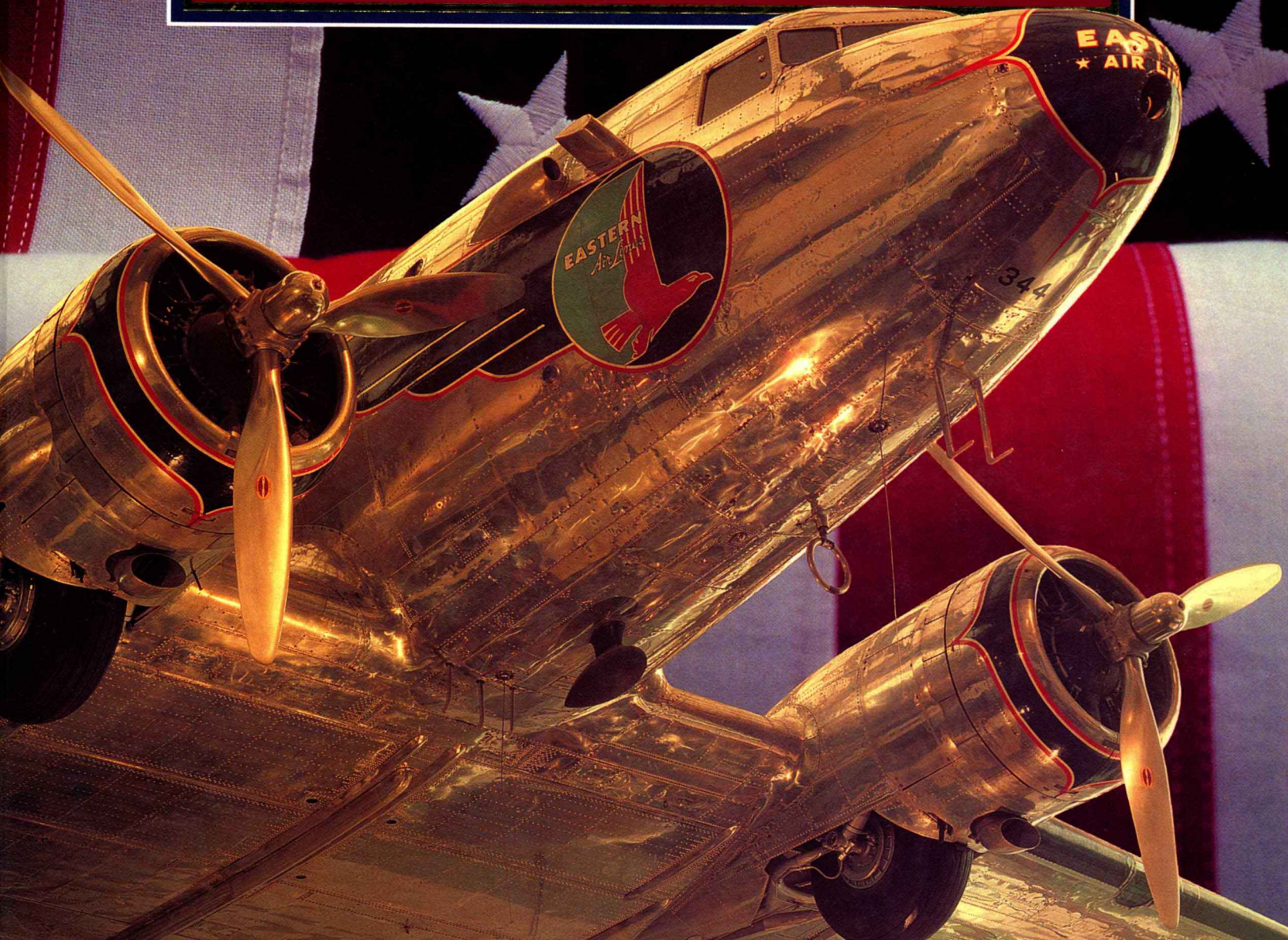


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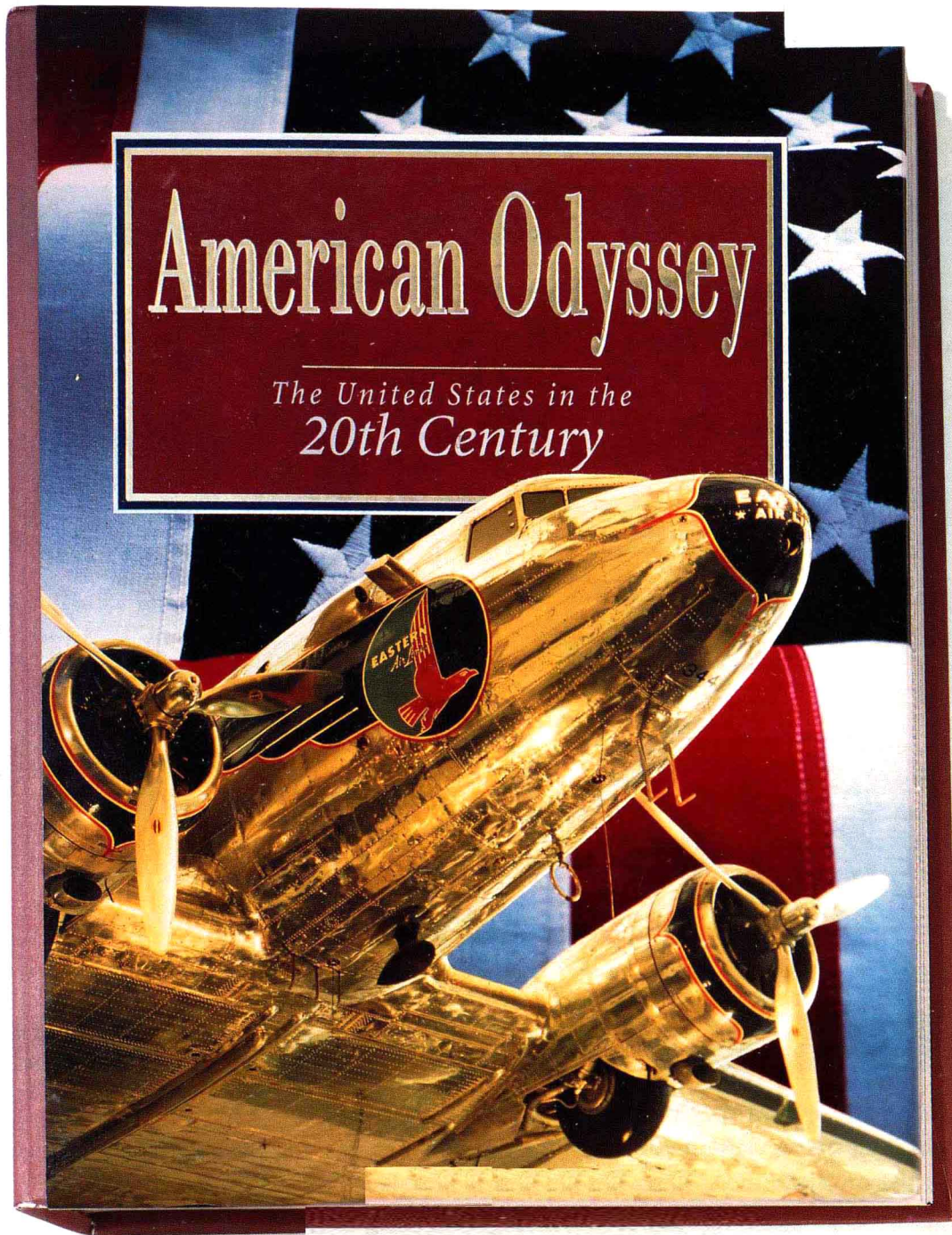
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*The United States in the
20th Century*



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Updated Edition
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TOWARD EQUALITY AND SOCIAL REFORM

CHAPTER 17

The Civil Rights Struggle

September 4, 1957: School Opens at Little Rock Central High

Elizabeth Ann Eckford and her mother made a crisp black and white dress for Elizabeth to wear her first day in the new school. The other eight black students arranged to go together, but Elizabeth never got the message. She went instead by bus and once at Little Rock Central High School headed for the front door. To her surprise, she found the way blocked by an angry crowd of white townspeople and hundreds of armed soldiers.

Elizabeth tried to follow a white student through the door but was stopped by a soldier. "When I tried to squeeze past him," she recalled later, "he raised his bayonet, and then the other guards moved in and raised their bayonets. . . .

Somebody started yelling, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!'"

Elizabeth and the other eight students never made it into Central High that day. It took three more weeks, intervention by the president, 1,000 paratroopers, and 10,000 members of the Arkansas National Guard to integrate the school.

It was a pattern repeated many times in the years to come. Legislation and court orders were not enough. Grass roots efforts by the local black community and nonviolent demonstrations were not enough. It took the efforts of all these people together. Only then could the nation bring the Constitution's promise of guaranteed equality for all a little closer to reality.

"Somebody started yelling, 'Lynch her! Lynch her!'"



FRANCIS MULLER LIFE MAGAZINE © 1957 TIME, INC.
Elizabeth Ann Eckford was not prepared for the angry reception she received as she approached Little Rock Central High School.



On September 10, soldiers stood outside the all-white Little Rock Central High School in order to prevent black students from entering.

- ▲ Compelling **Chapter Openers** and **Section Openers** put students on the battlefield, in the unemployment line, at the shuttle launch. Plunged into the action, students realize that they too are participants in history—not just spectators.

