Kennedy and the Cold War

MAIN IDEA
The Kennedy administration faced some of the most dangerous Soviet confrontations in American history.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW
America’s response to Soviet threats developed the United States as a military superpower.

Terms & Names
• John F. Kennedy
• flexible response
• Fidel Castro
• Berlin Wall
• hot line
• Limited Test Ban Treaty

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.

A PERSONAL VOICE  JOHN F. KENNEDY

“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.”

—Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961

The young president won praise for his well-crafted speech. However, his words were put to the test when several Cold War crises tried his leadership.

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, and was 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. Kennedy and Nixon took part in the first televised debate between presidential candidates. On September 26, 1960, 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, and he looked and spoke better than Nixon.

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.”

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 for 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, whose 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, including 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.”

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.

THE KENNEDY MYSTIQUE 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.

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. Coincidentally, the musical Camelot had opened on Broadway in 1960. Years later, Jackie recalled her husband and the vision of Camelot.

A PERSONAL VOICE JACQUELINE KENNEDY

“At night, before we’d go to sleep, Jack liked to play some records and the song he loved most came at the very end of [the Camelot] record. The lines he loved to hear were: ‘Don’t let it be forgot, that once there was a spot, for one brief shining moment that was known as Camelot.’ There’ll be great presidents again . . . but there’ll never be another Camelot again.”

—quoted in Life magazine, John F. Kennedy Memorial Edition

THE BEST AND THE BRIGHTEST Kennedy surrounded himself with a team of advisers that one journalist called “the best and the brightest.” They included McGeorge Bundy, a Harvard University dean, as national security adviser; 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 filled Kennedy’s inner circle, he relied most heavily on his 35-year-old brother Robert, whom he appointed attorney general.
A New Military Policy

From the beginning, Kennedy focused on the Cold War. He thought the Eisenhower administration had not done enough about the Soviet threat. The Soviets, he concluded, were gaining loyalties in the economically less-developed third-world countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He blasted the Republicans for allowing communism to develop in Cuba, at America’s doorstep.

DEFINING A MILITARY STRATEGY Kennedy believed his most urgent task was to redefine the nation’s nuclear strategy. The Eisenhower administration had relied on the policy of massive retaliation to deter Soviet aggression and imperialism. However, threatening to use nuclear arms over a minor conflict was not a risk Kennedy wished to take. Instead, his team developed a policy of flexible response. Kennedy’s secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, explained the policy.

A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA

“The Kennedy administration worried that [the] reliance on nuclear weapons gave us no way to respond to large non-nuclear attacks without committing suicide. . . . We decided to broaden the range of options by strengthening and modernizing the military’s ability to fight a nonnuclear war.”

—in Retrospect

Kennedy increased defense spending in order to boost conventional military forces—nonnuclear forces such as troops, ships, and artillery—and to create an elite branch of the army called the Special Forces, or Green Berets. He also tripled the overall nuclear capabilities of the United States. These changes enabled the United States to fight limited wars around the world while maintaining a balance of nuclear power with the Soviet Union. However, even as Kennedy hoped to reduce the risk of nuclear war, the world came perilously close to nuclear war under his command as a crisis arose over the island of Cuba.

Crises over Cuba

The first test of Kennedy’s foreign policy came in Cuba, just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. About two weeks before Kennedy took office, on January 3, 1961, President Eisenhower had cut off diplomatic relations with Cuba because of a revolutionary leader named Fidel Castro. Castro openly declared himself a communist and welcomed aid from the Soviet Union.

THE CUBAN DILEMMA Castro gained power with the promise of democracy. From 1956 to 1959, he led a guerrilla movement to topple dictator Fulgencio Batista. He won control in 1959 and later told reporters, “Revolutionaries are not born, they are made by poverty, inequality, and dictatorship.” He then promised to eliminate these conditions from Cuba.

