

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960 Chapter Contents
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Chapter 37

The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960

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Chapter Introduction

Every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies ... a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, April 16, 1953

In President **Dwight D. Eisenhower**, the man and the hour met. Americans yearned for a period of calm in which they could pursue without distraction their new visions of consumerist affluence. The nation sorely needed a respite from twenty years of depression and war. Yet the American people unexpectedly found themselves in the early 1950s dug into the frontlines of the Cold War abroad and dangerously divided at home over the explosive issues of communist subversion and civil rights. They longed for reassuring leadership. “Ike” seemed ready both to reassure and to lead.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-1 Affluence and Its Anxieties
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37-1 Affluence and Its Anxieties

The continuing post–World War II economic boom wrought wondrous changes in American society in the 1950s. Prosperity triggered a fabulous surge in home construction, as a nation of renters became a nation of homeowners. One of every four homes standing in America in 1960 had been built during the 1950s, and 83 percent of those new homes were in suburbia.

More than ever, science and technology drove economic growth. The invention of the transistor in 1948 sparked a revolution in electronics, and especially in computers. The first electronic computers assembled in the 1940s were massive machines with hundreds of miles of wiring and thousands of fickle cathode ray tubes. Transistors and, later, printed circuits on silicon wafers made possible dramatic miniaturization and phenomenal computational speed. Computer giant International Business Machines (IBM) expanded robustly, becoming the prototype of the “high-tech” corporation in the dawning “information age.” Eventually personal computers and even inexpensive pocket calculators contained more computing power than room-size early models. Computers transformed age-old business practices like billing and inventory control and opened genuine new frontiers in areas like airline scheduling, high-speed printing, and telecommunications.

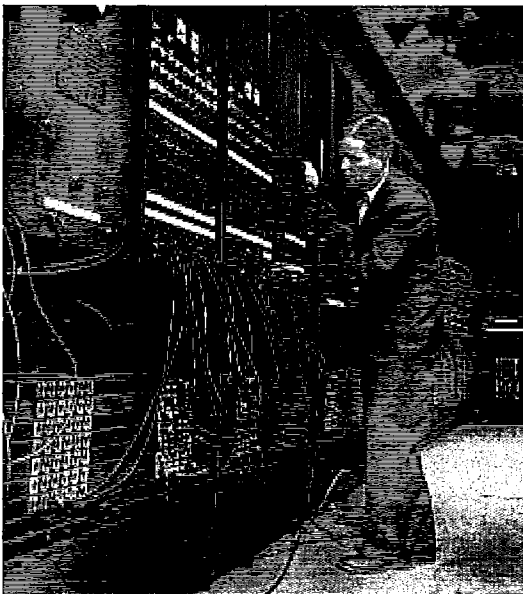
Aerospace industries also grew fantastically in the 1950s, thanks both to Eisenhower's aggressive buildup of the Strategic Air Command and to a robustly expanding passenger airline business—as well as to connections between military and civilian aircraft

production. In 1957 the Seattle-based Boeing Company brought out the first large passenger jet, the “707.” Its design owed much to the previous development of SAC’s long-range strategic bomber, the B-52. Two years later Boeing delivered the first presidential jet, a specially modified 707, to its first user, **Dwight D. Eisenhower**. “Air Force One” dazzled him with its speed and comfort.

The nature of the work force was also changing. A quiet revolution was marked in 1956 when “white-collar” workers for the first time outnumbered “blue-collar” workers, signaling the passage from an industrial to a postindustrial, or service-based, economy. Keeping pace with that fundamental transformation, organized labor withered along with the smokestack industries that had been its sustenance. Union membership as a percentage of the labor force peaked at about 35 percent in 1954 and then went into steady decline. Some observers concluded that the union movement had played out its historic role of empowering workers and ensuring economic justice, and that unions would eventually disappear altogether in the postindustrial era.

An Early Computer, ca. 1950

Just a few decades later, technological improvements would bring the computing power of this bulky behemoth to the user’s desktop.



© Bettmann/Corbis

The surge in white-collar employment opened special opportunities for women (see Table 37.1). When World War II ended, many women, including those who had worked in war plants, returned to highly conventional female roles as wives and mothers—the remarkably prolific mothers of the huge “baby-boom” generation. A “cult of domesticity” emerged in popular culture to celebrate those eternal feminine functions. When 1950s television programs like “Ozzie and Harriet” or “Leave It to Beaver” depicted idyllic suburban families with a working husband, two children, and a wife who did not work outside the home, they did so without irony; much of white, middle-class America really did live that way. But as the 1950s progressed, another quiet revolution was gaining momentum that was destined to transform women’s roles and even the character of the

American family.

Table 37.1

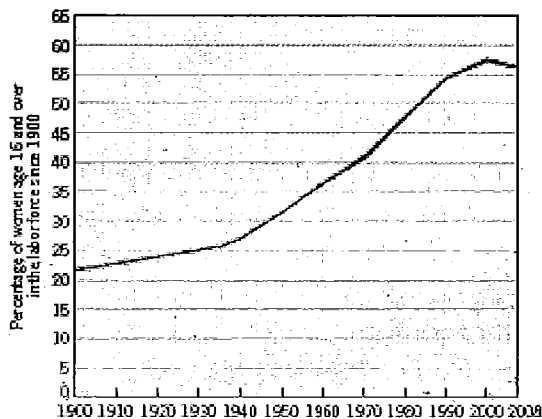
Occupational Distribution of Workingwomen, 1900–2000 *

	1900	1920	1940	1960	1980	2000
Total white-collar workers *	17.8%	38.8%	44.9%	52.5%	65.6%	73.0%
Clerical workers	4.0	18.7	21.5	28.7	30.5	36.7
Manual workers	27.8	23.8	21.6	18.0	14.8	8.7
Farmworkers	18.9	13.5	4.0	1.8	1.0	0.3
Service workers *	35.5	23.9	29.4	21.9	18.1	18.0

(Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States* and *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, relevant years.)

Of some 40 million new jobs created in the three decades after 1950, more than 30 million were in clerical and service work. Women filled the huge majority of these new positions. They were the principal employment beneficiaries of the postwar era, creating an extensive “pink-collar ghetto” of occupations that came to be dominated by women (see Figure 37.1).

Figure 37.1

Women in the Labor Force, 1900–2008

(Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States* and *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, relevant years.)

Exploding employment opportunities for women in the 1950s unleashed a groundswell of social and psychological shocks that mounted to tidal-wave proportions in the decades that

followed. From one perspective women's surge into the workplace was nothing new, only a return to the days when the United States was an agricultural nation, and men and women alike toiled on the family farm. But the urban age was not the agricultural age, and women's new dual role as *both* workers *and* homemakers raised urgent questions about family life and traditional definitions of gender differences.

Feminist **Betty Friedan** gave focus and fuel to women's feelings in 1963 when she published The Feminine Mystique (Best-selling book by feminist thinker **Betty Friedan**. This work challenged women to move beyond the drudgery of suburban housewifery and helped launch what would become second-wave feminism.), a runaway best seller and a classic of feminist protest literature that launched the modern women's movement. Friedan spoke in rousing accents to millions of able, educated women who applauded her indictment of the stifling boredom of suburban housewifery. Many of those women were already working for wages, but they were also struggling against the guilt and frustration of leading an “unfeminine” life as defined by the postwar “cult of domesticity.”

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-2 Consumer Culture in the Fifties

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37-2 Consumer Culture in the Fifties

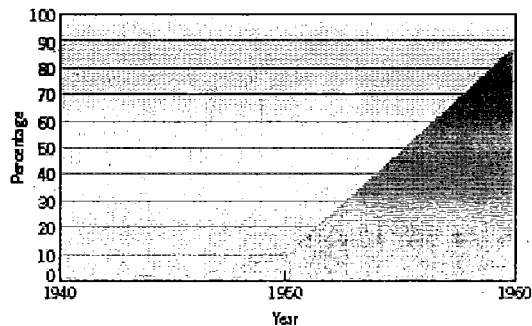
The 1950s witnessed a huge expansion of the middle class and the blossoming of a consumer culture. Diner's Club introduced the plastic credit card in 1949, just one year after the first “fast-food”-style McDonald's hamburger stand opened in San Bernardino, California. In 1955 Disneyland opened its doors in Anaheim, California. Easy credit, high-volume “fast-food” production, and new forms of leisure marked an emerging affluent lifestyle that soon moved beyond America's borders. Manufacturers, retailers, and advertisers spread American-style consumer capitalism throughout much of the noncommunist world.

Crucial to the development of that lifestyle was the rapid rise of the new technology of television. Only 6 TV stations were broadcasting in 1946; a decade later 442 stations were operating. TV sets were rich people's novelties in the 1940s, but 7 million sets were sold in 1951. By 1960 virtually every American home had one, in a stunning display of the speed with which new technologies can pervade and transform modern societies (see Figure 37.2).

Figure 37.2

Households with Television Sets, 1946–1960

Note the rapid adoption of this new device, a harbinger of the viral spread of technologies like cell phones and the Internet later in the century.



The Booming Service Sector

Services displaced manufacturing as the most dynamic area of the economy in the post-World War II era, and women made up a majority of new workers in the nation's offices and classrooms and on sales floors and hospital wards.



© Bettmann/Corbis

Attendance at movies sank as the entertainment industry changed its focus from the silver screen to the picture tube. By the mid-1950s, advertisers annually spent \$10 billion to hawk their wares on television, while critics fumed that the wildly popular new mass medium was degrading the public's aesthetic, social, moral, political, and educational standards. To the question "Why is television called a medium?" pundits replied, "Because it's never rare or well done."

The Original Golden Arches, 1955

Maurice and Richard McDonald replaced their original drive-in hamburger stand in San Bernardino, California, with this double-arched design in 1953. McDonald's soon became one of the largest franchised restaurant chains in the world and a global symbol of American consumerism.



Courtesy McDonald Corporation

Even religion capitalized on the powerful new electronic pulpit. “Televangelists” like the Baptist Billy Graham, the Pentecostal Holiness preacher Oral Roberts, and the Roman Catholic **Fulton J. Sheen** took to the airwaves to spread the Christian gospel. Television also catalyzed the commercialization of professional sports, as viewing audiences that once numbered in the stadium-capacity thousands could now be counted in the couch-potato millions.

Sports also reflected the shift in population toward the West and South. In 1958 baseball's New York Giants moved to San Francisco, and the Brooklyn Dodgers abandoned Flatbush for Los Angeles. Those moves touched off a new westward and southward movement of sports franchises. Shifting population and spreading affluence led eventually to substantial expansion of the major baseball leagues and the principal football and basketball leagues as well.

Popular music was dramatically transformed in the fifties. The chief revolutionary was **Elvis Presley**, a white singer born in 1935 in Tupelo, Mississippi. Fusing black rhythm and blues with white bluegrass and country styles, Elvis created a new musical idiom known forever after as rock 'n' roll (“Crossover” musical style that rose to dominance in the 1950s, merging black rhythm and blues with white bluegrass and country. Featuring a heavy beat and driving rhythm, rock 'n' roll music became a defining feature of the 1950s youth culture.) . Rock was “crossover” music, carrying its heavy beat and driving rhythms across the cultural divide that separated black and white musical traditions. Listening and dancing to rock 'n' roll became a rite of passage for millions of young people around the world, from Japan to working-class Liverpool, England, where Elvis's music inspired teenagers John Lennon and Paul McCartney to form a band that would become the Beatles.

Traditionalists were repelled by Presley, and they found much more to upset them in the affluent fifties. Movie star Marilyn Monroe, with her ingenuous smile and mandolin-curved hips, helped to popularize—and commercialize—new standards of sensuous sexuality. So did *Playboy* magazine, whose first issue Monroe graced in 1953. As the decade closed, Americans were well on their way to becoming free-spending consumers of mass-produced, standardized products, which were advertised on the electronic medium of television and often sold for their alleged sexual allure.

The King

With his fleshy face, pouting lips, and antic, sexually suggestive gyrations, **Elvis Presley** became the high priest of rock 'n' roll in the 1950s, to the chagrin of parents everywhere. Bloated by fame, fortune, and drugs, he died in 1977 at the age of forty-two.