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SECTION 1

After the Cold War

May 6, 1992: Gorbachev Comes to Fulton, Missouri

THE SPRING SUN SHONE DOWN ON THE CAMPUS OF WESTMINSTER COLLEGE IN FULTON, MISSOURI, ON THE MORE THAN 10,000 PEOPLE GATHERED THERE. THEY had come to hear a speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, former president of the Soviet Union.

One student, Carolyn O'Donley, basked in the thrill of seeing a major historical figure on her campus of just 750 students. "Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, walked through the crowd shaking people's hands," she said. "Everyone was very excited—it was a very positive feeling to have them here." She added, "I think there were reporters from every country in the world, too."

The reporters were there to cover more than a speech, for Gorbachev was in fact the second major historical figure to visit the school. In 1946—before any of today's students were born—Winston Churchill, prime minister of Great Britain during World War II, had spoken at Westminster. In a famous speech, Churchill warned of the onset of the cold war and of Soviet oppression in Europe. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the continent," Churchill said.

Now Gorbachev—who did more than any other person to end the cold war and lift the iron curtain from Europe—looked out on the sea of faces assembled. He picked up on Churchill's theme when he said that the world was no longer divided between East and West, but "between the rich and the poor countries, between the North and the South." People in the crowd applauded enthusiastically, as they did

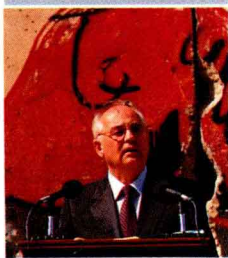
throughout his speech. Some had camped overnight on the college's lawn to get a good seat for the event.

A statue of Churchill and a slab of the former Berlin Wall also stood onstage. The eight sections of the wall, with their riot of colors, graffiti, and shapes, contrasted with Gorbachev's calm voice. Like Churchill before him, Gorbachev warned the world about imminent dangers. "We live today in a watershed era," he cautioned about the end of the cold war. "One epoch has ended and a second is commencing. No one yet knows how concrete it will be—no one."

He called for strict controls on nuclear and chemical weapons and for protection of human rights. Gorbachev blamed both his own country and the United States for the hostilities of the cold war. He looked to the future when he added a warning for all: "It is quite clear that the enhanced integration and interdependence of the world at the same time creates new tensions."

Arms Reductions

In speaking of new tensions, Gorbachev alluded to the old tensions between the two superpowers, which had neared their peak in the early 1980s. Ronald Reagan and his chief aides believed passionately that Soviet imperialism must be resisted by keeping American military forces in high gear. George Bush, Reagan's successor, also continued to press the merits of democratic capitalism around the globe and to speak out vigorously against communism. Bush, too, believed in bargaining from a position of military strength.



APR PHOTO

As You Read

Identify the key events and trends in world politics in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Also, think about the following concepts and skills.

STUDY GUIDE

Central Concepts

- recognizing the effects of Gorbachev's policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* on the Soviet Union and elsewhere
- recognizing how the cold war's end changed U.S. foreign policy

Thinking Skills

- analyzing behavior
- predicting consequences
- recognizing points of view

▲ The **Study Guide** previews concepts and thinking skills to help students focus their reading and monitor their own learning.

broke out not only in Vietnam but also in Laos and Cambodia. In March 1975 North Vietnam launched an offensive against the weakened forces of South Vietnam. Thieu turned to Washington for aid; Congress refused to grant it.

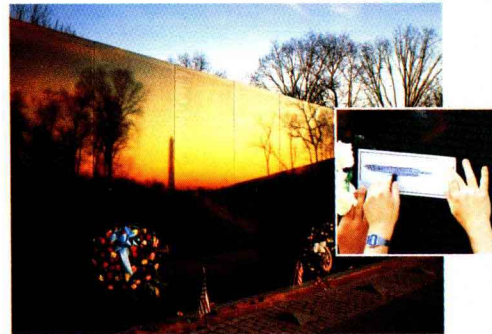
In April 1975 communist troops marched into Saigon. American television audiences watched as desperate South Vietnamese, many of whom had supported the Americans, scrambled to escape. A U.S. Army medic described the turmoil on an aircraft carrier offshore:

*T*here were people coming out in boats, half-sinking boats. . . . There were all these choppers we had left there; they were using these to fly out, the Vietnamese. This flight deck was so full of choppers that we had to push them overboard because there was no room, we couldn't get our own choppers in. . . . It was total chaos.

Al Santoli,
Everything We Had, 1981

In the dawn hours of April 30, 1975, Saigon fell to the communists; soon after, South Vietnam surrendered to North Vietnam.

The Costs of the War The nation paid a high price to end the war in Vietnam. More than 58,000 Americans were dead; 300,000 were wounded, many of them permanently disabled. More than \$150 billion had been poured into the war, while social programs at home went underfunded.



Vietnam veterans themselves sponsored the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C. Black granite panels carry the names of 58,000 Americans who died in Vietnam. Visitors to the wall touch the names they know, and some take home rubbings of a friend's name. The monument was designed by Maya Lin, then a 21-year-old senior at Yale.

