

## UNIT 7

## Post-War America

1945–1974

45-50-minute classes | 13-16 classes

## UNIT PREVIEW

## Structure

|                   |   |                              |             |       |
|-------------------|---|------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| <b>LESSON 1</b>   | 1945-1953                                 | The Start of the Cold War    | 3-4 classes | p. 5  |
| <b>LESSON 2</b>   | 1953-1964                                 | The American Dream           | 4-5 classes | p. 12 |
| <b>LESSON 3</b>   | 1964-1974                                 | Tumult: Foreign and Domestic | 6-7 classes | p. 22 |
| <b>APPENDIX A</b> | Study Guide, Test, and Writing Assignment |                              |             | p. 31 |
| <b>APPENDIX B</b> | Primary Sources                           |                              |             | p. 47 |

## Why Teach Post-War America

World War II may have been America's "finest hour," earning those who fought the war and endured the Great Depression the title of the "Greatest Generation." But with America on the other side of those challenges, what would American life be like, and what would America's status be in the world? One thing was certain: nothing would be the same. There were unprecedented opportunities for Americans, both at home and abroad, and America was now a superpower. But at the same time, the prospect of nuclear war with a powerful ideological foe and a multitude of new challenges at home meant that America was being asked to exercise new responsibilities in an unknown landscape. Students should recognize what these opportunities and challenges were and should understand that much of what we accept today as typical of the American way of life was actually established in the decades immediately following the end of World War II.

## Enduring Ideas from This Unit

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1. The American economy at home and its superpower status abroad afforded unrivaled opportunities for American citizens and American influence in the world, and the civil rights movement sought to extend these opportunities equally to all citizens.
2. The Cold War was fought primarily between two diametrically opposed philosophies of the human person, morality, and the purpose of government.
3. America went through a period of change in government and especially culture that broke with previous generations and which has largely remained in place to this day.
4. By the middle of the 1970s, the Vietnam War and other events eroded America's standing both at home and abroad, revealing the underlying weaknesses of the new post-war order.

## What Teachers Should Consider

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Post-war America was truly a remarkable moment in American history. The great victory over totalitarianism in World War II left Americans on the verge of a new era of opportunity, prosperity, and unprecedented power on the national and international stages. A whole new generation of Americans took advantage of these opportunities to pursue an “American dream” that now seemed well within reach.

But as America's former ally, the Soviet Union, reneged on its post-war promises, the deep ideological fissure between the principles of America and those of communism became greater and deadlier. The specter of nuclear war haunted American daily life, even amid the prosperity and grand opportunities that so many Americans enjoyed. The steady presidencies of Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower helped to shepherd America through this new world order and the many perils that came with it.

The John F. Kennedy administration and the strengthened civil rights movement that ushered in the 1960s brought an air of hopefulness. But with Kennedy's assassination and the trail of missteps between the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal, those hopes seemed to be dashed, and a pall settled over the American people and American politics.

Amidst all of this, the scope and size of the federal government surged again to unimagined influence and power under the Lyndon B. Johnson administration's Great Society. Meanwhile, the new generation of baby boomers grew unsatisfied with what it saw as a superficial consumer economy and a political system in which it was powerless. The resulting upheavals in culture and politics, especially as caused by the Vietnam War, left Americans' faith in their country shaken.

## How Teachers Can Learn More

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### TEXTS

*Truman*, David McCullough  
*The Cold War*, John Lewis Gaddis  
*The Korean War*, William Stueck  
*The King Years*, Taylor Branch

*America's Longest War*, George Herring  
*American Heritage: A Reader*, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

**ONLINE COURSES** | [Online.Hillsdale.edu](https://Online.Hillsdale.edu)

*The Great American Story*  
*American Heritage*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*  
*Constitution 201*

## Lesson Planning Resources

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### TEACHER RESOURCES

*Grand Expectations*, James Patterson  
*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay and John McBride  
*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay and John McBride  
*The Vietnam War*, Mark Atwood Lawrence

### STUDENT RESOURCES

*Land of Hope*, Wilfred McClay

### PRIMARY SOURCES

"The Sinews of Peace," Winston S. Churchill  
"The Sources of Soviet Conduct," George F. Kennan  
"A Fateful Hour," Harry S. Truman  
*The Cold War*, Walter Lippmann  
Resolution 68, National Security Council  
Farewell Address, Dwight D. Eisenhower  
Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy  
"I Have a Dream," Martin Luther King Jr.  
"Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom," Martin Luther King Jr.  
Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson  
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society  
"Message to Grassroots," Malcolm X  
"A Time for Choosing," Ronald Reagan  
"Peace without Conquest," Lyndon B. Johnson  
"Soviet Military Might: Western Made," John Ashbrook

## **LESSON PLANS, ASSIGNMENTS, AND FORMATIVE QUIZ**

## Lesson 1 — The Start of the Cold War

1945–1953

3-4 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about America's initial efforts to confront communism following World War II and the ensuing conflicts, especially the Korean War.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope*

Pages 341-359

Primary Sources

See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*

Pages 323-329

*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*

Pages 210-213

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*

Lecture 20

*American Heritage*

Lecture 9

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 341-354, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 210-212) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 2:** Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 354-359, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 212-213) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Turkey

Alaska

Greece

Hawaii

Palestine

Korea

Israel

38th Parallel

China

Pusan Perimeter

Taiwan

Yalu River

#### Persons

Hannah Arendt

Joseph Stalin

Harry Truman

Winston Churchill

George Kennan  
 J. D. Salinger  
 E. B. White  
 Jackie Robinson  
 George Marshall  
 Mao Zedong

A. Philip Randolph  
 Joseph McCarthy  
 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg  
 Douglas MacArthur  
 Matthew Ridgway

### Terms and Topics

Nuremberg Trials  
 superpower  
 highways  
 shell shock  
 GI Bill  
 college  
 baby boom  
 atomic bomb  
 United Nations  
 communism  
 Cold War  
 Yalta Conference  
 Iron Curtain  
 satellite regimes  
 rollback  
 Truman Doctrine  
 containment

self-determinism  
 National Security Act  
 Marshall Plan  
 Berlin Airlift  
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)  
 Warsaw Pact  
 Zionism  
 decolonization  
 “Point Four” aid programs  
 Dixiecrat  
 Sino-Soviet Treaty  
 NSC-68  
 House Committee on Un-American Activities  
 McCarthyism  
 Korean War  
 Battle of Chosin Reservoir  
 Inchon Landing

### Primary Sources

“The Sinews of Peace,” Winston Churchill  
 “The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” George Kennan  
 “A Fateful Hour,” Harry Truman  
*The Cold War*, Walter Lippmann  
 Resolution 68, National Security Council

### To Know by Heart

“There is no doubt in my mind that we are in the presence of one of the greatest and most horrible crimes ever committed. It has been done by scientific machinery by nominally civilized men in the name of a great state and one of the leading races of Europe.” —Winston Churchill on the Holocaust ([link](#))  
 “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.” —Winston Churchill, “The Sinews of Peace”

### Timeline

|           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| 1946-1991 | Cold War   |
| 1950-1953 | Korean War |

### Images

Historical figures and events  
 Soldiers returning from war

Post-war automobiles  
 Levittowns  
 Maps of communist vs. free countries  
 Maps of Palestine  
 Images and uniforms of American, UN, North Korean, and Chinese officers and soldiers  
 Depictions and photographs of figures at various scenes and moments in battle  
 Video footage of soldiers and fighting  
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles  
 Military equipment and weaponry

### STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- Biography of Harry Truman
- Roger Kahn's commentary on Jackie Robinson in Major League Baseball
- Reginald Thompson's account of the American retreat from Chongchon River at the start of the Korean War
- Harry Truman's dismissal of Douglas MacArthur

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- How were Europe and America different following World War II?
- What insights did Hannah Arendt provide about totalitarianism?
- In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
- How did World War II sharpen for Americans the contradiction of racial discrimination in America?
- How and why did Harry Truman desegregate the armed forces?
- What is meant by the term "Cold War"?
- What were the risks inherent in having atomic weapons? What were the benefits?
- How did the main principles and goals of communism contrast with the ideas of the American Founding?
- What events in the late 1940s and early 1950s proved that communism would be a formidable foe?
- What did the Truman Doctrine say, and what did George Kennan argue, about policy toward the Soviet Union?
- What did NSC-68 say about how to counter the spread of communism more broadly?
- In what ways did Harry Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
- To what extent was McCarthyism well-intentioned but ultimately unjust?
- Why did America lead the United Nations in the Korean War?
- What was the outcome of the Korean War and why?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 100: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1900s.
  - Question 108: What was the United States' main rival during the Cold War?
  - Question 109: During the Cold War, what was one main concern of the United States?
  - Question 110: Why did the United States enter the Korean War?

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

American life had never been normal for the nearly two decades between the Great Depression and the end of World War II. With its victory over the Axis powers, the United States hoped to regain some normalcy while rising to the status of superpower as the most powerful country in the world. Yet it was not to be. The country's new status brought with it a torrent of challenges to match its equally impressive advantages. While the years immediately following World War II did restore much of the characteristic American way of life, there was no going back to the time before the Depression. Post-war America was a different America, with new opportunities and challenges, especially with the beginning of what would be known as the Cold War between the United States and communism's leading power, the Soviet Union.

Teachers might best plan and teach The Start of the Cold War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the lesson by wrapping up the aftermath of World War II, including the Nuremberg Trials. To help students make sense of the evils of totalitarianism, discuss the main observations of Hannah Arendt in her study of totalitarianism and the Nuremberg Trials. Ask them to reflect upon why Arendt's views were so controversial.
- Juxtapose circumstances in various parts of the world with the situation in the United States, the lands and shores of which were largely untouched by the war. Students should also appreciate the new status that America enjoyed on the world stage and think through the consequences of such power, responsibility, and opportunity.
- Share the immediate domestic situation following the war, from the effects of returning soldiers and the GI Bill to the growth in population and economic production geared toward consumers—what *Fortune* magazine called “The Great American Boom.”
- Shift to the dawning reality of America's being a superpower and the consequences of the atomic age—especially with a powerful foe in the Soviet Union, whose very principles of truth, morality, justice, human dignity, and government stood diametrically opposed to the founding principles of America. Review the differences between the principles of the American Founding and of communism.
- Read and discuss with students excerpts from Winston Churchill's “The Sinews of Peace.”
- Review maps of the world from the time period so students can learn how the Yalta Conference and events in the year following World War II led to a deterioration in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. Trace with students the countries that fell under communist regimes and those that were being decolonized throughout the Cold War, noting especially how much the world map changed after 1945. Of special import is an account of American policy toward the Soviet Union in eastern Europe in the final year of World War II. Students should understand what it meant practically for freedom and human dignity when the Soviet Union brought a country under its control, including arrests, show trials, and executions. Discuss with students the different early approaches to the Cold War, especially the Truman Doctrine, and what these ideas meant in practice. In addition to containment and the creation of NATO, the Marshall Plan was important in forestalling communist inroads in war-ravaged Europe. Students should understand why America had to prevent the spread of communism.
- Have students consider the extent to which concerns over communist infiltration in America were justified, and how nevertheless the American response sometimes employed means of countering these threats that were unjust or unconstitutional.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had at the outset of the Korean War and how these shifted during the war. Having students record simple notes in a “T-Chart” can be effective for this part of the lesson.



- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in 1950, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present to students explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on a map of the Korean Peninsula.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war, especially Douglas MacArthur, Matthew Ridgway, William Dean, and the heroic chaplain Fr. Emil Kapaun.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often and have students track battles and campaigns on maps of the Korean Peninsula.
- Recap the Korean War by considering major statistics, including the number of casualties and deaths on each side, and its effects on America, the Korean peninsula, and the world.

### STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENT

**Assignment:** Explain the opportunities and challenges America faced following World War II, especially with respect to foreign policy and Communism (2-3 paragraphs).

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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Post-War America | Lesson 1, Quiz #1  
*Land of Hope*, Pages 341-354

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Name one effect (positive or negative) that the end of World War II had on American society.
2. Who became president of the United States after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in 1945?
3. What was the name of the American Cold War foreign policy suggested by George Kennan?
4. What was the goal of the Marshall Plan with regard to Europe?
5. Who was the first supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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Post-War America | Lesson 1, Quiz #2  
*Land of Hope*, Pages 354-359

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Who won the United States presidential election of 1948?
2. Which faction ultimately won the post-World War II Chinese civil war?
3. Who were the targets of Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigations in the early 1950s?
4. How did the Korean War begin?
5. Which American military leader was famously fired during the Korean War?

## Lesson 2 — The American Dream

1953–1964

4–5 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the prosperity Americans enjoyed in the 1950s, the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, and the civil rights movement.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope*  
Primary Sources

Pages 359-376  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*  
*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*

Pages 329-330, 348-352  
Pages 213-214, 231-232

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*American Heritage*

Lecture 20  
Lectures 7-8  
Lecture 10

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 359-367, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 213, 214, and 231) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 2:** Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 367-376, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (page 232) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

Iran  
French Indochina  
Cuba  
Suez Canal

New Orleans, Louisiana  
Montgomery, Alabama  
Greensboro, North Carolina  
Lincoln Memorial

#### Persons

Dwight Eisenhower  
Nikita Khrushchev

Ho Chi Minh  
Fidel Castro

|                        |                   |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Alger Hiss             | Dolores Huerta    |
| Elvis Presley          | Dorothy Day       |
| Harper Lee             | Richard Nixon     |
| Dr. Seuss              | John F. Kennedy   |
| Ray Bradbury           | Robert F. Kennedy |
| Thurgood Marshall      | Lee Harvey Oswald |
| Ruby Bridges           | Lyndon B. Johnson |
| Martin Luther King Jr. | John Lewis        |
| Rosa Parks             | Everett Dirksen   |
| Cesar Chavez           |                   |

### Terms and Topics

|  |  |
|--|--|
| interstate highway system                | domino theory  |
| eminent domain                           | Sputnik  |
| suburbanization                          | Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)                    |
| redlining                                | Suez Crisis  |
| television                               | “military-industrial complex”                        |
| Ku Klux Klan                             | “Camelot”  |
| civil rights movement                    | Peace Corps  |
| Southern Christian Leadership Conference | Kennedy tax cuts                                     |
| <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>       | Freedom Riders                                       |
| desegregation                            | National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) |
| civil disobedience                       | Project Apollo                                       |
| Montgomery bus boycott                   | Bay of Pigs  |
| sit-ins                                  | Berlin Wall  |
| mutual assured destruction (MAD)         | Cuban Missile Crisis                                 |
| proxy war                                | “Letter from Birmingham Jail”                        |
| Third World                              | March on Washington                                  |
|  | Civil Rights Act of 1964                             |

### Primary Sources

- Farewell Address, Dwight Eisenhower
- Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy
- “I Have a Dream,” Martin Luther King Jr.
- “Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom,” Martin Luther King Jr.

### To Know by Heart

- “And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” —John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address
- “I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” —Martin Luther King Jr., “I Have a Dream”

### Timeline

|      |                                    |
|------|------------------------------------|
| 1954 | <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> |
| 1957 | Sputnik launched                   |
| 1959 | Cuban Revolution                   |
| 1962 | Cuban Missile Crisis               |

|      |   |
|------|---|
| 1963 | March on Washington<br>John F. Kennedy assassinated |
| 1964 | Civil Rights Act                                    |

**Images**

Historical figures and events  
 Interstate highway system  
 New suburbs  
 First mass use of television and television footage  
 Ruby Bridges' first day of school  
 Bus boycotts, sit-ins, and Freedom Riders  
 Footage from the Kennedy-Nixon debates and Kennedy's inauguration  
 Berlin Wall  
 Bay of Pigs aftermath  
 Footage of the "I Have a Dream" speech by Martin Luther King Jr.

**STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART**

- Biographies of Dwight Eisenhower and Martin Luther King Jr.
- Rosa Parks' account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama
- Relman Morin's account of school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas
- Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Security Council and from Nikita Khrushchev during the Cuban Missile Crisis
- Protests by and abuse of civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama
- James Reston's report on the speech by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Lincoln Memorial
- John F. Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas

**QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND**

- What was life like in 1950s America?
- How did the administrative state and many welfare programs come to be accepted during the 1950s?
- How did America attempt to address communism during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations?
- How did America's approach to the Cold War change the size, composition, and actions of the federal government?
- What moral issues arose from America's clandestine operations, especially in what were called Third World countries?
- What were the major events and effects of the early civil rights movement?
- Why did Martin Luther King Jr. espouse a nonviolent approach to his advocacy for civil rights?
- To what principles did Martin Luther King Jr. appeal in his campaign for civil equality?
- What were Dwight Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address, and what was the basis of those warnings?
- How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?
- What did John F. Kennedy's election seem to suggest about the direction of American policy?
- What were the major accomplishments and failures of the Kennedy administration?
- What were the main arguments put forth by Martin Luther King Jr. in his "I Have a Dream" speech?
- What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:

- Question 107: Dwight Eisenhower is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 111: Why did the United States enter the Vietnam War?
- Question 112: What did the civil rights movement do?
- Question 113: Martin Luther King Jr. is famous for many things. Name one.
- Question 126: Name three national U.S. holidays.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

Despite the tensions with the Soviet Union and the prospect of nuclear war, life in post-war America seemed to be more secure during the 1950s under the Eisenhower administration. As a trusted war hero, Dwight Eisenhower brought a calm to American politics. The American economy soared, burgeoning from a growing population and turning its industrial might from war to peacetime production. The relatively quiet 1950s witnessed the early civil rights movement, reflecting a long-overdue moral reckoning for the frustrating distance between the Founding's principles and the ways in which their implementation was still wanting. The election of John F. Kennedy seemed to usher in a more modern America, but that hope was shattered by his assassination, which began a decade of strife.

Teachers might best plan and teach The American Dream with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Help students to understand that many of the material and technological aspects typical of American life today first appeared in 1950s America, as exemplified by the building of sprawling suburbs, the interstate highway system, mass consumerism and marketing, labor-saving inventions, increasing college enrollment, and television, just to name a few developments. Students should consider how these novelties changed the American experience of life, both bringing a new level of comfort to more Americans while at the same time raising questions about life's ultimate meaning in the minds of many being raised in such prosperity.
- Examine Dwight Eisenhower's general approach to his presidency and the tone he set for the 1950s. Track the extent to which the administrative and welfare state ushered in under the New Deal was retained and normalized.
- Consider with students the ways in which the government bureaucracies and the military changed in response to the threats of nuclear war and communism. As the prospect of nuclear war was avoided by fighting proxy wars, the Truman Doctrine was given more force through new intelligence agencies, many of whose tactics were morally suspect. America was being pulled in a number of directions on the foreign stage, finding itself supporting or undermining regimes all over the world in an effort to restrain communism.
- Teach students about the efforts of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and early 1960s, including *Brown v. Board of Education*, school integration, desegregation, Ruby Bridges, Rosa Parks, the Montgomery bus boycott, the Greensboro sit-in, and Martin Luther King Jr. Note in particular King's various arguments for civil rights, including his appeals to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the American Founding. Students should consider King's character, his contemporary critics within the movement such as Carl Rowan and Roy Wilkins, and his principle of nonviolent civil disobedience, where unjust laws were violated without violence and the lawbreakers would accept the consequences, with the goal of raising awareness to get the laws changed. At the same time, students should learn about the violent responses of government officials and citizens in certain Southern states to civil rights efforts.
- Read with students and watch portions of Eisenhower's Farewell Address, paying special attention to his warnings about consumerism, the bureaucratic state, and most famously the

“military-industrial complex.” Eisenhower’s views on the military, presidency, and foreign policy warrant careful study as excellent examples of political prudence.

- Provide some background on the Kennedy family and its rise to power, including the questions surrounding the 1960 election, particularly in Texas and Illinois.
- Introduce John F. Kennedy by asking students to contrast Kennedy’s appearance and manner of speech with that of previous presidents, including Eisenhower. Help them to recover a sense of the excitement, energy, and hope that Kennedy projected, as captured by the references to America under Kennedy as a kind of “Camelot.” Kennedy began a new wave of Progressive thought and action. Read with students and watch portions of Kennedy’s inaugural address.
- Help students analyze the extent to which John F. Kennedy’s presidency was not a success, even by his own standards. Aside from a tax cut, he saw few domestic successes, and even his foreign policy was fraught with missteps such as the failed Bay of Pigs invasion, disappointing initial talks with the Soviet Union, and deploying more troops to Vietnam while approving the assassination of the South Vietnamese leader Ngô Đình Diệm. Kennedy partially redeemed himself with his leadership during the Cuban Missile Crisis—despite secret concessions that would not emerge for decades afterward—and, in the long run, the establishment of NASA and thus the Apollo moon landing program. Students should imagine each of these crises as they played out, viewing footage where appropriate.
- Read with students the “I Have a Dream” speech by Martin Luther King Jr.
- Discuss the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Students should outline defenses and criticisms of the Act; for example, why Barry Goldwater voted against it even though he had voted in favor of the 1957 and 1960 civil rights acts.

### STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** Explain what actions Dwight Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy took against communism during their administrations (2-3 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Explain the ways in which the civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. was successful; or, Explain the relationship King drew between his efforts for civil rights and the principles of the American Founding (2-3 paragraphs).



Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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Post-War America | Lesson 2, Quiz #1  
*Land of Hope*, Pages 359-367

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Name one of President Eisenhower's accomplishments.
2. What were the two intended goals of the United States' policy of containment?
3. Who took power in Cuba in 1959?
4. Name one aspect of post-World War II American society that jumpstarted the civil rights movement.
5. What relationship did President Eisenhower famously warn against in his 1961 Farewell Address?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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Post-War America | Lesson 2, Quiz #2  
*Land of Hope*, Pages 367-376

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Name one of President Kennedy's successful policies.
2. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 was a tense standoff between which two nations?
3. In what city was President Kennedy assassinated?
4. Name one major event in the civil rights movement that occurred in the late 1950s or early 1960s (excluding the event mentioned in the next question).
5. Who gave the famous "I Have a Dream" speech in August 1963?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Unit 7 — Formative Quiz

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Post-War America | Lessons 1-2  
10-15 minutes

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
2. What was the Truman Doctrine, and what did George Kennan argue about policy toward the Soviet Union?
3. In what ways did President Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
4. What were President Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address?

- 20  
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## Lesson 3 — Tumult: Foreign and Domestic

1964–1974

6–7 classes

### LESSON OBJECTIVE

Students learn about the challenges America faced in the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the cultural revolution and the Vietnam War.

### TEACHER PREPARATION

Create a note outline based on the following:

#### Student Texts

*Land of Hope*  
Primary Sources

Pages 376-393  
See below.

#### Teacher Texts

*A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope*  
*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*

Pages 352-355, 361-364  
Pages 232-234, 239-240

#### Online.Hillsdale.edu

*The Great American Story*  
*American Heritage*  
*Civil Rights in American History*  
*Constitution 101*  
*Constitution 201*

Lectures 21-22  
Lecture 10  
Lecture 8  
Lecture 11  
Lecture 6

### STUDENT PREPARATION

**Assignment 1:** Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 376-383, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (232–233) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

**Assignment 2:** Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 383-393, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (233-234 and 239-240) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

### CORE CONTENT IN THIS LESSON

#### Geography & Places

North Vietnam  
South Vietnam  
Gulf of Tonkin

China  
Saigon

#### Persons

Barry Goldwater  
Ronald Reagan

J. Edgar Hoover  
Walter Cronkite

Malcolm X  
Louis Farrakhan  
James Earl Ray

Neil Armstrong  
Henry Kissinger

### Terms and Topics

|                             |                           |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Voting Rights Act           | riots                     |
| Great Society               | white flight              |
| welfare                     | Vietcong                  |
| Medicare/Medicaid           | Gulf of Tonkin Resolution |
| Aid to Families with        | draft                     |
| Dependent Children          | antiwar movement          |
| Students for a Democratic   | Pentagon Papers           |
| Society (SDS)               | Tet Offensive             |
| The New Left                | Silent Majority           |
| feminism                    | moon landing              |
| Young Americans for Freedom | Apollo 13                 |
| (YAF)                       | Nixon Doctrine            |
| counterculture              | Vietnamization            |
| sexual revolution           | détente                   |
| hippies                     | Kent State shootings      |
| rock music                  | fiat currency             |
| drugs                       | stagflation               |
| Woodstock                   | Paris Peace Accords       |
| environmentalism            | Warren Court              |
| <i>Loving v. Virginia</i>   | Burger Court              |
| black separatism            | <i>Roe v. Wade</i>        |
| Black Panthers              | Watergate scandal         |

### Primary Sources

Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson  
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society  
“Message to Grassroots,” Malcolm X  
“A Time for Choosing,” Ronald Reagan  
“Peace Without Conquest,” Lyndon B. Johnson  
“Soviet Military Might: Western Made,” John Ashbrook

### To Know by Heart

“For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.” —Lyndon B. Johnson, Remarks at the University of Michigan  
“You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We’ll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we’ll sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.” —Ronald Reagan, “A Time for Choosing”

### Timeline

|      |                                     |
|------|-------------------------------------|
| 1965 | Voting Rights Act                   |
| 1968 | Tet Offensive                       |
|      | Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated |
|      | Robert F. Kennedy assassinated      |

|      |                                 |
|------|---------------------------------|
|      | Richard Nixon elected president |
| 1973 | Paris Peace Accords             |
| 1974 | Richard Nixon resigns           |

### Images

Historical figures and events  
 Images from riots  
 Images and uniforms of American, South Vietnamese, and Vietcong soldiers  
 Footage and photographs of scenes from Vietnam  
 Maps: alliances, overall strategies, specific battles  
 Military equipment and weaponry  
 Destruction from the war  
 Antiwar protests  
 Post-war maps

### STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

- James Stockdale's witnessing of the "Tonkin incident"
- Heroic actions of individual soldiers in Vietnam
- Sheyann Webb's account of the Selma-to-Montgomery march
- Jim Ingram's account of the Detroit riots
- Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention
- Neil Armstrong's account of the moon landing
- How the Pentagon Papers were obtained
- The Watergate break-in

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

- What did the Voting Rights Act do?
- What were the ideological and practical components of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society?
- What was the war on poverty?
- What is the welfare state?
- What new federal administrations were established under the Great Society?
- How successful was the Great Society?
- Why were many in the baby boomer generation dissatisfied with American life and politics by the 1960s?
- How did the baby boomer generation influence American politics, especially through the idea of the New Left?
- How did the baby boomer generation influence American culture, especially through the sexual revolution?
- Given the context of the Cold War, why was America fighting in Vietnam?
- What were the backgrounds of American soldiers in the Vietnam War? What was life like for them as they fought in the jungles?
- Why was it difficult, both militarily and domestically, for the United States to achieve complete victory in Vietnam?
- How did the Warren and Burger Courts align with the policy goals of the New Left through their decisions?

- What were Richard Nixon’s main political ideas and the main accomplishments of his presidency?
- What happened in the Watergate scandal?
- Questions from the U.S. Civics Test:
  - Question 111: Why did the United States enter the Vietnam War?
  - Question 112: What did the civil rights movement do?
  - Question 113: Martin Luther King Jr. is famous for many things. Name one.

## KEYS TO THE LESSON

John F. Kennedy’s assassination began a period of tumult in American history that would define the rest of the 1960s and the 1970s. A general dissatisfaction among young college students with the prosperous though somewhat directionless society in which they lived found an outlet in protesting an ill-defined and unpopular conflict in Vietnam that only seemed to worsen with each passing day. Urban riots as well as the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy compounded the sense of chaos, not to mention the ever-present threat of nuclear war. And even when a sense of order seemed to be restored under Richard Nixon, his own domestic scandals and eventual resignation further undermined the confidence of Americans in their country’s leaders.

Teachers might best plan and teach Tumult: Foreign and Domestic with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Offer a background of Lyndon B. Johnson, particularly the challenging circumstances under which he took the oath of office and the responsibilities that came with it. Consider his major domestic policy goals, especially his ideas for extensive legislation, creation of new agencies, and expenditures of federal money to use government to create the Great Society. This was a continuation and expansion of John F. Kennedy’s initial ideas, thus firmly entrenching the newest wave of Progressivism. The principles of limited government were discarded during these years as the role of the federal government in the daily lives of citizens, with associated increases in government power and spending, solidified the administrative state. Johnson’s Great Society sought to broaden the focus of Progressivism while maintaining its views on rights and the purpose and methods of government. Government was meant not merely to preserve rights (as the Founders asserted), or even to achieve economic equality and fulfillment (as in early Progressivism and the New Deal). Taking Progressivism a step further, the Great Society instead sought to use government to achieve a larger sense of *human* fulfillment, with welfare distributed and regulations imposed to alleviate many perceived social and even spiritual ills. It aimed to bring federal government action to areas previously outside its realm, such as public education. It was a message that fit well with a new cultural shift present among America’s giant population of young people born after World War II who were now becoming adults: the baby boomers.
- Explain the origins and characteristics of the baby boomer generation, as manifested during their adolescent and young adult years. Of special focus should be those who attended college, an unprecedented percentage of their generation. Despite unmatched levels of prosperity and opportunity, many in this generation found the consumerist and top-down control of government, college, and other institutions—as well as the resulting cultural, political, and moral expectations—repressive and confining. Anxious about a potential nuclear Armageddon over which they felt no sense of control, and in the wake of the moral and political crusade for civil rights, many baby boomers were itching for something more meaningful.



- Have students identify the two distinct but sometimes overlapping groups into which these young people fell. First, there were those who sought an alternative within politics. These individuals organized themselves as a political force which may be encapsulated in the Port Huron Statement by the Students for a Democratic Society. They constituted what became known as the New Left. While many of the Great Society programs aligned with their demands, they often found Johnson and the establishment Democratic Party to be lacking in energy and revolutionary action. The second group was those who focused mainly on being countercultural, evading and challenging the expected moral and behavioral norms of the World War II generation. These were the hippies and the Woodstock festival-goers. Despite these distinctions, there was certainly overlap between the two groups, and it took only a more concrete and important political-cultural issue to move them to action.
- Ask students to consider the importance of television and especially journalists in guiding the adherents of the above groups through their challenges to positions and people of authority.
- Amidst all of these changes, discuss with students the major philosophical outlook and Supreme Court decisions of the Warren and Burger Courts. Students should track how these judicial cases sometimes established ideas espoused by Progressivism, the New Left, and the cultural revolution without fully exercising the democratic process or adhering to the principles of the American Founding.
- Cover how growing frustrations, especially among a younger generation waiting on the implementation of federal civil rights policies by states, resulted in continued instances of violence committed against African Americans and civil rights advocates. The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. birthed a new approach to civil rights and the betterment of African Americans' position in society—the black power or black nationalist movement. This movement found increased popularity, while King's nonviolent philosophy found itself overtaken by a more combative approach that sometimes cast aside his peaceful ideas.
- Review with students the history of Vietnam, beginning with the French resuming control after World War II, paying particular attention to the gradual increase in the American presence, first under Dwight Eisenhower and then more so under John F. Kennedy. Students should connect American policy in Vietnam with the Truman Doctrine and the policy of containment.
- Have students think through and compare the various advantages and disadvantages each side had following the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in the Vietnam War, and how these shifted during the war. Having students record simple notes in a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Build students' familiarity with the style of warfare in the 1960s, and show them plenty of images to do so. Students need this foundation for their subsequent study of battles. This helps them to imagine and understand what happens in battle and to appreciate the challenges faced by soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Present students with explanations of each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles. Have students track strategy changes on a map of Vietnam.
- As with any conflict, dwell on the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war.
- Teach the war in some detail, especially the major battles and military campaigns. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battle itself, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often, and have students track battles and campaigns on maps of Vietnam.
- Have students consider the political issues surrounding Vietnam, from the war itself to purposes and objectives that were both unclear. On the one hand, note the issues in American political and military leadership: failing to outline concrete objectives; allying with corrupt

South Vietnamese officials yet endorsing their assassinations; the use of the draft to fight a war without clearly defined goals; and the deliberate misleading of the American public by both the government and the media. On the other hand, the restlessness of the New Left and the baby boomer generation found purpose in their opposition to the war and the draft, aided by a press that was unreliable in much of its reporting, particularly about the Tet Offensive. Thus was the effort of the Vietnam War undermined both in the field and at home.

- Have students take a close look at the events of 1968, which included the Tet Offensive, anti-war protests that reached fever pitch, riots, and political upheaval. Students should also understand the political messaging of Richard Nixon and his proposed solutions to the strife America was facing. Additionally, a brief numerical analysis of the effectiveness of the Great Society programs is warranted here, accompanied by a comparison of those programs' principles, means, and results to the views and policies espoused by the American Founders and past presidents such as Abraham Lincoln and Calvin Coolidge.
- Cover Richard Nixon's presidency through his resignation. Of note is Nixon's acceptance and expansion of federal programs and the administrative state—further entrenching the Progressive view of government—as well as the signing of several pieces of legislation and orders concerning civil rights, his détente policy that embraced Communist China and opened it to world trade, and his “Vietnamization” of the war, leading to the dubious Paris Peace Accords in 1973.
- Ensure that students take stock of the bleak situation in America following Richard Nixon's resignation. All the ebullience and hope that had emerged with VJ Day and been sustained through the Truman, Eisenhower, and especially Kennedy administrations had crumbled, leaving the nation mired in war and social, cultural, and political upheaval, with a bloated government that seemed to lack accountability or competency, new social programs that floundered, and the presidency severely tarnished by scandal.

## STRENGTHENING UNDERSTANDING: POST-LESSON ASSIGNMENTS

**Assignment 1:** Explain the main ideas of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, the New Left, or the hippie movement (2-3 paragraphs).

**Assignment 2:** Retell the history of the Vietnam War (3-4 paragraphs).

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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Post-War America | Lesson 3, Quiz #1  
*Land of Hope*, Pages 376-383

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Who succeeded John F. Kennedy as president after his assassination in 1963?
2. Name one effect of Goldwater's defeat in the 1964 United States presidential election.
3. What Congressional act led to the United States' formal military participation in Vietnam?
4. Name one problem the book mentions with the Vietnam War policy of the early 1960s.
5. What cultural force emerged from the societal confusion of the early 1960s?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Reading Quiz

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Post-War America | Lesson 3, Quiz #2  
*Land of Hope*, Pages 383-393

**DIRECTIONS:** Answer each question.

1. Name one event that influenced President Johnson's decision not to run for reelection in 1968.
2. Briefly describe Nixon's "Vietnamization" strategy.
3. How did Nixon improve American-Soviet relations in 1971?
4. What illegal activity on the part of the Nixon administration was exposed during the Watergate investigation?
5. How did Nixon's presidency come to an end?

## **APPENDIX A**

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

## Study Guide — Post-War America Test

Unit 7

Test on \_\_\_\_\_

### TIMELINE

*When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.*

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| 1946-1991 | Cold War   |
| 1950-1953 | Korean War   |
| 1954      | <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>   |
| 1957      | Sputnik launched   |
| 1959      | Cuban Revolution   |
| 1962      | Cuban Missile Crisis   |
| 1963      | March on Washington; John F. Kennedy assassinated  |
| 1964      | Civil Rights Act   |
| 1965      | Voting Rights Act  |
| 1968      | Tet Offensive; Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated; Robert F. Kennedy assassinated;<br>Richard Nixon elected president |
| 1973      | Paris Peace Accords  |
| 1974      | Richard Nixon resigns  |

### GEOGRAPHY AND PLACES

*Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.*

|            |                        |                   |
|------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Turkey     | Korea                  | Greensboro, North |
| Greece     | Iran                   | Carolina          |
| Suez Canal | French Indochina       | Lincoln Memorial  |
| Palestine  | Cuba                   | North Vietnam     |
| Israel     | New Orleans, Louisiana | South Vietnam     |
| China      | Montgomery, Alabama    | Gulf of Tonkin    |
| Taiwan     |                        | Saigon            |

### PERSONS

*Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.*

|                   |                    |                   |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Hannah Arendt     | Jackie Robinson    | Nikita Khrushchev |
| Harry Truman      | George Marshall    | Ho Chi Minh       |
| Joseph Stalin     | Mao Zedong         | Fidel Castro      |
| Winston Churchill | A. Philip Randolph | Harper Lee        |
| George Kennan     | Joseph McCarthy    | Dr. Seuss         |
| J. D. Salinger    | Douglas MacArthur  | Ray Bradbury      |
| E. B. White       | Dwight Eisenhower  | Thurgood Marshall |

Martin Luther King Jr.  
 Rosa Parks  
 Cesar Chavez  
 Dorothy Day  
 Richard Nixon  
 John F. Kennedy

Robert F. Kennedy  
 Lee Harvey Oswald  
 Lyndon B. Johnson  
 Barry Goldwater  
 Ronald Reagan  
 J. Edgar Hoover

Walter Cronkite  
 Malcolm X  
 Neil Armstrong  
 Henry Kissinger

## TERMS AND TOPICS

*Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.*

Nuremberg Trials  
 GI Bill  
 baby boom  
 atomic bomb  
 United Nations  
 communism  
 Cold War  
 Yalta Conference  
 Iron Curtain  
 Truman Doctrine  
 containment  
 National Security Act  
 North Atlantic Treaty  
     Organization (NATO)  
 Warsaw Pact  
 Zionism  
 Sino-Soviet Treaty  
 NSC-68  
 House Committee on Un-  
     American Activities  
 McCarthyism  
 Korean War  
 Battle of Chosin Reservoir  
 Inchon Landing  
 interstate highway system  
 eminent domain  
 Ku Klux Klan  
 civil rights movement  
*Brown v. Board of Education*

desegregation  
 civil disobedience  
 Montgomery bus boycott  
 sit-ins  
 mutual assured destruction  
     (MAD)  
 Third World  
 domino theory  
 Sputnik  
 Central Intelligence Agency  
     (CIA)  
 Suez Crisis  
 Peace Corps  
 National Aeronautics and  
     Space Administration  
     (NASA)  
 Bay of Pigs  
 Berlin Wall  
 Cuban Missile Crisis  
 “Letter from Birmingham  
     Jail”  
 March on Washington  
 Civil Rights Act of 1964  
 Voting Rights Act  
 Great Society  
 welfare  
 Students for a Democratic  
     Society (SDS)  
 The New Left

feminism  
 Young Americans for  
     Freedom (YAF)  
 sexual revolution  
 hippies  
 Woodstock  
 environmentalism  
*Loving v. Virginia*  
 black separatism  
 Black Panthers  
 riots  
 Vietcong  
 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution  
 draft  
 antiwar movement  
 Tet Offensive  
 moon landing  
 Apollo 13  
 Nixon Doctrine  
 Vietnamization  
 détente  
 stagflation  
 Paris Peace Accords  
 Warren Court  
 Burger Court  
*Roe v. Wade*  
 Watergate scandal

## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well prepared.*

“The Sinews of Peace,” Winston Churchill  
“The Sources of Soviet Conduct,” George Kennan  
“A Fateful Hour,” Harry Truman  
The Cold War, Walter Lippmann  
Resolution 68, National Security Council  
Farewell Address, Dwight Eisenhower  
Inaugural Address, John F. Kennedy  
“I Have a Dream,” Martin Luther King, Jr.  
“Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom,” Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Remarks at the University of Michigan, Lyndon B. Johnson  
Port Huron Statement, Students for a Democratic Society  
“Message to Grassroots,” Malcolm X  
“A Time for Choosing,” Ronald Reagan  
“Peace Without Conquest,” Lyndon B. Johnson  
“Soviet Military Might: Western Made,” John Ashbrook

## TO KNOW BY HEART

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.*

“There is no doubt in my mind that we are in the presence of one of the greatest and most horrible crimes ever committed. It has been done by scientific machinery by nominally civilized men in the name of a great state and one of the leading races of Europe.” —Winston Churchill on the Holocaust

“From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.” —Winston Churchill, “The Sinews of Peace”

“And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.” —John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.” —Martin Luther King Jr., “I have a Dream”

“For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.” —Lyndon B. Johnson, Remarks at the University of Michigan

“You and I have a rendezvous with destiny. We’ll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we’ll sentence them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.” —Ronald Reagan, “A Time for Choosing”

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.*

- Biography of Harry Truman
- Reginald Thompson’s account of the American retreat from Chongchon River at the start of the Korean War



- Harry Truman's dismissal of Douglas MacArthur
- Biographies of Dwight Eisenhower and Martin Luther King Jr.
- Rosa Parks' account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama
- Relman Morin's account of school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas
- Protests by and abuse of civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama
- James Reston's report on the speech by Martin Luther King Jr. at the Lincoln Memorial
- John F. Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas
- James Stockdale's witnessing of the "Tonkin incident"
- Heroic actions of individual soldiers in Vietnam
- Sheyann Webb's account of the Selma-to-Montgomery march
- Jim Ingram's account of the Detroit riots
- Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention
- Neil Armstrong's account of the moon landing
- The Watergate break-in

### QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.*

#### Lesson 1 | The Start of the Cold War

- ☐ How were Europe and America different following World War II?
- ☐ What insights did Hannah Arendt provide about totalitarianism?
- ☐ In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?
- ☐ How and why did Harry Truman desegregate the armed forces?
- ☐ What is meant by the term "Cold War"?
- ☐ What were the risks inherent in having atomic weapons? What were the benefits?
- ☐ How did the main principles and goals of communism contrast with the ideas of the American Founding?
- ☐ What events in the late 1940s and early 1950s proved that communism would be a formidable foe?
- ☐ What did the Truman Doctrine say, and what did George Kennan argue, about policy towards the Soviet Union?
- ☐ What did NSC-68 say about how to counter the spread of communism more broadly?
- ☐ In what ways did Harry Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
- ☐ To what extent was McCarthyism well-intentioned but ultimately unjust?
- ☐ Why did America lead the United Nations in the Korean War?
- ☐ What was the outcome of the Korean War and why?

#### Lesson 2 | The American Dream

- ☐ What was life like in 1950s America?
- ☐ How did the administrative state and many welfare programs come to be accepted during the 1950s?
- ☐ How did America attempt to address communism during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations?
- ☐ How did America's approach to the Cold War change the size, composition, and actions of the federal government?

