratic primary election for the Senate by a margin of only 87 votes out of 988,000.

A MASTER POLITICIAN Johnson proved himself a master of party politics and behind-the-scenes maneuvering. After just one term as a senator, he rose to the position of Senate majority leader in 1955. People called his legendary ability to win over reporters and persuade senators to support his bills the “LBJ treatment.”

Johnson’s deft handling of Congress led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This act was a voting rights measure—the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. By 1960 Johnson had more influence in Washington, DC, than any other Democrat. His knack for achieving legislative results had captured John F. Kennedy’s attention, too, during Kennedy’s run

Lyndon B. Johnson (1908–1973)

LBJ received his teaching degree from Southwest Texas State Teachers College in 1930. To finance his own education, Johnson took a year off from college to work at a Mexican American school in Cotulla, Texas. He later taught public speaking and debate at the Sam Houston High School in Houston. At age 26 he became the state director of the National Youth Administration, a New Deal agency.

As president, Johnson pushed hard for the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. In 1965 he signed the act at the one-room schoolhouse near Stonewall, Texas, where his own education had begun. Johnson later wrote, “My education had begun with what I learned in that schoolroom. Now what I had learned and experienced since that time had brought me back to fulfill a dream.”
for the White House. To Kennedy, Johnson’s congressional connections and his Southern Protestant background compensated for his own drawbacks as a candidate. He asked Johnson to be his running mate. Johnson’s presence on the ticket helped Kennedy win key states in the South, especially Texas, which went Democratic by just a few thousand votes.

Johnson’s Domestic Agenda

In the wake of Kennedy’s assassination, President Johnson addressed a joint session of Congress. It was the fifth day of his administration. “All I have I would have given gladly not to be standing here today,” he began. Kennedy had inspired Americans to begin to solve national and world problems. Johnson urged Congress to pass the civil rights and tax-cut bills that Kennedy had sent to Capitol Hill. He asserted that the passage of these bills would be the best way to honor the memory of the fallen president.

CONTINUING KENNEDY’S PROGRAMS  In February 1964 Congress passed a tax reduction of over $10 billion into law. As the Democrats had hoped, the tax cut spurred economic growth. People spent more, which meant profits for businesses. This in turn increased tax revenues and lowered the federal budget deficit from $6 billion in 1964 to $4 billion in 1966.

Then in July, Johnson pushed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 through Congress. He persuaded southern senators to stop blocking its passage. It prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and sex and granted the federal government new powers to enforce its provisions.

THE WAR ON POVERTY  Following these successes, LBJ pressed on with his own agenda—to alleviate poverty. Early in 1964 he had declared “unconditional war on poverty in America.” He proposed sweeping legislation designed to help Americans “on the outskirts of hope.”

In August 1964 Congress enacted the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). They approved nearly $1 billion for youth programs, antipoverty measures, small-business loans, and job training. The EOA legislation created

• the Job Corps Youth Training Program,
• VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America),
• Head Start, an education program for underprivileged preschoolers, and
• the Community Action Program, which encouraged poor people to participate in public-works programs.

THE 1964 ELECTION  In 1964 the Republicans nominated conservative senator Barry Goldwater to oppose Johnson. Goldwater believed the federal government had no business trying to right social and economic wrongs such as poverty and discrimination. He attacked such long-established federal programs as Social Security, which he wanted to make voluntary. He also attacked the Tennessee Valley Authority, which he wanted to sell.

In 1964 most American people were in tune with Johnson. They believed that government could and should help solve the nation’s problems. Moreover, Goldwater had frightened many Americans by suggesting that he might use
nuclear weapons on Cuba and North Vietnam. Johnson's campaign capitalized on this fear. It produced a chilling television commercial in which a picture of a little girl counting the petals on a daisy dissolved into a mushroom cloud created by an atomic bomb. Goldwater advocated intervention in Vietnam. Johnson assured the American people that sending U.S. troops there "would offer no solution at all to the real problem of Vietnam."

LBJ won the election by a landslide. He won 61 percent of the popular vote and 486 electoral votes, while Senator Goldwater won only 52. The Democrats also increased their majority in Congress. For the first time since 1938, a Democratic president did not need the votes of conservative Southern Democrats in order to get laws passed. Now Johnson could launch his reform program in earnest.

**Building the Great Society**

In May 1964 Johnson had summed up his vision for America in a phrase: the Great Society. In a speech at the University of Michigan, Johnson outlined a legislative program that would end poverty and racial injustice. But, he told an enthusiastic crowd, that was “just the beginning.”

**A PLAN FOR CHANGE** Like his idol FDR, LBJ wanted to change America. And like the New Deal, the policies of the Great Society would expand existing programs and create new government programs designed to improve social welfare. The New Deal addressed the greatest needs of the Great Depression—relief for the needy, economic recovery, and financial reform. The policies and programs of the Great Society also strove to address the ongoing problem of poverty and the related needs of health care, education, and housing for low-income families and the elderly. It also addressed

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**Document-Based Investigation Historical Source**

**The Great Society Speech**

Speaking at the University of Michigan, President Johnson told an enthusiastic crowd that he envisioned a legislative program that would create not only a higher standard of living and equal opportunity but also promote a richer quality of life for all.

"The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race."

—Lyndon B. Johnson, from "The Great Society," May 22, 1964

**Analyze Historical Sources**

How did President Johnson use language to inspire Americans to share his vision?
other social issues of the 1960s, including civil rights, immigration reform, environmental concerns, and protection for consumers. By the time Johnson left the White House in 1969, Congress had passed 206 of his measures. The president personally led the battle to get most of them passed.

EDUCATION During 1965 and 1966, the LBJ administration introduced a flurry of bills to Congress. Johnson considered education “the key which can unlock the door to the Great Society.” The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided more than $1 billion in federal aid. It helped public and parochial schools purchase textbooks and new library materials. This was the first major federal aid package for education in the nation’s history.