For the first time in history America had lost a war. The extreme optimism and self-confidence felt by Americans following World War II had been shattered. Despite every advantage in wealth and technology the United States had been unable to defeat a third world nationalist movement.

The people of Southeast Asia also paid a great price for the war in Vietnam. In the course of the war, more than eight million tons of bombs—the equivalent of 640 Hiroshimas—had been dropped on Southeast Asia. Two million Vietnamese and uncounted Cambodians and Laotians were dead. Their land lay in ruins, their villages—to the Vietnamese the heart of their ancient culture—destroyed.

U.S. Intervention in Vietnam

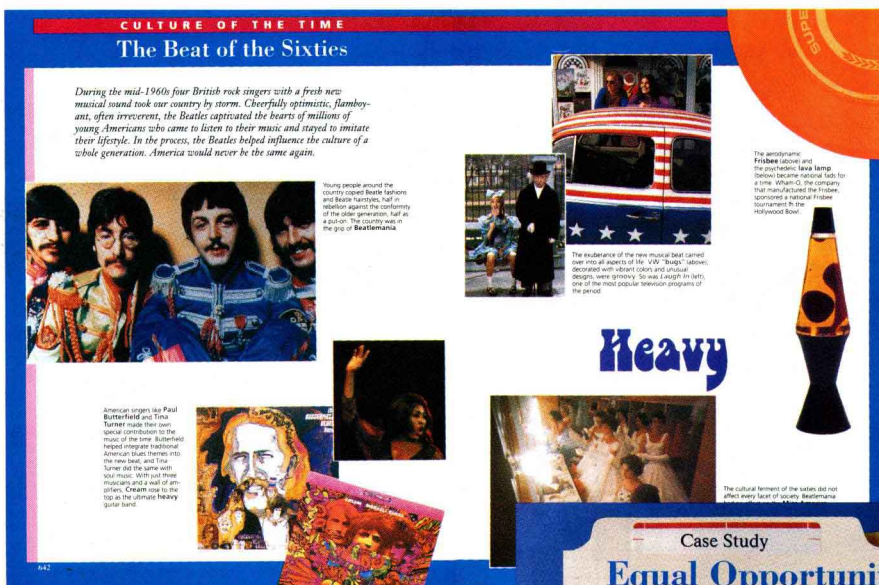
1956	1960	February–March 1965	June 1969	January 1973
South Vietnam cancels elections promised in Geneva Accords.	National Liberation Front is formed to overthrow U.S.-backed government in South Vietnam.	Johnson orders bombing of North Vietnam and sends first U.S. combat troops to South Vietnam.	Nixon announces first withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.	The United States, South Vietnam, the Vietcong, and North Vietnam sign cease-fire agreement.
1954	1957	1963	1966	1972
French are defeated by Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu; Geneva Accords divide Vietnam into North and South Vietnam, pending national elections in 1956; the United States assumes support of South Vietnamese government.		August 1964: U.S. Congress passes Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving president power to "prevent further aggression" against U.S. forces in Vietnam.	1968: Communists launch Tet offensive. Johnson rejects Westmoreland's request for more U.S. troops.	April 1970: American and South Vietnamese forces invade Cambodia; protests occur at home.

▲ The **Narrative** of each section introduces students not only to important leaders, but also to the lives and actions of ordinary people from all cultures—the foot soldier, the mine worker, the homemaker—stories of all Americans. These people may not have made the front page, but they made history—every day.

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Case Study Equal Opportunity

JANUARY 13, 1973

It shall be an unlawful employment practice for any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs, to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training.

Title VII, Section 703
Civil Rights Act of 1964

The Case

On November 19, 1970, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company (AT&T) asked the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to approve a rate increase for long distance telephone calls. On November 10, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) filed a lawsuit against AT&T, claiming that the company was discriminating against women and minorities in its hiring practices.

The Background

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 gave women and minorities a legal basis for challenging discriminatory employment practices. Litigation was expensive, however, and few individuals could afford the luxury of filing a lawsuit. To help remedy this situation, Congress set up the EEOC to enforce the equal employment provisions of Title VII of the act. Women and minorities could go to the commission to get help in fighting

get AT&T to change its employment practices, other businesses would follow suit. The EEOC devised a novel approach for dealing with AT&T: it would go before the Federal Communications Commission and challenge a rate increase on the grounds that AT&T was not following the law and that it did not merit a rate increase. The strategy was clear: AT&T would comply with the law and change its policies, or it would have to wait for a rate hike.