Charles Trainor/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

Many critics lamented the implications of this new consumerist lifestyle. Harvard sociologist David Riesman portrayed the postwar generation as a pack of conformists in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), as did **William H. Whyte, Jr.**, in *The Organization Man*. Novelist Sloan Wilson explored a similar theme in *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (1955). Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith questioned the relation between private wealth and the public good in a series of books beginning with *The Affluent Society* (1958). The post-war explosion of prosperity, Galbraith claimed, had produced a troublesome combination of private opulence amid public squalor. Americans had televisions in their homes but garbage in their streets. They ate rich food but breathed foul air. But Galbraith's call for social spending to match private purchasing fell on mostly deaf ears in the giddily affluent 1950s.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-3 The Advent of Eisenhower

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37-3 The Advent of Eisenhower

Democratic prospects in the presidential election of 1952 were blighted by the military deadlock in Korea, Truman's clash with MacArthur, war-bred inflation, and whiffs of scandal from the White House. Dispirited Democrats nominated a reluctant **Adlai E.**

Stevenson, the eloquent and idealistic governor of Illinois. Republicans enthusiastically chose war hero General **Dwight D. Eisenhower** on the first ballot. "Ike's" running mate was California senator **Richard M. Nixon**, who had gained notoriety as a relentless red-hunter.

Eisenhower was already the most popular American of his time, as "I Like Ike" buttons everywhere testified. Striking a grandfatherly, nonpartisan pose, Eisenhower left the rough campaigning to Nixon, who relished bare-knuckle political combat. The vice-presidential candidate lambasted his opponents with charges that they had cultivated corruption, caved in on Korea, and coddled communists. He particularly blasted the cerebral Stevenson as "Adlai the appeaser," with a "Ph.D. from [Secretary of State] Dean Acheson's College of Cowardly Communist Containment."

Nixon himself faltered late in the campaign amid accusations that he had accepted illegal donations. Responding with a self-pitying live address on television, Nixon denied the charges and solemnly declared that the only campaign gift he had ever received was the family cocker spaniel, Checkers. The shameless and mawkish **Checkers Speech** (Nationally televised address by vice-presidential candidate **Richard Nixon**. Using the new mass medium of television shortly before the 1952 election, the vice presidential candidate saved his place on the ticket by defending himself against accusations of corruption.) saved Nixon's spot on the ticket and spotlighted a fundamental change in American politics. Television was now a formidable political tool that, much more than radio, allowed candidates to bypass traditional party machinery and speak directly to voters.

The Republicans' Choice, 1952

Nominee Eisenhower and his vice-presidential running mate, Nixon, greet the delegates.



AP Images

Soon even Eisenhower was reluctantly appearing in short, tightly scripted televised "spots" that fore-shadowed the future of political advertising. Devoid of substance, they vastly oversimplified complicated economic and social issues. They amounted, as one critic observed, to "selling the President like toothpaste." And given television's origins in

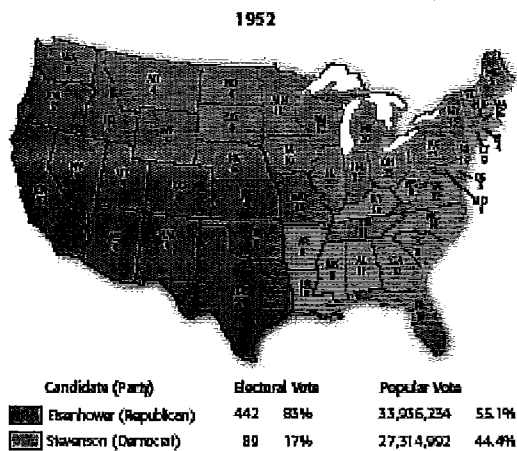
entertainment and advertising, political messages would be increasingly tuned to the standards of show business and commercialism.

The outcome of the presidential election of 1952 was never really in doubt. Given an extra prod by Eisenhower's last-minute pledge to go personally to Korea to end the war, the voters overwhelmingly declared for Ike. He garnered 33,936,234 votes to Stevenson's 27,314,992, ringing up 442 electoral votes to 89 for his opponent (see Map 37.1). Ike also managed to pull enough Republican legislators into office on his military coattails to gain GOP control of the new Congress by a hairbreadth.

Map 37.1

Presidential Election of 1952 (with electoral vote by state)

A Democrat quipped that “if the voters liked the Republicans the way they liked Ike, the two-party system would be in bad shape.” Fortunately for Democrats, Eisenhower scored a personal, not a party, victory. Republicans won minuscule majorities in Congress, which disappeared in the congressional elections two years later.



© Cengage Learning

True to his campaign pledge, president-elect Eisenhower undertook a flying three-day visit to Korea in December 1952. But even a glamorous Ike could not immediately budge the peace negotiations off dead center. Seven long months later, after Eisenhower had hinted that he might use atomic weapons, an armistice was finally signed. (Subsequent inquiries suggested that Ike's hints were so artfully veiled that the Chinese never understood them. They agreed to end the war for reasons of their own, especially its burdensome financial costs.)

The brutal and futile fighting had lasted three years. About fifty-four thousand Americans lay dead, joined by perhaps more than a million Chinese, North Koreans, and South Koreans. Tens of billions of American dollars had been poured down the Asian sinkhole. Yet this terrible toll in blood and treasure bought only a return to the conditions of 1950: Korea remained divided at the thirty-eighth parallel, Communist in the North, Western-looking in the South. Americans took what little comfort they could from the fact that communism had been “contained” and that the blood-letting had been “limited” to something less than full-scale global war. The shooting had ended, but the Cold War still

remained frigidly frozen.

As a military commander, Eisenhower had cultivated a leadership style that self-consciously projected an image of sincerity, fairness, and optimism. He had been widely perceived during World War II as an “unmilitary” general, and in the White House he similarly struck the pose of an “unpolitical” president, serenely above the petty partisan fray. He also shrewdly knew that his greatest “asset” was his enjoyment of the “affection and respect of our citizenry,” as he confided to his diary in 1949.

Korean War Scene

A grief-stricken American soldier whose buddy has been killed is being comforted, while a medical corpsman fills out casualty tags.



U.S. Army Photograph

Ike thus seemed ideally suited to soothe the anxieties of troubled Americans, much as a distinguished and well-loved grandfather brings stability to his family. He played this role well as he presided over a decade of shaky peace and shining prosperity. Yet critics charged that he unwisely hoarded the “asset” of his immense popularity, rather than spend it for a good cause (especially civil rights), and that he cared more for social harmony than for social justice.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-4 The Rise and Fall of Joseph McCarthy

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37-4 The Rise and Fall of Joseph McCarthy

One of the first problems Eisenhower faced was the swelling popularity and swaggering power of an obstreperous anticommunist crusader, Wisconsin Republican senator **Joseph R. McCarthy**. Elected to the Senate on the basis of a trumped-up war-hero record, McCarthy had crashed into the limelight in February 1950 when he accused Secretary of State Dean Acheson of knowingly employing 205 Communist party members. Pressed to reveal the names, McCarthy later conceded that there were only 57 genuine communists

and in the end failed to root out even one. Some of McCarthy's Republican colleagues nevertheless realized the partisan usefulness of this kind of attack on the Democratic administration. Ohio's Senator John Bricker reportedly said, "Joe, you're a dirty s.o.b., but there are times when you've got to have an s.o.b. around, and this is one of them."

Senator McCarthy Extinguishes the Torch of Liberty

While preaching patriotism, McCarthy irresponsibly menaced American traditions of civil liberties.



© Al Hirschfield/The Margo Feiden Galleries LTD., New York. www.alhirschfield.com

In a moment of high drama during the Army-McCarthy hearings, attorney **Joseph Welch** (1890–1960) reproached McCarthy in front of a huge national television audience for threatening to slander a young lawyer on Welch's staff:

"Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. Little did I dream you could be so cruel as to do an injury to that lad.... If it were in my power to forgive you for your reckless cruelty, I would do so. I like to think that I am a gentleman, but your forgiveness will have to come from someone other than me.... Have you no decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?"

McCarthy's rhetoric grew bolder and his accusations spread more wildly after the Republican victory in 1952. McCarthy saw the red hand of Moscow everywhere. The Democrats, he charged, "bent to whispered pleas from the lips of traitors." Incredibly, he even denounced General George Marshall, former army chief of staff and ex-secretary of state, as "part of a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous venture in the history of man."

McCarthy—and what became known as **McCarthyism** (A brand of vitriolic, fear-mongering anti-communism associated with the career of Senator **Joseph McCarthy**. In the early 1950s, Senator McCarthy used his position in Congress to baselessly accuse high-ranking government officials and other Americans of conspiracy with communism. The term named after him refers to the dangerous forces of unfairness and fear wrought by anti-communist paranoia.) —flourished in the seething Cold War atmosphere of suspicion and fear. The senator was neither the first nor the most effective red-hunter, but he was surely the most ruthless, and he did the most damage to American traditions of fair play and free speech. The careers of countless officials, writers, and actors were ruined after “Low-Blow Joe” had “named” them, often unfairly, as communists or communist sympathizers. Politicians trembled in the face of such onslaughts, especially when opinion polls showed that a majority of the American people approved of McCarthy's crusade.

Eisenhower privately loathed McCarthy but publicly tried to stay out of his way, saying, “I will not get in the gutter with that guy.” Trying to appease the brash demagogue from Wisconsin, Eisenhower allowed him, in effect, to control personnel policy at the State Department. One baleful result was severe damage to the morale and effectiveness of the professional foreign service. In particular, McCarthyite purges deprived the government of a number of Asian specialists who might have counseled a wiser course in Vietnam in the fateful decade that followed. McCarthy's extreme antics also damaged America's international reputation for fair and open democracy at a moment when it was important to keep Western Europe on the United States' side in an intensifying Cold War.

McCarthy finally bent the bow too far when he attacked the U.S. Army. The embattled military men fought back in thirty-five days of televised hearings in the spring of 1954. The political power of the new broadcast medium was again demonstrated by the **Army-McCarthy hearings** (Congressional hearings called by Senator **Joseph McCarthy** to accuse members of the army of communist ties. In this widely televised spectacle, McCarthy finally went too far for public approval. The hearings exposed the Senator's extremism and led to his eventual disgrace.), as up to 20 million Americans at a time watched in fascination while a boorish, surly McCarthy publicly cut his own throat by parading his essential meanness and irresponsibility. A few months later, the Senate formally condemned him for “conduct unbecoming a member.” Three years later, unwept and unsung, McCarthy died of chronic alcoholism. But “McCarthyism” has passed into the English language as a label for the dangerous forces of unfairness and fear that a democratic society can unleash only at its peril.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-5 Desegregating American Society

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37-5 Desegregating American Society

America counted some 15 million black citizens in 1950, two-thirds of whom still made their homes in the South. There they lived bound by the iron folkways of a segregated society. A rigid set of antiquated rules known as **Jim Crow** (System of racial segregation in the American South from the end of Reconstruction until the mid-twentieth century. Based

on the concept of “separate but equal” facilities for blacks and whites, the Jim Crow system sought to prevent racial mixing in public, including restaurants, movie theaters, and public transportation. An informal system, it was generally perpetuated by custom, violence, and intimidation. (496, 867)) laws governed all aspects of their existence, from the schoolroom to the restroom. Every day of their lives, southern blacks dealt with a bizarre array of separate social arrangements that kept them insulated from whites, economically inferior, and politically powerless. Blacks in the South not only attended segregated schools but were compelled to use separate public toilets, drinking fountains, restaurants, and waiting rooms. Trains and buses had “whites only” and “colored only” seating. Only about 20 percent of eligible southern blacks were registered to vote, and fewer than 5 percent were registered in some Deep South states like Mississippi and Alabama. As late as 1960, white southern sensibilities about segregation were so tender that television networks blotted out black speakers at the national political conventions for fear of offending southern stations.

A black woman described the day-in, day-out humiliations of life in the Jim Crow South:

“You could not go to a white restaurant; you sat in a special place at the movie house; and Lord knows, you sat in the back of the bus. It didn't make any difference if you were rich or poor, if you were black you were nothing. You might have a hundred dollars in your pocket, but if you went to the store you would wait at the side until all the clerks got through with all the white folks, no matter if they didn't have change for a dollar. Then the clerk would finally look at you and say, 'Oh, did you want something? I didn't see you there.'”

The Face of Segregation

These women in the segregated South of the 1950s were compelled to enter the movie theater through the “Colored Entrance.” Once inside, they were restricted to a separate seating section, usually in the rear of the theater.



The New York Times Co./Getty Images

Where the law proved insufficient to enforce this regime, vigilante violence did the job. Six black war veterans, claiming the rights for which they had fought overseas, were murdered in the summer of 1946. A Mississippi mob lynched black fourteen-year-old Emmett Till in 1955 for allegedly leering at a white woman. It is small wonder that a black clergyman declared that “everywhere I go in the South the Negro is forced to choose between his hide and his soul.”