HEALTH CARE LBJ and Congress changed Social Security by establishing Medicare and Medicaid. Medicare provided hospital insurance and low-cost medical insurance for almost every American age 65 or older. Medicaid extended health insurance to welfare recipients.

HOUSING Congress also made several important decisions that shifted the nation’s political power from rural to urban areas. These decisions included appropriating money to build some 240,000 units of low-rent public housing and help low- and moderate-income families pay for better private housing. It

These preschoolers in a Head Start classroom are among the millions of Americans whose daily lives have been affected by Great Society programs.
included urban renewal and slum rebuilding for select cities and establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). It also included naming Robert Weaver, the first African American cabinet member in American history, as Secretary of HUD.

**Immigration** The Great Society also brought profound changes to the nation’s immigration laws. The Immigration Act of 1924 and the National Origins Act of 1924 had established immigration quotas. These quotas discriminated strongly against people from outside Western Europe. The act set a quota of about 150,000 people annually. It discriminated against southern and eastern Europeans and barred Asians completely. Ending the quotas based on nationality, the **Immigration Act of 1965** opened the door for many non-European immigrants to settle in the United States. This led to a sharp increase in immigration from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The new immigrants brought their languages, cultures, and traditions with them, slowly and permanently changing the demographic makeup of the United States. The increase in immigration since 1965 has been a constant topic of political debate in the United States, leading to subsequent reform laws in the 1980s and 1990s. The greatest amount of political concern during those decades was focused on illegal immigration, which many felt was encouraged by lax policies.

**The Environment** In 1962, *Silent Spring*, a book by Rachel Carson, had exposed a hidden danger: the effects of pesticides on the environment. Carson’s book and the public’s outcry resulted in the Water Quality Act of 1965, which required states to clean up rivers. Johnson also ordered the government to search out the worst chemical polluters. “There is no excuse . . . for chemical companies and oil refineries using our major rivers as pipelines for toxic wastes.” Such words and actions helped trigger the environmental movement in the United States.

**Consumer Protection** Consumer advocates also made headway. They convinced Congress to pass major safety laws, including a truth-in-packaging law that set standards for labeling consumer goods. Ralph Nader, a young lawyer, wrote a book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*. Nader’s book sharply criticized the U.S. automobile industry for ignoring safety concerns. His testimony helped persuade Congress to establish safety standards for automobiles and tires. Precautions extended to food, too. Congress passed the Wholesome Meat Act of 1967. “Americans can feel a little safer now in their homes, on the road, at the supermarket, and in the department store,” said Johnson.

**Reforms of the Warren Court**

The wave of liberal reform that characterized the Great Society also swept through the Supreme Court of the 1960s. Beginning with the 1954 landmark decision *Brown v. Board of Education*, which ruled school segregation unconstitutional, the Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren took an activist stance on the leading issues of the day.
Great Society Programs, 1964–1967

### POVERTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Tax Reduction Act</td>
<td>Cut corporate and individual taxes to stimulate growth.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Economic Opportunity Act</td>
<td>Created Job Corps, VISTA, Head Start, and other programs to fight the “war on poverty.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Medicare Act</td>
<td>Established Medicare and Medicaid programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Appalachian Regional Development Act</td>
<td>Targeted aid for highways, health centers, and resource development in that economically depressed area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Omnibus Housing Act</td>
<td>Provided money for low-income housing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Department of Housing and Urban Development</td>
<td>Formed to administer federal housing programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Area Redevelopment Act</td>
<td>Funded slum rebuilding, mass transit, and other improvements for selected “model cities.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Elementary and Secondary Education Act</td>
<td>Directed money to schools for textbooks, library materials, and special education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Higher Education Act</td>
<td>Funded scholarships and low-interest loans for college students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities</td>
<td>Created to financially assist painters, musicians, actors, and other artists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Corporation for Public Broadcasting</td>
<td>Formed to fund educational TV and radio broadcasting.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### DISCRIMINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Civil Rights Act</td>
<td>Outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, housing, and jobs; increased federal power to prosecute civil rights abuses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Twenty-Fourth Amendment</td>
<td>Abolished the poll tax in federal elections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Voting Rights Act</td>
<td>Ended the practice of requiring voters to pass literacy tests and permitted the federal government to monitor voter registration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Immigration Act</td>
<td>Ended national-origins quotas established in 1924.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ENVIRONMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Wilderness Preservation Act</td>
<td>Set aside over 9 million acres for national forest lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Water Quality Act</td>
<td>Required states to clean up their rivers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Clean Air Act Amendment</td>
<td>Directed the federal government to establish emission standards for new motor vehicles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Air Quality Act</td>
<td>Set federal air pollution guidelines and extended federal enforcement power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CONSUMER ADVOCACY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Truth in Packaging Act</td>
<td>Set standards for labeling consumer products.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Highway Safety Act</td>
<td>Required states to set up highway safety programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Department of Transportation</td>
<td>Created to deal with national air, rail, and highway transportation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interpret Tables
What did the Great Society programs indicate about the federal government’s changing role?
Several major Court decisions in the 1960s affected American society. The **Warren Court** banned prayer in public schools and declared state-required loyalty oaths unconstitutional. It limited the power of communities to censor books and films. It said that free speech included the wearing of black armbands to school by antiwar students. Furthermore, the Court brought about change in federal and state reapportionment and the criminal justice system.

**CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT** In a key series of decisions, the Warren Court addressed the issue of **reapportionment**. Reapportionment is the way in which states redraw election districts based on the changing number of people in them. By 1960 about 80 percent of Americans lived in cities and suburbs. However, many states had failed to change their congressional districts to reflect this development. Instead, rural districts might have fewer than 200,000 people, while some urban districts had more than 600,000. Thus, the voters in rural areas had more representation—and also more power—than those in urban areas.