Back in the 1970s, all telephone company employees, including switchboard operators, were male. Some of the men were rude to customers, so as an experiment, the company decided to hire a woman. Emma Nutt began working as an operator in September 1970, and she was an immediate success. Soon, virtually all operators in the company were female. Ironically, that was the crux of the EEOC complaint. The EEOC accused AT&T of failing to provide employment opportunities for women other than low paying jobs. To prove its case, the EEOC presented the following information:

- The EEOC cited two facts to support its contention that most jobs at AT&T were segregated by sex: 99.9 percent of all switchboard operators were women. In contrast, 99.9 percent of all telephone installers were men.
- The EEOC claimed it could prove the relation between job segregation and the company's pay scale. The most significant figure contrasted average starting salaries for women and men: Women averaged about \$5,500 during their first year of employment. Men earned about \$7,500.
- The EEOC cited the following statistics to argue that AT&T's promotion policies were discriminatory: Women held only 6 percent of all middle management jobs in the company and just 1.2 percent of all top management positions.

Initial Reactions

AT&T executives reacted to the EEOC charges with indignation and outrage. H. I. Romner, the company chairman, seemed genuinely puzzled by the EEOC action. To his way of thinking, AT&T had always been a leader in the field of fair employment practices. Robert D. Lilley, the executive

vice president, echoed Romner's view. He insisted that AT&T had always tried to follow the law in the employment of women and minorities. John W. Kingsbury, vice president for personnel, took a more aggressive stance. The company was not running a social welfare program, he said. It was in business to provide a service and make a profit. It was not responsible for the hiring practices of the United States.

"The EEOC's intervention in proceedings before the FCC on grounds of discriminatory practices by the Bell System is outrageous. In the field of equal employment, we have been leaders, not followers."

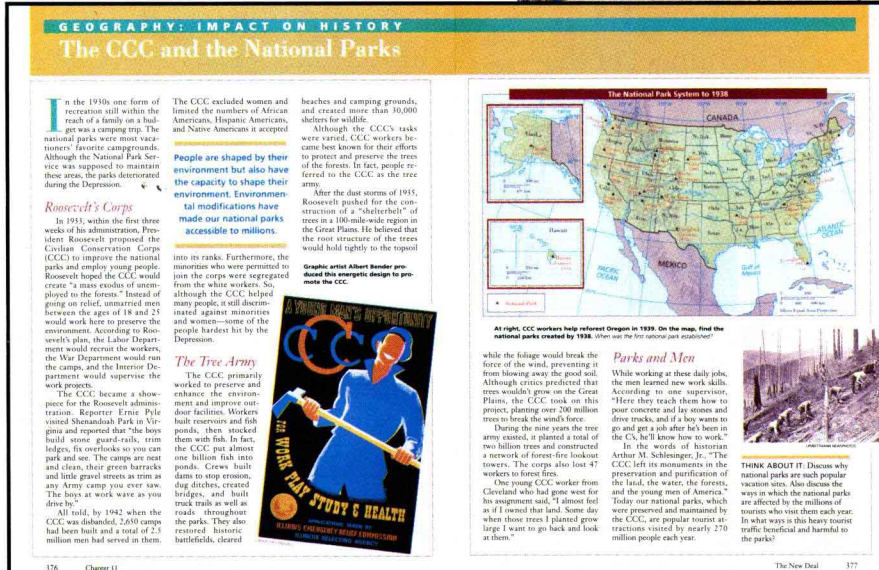
H. I. Romner
Chairman, AT&T

"Many of the specific kinds of allegations made against us are ancient history. We are now actively supporting the national policy of equal employment opportunity."

Robert D. Lilley
Executive Vice President, AT&T

"In its zeal in trying this case against the Bell System, the EEOC had failed to recognize that the primary reason the Bell System exists is to provide communications services to the American public, not merely to provide employment to all comers."

John W. Kingsbury
Assistant Vice President, AT&T



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Teaching the Section

Cooperative Learning

Research As a result of the 1992 election, almost 1 in 4 members of Congress was newly elected. The numbers of minorities and women increased significantly. Divide the class into teams to research reasons for the dramatic change. Ask teams to

investigate how scandals, voter registration and turnout, and prevailing economic conditions may have contributed to the change.

LEP

Discussion On the board make a list of the

presidential candidates who ran in the 1992 campaign. Under each name write a few attributes of that candidate's campaign and philosophy. Ask students to contribute to the list and discuss the merits of each candidate.

Guided Practice

Checking Understanding

Assess

Divide the class into small groups. Each group should write three additional items for the Section Review. Groups should then exchange items and answer the items from another group as well as the seven listed in the book.

Reteach

Use the Understanding Concepts part of the Guided Reading activity in reteaching.

Enrich

Use the Extending Concepts part of the Guided Reading activity as enrichment.

Close

Ask students to name the key factors that affected the U.S. economy in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

FYI

The Perot Factor

Presidential candidates without support from the two major parties rarely fare well. In 1924 Robert La Follette won 16.6 percent of the vote, most of it in the North. In 1968 George Wallace won 13.5 percent, most of it in the South. But Ross Perot won 19 percent, with at least 10 percent in almost every state. Partly because of Perot, Bill Clinton won only 2 million more votes than Democrat Michael Dukakis did in his broad defeat in 1988. Yet Clinton emerged with a plurality, and the presidency.