Segregation tarnished America's international image, much as McCarthyism did. After the war African American entertainers like **Paul Robeson** and **Josephine Baker** toured widely in Europe and Latin America, informing audiences about the horrors of Jim Crow and raising doubts about America's reputation as the beacon of freedom against Soviet communism. In response, the State Department confiscated Robeson's passport, but it had to find other ways to silence Baker, who had assumed French citizenship. Intellectuals poured on criticism as well. Swedish scholar Gunnar Myrdal published his landmark book, *An American Dilemma*, exposing the scandalous contradiction between “The American Creed”—allegiance to the values of “progress, liberty, equality, and humanitarianism”—and the nation's shameful treatment of black citizens.

International pressure combined with grassroots and legal activism to propel some racial progress in the North after World War II. In a growing number of northern cities and states, African Americans battled for—and won—equal access to public accommodations like restaurants, hotels, theaters, and beaches. Jackie Robinson cracked baseball's color barrier when the Brooklyn Dodgers signed him in 1947. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) pushed the Supreme Court in 1950 to rule in *Sweatt v. Painter* that separate professional schools for blacks failed to meet the test of equality. The national conscience was slowly awakening from its centuries-long slumber, but black suffering still continued, especially in the South.

Increasingly, however, African Americans refused to suffer in silence (see “Makers of

America: The Great African American Migration.”). On a chilly day in December 1955, **Rosa Parks**, a college-educated black seamstress, made history in Montgomery, Alabama. She boarded a bus, took a seat in the “whites only” section, and refused to give it up. Her arrest for violating the city's Jim Crow statutes sparked a year-long black boycott of city buses and served notice throughout the South that blacks would no longer submit meekly to the absurdities and indignities of segregation.

Joseph E. Lowery (b. 1921), a Methodist minister and civil rights activist in Mobile, Alabama, reflected on the powerful message of the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott for blacks:

“You see, what the bus thing did was simply more than withholding patronage from the bus; it was restoring a sense of dignity to the patrons, as best expressed by an oft-quoted black woman in Montgomery who said, ‘Since I’ve been walking, my feet are tired, but my soul’s rested.’... [P]rior to the bus boycotts, the determination of our freedom rested with the courts. With the bus boycott, we determined it.... The court could say what it liked, we weren’t gon’ ride—in the back of the bus. We’d walk.”

The **Montgomery bus boycott** (Protest, sparked by Rosa Parks's defiant refusal to move to the back of the bus, by black Alabamians against segregated seating on city buses. The bus boycott lasted from December 1, 1955, until December 26, 1956, and became one of the foundational moments of the Civil Rights Movement. It led to the rise of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and ultimately to a Supreme Court decision opposing segregated busing.) also catapulted to prominence a young pastor at Montgomery's Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, the Reverend **Martin Luther King, Jr.** Barely twenty-seven years old, King seemed an unlikely champion of the downtrodden and disfranchised. Raised in a prosperous black family in Atlanta and educated partly in the North, he had for most of his life been sheltered from the grossest cruelties of segregation. But his oratorical skill, his passionate devotion to biblical and constitutional conceptions of justice, and his devotion to the nonviolent principles of India's Mohandas Gandhi were destined to thrust him to the forefront of the black revolution that would soon pulse across the South and the rest of the nation.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-6 Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

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37-6 Seeds of the Civil Rights Revolution

When President **Harry Truman** heard about the lynching of black war veterans in 1946, he exclaimed, “My God! I had no idea it was as terrible as that.” The horrified Truman responded by commissioning a report titled “To Secure These Rights.” Following the

report's recommendations, Truman in 1948 ended segregation in federal civil service and ordered "equality of treatment and opportunity" in the armed forces. Yet Congress stubbornly resisted passing civil rights legislation, and Truman's successor, **Dwight Eisenhower**, showed no real interest in racial issues. It was the Supreme Court that assumed political leadership in the civil rights struggle.

Chief Justice **Earl Warren**, former governor of California, shocked traditionalists with his active judicial intervention in previously taboo social issues. Publicly snubbed and privately scorned by President Eisenhower, Warren courageously led the Court to address urgent issues that Congress and the president preferred to avoid, as "Impeach **Earl Warren**" signs blossomed along the nation's highways.

The unanimous decision of the Warren Court in **Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas** (Landmark Supreme Court decision that overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and abolished racial segregation in public schools. The Court reasoned that "separate" was inherently "unequal," rejecting the foundation of the Jim Crow system of racial segregation in the South. This decision was the first major step toward the legal end of racial discrimination and a major accomplishment for the Civil Rights Movement.) in May 1954 was epochal. In a forceful opinion, the learned justices ruled that segregation in the public schools was "inherently unequal" and thus unconstitutional. The uncompromising sweep of the decision startled conservatives like an exploding time bomb, for it reversed the Court's earlier declaration of 1896 in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that "separate but equal" facilities were allowable under the Constitution. That doctrine was now dead. Desegregation, the justices insisted, must go ahead with "all deliberate speed."

Integration in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1957

Fifteen-year-old Elizabeth Eckford endured scathing insults from white students and parents as she attempted to enter Little Rock's Central High School. The showdown at Little Rock was a replay of nineteenth-century confrontations over "states' rights," and forced a reluctant Eisenhower administration to assert the supremacy of federal power.



Photo by Francis Miller/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

The Border States generally made reasonable efforts to comply with this ruling, but in the Deep South diehards organized “massive resistance” against the Court’s annulment of the sacred principle of “separate but equal.” More than a hundred southern congressional representatives and senators signed the “Declaration of Constitutional Principles” in 1956, pledging their unyielding resistance to desegregation. Several states diverted public funds to hastily created “private” schools, for there the integration order was more difficult to apply. Throughout the South white citizens’ councils, sometimes with fire and hemp, thwarted attempts to make integration a reality. Ten years after the Court’s momentous ruling, fewer than 2 percent of the eligible blacks in the Deep South were sitting in classrooms with whites.

President Eisenhower remained reluctant to promote integration. He shied away from employing his vast popularity and the prestige of his office to educate white Americans about the need for racial justice. His personal attitudes may have helped to restrain him. He had grown up in an all-white town, spent his career in a segregated army, and advised against integration of the armed forces in 1948. He complained that the Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* had upset “the customs and convictions of at least two generations of Americans,” and he steadfastly refused to issue a public statement endorsing the Court’s conclusions. “I do not believe,” he explained, “that prejudices, even palpably unjustifiable prejudices, will succumb to compulsion.”

But in September 1957, Ike was forced to act. Orval Faubus, the governor of Arkansas, mobilized the National Guard to prevent nine black students from enrolling in Little Rock’s Central High School. Confronted with a direct challenge to federal authority, Eisenhower sent troops to escort the children to their classes.

In the same year, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act since Reconstruction days. Eisenhower characteristically reassured a southern senator that the legislation represented “the mildest civil rights bill possible.” It set up a permanent Civil Rights Commission to investigate violations of civil rights and authorized federal injunctions to protect voting rights.

Blacks meanwhile continued to take the civil rights movement into their own hands. **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. It aimed to mobilize the vast power of the black churches on behalf of black rights. This was an exceptionally shrewd strategy, because the churches were the largest and best-organized black institutions that had been allowed to flourish in a segregated society.

More spontaneous was the “sit-in” movement launched on February 1, 1960, by four black college freshmen in Greensboro, North Carolina. Without a detailed plan or institutional support, they demanded service at a whites-only Woolworth's lunch counter. Observing that “fellows like you make our race look bad,” the black waitress refused to serve them. But they kept their seats and returned the next day with nineteen classmates. The following day, eighty-five students joined in; by the end of the week, a thousand. The sitin movement rolled swiftly across the South, swelling into a wave of wade-ins, lie-ins, and pray-ins to compel equal treatment in restaurants, transportation, employment, housing, and voter registration. In April 1960 southern black students formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC (Youth organization founded by southern black students in 1960 to promote civil rights. Drawing on its members' youthful energies, SNCC in its early years coordinated demonstrations, sit-ins, and voter registration drives.)), pronounced “snick”) to give more focus and force to these efforts. Young and impassioned, SNCC members would eventually lose patience with the more stately tactics of the SCLC and the even more deliberate legalisms of the NAACP.

Makers of America

The Great African American Migration

The great social upheavals of World War II continued to transform America well after the guns had fallen silent in 1945. Among the groups most affected by the war were African Americans. Predominantly a rural, southern people before 1940, African Americans were propelled by the war into the cities of the North and West, and by 1970 a majority lived outside the states of the old Confederacy. The results of that massive demographic shift were momentous, for African Americans and for all of American society.

So many black southerners took to the roads during World War II that local officials lost track of their numbers. Black workers on the move crowded into boardinghouses, camped out in cars, and clustered in the juke joints of roadside America en route to their new lives.

Southern cotton fields and tobacco plantations had historically yielded slender sustenance to African American farmers, most of whom struggled to make ends meet as tenants or sharecroppers. The Great Depression dealt black southerners yet another blow, for when New Deal farm programs paid growers to leave their land fallow, many landlords simply pocketed the money and evicted their tenants—white as well as black—from their now-idle fields. As the Depression deepened, dispossessed former tenants and sharecroppers toiled as seasonal farmworkers or languished without jobs, without shelter, and without hope.

The spanking-new munitions plants and bustling shipyards of wartime America at first offered little solace to African Americans, particularly in the South. In 1940 and 1941, the labor-hungry war machine soaked up unemployed white workers but commonly denied jobs to blacks. When the army constructed a training camp near Petersburg, Virginia, it imported white carpenters from all parts of the United States, rather than employ the hundreds of skilled black carpenters who lived nearby. Fed up with such injustices, many African Americans headed for shipyards, factories, foundries, and fields on the Pacific Coast or north of the Mason-Dixon line, where their willing hands found more work awaiting them.

The Migration of the Negro, by Jacob Lawrence, 1940–1941

Artist Jacob Lawrence depicted the migration of southern blacks to the North during and after World War II in a series of paintings. The first panel of the series bears the description “During the World War there was a great migration north by southern Negroes.”



The Granger Collection, New York

Angered by the racism that was depriving their people of a fair share of jobs, black leaders cajoled President Roosevelt into issuing an executive order in June 1941 declaring that “there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin.” Roosevelt’s action was a tenuous, hesitant step. Yet in its way Executive Order 8802 amounted to a second Emancipation Proclamation, as the federal government for the first time since Reconstruction had committed itself to ensuring justice for African Americans.

The Home Front

Though often confronted by prejudice and discrimination, many African American migrants from the rural South found their first industrial jobs in

wartime defense plants during World War II.



New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture

The entire nation was now forced to face the evil of racism, as bloody wartime riots in Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and other cities tragically demonstrated. But for the first time, large numbers of blacks secured a foothold in the industrial economy, and they were not about to give it up.

By war's end the great wartime exodus had scattered hundreds of thousands of African Americans to new regions and new ways of life—a second black diaspora comparable in its scale and consequence to the original black dispersal out of Africa. In the postwar decades, blacks continued to pour out of the South in search of economic opportunity and political freedom. In western and northern cities, blacks now competed for housing and jobs, and they also voted—many of them for the first time in their lives.

Detroit Race Riot, 1943

A black passenger is dragged from a streetcar.



AP Images

As early as 1945, NAACP leader Walter White concluded that the war “immeasurably magnified the Negro's awareness of the disparity between the American profession and practice of democracy.” After the war, he predicted, African Americans would be “convinced that whatever betterment of their lot is achieved must come largely from their own efforts.” The wartime migration thus set the stage for the success of the civil rights movement that began to stir in the late 1940s and the 1950s. With their new political base outside the Old South, and with new support from the Democratic party, African Americans eventually forced an end to the hated segregationist practices that had kept them from enjoying full rights as citizens.

Martin Luther King, Jr., and His Wife, Coretta, Arrested

King and his wife were arrested for the first time in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 while organizing the bus boycott.



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Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-7 Eisenhower Republicanism at Home

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37-7 Eisenhower Republicanism at Home

The balding, sixty-two-year-old General Eisenhower had entered the White House in 1953 pledging his administration to a philosophy of “dynamic conservatism.” “In all those things which deal with people, be liberal, be human,” he advised. But when it came to “people’s money, or their economy, or their form of government, be conservative.” This balanced, middle-of-the-road course harmonized with the depression-daunted and war-weary mood of the times. Some critics called Eisenhower’s presidency a case of “the bland leading the bland.”