*Baker v. Carr* (1962) was the first of several decisions that established the principle of “one person, one vote.” The Court asserted that the federal courts had the right to tell states to reapportion—divide—their districts for more equal representation. In later decisions, the Court ruled that congressional district boundaries should be redrawn so that districts would be equal in population. In *Reynolds v. Sims* (1964), the Court extended the principle of “one person, one vote” to state legislative districts. These decisions led to a shift of political power throughout the nation from rural to urban areas.

**RIGHTS OF THE ACCUSED** Other Warren Court decisions greatly expanded the rights of people accused of crimes. In *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961), the Court ruled that evidence seized illegally could not be used in state courts. This is called the exclusionary rule. In *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963), the justices required criminal courts to provide free legal counsel to those who could not afford it. In *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964), the justices ruled that an accused person has a right to have a lawyer present during police questioning. In 1966 the Court went one step further in *Miranda v. Arizona*. It ruled that all suspects must be read their rights before questioning. (See Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court: *Miranda v. Arizona.*) In *Katz v. United States* (1967), the Court established the constitutional “right to privacy.” It set parameters around what constituted a legal search, stating that the Fourth Amendment guarantees the right to privacy when a person has “reasonable expectation of privacy.”

These rulings had a significant impact on the legal court system and greatly divided public opinion. Liberals praised the decisions. They argued that they placed necessary limits on police power and protected the right of all citizens to a fair trial. Conservatives, however, bitterly criticized the Court. They claimed that *Mapp* and *Miranda* benefited criminal suspects and severely limited the power of the police to investigate crimes. During the late 1960s and 1970s, Republican candidates for office seized on the “crime issue.” They portrayed liberals and Democrats as being soft on crime and citing the decisions of the Warren Court as major obstacles to fighting crime.
Impact of the Great Society

The Great Society and the Warren Court changed the United States. People disagree on whether these changes left the nation better or worse. However, most agree that no one president in the post–World War II era extended the power and reach of the federal government more than Lyndon Johnson. The optimism of the Johnson presidency fueled an activist era in all three branches of government, for at least the first few years.

The “war on poverty” did help. The number of poor people fell from 21 percent of the population in 1962 to 11 percent in 1973. However, many of Johnson’s proposals, though well intended, were hastily conceived and proved difficult to accomplish.
Johnson’s massive tax cut spurred the economy, but there were also economic compromises. Funding the Great Society contributed to a growing budget deficit—a problem that continued for decades. The new programs also greatly expanded the size of the government. Questions about government finances, as well as debates over the effectiveness of these programs and the role of the federal government, left a number of people disillusioned. Some members of Congress expressed concern over the rapid pace of reform. They argued over whether the federal government should play such a large role in matters of social welfare. A conservative backlash began to take shape as a new group of Republican leaders rose to power. In 1966, for example, a conservative Hollywood actor named Ronald Reagan swept to victory in the race for governor of California over the Democratic incumbent.

Thousands of miles away, the increase of Communist forces in Vietnam also began to overshadow the goals of the Great Society. The fear of communism was deeply rooted in the minds of Americans from the Cold War era. Four years after initiating the Great Society, Johnson, a peace candidate in 1964, would be labeled a “hawk”—a supporter of one of the most divisive wars in recent U.S. history.

Reading Check
Identify Problems
What events and problems may have affected the success of the Great Society?

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** List four or more Great Society programs and Warren Court rulings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Great Society Programs</th>
<th>Warren Court Rulings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>3.</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>4.</td>
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</table>

2. **Key Terms and People** For each term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Evaluate** Explain how Lyndon Johnson’s personal and political experiences might have influenced his actions as president.

   **Think About:**
   - his family’s background and education
   - his relationship with Franklin Roosevelt
   - his powers of persuasion

4. **Analyze Primary Sources** Look at the political cartoon illustrating LBJ at sunrise. What do you think the artist was trying to convey about the Johnson administration?
**Miranda v. Arizona (1966)**

**ORIGINS OF THE CASE**
In 1963 Ernesto Miranda was arrested at his home in Phoenix, Arizona, on charges of kidnapping and rape. After two hours of questioning by police, he signed a confession and was later convicted, largely based on the confession. Miranda appealed. He claimed that his confession was invalid because it was coerced and because the police never advised him of his right to an attorney or his right to avoid self-incrimination.

**THE RULING**
The Court overturned Miranda’s conviction, holding that the police must inform criminal suspects of their legal rights at the time of arrest and may not interrogate suspects who invoke their rights.

**LEGAL REASONING**
Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the majority opinion in *Miranda v. Arizona*. He based his argument on the Fifth Amendment, which guarantees that an accused person cannot be forced “to be a witness against himself” or herself. Warren stressed that when suspects are interrogated in police custody, the situation is “inherently intimidating.” Such a situation, he argued, undermines any evidence it produces because “no statement obtained from the defendant [while in custody] can truly be the product of his free choice.”

For this reason, the Court majority found that Miranda’s confession could not be used as evidence. In the opinion, Chief Justice Warren responded to the argument that police officials might find this requirement difficult to meet.

> “Not only does the use of the third degree [harassment or torture used to obtain a confession] involve a flagrant violation of law by the officers of the law, but it involves also the dangers of false confessions, and it tends to make police and prosecutors less zealous in the search for objective evidence.”

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**LEGAL SOURCES**

**U.S. CONSTITUTION**

**U.S. CONSTITUTION, FIFTH AMENDMENT (1791)**

“No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.”

**RELATED CASES**

*Mapp v. Ohio* (1961)
The Court ruled that prosecutors may not use evidence obtained in illegal searches (exclusionary rule).

*Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963)
The Court said that a defendant accused of a felony has the right to an attorney, which the government must supply if the defendant cannot afford one.
WHY IT MATTERED

*Miranda* was one of four key criminal justice cases decided by the Warren Court (see Related Cases). In each case, the decision reflected the Chief Justice’s strong belief that all persons deserve to be treated with respect by their government. In *Miranda*, the Court directed police to inform every suspect of his or her rights at the time of arrest and even gave the police detailed instructions about what to say.

The rights of accused people need to be protected in order to ensure that innocent people are not punished. These protections also ensure that authorities will not harass people for political reasons. This often happened to civil rights activists in the South in the 1950s and 1960s, for example.

Critics of the Warren Court claimed that *Miranda* would lead to more crime because it would become more difficult to convict criminals. Police departments, however, adapted. They placed the list of suspects’ rights mentioned in *Miranda* on cards for police officers to read to suspects. The statement of these rights became known as the *Miranda* warning.

As for the defendant, Ernesto Miranda, he was retried and convicted on the basis of other evidence.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

The *Miranda* decision was highly controversial. Critics complained that the opinion would protect the rights of criminals at the expense of public safety. Since *Miranda*, the Court has continued to try to strike a balance between public safety and the rights of the accused. Several cases in the 1970s and 1980s softened the *Miranda* ruling. They gave law enforcement officers more power to gather evidence without informing accused people of their rights. Even so, conservatives still hoped to overturn the *Miranda* decision.

In 2000, however, the Supreme Court affirmed *Miranda* by a 7–2 majority in *Dickerson v. United States*. Writing for the majority, Chief Justice William Rehnquist argued, “There is no such justification here for overruling *Miranda*. *Miranda* has become embedded in routine police practice to the point where warnings have become part of our national culture.”

Critical Thinking

1. **Connect to History** Critics charged that *Miranda* incorrectly used the Fifth Amendment. The right to avoid self-incrimination, they said, should only apply to trials, not to police questioning. Do you agree or disagree? Why?

2. **Connect to Today** Do Internet research to locate laws and other Court decisions related to *Mapp* and *Miranda*. Then, prepare a debate on whether courts should or should not set a guilty person free if the government broke the law in establishing that person’s guilt.
It was like paradise there. Everybody was in love with life and in love with their fellow human beings to the point where they were just sharing in incredible ways with everybody. Taking people in off the street and letting them stay in their homes. . . . You could walk down almost any street in Haight-Ashbury where I was living, and someone would smile at you and just go, ‘Hey, it’s beautiful, isn’t it?’ . . . It was a very special time.”

—Alex Forman, quoted in From Camelot to Kent State

One American’s Story

In 1966 Alex Forman left his conventional life in mainstream America and headed to San Francisco. Arriving there with little else but a guitar, he joined thousands of others who were determined to live in a more peaceful and carefree environment. He recalled his early days in San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district, the hub of hippie life.

“... It was like paradise there. Everybody was in love with life and in love with their fellow human beings to the point where they were just sharing in incredible ways with everybody. Taking people in off the street and letting them stay in their homes. . . . You could walk down almost any street in Haight-Ashbury where I was living, and someone would smile at you and just go, ‘Hey, it’s beautiful, isn’t it?’ . . . It was a very special time.”

—Alex Forman, quoted in From Camelot to Kent State

Forman was part of the counterculture—a movement made up mostly of white, middle-class college youths who had grown disillusioned with the war in Vietnam and injustices in America during the 1960s. Instead of challenging the system, they turned their backs on traditional America. They tried to establish a whole new society based on peace and love. Although their heyday was short-lived, their legacy remains.
The Counterculture

In the late 1960s historian Theodore Roszak deemed these idealistic youths the counterculture. It was a culture, he said, so different from the mainstream “that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbarian intrusion.” The attitude of these youths was so different from their parents that it led to a generation gap. The older generation had a difficult time understanding or sympathizing with the young people’s beliefs, ideas, and attitudes.

“TUNE IN, TURN ON, DROP OUT” Members of the counterculture, known as hippies, shared some of the beliefs of the New Left movement. Specifically, they felt that American society—and its materialism, technology, and war—had grown hollow. Influenced by the art, music, and literature of the beat movement of the 1950s, hippies embraced the idea of nonconformity. They followed the credo of Harvard psychology professor and counterculture philosopher Timothy Leary: “Tune in, turn on, drop out.” Throughout the middle and late 1960s, tens of thousands of idealistic youths left school, work, or home. They left to create what they hoped would be an idyllic community of peace, love, and harmony.

HIPPIE CULTURE The hippie era was sometimes known as the Age of Aquarius. It was marked by rock ‘n’ roll music, outrageous clothing, sexual license, and illegal drugs—in particular, marijuana and a new hallucinogenic drug called LSD, or acid. Timothy Leary, an early experimenter with the drug, promoted the use of LSD as a “mindexpanding” aid for self-awareness. Hippies also turned to Eastern religions such as Zen Buddhism. This religion professed that one could attain enlightenment through meditation rather than the reading of scriptures.

A prominent symbol of the counterculture movement was bright colors.
Hippies donned ragged jeans, tie-dyed T-shirts, military garments, love beads, and Native American ornaments. Thousands grew their hair out, despite the fact that their more conservative elders saw this as an act of disrespect. Signs across the country said, “Make America beautiful—give a hippie a haircut.”

Hippies also rejected conventional home life. Many joined communes, renouncing private property to live communally. By the mid-1960s, Haight-Ashbury in San Francisco was known as the hippie capital, mainly because California did not outlaw hallucinogenic drugs until 1966.

