Domestic Issues and the Cold War in the 1950s

I. Eisenhower Republicanism at Home -- "dynamic conservatism"
   A. In effect, Ike maintained New Deal programs.
      1. Dynamic conservatism meant “being conservative when it comes to money and liberal when it comes to human beings.”
      2. Social Security benefits were extended and the minimum wage was raised to $1.00/hour.
      3. Ike sought a middle-of-the-road approach to gov't policy in the face of the New Deal and WWII.
      4. Interstate Highway Act (1954) created the modern interstate freeway system.
         a. The $27 billion plan built 42,000 miles of freeways.
            • Countless jobs were created in construction that facilitated suburbanization.
            • It dwarfed any of the New Deal’s public works programs.
         b. The federal gov’t paid 90% of the cost and the states paid 10%.
         c. Underlying purpose: evacuation in case of nuclear war or the need to move troops and equipment quickly throughout the country.

   B. Eisenhower sought to balance the federal budget; succeeded three times in 8 years
      1. Ike aimed to guard against "creeping socialism" (e.g. the TVA) and favored privatizing large government holdings (such as transferring offshore oilfields to the states).
      2. By 1959, the U.S. accrued the highest peacetime deficit in its history.
         • In 1954, Ike and Congress had lowered tax rates for corporations and individuals with high incomes, thus reducing government revenue.

II. African American Civil Rights during the 1950s
   A. Eisenhower did not intend to be a "civil rights" president (as Truman had been).
      1. He believed that the existing social order was one that had evolved over time and that it did not need to be overhauled.
      2. Yet, he oversaw some of most significant civil rights gains in U.S. history.

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B. In the 1940s, the **NAACP** began to attack the "separate but equal" doctrine in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) by suing segregated colleges and universities.

1. African Americans gained entrance into many southern universities.
2. Elementary and secondary schools remained segregated.

C. **Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka**, 1954

1. The NAACP filed suit on behalf of Linda Brown, an African American elementary school student.
   a. The Topeka school board had denied Brown admission to an all-white school.
   b. The case reached the Supreme Court in 1952 where it was argued twice over a two-year period.

   a. Marshall charged that public school segregation violated the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.
   b. He argued segregation deprived blacks an equal educational opportunity.
   c. He stated “separate” could not be “equal” because segregation in itself lowered the morale and motivation of black students.

3. New **Chief Justice Earl Warren** persuaded the Court to unanimously overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*.
   a. "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. It has no place in public education."
   b. One year later, the Court ordered school integration "with all deliberate speed."

4. Response to *Brown v. Board of Education*
   a. Southern officials considered the ruling a threat to state and local authority.
      - Eisenhower believed the gov’t should not try to force integration.
        - He called his appointment of Warren to the Supreme Court "my biggest damn fool mistake I ever made."
      - 80% of southern whites opposed the *Brown* decision.
      - Some white students, encouraged by their parents, refused to attend integrated schools.
      - The KKK reemerged in a much more violent incarnation than in the 1920s.
   b. Southern state legislatures passed more than 450 laws and resolutions aimed at preventing enforcement of *Brown*.
      - "Massive Resistance", 1956: The Virginia state legislature passed a massive resistance law cutting off state aid to desegregated schools.
o It represented a sort of nullification of federal law.
  • By 1962, only one-half of one percent of non-white school children in the South were in integrated schools.
c. End of "Massive Resistance"
  • In 1959, federal and state courts nullified Virginia laws that prevented state funds from going to integrated schools.

D. Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-56
1. December 1, 1955. Rosa Parks was arrested in Montgomery, Alabama, after refusing to give her bus seat to a white man; she was ordered by the bus driver to sit at the back of the bus.
  • Four days later, Parks was found guilty and fined $14.
2. African American leaders called for a boycott.
  • Over 150 people were arrested and charged as well for boycotting buses during the following months.
3. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, became a leader of the boycott.
4. The Montgomery bus boycott lasted 381 days.
   a. Boycott leaders organized carpools to replace bus transportation.
      • Even some white housewives drove their domestic servants to work.
   b. King’s house was bombed and he was later arrested, spending two weeks in jail.
      • This brought national attention to the boycott.
   c. 88 other black leaders were arrested and fined for conspiring to boycott.
5. In 1956, the Supreme Court ruled segregation on Montgomery buses was unconstitutional.
6. On December 20, 1956, the segregationists gave up.
7. The boycott gave the civil rights movement one of its first victories and made Martin Luther King, Jr. one of the national leaders of the cause.

E. Crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1957
1. Governor Orval Faubus ordered the Arkansas National Guard to surround Central High School to prevent 9 black students (the "Little Rock Nine") from entering the school.
2. A federal court ordered the removal of the National Guard from the school and allowed the students to enter.
   • Riots erupted and forced President Eisenhower to act.
3. Eisenhower reluctantly ordered 1,000 federal troops into Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National Guard, this time protecting the students.
   • This was the first time since Reconstruction a president had sent federal troops into the South to enforce the Constitution.
4. The next year, Little Rock’s public schools closed entirely.  
   a. Whites attended private schools or outside city schools.  
   b. Most blacks had no school to attend.  
5. Yet, by August 1959, Little Rock school board gave in to integration after another Supreme Court ruling.  

F. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
1. In January 1957, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was formed with Martin Luther King, Jr. as its first president.  
   • The organization promoted nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience as a means to end segregation and discrimination in the South.  
2. Nonviolent resistance  
   a. King urged followers not to fight with authorities even if provoked.  
   b. King’s nonviolent tactics were similar to Mohandas Gandhi (and both were inspired by Henry David Thoreau’s *Civil Disobedience*, 1849).  
      • He urged for the use of moral arguments to change the minds of oppressors.  
      • King linked nonviolence to Christianity: "Love one’s enemy"; if slapped on one side of the face, “turn the other cheek.”  
   c. Civil disobedience: King preached to his followers that refusing to obey unjust laws was an effective strategy, even if it meant going to jail.  
   d. Sit-ins became an effective new strategy of nonviolence and civil disobedience.  
      • Students in universities and colleges all over U.S. vowed to integrate lunch counters, hotels, and entertainment facilities.  

G. Greensboro sit-in (February 1960)  
1. Four North Carolina college freshman staged a sit-in at a Woolworth Department Store lunch counter for having been refused service.  
2. Although not the first sit-in staged, it became perhaps the most famous sit-in of the civil rights era.  
   • After thousands of people had participated in the sit-in merchants in Greensboro gave in six months later.  
3. A wave of sit-ins occurred throughout the country.  
   • Protesters targeted southern franchises of national chains.  
4. Variations of sit-ins emerged: "kneel-ins" for churches; "read-ins" in libraries; "wade-ins" at beaches; "sleep-ins" in motel lobbies.
H. Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
   1. Nonviolence of students provoked increasingly hostile actions from those who opposed them.
      - Protesters were often beaten or harassed.
   2. The SNCC ("snick") was created by the SCLC to better organize the movement.
   3. "Jail not Bail" became the popular slogan.
      - Students adopted civil disobedience when confronted with jail.

I. Civil Rights Legislation
   1. In response to the civil rights movement, Congress passed legislation to increase voting rights for African Americans in the South.
   2. Civil Rights Act of 1957
      a. First civil rights legislation enacted by Congress since Reconstruction
      b. Proposed by Eisenhower, the law created a permanent Civil Rights Commission and a Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department which had power to prevent interference with voting rights.
      c. Although the law was weak, due to opposition by southerners in Congress, it opened the way to more effective legislation in 1960 and especially, 1964.
   3. Civil Rights Act of 1960
      a. It increased the effectiveness of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.
      b. Federal courts were given authority to register black voters.
      c. It imposed penalties on anyone who tried to prevent someone from registering to vote or actually voting.