- ☐ What were the major events and effects of the early civil rights movement?
- ☐ To what principles did Martin Luther King Jr. appeal in his campaign for civil equality?
- ☐ What were Dwight Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address, and what was the basis of those warnings?
- ☐ How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?
- ☐ What were the main arguments of Martin Luther King Jr. in his "I Have a Dream" speech?
- ☐ What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?

### **Lesson 3 | Tumult: Foreign and Domestic**

- ☐ What did the Voting Rights Act do?
- ☐ What were the ideological and practical components of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society?
- ☐ What was the war on poverty?
- ☐ What is the welfare state?
- ☐ Why were many in the baby boomer generation dissatisfied with American life and politics by the 1960s?
- ☐ How did the baby boomer generation influence American politics, especially through the idea of the New Left?
- ☐ How did the baby boomer generation influence American culture, especially through the sexual revolution?
- ☐ Given the context of the Cold War, why was America fighting in Vietnam?
- ☐ What were the backgrounds of American soldiers in the Vietnam War? What was life like for them as they fought in the jungles?
- ☐ Why was it difficult, both militarily and domestically, for the United States to achieve complete victory in Vietnam?
- ☐ How did the Warren and Burger courts align with the policy goals of the New Left through their decisions?
- ☐ What were Richard Nixon's main political ideas and the main accomplishments of his presidency?
- ☐ What happened in the Watergate scandal?

Name\_\_\_\_\_

Date\_\_\_\_\_

## Test — Post-War America

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Unit 7

### TIMELINE

Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

|           |       |  |
|-----------|-------|--|
| 1946–1991 | _____ | A. March on Washington; John F. Kennedy assassinated   |
| 1950–1953 | _____ | B. Sputnik launched  |
| 1954      | _____ | C. Richard Nixon resigns   |
| 1957      | _____ | D. Cuban Missile Crisis  |
| 1959      | _____ | E. Civil Rights Act  |
| 1962      | _____ | F. Korean War  |
| 1963      | _____ | G. Paris Peace Accords   |
| 1964      | _____ | H. Cuban Revolution  |
| 1965      | _____ | I. Cold War  |
| 1968      | _____ | J. Voting Rights Act   |
| 1973      | _____ | K. <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>  |
| 1974      | _____ | L. Tet Offensive; Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy assassinated; Richard Nixon elected president |

## GEOGRAPHY & PLACES

*Answer the following questions based on readings, class notes, and the Cold War map below.*



(Map from David Burns/Fasttrack Teaching Materials)

1. Name three countries affiliated with the West during the Cold War.
2. Name three countries affiliated with the Soviet Union during the Cold War (other than Russia).

3. Name two countries that remained neutral during the Cold War.
4. Name two pro-Western and two pro-Soviet countries that emerged in the two decades following World War II.
5. What were the respective capitals of North Vietnam and South Vietnam?

## PERSONS, TERMS, AND TOPICS

*Fill in the blanks.*

6. \_\_\_\_\_ was the president who led the United States through its early confrontations with the Soviet Union and communism.
7. The \_\_\_\_\_, or the rapid expansion of family growth from approximately 1945-1960, dramatically changed the societal and cultural landscape of post-World War II America.
8. \_\_\_\_\_, in his famous speech on March 5, 1946, heralded the presence of the \_\_\_\_\_ which divided Europe between the free West and the Soviet-dominated East.
9. The \_\_\_\_\_ was the primary geopolitical conflict that shaped the world from roughly 1945-1991, despite the lack of direct warfare between its two main parties.
10. The policy of \_\_\_\_\_, or resistance to the expansion of Soviet influence throughout the world, was first publicly laid out by the American diplomat \_\_\_\_\_ in 1947.
11. The \_\_\_\_\_, which lasted from 1950-1953, was the first major open conflict fought between Western and Communist forces.

12. After carrying out a coup in 1959 that overthrew the regime of Fulgencio Batista, \_\_\_\_\_ became the new leader of Cuba who quickly sided with the Soviet Union.
13. The landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision \_\_\_\_\_, despite its hostile reception in the South, began the process of \_\_\_\_\_—a major step forward in the civil rights movement.
14. \_\_\_\_\_ was a central figure in the American civil rights movement from the early 1950s to his assassination in 1968.
15. The \_\_\_\_\_, which took place in 1955, was one of the earliest examples of the civil rights movement's adoption of, and success in using, nonviolent resistance.
16. On November 22, 1963, \_\_\_\_\_ was assassinated by the Communist sympathizer \_\_\_\_\_ while visiting Dallas, Texas.
17. The \_\_\_\_\_ of 1956 reinforced the United States' dominance in the Western world with regard to foreign policy against the Soviet Union.
18. Despite \_\_\_\_\_'s loss in the 1964 United States presidential election, his championing of conservative thought would ultimately result in the election of \_\_\_\_\_ as president almost 20 years later.
19. Despite the victories won by nonviolent resistance in the civil rights movement, the idea of \_\_\_\_\_ began to emerge in the 1960s as a response to the apparent lack of progress through normal political and societal means.
20. After his defeat in the 1960 United States presidential election, \_\_\_\_\_ finally triumphed in 1968 due to the internal conflict of the Democrat Party and general discontent with America's condition at the time.
21. The \_\_\_\_\_, which took place on January 31, 1968, massively shifted public opinion against the Vietnam War—despite its being a significant American military success against North Vietnam.
22. On July 20, 1969, \_\_\_\_\_ became the first man to walk on the moon during the Apollo 11 space mission.

23. The \_\_\_\_\_, which took place from 1972-1974, saw all three branches of American government pitted against each other, and would ultimately go on to become one of the most infamous events in the country's political history.

## KNOW BY HEART

*Fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker/author.*

24. "There is no doubt in my mind that we are in the presence of one of the \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ crimes ever committed. It has been done by \_\_\_\_\_ by \_\_\_\_\_ men in the name of a great state and one of the leading races of Europe."—  
\_\_\_\_\_
25. "From \_\_\_\_\_ in the Baltic to \_\_\_\_\_ in the Adriatic, an \_\_\_\_\_ has descended across the Continent."—  
\_\_\_\_\_, "The Sinews of Peace"
26. "And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what \_\_\_\_\_—ask what \_\_\_\_\_."—  
\_\_\_\_\_
27. "I have a dream that my \_\_\_\_\_ little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the \_\_\_\_\_ but by the \_\_\_\_\_."—  
\_\_\_\_\_, "I Have a Dream"

## STORIES FOR THE AMERICAN HEART

*In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.*

28. Rosa Parks' account of riding in the front of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama

29. Studs Terkel's account of the student riots at the Democratic National Convention

## QUESTIONS FOR THE AMERICAN MIND

*Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.*

30. How were Europe and America different following World War II?

31. In what ways did life change for Americans after World War II? Why?



32. What were the risks inherent in having atomic weapons? What were the benefits?
33. What events in the late 1940s and early 1950s proved that communism would be a formidable foe?
34. What did the Truman Doctrine say, and what did George Kennan argue, about policy towards the Soviet Union?
35. In what ways did President Truman and the United States initially seek to address the threat of communism?
36. What was life like in 1950s America?
37. How did America attempt to address communism during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations?
38. What were the major events and effects of the early civil rights movement?
39. What were President Eisenhower's main warnings to America, as outlined in his Farewell Address, and what rooted those warnings?
40. How can John F. Kennedy be compared to preceding presidents?
41. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 do?
42. What did the Voting Rights Act of 1965 do?

43. What were the ideological and practical components of President Johnson's Great Society?
44. How did the baby boomer generation influence American politics, especially through the idea of the New Left?
45. Given the context of the Cold War, why was America fighting in Vietnam?
46. Why was it difficult, both militarily and domestically, for the United States to achieve complete victory in Vietnam?
47. What happened in the Watergate scandal?

## Writing Assignment — Post-War America

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Unit 7

Due on \_\_\_\_\_

### **DIRECTIONS**

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write an essay of 500–800 words answering the following question:

What aspects of American society (culture, politics, etc.) remained the same, and what aspects changed between the end of World War II (1945) and the end of the Vietnam War (1973)?

## **APPENDIX B**

### Primary Sources

Winston S. Churchill

George F. Kennan

Harry S. Truman

Walter Lippmann

National Security Council (NSC)

Dwight D. Eisenhower

John F. Kennedy

Martin Luther King Jr.

Lyndon B. Johnson

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

Malcolm X

Ronald Reagan

John Ashbrook

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

# The Sinews of Peace

SPEECH

March 5, 1946

Westminster College | Fulton, MO

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## BACKGROUND

Following the end of World War II, former British prime minister Winston Churchill was invited to deliver a speech in the United States by President Harry Truman. The resulting speech, delivered at Westminster College, famously defined the landscape of the nascent Cold War and the stakes it involved.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What “strategic concept” does Churchill propose?
2. What is the “supreme task and duty” of the American and English peoples?
3. What method is employed to fulfill this duty?
4. What is necessary for the United Nations to be effective?
5. What ought foreign policy to look like following World War II, according to Churchill?
6. What is the “Iron Curtain”?

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Winston S. Churchill. “The Sinews of Peace.” Speech, March 5, 1946. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/sinews-of-peace-iron-curtain/>.

I am glad to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and am complimented that you should give me a degree. The name “Westminster” is somehow familiar to me.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric, and one or two other things. In fact we have both been educated at the same, or similar, or, at any rate, kindred establishments.

5

It is also an honour, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties, and responsibilities—unsought but not recoiled from—the President has travelled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here to-day and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean, and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom, and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind, and that I speak only for myself. There is nothing here but what you see.

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15

20

I can therefore allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms, and to try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

25

30

The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe inspiring accountability to the future. If you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

When American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write  
5 at the head of their directive the words “over-all strategic concept.” There is wisdom in this, as it leads to clarity of thought. What then is the over-all strategic concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress, of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment homes where the  
10 wage-earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord, or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

To give security to these countless homes, they must be shielded from the two giant  
15 marauders, war and tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbances in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the breadwinner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty States dissolve over large areas the frame  
20 of civilised society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, even ground to pulp.

When I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualise what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the  
25 earth. None can compute what has been called ‘the unestimated sum of human pain’. Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. We are all agreed on that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed their “over-all strategic  
30 concept” and computed available resources, always proceed to the next step—namely, the method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A world organisation has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war. UNO, the successor of

the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of peace in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung  
5 up, and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel. Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation we must be certain that our temple is built, not upon shifting sands or quagmires, but upon the rock. Anyone can see with his eyes open that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two world wars—though not, alas, in the interval between  
10 them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organisation must immediately begin to be equipped with an  
15 international armed force. In such a matter we can only go step by step, but we must begin now. I propose that each of the Powers and States should be invited to delegate a certain number of air squadrons to the service of the world organisation. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries, but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their  
20 own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation, but in other respects they would be directed by the world organisation. This might be started on a modest scale and would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War, and I devoutly trust it may be done forthwith.

25  
It would nevertheless be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the world organisation, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. No one in any  
30 country has slept less well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it, are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and if



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolised for the time being these dread agencies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination. God has willed that this shall not be and we have at least a breathing space  
5 to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered: and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment, or threat of employment, by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of man is truly embodied and expressed in a world organisation with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these  
10 powers would naturally be confided to that world organisation.

Now I come to the second danger of these two marauders which threatens the cottage, the home, and the ordinary people—namely, tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not  
15 valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time when difficulties are so numerous to interfere  
20 forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and the English common law find their most famous expression in the American  
25 Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell; that freedom of  
30 speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practise – let us practise what we preach.

5 I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people: War and Tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of war and tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and co-operation can bring in the next few years to the world, certainly in the next few decades newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an  
10 expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I  
15 have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr Bourke Cockran. 'There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace.' So far I feel that we are in full agreement.

20

Now, while still pursuing the method of realising our overall strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have travelled here to say. Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organisation will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship  
25 between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States. This is no time for generalities, and I will venture to be precise. Fraternal association requires not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society, but the continuance of the intimate relationship between our military advisers, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of  
30 weapons and manuals of instructions, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at technical colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all Naval and Air Force bases in the possession of

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

either country all over the world. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted  
5 to our joint care in the near future.

The United States has already a Permanent Defence Agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made under  
10 formal alliances. This principle should be extended to all British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only, shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any. Eventually there may come—I feel eventually there will come—the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose  
15 outstretched arm many of us can already clearly see.

There is however an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our overriding loyalties to the World Organisation? I reply that, on the contrary,  
20 it is probably the only means by which that organisation will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned, and there are the special relations between the United States and the South American Republics. We British have our twenty years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr Bevin, the Foreign Secretary  
25 of Great Britain, that it might well be a fifty years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual assistance and collaboration. The British have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384, and which produced fruitful results at critical moments in the late war. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement, or a world organisation; on the contrary they help it. 'In my father's house  
30 are many mansions.' Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbour no design

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial and, as I believe, indispensable.

5 I spoke earlier of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are inter-mingled, and if they have 'faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future and charity towards each other's shortcomings'—to quote some good words I read here the other day—why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each  
10 other's working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return, the Stone Age may return on the glittering wings of science, and what might now  
15 shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing events to drift along until it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that  
20 it plays its part in steadying and stabilising the foundations of peace. There is the path of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organisation intends to do  
25 in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytising tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting  
30 friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

5

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must  
10 call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its immortal glories—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful  
15 inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in  
20 Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy.

Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist  
25 party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favours to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles upon a front of nearly 400 miles, in order to allow our Russian allies to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had  
30 conquered.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions  
5 may be drawn from these facts—and facts they are—this is certainly not the Liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

The safety of the world requires a new unity in Europe, from which no nation should  
10 be permanently outcast. It is from the quarrels of the strong parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed, or which occurred in former times, have sprung. Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States, against their wishes and their traditions, against arguments, the force of which it is impossible not to comprehend, drawn by irresistible forces, into these wars in time to secure the victory of the good  
15 cause, but only after frightful slaughter and devastation had occurred. Twice the United States has had to send several millions of its young men across the Atlantic to find the war; but now war can find any nation, wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn. Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe, within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with its Charter. That I  
20 feel is an open cause of policy of very great importance.

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist Party is seriously hampered by having to {support} the Communist-trained Marshal Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the  
25 Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance. Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a {strong} France and I never lost faith in her destiny, even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now. However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and  
30 work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre. Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilisation. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy; but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

5

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favourable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend all through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected to last for a further 18 months from the end of the German war. In this country you are all so well informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

10

I have felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a high minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr Lloyd-George, who was the head of the British delegation at Versailles. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now. In those days there were high hopes and unbounded confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel that same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at the present time.

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On the other hand I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries. Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to

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ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

5 From what I have seen of our Russian friends and Allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength. If the Western  
10 Democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If however they become divided or falter in their duty and if these all-important years are allowed to slip away then indeed catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

15 Last time I saw it all coming and cried aloud to my own fellow-countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up till the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind. There never was a war in  
20 all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honoured today; but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool. We surely must not let that happen again. This can only be achieved by reaching now, in  
25 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organisation and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title “The  
30 Sinews of Peace.”



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Because you see the 46 millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one half, even in war-time, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose  
5 that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defence of our traditions, our way of life, and of the world causes which you and we espouse. If the population of the English-speaking Commonwealths be added to that of the United States with all that  
10 such co-operation implies in the air, on the sea, all over the globe and in science and in industry, and in moral force, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength seeking no one's land or  
15 treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men; if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high-roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for a century to come.

**GEORGE F. KENNAN**

# The Sources of Soviet Conduct

ARTICLE EXCERPTS

*Foreign Affairs* | July 1947

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**BACKGROUND**

An American diplomat stationed in Moscow, George Kennan wrote his confidential yet influential “Long Telegram” in 1946, which discussed how best to understand the Soviet Union’s aggressive post-World War II actions. A year later, an edited and expanded version of the “Telegram” was published by Kennan (albeit anonymously) in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. In this article, Kennan publicly analyzed the culture of the Soviet Union and proposed methods on how America best ought to respond to it.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What does Kennan say is the main enemy of socialism?
2. How does he say any “positive” developments from Russia should be understood?
3. Why does Kennan say the Soviet Union is not in a hurry to achieve victory?
4. What is the primary method he suggests the United States use against the Soviet Union?
5. What other diplomatic tactics does Kennan recommend?
6. Why does Kennan believe that the struggle between America and the Soviet Union is ultimately a good thing for America?

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George F. Kennan. “Excerpts from ‘Sources of Soviet Conduct.’” Journal article excerpts, *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/excerpts-from/>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Of the original [communist] ideology, nothing has been officially junked. Belief is maintained in the basic badness of capitalism, in the inevitability of its destruction, in the obligation of the proletariat [the working class] to assist in that destruction and to take power into its own hands. But stress has come to be laid primarily on those concepts which relate most specifically to the Soviet regime itself: to its position as the sole truly Socialist regime in a dark and misguided world, and to the relationships of power within it.

The first of these concepts is that of the innate antagonism between capitalism and Socialism. We have seen how deeply that concept has become imbedded in foundations of Soviet power. It has profound implications for Russia's conduct as a member of international society. It means that there can never be on Moscow's side a sincere assumption of a community of aims between the Soviet Union and powers which are regarded as capitalist. It must inevitably be assumed in Moscow that the aims of the capitalist world are antagonistic to the Soviet regime, and therefore to the interests of the peoples it controls. If the Soviet government occasionally sets its signature to documents which would indicate the contrary, this is to be regarded as a tactical maneuver permissible in dealing with the enemy (who is without honor) and should be taken in the spirit of caveat emptor [literally, "buyer beware"; in other words, don't trust it]. Basically, the antagonism remains. ... And from it flow many of the phenomena which we find disturbing in the Kremlin's conduct of foreign policy: the secretiveness, the lack of frankness, the duplicity, the wary suspiciousness, and the basic unfriendliness of purpose. These phenomena are there to stay, for the foreseeable future. There can be variations of degree and of emphasis. When there is something the Russians want from us, one or the other of these features of their policy may be thrust temporarily into the background; and when that happens there will always be Americans who will leap forward with gleeful announcements that "the Russians have changed," and some who will even try to take credit for having brought about such "changes." But we should not be misled by tactical maneuvers. These characteristics of Soviet policy, like the postulate from which they flow, are basic to the internal nature of Soviet power, and will be with us, whether in the foreground or the background, until the internal nature of Soviet power is changed.

This means we are going to continue for long time to find the Russians difficult to deal with. It does not mean that they should be considered as embarked upon a do-or-die program to overthrow our society by a given date. The theory of the inevitability of the  
5 eventual fall of capitalism has the fortunate connotation that there is no hurry about it. The forces of progress can take their time in preparing the final coup de grace [the death blow; that is, the destruction of capitalism]. Meanwhile, what is vital is that the “Socialist fatherland”—that oasis of power which has already been won for Socialism in the person of the Soviet Union—should be cherished and defended by all good  
10 Communists at home and abroad, its fortunes promoted, its enemies badgered and confounded. The promotion of premature, “adventuristic” revolutionary projects abroad which might embarrass Soviet power in any way would be an inexcusable, even a counter-revolutionary act. The cause of Socialism is the support and promotion of Soviet power, as defined in Moscow. ...

15 But we have seen that the Kremlin is under no ideological compulsion to accomplish its purposes in a hurry. Like the Church, it is dealing in ideological concepts which are of long-term validity, and it can afford to be patient. It has no right to risk the existing achievements of the revolution for the sake of vain baubles of the future. The very  
20 teachings of [Vladimir] Lenin [the founder of the Soviet Union] himself require great caution and flexibility in the pursuit of Communist purposes. Again, these precepts are fortified by the lessons of Russian history: of centuries of obscure battles between nomadic forces over the stretches of a vast unfortified plain. Here caution, circumspection, flexibility and deception are the valuable qualities; and their value  
25 finds a natural appreciation in the Russian ... mind. Thus the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior forces. And being under the compulsion of no timetable, it does not get panicky under the necessity for such retreat. Its political action is a fluid stream which moves constantly, wherever it is permitted to move, toward a given goal. Its main concern is to make sure that it has filled every  
30 nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power. But if it finds unassailable barriers in its path, it accepts these philosophically and accommodates itself to them. The main thing is that there should always be pressure, unceasing constant pressure,

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

toward the desired goal. There is no trace of any feeling in Soviet psychology that that goal must be reached at any given time.

These considerations make Soviet diplomacy at once easier and more difficult to deal with than the diplomacy of individual aggressive leaders like Napoleon and Hitler. On the one hand it is more sensitive to contrary force, more ready to yield on individual sectors of the diplomatic front when that force is felt to be too strong, and thus more rational in the logic and rhetoric of power. On the other hand it cannot be easily defeated or discouraged by a single victory on the part of its opponents. And the patient persistence by which it is animated means that it can be effectively countered not by sporadic acts which represent the momentary whims of democratic opinion but only by intelligent long-range policies on the part of Russia's adversaries—policies no less steady in their purpose, and no less variegated and resourceful in their application, than those of the Soviet Union itself.