DECLINE OF THE MOVEMENT After only a few years, the counterculture’s peace and harmony gave way to violence and disillusionment. The urban communes eventually turned seedy and dangerous. Alex Forman recalled, “There were ripoffs, violence . . . people living on the street with no place to stay.” Having dispensed with society’s conventions and rules, the hippies had to rely on each other. Many discovered that the philosophy of “do your own thing” did not provide enough guidance for how to live. “We were together at the level of peace and love,” said one disillusioned hippie. “We fell apart over who would cook and wash dishes and pay the bills.” By 1970 many had fallen victim to the drugs they used, experiencing drug addiction and mental breakdowns. Rock singer Janis Joplin and legendary guitarist Jimi Hendrix both died of drug overdoses in 1970.

As the mystique of the 1960s wore off, thousands of hippies lined up at government offices to collect welfare and food stamps. They were dependent on the very society they had once rejected. Illegal drug use also rose significantly during the 1960s, particularly among college students. In response to this troubling increase, the government passed a series of laws, beginning with the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act of 1966. With this law, the government tried to shift its focus from criminal penalties to rehabilitation and treatment for drug addicts.

A Changing Culture

In a declaration of their individuality and desire for more freedom, counterculture youth embraced a variety of new ideas in art and music. These ideas became the catalyst that helped fuel the counterculture movement. And unlike many aspects of the counterculture, they also left a more lasting imprint on the world.

ART The counterculture’s rebellious style left its mark on the art world. The 1960s saw the rise of pop art (popular art). Pop artists, led by Andy Warhol, attempted to bring art into the mainstream. Pop art was characterized by bright, simple, commercial-looking images often depicting everyday life. For instance, Warhol became famous for his bright silk-screen portraits of soup cans, Marilyn Monroe, and other icons of mass culture. These images were repeated to look mass-produced and impersonal. It was a criticism of the times implying that individual freedoms had been lost to a more conventional, “cookie-cutter” lifestyle.
ROCK MUSIC  During the 1960s the counterculture movement embraced rock ‘n’ roll as its loud and biting anthem of protest. The music was an offshoot of African American rhythm and blues music that had captivated so many teenagers during the 1950s.

The band that, perhaps more than any other, helped propel rock music into mainstream America was the Beatles. The British band, made up of four youths from working-class Liverpool, England, arrived in America in 1964. They immediately took the country by storm. By the time the Beatles broke up in 1970, the four “lads” had inspired a countless number of other bands and had won over millions of Americans to rock ‘n’ roll.

One example of rock ‘n’ roll’s popularity occurred in August 1969 on a farm in upstate New York. More than 400,000 showed up for a music festival called “Woodstock Music and Art Fair,” commonly known as Woodstock. Despite the huge crowd, the festival was peaceful and well organized. Woodstock represented, as one songwriter put it, “the ’60s movement of peace and love and some higher cultural cause.” Over four days, the most popular bands and musicians performed, including Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Joe Cocker, Joan Baez, the Grateful Dead, and Jefferson Airplane. Woodstock was more than just a rock concert. It was a celebration of an era and became a defining experience for a whole generation.

PROTEST SONGS  In the midst of the turbulent climate of the sixties, hippies and other activists also used music as a vehicle for political expression. In bus terminals, in the streets, and on the White House lawn, thousands united in song. They expressed their rejection of mainstream society, their demand for civil rights, and their outrage over the Vietnam War. Musicians like Bob Dylan stirred up antiwar sentiment in songs like “The Times They Are A-Changin’,” while Joan Baez and Pete Seeger popularized the great African American spiritual “We Shall Overcome,” which became the anthem of the civil rights movement.

CHANGING ATTITUDES  While the counterculture movement faded, its casual “do your own thing” philosophy left its mark. American attitudes toward sexual behavior became more casual and permissive, leading to what became known as the sexual revolution. During the 1960s and 1970s, mass culture—including TV, books, magazines, music, and movies—began to address subjects that had once been prohibited, particularly sexual behavior and explicit violence.
While some hailed the increasing permissiveness as liberating, others attacked it as a sign of moral decay. For millions of Americans, the new tolerance was merely an uncivilized lack of respect for established social norms. Eventually, the counterculture movement would lead a great many Americans to more liberal attitudes about dress and appearance, lifestyle, and social behavior. In the short run, though, it produced largely the opposite effect.

**The Conservative Response**

In the late 1960s many believed that the country was losing its sense of right and wrong. Increasingly, conservative voices began to express people’s anger. At the 1968 Republican convention in Miami, candidate Richard M. Nixon expressed that anger.

“As we look at America we see cities enveloped in smoke and flame. We hear sirens in the night. . . . We see Americans hating each other . . . at home. . . . Did we come all this way for this? . . . die in Normandy and Korea and in Valley Forge for this?”

—Richard Nixon, from a speech at Republican convention, 1968

**CONSERVATIVES ATTACK THE COUNTERCULTURE** Nixon was not the only conservative voice expressing alarm. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover issued a warning that “revolutionary terrorism” was a threat on campuses and in cities. Other conservative critics warned that campus rebels posed a danger.
to traditional values and threatened to plunge American society into anarchy. Conservatives also attacked the counterculture for what they saw as its decadent values. In the view of psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim, student rebels and members of the counterculture had been pampered in childhood. As young adults, they did not have the ability for delayed gratification. According to some conservative commentators, the counterculture had abandoned rational thought in favor of the senses and uninhibited self-expression.

The angry response of mainstream Americans caused a profound change in the political landscape of the United States. By the end of the 1960s, conservatives were presenting their own solutions on such issues as lawlessness and crime, the size of the federal government, and welfare. This growing conservative movement would propel Nixon into the White House—and set the nation on a more conservative course.

In contrast to the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago, the Republican convention was orderly and united—particularly in the delegates’ opposition to the counterculture.

Lesson 3 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Use a tree diagram to list examples that illustrate the beliefs, lifestyle, and impact on society of the 1960s counterculture.

   ![Tree Diagram]

Which example do you think had the biggest impact on society? Why?