Above all, Eisenhower strove to balance the federal budget and guard the Republic from what he called “creeping socialism.” The former supreme Allied commander put the brakes on Truman’s enormous military buildup, though defense spending still soaked up some 10 percent of the GNP. True to his small-government philosophy, Eisenhower supported the transfer of control over offshore oil fields from the federal government to the states. Ike also tried to curb the TVA by encouraging a private power company to build a generating plant to compete with the massive public utility spawned by the New Deal. Eisenhower’s secretary of health, education, and welfare condemned the free distribution of the Salk antipolio vaccine as “socialized medicine.”

Operation Wetback

Thousands of illegal Mexican immigrants were forcibly repatriated to Mexico in the federal government’s 1954 roundup operation, which was promoted in part by the Mexican government. The man in this photograph is being pulled across the border by a Mexican official, while an American spectator tries to pull him back

into the United States.



© Bettmann/Corbis

Eisenhower responded to the Mexican government's worries that illegal Mexican immigration to the United States would undercut the *bracero* program of legally imported farmworkers inaugurated during World War II. In a massive roundup of illegal immigrants, dubbed **Operation Wetback** (A government program to roundup and deport as many as one million illegal Mexican migrant workers in the United States. The program was promoted in part by the Mexican government and reflected burgeoning concerns about non-European immigration to America.) in reference to the migrants' watery route across the Rio Grande, as many as 1 million Mexicans were apprehended and returned to Mexico in 1954.

Drive-in Movie Theater, Utah, 1958

Going to the movies became one more thing Americans could do in their cars in the 1950s. Here moviegoers watch Charlton Heston as Moses in the Academy Award-winning motion picture *The Ten Commandments*. It was the last film made by famed director **Cecil B. DeMille**.



J. R. Eyerman/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

In yet another of the rude and arbitrary reversals that long have afflicted the government's relations with Native Americans, Eisenhower also sought to cancel the tribal preservation policies of the "Indian New Deal," in place since 1934. He proposed to "terminate" the tribes as legal entities and to revert to the assimilationist goals of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. Most Indians resisted termination, and the policy was abandoned in 1961.

Eisenhower obviously could not unscramble all the eggs that had been fried by New Dealers and Fair Dealers for twenty long years. He pragmatically accepted and thereby legitimated many New Dealish programs, stitching them permanently into the fabric of American society. As he told his brother, "Should any political party attempt to abolish Social Security, unemployment insurance, and eliminate labor and farm programs, you would not hear of that party again in our political history."

In some ways Eisenhower even did the New Deal one better. In a public works project that dwarfed anything the New Dealers had ever dreamed of, Ike backed the **Federal Highway Act of 1956** (Federal legislation signed by **Dwight D. Eisenhower** to construct thousands of miles of modern highways in the name of national defense. Officially called the **National Interstate and Defense Highways Act**, this bill dramatically increased the move to the suburbs, as white middle-class people could more easily commute to urban jobs.), a \$27 billion plan to build forty-two thousand miles of sleek, fast motor-ways. The former general believed that such roads were essential to national defense, allowing U.S. troops to mobilize anywhere in the country in the event of a Soviet invasion. Beyond being a defense strategy, laying down these modern, multilane roads created countless construction jobs and speeded the suburbanization of America. The Highway Act offered juicy benefits to the trucking, automobile, oil, and travel industries, while at the same time robbing the railroads, especially passenger trains, of business. The act also exacerbated problems of air quality and energy consumption, and it had especially disastrous consequences for cities, whose once-vibrant downtowns withered away while shopping malls and other sites of

leisure and consumption flourished in the far-flung suburbs.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-8 A “New Look” in Foreign Policy
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37-8 A “New Look” in Foreign Policy

The 1952 Republican platform called for a “new look” in foreign policy. It condemned mere “containment” of communism as “negative, futile, and immoral.” Incoming secretary of state **John Foster Dulles** promised not merely to stem the red tide but to “roll back” its gains and “liberate captive peoples.” At the same time, the new administration promised to balance the budget by cutting military spending.

How were these two contradictory goals to be reached? Dulles answered with a **policy of boldness** (Foreign policy objective of **Dwight Eisenhower's** Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles**, who believed in changing the containment strategy to one that more directly engaged the Soviet Union and attempted to roll back communist influence around the world. This policy led to a build-up of America's nuclear arsenal to threaten “massive retaliation” against communist enemies, launching the Cold War's arms race.) in early 1954. Eisenhower would relegate the army and the navy to the backseat and build up an airfleet of superbombers (called the Strategic Air Command, or SAC) equipped with city-flattening nuclear bombs. These fearsome weapons would inflict “massive retaliation” on the Soviets or the Chinese if they got out of hand. The advantages of this new policy were thought to be its paralyzing nuclear impact and its cheaper price tag when compared with conventional forces—“more bang for the buck.” At the same time, Eisenhower sought a thaw in the Cold War through negotiations with the new Soviet leaders who came to power after dictator **Joseph Stalin's** death in 1953.

Hungarian Uprising, October 26, 1956

Soviet tanks rolled through the streets of Budapest to crush an anticommunist uprising against the Soviets, who had controlled Hungary since World War II. This demonstration of brute force against a grassroots democratic movement turned many communist sympathizers in the West definitively against the Soviet Union.



Keystone/Getty Images

In the end, the touted “new look” proved illusory. A new Soviet premier, the burly apparatchik **Nikita Khrushchev**, rudely rejected Ike's call in 1955 for an “open skies” mutual inspection program over both the Soviet Union and the United States. In 1956 the Hungarians rose up against their Soviet masters and felt badly betrayed when the United States turned a deaf ear to their desperate appeals for aid. The brutally crushed **Hungarian uprising** (Series of demonstrations in Hungary against the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** violently suppressed this pro-Western uprising, highlighting the limitations of America's power in Eastern Europe.) revealed the sobering truth that America's mighty nuclear sledgehammer was too heavy a weapon to wield in such a relatively minor crisis. The rigid futility of the “massive retaliation” doctrine was thus starkly exposed. To his dismay, Eisenhower also discovered that the aerial and atomic hardware necessary for “massive retaliation” was stag-geringly expensive.

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37-9 The Vietnam Nightmare

Western Europe, thanks to the Marshall Plan and NATO, seemed reasonably secure by the early 1950s, but Southeast Asia was a different can of worms. In Vietnam and elsewhere, nationalist movements had sought for years to throw off the yoke of French colonial rule. The legendary Vietnamese leader, goateed **Ho Chi Minh**, had tried to appeal personally to Woodrow Wilson in Paris as early as 1919 to support self-determination for the peoples of Southeast Asia. Franklin Roosevelt had likewise inspired hope among Asian nationalists.

But Cold War events dampened the dreams of anti-colonial Asian peoples. Their leaders—

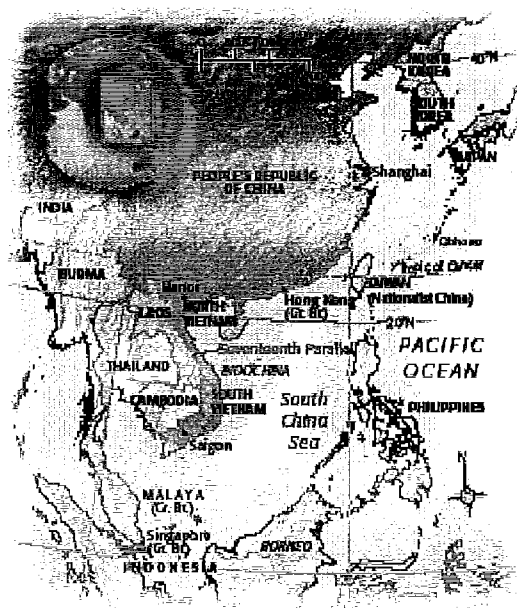
including **Ho Chi Minh**—became increasingly communist while the United States became increasingly anticommunist. By 1954 American taxpayers were financing nearly 80 percent of the costs of a bottomless French colonial war in Indochina. The United States' share amounted to about \$1 billion a year.

Despite this massive aid, French forces continued to crumble under pressure from Ho Chi Minh's nationalist guerrilla forces, called the Viet Minh. In March 1954 a key French garrison was trapped hopelessly in the fortress of Dien Bien Phu in the northwestern corner of Vietnam. The new “policy of boldness” was now put to the test. Secretary Dulles, Vice President Nixon, and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff favored intervention with American bombers to help bail out the beleaguered French. But Eisenhower, wary about another war in Asia so soon after Korea and correctly fearing British nonsupport, held back.

The **Battle of Dien Bien Phu** (Military engagement in French colonial Vietnam in which French forces were defeated by Viet Minh nationalists loyal to **Ho Chi Minh**. With this loss, the French ended their colonial involvement in Indochina, paving the way for America's entry.) proved a victory for the nationalists, and a multination conference in Geneva roughly halved Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel (see Map 37.2). The victorious **Ho Chi Minh** in the north consented to this arrangement on the assurance that Vietnam-wide elections would be held within two years. In the south a pro-Western government under Ngo Dinh Diem was soon entrenched at Saigon. The Vietnamese never held the promised elections, primarily because the communists seemed certain to win, and Vietnam remained a dangerously divided country.

Map 37.2

East and Southeast Asia, 1955–1956



© Cengage Learning

The United States did not sign the Geneva accords, though Eisenhower promised economic and military aid to the autocratic Diem regime, provided that it undertook certain social reforms. Change came at a snail's pace, but American aid continued, as communist guerrillas heated up their campaign against Diem. The Americans had evidently backed a

losing horse but could see no easy way to call off their bet.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-10 Cold War Crises in Europe and the Middle East
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37-10 Cold War Crises in Europe and the Middle East

The United States had initially backed the French in Indochina in part to win French approval of a plan to rearm West Germany. Despite French fears, the Germans were finally welcomed into the NATO fold in 1955, with an expected contribution of half a million troops. In the same year, the Eastern European countries and the Soviets signed the Warsaw Pact, creating a red military counterweight to the newly bolstered NATO forces in the West.

Despite these hardening military lines, the Cold War seemed to be thawing a bit in 1955. In May the Soviets rather surprisingly agreed to end their occupation of Austria. A summit conference in Geneva in July produced little progress on the burning issues, but it bred a conciliatory “spirit of Geneva” that caused a modest blush of optimism to pass over the face of the Western world. Hopes rose further the following year when Soviet Communist party boss Khrushchev publicly denounced the bloody excesses of **Joseph Stalin**, the dictator dead since 1953.

Violent events late in 1956 ended the post-Geneva lull. When the liberty-loving Hungarians struck for their freedom, they were ruthlessly overpowered by Soviet tanks, while the Western world looked on in horror.

Fears of Soviet penetration into the oil-rich Middle East further heightened Cold War tensions. The government of Iran, supposedly influenced by the Kremlin, began to resist the power of the gigantic Western companies that controlled Iranian petroleum. In response, the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) helped to engineer a coup in 1953 that installed the youthful shah of Iran, **Mohammed Reza Pahlavi**, as a kind of dictator. Though successful in the short run in securing Iranian oil for the West, the American intervention left a bitter legacy of resentment among many Iranians. More than two decades later, they took their revenge on the shah and his American allies.

The Suez crisis (International crisis launched when Egyptian president **Gamal Abdel Nasser** nationalized the Suez Canal, which had been owned mostly by French and British stockholders. The crisis led to a British and French attack on Egypt, which failed without aid from the United States. The Suez crisis marked an important turning point in the post-colonial Middle East and highlighted the rising importance of oil in world affairs.) proved far messier than the swift stroke in Iran. President Nasser of Egypt, an ardent Arab nationalist, was seeking funds to build an immense dam on the upper Nile for urgently needed irrigation and power. America and Britain tentatively offered financial help, but when Nasser began to flirt openly with the communist camp, Secretary of State Dulles dramatically withdrew the dam offer. Nasser promptly regained face by nationalizing the Suez Canal, owned chiefly by British and French stockholders.

Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, 1954

Shown here greeting exuberant supporters after his election as the first president of the new Egyptian republic, Nasser was long a thorn in the flesh of American and European policymakers anxious to protect the precious oil resources of the Middle East. “Nassarism,” his version of pan-Arabism, won a great following in the Arab world during the 1950s and 1960s.



AP Images

Nasser's action placed a razor's edge at the jugular vein of Western Europe's oil supply. America's jittery French and British allies, deliberately keeping Washington in the dark and coordinating their blow with one from Israel, staged a joint assault on Egypt late in October 1956.