Bill Clinton, shown here campaigning in New York City, toured the country in a bus to deliver his "time for a change" message.

The presidential campaign changed abruptly when a third candidate entered the contest. Enthusiastic volunteers formed a grass-roots movement to place Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot on the ballot in all 50 states. Perot financed his campaign with his own money, supplemented with small donations. Capitalizing on voter discontent with gridlock between the Republican president and a Democratic-controlled Congress, Perot outlined a program to cut the federal budget deficit in five years. His plan asked all Americans to "share the pain" of fixing the problems in the nation's economy. Running as a Washington outsider, Perot insisted that politicians had forgotten that they were working for the American people.

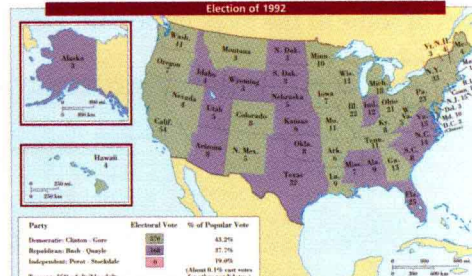
The voters' discontent with elected officials also changed the complexion of many congressional races.

A record number of legislators either chose not to run again or were defeated in primary elections. A record 164 women stepped forward to run for Congress; another 8 women sought governorships.

Voter Appeals In the presidential race, Bush offered a long career of government service and his first-term successes in foreign affairs. Democratic challenger Bill Clinton brought twelve years of experience as governor of Arkansas and a reputation as a reformer. With no government experience, Ross Perot ran on his business success. To a large extent, the campaign centered on voters' convictions about which candidate could lead the nation out of economic decline. Bush painted Clinton as a "tax-and-spend" Democrat. Clinton attacked Bush's concentration on foreign policy and his neglect of domestic concerns, especially the economy, health care, education, and crime. Bush cast shadows on Clinton's character, citing his avoidance of military service and his participation as a young man in antiwar demonstrations overseas. Democrats attempted to capitalize on reports that Bush took part in secret, illegal arms shipments to Iran in the 1980s. The campaign grew more complicated with Perot's witty participation in the presidential debates and his 30-minute commercials. Relying almost exclusively on electronic campaigning, Perot purchased his own television time at a cost of \$60 million. Perot used the time to loosely define his programs for solving economic problems and political stalemate in Washington.

Deep voter concerns about the country's economic future moved Clinton into the White House, ousting President Bush after a single term. Clinton became the first Democrat elected to the White House since Jimmy Carter in 1976.

The electoral vote outcome gave 370 electoral votes to Clinton, 168 to Bush, and none to Perot. But



In 1988, electors in 40 states cast their votes for George Bush. In 1992, Bush's reelection bid garnered electoral votes in only 16 states, many of them small.

In what areas of the country was Bush's support the strongest? Why do you think this was so?

The 1992 election results were significant in several other areas. Although Clinton's margin in electoral votes was 2 to 1, his margin in popular votes was only 5 percent. Clinton garnered 43 percent of the popular vote, compared to Bush's 35 percent. Perot's support gave him an astounding 19 percent of the vote, more than any independent candidate had received in 80 years. The voters' desire for change rippled through the nation. In California, voters sent two women to the U.S. Senate. Voters in that state also elected Jay C. Kim, a naturalized Korean immigrant,

as the first person of Korean heritage to serve in Congress. In Colorado, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a member of the Northern Cheyenne, moved from the House to the Senate, becoming the first Native American elected to that chamber. In Illinois, Carol Moseley Braun became the first African American woman to hold a U.S. Senate seat. Across the country, 14 more African Americans, 9 more Hispanics, and 23 more women won seats in Congress. These historic changes made Congress a more representative body than ever before.

SECTION REVIEW

Checking Facts

1. What is meant by the term budget deficit?
2. What effects did defense budget cutbacks have on the nation's economy?
3. Name three ways the wealthy increased their share of the nation's personal wealth in the late 1980s.
4. Who are the "working poor"?

Thinking Critically

5. **Analyzing Data** What effect did the \$333 billion deficit in 1992 have on the nation's ability to maintain and repair its infrastructure?
6. **Identifying Cause and Effect** George Bush won the 1988 election while unemployment was near its lowest in 14 years, about 5.3 percent. He lost in 1992 when unemployment was up to 7.5 percent. Besides this shift, what effects of his administration contributed to voters' dissatisfaction with the economy?

percent. Besides this shift, what effects of his administration contributed to voters' dissatisfaction with the economy?