In these circumstances it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies. It is important to note, however, that such a policy has nothing to do with outward histrionics: with threats or blustering or superfluous gestures of outward "toughness." While the Kremlin is basically flexible in its reaction to political realities, it is by no means unamenable [unresponsive] to considerations of prestige. Like almost any other government, it can be placed by tactless and threatening gestures in a position where it cannot afford to yield even though this might be dictated by its sense of realism. The Russian leaders are keen judges of human psychology, and as such they are highly conscious that loss of temper and of self-control is never a source of strength in political affairs. They are quick to exploit such evidences of weakness. For these reasons it is a *sine qua non* [a necessary requirement] of successful dealing with Russia that the foreign government in question should remain at all times cool and collected and that its demands on Russian policy should be put forward in such a manner as to leave the way open for a compliance not too detrimental to Russian prestige. ...

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

It is clear that the United States cannot expect in the foreseeable future to enjoy political intimacy with the Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies will reflect no abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence of the Socialist and capitalist worlds, but rather a cautious, persistent pressure toward the disruption and weakening of all rival influence and rival power.

Balanced against this are the facts that Russia, as opposed to the western world in general, is still by far the weaker party, that Soviet policy is highly flexible, and that Soviet society may well contain deficiencies which will eventually weaken its own total potential. This would of itself warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world.

But in actuality the possibilities for American policy are by no means limited to holding the line and hoping for the best. It is entirely possible for the United States to influence by its actions the internal developments, both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement, by which Russian policy is largely determined. This is not only a question of the modest measure of informational activity which this government can conduct in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, although that, too, is important. It is rather a question of the degree to which the United States can create among the peoples of the world generally the impression of a country which knows what it wants, which is coping successfully with the problem of its internal life and with the responsibilities of a World Power, and which has a spiritual vitality capable of holding its own among the major ideological currents of the time. To the extent that such an impression can be created and maintained, the aims of Russian Communism must appear sterile and quixotic, the hopes and enthusiasm of Moscow's supporters must wane, and added strain must be imposed on the Kremlin's foreign policies. For the palsied decrepitude of the capitalist world is the keystone of Communist philosophy. Even the failure of the United States to experience the early economic

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

depression which the ravens of the Red Square have been predicting with such complacent confidence since hostilities ceased would have deep and important repercussions throughout the Communist world.

- 5 By the same token, exhibitions of indecision, disunity and internal disintegration within this country have an exhilarating effect on the whole Communist movement. At each evidence of these tendencies, a thrill of hope and excitement goes through the Communist world; a new jauntiness can be noted in the Moscow tread; new groups of foreign supporters climb on to what they can only view as the band wagon of  
10 international politics; and Russian pressure increases all along the line in international affairs.

- It would be an exaggeration to say that American behavior unassisted and alone could exercise a power of life and death over the Communist movement and bring about the  
15 early fall of Soviet power in Russia. But the United States has it in its power to increase enormously the strains under which Soviet policy must operate, to force upon the Kremlin a far greater degree of moderation and circumspection than it has had to observe in recent years, and in this way to promote tendencies which must eventually find their outlet in either the breakup or the gradual mellowing of Soviet power. For  
20 no mystical, Messianic movement—and particularly not that of the Kremlin—can face frustration indefinitely without eventually adjusting itself in one way or another to the logic of that state of affairs.

- Thus the decision will really fall in large measure in this country itself. The issue of  
25 Soviet-American relations is in essence a test of the overall worth of the United States as a nation among nations. To avoid destruction the United States need only measure up to its own best traditions and prove itself worthy of preservation as a great nation.

- Surely, there was never a fairer test of national quality than this. In the light of these  
30 circumstances, the thoughtful observer of Russian-American relations will find no cause for complaint in the Kremlin's challenge to American society. He will rather experience a certain gratitude to a Providence which, by providing the American

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

people with this implacable challenge, has made their entire security as a nation dependent on their pulling themselves together and accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership that history plainly intended them to bear.



**HARRY S. TRUMAN**

# A Fateful Hour (Truman Doctrine)

SPEECH

March 12, 1947

United States Congress | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

Many nations around the world struggled to rebuild from the devastating effects of World War II. Because the vast majority of these countries were economically unstable, the risk of Communist influence and infiltration was extremely high. In this speech to Congress, President Harry Truman requested aid for two such nations, Greece and Turkey, and in the process proposed modifications to America's understanding of post-World War II foreign policy—especially where the possibility of Soviet “intervention” was concerned.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. According to Truman, what was the situation in Greece and Turkey?
2. Why does he believe America ought to aid other nations?
3. What are the two “alternative ways of life” Truman describes?
4. What does he request from Congress?
5. What does Truman say American assistance will provide to the world in general?

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Harry S. Truman. “Truman Doctrine.” Speech, March 12, 1947. From the Avalon Project.

[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/trudoc.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp).

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress of the United States:

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

- 5 One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

- 10 The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

- 15 I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

- 20 Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace loving country has suffered invasion, four years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

- 25 When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five per cent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

- 30 As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security, so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists and technicians to ensure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the government throughout Greek territory. Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

- 5 We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

- 10 It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece; in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

- 15 No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The Government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents eighty-five per cent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

- 25 The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

- 30 Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece. And during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid.

5 Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

10

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties *{it}* can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

15

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

20

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

25

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

30

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

- 5 The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

10

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

- 15 One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

- 20 The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

- 25 I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

30

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

5 It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

10

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

15

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

20

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

25 We must take immediate and resolute action.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

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ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than 1 tenth of 1 per cent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.



**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world — and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

5

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

**WALTER LIPPMANN**

# The Cold War: A Study in US Foreign Policy

BOOK EXCERPTS

1947

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**BACKGROUND**

The Truman Doctrine provided for the United States the guideposts for a post-World War II foreign policy addressing the rising fear of Soviet domination of Europe. The Doctrine was in fact an outgrowth of the policy of containment—first championed, as has been seen, by George Kennan—that aimed to keep the Soviet Union and its military movements in check across the globe. However, the American journalist Walter Lippmann wrote his book *The Cold War: A Study in US Foreign Policy* both to analyze and to criticize Kennan and the policy of containment.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. Why does Lippmann object to the policy of containment?
2. What does the conflict between America and the Soviet Union do to other nations?
3. What diplomacy issues does Lippmann say the “Yalta military boundary” creates?
4. How ought the United States to approach the Soviet Union?
5. What does Lippmann argue the true goal of any American foreign policy should be?

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Walter Lippmann. “Excerpts from *The Cold War*.” Book excerpts, 1947. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/excerpts-from-the-cold-war/>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

My objection ... to the policy of containment is not that it seeks to confront the Soviet power with American power, but that the policy is misconceived, and must result in a misuse of American power. For as I have sought to show, it commits this country to a struggle which has for its objective nothing more substantial than the hope that in ten or fifteen years the Soviet power will, as the result of long frustration, “break up” or “mellow.” In this prolonged struggle the role of the United States is, according to Mr. X, to react “at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points” to the encroachments of the Soviet power.

10 The policy, therefore, concedes to the Kremlin the strategical initiative as to when, where and under what local circumstances the issue is to be joined. It compels the United States to meet the Soviet pressure at these shifting geographical and political points by using satellite states, puppet governments and agents which have been subsidized and supported, though their effectiveness is meager and their reliability uncertain. By forcing  
15 us to expend our energies and our substance upon these dubious and unnatural allies on the perimeter of the Soviet Union, the effect of the policy is to neglect our natural allies in the Atlantic community, and to alienate them.

They are alienated also by the fact that they do not wish to become, like the nations of  
20 the perimeter, the clients of the United States in whose affairs we intervene, asking as the price of our support that they take the directives of their own policy from Washington. They are alienated above all by the prospect of war, which could break out by design or accident, by miscalculation or provocation, if at any of these constantly shifting geographical and political points the Russians or Americans became so deeply engaged  
25 that no retreat or compromise was possible. In this war their lands would be the battlefield. Their peoples would be divided by civil conflict. Their cities and their fields would be the bases and the bridgeheads in a total war which, because it would merge into a general civil war, would be as indecisive as it was savage. ...

30 I am contending that the American diplomatic effort should be concentrated on the problem created by the armistice – which is on how the continent of Europe can be evacuated by the three non-European armies which are now inside Europe. This is the

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

problem which will have to be solved if the independence of the European nations is to be restored. Without that there is no possibility of a tolerable peace. But if these armies withdraw, there will be a very different balance of power in the world than there is today, and one which cannot easily be upset. For the nations of Europe, separately and in groups, perhaps even in unity, will then, and then only, cease to be the stakes and the pawns of the Russian-American conflict. ...

The terms of the problem were defined at Yalta in the winter of 1945. There, with a victory over Germany in sight, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin made a military settlement which fixed the boundaries where the converging armies were to meet, and were to wait while the governments negotiated the terms of peace which would provide for the withdrawal of the armies. The crucial issue in the world today is whether the Yalta military boundary, which was intended to be provisional for the period of the armistice, is to become the political boundary of two hostile coalitions. ...

The Yalta military boundary was the datum line from which the diplomatic settlement of the war had necessarily to begin. It was, I believe, at this juncture that American diplomacy became confused, lost sight of the primary and essential objective, and became entangled in all manner of secondary issues and disputes in the Russian borderlands.

The British and the Americans, of course, could not accept the permanent division of the European continent along the Yalta line. They could not accept a settlement in which Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria would lose all independence and become incorporated as Soviet republics in the U.S.S.R. They had a debt of honor to the countless patriots in those lands. They realized that if the frontiers of the Soviet system were extended as far west as the middle of Germany and Austria, then not only Germany and Austria but all western Europe might fall within the Russian sphere of influence and be dominated by the Soviet Union.

Thus for the best of reasons and with the best of motives they came to the conclusion that they must wage a diplomatic campaign to prevent Russia from expanding her sphere, to prevent her from consolidating it, and to compel her to contract it. But they failed to

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

see clearly that until the Red Army evacuated eastern Europe and withdrew to the frontiers of the Soviet Union, none of these objectives could be achieved. ...

5 For if, and only if, we can bring about the withdrawal of the Red Army from the Yalta line to the new frontier of the Soviet Union – and simultaneously, of course, the withdrawal of the British and American armies from continental Europe – can a balance of power be established which can then be maintained. For after the withdrawal, an attempt to return would be an invasion – an open, unmistakable act of military aggression. Against such an aggression, the power of the United States to strike the vital  
10 centers of Russia by air and by amphibious assault would stand as the opposing and deterrent force. And until treaties are agreed to which bring about the withdrawal of the Red Army, the power of the United States to strike these vital centers would be built up for the express purpose of giving weight to our policy of ending the military occupation of Europe.

15

All the other pressures of the Soviet Union at the “constantly shifting geographical and political points,” which Mr. X is so concerned about – in the Middle East and in Asia – are, I contend, secondary and subsidiary to the fact that its armed forces are in the heart of Europe. It is to the Red Army in Europe, therefore, and not to ideologies, elections,  
20 forms of government, to socialism, to communism, to free enterprise, that a correctly conceived and soundly planned policy should be directed.

**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL****Resolution 68 (NSC-68)****RESOLUTION EXCERPTS**April 14, 1950

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**BACKGROUND**

Following the adoption of containment and the Truman Doctrine as official American anti-communist policy, there still remained the question of how specifically to apply both to the broader global stage. Written by Paul Nitze and the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Office, Resolution 68—also known as NSC-68—presented to the National Security Council a list of proposed objectives to better answer this question of how to combat Soviet expansion.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What is the primary means by which the Soviet Union threatens the United States?
2. Why is Soviet expansion a problem for national security?
3. Why should the United States be responsible for responding to the Soviet Union?
4. What actions ought the United States take to prepare to defend the world from the Soviet Union?
5. By what means will the United States ultimately hold back the Soviet Union, according to the NSC?

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National Security Council. "National Security Council Paper 68 (NSC-68)." Resolution excerpts, April 14, 1950. From the Atomic Heritage Foundation. <https://www.atomicheritage.org/key-documents/national-security-council-paper-68-nsc-68>.

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

### CONCLUSION

The foregoing analysis indicates that the probable fission bomb capability and possible thermonuclear bomb capability of the Soviet Union have greatly intensified the Soviet threat to the security of the United States. This threat is of the same character as that described in NSC 20/4 (approved by the President on November 24, 1948) but is more immediate than had previously been estimated. In particular, the United States now faces the contingency that within the next four or five years the Soviet Union will possess the military capability of delivering a surprise atomic attack of such weight that the United States must have substantially increased general air, ground, and sea strength, atomic capabilities, and air and civilian defenses to deter war and to provide reasonable assurance, in the event of war, that it could survive the initial blow and go on to the eventual attainment of its objectives. In return, this contingency requires the intensification of our efforts in the fields of intelligence and research and development.

Allowing for the immediacy of the danger, the following statement of Soviet threats, contained in NSC 20/4, remains valid:

The gravest threat to the security of the United States within the foreseeable future stems from the hostile designs and formidable power of the USSR, and from the nature of the Soviet system.

The political, economic, and psychological warfare which the USSR is now waging has dangerous potentialities for weakening the relative world position of the United States and disrupting its traditional institutions by means short of war, unless sufficient resistance is encountered in the policies of this and other non-communist countries.

The risk of war with the USSR is sufficient to warrant, in common prudence, timely and adequate preparation by the United States.

Soviet domination of the potential power of Eurasia, whether achieved by armed aggression or by political and subversive means, would be strategically and politically unacceptable to the United States. ....

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

In the light of present and prospective Soviet atomic capabilities, the action which can be taken under present programs and plans, however, becomes dangerously inadequate, in both timing and scope, to accomplish the rapid progress toward the attainment of the United States political, economic, and military objectives which is now imperative.

5

A continuation of present trends would result in a serious decline in the strength of the free world relative to the Soviet Union and its satellites. This unfavorable trend arises from the inadequacy of current programs and plans rather than from any error in our objectives and aims. These trends lead in the direction of isolation, not by deliberate decision but by lack of the necessary basis for a vigorous initiative in the conflict with the Soviet Union.

10

Our position as the center of power in the free world places a heavy responsibility upon the United States for leadership. We must organize and enlist the energies and resources of the free world in a positive program for peace which will frustrate the Kremlin design for world domination by creating a situation in the free world to which the Kremlin will be compelled to adjust. Without such a cooperative effort, led by the United States, we will have to make gradual withdrawals under pressure until we discover one day that we have sacrificed positions of vital interest.

15

20

It is imperative that this trend be reversed by a much more rapid and concerted build-up of the actual strength of both the United States and the other nations of the free world. The analysis shows that this will be costly and will involve significant domestic financial and economic adjustments. ...

25

In summary, we must, by means of a rapid and sustained build-up of the political, economic, and military strength of the free world, and by means of an affirmative program intended to wrest the initiative from the Soviet Union, confront it with convincing evidence of the determination and ability of the free world to frustrate the Kremlin design of a world dominated by its will. Such evidence is the only means short of war which eventually may force the Kremlin to abandon its present course of action and to negotiate acceptable agreements on issues of major importance.

30



**DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER**

# Farewell Address

SPEECH

January 17, 1961  
The White House | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

Having served as president from 1953 to 1961, Dwight Eisenhower's presidency was marked by conflicts with the Soviet Union and communism generally that defined the early stages of the Cold War, including the Suez Crisis and the beginnings of Vietnam. Just before leaving office, he gave this televised farewell address, which sought to remind Americans of their national identity—as well as potential obstacles to their improvement—as they continued to press on through the Cold War.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What does American prestige depend on, according to Eisenhower?
2. What does he say have been the “basic purposes” of American free government?
3. What are the two major threats facing American government that Eisenhower points out?
4. According to him, how has the American military evolved?
5. What does Eisenhower say is the “task of statesmanship”?

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Dwight D. Eisenhower. “Farewell Address (1961).” Speech, January 17, 1961. From the National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-dwight-d-eisenhowers-farewell-address>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

My fellow Americans:

Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the  
5 Presidency is vested in my successor.

This evening I come to you with a message of leave-taking and farewell, and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen.

10 Like every other citizen, I wish the new President, and all who will labor with him, Godspeed. I pray that the coming years will be blessed with peace and prosperity for all.

Our people expect their President and the Congress to find essential agreement on issues of great moment, the wise resolution of which will better shape the future of the Nation.  
15

My own relations with the Congress, which began on a remote and tenuous basis when, long ago, a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have since ranged to the intimate during the war and immediate post-war period, and, finally, to the mutually interdependent during these past eight years.

20 In this final relationship, the Congress and the Administration have, on most vital issues, cooperated well, to serve the national good rather than mere partisanship, and so have assured that the business of the Nation should go forward. So, my official relationship with the Congress ends in a feeling, on my part, of gratitude that we have been able to do  
25 so much together.

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We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major  
30 wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence, we yet realize that

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

5 \*\*\*\*\*

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of  
10 a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing  
15 the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without  
20 complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty at stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or  
25 small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the  
30 road we wish to travel.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs—balance between the private and the public economy, balance between cost and hoped for advantage—balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable; balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual; balance between action of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

The record of many decades stands as proof that our people and their government have, in the main, understood these truths and have responded to them well, in the face of stress and threat. But threats, new in kind or degree, constantly arise. I mention two only.

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A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peace time, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well.

But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United State corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

5

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

10

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

15

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

20

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government.

25

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard there are now hundreds of new electronic computers.

30

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present and is gravely to be regarded.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

- 5 It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

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10

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we—you and I, and our government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

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- 20 Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

- 25 Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

- 30 Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose difference, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

- 5 Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.

\*\*\*\*\*

10

So—in this my last good night to you as your President—I thank you for the many opportunities you have given me for public service in war and peace. I trust that in that service you find somethings worthy; as for the rest of it, I know you will find ways to improve performance in the future.

15

You and I—my fellow citizens—need to be strong in our faith that all nations, under God, will reach the goal of peace with justice. May we be ever unswerving in devotion to principle, confident but humble with power, diligent in pursuit of the Nation's great goals.

20

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing inspiration:

- 25 We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth, and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come  
30 to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

**JOHN F. KENNEDY**

# Inaugural Address

SPEECH

January 20, 1961

United States Capitol Building | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

Only 43 years old when elected president in 1960, much of John Kennedy's life was shaped by World War II and the early stages of the Cold War. His inaugural address sought not only to unify Americans domestically in the Cold War through forward-looking and optimistic rhetoric, but also to articulate his understanding of what the nation's foreign policy should be.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What does Kennedy say his inauguration truly is?
2. What domestic and foreign promises does he make?
3. What should American goals be in the modern age?
4. How does Kennedy approach the Soviet Union?
5. What questions does he say each American should be asking?

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John F. Kennedy. "Inaugural Address (1961)." Speech, January 20, 1961. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/inaugural-address-2/>.



We observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom – symbolizing an end as well as a beginning – signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

5

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe – the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

10

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. 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, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

15

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 to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

20

This much we pledge – and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided there is little we can do – for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

25

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom – and to

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ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

5 To those people in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required – not because the communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

10 To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge – to convert our good words into good deeds – in a new alliance for progress – to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas.  
15 And let every other power know that this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we  
20 renew our pledge of support – to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective – to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak – and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a  
25 pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond  
30 doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course – both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind’s final war.

5

So let us begin anew – remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

10 Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms – and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations

15 under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

20

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah – to “undo the heavy burdens ... (and) let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides  
25 join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our  
30 lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

5

Now the trumpet summons us again – not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need – not as a call to battle, though embattled we are – but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation” – a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

10

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

15

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility – I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it – and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

20

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country.

25

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go

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**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.

**MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

# I Have a Dream

SPEECH

August 28, 1963

Lincoln Memorial | Washington, D.C.

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**BACKGROUND**

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw great strides being made in the African American civil rights movement, although many of its ultimate goals were still years away from fruition. One of the major leaders of the movement at this time was Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. During the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in August 1963, King delivered this speech before roughly 250,000 people in front of the Lincoln Memorial, in which he powerfully called for the recognition of the civil and economic rights of all Americans.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What event does King say began civil rights for African Americans?
2. What is his “dream”?
3. What historical references does King make?
4. How should people be judged, according to him?
5. What does King say is the ultimate goal of the civil rights movement?

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Martin Luther King Jr. “I Have a Dream.” Speech, August 28, 1963. From National Public Radio (NPR). <https://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122701268/i-have-a-dream-speech-in-its-entirety>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

5

But 100 years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself in exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition. In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check.

10

When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men — yes, Black men as well as white men — would be guaranteed the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

15

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked insufficient funds.

20

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt.

We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

25

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

5 It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. 1963 is not an end, but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

10 There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we  
15 must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred.

We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force. The  
20 marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny.

And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.  
25 We cannot walk alone. And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, when will you be satisfied? We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood  
5 and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: for whites only.

We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote.

No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

10 I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back  
15 to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our Northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

20 So even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the  
25 sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

5 I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

10 I have a dream that one day down in Alabama with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, one day right down in Alabama little Black boys and Black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

15 This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

20

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning: My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

25 And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania. Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado. Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that, let freedom ring from

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Stone Mountain of Georgia. Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee. Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

5 And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, Black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: Free at last. Free at last. Thank God almighty, we are free at last.

**MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.**

# Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom

ARTICLE EXCERPTS

*Ebony* | October 1966

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**BACKGROUND**

Frustrated by continued racism and the perception that normal political and legal methods were not being truly effective, many black Americans in the latter half of the 1960s grew discontented with Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolent methods. As a result, there was a rise in the embrace of a more violent black nationalism/separatism which promised more effective results for African Americans. In response, the magazine *Ebony* published this essay by King, in which he defended his movement's successes and warned of the consequences of revolutionary violence.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. Why does King promote nonviolent action?
2. What does self-defense reveal about the rights granted to African Americans?
3. What does King say about the nature of civil rights demonstrations?
4. What type of rights does he say the movement has shifted toward?
5. Why are the march and boycott important tools for civil rights?
6. How will an ideal world with regard to civil rights be created, according to King?

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Martin Luther King Jr. "Nonviolence: The Only Road to Freedom." Magazine article excerpts, *Ebony*, October 1966. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/nonviolence-the-only-road-to-freedom/>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

The year 1966 brought with it the first public challenge to the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence from within the ranks of the civil rights movement. Resolutions of self-defense and Black Power sounded forth from our friends and brothers. ...

5 Indeed, there was much talk of violence. It was the same talk we have heard on the fringes of the nonviolent movement for the past ten years. It was the talk of fearful men, saying that they would not join the nonviolent movement because they would not remain nonviolent if attacked. Now the climate had shifted so that it was even more popular to talk of violence{.} ...

10

... [T]he Negro, even in his bitterest moments, is not intent on killing white men to be free. This does not mean that the Negro is a saint who abhors violence. Unfortunately, a check of the hospitals in any Negro community on any Saturday night will make you painfully aware of the violence within the Negro community. Hundreds of victims of shooting and cutting lie bleeding in the emergency rooms, but there is seldom if ever a white person who is the victim of Negro hostility. ...

15

I am convinced that for practical as well as moral reasons, nonviolence offers the only road to freedom for my people. ...

20

The hard cold facts of racial life in the world today indicate that the hope of the people of color in the world may well rest on the American Negro and his ability to reform the structures of racist imperialism from within and thereby turn the technology and wealth of the West to the task of liberating the world from want.

25

This is no time for romantic illusions about freedom and empty philosophical debate. ... What is needed is ... a tactical program which will bring the Negro into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible. So far, this has only been offered by the nonviolent movement.

30

Our record of achievement through nonviolent action is already remarkable. ...

### The Question of Self-Defense

There are many people who very honestly raise the question of self-defense. ... It goes without saying that people will protect their homes. This is a right guaranteed by the Constitution and respected even in the worst areas of the South. But the mere protection of one's home and person against assault by lawless night riders does not provide any positive approach to the fears and conditions which produce violence. There must be some program for establishing law. ...

In a nonviolent demonstration, self-defense must be approached from quite another perspective. One must remember that the cause of the demonstration is some exploitation or form of oppression that has made it necessary for men of courage and good will to demonstrate against the evil. For example, a demonstration against the evil of *de facto* school segregation is based on the awareness that a child's mind is crippled daily by inadequate educational opportunity. The demonstrator agrees that it is better for him to suffer publicly for a short time to end the crippling evil of school segregation than to have generation after generation of children suffer in ignorance. ...

It is always amusing to me when a Negro man says that he can't demonstrate with us because if someone hit him he would fight back. Here is a man whose children are being plagued by rats and roaches, whose wife is robbed daily at overpriced ghetto food stores, who himself is working for about two-thirds the pay of a white person doing a similar job and with similar skills, and in spite of all this daily suffering it takes someone spitting on him or calling him a nigger to make him want to fight. ...

### Strategy for Change

The American racial revolution has been a revolution to "get in" rather than to overthrow. We want a share in the American economy, the housing market, the educational system and the social opportunities. The goal itself indicates that a social change in America must be nonviolent. ...

The nonviolent strategy has been to dramatize the evils of our society in such a way that pressure is brought to bear against those evils by the forces of good will in the community and change is produced. ...

5

So far, we have had the Constitution backing most of the demands for change, and this has made our work easier, since we could be sure that the federal courts would usually back up our demonstrations legally. Now we are approaching areas where the voice of the Constitution is not clear. We have left the realm of constitutional rights and we are entering the area of human rights.

10

The Constitution assured the right to vote, but there is no such assurance of the right to adequate housing, or the right to an adequate income. And yet, in a nation which has a gross national product of 750 billion dollars a year, it is morally right to insist that every person has a decent house, an adequate education and enough money to provide basic necessities for one's family. ...

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### **Techniques of the Future**

When Negroes marched, so did the nation. ... When marches are carefully organized around well-defined issues, they represent the power which Victor Hugo phrased as the most powerful force in the world, "an idea whose time has come." ... When the idea is a sound one, the cause a just one, and the demonstration a righteous one, change will be forthcoming. But if any of these conditions are not present, the power for change is missing[.] ... [A] group of ten thousand marching in anger against a police station and cussing out the chief of police will do very little to bring respect, dignity and unbiased law enforcement. Such a demonstration would only produce fear and bring about an addition of forces. ...

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... [W]hen marching is seen as a part of a program to dramatize an evil, to mobilize the forces of good will, and to generate pressure and power for change, marches will continue to be effective. ...

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ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Along with the march as a weapon for change in our nonviolent arsenal must be listed the boycott. Basic to the philosophy of nonviolence is the refusal to cooperate with evil. There is nothing quite so effective as a refusal to cooperate economically with the forces and institutions which perpetuate evil in our communities. ...

5

There is no easy way to create a world where men and women can live together, where each has his own job and house and where all children receive as much education as their minds can absorb. But if such a world is created in our lifetime, it will be done in the United States by Negroes and white people of good will. It will be accomplished by persons who have the courage to put an end to suffering by willingly suffering themselves rather than inflict suffering upon others. It will be done by rejecting the racism, materialism and violence that has characterized Western civilization and especially by working toward a world of brotherhood, cooperation and peace.

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LYNDON B. JOHNSON

# Remarks at the University of Michigan

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

May 22, 1964

The University of Michigan | Ann Arbor, MI

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## BACKGROUND

Exactly six months after President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, President Lyndon Johnson spoke to the graduating class of 1964 at the University of Michigan. In this commencement address, Johnson called for the formation of the quasi-utopian “Great Society” as a means of improving most—if not all—aspects of America’s domestic situation, based on what the nation had achieved in its general progress during the preceding decades.

## GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is the “purpose of protecting the life of our Nation,” as described by Johnson?
2. What difficulties does he envision for the next century in America?
3. What is the Great Society?
4. Where does Johnson hope to build the Great Society?
5. By what means does he say the Great Society will be implemented?
6. What does Johnson ask the students to do?

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Lyndon B. Johnson. “Remarks at the University of Michigan.” Commencement address, May 22, 1964. From the American Presidency Project. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-university-michigan>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

*President Hatcher, Governor Romney, Senators McNamara and Hart, Congressmen Meader and Staebler, and other members of the fine Michigan delegation, members of the graduating class, my fellow Americans:*

5 It is a great pleasure to be here today. This university has been coeducational since 1870, but I do not believe it was on the basis of your accomplishments that a Detroit high school girl said, "In choosing a college, you first have to decide whether you want a coeducational school or an educational school."

10 Well, we can find both here at Michigan, although perhaps at different hours.

I came out here today very anxious to meet the Michigan student whose father told a friend of mine that his son's education had been a real value. It stopped his mother from bragging about him.

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I have come today from the turmoil of your Capital to the tranquility of your campus to speak about the future of your country.

20 The purpose of protecting the life of our Nation and preserving the liberty of our citizens is to pursue the happiness of our people. Our success in that pursuit is the test of our success as a Nation.

25 For a century we labored to settle and to subdue a continent. For half a century we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people.

The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization.

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Your imagination, your initiative, and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where progress is the servant of our needs, or a society where old values and

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society.

- 5 The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning.

10 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.

- 15 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. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

20 But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

25 So I want to talk to you today about three places where we begin to build the Great Society—in our cities, in our countryside, and in our classrooms.

Many of you will live to see the day, perhaps 50 years from now, when there will be 400 million Americans four-fifths of them in urban areas. In the remainder of this century urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build homes, highways, and facilities equal to all those built since this country was first settled. So in  
30 the next 40 years we must rebuild the entire urban United States.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Aristotle said: "Men come together in cities in order to live, but they remain together in order to live the good life." It is harder and harder to live the good life in American cities today.

- 5 The catalog of ills is long: there is the decay of the centers and the despoiling of the suburbs. There is not enough housing for our people or transportation for our traffic. Open land is vanishing and old landmarks are violated.

- 10 Worst of all expansion is eroding the precious and time honored values of community with neighbors and communion with nature. The loss of these values breeds loneliness and boredom and indifference.

- 15 Our society will never be great until our cities are great. Today the frontier of imagination and innovation is inside those cities and not beyond their borders.

New experiments are already going on. It will be the task of your generation to make the American city a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life.

- 20 I understand that if I stayed here tonight I would see that Michigan students are really doing their best to live the good life.

- 25 This is the place where the Peace Corps was started. It is inspiring to see how all of you, while you are in this country, are trying so hard to live at the level of the people.

- 30 A second place where we begin to build the Great Society is in our countryside. We have always prided ourselves on being not only America the strong and America the free, but America the beautiful. Today that beauty is in danger. The water we drink, the food we eat, the very air that we breathe, are threatened with pollution. Our parks are overcrowded, our seashores overburdened. Green fields and dense forests are disappearing.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

A few years ago we were greatly concerned about the “Ugly American.” Today we must act to prevent an ugly America.

5 For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured. And once man can no longer walk with beauty or wonder at nature his spirit will wither and his sustenance be wasted.

10 A third place to build the Great Society is in the classrooms of America. There your children’s lives will be shaped. Our society will not be great until every young mind is set free to scan the farthest reaches of thought and imagination. We are still far from that goal.

15 Today, 8 million adult Americans, more than the entire population of Michigan, have not finished 5 years of school. Nearly 20 million have not finished 8 years of school. Nearly 54 million—more than one-quarter of all America—have not even finished high school.

20 Each year more than 100,000 high school graduates, with proved ability, do not enter college because they cannot afford it. And if we cannot educate today’s youth, what will we do in 1970 when elementary school enrollment will be 5 million greater than 1960? And high school enrollment will rise by 5 million. College enrollment will increase by more than 3 million.

25 In many places, classrooms are overcrowded and curricula are outdated. Most of our qualified teachers are underpaid, and many of our paid teachers are unqualified. So we must give every child a place to sit and a teacher to learn from. Poverty must not be a bar to learning, and learning must offer an escape from poverty.

30 But more classrooms and more teachers are not enough. We must seek an educational system which grows in excellence as it grows in size. This means better training for our teachers. It means preparing youth to enjoy their hours of leisure as well as their hours

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

of labor. It means exploring new techniques of teaching, to find new ways to stimulate the love of learning and the capacity for creation.

5 These are three of the central issues of the Great Society. While our Government has many programs directed at those issues, I do not pretend that we have the full answer to those problems.

10 But I do promise this: We are going to assemble the best thought and the broadest knowledge from all over the world to find those answers for America. I intend to establish working groups to prepare a series of White House conferences and meetings—on the cities, on natural beauty, on the quality of education, and on other emerging challenges. And from these meetings and from this inspiration and from these studies we will begin to set our course toward the Great Society.

15 The solution to these problems does not rest on a massive program in Washington, nor can it rely solely on the strained resources of local authority. They require us to create new concepts of cooperation, a creative federalism, between the National Capital and the leaders of local communities.

20 Woodrow Wilson once wrote: “Every man sent out from his university should be a man of his Nation as well as a man of his time.”

25 Within your lifetime powerful forces, already loosed, will take us toward a way of life beyond the realm of our experience, almost beyond the bounds of our imagination.

For better or for worse, your generation has been appointed by history to deal with those problems and to lead America toward a new age. You have the chance never before afforded to any people in any age. You can help build a society where the demands of morality, and the needs of the spirit, can be realized in the life of the Nation.

30 So, will you join in the battle to give every citizen the full equality which God enjoins and the law requires, whatever his belief, or race, or the color of his skin?

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Will you join in the battle to give every citizen an escape from the crushing weight of poverty?

- 5 Will you join in the battle to make it possible for all nations to live in enduring peace—as neighbors and not as mortal enemies?

Will you join in the battle to build the Great Society, to prove that our material progress is only the foundation on which we will build a richer life of mind and spirit?

10

There are those timid souls who say this battle cannot be won; that we are condemned to a soulless wealth. I do not agree. We have the power to shape the civilization that we want. But we need your will, your labor, your hearts, if we are to build that kind of society.

- 15 Those who came to this land sought to build more than just a new country. They sought a new world. So I have come here today to your campus to say that you can make their vision our reality. So let us from this moment begin our work so that in the future men will look back and say: It was then, after a long and weary way, that man turned the exploits of his genius to the full enrichment of his life.

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Thank you. Goodbye.

**STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY**

# The Port Huron Statement

**POLITICAL MANIFESTO**

December 31, 1962

Port Huron, MI

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**BACKGROUND**

The 1960s saw the “baby boomer” generation become increasingly discontented with almost every aspect of American society, including politics. Numerous radical (and sometimes violent) movements rose up as a result of desire for change. One famous example was the student-led movement Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), originating from the University of Michigan. Their political manifesto, entitled “The Port Huron Statement,” called for the creation of a “New Left” to establish social reform—thus predicting the more widespread college radicalism that would emerge in the latter half of the 1960s.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What is the history of the United States, according to the SDS?
2. What do they say are “oppress[ions]” some Americans experience in the U.S.?
3. What does the SDS say about the nature of modern American “values” and their connection to human nature generally?
4. What alternative political and economic solutions do they offer?
5. How do college students interact with American society, according to the SDS? How does society influence students’ actions and behavior?
6. What comprises the “New Left” for them?

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Students for a Democratic Society. “The Port Huron Statement.” Political manifesto, December 31, 1962. From the University of Virginia at Charlottesville via the Sixties Project.  
[www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML\\_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS\\_Port\\_Huron.html](http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html).



**Introduction: Agenda for a Generation**

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

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When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world; the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—  
10 these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the  
15 Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract “others” we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two,  
20 for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While these and other problems either directly oppressed us or rankled our consciences and became our own subjective concerns, we began to see complicated and disturbing  
25 paradoxes in our surrounding America. The declaration “all men are created equal ...” rang hollow before the facts of Negro life in the South and the big cities of the North. The proclaimed peaceful intentions of the United States contradicted its economic and military investments in the Cold War status quo.

30 We witnessed, and continue to witness, other paradoxes. With nuclear energy whole cities can easily be powered, yet the dominant nation-states seem more likely to unleash destruction greater than that incurred in all wars of human history. Although our own

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

technology is destroying old and creating new forms of social organization, men still tolerate meaningless work and idleness. While two-thirds of mankind suffers under nourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth's physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than "of, by, and for the people."

Not only did tarnish appear on our image of American virtue, not only did disillusion occur when the hypocrisy of American ideals was discovered, but we began to sense that what we had originally seen as the American Golden Age was actually the decline of an era. The worldwide outbreak of revolution against colonialism and imperialism, the entrenchment of totalitarian states, the menace of war, overpopulation, international disorder, supertechnology—these trends were testing the tenacity of our own commitment to democracy and freedom and our abilities to visualize their application to a world in upheaval.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. But we are a minority—the vast majority of our people regard the temporary equilibriums of our society and world as eternally functional parts. In this is perhaps the outstanding paradox; we ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. Beneath the reassuring tones of the politicians, beneath the common opinion that America will "muddle through," beneath the stagnation of those who have closed their minds to the future, is the pervading feeling that there simply are no alternatives, that our times have witnessed the exhaustion not only of Utopias, but of any new departures as well. Feeling the press of complexity upon the emptiness of life, people are fearful of the thought that at any moment things might be thrust out of control. They fear change itself, since change might smash whatever invisible framework seems to hold back chaos for them now. For most Americans, all crusades are suspect, threatening. The fact that each individual sees apathy

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

in his fellows perpetuates the common reluctance to organize for change. The dominant institutions are complex enough to blunt the minds of their potential critics, and entrenched enough to swiftly dissipate or entirely repel the energies of protest and reform, thus limiting human expectancies. Then, too, we are a materially improved society, and by our own improvements we seem to have weakened the case for further change.

Some would have us believe that Americans feel contentment amidst prosperity—but might it not better be called a glaze above deeply felt anxieties about their role in the new world? And if these anxieties produce a developed indifference to human affairs, do they not as well produce a yearning to believe that there is an alternative to the present, that something can be done to change circumstances in the school, the workplaces, the bureaucracies, the government? It is to this latter yearning, at once the spark and engine of change, that we direct our present appeal. The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today. On such a basis do we offer this document of our convictions and analysis: as an effort in understanding and changing the conditions of humanity in the late twentieth century, an effort rooted in the ancient, still unfulfilled conception of man attaining determining influence over his circumstances of life.

### Values

Making values explicit—an initial task in establishing alternatives—is an activity that has been devalued and corrupted. The conventional moral terms of the age, the politician moralities—“free world,” “people’s democracies” —reflect realities poorly, if at all, and seem to function more as ruling myths than as descriptive principles. But neither has our experience in the universities brought us moral enlightenment. Our professors and administrators sacrifice controversy to public relations; their curriculums change more slowly than the living events of the world; their skills and silence are purchased by investors in the arms race; passion is called unscholastic. The questions we might want raised—what is really important? can we live in a different and better way? if we wanted

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

to change society, how would we do it? —are not thought to be questions of a “fruitful, empirical nature,” and thus are brushed aside.

5 Unlike youth in other countries we are used to moral leadership being exercised and moral dimensions being clarified by our elders. But today, for us, not even the liberal and socialist preachments of the past seem adequate to the forms of the present. Consider the old slogans: Capitalism Cannot Reform Itself, United Front Against Fascism, General Strike, All Out on May Day. Or, more recently, No Cooperation with Commies and Fellow Travelers, Ideologies Are Exhausted, Bipartisanship, No Utopias. These are  
10 incomplete, and there are few new prophets. It has been said that our liberal and socialist predecessors were plagued by vision without program, while our own generation is plagued by program without vision. All around us there is astute grasp of method, technique—the committee, the ad hoc group, the lobbyist, the hard and soft sell, the make, the projected image—but, if pressed critically, such expertise is incompetent to  
15 explain its implicit ideals. It is highly fashionable to identify oneself by old categories, or by naming a respected political figure, or by explaining “how we would vote” on various issues.

Theoretic chaos has replaced the idealistic thinking of old—and, unable to reconstitute  
20 theoretic order, men have condemned idealism itself. Doubt has replaced hopefulness—and men act out a defeatism that is labeled realistic. The decline of utopia and hope is in fact one of the defining features of social life today. The reasons are various: the dreams of the older left were perverted by Stalinism and never re-created; the congressional stalemate makes men narrow their view of the possible; the specialization of human  
25 activity leaves little room for sweeping thought; the horrors of the twentieth century symbolized in the gas ovens and concentration camps and atom bombs, have blasted hopefulness. To be idealistic is to be considered apocalyptic, deluded. To have no serious aspirations, on the contrary, is to be “tough-minded.”

30 In suggesting social goals and values, therefore, we are aware of entering a sphere of some disrepute. Perhaps matured by the past, we have no formulas, no closed theories—but that does not mean values are beyond discussion and tentative determination. A first task

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

of any social movement is to convince people that the search for orienting theories and the creation of human values is complex but worthwhile. We are aware that to avoid platitudes we must analyze the concrete conditions of social order. But to direct such an analysis we must use the guideposts of basic principles. Our own social values involve  
5 conceptions of human beings, human relationships, and social systems.

We regard men as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom, and love. In affirming these principles we are aware of countering perhaps the dominant conceptions of man in the twentieth century: that he is a thing to be  
10 manipulated, and that he is inherently incapable of directing his own affairs. We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things—if anything, the brutalities of the twentieth century teach that means and ends are intimately related, that vague appeals to “posterity” cannot justify the mutilations of the present. We oppose,  
15 too, the doctrine of human incompetence because it rests essentially on the modern fact that men have been “competently” manipulated into incompetence—we see little reason why men cannot meet with increasing the skill, the complexities and responsibilities of their situation, if society is organized not for minority, but for majority, participation in decision-making.

Men have unrealized potential for self-cultivation, self-direction, self-understanding, and creativity. It is this potential that we regard as crucial and to which we appeal, not to the human potentiality for violence, unreason, and submission to authority. The goal of man and society should be human independence: a concern not with image of popularity but with finding a meaning in life that is personally authentic; a quality of mind not  
25 compulsively driven by a sense of powerlessness, nor one which unthinkingly adopts status values, nor one which represses all threats to its habits, but one which has full, spontaneous access to present and past experiences, one which easily unites the fragmented parts of personal history, one which openly faces problems which are troubling and unresolved; one with an intuitive awareness of possibilities, an active sense  
30 of curiosity, an ability and willingness to learn.