2. **Key Terms and People** For each term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Develop Historical Perspective** A stereotype is a generalization made about a group. What stereotype do you think hippies might have formed about mainstream Americans? What stereotype do you think mainstream Americans might have formed about hippies? Why?

   **Think About:**
   - Alex Forman’s comments in “One American’s Story”
   - hippies’ values and lifestyle
   - mainstream Americans’ values and lifestyle

4. **Make Inferences** In your opinion, why didn’t the hippies succeed?

5. **Analyze Issues** What role did the counterculture and antiwar movement play in helping Richard Nixon win the presidency?
The Big Idea
During the 1960s and 1970s, Americans strengthened their efforts to address the nation’s environmental problems.

Why It Matters Now
The nation today continues to struggle to balance environmental concerns with industrial growth.

Key Terms and People
Rachel Carson
Earth Day
environmentalist
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
Three Mile Island

One American’s Story
In 1972 Lois Gibbs and her family moved to Niagara Falls, New York. Underneath this quiet town, however, was a disaster in the making. In the 1890s the Love Canal had been built to provide hydroelectric power for the Niagara Falls area. Chemical companies were dumping hazardous waste into the canal. In 1953 bulldozers filled in the canal. Shortly thereafter, a school and rows of homes were built nearby.

In 1977, when Lois Gibbs’s son fell sick, she decided to investigate. She eventually uncovered the existence of the toxic waste and mobilized the community to demand government action.

In 1980 President Carter authorized funds for many Niagara Falls families to move to safety. Years later, Lois Gibbs wrote a book detailing her efforts.

“I want to tell you our story—my story—because I believe that ordinary citizens—using the tools of dignity, self-respect, common sense, and perseverance—can influence solutions to important problems in our society. . . . In solving any difficult problem, you have to be prepared to fight long and hard, sometimes at great personal cost; but it can be done. It must be done if we are to survive . . . at all.”

—Lois Gibbs, from Love Canal: My Story

Lois Gibbs’s concerns about environmental hazards were shared by many Americans in the 1970s. Through the energy crisis, Americans learned that their natural resources were limited. They could no longer take the environment for granted. Americans—from grassroots organizations to the government—began to focus on conservation of the environment and new forms of energy.
The Roots of Environmentalism

The widespread realization that pollution and overconsumption were damaging the environment began in the 1960s. One book in particular had awakened America’s concerns about the environment and helped lay the groundwork for the activism of the early seventies.

**RACHEL CARSON AND SILENT SPRING** In 1962 Rachel Carson, a marine biologist, published a book entitled *Silent Spring*. In it, she warned against the growing use of pesticides—chemicals used to kill insects and rodents. Pesticides first came into widespread use in the 1940s. In 1939 Paul Muller developed a pesticide called DDT. This chemical could kill a wide range of pests and seemed to be relatively harmless to humans and other mammals. With DDT, malaria—a disease spread by mosquitoes—was able to be brought under control. Farmers were able to increase crop production. In addition, DDT was easy to apply and cheap to produce. At the time, it seemed like a miracle substance.

Carson disagreed. In her book, she argued that pesticides poisoned the very food they were intended to protect and as a result killed many birds and fish. Carson cautioned that America faced a “silent spring,” in which birds killed off by pesticides would no longer fill the air with song. She added that of all the weapons used in “man’s war against nature,” pesticides were some of the most harmful.

> “These sprays, dusts, and aerosols . . . have the power to kill every insect, the ‘good’ and the ‘bad,’ to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on in soil—all this though the intended target may be only a few weeds or insects. Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poisons on the surface of the earth without making it unfit for all life?”

—Rachel Carson, from *Silent Spring*

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**BIOGRAPHY**

**Rachel Carson** (1907–1964)

Marine biologist Rachel Carson was born far from the sea, in the small town of Springdale, Pennsylvania.

Carson was a sickly child who often had to remain at home, where her mother tutored her. Throughout her youth and into her college years, Carson was a studious, but quiet and aloof, person.

Carson entered college intent on becoming a writer. During her sophomore year, she took a biology class to fulfill her science requirement. She quickly fell in love with the study of nature. By the next year, Carson switched her major from English to zoology—the study of animals.
Within six months of its publication, Silent Spring sold nearly half a million copies. Many chemical companies called the book inaccurate and threatened legal action. However, for a majority of Americans, Carson’s book was an early warning about the danger that human activity posed to the environment. Shortly after the book’s publication, President Kennedy established an advisory committee to investigate the situation.

With Rachel Carson’s prodding, the nation slowly began to focus more on environmental issues. Carson would not live to see the U.S. government outlaw DDT in 1972. However, her work helped many Americans realize that their everyday behavior, as well as the nation’s industrial growth, had a damaging effect on the environment.

**Environmental Concerns in the 1970s**

During the 1970s the administrations of Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter confronted such environmental issues as conservation, pollution, and the growth of nuclear energy.

**THE FIRST EARTH DAY** The United States ushered in the 1970s with the first Earth Day celebration. It was a fitting celebration for a decade in which the nation would actively address its environmental issues. On that day, April 22, 1970, nearly every community in the nation and more than 10,000 schools and 2,000 colleges hosted some type of environmental-awareness activity. Activities spotlighted problems such as pollution, the growth of toxic waste, and the earth’s dwindling resources. The Earth Day celebration continues today. Each year on April 22, millions of people around the world gather to heighten public awareness of environmental problems.

**THE GOVERNMENT TAKES ACTION** Although President Nixon was not considered an environmentalist, or someone who takes an active role in the protection of the environment, he recognized the nation’s growing concern about the environment. In an effort to “make our peace with nature,” President Nixon set out on a course that led to the passage of several landmark measures. In 1970 he consolidated 15 existing federal pollution programs into one—the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The new agency was given the power to set and enforce pollution standards, to conduct environmental research, and to assist state and local governments in pollution issues.
control. Today, the EPA remains the federal government’s main instrument for dealing with environmental issues.