III. Other minority groups in the 1950s
   A. Mexican-Americans
      1. Irrigation of new lands in the Southwest resulted in demand for low-wage agricultural labor.
      2. Similar to WWII, Congress created a temporary worker program to bring in seasonal agricultural workers (braceros).
      3. Many braceros remained in the U.S. illegally joining thousands of other illegal undocumented immigrants.
      4. “Operation Wetback”: Eisenhower instituted and deported more than 3 million allegedly undocumented immigrants, many without due process of law.
         - Hundreds of thousands of immigrants continued to spill across the border from Mexico
      5. By 1970, the percentage of Mexican Americans living in urban areas reached 85%.
B. Native Americans
   1. Unemployment on Amerindian reservations was staggering.
   2. After World War II, Congress reversed the Indian Reorganization Bill (New Deal) with attempts to assimilate Native Americans (like the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887).
   4. Over 500,000 acres of Amerindian lands were transferred to non-Amerindians.
   5. Congress sought to lure Amerindians off reservations into urban areas through relocation programs.
      • By 1960, 60,000 Amerindians had left their reservations for the city; most lived in poverty; 1/3 returned eventually to the reservations.

IV. Cold War in Europe: 1953-1961
A. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles initiated a new policy— the “rollback” of communism (rather than “containment”).
   1. Two major principals of the early Eisenhower administration:
      a. Encourage liberation of the captive peoples in Eastern Europe by the widespread use of political pressure and propaganda.
         • Radio broadcasts were beamed to countries behind the Iron Curtain by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe urging people to overthrow their communist governments.
      b. Massive retaliation
         • Any Soviet or Chinese aggression would be countered with an American nuclear weapons attack directly on the USSR and China.
         • Brinksmanship was Dulles’ main tactic: the art of never backing down from a crisis, even if it meant pushing the nation to the brink of war.
   2. In effect, the new policy rejected Truman’s containment policy (which had tolerated Soviet power where it had already existed).
      a. Eisenhower and Dulles believed that U.S. foreign policy should try to roll back and destroy communism; communism was seen as "immoral."
      b. Eisenhower was able to appear as a moderate (“good cop”) when compared to Dulles (“bad cop”).
      c. Dulles served as a means to deter the Soviets while deflecting attention away from Eisenhower.
   3. The U.S. and USSR stepped up the arms race to accumulate sophisticated nuclear arsenals.
      a. Preemptive strike capabilities were emphasized: in effect, strike first and destroy the enemy before they can strike back.
      b. Americans began preparing for contingencies in case of nuclear
war.

- Interstate Highway Act (1954)
- Thousands of people built bomb shelters in their back yards, for example.

4. Emergence of **Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)**
   a. The Soviet development of the hydrogen bomb in 1953 meant Dulles’ policy of “massive retaliation” was less practical.
   b. Both sides would lose in a thermonuclear war.
   c. MAD became an important deterrent for nuclear war during the next four decades.

B. "**New Look Military**"

1. Eisenhower sought to reduce the military budget by scaling back the size of the army and navy while building up an air fleet of super-bombers with nuclear weapons.
   - A nuclear force would cost less than a huge conventional force – "more bang for the buck."

2. However, the new nuclear force represented "overkill" while the U.S. was less able to respond to minor crises (e.g. Hungary).

3. In reality, military costs soared due to expensive aerial and atomic hardware.

4. Eisenhower’s "**Farewell Address**" (1961): warned Americans of the dangerous growth of the **military-industrial-complex**.
   a. Vast, interwoven military establishment and arms industry
   b. Its power was enormous (largely in the National Security Council) and had the potential to affect democracy itself.
   c. Ironically, Ike’s own policies had nurtured its growth.

C. **Warsaw Pact**

1. West Germany, with its half million troops, joined NATO in 1955.

2. In 1955, the Soviets organized the Warsaw Pact in response to new NATO strength in the West.

3. It included all of the eastern European satellite countries controlled by the Soviets.

D. Thaw of Cold War tensions occurred after Stalin’s death in 1953

1. After a two-year power struggle, Stalin was succeeded by **Nikita Khrushchev** in 1955.
   - Khrushchev publicly denounced the bloody excesses of the Stalin regime.

2. Khrushchev sought "**peaceful coexistence**" with the western democracies.
   a. Khrushchev set out to improve living conditions in the USSR by shifting military spending to consumer goods
   b. Khrushchev hoped to impress nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin
America with the superiority of communism as an economic system.