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

This kind of independence does not mean egotistic individualism—the object is not to have one’s way so much as it is to have a way that is one’s own. Nor do we deify man—we merely have faith in his potential.

- 5 Human relationships should involve fraternity and honesty. Human interdependence is contemporary fact; human brotherhood must be willed, however, as a condition of future survival and as the most appropriate form of social relations. Personal links between man and man are needed, especially to go beyond the partial and fragmentary bonds of function that bind men only as worker to worker, employer to employee, teacher to student, American to Russian.

Loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man today. These dominant tendencies cannot be overcome by better personnel management, nor by improved gadgets, but only when a love of man overcomes the idolatrous worship of things by man. As the individualism we affirm is not egoism, the selflessness we affirm is not self-elimination. On the contrary, we believe in generosity of a kind that imprints one’s unique individual qualities in the relation to other men, and to all human activity. Further, to dislike isolation is not to favor the abolition of privacy; the latter differs from isolation in that it occurs or is abolished according to individual will.

20 We would replace power rooted in possession, privilege, or circumstance by power and uniqueness rooted in love, reflectiveness, reason, and creativity. As a social system we seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation, governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.

30 In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles: that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings; that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;

- 5 that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals; channels should be commonly available to relate men to knowledge and to power so that private problems—from bad recreation facilities to  
10 personal alienation—are formulated as general issues.

The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles:

- 15 that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-directed, not manipulated, encouraging independence, a respect for others, a sense of dignity, and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics;

- 20 that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination;

- that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic  
25 social regulation.

- Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions—cultural, educational, rehabilitative, and others—should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.

30

In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people,

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions—local, national, international—that encourage non-violence as a condition of conflict be developed.

- 5 These are our central values, in skeletal form. It remains vital to understand their denial or attainment in the context of the modern world.

### The Students

- 10 In the last few years, thousands of American students demonstrated that they at least felt the urgency of the times. They moved actively and directly against racial injustices, the threat of war, violations of individual rights of conscience, and, less frequently, against economic manipulation. They succeeded in restoring a small measure of controversy to the campuses after the stillness of the McCarthy period. They succeeded, too, in gaining some concessions from the people and institutions they opposed, especially in the fight  
15 against racial bigotry.

- The significance of these scattered movements lies not in their success or failure in gaining objectives—at least, not yet. Nor does the significance lie in the intellectual “competence” or “maturity” of the students involved—as some pedantic elders allege. The significance is in the fact that students are breaking the crust of apathy and  
20 overcoming the inner alienation that remain the defining characteristics of American college life.

- If student movements for change are still rarities on the campus scene, what is commonplace there? The real campus, the familiar campus, is a place of private people,  
25 engaged in their notorious “inner emigration.” It is a place of commitment to business-as-usual, getting ahead, playing it cool. It is a place of mass affirmation of the Twist, but mass reluctance toward the controversial public stance. Rules are accepted as “inevitable,” bureaucracy as “just circumstances,” irrelevance as “scholarship,” selflessness as “martyrdom,” politics as “just another way to make people, and an  
30 unprofitable one, too.”



## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

Almost no students value activity as citizens. Passive in public, they are hardly more idealistic in arranging their private lives: Gallup concludes they will settle for “low success, and won’t risk high failure.” There is not much willingness to take risks (not even in business), no setting of dangerous goals, no real conception of personal identity except one manufactured in the image of others, no real urge for personal fulfillment except to be almost as successful as the very successful people. Attention is being paid to social status (the quality of shirt collars, meeting people, getting wives or husbands, making solid contacts for later on); much, too, is paid to academic status (grades, honors, the med school rat race). But neglected generally is real intellectual status, the personal cultivation of the mind.

“Students don’t even give a damn about the apathy,” one has said. Apathy toward apathy begets a privately constructed universe, a place of systematic study schedules, two nights each week for beer, a girl or two, and early marriage; a framework infused with personality, warmth, and under control, no matter how unsatisfying otherwise.

Under these conditions university life loses all relevance to some. Four hundred thousand of our classmates leave college every year.

The accompanying “let’s pretend” theory of student extracurricular affairs validates student government as a training center for those who want to live their lives in political pretense, and discourages initiative from the more articulate, honest, and sensitive students. The bounds and style of controversy are delimited before controversy begins. The university “prepares” the student for “citizenship” through perpetual rehearsals and, usually, through emasculation of what creative spirit there is in the individual.

The academic life contains reinforcing counterparts to the way in which extracurricular life is organized. The academic world is founded on a teacher-student relation analogous to the parent-child relation which characterizes in loco parentis. Further, academia includes a radical separation of the student from the material of study. That which is studied, the social reality, is “objectified” to sterility, dividing the student from life—just as he is restrained in active involvement by the deans controlling student government.

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

The specialization of function and knowledge, admittedly necessary to our complex technological and social structure, has produced an exaggerated compartmentalization of study and understanding. This has contributed to an overly parochial view, by faculty, of the role of its research and scholarship; to a discontinuous and truncated  
5 understanding, by students, of the surrounding social order; and to a loss of personal attachment, by nearly all, to the worth of study as a humanistic enterprise.

There is, finally, the cumbersome academic bureaucracy extending throughout the academic as well as the extracurricular structures, contributing to the sense of outer  
10 complexity and inner powerlessness that transforms the honest searching of many students to a ratification of convention and, worse, to a numbness to present and future catastrophes. The size and financing systems of the university enhance the permanent trusteeship of the administrative bureaucracy, their power leading to a shift within the university toward the value standards of business and the administrative mentality. Huge  
15 foundations and other private financial interests shape the under financed colleges and universities, making them not only more commercial, but less disposed to diagnose society critically, less open to dissent. Many social and physical scientists, neglecting the liberating heritage of higher learning, develop “human relations” or “morale-producing” techniques for the corporate economy, while others exercise their intellectual skills to  
20 accelerate the arms race.

Tragically, the university could serve as a significant source of social criticism and an initiator of new modes and molders of attitudes. But the actual intellectual effect of the college experience is hardly distinguishable from that of any other communications  
25 channel—say, a television set—passing on the stock truths of the day. Students leave college somewhat more “tolerant” than when they arrived, but basically unchallenged in their values and political orientations. With administrators ordering the institution, and faculty the curriculum, the student learns by his isolation to accept elite rule within the university, which prepares him to accept later forms of minority control. The real  
30 function of the educational system—as opposed to its more rhetorical function of “searching for truth” —is to impart the key information and styles that will help the student get by, modestly but comfortably, in the big society beyond.

### The Society Beyond

Look beyond the campus, to America itself. That student life is more intellectual, and perhaps more comfortable, does not obscure the fact that the fundamental qualities of life on the campus reflect the habits of society at large. The fraternity president is seen at the junior manager levels; the sorority queen has gone to Grosse Pointe; the serious poet burns for a place, any place, to work; the once-serious and never-serious poets work at the advertising agencies. The desperation of people threatened by forces about which they know little and of which they can say less; the cheerful emptiness of people “giving up” all hope of changing things; the faceless ones polled by Gallup who listed “international affairs” fourteenth on their list of “problems” but who also expected thermonuclear war in the next few years; in these and other forms, Americans are in withdrawal from public life, from any collective effort at directing their own affairs.

Some regard these national doldrums as a sign of healthy approval of the established order—but is it approval by consent or manipulated acquiescence? Others declare that the people are withdrawn because compelling issues are fast disappearing—perhaps there are fewer bread lines in America, but is Jim Crow gone, is there enough work and work more fulfilling, is world war a diminishing threat, and what of the revolutionary new peoples? Still others think the national quietude is a necessary consequence of the need for elites to resolve complex and specialized problems of modern industrial society—but then, why should business elites help decide foreign policy, and who controls the elites anyway, and are they solving mankind’s problems? Others, finally, shrug knowingly and announce that full democracy never worked anywhere in the past—but why lump qualitatively different civilizations together, and how can a social order work well if its best thinkers are skeptics, and is man really doomed forever to the domination of today?

There are now convincing apologies for the contemporary malaise. While the world tumbles toward the final war, while men in other nations are trying desperately to alter events, while the very future qua future is uncertain—America is without community impulse, without the inner momentum necessary for an age when societies cannot

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

successfully perpetuate themselves by their military weapons, when democracy must be viable because of its quality of life, not its quantity of rockets.

The apathy here is, first, subjective—the felt powerlessness of ordinary people, the resignation before the enormity of events. But subjective apathy is encouraged by the objective American situation—the actual structural separation of people from power, from relevant knowledge, from pinnacles of decision-making. Just as the university influences the student way of life, so do major social institutions create the circumstances in which the isolated citizen will try hopelessly to understand his world and himself.

The very isolation of the individual—from power and community and ability to aspire—means the rise of a democracy without publics. With the great mass of people structurally remote and psychologically hesitant with respect to democratic institutions, those institutions themselves attenuate and become, in the fashion of the vicious circle, progressively less accessible to those few who aspire to serious participation in social affairs. The vital democratic connection between community and leadership, between the mass and the several elites, has been so wrenched and perverted that disastrous policies go unchallenged time and again. ...

**The University and Social Change**

There is perhaps little reason to be optimistic about the above analysis. True, the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition is the weakest point in the dominating complex of corporate, military, and political power. But the civil rights, peace, and student movements are too poor and socially slighted, and the labor movement too quiescent, to be counted with enthusiasm. From where else can power and vision be summoned? We believe that the universities are an overlooked seat of influence.

First, the university is located in a permanent position of social influence. {Its} educational function makes it indispensable and automatically makes it a crucial institution in the formation of social attitudes. Second, in an unbelievably complicated world, it is the central institution for organizing, evaluating and transmitting knowledge. Third, the extent to which academic resources presently are used to buttress immoral

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

social practice is revealed, first, by the extent to which defense contracts make the universities engineers of the arms race. Too, the use of modern social science as a manipulative tool reveals itself in the “human relations” consultants to the modern corporations, who introduce trivial sops to give laborers feelings of “participation” or “belonging,” while actually deluding them in order to further exploit their labor. And, of course, the use of motivational research is already infamous as a manipulative aspect of American politics. But these social uses of the universities’ resources also demonstrate the unchangeable reliance by men of power on the men and storehouses of knowledge: this makes the university functionally tied to society in new ways, revealing new potentialities, new levers for change. Fourth, the university is the only mainstream institution that is open to participation by individuals of nearly any viewpoint.

These, at least, are facts, no matter how dull the teaching, how paternalistic the rules, how irrelevant the research that goes on. Social relevance, the accessibility to knowledge, and internal openness—these together make the university a potential base and agency in a movement of social change.

Any new left in America must be, in large measure, a left with real intellectual skills, committed to deliberativeness, honesty, reflection as working tools. The university permits the political life to be an adjunct to the academic one, and action to be informed by reason.

A new left must be distributed in significant social roles throughout the country. The universities are distributed in such a manner.

A new left must consist of younger people who matured in the postwar world, and partially be directed to the recruitment of younger people. The university is an obvious beginning point.

A new left must include liberals and socialists, the former for their relevance, the latter for their sense of thoroughgoing reforms in the system. The university is a more sensible

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

place than a political party for these two traditions to begin to discuss their differences and look for political synthesis.

5 A new left must start controversy across the land, if national policies and national apathy are to be reversed. The ideal university is a community of controversy, within itself and in its effects on communities beyond.

10 A new left must transform modern complexity into issues that can be understood and felt close up by every human being. It must give form to the feelings of helplessness and indifference, so that people may see the political, social, and economic sources of their private troubles, and organize to change society. In a time of supposed prosperity, moral complacency, and political manipulation, a new left cannot rely on only aching stomachs to be the engine force of social reform. The case for change, for alternatives that will involve uncomfortable personal efforts, must be argued as never before. The university  
15 is a relevant place for all of these activities.

20 But we need not indulge in illusions: the university system cannot complete a movement of ordinary people making demands for a better life. From its schools and colleges across the nation, a militant left might awaken its allies, and by beginning the process towards peace, civil rights, and labor struggles, reinsert theory and idealism where too often reign confusion and political barter. The power of students and faculty united is not only potential; it has shown its actuality in the South, and in the reform movements of the North.

25 The bridge to political power, though, will be {built} through genuine cooperation, locally, nationally, and internationally, between a new left of young people and an awakening community of allies. In each community we must look within the university and act with confidence that we can be powerful, but we must look outwards to the less exotic but more lasting struggles for justice.

30 To turn these mythic possibilities into realities will involve national efforts at university reform by an alliance of students and faculty. They must wrest control of the educational

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

process from the administrative bureaucracy. They must make fraternal and functional contact with allies in labor, civil rights, and other liberal forces outside the campus. They must import major public issues into the curriculum—research and teaching on problems of war and peace is an outstanding example. They must make debate and controversy, not dull pedantic cant, the common style for educational life. They must consciously build a base for their assault upon the loci of power.

As students for a democratic society, we are committed to stimulating this kind of social movement, this kind of vision and program in campus and community across the country. If we appear to seek the unattainable, as it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable.

**MALCOLM X**

# Message to Grassroots

SPEECH

November 10, 1963

King Solomon Baptist Church | Detroit, MI

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**BACKGROUND**

Less than three months after the March on Washington, and less than a year before future President Lyndon Johnson would sign the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the radical civil rights activist Malcolm X delivered a speech at the Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference in Detroit. In this speech, Malcolm X challenged the status quo of the civil rights movement, typified by Martin Luther King Jr.'s emphasis on nonviolence, and called for more direct (and violent) action instead.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What does Malcolm X say is America's "problem"?
2. Who does he say is the real "enemy"?
3. How does Malcolm X talk about revolutions and their connection to African Americans?
4. How does he criticize the nonviolent civil rights movement of Martin Luther King Jr.?
5. What is the conflict Malcolm X points to within the African-American community?

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Malcolm X. "Message to Grassroots." Speech, November 10, 1963. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/message-to-grassroots/>.



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

We want to have just an off-the-cuff chat between you and me, us. We want to talk right down to earth in a language that everybody here can easily understand. We all agree tonight, all of the speakers have agreed, that America has a very serious problem. Not only does America have a very serious problem, but our people have a very serious  
5 problem. America's problem is us. We're her problem. The only reason she has a problem is she doesn't want us here. And every time you look at yourself, be you black, brown, red or yellow, a so-called Negro, you represent a person who poses such a serious problem for America because you're not wanted. Once you face this as a fact, then you can start plotting a course that will make you appear intelligent, instead of  
10 unintelligent.

What you and I need to do is learn to forget our differences. When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you're a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist. You don't catch hell because you're a Methodist or Baptist, you don't catch hell because you're a Democrat  
15 or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk, and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American; because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black man. You catch hell, all of us catch hell, for the same reason.

So we're all black people, so-called Negroes, second-class citizens, ex-slaves. You're  
20 nothing but an ex-slave. You don't like to be told that. But what else are you? You are ex-slaves. You didn't come here on the "Mayflower." You came here on a slave ship. In chains, like a horse, or a cow, or a chicken. And you were brought here by the people who came here on the "Mayflower," you were brought here by the so-called Pilgrims, or Founding Fathers. They were the ones who brought you here.

25 We have a common enemy. We have this in common: We have a common oppressor, a common exploiter, and a common discriminator. But once we all realize that we have a common enemy, then we unite—on the basis of what we have in common. And what

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

we have foremost in common is that enemy—the white man. He's an enemy to all of us. I know some of you all think that some of them aren't enemies. Time will tell.

In Bandung back in, I think, 1954, was the first unity meeting in centuries of black people. And once you study what happened at the Bandung conference, and the results  
5 of the Bandung conference, it actually serves as a model for the same procedure you and I can use to get our problems solved. At Bandung all the nations came together, the dark nations from Africa and Asia. Some of them were Buddhists, some of them were Muslims, some of them were Christians, some were Confucianists, some were  
10 atheists. Despite their religious differences, they came together. Some were communists, some were socialists, some were capitalists—despite their economic and political differences, they came together. All of them were black, brown, red or yellow.

The number-one thing that was not allowed to attend the Bandung conference was the white man. He couldn't come. Once they excluded the white man, they found that they could get together. Once they kept him out, everybody else fell right in and fell in line.  
15 This is the thing that you and I have to understand. And these people who came together didn't have nuclear weapons, they didn't have jet planes, they didn't have all of the heavy armaments that the white man has. But they had unity.

They were able to submerge their little petty differences and agree on one thing: That there one African came from Kenya and was being colonized by the Englishman, and  
20 another African came from the Congo and was being colonized by the Belgian, and another African came from Guinea and was being colonized by the French, and another came from Angola and was being colonized by the Portuguese. When they came to the Bandung conference, they looked at the Portuguese, and at the Frenchman, and at the Englishman, and at the Dutchman, and learned or realized the one thing that all of  
25 them had in common—they were all from Europe, they were all Europeans, blond, blue-eyed and white skins. They began to recognize who their enemy was. The same man that was colonizing our people in Kenya was colonizing our people in the Congo. The same one in the Congo was colonizing our people in South Africa, and in Southern

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Rhodesia, and in Burma, and in India, and in Afghanistan, and in Pakistan. They realized all over the world where the dark man was being oppressed, he was being oppressed by the white man; where the dark man was being exploited, he was being exploited by the white man. So they got together on this basis—that they had a common enemy.

And when you and I here in Detroit and in Michigan and in America who have been awakened today look around us, we too realize here in America we all have a common enemy, whether he's in Georgia or Michigan, whether he's in California or New York. He's the same man—blue eyes and blond hair and pale skin—the same man. So what we have to do is what they did. They agreed to stop quarreling among themselves. Any little spat that they had, they'd settle it among themselves, go into a huddle—don't let the enemy know that you've got a disagreement.

Instead of airing our differences in public, we have to realize we're all the same family. And when you have a family squabble, you don't get out on the sidewalk. If you do, everybody calls you uncouth, unrefined, uncivilized, savage. If you don't make it at home, you settle it at home; you get in the closet, argue it out behind closed doors, and then when you come out on the street, you pose a common front, a united front. And this is what we need to do in the community, and in the city, and in the state. We need to stop airing our differences in front of the white man, put the white man out of our meetings, and then sit down and talk shop with each other. That's what we've got to do.

I would like to make a few comments concerning the difference between the black revolution and the Negro revolution. Are they both the same? And if they're not, what is the difference? What is the difference between a black revolution and a Negro revolution? First, what is a revolution? Sometimes I'm inclined to believe that many of our people are using this word "revolution" loosely, without taking careful consideration of what this word actually means, and what its historic characteristics are. When you study the historic nature of revolutions, the motive of a revolution, the

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

objective of a revolution, the result of a revolution, and the methods used in a revolution, you may change words. You may devise another program, you may change your goal and you may change your mind.

- Look at the American Revolution in 1776. That revolution was for what? For land. Why
- 5 did they want land? Independence. How was it carried out? Bloodshed. Number one, it was based on land, the basis of independence. And the only way they could get it was bloodshed. The French Revolution—what was it based on? The landless against the landlord. What was it for? Land. How did they get it? Bloodshed. Was no love lost, was no compromise, was no negotiation. I'm telling you—you don't know what a
- 10 revolution is. Because when you find out what it is, you'll get back in the alley, you'll get out of the way.

The Russian Revolution—what was it based on? Land; the landless against the landlord. How did they bring it about? Bloodshed. You haven't got a revolution that doesn't involve bloodshed. And you're afraid to bleed. I said, you're afraid to bleed.

- 15 As long as the white man sent you to Korea, you bled. He sent you to Germany, you bled. He sent you to the South Pacific to fight the Japanese, you bled. You bleed for white people, but when it comes time to seeing your own churches being bombed and little black girls murdered, you haven't got any blood. You bleed when the white man says bleed; you bite when the white man says bite; and you bark when the white man
- 20 says bark. I hate to say this about us, but it's true. How are you going to be nonviolent in Mississippi, as violent as you were in Korea? How can you justify being nonviolent in Mississippi and Alabama, when your churches are being bombed, and your little girls are being murdered, and at the same time you are going to get violent with Hitler, and Tojo, and somebody else you don't even know?
- 25 If violence is wrong in America, violence is wrong abroad. If it is wrong to be violent defending black women and black children and black babies and black men, then it is wrong for America to draft us and make us violent abroad in defense of her. And if it

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

is right for America to draft us, and teach us how to be violent in defense of her, then it is right for you and me to do whatever is necessary to defend our own people right here in this country.

- 5 The Chinese Revolution—they wanted land. They threw the British out, along with the Uncle Tom Chinese. Yes, they did. They set a good example. When I was in prison, I read an article—don't be shocked when I say I was in prison. You're still in prison. That's what America means: prison. When I was in prison, I read an article in *Life* magazine showing a little Chinese girl, nine years old; her father was on his hands and knees and she was pulling the trigger because he was an Uncle Tom
- 10 Chinaman. When they had the revolution over there, they took a whole generation of Uncle Toms and just wiped them out. And within ten years that little girl became a full-grown woman. No more Toms in China. And today it's one of the toughest, roughest, most feared countries on this earth—by the white man. Because there are no Uncle Toms over there.
- 15 Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight. There's been a revolution, a black revolution, going on in Africa. In Kenya, the Mau Mau were
- 20 revolutionary; they were the ones who brought the word "Uhuru" to the fore. The Mau Mau, they were revolutionary, they believed in scorched earth, they knocked everything aside that got in their way, and their revolution also was based on land, a desire for land. In Algeria, the northern part of Africa, a revolution took place. The Algerians were revolutionists, they wanted land. France offered to let them be integrated into
- 25 France. They told France, to hell with France, they wanted some land, not some France. And they engaged in a bloody battle.