Some 35 environmental laws took effect during the decade. These laws addressed every aspect of conservation and cleanup—from protecting endangered animals to regulating auto emissions. One important and complex environmental problem was how to control air pollution. In 1970 Nixon signed a new Clean Air Act that added several amendments to the Clean Air Act of 1963. The new act established new programs that regulated toxic air pollutants and required the best available technology to be used to help control all new major sources of air pollution. It also required a 90 percent reduction of emissions from new cars by 1975. The new act gave the EPA the authority to set air standards. It also increased the authority of the government to enforce regulations.

Following the 1970 Clean Air Act, Congress passed the Endangered Species Act. It was signed into law in 1973 to “halt and reverse the trend toward species extinction, whatever the cost.” The act provides for the protection and recovery of fish, wildlife, and plants that are endangered or threatened. The act makes it illegal to possess, sell, or transport those species. It also protects and conserves the ecosystems that these species depend on to survive. Congress also passed laws that limited pesticide use and curbed strip mining. Strip mining is the practice of mining for ore and coal by digging gaping holes in the land.

The government also pushed to strengthen laws protecting all the “waters of the United States.” In 1972 the Clean Water Act was passed by the United States Congress, after being vetoed by President Nixon. It gave the EPA the power to improve the nation’s water quality through the regulation of cities and industries. It made it illegal to dump chemicals or other pollutants into U.S. waters. It also provided money to build water treatment plants to help cities control sewage.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Clean Air Poster

President Nixon created the EPA in 1970 by signing the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). A major element of the NEPA is the requirement that an environmental impact statement (EIS) be prepared for all major federal actions that might significantly affect the environment.

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What does the poster claim regarding the power of the federal government?

2. What does the poster imply about the role of governmental regulations?
BALANCING PROGRESS AND CONSERVATION IN ALASKA During the 1970s the federal government took steps to ensure the continued well-being of Alaska. It is the largest state in the nation and one of its most ecologically sensitive.

The discovery of oil there in 1968, and the subsequent construction of a massive pipeline to transport it, created many new jobs and greatly increased state revenues. However, the influx of new development also raised concerns about Alaska’s wildlife, as well as the rights of its native peoples. In 1971 Nixon signed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. This act turned over millions of acres of land to the state’s native tribes for conservation and tribal use. In 1978 President Carter enhanced this conservation effort by setting aside an additional 56 million acres in Alaska as national monuments. In 1980 Congress added another 104 million acres as protected areas.

THE DEBATE OVER NUCLEAR ENERGY As the 1970s came to a close, Americans became acutely aware of the dangers that nuclear power plants posed to both humans and the environment. During the 1970s America realized the drawbacks to its heavy dependence on foreign oil for energy. Nuclear power seemed to many to be an attractive alternative.

Opponents of nuclear energy warned the public against the industry’s growth. They contended that nuclear plants, and the wastes they produced, were potentially dangerous to humans and their environment.

THREE MILE ISLAND In the early hours of March 28, 1979, the concerns of nuclear energy opponents were validated. That morning, one of the nuclear reactors at a plant on Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, malfunctioned. The reactor overheated after its cooling system failed. Fear quickly arose that radiation might escape and spread over the region. Two days later, low-level radiation actually did escape from the crippled reactor. Officials evacuated some residents, while others fled on their own. One homemaker who lived near the plant recalled her desperate attempt to find safety.
“On Friday, a very frightening thing occurred in our area. A state policeman went door-to-door telling residents to stay indoors, close all windows, and turn all air conditioners off. I was alone, as were many other homemakers, and my thoughts were focused on how long I would remain a prisoner in my own home. . . . Suddenly, I was scared, real scared. I decided to get out of there, while I could. I ran to the car not knowing if I should breathe the air or not, and I threw the suitcases in the trunk and was on my way within one hour. If anything dreadful happened, I thought that I’d at least be with my girls. Although it was very hot in the car, I didn’t trust myself to turn the air conditioner on. It felt good as my tense muscles relaxed the farther I drove.”

—an anonymous homemaker, quoted in Accident at Three Mile Island: The Human Dimensions

A series of human and mechanical errors that caused the partial meltdown of the reactor core brought the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant to the brink of disaster. The accident at Three Mile Island caused widespread concern about nuclear power throughout the American public.

**REACTOR MELTDOWN**

1. The radioactive reactor core generates heat as its atoms split during a controlled chain reaction.
2. An inoperative valve releases thousands of gallons of coolant from the reactor core.
3. Half of the 36,816 exposed fuel rods melt in temperatures above 5,000 degrees.
4. The melted material burns through the lining of the reactor chamber and spills to the floor of the containment structure.
In all, more than 100,000 residents were evacuated from the surrounding area. On April 9 the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the federal agency that monitors the nuclear power industry, announced that the immediate danger was over.

The events at Three Mile Island rekindled the debate over nuclear power. Supporters of nuclear power pointed out that no one had been killed or seriously injured. Opponents countered by saying that chance alone had averted a tragedy. They demanded that the government call a halt to the construction of new power plants and gradually shut down existing nuclear facilities.

While the government did not do away with nuclear power, federal officials did recognize nuclear energy’s potential danger to both humans and the environment. As a result of the accident at Three Mile Island, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission strengthened its safety standards and improved its inspection procedures.

LOVE CANAL Another environmental disaster was uncovered at Love Canal in New York. There, long-buried chemicals left behind by a chemical company began seeping up through the ground. Exposure to the chemicals was linked to the high rates of birth defects in the community. To solve the problem, the state of New York bought the homes of some 200 residents. The government then began the costly task of cleaning up the mess. Experts warned that there were likely many more toxic waste sites like Love Canal around the country.