The United States was suspicious of Castro’s intentions but nevertheless recognized the new government. However, when Castro seized three American and British oil refineries, relations between the United States and Cuba worsened. Castro also broke up commercial farms into communes that would be worked by formerly landless peasants. American sugar companies,
which controlled 75 percent of the crop land in Cuba, appealed to the U.S. government for help. In response, Congress erected trade barriers against Cuban sugar.

Castro relied increasingly on Soviet aid—and on the political repression of those who did not agree with him. While some Cubans were taken by his charisma and his willingness to stand up to the United States, others saw Castro as a tyrant who had replaced one dictatorship with another. About 10 percent of Cuba’s population went into exile, mostly to the United States. Within the large exile community of Miami, Florida, a counterrevolutionary movement took shape.

**THE BAY OF PIGS** In March 1960, President Eisenhower gave the CIA permission to secretly train Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba. The CIA and the exiles hoped it would trigger a mass uprising that would overthrow Castro. Kennedy learned of the plan only nine days after his election. Although he had doubts, he approved it.

On the night of April 17, 1961, some 1,300 to 1,500 Cuban exiles supported by the U.S. military landed on the island’s southern coast at Bahia de Cochinos, the Bay of Pigs. Nothing went as planned. An air strike had failed to knock out the Cuban air force, although the CIA reported that it had succeeded. A small advance group sent to distract Castro’s forces never reached shore. When the main unit landed, it lacked American air support as it faced 25,000 Cuban troops backed up by Soviet tanks and jets. Some of the invading exiles were killed, others imprisoned.

The Cuban media sensationalized the defeat of “North American mercenaries.” One United States commentator observed that Americans “look like fools to our friends, rascals to our enemies, and incompetents to the rest.” The disaster left Kennedy embarrassed. Publicly, he accepted blame for the fiasco. Privately, he asked, “How could that crowd at the CIA and the Pentagon be this wrong.”

Kennedy negotiated with Castro for the release of surviving commandos and paid a ransom of $53 million in food and medical supplies. In a speech in Miami, he promised exiles that they would one day return to a “free Havana.” Although Kennedy warned that he would resist further Communist expansion in the Western Hemisphere, Castro defiantly welcomed further Soviet aid.

**THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS** Castro had a powerful ally in Moscow: Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, who promised to defend Cuba with Soviet arms. During the summer of 1962, the flow to Cuba of Soviet weapons—including nuclear missiles—increased greatly. President Kennedy responded with a warning that America would not tolerate offensive nuclear weapons in Cuba. Then, on October 14, photographs taken by American planes revealed Soviet missile bases in Cuba—and some contained missiles ready to launch. They could reach U.S. cities in minutes.

On October 22, Kennedy informed an anxious nation of the existence of Soviet missile sites in Cuba and of his plans to remove them. He made it clear that any missile attack from Cuba would trigger an all-out attack on the Soviet Union.
**Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962**

**GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER**

1. **Movement** About how long would it have taken for a missile launched from Cuba to reach New York?

2. **Human-Environment Interaction** Why do you think it may have been important for Soviet missiles to reach the U.S. cities shown above?

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**Oct. 14**
- Kennedy tells the nation of his intention to halt the missile buildup.

**Oct. 22**
- U.S. spy planes reveal nuclear missile sites in Cuba.

**Oct. 24**
- Kennedy implements a naval “quarantine” of Cuba, blocking Soviet ships from reaching the island. (below) A U.S. patrol plane flies over a Soviet freighter.

**Oct. 25**
- Soviet ships approaching Cuba come to a halt.

**Oct. 28**
- Khrushchev announces plan to remove missiles from Cuba.
For the next six days, the world faced the terrifying possibility of nuclear war. In the Atlantic Ocean, Soviet ships—presumably carrying more missiles—headed toward Cuba, while the U.S. Navy prepared to quarantine Cuba and prevent the ships from coming within 500 miles of it. In Florida, 100,000 troops waited—the largest invasion force ever assembled in the United States. C. Douglas Dillon, Kennedy’s secretary of the treasury and a veteran of nuclear diplomacy, recalled those tension-filled days of October.