So I cite these various revolutions, brothers and sisters, to show you that you don't have a peaceful revolution. You don't have a turn-the-other-cheek revolution. There's no

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

such thing as a nonviolent revolution. The only kind of revolution that is nonviolent is the Negro revolution. The only revolution in which the goal is loving your enemy is the Negro revolution. It's the only revolution in which the goal is a desegregated lunch counter, a desegregated theater, a desegregated park, and a desegregated public toilet; you can sit down next to white folks—on the toilet. That's no revolution. Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality.

The white man knows what a revolution is. He knows that the black revolution is world-wide in scope and in nature. The black revolution is sweeping Asia, is sweeping Africa, is rearing its head in Latin America. The Cuban Revolution—that's a revolution. They overturned the system. Revolution is in Asia, revolution is in Africa, and the white man is screaming because he sees revolution in Latin America. How do you think he'll react to you when you learn what a real revolution is? You don't know what a revolution is. If you did, you wouldn't use that word.

A revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, "I'm going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me." No, you need a revolution. Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms, as Rev. Cleage was pointing out beautifully, singing "We Shall Overcome"? You don't do that in a revolution. You don't do any singing, you're too busy swinging. It's based on land. A revolutionary wants land so he can set up his own nation, an independent nation. These Negroes aren't asking for any nation—they're trying to crawl back on the plantation.

When you want a nation, that's called nationalism. When the white man became involved in a revolution in this country against England, what was it for? He wanted this land so he could set up another white nation. That's white nationalism. The American Revolution was white nationalism. The French Revolution was white nationalism. The Russian Revolution too—yes, it was—white nationalism. You don't

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

think so? Why do you think Khrushchev and Mao can't get their heads together? White nationalism. All the revolutions that are going on in Asia and Africa today are based on what? —black nationalism. A revolutionary is a black nationalist. He wants a nation. I was reading some beautiful words by Rev. Cleage, pointing out why he couldn't get  
5 together with someone else in the city because all of them were afraid of being identified with black nationalism. If you're afraid of black nationalism, you're afraid of revolution. And if you love revolution, you love black nationalism.

To understand this, you have to go back to what the young brother here referred to as the house Negro and the field Negro back during slavery. There were two kinds of  
10 slaves, the house Negro and the field Negro. The house Negroes—they lived in the house with master, they dressed pretty good, they ate good because they ate his food—what he left. They lived in the attic or the basement, but still they lived near the master; and they loved the master more than the master loved himself. They would give their life to save the master's house—quicker than the master would. If the master said, "We  
15 got a good house here," the house Negro would say, "Yeah, we got a good house here." Whenever the master said "we," he said "we." That's how you can tell a house Negro.

If the master's house caught on fire, the house Negro would fight harder to put the blaze out than the master would. If the master got sick, the house Negro would say, "What's the matter, boss, *we* sick?" *We* sick! He identified himself with his master,  
20 more than his master identified with himself. And if you came to the house Negro and said, "Let's run away, let's escape, let's separate," the house Negro would look at you and say, "Man, you crazy. What you mean, separate? Where is there a better house than this? Where can I wear better clothes than this? Where can I eat better food than this?" That was that house Negro. In those days he was called a "house nigger." And that's  
25 what we call him today, because we've still got some house niggers running around here.

This modern house Negro loves his master. He wants to live near him. He'll pay three times as much as the house is worth just to live near his master, and then brag about

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

"I'm the only Negro out here." "I'm the only one on my job." "I'm the only one in this school." You're nothing but a house Negro. And if someone comes to you right now and says, "Let's separate," you say the same thing that the house Negro said on the plantation. "What you mean, separate? From America, this good white man? Where  
5 you going to get a better job than you get here?" I mean, this is what you say. "I ain't left nothing in Africa," that's what you say. Why, you left your mind in Africa.

On that same plantation, there was the field Negro. The field Negroes—those were the masses. There were always more Negroes in the field than there were Negroes in the house. The Negro in the field caught hell. He ate leftovers. In the house they ate high  
10 up on the hog. The Negro in the field didn't get anything but what was left of the insides of the hog. They call it "chitt'lings" nowadays. In those days they called them what they were—guts. That's what you were—gut-eaters. And some of you all still gut-eaters.

The field Negro was beaten from morning to night; he lived in a shack, in a hut; he wore old, castoff clothes. He hated his master. I say he hated his master. He was  
15 intelligent. That house Negro loved his master. But that field Negro—remember, they were in the majority, and they hated the master. When the house caught on fire, he didn't try to put it out; that field Negro prayed for a wind, for a breeze. When the master got sick, the field Negro prayed that he'd die. If someone came to the field Negro and said, "Let's separate, let's run," he didn't say "Where we going?" He'd say, "Any place is  
20 better than here." You've got field Negroes in America today. I'm a field Negro. The masses are the field Negroes. When they see this man's house on fire, you don't hear the little Negroes talking about "*our* government is in trouble." They say, "*The* government is in trouble." Imagine a Negro: "*Our* government"! I even heard one say "*our* astronauts." They won't even let him near the plant—and "*our* astronauts"!  
25 "*Our* Navy"—that's a Negro that is out of his mind, a Negro that is out of his mind.

Just as the slavemaster of that day used Tom, the house Negro, to keep the field Negroes in check, the same old slavemaster today has Negroes who are nothing but modern Uncle Toms, twentieth-century Uncle Toms, to keep you and me in check, keep us



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

under control, keep us passive and peaceful and nonviolent. That's Tom making you nonviolent. It's like when you go to the dentist, and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called novocaine, to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there  
5 and because you've got all of that novocaine in your jaw, you suffer—peacefully. Blood running all down your jaw, and you don't know what's happening. Because someone has taught you to suffer—peacefully.

The white man does the same thing to you in the street, when he wants to put knots on your head and take advantage of you and not have to be afraid of your fighting back.  
10 To keep you from fighting back, he gets these old religious Uncle Toms to teach you and me, just like novocaine, to suffer peacefully. Don't stop suffering—just suffer peacefully. As Rev. Cleage pointed out, they say you should let your blood flow in the streets. This is a shame. You know he's a Christian preacher. If it's a shame to him, you know what it is to me.

15 There's nothing in our book, the Koran, that teaches us to suffer peacefully. Our religion teaches us to be intelligent. Be peaceful, be courteous, obey the law, respect everyone; but if someone puts his hand on you, send him to the cemetery. That's a good religion. In fact, that's that old-time religion. That's the one that Ma and Pa used to talk about: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head, and a life  
20 for a life: That's a good religion. And nobody resents that kind of religion being taught but a wolf, who intends to make you his meal.

This is the way it is with the white man in America. He's a wolf—and you're sheep. Any time a shepherd, a pastor, teaches you and me not to run from the white man and, at the same time, teaches us not to fight the white man, he's a traitor to you and me. Don't  
25 lay down a life all by itself. No, preserve your life, it's the best thing you've got. And if you've got to give it up, let it be even-steven.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

The slavemaster took Tom and dressed him well, fed him well and even gave him a little education—a *little* education; gave him a long coat and a top hat and made all the other slaves look up to him. Then he used Tom to control them. The same strategy that was used in those days is used today, by the same white man. He takes a Negro, a so-called Negro, and makes him prominent, builds him up, publicizes him, makes him a celebrity. And then he becomes a spokesman for Negroes—and a Negro leader.

I would like to just mention just one other thing else quickly, and that is the method that the white man uses, how the white man uses the "big guns," or Negro leaders, against the Negro revolution. They are not a part of the Negro revolution. They are used against the Negro revolution.

When Martin Luther King failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia, the civil-rights struggle in America reached its low point. King became bankrupt almost, as a leader. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was in financial trouble; and it was in trouble, period, with the people when they failed to desegregate Albany, Georgia. Other Negro civil-rights leaders of so-called national stature became fallen idols. As they became fallen idols, began to lose their prestige and influence, local Negro leaders began to stir up the masses. In Cambridge, Maryland, Gloria Richardson; in Danville, Virginia, and other parts of the country, local leaders began to stir up our people at the grass-roots level. This was never done by these Negroes of national stature. They control you, but they have never incited you or excited you. They control you, they contain you, they have kept you on the plantation.

As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets. King went out to California to a big rally and raised I don't know how many thousands of dollars. He came to Detroit and had a march and raised some more thousands of dollars. And recall, right after that Roy Wilkins attacked King. He accused King and CORE [Congress Of Racial Equality] of starting trouble everywhere and then making the NAACP [National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] get them out of jail and spend a lot of money; they accused King and CORE of raising all the money

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

and not paying it back. This happened; I've got it in documented evidence in the newspaper. Roy started attacking King, and King started attacking Roy, and Farmer started attacking both of them. And as these Negroes of national stature began to attack each other, they began to lose their control of the Negro masses.

- 5 The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the
- 10 television and said "this is a moral issue." That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress, and tie it up, bring it
- 15 to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any airplanes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution. That was revolution. That was the black revolution.

- It was the grass roots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure in Washington, D. C. to death; I was there. When they found
- 20 out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they called in Randolph, they called in these national Negro leaders that you respect and told them, "Call it off." Kennedy said, "Look, you all are letting this thing go too far." And Old Tom said, "Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it." I'm telling you what they said. They said, "I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it." They
- 25 said, "These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us." And that old shrewd fox, he said, "If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it."

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

- A matter of hours went by. They had a meeting at the Carlyle Hotel in New York City. The Carlyle Hotel is owned by the Kennedy family; that's the hotel Kennedy spent the night at, two nights ago; it belongs to his family. A philanthropic society headed by a white man named Stephen Currier called all the top civil-rights leaders together at the
- 5 Carlyle Hotel. And he told them, "By you all fighting each other, you are destroying the civil-rights movement. And since you're fighting over money from white liberals, let us set up what is known as the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership. Let's form this council, and all the civil-rights organizations will belong to it, and we'll use it for fund-raising purposes." Let me show you how tricky the white man is. And as soon as
- 10 they got it formed, they elected Whitney Young as its chairman, and who do you think became the co-chairman? Stephen Currier, the white man, a millionaire. Powell was talking about it down at Cobo Hall today. This is what he was talking about. Powell knows it happened. Randolph knows it happened. Wilkins knows it happened. King knows it happened. Every one of that Big Six—they know it happened.
- 15 Once they formed it, with the white man over it, he promised them and gave them \$800,000 to split up among the Big Six; and told them that after the march was over they'd give them \$700,000 more. A million and a half dollars—split up between leaders that you have been following, going to jail for, crying crocodile tears for. And they're nothing but Frank James and Jesse James and the what-do-you-call-'em brothers.
- 20 As soon as they got the setup organized, the white man made available to them top public-relations experts; opened the news media across the country at their disposal; which then began to project these Big Six as the leaders of the march. Originally they weren't even in the march. You were talking this march talk on Hastings Street, you were talking march talk on Lenox Avenue, and on Fillmore Street, and on Central
- 25 Avenue, and 32nd Street and 63rd Street. That's where the march talk was being talked. But the white man put the Big Six at the head of it; made them the march. They became the march. They took it over. And the first move they made after they took it over, they invited Walter Reuther, a white man; they invited a priest, a rabbi, and an old white preacher. The same white element that put Kennedy into power—labor, the Catholics,

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

the Jews, and liberal Protestants; the same clique that put Kennedy in power, joined the march on Washington.

It's just like when you've got some coffee that's too black, which means it's too strong. What do you do? You integrate it with cream, you make it weak. But if you pour too  
5 much cream in it, you won't even know you ever had coffee. It used to be hot, it becomes cool. It used to be strong, it becomes weak. It used to wake you up, now it puts you to sleep. This is what they did with the march on Washington. They joined it. They didn't integrate it, they infiltrated it. They joined it, became a part of it, took it over. And as they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry, it ceased to be  
10 hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why, it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. Nothing but a circus, with clowns and all. You had one right here in Detroit—I saw it on television—with clowns leading it, white clowns and black clowns. I know you don't like what I'm saying, but I'm going to tell you anyway. Because I can prove what I'm saying. If you think I'm telling you wrong, you bring me Martin Luther  
15 King and A. Philip Randolph and James Farmer and those other three, and see if they'll deny it over a microphone.

No, it was a sellout. It was a takeover. When James Baldwin came in from Paris, they wouldn't let him talk, because they couldn't make him go by the script. Burt Lancaster read the speech that Baldwin was supposed to make; they wouldn't let Baldwin get up there, because they know Baldwin is liable to say anything. They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop, what signs to carry, what song to sing, what speech they could make, and what speech they couldn't make; and then told them to get out of town by sundown. And every one of those Toms was out of town by sundown. Now I know you don't like my saying this. But I can back it up. It was a circus, a performance that beat anything Hollywood could ever do, the performance of the year. Reuther and those other three devils should get an Academy Award for the best actors because they acted like they really loved Negroes and fooled a whole lot of Negroes. And the six Negro leaders should get an award too, for the best supporting cast.

**RONALD REAGAN**

# A Time for Choosing

**CAMPAIGN SPEECH**October 27, 1964

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**BACKGROUND**

The Republican Party nominated Senator Barry Goldwater to be its candidate for president in 1964, running against the incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson. Political activist and former actor Ronald Reagan spoke in support of Goldwater in a televised campaign speech that marked the beginning of his own national political career—culminating in his election as president 16 years later, in 1980.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. What crises does America face in 1964, according to Reagan?
2. What is “the last stand on Earth”?
3. What are America’s unique ideas about government?
4. How are these ideas under attack, according to Reagan?
5. How does he say modern government programs threaten the Constitution?
6. What is the “road to peace”?

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Ronald Reagan. “A Time for Choosing.” Speech, October 27, 1964. From the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/reagans/ronald-reagan/time-choosing-speech-october-27-1964>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you and good evening. The sponsor has been identified, but unlike most television programs, the performer hasn't been provided with a script. As a matter of fact, I have been permitted to choose my own words and discuss my own ideas regarding the choice that we face in the next few weeks.

5

I have spent most of my life as a Democrat. I recently have seen fit to follow another course. I believe that the issues confronting us cross party lines. Now, one side in this campaign has been telling us that the issues of this election are the maintenance of peace and prosperity. The line has been used, "We've never had it so good."

10

But I have an uncomfortable feeling that this prosperity isn't something on which we can base our hopes for the future. No nation in history has ever survived a tax burden that reached a third of its national income. Today, 37 cents out of every dollar earned in this country is the tax collector's share, and yet our government continues to spend 17 million dollars a day more than the government takes in. We haven't balanced our budget 28 out of the last 34 years. We've raised our debt limit three times in the last twelve months, and now our national debt is one and a half times bigger than all the combined debts of all the nations of the world. We have 15 billion dollars in gold in our treasury; we don't own an ounce. Foreign dollar claims are 27.3 billion dollars. And we've just had announced that the dollar of 1939 will now purchase 45 cents in its total value.

20

As for the peace that we would preserve, I wonder who among us would like to approach the wife or mother whose husband or son has died in South Vietnam and ask them if they think this is a peace that should be maintained indefinitely. Do they mean peace, or do they mean we just want to be left in peace? There can be no real peace while one American is dying some place in the world for the rest of us. We're at war with the most dangerous enemy that has ever faced mankind in his long climb from the swamp to the stars, and it's been said if we lose that war, and in so doing lose this way of freedom of ours, history will record with the greatest astonishment that those who had the most to lose did the least to prevent its happening. Well I think it's time we ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms that were intended for us by the Founding Fathers.

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ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

Not too long ago, two friends of mine were talking to a Cuban refugee, a businessman who had escaped from Castro, and in the midst of his story one of my friends turned to the other and said, "We don't know how lucky we are." And the Cuban stopped and said, "How lucky you are? I had someplace to escape to." And in that sentence he told us the  
5 entire story. If we lose freedom here, there's no place to escape to. This is the last stand on earth.

And this idea that government is beholden to the people, that it has no other source of power except the sovereign people, is still the newest and the most unique idea in all the  
10 long history of man's relation to man.

This is the issue of this election: Whether we believe in our capacity for self-government or whether we abandon the American revolution and confess that a little intellectual elite in a far-distant capitol can plan our lives for us better than we can plan them ourselves.  
15

You and I are told increasingly we have to choose between a left or right. Well I'd like to suggest there is no such thing as a left or right. There's only an up or down - [up] {to} man's old-aged dream, the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with law and order, or down to the ant heap of totalitarianism. And regardless of their sincerity, their  
20 humanitarian motives, those who would trade our freedom for security have embarked on this downward course.

In this vote-harvesting time, they use terms like the "Great Society," or as we were told a few days ago by the President, we must accept a greater government activity in the affairs  
25 of the people. But they've been a little more explicit in the past and among themselves; and all of the things I now will quote have appeared in print. These are not Republican accusations. For example, they have voices that say, "The cold war will end through our acceptance of a not undemocratic socialism." Another voice says, "The profit motive has become outmoded. It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state." Or, "Our  
30 traditional system of individual freedom is incapable of solving the complex problems of the 20th century." Senator Fullbright has said at Stanford University that the Constitution is outmoded. He referred to the President as "our moral teacher and our



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

leader,” and he says he is “hobbled in his task by the restrictions of power imposed on him by this antiquated document.” He must “be freed,” so that he “can do for us” what he knows “is best.” And Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, another articulate spokesman, defines liberalism as “meeting the material needs of the masses through the full power of centralized government.”

Well, I, for one, resent it when a representative of the people refers to you and me, the free men and women of this country, as “the masses.” This is a term we haven’t applied to ourselves in America. But beyond that, “the full power of centralized government”—this was the very thing the Founding Fathers sought to minimize. They knew that governments don’t control things. A government can’t control the economy without controlling people. And they know when a government sets out to do that, it must use force and coercion to achieve its purpose. They also knew, those Founding Fathers, that outside of its legitimate functions, government does nothing as well or as economically as the private sector of the economy.

Now, we have no better example of this than government’s involvement in the farm economy over the last 30 years. Since 1955, the cost of this program has nearly doubled. One-fourth of farming in America is responsible for 85 percent of the farm surplus. Three-fourths of farming is out on the free market and has known a 21 percent increase in the per capita consumption of all its produce. You see, that one-fourth of farming that’s regulated and controlled by the federal government. In the last three years we’ve spent 43 dollars in the feed grain program for every dollar bushel of corn we don’t grow.

Senator Humphrey last week charged that Barry Goldwater, as President, would seek to eliminate farmers. He should do his homework a little better, because he’ll find out that we’ve had a decline of 5 million in the farm population under these government programs. He’ll also find that the Democratic administration has sought to get from Congress [an] extension of the farm program to include that three-fourths that is now free. He’ll find that they’ve also asked for the right to imprison farmers who wouldn’t keep books as prescribed by the federal government. The Secretary of Agriculture asked for the right to seize farms through condemnation and resell them to other individuals.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

And contained in that same program was a provision that would have allowed the federal government to remove 2 million farmers from the soil.

At the same time, there's been an increase in the Department of Agriculture employees.

5 There's now one for every 30 farms in the United States, and still they can't tell us how 66 shiploads of grain headed for Austria disappeared without a trace and Billie Sol Estes never left shore.

10 Every responsible farmer and farm organization has repeatedly asked the government to free the farm economy, but how - who are farmers to know what's best for them? The wheat farmers voted against a wheat program. The government passed it anyway. Now the price of bread goes up; the price of wheat to the farmer goes down.

15 Meanwhile, back in the city, under urban renewal the assault on freedom carries on. Private property rights [are] so diluted that public interest is almost anything a few government planners decide it should be. In a program that takes from the needy and gives to the greedy, we see such spectacles as in Cleveland, Ohio, a million-and-a-half-dollar building completed only three years ago must be destroyed to make way for what government officials call a "more compatible use of the land." The President tells us he's 20 now going to start building public housing units in the thousands, where heretofore we've only built them in the hundreds. But FHA [Federal Housing Authority] and the Veterans Administration tell us they have 120,000 housing units they've taken back through mortgage foreclosure. For three decades, we've sought to solve the problems of unemployment through government planning, and the more the plans fail, the more the 25 planners plan. The latest is the Area Redevelopment Agency.

They've just declared Rice County, Kansas, a depressed area. Rice County, Kansas, has two hundred oil wells, and the 14,000 people there have over 30 million dollars on deposit in personal savings in their banks. And when the government tells you you're depressed, 30 lie down and be depressed.

We have so many people who can't see a fat man standing beside a thin one without

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

coming to the conclusion the fat man got that way by taking advantage of the thin one. So they're going to solve all the problems of human misery through government and government planning. Well, now, if government planning and welfare had the answer - and they've had almost 30 years of it - shouldn't we expect government to read the score  
5 to us once in a while? Shouldn't they be telling us about the decline each year in the number of people needing help? The reduction in the need for public housing?