A Continuing Movement

In the years since the first Earth Day, environmental issues have gained increasing attention and support, but also some opposition. Government, industry, and environmentalists must work together. They must find a balance between environmental protection and economic interests.
PRIVATE CONSERVATION GROUPS As concerns about pollution and the depletion of nonrenewable resources grew, so did membership in private, nonprofit organizations dedicated to the preservation of wilderness and endangered species. Many of these groups lobbied government for protective legislation. Some filed lawsuits to block projects such as road or dam construction or logging that would threaten habitats. The Environmental Defense Fund (today Environmental Defense) brought lawsuits that led to the bans on DDT and on leaded gasoline.

Radical groups also emerged. Greenpeace was formed by a group of individuals who wanted to stop nuclear testing on an island in Alaska that was home to endangered species of sea otters, eagles, and other wildlife. The group became known for its antinuclear stance and for its members’ willingness to take direct action to stop activities that threatened the environment. Members of Greenpeace risked their lives at sea to escort whales and protect them from commercial hunters. Later in the decade, an even more radical group called Environmental Life Force began to use explosives in their fight against the use of pesticides. The group disbanded in 1978 after its leader, John Hanna, was arrested for attaching bombs to seven crop-duster planes at an airport in California.

ECONOMIC CONCERNS The environmental movement has also faced a struggle to balance environmental concerns with jobs and progress. As the environmental movement gained popular support, opponents also made their voices heard. In Tennessee, for example, a federal dam project was halted because it threatened a species of fish. Local developers took out ads asking residents to “tell the government that the size of your wallet is more important than some two-inch-long minnow.” When confronted with environmental concerns, one unemployed steelworker spoke for others. He remarked, “Why worry about the long run, when you’re out of work right now.”

Reading Check
Contrast
How are the goals of supporters and opponents of the environmental movement different?

Lesson 4 Assessment

1. Organize Information Draw a web diagram, filling in events that illustrate the main idea “Concern for the environment grew in the United States.”

Concern for the environment grew in the United States.

2. Key Terms and People For each term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. Analyze Causes How much should the United States rely on nuclear power as a source of energy? Explain your view.

Think About:
• the safety of nuclear power
• the alternatives to nuclear power
• U.S. energy demands

4. Analyze Effects In what ways has the environmental movement influenced the federal government?
Key Terms and People

For each term or person below, write a sentence explaining its connection to social change in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s.

1. John F. Kennedy
2. New Frontier
3. Warren Court
4. Lyndon Baines Johnson
5. Great Society
6. Economic Opportunity Act
7. counterculture
8. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)
9. Rachel Carson
10. Woodstock

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

Kennedy and the New Frontier

1. Explain the factors that led to Kennedy’s victory over Nixon in the 1960 presidential campaign.
2. What was Kennedy’s New Frontier? Why did he have trouble getting his New Frontier legislation through Congress?
3. What two international aid programs were launched during the Kennedy administration?
4. How did Kennedy’s assassination affect the public?
5. What was the political impact of Kennedy’s assassination?

Johnson and the Great Society

6. Describe ways that Great Society programs addressed the problem of poverty.
7. How did the courts increase the political power of people in urban areas?
8. How did the Warren Court decisions expand the rights of those accused of crimes?
9. What economic compromise was made in order to fund the Great Society programs?

Culture and Counterculture

10. What was the counterculture movement a reaction to?
11. Briefly explain the role Timothy Leary played in the counterculture movement.
12. How did the rise of the counterculture lead to a generation gap?
13. How did drug use in the counterculture movement lead to new laws and a change in government policy?
14. What unintended impact did the counterculture have on many mainstream Americans?

Environmental Activism

15. What factors increased Americans’ concerns about environmental issues during the 1960s and 1970s?
16. What actions did private nonprofit groups take to influence the government?
17. What was the impact of the Three Mile Island incident?
18. What environmental disaster was discovered at Love Canal?

Critical Thinking

1. Categorize Use a Venn diagram to show the major legislative programs of the New Frontier and the Great Society.
2. **Form Generalizations**  John F. Kennedy said, “[M]y fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” Do you agree with his view about the relationship between individuals and the country? Explain your opinion.

3. **Evaluate**  Do you think the Great Society met the goal of helping people make their lives better for themselves and their children? What were the compromises that resulted? Explain.

4. **Analyze Effects**  What were the social and political effects of the increase in immigration following the Immigration Act of 1965?

5. **Analyze Causes**  How did new music and art act as a catalyst for the counterculture movement?

6. **Analyze Primary Sources**  Reread the song lyrics of Bob Dylan’s “The Times They Are A-Changin’.” How do you think this song captured the main message of the counterculture movement?

7. **Synthesize**  Explain the effect mass media had on American politics during the 1960s and 1970s. Note several examples of how television, music, art, and literature influenced the government during these decades.

8. **Compare**  How were the counterculture movement and the environmental movement similar in terms of impact on society?

9. **Summarize**  Explain the actions the government took in the 1970s to confront environmental issues.

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**Engage with History**

Write a job description for “U.S. President.” Include sections on “Responsibilities” and “Requirements” that list necessary traits and experience.

**Think About:**

- Kennedy’s and Johnson’s (and Nixon’s) background and style
- the role of the media
- challenges each leader faced and how he dealt with them
- the American public’s tastes and preferences
- the influence that groups, individuals, and social movements have on the government

**Focus on Writing**

Imagine that the year is 1964. President Johnson has introduced a series of programs as a part of his vision for a Great Society. Write a persuasive letter to your congressional representative telling him or her to either support or oppose the new programs.

**Multimedia Activity**

Use the Internet to research examples of 1960s or 1970s culture, such as songs, paintings, posters, clothing, cars, and so on. Prepare an electronic museum exhibit of several artifacts that display a trend or theme discussed in the module. Write captions for the artifacts explaining their historical context and relating them to your chosen theme.