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The first break in the crisis occurred when the Soviet ships stopped suddenly to avoid a confrontation at sea. Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, “We are eyeball to eyeball, and the other fellow just blinked.” A few days later, Khrushchev offered to remove the missiles in return for an American pledge not to invade Cuba. The United States also secretly agreed to remove missiles from Turkey. The leaders agreed, and the crisis ended. “For a moment, the world had stood still,” Robert Kennedy wrote years later, “and now it was going around again.”

**KENNEDY AND KRUSHCHEV TAKE THE HEAT** The crisis severely damaged Khrushchev’s prestige in the Soviet Union and the world. Kennedy did not escape criticism either. Some people criticized Kennedy for practicing brinkmanship when private talks might have resolved the crisis without the threat of nuclear war. Others believed he had passed up an ideal chance to invade Cuba and oust Castro. (It was learned in the 1990s that the CIA had underestimated the numbers of Soviet troops and nuclear weapons on the island.)

The effects of the crisis lasted long after the missiles had been removed. Many Cuban exiles blamed the Democrats for “losing Cuba” (a charge that Kennedy had earlier leveled at the Republicans) and switched their allegiance to the GOP.
Meanwhile, Castro closed Cuba’s doors to the exiles in November 1962 by banning all flights to and from Miami. Three years later, hundreds of thousands of people took advantage of an agreement that allowed Cubans to join relatives in the United States. By the time Castro sharply cut down on exit permits in 1973, the Cuban population in Miami had increased to about 300,000.

**Crisis over Berlin**

One goal that had guided Kennedy through the Cuban missile crisis was that of proving to Khruschev his determination to contain communism. All the while, Kennedy was thinking of their recent confrontation over Berlin, which had led to the construction of the **Berlin Wall**, a concrete wall topped with barbed wire that severed the city in two.

**THE BERLIN CRISIS** In 1961, Berlin was a city in great turmoil. In the 11 years since the Berlin Airlift, almost 3 million East Germans—20 percent of that country’s population—had fled into West Berlin because it was free from Communist rule. These refugees advertised the failure of East Germany’s Communist government. Their departure also dangerously weakened that country’s economy.

The “death strip” stretched like a barren moat around West Berlin, with patrols, floodlights, electric fences, and vehicle traps between the inner and outer walls.

Walls and other barriers 10–15 feet high surrounded West Berlin. The length of the barriers around the city totaled about 110 miles.

Guard dogs and machine guns dissuaded most people from crossing over illegally, yet some still dared.

The Berlin Wall was first made of brick and barbed wire, but was later erected in cement and steel.

**WORLD STAGE**

**THE BERLIN WALL, 1961**

In 1961, Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet premier, ordered the Berlin Wall built to stop the flow of refugees from East to West Berlin. Most were seeking freedom from Communist rule.

The wall isolated West Berlin from a hostile German Democratic Republic (GDR). Passing from East to West was almost impossible without the Communist government’s permission.

During the 28 years the wall was standing, approximately 5,000 people succeeded in fleeing. Almost 200 people died in the attempt; most were shot by the GDR border guards. In 1989, East Germany opened the Berlin Wall to cheering crowds. Today the rubbled concrete is a reminder of the Cold War tensions between East and West.
Khrushchev realized that this problem had to be solved. At a summit meeting in Vienna, Austria, in June 1961, he threatened to sign a treaty with East Germany that would enable that country to close all the access roads to West Berlin. When Kennedy refused to give up U.S. access to West Berlin, Khrushchev furiously declared, “I want peace. But, if you want war, that is your problem.”

After returning home, Kennedy told the nation in a televised address that Berlin was “the great testing place of Western courage and will.” He pledged “[W]e cannot and will not permit the Communists to drive us out of Berlin.”

Kennedy’s determination and America’s superior nuclear striking power prevented Khrushchev from closing the air and land routes between West Berlin and West Germany. Instead, the Soviet premier surprised the world with a shocking decision. Just after midnight on August 13, 1961, East German troops began to unload concrete posts and rolls of barbed wire along the border. Within days, the Berlin Wall was erected, separating East Germany from West Germany.