Linking Across Time

7. What similarities exist between America of the 1930s and America of the early 1990s?

Answers

1. the amount, in dollars, by which planned spending exceeds anticipated income
2. Defense budget cuts forced thousands of military personnel into the civilian workforce and accounted for two-thirds of lost manufacturing jobs, adversely affecting an economy which was already in a slow-growth period.
3. The wealthy benefited from high salaries, tax changes, and complicated, sometimes illegal, financial deals.
4. a family of four who earn less than \$12,195, 14 million adults
5. The debt required enormous interest payments, taking money away from federal, state, and local funds designated for the maintenance and repair of cities' infrastructure.
6. Voters said they were also concerned about the rising national debt, low investment in infrastructure, and the need for more spending on education.
7. Sample answer: widespread unemployment, greater welfare needs, and depleted savings

▲ Along the side of the page is extensive information, and suggestions for **cooperative learning, critical thinking, curriculum connections, and linking past and present.**

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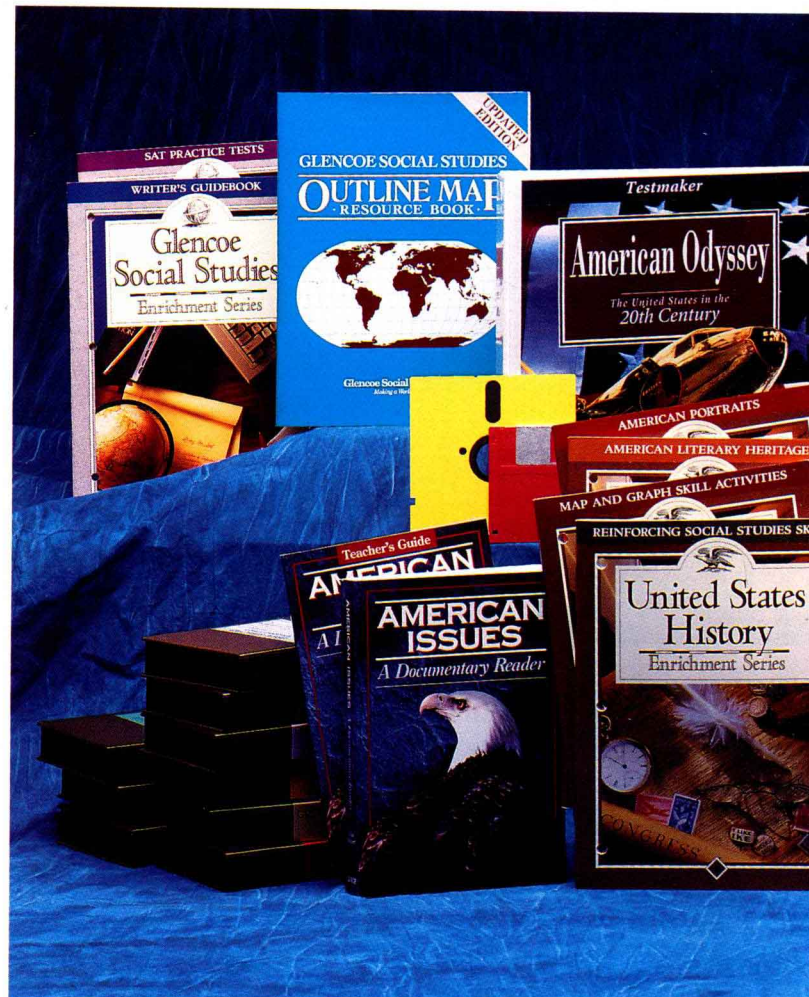
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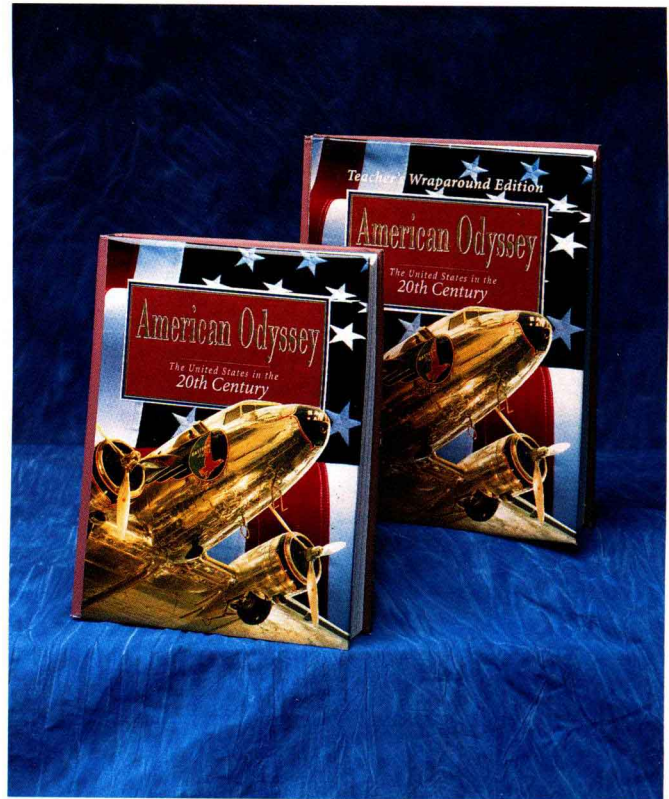
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American Odyssey

The United States in the Twentieth Century



Gary B. Nash

*Professor of History
University of California at Los Angeles*

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Cover: The DC-3, the first airplane model to carry passengers profitably.