- To the West he said, "We will bury you" (economically).
- War between the USSR and the West seemed unnecessary.
- Peaceful competition would supposedly demonstrate the superiority of the Soviet system.

3. **The USSR agreed to leave Austria in May 1955.**
   a. Austria had been divided into four zones after WWII (as Germany had been.)
   b. The Soviet zone had become a liability after the war.
   c. Soviet withdrawal was seen as a gesture of good will and put pressure on the Eisenhower administration to relax tensions and meet the Soviets in Geneva, Switzerland that year.

4. **Geneva Summit (July 1955)**
   a. It was the first peace conference since Potsdam in July, 1945.
   b. The U.S., USSR, Britain, and France began discussions on European security and disarmament.
   - No concrete agreement was reached, however.
   c. The USSR resisted the idea of a reunited Germany, especially since West Germany was now a Western ally.
   d. Both sides agreed to the necessity of nuclear disarmament.
   - The U.S. and USSR voluntarily suspended atmospheric testing in October, 1958.

E. **Hungarian Uprising, 1956**

1. Eastern Bloc nations, inspired by Khrushchev’s more liberal rhetoric, began to seek more freedom in 1956.
   - A 1956 Polish workers riot against Soviet power had led to some gains and greater control over their own gov’t.

2. Hungarian nationalists staged huge demonstrations in October demanding democracy and independence.
   - Hungarians were inspired by the U.S. position to free people from communist control.

3. In November, Soviet tanks and soldiers quickly moved in to crush the uprising.
   a. The U.S. never showed up; Ike didn't want a world war over Hungary.
   b. The world watched as Budapest became a slaughterhouse.

4. Many saw Dulles’ call for the "liberation" of eastern Europe as impractical.
   a. Eisenhower was unwilling to use "massive retaliation" over Hungary.
   b. The crisis showed that Eisenhower was more of a moderate vis-à-vis the Cold War.
F. Sputnik, 1957 – beginning of the “Space Race”
1. 1957, the Soviets launched the first ever unmanned artificial satellite into orbit.
2. Americans were horrified at the thought of Soviet technology being capable of transporting nuclear weapons.
   a. U.S. technological superiority over the Russians now seemed over.
   b. The public demanded that the "missile gap" be eliminated.
   c. Yet, America’s manned bombers were still a powerful deterrent.
   a. 1/3 of all university scientists and engineers went into full-time weapons research.
   b. Special emphasis was placed on math, science, and foreign languages.
4. 1958, the U.S. successfully launched its first satellite into orbit, Explorer I.
5. In 1958, NASA (National Aeronautics Space Agency) was launched by Eisenhower.
   • Within 11 years, NASA would successfully send three U.S. astronauts to the moon.
6. The U.S. conducted a massive arms buildup: more B-52’s, nuclear submarines, and short-range missiles in Europe.

G. Under pressure from hardliners in his gov’t, Khrushchev issued an ultimatum on Berlin in November 1958.
1. Gave Western powers six months to vacate West Berlin.
2. Eisenhower and Dulles refused to yield; the world held its breath.

H. Visitations eased the Cold War conflict
   • His "Kitchen Debates" with Khrushchev over which country’s economic system was better seemed to usher in better relations.
2. In September 1959, Khrushchev made a two-week trip to the U.S.
   • While the visit helped improve relations, Khrushchev left the U.S. shaken at America’s affluence.
3. Ike and Khrushchev agreed to hold a summit the following year.
4. Khrushchev stated the Berlin ultimatum would be extended indefinitely.

I. U-2 Incident
1. Resulted in the worst U.S.-Soviet relations since Stalin’s death.
2. May 1960, a U-2 spy plane was shot down deep in Soviet territory.
The pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was captured by the Soviets.
3. The incident occurred 10 days before the planned Paris Summit.
4. Eisenhower admitted he authorized the flights for national security.
5. Ike suspended further flights but Khrushchev demanded an apology at Paris.
   - Ironically, the Soviets had conducted massive spying activities in the U.S. since World War II.
6. Ike refused an apology and Khrushchev called off the summit.