The construction of the Berlin Wall ended the Berlin crisis but further aggravated Cold War tensions. The wall and its armed guards successfully reduced the flow of East German refugees to a tiny trickle, thus solving Khrushchev’s main problem. At the same time, however, the wall became an ugly symbol of Communist oppression.

**SEARCHING FOR WAYS TO EASE TENSIONS** Showdowns between Kennedy and Khrushchev made both leaders aware of the gravity of split-second decisions that separated Cold War peace from nuclear disaster. Kennedy, in particular, searched for ways to tone down his hard-line stance. In 1963, he announced that the two nations had established a **hot line** between the White House and the Kremlin. This dedicated phone enabled the leaders of the two countries to communicate at once should another crisis arise. Later that year, the United States and Soviet Union also agreed to a **Limited Test Ban Treaty** that barred nuclear testing in the atmosphere.
The New Frontier

On May 5, 1961, American astronaut Alan Shepard climbed into Freedom 7, a tiny capsule on top of a huge rocket booster. The capsule left the earth’s atmosphere in a ball of fire and returned the same way, and Shepard became the first American to travel into space. Years later, he recalled his emotions when a naval crew fished him out of the Atlantic.

“One personal voice  Alan Shepard

“Until the moment I stepped out of the flight deck . . . I hadn’t realized the intensity of the emotions and feelings that so many people had for me, for the other astronauts, and for the whole manned space program. . . . I was very close to tears as I thought, it’s no longer just our fight to get ‘out there.’ The struggle belongs to everyone in America. . . . From now on there was no turning back.”

—Moon Shot: The Inside Story of America’s Race to the Moon

The entire trip—which took only 15 minutes from liftoff to splashdown—reaffirmed the belief in American ingenuity. John F. Kennedy inspired many Americans with the same kind of belief.

The Promise of Progress

Kennedy 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.”

Kennedy had difficulty turning his vision into reality, however. He offered Congress proposals to provide medical care for the aged, rebuild blighted urban areas, and aid education, but he couldn’t gather enough votes. Kennedy faced the same conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats that had
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. Personal consumption of several major items declined that year, as people worried about job security and spent less money. Car sales, for example, dropped by more than $1 billion from the previous year, while fewer people took overseas vacations. Perhaps the surest sign that the country had entered a recession was the admission by government officials of how bleak things were. “We are in a full-fledged recession,” Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg declared in February of 1961. (See recession on page R44 in the Economics Handbook.)

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, nuclear submarines, and 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.

One of the first campaign promises Kennedy fulfilled was the creation of the Peace Corps, 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 Corps” 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. 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.

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.

**RACE TO THE MOON** On April 12, 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin became the first human in space. Kennedy saw this as a challenge and decided that America would surpass the Soviets by sending a man to the moon.

In less than a month the United States had duplicated the Soviet feat. Later that year, a communications satellite called Telstar relayed live television pictures across the Atlantic Ocean from Maine to Europe. Meanwhile, America’s National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) had begun to construct new launch facilities at Cape Canaveral, Florida, and a mission control center in Houston, Texas. America’s pride and prestige were restored. Speaking before a crowd at Houston’s Rice University, Kennedy expressed the spirit of “the space race.”

> **A PERSONAL VOICE** **PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY**
>
> “We choose to go to the moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard, because that goal will serve to organize and measure the best of our energies and skills, because that challenge is one that we are willing to accept, one we are unwilling to postpone, and one which we intend to win, and the others, too.”
>
> —Address on the Nation’s Space Effort, September 12, 1962

Seven years later, on July 20, 1969, the U.S. would achieve its goal. An excited nation watched with bated breath as U.S. astronaut Neil Armstrong took his first steps on the moon.