For a breathless week, the world teetered on the edge of the abyss. The French and British, however, had made a fatal miscalculation—that the United States would supply them with oil while their Middle Eastern supplies were disrupted, as an oil-rich Uncle Sam had done in the two world wars. But to their unpleasant surprise, a furious President Eisenhower resolved to let them “boil in their own oil” and refused to release emergency supplies. The oilless allies resentfully withdrew their troops, and for the first time in history, a United Nations police force was sent to maintain order.

The Suez crisis also marked the last time in history that the United States could brandish its “oil weapon.” As recently as 1940, the United States had produced two-thirds of the world's oil, while a scant 5 percent of the global supply flowed from the Middle East. But by 1948 the United States had become a net oil importer. Its days as an “oil power” clearly were numbered as the economic and strategic importance of the Middle East oil region grew dramatically.

The U.S. president and Congress proclaimed the Eisenhower Doctrine in 1957, pledging U.S. military and economic aid to Middle Eastern nations threatened by communist aggression. The real threat to U.S. interests in the Middle East, however, was not communism but

nationalism, as Nasser's wild popularity among the masses of all Arab countries demonstrated. The poor, sandy sheikdoms increasingly resolved to reap for themselves the lion's share of the enormous oil wealth that Western companies pumped out of the scorching Middle Eastern deserts. In a portentous move, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran joined with Venezuela in 1960 to form the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** (Cartel comprising Middle Eastern states and Venezuela first organized in 1960. OPEC aimed to control access to and prices of oil, wresting power from Western oil companies and investors. In the process, it gradually strengthened the hand of non-Western powers on the world stage.) . In the next two decades, OPEC's stranglehold on the Western economies would tighten to a degree that even Nasser could not have imagined.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-11 Round Two for Ike

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37-11 Round Two for Ike

The election of 1956 was a replay of the 1952 contest, with President Eisenhower pitted once more against Adlai Stevenson. The Democrats were hard-pressed to find issues with which to attack the genial general in a time of prosperity and peace, and the voters made it clear that they still liked Ike. Eisenhower piled up an enormous majority of 35,590,472 popular votes to Stevenson's 26,022,752; in the Electoral College, the count was even more unbalanced at 457 for Republicans to 73 for Democrats. Eisenhower made deeper inroads into the traditional bastion of Democratic strength, the once-solid South, than he had in 1952. Louisiana went Republican for the first time since 1876, during Reconstruction days. But the general's coattails were not so stiff or broad as in 1952. He failed to win for his party either house of Congress—the first time since Zachary Taylor's election in 1848 that a winning president had headed such a losing ticket.

In fragile health, Eisenhower began his second term as a part-time president. Critics charged that he kept his hands on his golf clubs, fly rod, and shotgun more often than on the levers of power. But in his last years in office, Ike rallied himself to do less golfing and more governing.

A key area in which the president bestirred himself was labor legislation. Congressional investigations produced scandalous revelations of gangsterism, fraud, and brass-knuckles tactics in many American unions, especially the Teamsters. The AF of L–CIO, born of a merger of the two giants in 1955, expelled the Teamsters in 1957 for choosing leaders like two-fisted James R. “Jimmy” Hoffa. Convicted of jury tampering, Hoffa served part of his sentence before disappearing without a trace—evidently the victim of gangsters he had crossed. To counter such corruption, Eisenhower persuaded Congress to pass the Landrum-Griffin Act in 1959. The act was designed to bring labor leaders to book for financial shenanigans and bullying tactics, but it also expanded some of the antilabor strictures of the earlier Taft-Hartley Act.

The Helicopter Era, 1957

President Eisenhower was routinely criticized by liberals, as in this Herblock cartoon in the *Washington Post*, for his apparent indifference to many seething social problems of the day. His failure to employ his vast prestige on behalf of civil rights was especially conspicuous.



The Helicopter Era. A 1957 Herblock Cartoon, copyright by The Herb Block Foundation

Soviet scientists astounded the world on October 4, 1957, by lofting into orbit around the globe a beep-beeping “baby moon” (*Sputnik I*) weighing 184 pounds. A month later they topped their own ace by sending aloft a larger satellite (*Sputnik II*) weighing 1,120 pounds and carrying a dog.

This amazing breakthrough rattled American self-confidence. It cast doubts on America's vaunted scientific superiority and raised some sobering military questions. If the Soviets could fire heavy objects into outer space, they certainly could reach America with intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

“Rocket fever” swept the nation. Eisenhower established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and directed billions of dollars to missile development. After humiliating and well-advertised failures—notably the Vanguard missile, which blew up on national television just a few feet above the ground in 1957—in February 1958 the United States managed to put into orbit a grapefruit-sized satellite weighing 2.5 pounds. By the end of the decade, several satellites had been launched, and the United States had successfully tested its own ICBMs.

The Sputnik (Soviet satellite first launched into Earth orbit on October 4, 1957. This scientific achievement marked the first time human beings had put a man-made object into orbit and pushed the USSR noticeably ahead of the United States in the Space Race. A month later, the Soviet Union sent a larger satellite, *Sputnik*, into space, prompting the United States to redouble its space exploration efforts and raising American fears of Soviet superiority.) success led to a critical comparison of the American educational system, which was already under fire as too easygoing, with that of the Soviet Union. A strong move

now developed in the United States to replace “frills” with solid subjects—to substitute square roots for square dancing. Congress rejected demands for federal scholarships, but late in 1958 the National Defense and Education Act (NDEA) authorized \$887 million in loans to needy college students and in grants for the improvement of teaching the sciences and languages.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-12 The Continuing Cold War

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37-12 The Continuing Cold War

The fantastic race toward nuclear annihilation continued unabated. Humanity-minded scientists urged that nuclear tests be stopped before the atmosphere became so polluted as to produce generations of deformed mutants. The Soviets, after completing an intensive series of exceptionally “dirty” tests, proclaimed a suspension in March 1958 and urged the Western world to follow. Beginning in October 1958, Washington did halt both underground and atmospheric testing. But attempts to regularize such suspensions by proper inspection sank on the reef of mutual mistrust.

Thermonuclear suicide seemed nearer in July 1958, when both Egyptian and communist plottings threatened to engulf Western-oriented Lebanon. After its president had called for aid under the Eisenhower Doctrine, the United States boldly landed several thousand troops and helped restore order without taking a single life.

The burly Khrushchev, seeking new propaganda laurels, was eager to meet with Eisenhower and pave the way for a “summit conference” with Western leaders. Despite grave misgivings as to any tangible results, the president invited him to America in 1959. Arriving in New York, Khrushchev appeared before the U.N. General Assembly and dramatically resurrected the ancient Soviet proposal of complete disarmament. But he offered no practical means of achieving this end.

A result of this tour was a meeting at **Camp David**, the presidential retreat in Maryland. Khrushchev emerged saying that his ultimatum for the evacuation of Berlin would be extended indefinitely. The relieved world gave prayerful but premature thanks for the “spirit of Camp David.”

The Camp David spirit quickly evaporated when the follow-up Paris “summit conference,” scheduled for May 1960, turned out to be an incredible fiasco. Both Moscow and Washington had taken a firm stand on the burning Berlin issue, and neither could risk backing down publicly. Then, on the eve of the conference, an American U-2 spy plane was shot down deep in the heart of Russia. After bungling bureaucratic denials in Washington, “honest Ike” took the unprecedented step of assuming personal responsibility. Khrushchev stormed into Paris filling the air with invective, and the conference collapsed before it could get off the ground. The concord of Camp David was replaced with the grapes of wrath.

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37-13 Cuba's Castroism Spells Communism

Latin Americans bitterly resented Uncle Sam's lavishing of billions of dollars on Europe, while doling out only millions to its poor relations to the south. They also chafed at Washington's continuing habit of intervening in Latin American affairs—as in a CIA-directed coup that ousted a leftist government in Guatemala in 1954. On the other hand, Washington continued to support—even decorate—bloody dictators who claimed to be combating communists.

Most ominous of all was the communist beachhead in Cuba. Iron-fisted dictator Fulgencio Batista, in power since the 1930s, had encouraged huge investments of American capital, and Washington in turn had given him some support. But early in 1959, black-bearded **Fidel Castro** engineered a revolution that ousted Batista. Castro then denounced the Yankee imperialists and began to expropriate valuable American properties in pursuing a land-distribution program. Washington, finally losing patience, released Cuba from “imperialistic slavery” by cutting off the heavy U.S. imports of Cuban sugar. Castro retaliated with further wholesale confiscations of Yankee property and in effect made his left-wing dictatorship an economic and military satellite of Moscow, to the Kremlin's delighted surprise. An exodus of anti-Castro Cubans headed for the United States, especially Florida. Nearly 1 million arrived between 1960 and 2000. Washington broke diplomatic relations with Castro's government early in 1961 and imposed a strict embargo on trade with Cuba. Strengthened by the Helms-Burton Act in 1996, the embargo has remained in place, even since Castro's departure from power in 2008.

Americans talked seriously of invoking the Monroe Doctrine before the Soviets set up a communist base only ninety miles from their shores. Khrushchev angrily proclaimed that the Monroe Doctrine was dead and indicated that he would shower missiles upon the United States if it attacked his new friend Castro.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-14 Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency
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37-14 Kennedy Challenges Nixon for the Presidency

Republicans approached the presidential campaign of 1960 with Vice President Nixon as their heir apparent. To many he was a gifted party leader, to others a ruthless opportunist. The “old” Nixon had been a no-holds-barred campaigner, adept at skewering Democrats and left-wingers. The “new” Nixon was represented as a mature, seasoned statesman. He had gained particular notice in a finger-pointing kitchen debate (Televised exchange in 1959 between Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and American Vice President Richard Nixon. Meeting at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, the two leaders sparred over the relative merits of capitalist consumer culture versus Soviet state planning. Nixon

won applause for his staunch defense of American capitalism, helping lead him to the Republican nomination for president in 1960.) with Khrushchev in Moscow in 1959, where Nixon extolled the virtues of American consumerism over Soviet economic planning. The next year he handily won the Republican nomination. His running mate was patrician **Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.**, of Massachusetts (grandson of Woodrow Wilson's arch-foe).

By contrast, the Democratic race for the presidential nomination started as a free-for-all. **John F. Kennedy**—a youthful, dark-haired millionaire senator from Massachusetts—won impressive victories in the primaries. He then scored a first-ballot triumph in Los Angeles over his closest rival, Senator **Lyndon B. Johnson**, the Senate majority leader from Texas. A disappointed South was not completely appeased when Johnson accepted second place on the ticket in an eleventh-hour marriage of convenience. Kennedy's challenging acceptance speech called upon the American people for sacrifices to achieve their potential greatness, which he hailed as the New Frontier.

Bigotry inevitably showed its snarling face. Senator Kennedy was a Roman Catholic, the first to be nominated since Al Smith's ill-starred campaign in 1928. Smear artists revived the ancient charges about the Pope's controlling the White House. Kennedy pointed to his fourteen years of service in Congress, denied that he would be swayed by Rome, and asked if some 40 million Catholic Americans were to be condemned to second-class citizenship from birth.

Kennedy's Catholicism aroused misgivings in the Protestant, Bible Belt South, which was ordinarily Democratic. "I fear Catholicism more than I fear communism," declaimed one Baptist minister in North Carolina. But the religious issue largely canceled itself out. If many southern Democrats stayed away from the polls because of Kennedy's Catholicism, northern Democrats in unusually large numbers supported Kennedy because of the bitter attacks on their Catholic faith.

Kennedy charged that the Soviets, with their nuclear bombs and circling Sputniks, had gained on America in prestige and power. Nixon retorted that the nation's prestige had not slipped, although Kennedy was causing it to do so by his unpatriotic talk.

Television may well have tipped the scales. Nixon agreed to meet Kennedy in four so-called debates. The contestants crossed words in millions of living rooms before audiences estimated at 60 million or more. Nobody "won" the debates. But Kennedy at least held his own and did not suffer by comparison with the more "experienced" Nixon. The debates once again demonstrated the importance of image over substance in the television age. Many viewers found Kennedy's glamour and vitality far more appealing than Nixon's tired and pallid appearance.

John F. Kennedy Campaigning for the Presidency, 1960

At right is his wife, Jacqueline Kennedy.