But the reverse is true. Each year the need grows greater; the program grows greater. We were told four years ago that 17 million people went to bed hungry each night. Well that  
10 was probably true. They were all on a diet. But now we're told that 9.3 million families in this country are poverty-stricken on the basis of earning less than 3,000 dollars a year. Welfare spending [is] 10 times greater than in the dark depths of the Depression. We're spending 45 billion dollars on welfare. Now do a little arithmetic, and you'll find that if  
15 we divided the 45 billion dollars up equally among those 9 million poor families, we'd be able to give each family 4,600 dollars a year. And this added to their present income should eliminate poverty. Direct aid to the poor, however, is only running only about 600 dollars per family. It would seem that someplace there must be some overhead.

Now, so now we declare "war on poverty," or "You, too, can be a Bobby Baker." Now do  
20 they honestly expect us to believe that if we add 1 billion dollars to the 45 billion we're spending, one more program to the 30-odd we have - and remember, this new program doesn't replace any, it just duplicates existing programs - do they believe that poverty is suddenly going to disappear by magic? Well, in all fairness I should explain there is one part of the new program that isn't duplicated. This is the youth feature. We're now going  
25 to solve the dropout problem, juvenile delinquency, by reinstituting something like the old CCC camps [Civilian Conservation Corps], and we're going to put our young people in these camps. But again we do some arithmetic, and we find that we're going to spend each year just on room and board for each young person we help 4,700 dollars a year. We can send them to Harvard for 2,700! Course, don't get me wrong. I'm not suggesting  
30 Harvard is the answer to juvenile delinquency.

But seriously, what are we doing to those we seek to help? Not too long ago, a judge called

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

me here in Los Angeles. He told me of a young woman who'd come before him for a divorce. She had six children, was pregnant with her seventh. Under his questioning, she revealed her husband was a laborer earning 250 dollars a month. She wanted a divorce to get an 80 dollar raise. She's eligible for 330 dollars a month in the Aid to Dependent  
5 Children Program. She got the idea from two women in her neighborhood who'd already done that very thing.

Yet anytime you and I question the schemes of the do-gooders, we're denounced as being against their humanitarian goals. They say we're always "against" things - we're never  
10 "for" anything.

Well, the trouble with our liberal friends is not that they're ignorant; it's just that they know so much that isn't so.

15 Now, we're for a provision that destitution should not follow unemployment by reason of old age, and to that end we've accepted Social Security as a step toward meeting the problem.

But we're against those entrusted with this program when they practice deception  
20 regarding its fiscal shortcomings, when they charge that any criticism of the program means that we want to end payments to those people who depend on them for a livelihood. They've called it "insurance" to us in a hundred million pieces of literature. But then they appeared before the Supreme Court and they testified it was a welfare program. They only use the term "insurance" to sell it to the people. And they said Social  
25 Security dues are a tax for the general use of the government, and the government has used that tax. There is no fund, because Robert Byers, the actuarial head, appeared before a congressional committee and admitted that Social Security as of this moment is 298 billion dollars in the hole. But he said there should be no cause for worry because as long as they have the power to tax, they could always take away from the people whatever they  
30 needed to bail them out of trouble. And they're doing just that.

A young man, 21 years of age, working at an average salary - his Social Security

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

contribution would, in the open market, buy him an insurance policy that would guarantee 220 dollars a month at age 65. The government promises 127. He could live it up until he's 31 and then take out a policy that would pay more than Social Security. Now are we so lacking in business sense that we can't put this program on a sound basis, so that people who do require those payments will find they can get them when they're due, that the cupboard isn't bare?

Barry Goldwater thinks we can.

At the same time, can't we introduce voluntary features that would permit a citizen who can do better on his own to be excused upon presentation of evidence that he had made provision for the non-earning years? Should we not allow a widow with children to work, and not lose the benefits supposedly paid for by her deceased husband? Shouldn't you and I be allowed to declare who our beneficiaries will be under this program, which we cannot do? I think we're for telling our senior citizens that no one in this country should be denied medical care because of a lack of funds. But I think we're against forcing all citizens, regardless of need, into a compulsory government program, especially when we have such examples, as was announced last week, when France admitted that their Medicare program is now bankrupt. They've come to the end of the road.

In addition, was Barry Goldwater so irresponsible when he suggested that our government give up its program of deliberate, planned inflation, so that when you do get your Social Security pension, a dollar will buy a dollar's worth, and not 45 cents worth?

I think we're for an international organization, where the nations of the world can seek peace. But I think we're against subordinating American interests to an organization that has become so structurally unsound that today you can muster a two-thirds vote on the floor of the General Assembly among nations that represent less than 10 percent of the world's population. I think we're against the hypocrisy of assailing our allies because here and there they cling to a colony, while we engage in a conspiracy of silence and never open our mouths about the millions of people enslaved in the Soviet colonies in the satellite nations.

I think we're for aiding our allies by sharing of our material blessings with those nations which share in our fundamental beliefs, but we're against doling out money government to government, creating bureaucracy, if not socialism, all over the world. We set out to help 19 countries. We're helping 107. We've spent 146 billion dollars. With that money, we bought a 2 million dollar yacht for Haile Selassie. We bought dress suits for Greek undertakers, extra wives for Kenya[n] government officials. We bought a thousand TV sets for a place where they have no electricity. In the last six years, 52 nations have bought 7 billion dollars worth of our gold, and all 52 are receiving foreign aid from this country.

No government ever voluntarily reduces itself in size. So governments' programs, once launched, never disappear.

Actually, a government bureau is the nearest thing to eternal life we'll ever see on this earth.

Federal employees - federal employees number two and a half million; and federal, state, and local, one out of six of the nation's work force employed by government. These proliferating bureaus with their thousands of regulations have cost us many of our constitutional safeguards. How many of us realize that today federal agents can invade a man's property without a warrant? They can impose a fine without a formal hearing, let alone a trial by jury? And they can seize and sell his property at auction to enforce the payment of that fine. In Chico County, Arkansas, James Wier over-planted his rice allotment. The government obtained a 17,000 dollar judgment. And a U.S. marshal sold his 960-acre farm at auction. The government said it was necessary as a warning to others to make the system work.

Last February 19th at the University of Minnesota, Norman Thomas, six-times candidate for President on the Socialist Party ticket, said, "If Barry Goldwater became President, he would stop the advance of socialism in the United States." I think that's exactly what he will do.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

But as a former Democrat, I can tell you Norman Thomas isn't the only man who has drawn this parallel to socialism with the present administration, because back in 1936, Mr. Democrat himself, Al Smith, the great American, came before the American people and charged that the leadership of his Party was taking the Party of Jefferson, Jackson, and Cleveland down the road under the banners of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. And he walked away from his Party, and he never returned til the day he died, because to this day, the leadership of that Party has been taking that Party, that honorable Party, down the road in the image of the labor Socialist Party of England.

Now it doesn't require expropriation or confiscation of private property or business to impose socialism on a people. What does it mean whether you hold the deed [...] or the title to your business or property if the government holds the power of life and death over that business or property? And such machinery already exists. The government can find some charge to bring against any concern it chooses to prosecute. Every businessman has his own tale of harassment. Somewhere a perversion has taken place. Our natural, unalienable rights are now considered to be a dispensation of government, and freedom has never been so fragile, so close to slipping from our grasp as it is at this moment.

Our Democratic opponents seem unwilling to debate these issues. They want to make you and I believe that this is a contest between two men - that we're to choose just between two personalities.

Well what of this man that they would destroy, and in destroying, they would destroy that which he represents, the ideas that you and I hold dear? Is he the brash and shallow and trigger-happy man they say he is? Well I've been privileged to know him "when." I knew him long before he ever dreamed of trying for high office, and I can tell you personally I've never known a man in my life I believed so incapable of doing a dishonest or dishonorable thing.

This is a man who, in his own business before he entered politics, instituted a profit-sharing plan before unions had ever thought of it. He put in health and medical insurance

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

for all his employees. He took 50 percent of the profits before taxes and set up a retirement program, a pension plan for all his employees. He sent monthly checks for life to an employee who was ill and couldn't work. He provides nursing care for the children of mothers who work in the stores. When Mexico was ravaged by the floods in the Rio Grande, he climbed in his airplane and flew medicine and supplies down there.

An ex-GI told me how he met him. It was the week before Christmas during the Korean War, and he was at the Los Angeles airport trying to get a ride home to Arizona for Christmas. And he said that [there were] a lot of servicemen there and no seats available on the planes. And then a voice came over the loudspeaker and said, "Any men in uniform wanting a ride to Arizona, go to runway such-and-such," and they went down there, and there was a fellow named Barry Goldwater sitting in his plane. Every day in those weeks before Christmas, all day long, he'd load up the plane, fly it to Arizona, fly them to their homes, fly back over to get another load.

During the hectic split-second timing of a campaign, this is a man who took time out to sit beside an old friend who was dying of cancer. His campaign managers were understandably impatient, but he said, "There aren't many left who care what happens to her. I'd like her to know I care." This is a man who said to his 19-year-old son, "There is no foundation like the rock of honesty and fairness, and when you begin to build your life on that rock, with the cement of the faith in God that you have, then you have a real start." This is not a man who could carelessly send other people's sons to war. And that is the issue of this campaign that makes all the other problems I've discussed academic, unless we realize we're in a war that must be won.

Those who would trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state have told us they have a utopian solution of peace without victory. They call their policy "accommodation." And they say if we'll only avoid any direct confrontation with the enemy, he'll forget his evil ways and learn to love us. All who oppose them are indicted as warmongers. They say we offer simple answers to complex problems. Well, perhaps there is a simple answer - not an easy answer but simple: If you and I have the courage to tell our elected officials that we want our national policy based on what we know in



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

our hearts is morally right.

We cannot buy our security, our freedom from the threat of the bomb by committing an immorality so great as saying to a billion human beings now enslaved behind the Iron  
5 Curtain, "Give up your dreams of freedom because to save our own skins, we're willing to make a deal with your slave masters." Alexander Hamilton said, "A nation which can prefer disgrace to danger is prepared for a master, and deserves one." Now let's set the record straight. There's no argument over the choice between peace and war, but there's only one guaranteed way you can have peace - and you can have it in the next second -  
10 surrender.

Admittedly, there's a risk in any course we follow other than this, but every lesson of history tells us that the greater risk lies in appeasement, and this is the specter our well-meaning liberal friends refuse to face, that their policy of accommodation is  
15 appeasement, and it gives no choice between peace and war, only between fight or surrender. If we continue to accommodate, continue to back and retreat, eventually we have to face the final demand, the ultimatum. And what then, when Nikita Khrushchev has told his people he knows what our answer will be? He has told them that we're retreating under the pressure of the Cold War, and someday when the time comes to  
20 deliver the final ultimatum, our surrender will be voluntary, because by that time we will have been weakened from within spiritually, morally, and economically. He believes this because from our side he's heard voices pleading for "peace at any price" or "better Red than dead," or as one commentator put it, he'd rather "live on his knees than die on his feet." And therein lies the road to war, because those voices don't speak for the rest of us.

25 You and I know and do not believe that life is so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery. If nothing in life is worth dying for, when did this begin - just in the face of this enemy? Or should Moses have told the children of Israel to live in slavery under the pharaohs? Should Christ have refused the cross?  
30 Should the patriots at Concord Bridge have thrown down their guns and refused to fire the shot heard 'round the world? The martyrs of history were not fools, and our honored dead who gave their lives to stop the advance of the Nazis didn't die in vain. Where, then,

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

is the road to peace? Well it's a simple answer after all.

You and I have the courage to say to our enemies, "There is a price we will not pay."  
"There is a point beyond which they must not advance." And this - this is the meaning  
5 in the phrase of Barry Goldwater's "peace through strength." Winston Churchill said,  
"The destiny of man is not measured by material computations. When great forces are  
on the move in the world, we learn we're spirits - not animals." And he said, "There's  
something going on in time and space, and beyond time and space, which, whether we  
like it or not, spells duty."

10

You and I have a rendezvous with destiny.

We'll preserve for our children this, the last best hope of man on earth, or we'll sentence  
them to take the last step into a thousand years of darkness.

15

We will keep in mind and remember that Barry Goldwater has faith in us. He has faith  
that you and I have the ability and the dignity and the right to make our own decisions  
and determine our own destiny.

20

Thank you very much.

**LYNDON B. JOHNSON**

# Peace Without Conquest

SPEECH EXCERPTS

April 7, 1965

The Johns Hopkins University | Baltimore, MD

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**BACKGROUND**

The United States' involvement in Vietnam in the 1950s and early 1960s was fairly limited. Choosing to avoid sending soldiers overseas, the U.S. government instead gave South Vietnam funding (and military advisors) to fight the guerilla warfare of the North. This changed after a U.S. destroyer was supposedly attacked by North Vietnamese ships in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964. Congress responded by quickly passing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which authorized President Lyndon Johnson to send U.S. troops to Vietnam. In this televised address the following year, Johnson conveyed to the nation his reasoning behind the military escalation.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS**

1. Why does Johnson say American troops are now involved in Vietnam?
2. How does he describe the Asian situation at the time?
3. What further reasons does Johnson give for fighting in Vietnam?
4. What goals does America have in Vietnam?
5. What choices does America face, according to Johnson?

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Lyndon B. Johnson. "Peace Without Conquest." Speech excerpts, April 7, 1965. From Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/address-at-johns-hopkins-university-peace-without-conquest/>.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

... Tonight Americans and Asians are dying for a world where each people may choose its own path to change.

5 This is the principle for which our ancestors fought in the valleys of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> It is the principle for which our sons fight tonight in the jungles of Viet-Nam.

Viet-Nam is far away from this quiet campus. We have no territory there, nor do we seek any. The war is dirty and brutal and difficult. And some 400 young men, born into an America that is bursting with opportunity and promise, have ended their lives on  
10 Viet-Nam's steaming soil.

Why must we take this painful road?

15 Why must this Nation hazard its ease, and its interest, and its power for the sake of a people so far away?

We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny. And only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure.

20 This kind of world will never be built by bombs or bullets. Yet the infirmities of man are such that force must often precede reason, and the waste of war, the works of peace.

We wish that this were not so. But we must deal with the world as it is, if it is ever to be as we wish.

25

**The Nature of the Conflict**

The world as it is in Asia is not a serene or peaceful place.

30 The first reality is that North Viet-Nam has attacked the independent nation of South Viet-Nam. Its object is total conquest.

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

Of course, some of the people of South Viet-Nam are participating in attack on their own government. But trained men and supplies, orders and arms, flow in a constant stream from north to south.

5 This support is the heartbeat of the war.

And it is a war of unparalleled brutality. Simple farmers are the targets of assassination and kidnapping. Women and children are strangled in the night because their men are loyal to their government. ...

10

Over this war – and all Asia – is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking.<sup>2</sup> This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes.

15

**Why Are We in Viet-Nam?**

Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam?

20

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence.

25

And I intend to keep that promise.

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.

30

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count

## ANNOTATIONS

## NOTES & QUESTIONS

on us if they are attacked. To leave Viet-Nam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war.

- 5 We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next. We must say in southeast Asia – as we did in Europe – in the
- 10 words of the Bible: “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.”<sup>3</sup> ...

### **Our Objective in Viet-Nam**

- Our objective is the independence of South Viet-Nam, and its freedom from attack. We want nothing for ourselves – only that the people of South Viet-Nam be allowed to
- 15 guide their own country in their own way.

We will do everything necessary to reach that objective. And we will do only what is absolutely necessary. ...

- 20 We hope that peace will come swiftly. But that is in the hands of others besides ourselves. And we must be prepared for a long continued conflict. It will require patience as well as bravery, the will to endure as well as the will to resist. ...

### **The Dream of World Order**

- 25 This will be a disorderly planet for a long time. In Asia, as elsewhere, the forces of the modern world are shaking old ways and uprooting ancient civilizations. There will be turbulence and struggle and even violence. Great social change – as we see in our own country now – does not always come without conflict. ...

### **Conclusion**

30 ... Every night before I turn out the lights to sleep I ask myself this question: Have I done everything that I can do to unite this country? Have I done everything I can to

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

help unite the world, to try to bring peace and hope to all the peoples of the world?  
Have I done enough?

5 Ask yourselves that question in your homes – and in this hall tonight. Have we, each  
of us, all done all we could? Have we done enough? ...

This generation of the world must choose: destroy or build, kill or aid, hate or  
understand.

10 We can do all these things on a scale never dreamed of before.

*Well, we will choose life* {emphasis original}.<sup>4</sup> In so doing we will prevail over the  
enemies within man, and over the natural enemies of all mankind. ...

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**FOOTNOTES {from original document}**

1. A reference to the American Revolution.
2. A reference to communist China, officially called the People's Republic of China.
3. A reference to the Old Testament of the Bible: Job 38:11.
4. Deuteronomy 30:19.

**JOHN ASHBROOK**

# Soviet Military Might: Western Made

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

October 24, 1973

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**BACKGROUND**

The American conservative movement initially supported Richard Nixon's administration due to his strong anti-communist stance. However, Nixon and his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger, eventually pursued the policy generally known as "détente," which aimed at reducing tensions between the U.S. and its primary enemies—China and the Soviet Union. Conservatives responded by endorsing their own candidate for the 1972 Republican presidential primary, Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook. Although Ashbrook ultimately lost, his views on foreign policy—as demonstrated by this congressional record—bear remarkable similarities to future conservative perspectives on the subject.

**GUIDING QUESTIONS:**

1. How does Ashbrook contrast the rhetoric about U.S.-Soviet trade with the facts?
2. What are the 7 points he makes about the results of the U.S. and Soviet Union continuing to interact economically?
3. In what particular area does Ashbrook say the Soviets most take advantage of the United States?

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John Ashbrook. "Soviet Military Might: Western Made." Congressional record, October 24, 1973. From GovInfo. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1973-pt27/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1973-pt27-3-1.pdf>.



ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

The professional smokescreen about peaceful trade continues.

The plain fact is that irresponsible policies have built us an enemy and maintain that enemy in the business of totalitarian rule and world conquest. The tragedy is that  
5 intelligent people have bought the political double talk about world peace, a new world order and mellowing Soviets.

I suggest that the man in the street, the average taxpayer-voter thinks more or less as I do. You do not subsidize an enemy. [...]

10

It requires a peculiar kind of intellectual myopia to ship supplies and technology to the Soviets when they are instrumental in killing fellow citizens.

What about the argument that trade will lead to peace? Well, we have had United  
15 States-Soviet trade for over fifty years. The first and second 5-year plans were built by American companies. To continue a policy that is a total failure is to gamble with the lives of several million Americans and countless allies.

You can not stoke up the Soviet military machine at one end and then complain that  
20 the other end came back and bit you. Unfortunately, the human price for our immoral policies is not paid by the policymakers in Washington. The human price is paid by the farmers, the students, and working and middle classes of America—and our fighting men in Korea and Vietnam. The citizen who pays the piper is not calling the tune—he does not even know the name of the tune.

25

Let me summarize my conclusions:

First. Trade with the U.S.S.R. was started over 50 years ago under President Woodrow Wilson with the declared intention of mellowing the Bolsheviks. The policy has been a  
30 total and costly failure. It has proven to be impractical—this is what I would expect from an immoral policy.

Second. We have built ourselves an enemy. We keep that self-declared enemy in business. This information has been blacked out by successive administrations. Misleading and untruthful statements have been made by the executive branch to Congress and the American people.

Third. Our policy of subsidizing self-declared enemies is neither rational nor moral. I have drawn attention to the intellectual myopia of the group that influences and draws up foreign policy.

Fourth. The annual attacks in Vietnam and the wars in the Middle East are made possible only by Russian armaments and our assistance to the Soviets.

Fifth. This worldwide Soviet activity is consistent with communist theory. Mikhail Suslov, the party theoretician, recently stated that the current détente with the United States is temporary. The purpose of détente, according to Suslov, is to give the Soviets sufficient strength for a renewed assault on the West. In other words, when you have finished building the Kama plant and the trucks come rolling off, watch out for another Vietnam.

Sixth. Internal Soviet repression continue—against Baptists, against Jews, against national groups, and against dissident academics.

Seventh. Soviet technical dependence is a powerful instrument for world peace if we want to use it. So far it has been used as an aid-to-dependent-Soviets welfare program. With about as much success as the domestic welfare program.

Why should they stop supplying Hanoi? The more they stoke up the war the more they get from the United States. Not only do the Soviets get more goods from the United States, they get them on credit. The U.S. Export-Import Bank is providing credits to the Soviet Union with an interest rate of 6 percent. It costs the Export-Import Bank  $7\frac{3}{4}$

**ANNOTATIONS**

**NOTES & QUESTIONS**

percent to raise that money it lends to the Soviet Union. The U.S. Government subsidizes the Export-Import Bank, which means, of course, the American taxpayer is picking up the bill. While interest on mortgages are 9½ percent in many parts of the United States, the Soviet Union gets loans at 6 percent on materials that they will use to defeat us.

5