VI. Cold War in the Middle East
A. Iran
1. The CIA engineered a coup in Iran in 1953 that permanently installed the Shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, as dictator.
2. The existing leader of Iran, nationalist Mohammed Mosaddegh, wanted to nationalize British oil holdings in Iran.
   a. Mosaddegh had been democratically elected as prime minister
   b. The U.S. and Britain saw this as an ominous sign of communist leanings by Mosaddegh
   c. Ironically, Mosaddegh had been Time Magazine’s “Man of the Year” just a short while earlier.
3. In 1979, the Iranian revolutionaries overthrew the Shah and exacted revenge against the U.S. by holding 50 Americans hostage for 444 days.

B. Suez Canal Crisis
1. Gamal Abdel Nasser, an Arab nationalist, became president of Egypt in 1956.
   a. He opposed the existence of Israel (the U.S. had supported Israel’s creation in 1948, at the expense of the Palestinians).
   b. He sought funding for the Aswan Dam on the upper Nile for irrigation and power.
   c. The U.S. agreed to lend money to Egypt but refused to give it arms.
2. The U.S. withdrew its financial aid offer when Nasser seemed to court the USSR and established diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China (Red China).
3. In 1956, Nasser seized and nationalized the Suez Canal that was owned mostly by British and French stockholders.
4. In October 1956, France, Britain and Israel attacked Egypt in an attempt to internationalize the canal.
   - The world seemed on the brink of WWII.
5. Eisenhower honored the UN Charter's nonaggression commitment and reluctantly denounced the attack on Egypt.
   - Siding with the U.S., the Soviets threatened to send troops to Egypt.
6. Britain, France and Israel withdrew their troops and a UN force
was sent to Egypt to keep order.
7. Nasser gained control of the Suez Canal.
8. Britain and France were angry at the U.S. for siding against its NATO allies.

C. Eisenhower Doctrine (announced in 1957)
1. It empowered the president to extend economic and military aid to nations of the Middle East if threatened by a Communist-controlled country.
2. In 1958, Marines entered Lebanon to promote political stability during a change of governments.

VII. Cold War in Asia
A. Korean War, 1950-1953 (see Unit 8.1 notes)
    • After four years of war, UN forces, led by the U.S., successfully contained the spread of communism into South Korea.

B. Vietnam
1. Ho Chi Minh, a communist, began fighting for the liberation of Indochina from French colonial rule days after the end of World War II.
2. Communists defeated French forces at Dien Bien Phu in March 1954, France’s last major outpost in northern Vietnam.
    a. The U.S. had given much aid to France to prevent communist expansion in Vietnam.
    b. Dulles wanted U.S. bombers to aid the French (even suggesting the use of nuclear weapons).
    c. Eisenhower refused, fearing British non-support.
3. A multinational conference at Geneva split Vietnam in half at the 17th parallel.
    a. Ho Chi Minh accepted it based on assurances that Vietnam-wide elections would occur within two years.
    b. In the south, a pro-western gov’t under Ngo Dinh Diem took control in Saigon.
4. Ngo’s failure to hold elections seriously divided the country.
    a. Communist guerrillas in the south (Vietcong) increased their campaign against Ngo.
    b. China continued to support North Vietnam.
5. Dulles created the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in order to prop up Diem’s regime; Britain and France were included.
    a. The organization intended to be a “NATO” in Southeast Asia.
        • Only the Philippine Republic, Thailand, and Pakistan signed in 1954.
    b. The U.S. pledged to prevent communist expansion in Asia (Vietnam and Taiwan).
c. Ike sent in military advisors to train South Vietnamese forces.

6. **Domino Theory** dictated U.S. policy in Southeast Asia: If one country fell to communism, neighboring countries would also fall like dominoes (including Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, and maybe even India)
   - The Domino theory eventually got the U.S. involved in the Vietnam War in the 1960s.