As a result of the space program, universities expanded their science programs. The huge federal funding for research and development gave rise to new industries and new technologies, many of which could be used in business and industry and also in new consumer goods. Space- and defense-related industries sprang up in the Southern and Western states, which grew rapidly.

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Motives**

Why did Kennedy want to invest in foreign aid?

**MAIN IDEA**

**Analyzing Effects**

What effect did the space program have on other areas of American life?

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**HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT**

**JOHNSON AND MISSION CONTROL**

President Kennedy appointed Vice President Johnson as chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council shortly after they assumed office in 1961. The chairman’s duties were vague, but Johnson spelled them out: “He is to advise the president of what this nation’s space policy ought to be.” And Johnson’s advice was to land a man on the moon.

A new home for the moon program’s Manned Spacecraft Center was created. Some NASA administrators had wanted to consolidate the center and the launch site in Florida. However, when Johnson’s friends at Humble Oil donated land to Rice University, which sold 600 acres to NASA and donated the rest, the debate was over. Houston became the center of the new space program.

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**U.S. Space Race Expenditures, 1959–1975**

**Government Expenditures for Space Activities**

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Spending (in billions of dollars)</th>
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- California: 39% (15.4 billion)
- Texas: 6% (2.5 billion)
- Florida: 7% (2.8 billion)
- New York: 9% (3.4 billion)
- Other States: 39% (15.6 billion)

Source: NASA

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**SKILLBUILDER** **Interpreting Graphs and Charts**

1. In which year did the federal government spend the most money on the space race?
2. What state benefited the most?
ADDRESSING DOMESTIC PROBLEMS While progress was being made on the new frontiers of space exploration and international aid, many Americans suffered at home. In 1962, the problem of poverty in America was brought to national attention in Michael Harrington’s book *The Other America*. Harrington profiled the 50 million people in America who scraped by each year on less than $1,000 per person. The number of poor shocked many Americans.

While Harrington awakened the nation to the nightmare of poverty, 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. (See Chapter 29.) Kennedy had not pushed aggressively for legislation on the issues of poverty and civil rights, although he effected changes by executive action. However, now he felt that it was time to live up to a campaign promise.

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 ordered 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 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, but he basked instead 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, as millions watched live television coverage of Oswald being transferred between jails, a nightclub owner named Jack Ruby 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 War 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. In a speech to Congress, Johnson expressed his hope that “from the brutal loss of our leader we will derive not weakness but strength.” Not long after, Johnson drove through Congress the most ambitious domestic legislative package since the New Deal.

**Vocabulary**

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

**MAIN IDEA**

**Contrasting** How did the War Commission’s findings differ from other theories?

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. In a speech to Congress, Johnson expressed his hope that “from the brutal loss of our leader we will derive not weakness but strength.” Not long after, Johnson drove through Congress the most ambitious domestic legislative package since the New Deal.

**NOW & THEN**

**KENNEDY’S ASSASSINATION**

From the beginning, people have questioned the War Commission report. Amateur investigators have led to increasing public pressure on the government to tell all it knows about the assassination.

In response, Congress passed the JFK Records Act in 1992, which created a panel to review government and private files and decide which should be part of the public record.

Since the law was enacted, newly declassified information has added some weight to a body of evidence that JFK was shot from the front (the War Commission had concluded that a single bullet struck the president from behind) and that Oswald, thus, could not have acted alone. While such evidence challenges the War Commission’s report, no information has yet surfaced that conclusively disproves its findings.

**TERMS & NAMES**

- New Frontier
- mandate
- Peace Corps
- Alliance for Progress
- War Commission

**MAIN IDEA**

**TAKING NOTES**

Re-create the web shown and fill it in with programs of the New Frontier.

Which do you think was most successful? Why?

**CRITICAL THINKING**

**ANALYZING MOTIVES**

Why do you think Congress was so enthusiastic about allocating funds for the space program but rejected spending in education, social services, and other pressing needs?

**MAKING INFERENCES**

Why do you think Kennedy lost popularity for supporting civil rights?

**EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

Do you think President Kennedy was a successful leader? Explain your viewpoint. Think About:

- the reasons for his popularity
- the goals he expressed
- his foreign policy
- his legislative record
The nation’s 3 million farm workers are responsible for harvesting much of the fruit and vegetables that families eat each day. Most field workers 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 around 10 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. 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. More than 62,000 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.
THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY
1. Analyzing Patterns Retrace the movement of migrant workers in the three regions. Why do you think migrant workers have to keep moving?

CONNECT TO TODAY
2. Creating 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.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R33

The map above 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.

▲ THE ATLANTIC COAST

▲ The map above shows the three major streams of migrant worker movements in the 1960s.
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—often called the “domestic Peace Corps.”

Both the Job Corps and VISTA sprang into being in 1964, when President Lyndon B. 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, started a parents education program, sought state funds, and created a rehabilitation center. At age 20, Larry Alfred was a high school dropout, 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 Baines 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, ‘Lyndon, 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 Johnsons 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, and he rose to the position of Senate majority leader in 1955. People called his legendary ability to persuade senators to support his bills the “LBJ treatment.” As a reporter for the *Saturday Evening Post* explained, Johnson also used this treatment to win over reporters.

A PERSONAL VOICE STEWART ALSOP

“The Majority Leader [Johnson] was, it seemed, in a relaxed, friendly, reminiscent mood. But by gradual stages this mood gave way to something rather like a human hurricane. Johnson was up, striding about his office, talking without pause, occasionally leaning over, his nose almost touching the reporter’s, to shake the reporter’s shoulder or grab his knee. . . . Appeals were made, to the Almighty, to the shades of the departed great, to the reporter’s finer instincts and better nature, while the reporter, unable to get a word in edgewise, sat collapsed upon a leather sofa, eyes glazed, mouth half open.”

—“The New President,” *Saturday Evening Post*, December 14, 1963

Johnson’s deft handling of Congress led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, a voting rights measure that was the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. Johnson’s knack for achieving legislative results had captured John F. Kennedy’s attention, too, during Kennedy’s run for the White House. To Kennedy, Johnson’s congressional connections and his Southern Protestant background compensated for his own drawbacks as a candidate, so 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 47,000 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.
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, which 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, persuading 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” and proposed sweeping legislation designed to help Americans “on the outskirts of hope.”

In August 1964, Congress enacted the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA), approving 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)
- Project Head Start, an education program for underprivileged preschoolers
- 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 of Arizona to oppose Johnson. Goldwater believed the federal government had no business trying to right social and economic wrongs such as poverty, discrimination, and lack of opportunity. He attacked such long-established federal programs as Social Security, which he wanted to make voluntary, and 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. Where 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, winning 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.” Johnson 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.

A PERSONAL VOICE  LYNDON B. JOHNSON

“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.”

—“The Great Society,” May 22, 1964

Like his idol FDR, LBJ wanted to change America. 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 to help public and parochial schools purchase textbooks and new library materials. This was one of the earliest federal aid packages for education in the nation’s history.
**HEALTHCARE** 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 helping low- and moderate-income families pay for better private housing; establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); and appointing 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 that 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. The Immigration Act of 1965 opened the door for many non-European immigrants to settle in the United States by ending quotas based on nationality.

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. (See Chapter 32.)

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, that 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.

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 and 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, or 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—redive—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, and in Reynolds v. Sims (1964), it extended the principle of “one person, one vote” to state legislative districts. (See Reynolds v. Sims, page 774.) 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, where it ruled that all suspects must be read their rights before questioning. (See Miranda v. Arizona, page 694.)

These rulings greatly divided public opinion. Liberals praised the decisions, arguing 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,” portraying liberals and Democrats as being soft on crime and citing the decisions of the Warren Court as major obstacles to fighting crime.

**POINT**

“The Great Society succeeded in promoting far-reaching social change.”