Cornell Capa/Magnum Photos

Candidate John F. Kennedy (1917–1963), in a speech to a Houston group of Protestant ministers (September 12, 1960), declared,

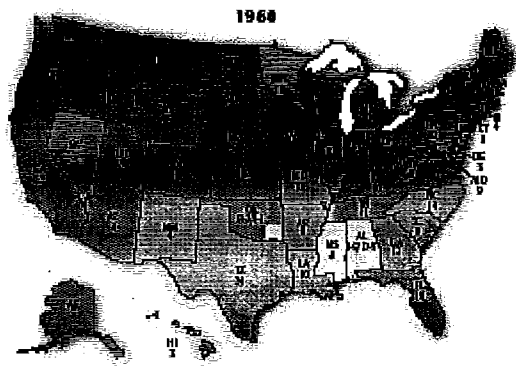
“I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute—where no Catholic prelate would tell the President, should he be a Catholic, how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote ... and where no man is denied public office because his religion differs from the President who might appoint him or the people who might elect him.”

Kennedy squeezed through by the rather comfortable margin of 303 electoral votes to 219, [✱] but with the breathtakingly close popular margin of only 118,574 votes out of over 68 million cast (see Map 37.3). He was the first Roman Catholic and the youngest person to date to be elected president. Like Franklin Roosevelt, Kennedy ran well in the large industrial centers, where he had strong support from workers, Catholics, and African Americans. (He had solicitously telephoned the pregnant Coretta King, whose husband, **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, was then imprisoned in Georgia for a sit-in.) Although losing a few seats, the Democrats also swept both houses of Congress by wide margins.

Map 37.3

Presidential Election of 1960 (with electoral vote by state)

Kennedy owed his hairbreadth triumph to his victories in twenty-six of the forty largest cities—and to Lyndon Johnson's strenuous campaigning in the South, where Kennedy's Catholicism may have been a hotter issue than his stand on civil rights.



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
Kennedy (Democrat)	303 56.50%	34,266,731 49.7%
Nixon (Republican)	219 40.75%	34,108,157 49.5%
Byrd (Independent)	15 2.75%	501,643 0.7%

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Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-15 An Old General Fades Away

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37-15 An Old General Fades Away

President Eisenhower continued to enjoy extraordinary popularity to the final curtain. Despite Democratic jibes about “eight years of golfing and goofing,” of “putting and puttering,” Eisenhower was universally admired and respected for his dignity, decency, sincerity, goodwill, and moderation.

Pessimists had predicted that Eisenhower would be a seriously crippled “lame duck” during his second term, owing to the barrier against reelection erected by the Twenty-second Amendment, ratified in 1951. (See the Appendix.) In truth, he displayed more vigor, more political know-how, and more aggressive leadership during his last two years as president than ever before. For an unprecedented six years, from 1955 to 1961, Congress remained in Democratic hands, yet Eisenhower exerted unusual control over the legislative branch. He wielded the veto 169 times, and only twice was his nay overridden by the required two-thirds vote.

America was fabulously prosperous in the Eisenhower years, despite pockets of poverty and unemployment, recurrent recessions, and perennial farm problems. To the north the vast St. Lawrence waterway project, constructed jointly with Canada and completed in 1959, had turned the cities of the Great Lakes into bustling ocean seaports. “Old Glory” could now proudly display fifty stars. Alaska attained statehood in 1959, as did Hawaii. Alaska, though gigantic, was thinly populated and noncontiguous, but these objections were overcome in a Democratic Congress that expected Alaska to vote Democratic. Hawaii had ample population (largely of Asian descent), advanced democratic institutions, and more acreage than the mainland states of Rhode Island, Delaware, or Connecticut. As the first noncontiguous states to join the Union, Alaska and Hawaii helped turn America's face toward the Pacific and East Asia.

After campaigning with promises to reduce the defense budget, President **Dwight Eisenhower** (1890–1969) presided over unprecedented increases in military spending. In his Farewell Address on January 17, 1961, he sagely but ironically warned against the menace his own policies had nurtured:

“This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience... In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex.”

Though a crusading general, Eisenhower as president mounted no moral crusade for civil rights. This was perhaps his greatest failing. Yet he was no bigot, and he had done far more than grin away problems and tread water. As a Republican president, he had further woven the reforms of the Democratic New Deal and Fair Deal into the fabric of national life. As a former general, he had exercised wise restraint in his use of military power and had soberly guided foreign policy away from countless threats to peace. The old soldier left office crestfallen at his failure to end the arms race with the Soviets. Yet he had ended one war and avoided all others. As the decades lengthened, appreciation of him grew.

Chapter 37: The Eisenhower Era 1952–1960: 37-16 A Cultural Renaissance
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37-16 A Cultural Renaissance

America's unprecedented global power in the heady post–World War II decades was matched by its new international ascendancy in the arts. Shedding the national inferiority complex that had vexed previous generations, American creative genius exerted a powerful worldwide influence in painting, architecture, and literature.

New York became the art capital of the world after World War II, as well-heeled Americans supported countless painters and sculptors. The open and tradition-free American environment seemed especially congenial to the experimental mood of much modern art. **Jackson Pollock** pioneered **abstract expressionism** (An experimental style of mid-twentieth-century modern art exemplified by Jackson Pollock's spontaneous “action paintings,” created by flinging paint on canvases stretched across the studio floor.) in the 1940s and 1950s, flinging paint on huge flats stretched across his studio floor. Realistic representation went out the window, as artists like Pollock and Willem de Kooning strove to create spontaneous “action paintings” that expressed the painter's individuality and made the viewer a creative participant in defining the painting's meaning. Mark Rothko and his fellow “color field” painters likewise dispatched with figurative representation, enveloping whole canvases with bold, shimmering swaths of color. Other artists creatively exploited more familiar forms. “Pop” (short for popular) artists in the 1960s, notably **Andy**

Warhol, canonized on canvas mundane items of consumer culture like soup cans and soda bottles. Roy Lichtenstein parodied old-fashioned comic strips, and Claes Oldenburg surprised viewers with exotic versions of everyday objects, such as giant plastic sculptures of pillow-soft telephones.

Examining the Evidence

The Shopping Mall as New Town Square, 1960

In this photograph, Democratic presidential candidate **John F. Kennedy** is shown campaigning at the Bergen Mall in Paramus, New Jersey, in 1960. The Bergen Mall opened in 1957, at a time when similar shopping centers were popping up in suburbanizing metropolitan areas all over the United States. Real estate developers watched Americans flee cities for suburbs, and they followed the money, locating shopping centers strategically at new highway intersections or along the busiest thoroughfares. As suburbanites increasingly found branches of their favorite department and chain stores closer to home during the 1950s and 1960s, they found it less and less necessary to go downtown. Shopping centers for their part went out of their way to sell themselves as modern-style downtowns worthy of being the public core of new suburban communities, even though legally they were privately owned space. They provided the full range of shops and services once found in city centers, including restaurants, post offices, Laundromats, banks, and even chapels. They offered entertainment, from movie theaters and skating rinks to free open-air concerts, carnivals, and exhibitions. They made auditoriums available for community meetings. And they attracted public events like Kennedy on the stump. Just four years earlier, a regional shopping center would have been a rare campaign stop for a presidential candidate. Look closely at this photograph. What kind of audience greeted candidate Kennedy at the Bergen Mall? How different might the crowd have looked in a more socially diverse urban center like Manhattan or in nearby Newark, the largest city in New Jersey at the time? What did it mean for sites of consumption, such as privately owned shopping centers, to take on the roles and responsibilities previously associated with urban streets, squares, and parks? How might current struggles of downtown merchants against big-box chain stores like Wal-Mart be related to this history?



Courtesy of the Newark Public Library

Jackson Pollock Flinging Paint on a Canvas, 1950

Promoters of the avant-garde lauded Pollock's paintings, but some critics dismissed them as meaningless explosions of formless energy.



© Rudolph Burckhardt/Sygma/Corbis

American architecture also reached new heights in the postwar era. While a residential building boom erected vast tracts of look-alike, ranch-style houses across the suburban landscape, ultra-modern skyscrapers arose in the nation's urban centers. Conceived in the modernist or “International Style (Archetypal, post-World War II modernist architectural style, best known for its “curtain-wall” designs of steel-and-glass corporate high-rises.)”

these massive corporate high-rises were essentially giant steel boxes wrapped in glass. Classic examples of this “curtain-wall” design include the United Nations headquarters (1952) and the Seagram Building (1957) in New York City and, later, the Sears Tower (1974) in Chicago and the John Hancock Tower (1976) in Boston.

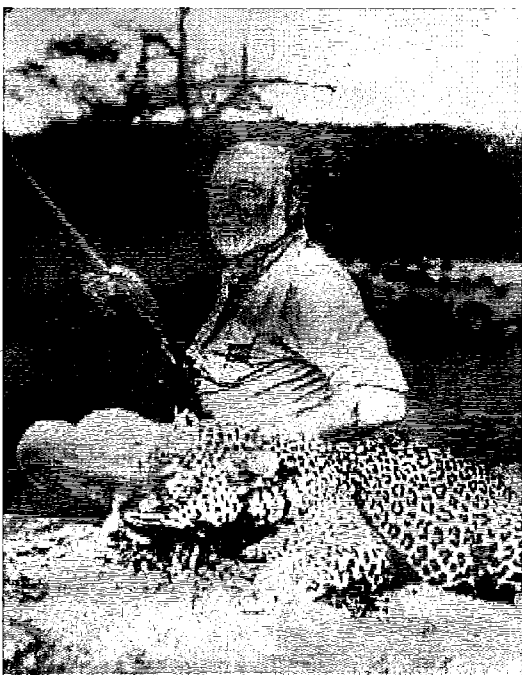
Other postwar architectural achievements transcended the stark steel-and-glass box. Old master Frank Lloyd Wright continued to produce strikingly original designs, conspicuously in the round-walled Guggenheim Museum (1959) in New York. Louis Kahn employed plain geometric forms and basic building materials like brick and concrete to make beautiful, simple buildings, such as the serene, seaside Salk Institute (1965) in La Jolla, California.

Eero Saarinen, the son of a Finnish immigrant, contributed a number of imaginative structures, including the sleek TWA Flight Center (1962) at New York's JFK Airport and the lofty Gateway Arch (1965) in St. Louis. Chinese-born I. M. Pei designed numerous graceful buildings on several college campuses, as well as the dramatic East Wing of the National Gallery of Art (1978) in Washington and the angular **John F. Kennedy** Library (1979) in Boston.

Postwar America reaped its greatest cultural harvest in the field of literature. In fiction writing some of the prewar masters continued to ply their trade, notably Ernest Hemingway in *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952). A Nobel laureate in 1954, Hemingway was dead by his own duck gun in 1961. **John Steinbeck**, another prewar writer who persisted in graphic portrayals of American society, such as *East of Eden* (1952) and *Travels with Charley* (1962), received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1962, the seventh American to be so honored.

Ernest Hemingway (1899–1961)

Celebrated both for his writing and his colorful, swashbuckling lifestyle, Hemingway poses here with a dead leopard in 1953.



AP Photo/National Portrait Gallery/Earl Theisen

Curiously, World War II did not inspire the same kind of literary outpouring that World War I had. Searing realism, the trademark style of war writers in the 1920s, characterized the earliest novels that portrayed soldierly life in World War II, such as Norman Mailer's *The Naked and the Dead* (1948) and James Jones's *From Here to Eternity* (1951). But as time passed, realistic war writing fell from favor. Authors tended increasingly to write about the war in fantastic and even psychedelic prose. **Joseph Heller's** *Catch-22* (1961) dealt with the improbable antics and anguish of American airmen in the wartime Mediterranean. A savage satire, it made readers hurt when they laughed. The supercharged imagination of Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., poured forth works of puzzling complexity in sometimes impenetrably inventive prose, including the dark comedy war tale *Slaughterhouse Five* (1969).

More than the war itself, the fruits of victory at home captured America's literary imagination at mid-century. Postwar pens reacted to the nation's newly affluent, exuberantly consumerist society in two typical ways. One group of countercultural "Beat" writers rejected modern American life outright, seeking romantic self-expression in stridently nonconformist lifestyles (see "Makers of America: The Beat Generation,").

A larger group of mainstream writers tackled the realities and dilemmas of postwar American society head on. Pennsylvania-born John Updike celebrated the feats and failings of ordinary, small-town America in sensual detail in his four-part "Rabbit" series, starting with *Rabbit, Run* (1960). Updike explicitly addressed suburban, middle-class infidelity in *Couples* (1968). Massachusetts-bred John Cheever, "the Chekhov of the exurbs," similarly chronicled suburban manners and morals in short stories such as "The Swimmer" (1964) and novels like *The Wapshot Chronicle* (1957). Gore Vidal penned a series of intriguing historical novels, as well as several impish and always iconoclastic works, including *Myra Breckinridge* (1968), about a reincarnated transsexual. Together these writers constituted the rear guard of an older, WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) elite that had long dominated American writing.