Above: (top) Greenwich Wheelmen's Excursion, circa 1900. Brown Brothers; (bottom) Magnum Photos, Inc.

Dear Teachers—

The twentieth century has witnessed profound changes in our nation. Think for a moment about U.S. society 100 years ago. The majority of Americans then were of European descent and of the Protestant or Roman Catholic faith. More than half the population still lived in rural areas or in small towns, and more than a third of the nation's workers were farmers.

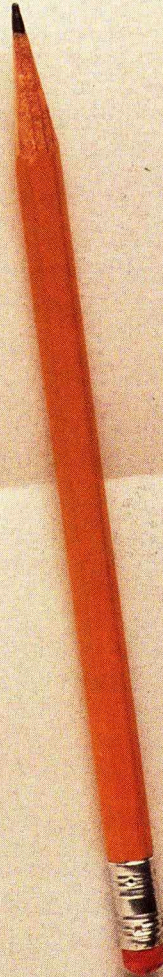
Then came the extraordinary technological and social transformations that altered our nation's destiny. Our grandparents were just beginning to adjust to the horseless carriage and to the wireless. Now, after two world wars, one severe depression, and two other more localized wars, we travel around the world by jet in a day and communicate by bouncing beams off satellites in space.

Equally important as these public transformations are quieter, more private changes that have occurred. One of these is in the family—its declining size and the relationships among its members, as more and more women work outside the home. Another is in the nature of work itself, as a nation of miners, farmers, and factory workers becomes a nation of professionals, service workers, and technicians. Our identity as a nation is also changing. The doors to immigration, almost closed for half a century, have reopened; and those who now stream through are an entirely different mix of peoples than before. The new immigrants—from Asia, Latin America, the Middle East—bring with them new ideas, new beliefs, and new ways of doing things.

And another change of great importance has occurred during this past century—a persistent and painful struggle toward equality for all our citizens, regardless of race, religion, or gender. Though much progress has been made, that struggle to live up to our democratic ideals continues.

This book strives to weave together the whole of this story—the public and private, international and local, political and personal. It is an exciting, dynamic, challenging story of how history is made by all the people. I believe your students, as they prepare themselves for life in the twenty-first century, will take from it a fuller understanding of their world and themselves.

Gary B. Nash



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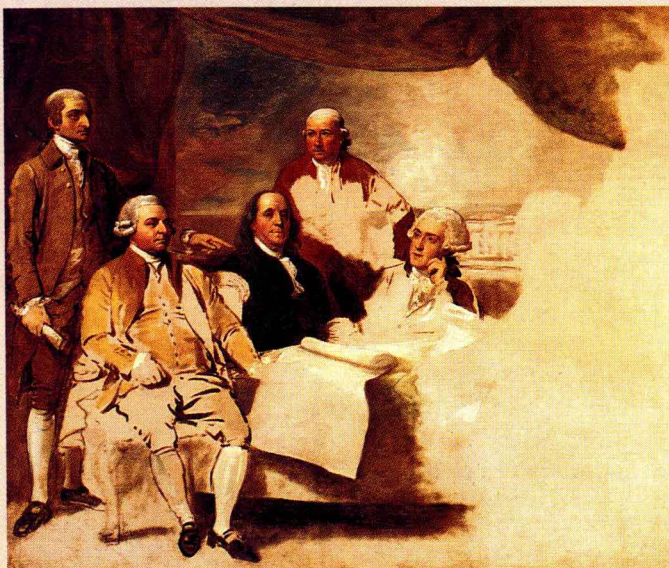
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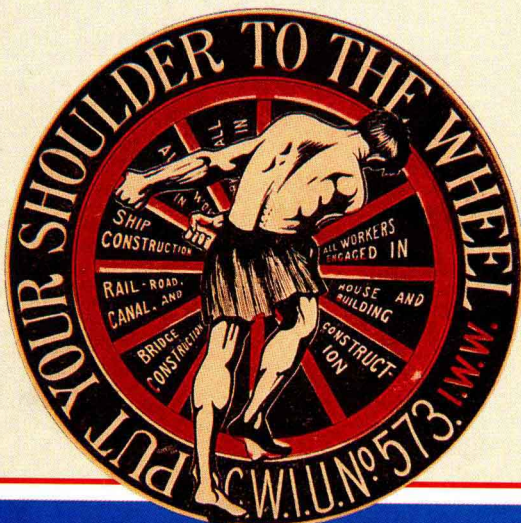
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