C. **Quemoy and Matsu**
   1. In 1955, Chinese Communists began to shell a tiny Nationalist island where U.S. ally Jiang Jieshi had committed 1/3 of his Taiwanese army.
      - The People’s Republic of China claimed the two tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu.
   2. Eisenhower gained Congress’ approval and sent the U.S. Seventh Fleet to aid Jiang.
   3. Dulles convinced Jiang to renounce force in regaining the Chinese mainland and thus, quieted Communist fears.

VIII. Cold War in Latin America
A. **Overthrow of Guatemala** (1954)
   1. President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman had nationalized 500,000 acres belonging to the United Fruit Co. of Boston, showed strong communist sympathies.
      - The United Fruit Company asked the U.S. gov’t for help.
   2. The CIA helped overthrow Guzman in 1954 after he began accepting arms from the Soviet Union.
   3. World opinion widely condemned the coup, even staunch allies such as Britain, France, and the UN secretary general.
      - Vice President Nixon had to call off an eight-nation good-will tour of Latin America after meeting hostile mobs in Venezuela and Peru in 1958.
         - The U.S. still seen as the “Colossus of the North” throughout much of Latin America.

B. **Cuba**
   1. Prior to 1959, U.S. companies were active in Cuba.
      a. They owned 90% of Cuban mines and 40% of Cuban sugar operations.
      b. Cuba had the highest standard of living in Latin America and was among the highest in literacy.
   2. **Fidel Castro** took control of Cuba on New Years Day, 1959.
      a. Fulgencio Batista, an oppressive leader since 1951, fled.
      b. Castro visited the U.S. but Ike refused to see him (as he was unsure if Castro was a communist).
         - Vice President Nixon met with him instead
      c. Castro eventually confiscated American-owned property.
3. In September 1959, Khrushchev decided to aid Cuba.
   a. Deteriorating Cuban relations with the U.S. led Castro to seek the Soviets as an ally.
   b. In July 1960, Khrushchev publicly extended the Soviet nuclear umbrella to Cuba.
      • Khrushchev stated that the Monroe Doctrine was dead and he would shower missiles on the U.S. if it attacked Cuba.
   c. The U.S. began plotting against Castro.
      • In September 1960, the CIA opened talks with the mafia to arrange a "hit" on Castro.
      • The U.S. broke diplomatic relations with Cuba in 1961.
      • Castro encouraged revolutions in other parts of Latin America.
      • U.S. now saw Castro as a serious threat to national security.

4. The U.S. persuaded the Organization of American States (OAS) to condemn communist infiltration into the Americas.
   • In turn, Congress responded to Eisenhower’s recommendation for $500 million in aid for Latin America—a Latin American "Marshall Plan."

IX. Eisenhower evaluated
   A. He furthered the cause of the New Deal in numerous ways and further embedded them in American life.
      • America grew in prosperity during the Eisenhower years.
   B. As opposed to most "lame duck" presidents, Eisenhower showed more skilled leadership during his last two years than at any time before.
      1. For six years, Democrats controlled Congress.
      2. Ike used the veto power 169 times and was overridden only twice.
   C. Public works projects revitalized certain areas of the country: the Federal Highway Project created modern interstate freeway system while providing countless jobs in construction.
   D. He worked with Khrushchev to tone down Cold War hostilities during much of the 1950s.
   E. A major criticism has been the seeming recklessness of "massive retaliation."
      1. Also, the use of nuclear diplomacy in ending the Korean War
      2. Yet, Ike exercised restraint in military affairs despite having been a top general in the U.S. Army.
   F. Eisenhower’s greatest failing (perhaps) was his anemic stance on civil rights and the plight of other minorities.
      1. Until 1957, blacks struggled to get federal assistance for civil rights.
      2. Operation Wetback targeted thousands of Mexicans without due process of law.
      3. Loss of funding and lands occurred in Amerindian reservations.
### Terms to Know

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Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit is a high probability area for the essay portion of the AP exam. In the past 10 years, four questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.

1. To what extent were American Cold War policies successful in Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America during Eisenhower’s presidency?

2. To what extent was the Civil Rights movement successful in achieving its goals during the 1950s?

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