Poets were often highly critical, even deeply despairing, about the conformist character of midcentury American life. Older poets were still active, including cantankerous Ezra Pound, jailed after the war in a U.S. Army detention center near Pisa, Italy, for alleged collaboration with the Fascists. Connecticut insurance executive Wallace Stevens and New Jersey pediatrician William Carlos Williams continued after 1945 to pursue second careers as prolific poets of world-class stature.

But younger poets increasingly came to the fore during the postwar period. In short lyric meditations, they experimented with a frank, "confessional" style, revealing personal experiences with sex, drugs, and madness. Inspired by the Beat poets, Robert Lowell helped inaugurate this trend with his psychologically intense *Life Studies* (1959). Descended from a long line of patrician New Englanders, Lowell sought to apply the wisdom of the Puritan past to the perplexing present in allegorical poems like *For the Union Dead* (1964). Troubled Sylvia Plath crafted the moving verses of *Ariel* (published posthumously in 1966) and a disturbing autobiographical novel, *The Bell Jar* (1963), but her career was cut short when she took her own life in 1963. Along with Plath, Anne Sexton attended Lowell's Boston poetry seminar. She produced brooding autobiographical poems, including *To Bedlam and Part Way Back* (1960), until her death by apparent suicide in 1974. Another brilliant poet of the period, John Berryman, ended his prolific career in 1972 by leaping from a Minneapolis bridge onto the frozen bank of the Mississippi River. Writing poetry seemed to

be a dangerous pursuit in modern America. The life of the poet, it was said, began in sadness and ended in madness.

In his poem "A Supermarket in California" (1956), Allen Ginsburg (1926–1997) fantasized about meeting nineteenth-century American poet Walt Whitman amidst the lavish consumerism (and spiritual emptiness) of a postwar supermarket:

"I saw you, Walt Whitman, childless, lonely old grubber, poking among the meats in the refrigerator and eyeing the grocery boys.

I heard you asking questions of each: Who killed the pork chops? What price bananas? Are you my Angel?

I wandered in and out of the brilliant stacks of cans following you, and followed in my imagination by the store detective.

We strode down the open corridors together in our solitary fancy tasting artichokes, possessing every frozen delicacy, and never passing the cashier."

Playwrights were also acute observers of postwar American social mores. Tennessee Williams wrote a series of blistering dramas about psychological misfits struggling to hold themselves together amid the disintegrating forces of modern life. Noteworthy were *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1947) and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955), each delivering powerful critiques of the contemporary restrictions placed on women's lives. **Arthur Miller** brought to the stage searching probes of American values, notably *Death of a Salesman* (1949), a tragic indictment of the American dream of material success, and *The Crucible* (1953), which treated the Salem witch trials as a dark parable warning against the dangers of McCarthyism. Lorraine Hansberry offered an affecting, realistic portrait of African American life in *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959). In the 1960s Edward Albee exposed the rapacious underside of middle-class life in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1962).

Makers of America

The Beat Generation

"I saw the best minds of my generation," Beat poet **Allen Ginsberg** (1926–1997) proclaimed, "destroyed by madness, starving hysterical naked, dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an angry fix, angelheaded hipsters burning for the ancient heavenly connection to the starry dynamo in the machinery of night..." Ginsberg's famous opening lines of "Howl" (1955) introduced the **Beat Generation** (A small coterie of mid-twentieth-century bohemian writers and personalities, including **Jack Kerouac**, **Allen Ginsberg**, and **William S. Burroughs**, who bemoaned bourgeois conformity and advocated free-form experimentation in life and literature.) to the literary world. The poem's

unruly verse and riotous content encapsulated the Beat Generation's contempt for the listless, middle-class suburban conformity they saw in World War II-weary America. Striving for liberation, these social drifters advocated free-form experimentation in life as well as literature: marching to one's own "beat." At once "beaten down" by the relentless, everyday pressures of bourgeois existence, these bohemian hedonists also deemed themselves capable of "beatitude," or blessedness.

"Beat" Author Jack Kerouac at Work, 1950

A generation of "hipsters" and wannabe nonconformists took Kerouac's impulsive writings to be almost sacred texts and tried to conform their lifestyles to his errant ways.



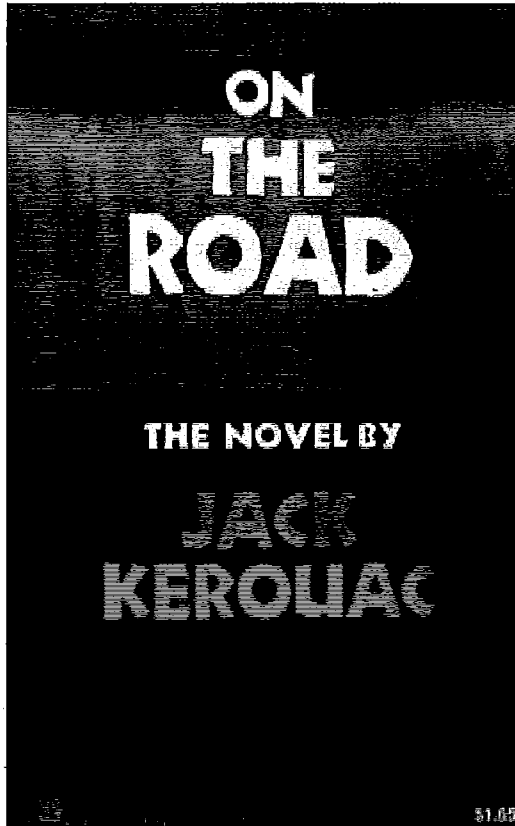
Private Collection/ Picture Research Consultants & Archives

Jack Kerouac (1922–1969) coined the term that defined this "generation" (more accurately, a small coterie) of alternative poets and personalities. Born Jean-Louis Lebris Kerouac to working-class, French-Canadian parents in Lowell, Massachusetts, he grew up speaking Quebecois French instead of English and hardly seemed the likely voice of a new literary generation. But a football scholarship to Columbia University sent him to New York City in the early 1940s, where he met the charismatic Neal Cassady, who introduced him to a shadowy underworld of hobos, jazz musicians, drug addicts, and petty criminals located around Times Square. Drifting in and out of school and employment, Kerouac eventually joined Cassady on a series of wild transcontinental road trips between 1947 and 1950.

The Cover of Kerouac's Celebrated Novel

Hailed as an homage to unfettered spontaneity, *On the Road* was actually

the product of several years of writing, revising, and editing.

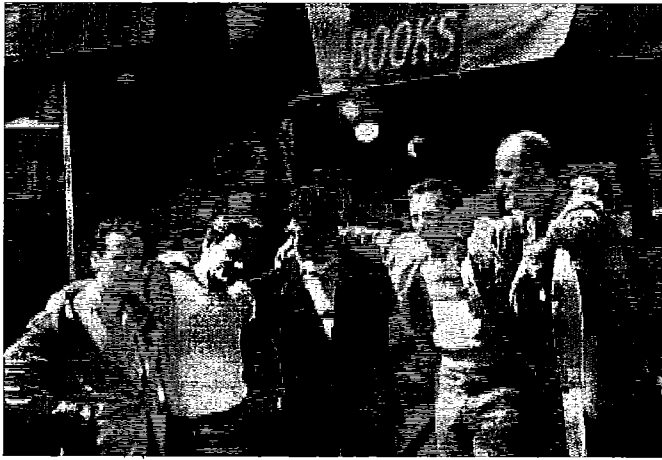


Picture Research Consultants & Archives

These wanderings became the substance of Kerouac's landmark novel *On the Road* (1957), a sort of pocket bible for social rebels in the late 1950s. Legendarily written on a 120-foot roll of teletype paper over the course of only twenty days, the book recounted the impulsive, and ultimately disappointing, adventures of Kerouac and Cassady (fictionalized as Sal Paradise and Dean Moriarty) among the outcasts and eccentrics they encountered along the way. Kerouac called his nonstop, drug-fueled writing technique "spontaneous prose" and conceptualized it as the literary equivalent of jazz improvisation or bebop. Though the book made him an instant literary celebrity, Kerouac's alcoholic lifestyle eventually killed him at the relatively young age of forty-seven.

A Gaggle of Beats

From left to right, Bob Donlin, Neal Cassady, Allen Ginsberg, Robert Lavinge, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti stand outside Ferlinghetti's famed City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, California, 1956.



© Allen Ginsberg/CORBIS

Bearded and bespectacled **Allen Ginsberg**, the Beat Generation's most eloquent spokesman, lasted longer on the literary scene. Raised in New Jersey by a school teacher father and a Russian émigré mother who suffered from bouts of mental illness, Ginsberg made his way to nearby Columbia in the 1940s and fell in with the seedy Times Square circle, where he made friends with Kerouac, Cassady, and other Beat figures. After an eight-month confinement in a psychiatric institution, Ginsberg relocated to San Francisco's bohemian North Beach neighborhood. A 1955 public reading of Ginsberg's epic poem "Howl" launched a literary renaissance in the city, centered on Lawrence Ferlinghetti's City Lights Bookstore. Ginsberg's poem eulogized his peers. Its long, tumbling poetic line recalled Walt Whitman's exuberant voice and recounted the Beat poet's experiences with homosexual sex, psychedelic drugs, and spiritual illumination. Ferlinghetti's publication of *Howl and Other Poems* in 1956 led to a highly publicized San Francisco obscenity trial, which brought national media attention to Beat culture and scored a victory for First Amendment freedom of expression.

Tall and bleak **William S. Burroughs** (1914–1997), though a decade older than Kerouac and Ginsberg, contributed the third great work of Beat literature in *Naked Lunch* (1962). Scion of a wealthy St. Louis family, Burroughs developed an unhealthy penchant for guns and petty crime as a maladjusted youth. After graduating from Harvard, he landed in New York City and befriended Kerouac, Ginsberg, and other Beats. The circle of friends fell in trouble with the law when one of them slayed an unwanted sexual partner; Burroughs and Kerouac were material witnesses to the crime. Later, a drunken Burroughs shot dead his common-law wife in Mexico City. Drug addict, fugitive, and homosexual, he resettled in Morocco and wrote *Naked Lunch*, a disjointed tale of urban junkies and extreme sexual practices that satirized Cold War conformity, anxiety, and psychiatric science. *Newsweek* called Burroughs's work "a masterpiece, but a totally insane and anarchic one." Its controversial publication spurred an obscenity trial in Massachusetts and made Burroughs an early icon of postmodernism (see Chapter 42).

As the latest in America's tradition of "protest" cultures, the writers of the Beat Generation enjoyed their moment in the sun in the late 1950s. To literature, they contributed a new style of free-form narration. Beyond the page, they promoted

interest in bebop jazz and eastern religious mysticism, particularly Zen Buddhism. By the early 1960s, much of their energy had dissipated. Later generations often remembered not the Beats' literary achievements or spiritual aspirations, but their ostentatious embrace of cool jazz, snapping fingers, goatees, berets, and bad coffeehouse poetry. (San Francisco columnist Herb Caen coined the sneering term *beatnik* in 1958, linking Cold War anxiety over the recent Sputnik launch with disapproval of the Beats' antisocial and delinquent tendencies.) Nonetheless, many features of the Beat spirit lived on in the countercultural “hippie” movement of the 1960s, including sexual liberation, alternative spirituality, experimentation with drugs, and an emphasis on spontaneity, authenticity, and extreme sensation. Long after hippies had passed out of fashion, youngsters in America and around the world continued to find inspiration in the writings of Kerouac, Ginsberg, Burroughs, and their fellow Beats.

Death of a Salesman

First performed in 1949, **Arthur Miller's** play probed the psychic costs of failure in a society that held out the promise of “success” to all. The play especially resonated with audiences in the booming 1950s and quickly took its place as an American classic. This scene from the original Broadway production shows **Arthur Kennedy** as **Biff Loman** confronting his father, Willy, played by **Lee J. Cobb**, while his brother, Happy, portrayed by **Cameron Mitchell**, looks on. Not shown here is Willy's compassionate wife, Linda, brilliantly acted by **Mildred Dunnock**.