Defenders of the Great Society contend that it bettered the lives of millions of Americans. Historian John Morton Blum notes, “The Great Society initiated policies that by 1985 had had profound consequences: Blacks now voted at about the same rate as whites, and nearly 6,000 blacks held public offices; almost every elderly citizen had medical insurance, and the aged were no poorer than Americans as a whole; a large majority of small children attended preschool programs.”

Attorney Margaret Burnham argues that the civil rights gains alone justify the Great Society: “For tens of thousands of human beings . . . giving promise of a better life was significant . . . . What the Great Society affirmed was the responsibility of the federal government to take measures necessary to bring into the social and economic mainstream any segment of the people [who had been] historically excluded.”

**COUNTERPOINT**

“Failures of the Great Society prove that government-sponsored programs do not work.”

The major attack on the Great Society is that it created “big government”: an oversized bureaucracy, too many regulations, waste and fraud, and rising budget deficits. As journalist David Alpern writes, this comes from the notion that government could solve all the nation’s problems: “The Great Society created unwieldy new mechanisms like the Office of Economic Opportunity and began ‘throwing dollars at problems . . . .’ Spawned in the process were vast new constituencies of government bureaucrats and beneficiaries whose political clout made it difficult to kill programs off.”

Conservatives say the Great Society’s social welfare programs created a culture of dependency. Economist Paul Craig Roberts argues that “The Great Society . . . reflected our lack of confidence in the institutions of a free society. We came to the view that it is government spending and not business innovation that creates jobs and that it is society’s fault if anyone is poor.”

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

**CONNECT TO HISTORY**

1. **Evaluating** Do you think the Great Society was a success or a failure? Explain.

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R17.

**CONNECT TO TODAY**

2. **Analyzing Social Problems** Research the most pressing problems in your own neighborhood or precinct. Then propose a social program you think would address at least one of those problems while avoiding the pitfalls of the Great Society programs.
**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, but most agree on one point: no 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 funding the Great Society contributed to a growing budget deficit—a problem that continued for decades. 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. 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.

As this cartoon points out, President Johnson had much to deal with at home and abroad. This autographed copy was presented to President Johnson by the cartoonist.

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**MAIN IDEA**

**Identifying Problems**

What events and problems may have affected the success of the Great Society?

**ASSESSMENT**

1. **TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
   - Lyndon Baines Johnson
   - Great Society
   - Economic Opportunity Act
   - Medicare and Medicaid
   - Immigration Act of 1965
   - Warren Court
   - reapportionment

2. **TAKING NOTES** List four or more Great Society programs and Warren Court rulings.

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Choose one item and describe its lasting effects.

3. **EVALUATING LEADERSHIP**

   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. **ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES**

   Look at the political cartoon above. 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.”

**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.
  - **ESCOBEDO v. ILLINOIS (1964)**
    - The Court held that a suspect has the right to an attorney when being questioned by police.
WHY IT MATTERED

*Miran da* 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 *Miran da*, 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 federal, state, or local authorities will not harass people for political reasons—as often happened to civil rights activists in the South in the 1950s and 1960s, for example.

Critics of the Warren Court claimed that *Miran da* would lead to more crime because it would become more difficult to convict criminals. Police departments, however, adapted to the decision. They placed the list of suspects’ rights mentioned in *Miran da* on cards for police officers to read to suspects. The statement of these rights became known as the Miranda warning and quickly became familiar to anyone who watched a police show on television.

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

HISTORICAL IMPACT

The *Miran da* decision was highly controversial. Critics complained that the opinion would protect the rights of criminals at the expense of public safety.

Since *Miran da*, 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 *Miran da* ruling and gave law enforcement officers more power to gather evidence without informing suspects of their rights. Even so, conservatives still hoped to overturn the *Miran da* decision.

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

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

**CONNECT TO HISTORY**

1. **Drawing Conclusions** Critics charged that *Miran da* 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?

   ![SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R18.](image)

**CONNECT TO TODAY**

2. **INTERNET ACTIVITY CLASSZONE.COM**

Visit the links for Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court to research laws and other court decisions related to *Mapp* and *Miran da*. 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.