Culver Pictures

Arthur Miller (1915–2005) challenged America's blind faith in postwar material success in his masterpiece *Death of a Salesman* (1949). Early in the play, Miller's protagonist, Willy Loman, offers the era's customary advice on success in business to his son Biff:

"[T]he man who makes an appearance in the business world, the man who creates personal interest, is the man who gets ahead. Be liked and you will never want."

Still, the realist novel remained the preferred genre for chroniclers of the postwar literary scene. With no shortage of ambition, a number of authors set out to produce "the great American novel." In the same mold as Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Great Gatsby*, many of these works took the form of a *Bildungsroman* (German for "formation novel"), or a tale chronicling the education and maturation of a young protagonist. New York novelist and infamous recluse **J. D. Salinger** painted an unforgettable portrait of adolescent angst, alienation, and rebellion in *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951). **Ralph Ellison** depicted the African American's often tortured quest for personal identity in *Invisible Man* (1952), a haunting novel narrated by a nameless black person who finds that none of his supposed supporters—white philanthropists, black nationalists, and Communist party members—can see him as a real man. Chicagoan Saul Bellow concocted a more readily recognizable Every-man in *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953), a coming-of-age tale about a young man buffeted by fate and struggling to make sense of the chaotic modern world. Alabama novelist **Harper Lee** drew from the Southern Gothic tradition to tell of racial injustice and the loss of youthful innocence in *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960), one of the most widely read novels in all of American literature.

As these works attested, underrepresented groups gained new prominence in midcentury literary circles. Black authors built on the earlier achievements of the Harlem Renaissance. A decade before Ellison's emergence, Richard Wright had found literary acclaim with his chilling portrait of a black Chicago killer in *Native Son* (1940). The book made Wright the first African American best seller, and he followed its success with the semi-autobiographical and highly influential *Black Boy* (1945). Later, James Baldwin won plaudits as a novelist and essayist, particularly for his sensitive reflections on the racial question in *The Fire Next Time* (1963). Black nationalist LeRoi Jones, who changed his name to Imamu Amiri Baraka, crafted powerful plays like *Dutchman* (1964).

The South boasted its own literary renaissance, led by veteran Mississippi author **William Faulkner**, a Nobel recipient in 1950. Distancing themselves from an earlier "Lost Cause" literature that had glorified the antebellum South, Southern Renaissance (A literary outpouring among mid-twentieth-century southern writers, begun by William Faulkner and marked by a new critical appreciation of the region's burdens of history, racism, and conservatism.) writers brought a new critical appreciation to the region's burdens of history, racism, and conservatism. After taking his stand with fellow conservative "agrarian" writers in the 1930s, Tennessean Robert Penn Warren immortalized Louisiana politico Huey Long in *All the King's Men* (1946). Fellow Mississippians Walker Percy and Eudora Welty grasped the falling torch from the failing Faulkner, who died in 1962. Along with Georgian Flannery O'Connor, these later Southern Renaissance writers perceptively tracked the changes reshaping the postwar South, while also exploring universal themes of yearning, failure, success, and sorrow. Virginian William Styron confronted the harsh history of his home state in a controversial fictional representation of an 1831 slave

rebellion, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967).

Especially bountiful was the harvest of books by Jewish novelists. Some critics quipped that a knowledge of Yiddish was becoming necessary to understand much of the dialogue presented in modern American novels. Many Jewish writers found their favorite subject matter in the experience of lower- and middle-class Jewish immigrants. Bernard Malamud rendered a touching portrait of a family of New York Jewish storekeepers in *The Assistant* (1957). Malamud also explored the mythic qualities of the culture of baseball in *The Natural* (1952). Philip Roth wrote comically about young New Jersey suburbanites in *Goodbye, Columbus* (1959) and penned an uproarious account of a sexually obsessed middle-aged New Yorker in *Portnoy's Complaint* (1969). Saul Bellow contributed masterful sketches of Jewish urban and literary life, following the landmark achievement of *Augie March* with *Herzog* (1962). Bellow won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1976, becoming the eighth American so honored in the previous half-century.

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37-17a Key Terms

- The Feminine Mystique (Best-selling book by feminist thinker **Betty Friedan**. This work challenged women to move beyond the drudgery of suburban housewifery and helped launch what would become second-wave feminism.)
- rock 'n' roll (“Crossover” musical style that rose to dominance in the 1950s, merging black rhythm and blues with white bluegrass and country. Featuring a heavy beat and driving rhythm, rock 'n' roll music became a defining feature of the 1950s youth culture.)
- Checkers Speech (Nationally televised address by vice-presidential candidate **Richard Nixon**. Using the new mass medium of television shortly before the 1952 election, the vice presidential candidate saved his place on the ticket by defending himself against accusations of corruption.)
- McCarthyism (A brand of vitriolic, fear-mongering anti-communism associated with the career of Senator **Joseph McCarthy**. In the early 1950s, Senator McCarthy used his position in Congress to baselessly accuse high-ranking government officials and other Americans of conspiracy with communism. The term named after him refers to the dangerous forces of unfairness and fear wrought by anti-communist paranoia.)
- Army-McCarthy hearings (Congressional hearings called by Senator **Joseph McCarthy** to accuse members of the army of communist ties. In this widely televised spectacle, McCarthy finally went too far for public approval. The hearings exposed

the Senator's extremism and led to his eventual disgrace.)

- **Jim Crow** (System of racial segregation in the American South from the end of Reconstruction until the mid- twentieth century. Based on the concept of “separate but equal” facilities for blacks and whites, the Jim Crow system sought to prevent racial mixing in public, including restaurants, movie theaters, and public transportation. An informal system, it was generally perpetuated by custom, violence, and intimidation. (496, 867))
- **Montgomery bus boycott** (Protest, sparked by Rosa Parks's defiant refusal to move to the back of the bus, by black Alabamians against segregated seating on city buses. The bus boycott lasted from December 1, 1955, until December 26, 1956, and became one of the foundational moments of the Civil Rights Movement. It led to the rise of **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, and ultimately to a Supreme Court decision opposing segregated busing.)
- **Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas** (Landmark Supreme Court decision that overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and abolished racial segregation in public schools. The Court reasoned that “separate” was inherently “unequal,” rejecting the foundation of the Jim Crow system of racial segregation in the South. This decision was the first major step toward the legal end of racial discrimination and a major accomplishment for the Civil Rights Movement.)
- **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)** (Youth organization founded by southern black students in 1960 to promote civil rights. Drawing on its members' youthful energies, SNCC in its early years coordinated demonstrations, sit-ins, and voter registration drives.)
- **Operation Wetback** (A government program to roundup and deport as many as one million illegal Mexican migrant workers in the United States. The program was promoted in part by the Mexican government and reflected burgeoning concerns about non-European immigration to America.)
- **Federal Highway Act of 1956** (Federal legislation signed by **Dwight D. Eisenhower** to construct thousands of miles of modern highways in the name of national defense. Officially called the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act, this bill dramatically increased the move to the suburbs, as white middle-class people could more easily commute to urban jobs.)
- **policy of boldness** (Foreign policy objective of **Dwight Eisenhower's** Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles**, who believed in changing the containment strategy to one that more directly engaged the Soviet Union and attempted to roll back communist influence around the world. This policy led to a build-up of America's nuclear arsenal to threaten “massive retaliation” against communist enemies, launching the Cold War's arms race.)

- **Hungarian uprising** (Series of demonstrations in Hungary against the Soviet Union. Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** violently suppressed this pro-Western uprising, highlighting the limitations of America's power in Eastern Europe.)
- **Dien Bien Phu, Battle of** (Military engagement in French colonial Vietnam in which French forces were defeated by Viet Minh nationalists loyal to **Ho Chi Minh**. With this loss, the French ended their colonial involvement in Indochina, paving the way for America's entry.)
- **Suez crisis** (International crisis launched when Egyptian president **Gamal Abdel Nasser** nationalized the Suez Canal, which had been owned mostly by French and British stockholders. The crisis led to a British and French attack on Egypt, which failed without aid from the United States. The Suez crisis marked an important turning point in the post-colonial Middle East and highlighted the rising importance of oil in world affairs.)
- **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** (Cartel comprising Middle Eastern states and Venezuela first organized in 1960. OPEC aimed to control access to and prices of oil, wresting power from Western oil companies and investors. In the process, it gradually strengthened the hand of non-Western powers on the world stage.)
- **Sputnik** (Soviet satellite first launched into Earth orbit on October 4, 1957. This scientific achievement marked the first time human beings had put a man-made object into orbit and pushed the USSR noticeably ahead of the United States in the Space Race. A month later, the Soviet Union sent a larger satellite, *Sputnik*, into space, prompting the United States to redouble its space exploration efforts and raising American fears of Soviet superiority.)
- **kitchen debate** (Televised exchange in 1959 between Soviet Premier **Nikita Khrushchev** and American Vice President Richard Nixon. Meeting at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, the two leaders sparred over the relative merits of capitalist consumer culture versus Soviet state planning. Nixon won applause for his staunch defense of American capitalism, helping lead him to the Republican nomination for president in 1960.)
- **abstract expressionism** (An experimental style of mid-twentieth-century modern art exemplified by Jackson Pollock's spontaneous "action paintings," created by flinging paint on canvases stretched across the studio floor.)
- **International Style** (Archetypal, post-World War II modernist architectural style, best known for its "curtain-wall" designs of steel-and-glass corporate high-rises.)
- **Beat Generation** (A small coterie of mid-twentieth-century bohemian writers and personalities, including **Jack Kerouac**, **Allen Ginsberg**, and **William S. Burroughs**, who bemoaned bourgeois conformity and advocated free-form experimentation in

life and literature.)

- **Southern Renaissance** (A literary outpouring among mid-twentieth-century southern writers, begun by William Faulkner and marked by a new critical appreciation of the region's burdens of history, racism, and conservatism.)

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37-17b People to Know

Dwight D. (“Ike”) Eisenhower Richard M. Nixon Betty Friedan Elvis Presley Joseph McCarthy Rosa Parks Martin Luther King, Jr. Earl Warren John Foster Dulles Nikita Khrushchev Ho Chi Minh Gamal Abdel Nasser Fidel Castro John F. Kennedy Lyndon B. Johnson Jackson Pollock Andy Warhol Eero Saarinen Jack Kerouac Allen Ginsberg Arthur Miller Ralph Ellison

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A complete, annotated bibliography for this chapter—along with brief descriptions of the People to Know—may be found on the American Pageant website. The Key Terms are defined in a Glossary at the end of the text.

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37-17d Chronology

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|-------|--|
| 1951 | Salinger publishes <i>The Catcher in the Rye</i> |
| <hr/> | |
| 1952 | Eisenhower defeats Stevenson for presidency
Ellison publishes <i>Invisible Man</i>
United Nations headquarters open in New York City |
| <hr/> | |
| 1953 | CIA-engineered coup installs shah of Iran Joseph Stalin dies
Miller's <i>The Crucible</i> debuts on Broadway
Bellow publishes <i>The Adventures of Augie March</i> |
| <hr/> | |
| 1954 | French defeated at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam
Army-McCarthy hearings
<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>
Nasser becomes prime minister of Egypt
CIA-sponsored coup in Guatemala |
| <hr/> | |
| 1955 | Montgomery bus boycott by blacks begins; emergence of Martin Luther King, Jr. |

Geneva summit meeting on Vietnam
Soviet Union withdraws troops from Austria
Warsaw Pact signed
AF of L merges with CIO
Tennessee Williams's *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* first performed

1956 Soviets crush Hungarian revolt
Suez crisis
Eisenhower defeats Stevenson for presidency
Ginsberg publishes *Howl and Other Poems*

1957 Little Rock school desegregation crisis
Civil Rights Act passed
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) formed
Eisenhower Doctrine
Soviet Union launches Sputnik satellites
Kerouac publishes *On the Road*

1958 U.S. troops sent to Lebanon
NDEA authorizes loans and grants for science and language education
Galbraith publishes *The Affluent Society*

1958–1959 Berlin crisis

1959 Castro seizes power in Cuba
Landrum-Griffin Act
Alaska and Hawaii attain statehood
Guggenheim Museum opens in New York City

1960 Sit-in movement for civil rights begins
U-2 incident sabotages Paris summit
OPEC formed
Kennedy defeats Nixon for presidency
Updike publishes *Rabbit, Run*
Lee publishes *To Kill a Mockingbird*

- 1961 Heller publishes *Catch-22*
-
- 1962 TWA Flight Center opens in New York
-
- 1963 Plath publishes *The Bell Jar*
-

Go to the CourseMate website at www.cengagebrain.com for additional study tools and review materials—including audio and video clips—for this chapter.

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