

**History 340-01 (WI, RI), Spring 2004**  
**The United States Since World War II**

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**M,W, 2:00-3:15**

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“Imagination is more important than knowledge.”

--Albert Einstein

This course will help you develop research and writing skills in the process of studying three tremendously consequential episodes in post-World War II U.S. history.

1) The wave of political conflict, fear, and repression in the 1940s and 1950s, popularly known as McCarthyism. What were its origins – cold war popular anxiety, party competition, the reaction to New Deal liberalism, the real threat of espionage, Harry Truman’s need to sell the cold war, a rapidly growing State caring more about national security than individual civil liberty? Just how were the civil liberties of citizens violated? To what degree did war and threats to US security justify restrictions on individual freedom? How did McCarthyism change American politics, law, even foreign policy?

2) African American activism from the “Negro Revolution” of 1963 to the “Black Revolt” of the late 1960s. We will especially focus on 1963, when the civil rights movement became a truly mass movement and compelled historic concessions from political and social elites. What were the broad goals of a protest wave whose most visible targets were downtown business districts and polling booths? What were the real reasons behind John Kennedy’s shift in June 1963 toward civil rights legislation and against the segregationist white south? Why did urban violence and black nationalism follow so quickly after the “gains” of the civil rights era?

3) The US commitment to defend South Vietnam, 1963-1965. We will examine the process of decision making in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations that led to eight subsequent years of bloody ground war in Vietnam. How well could US policymakers see the complexities of the Vietnamese conflict and the international diplomatic options before them? How realistic and broadly shared were the alternatives for negotiation and face-saving US withdrawal? Why did Lyndon Johnson take the advice of those whose only counsel was to escalate the bombing of North Vietnam and to introduce ground troops in 1965?

As you see, this class is in no way a survey of everything one might study in the period. In fact, the Research Intensive requirement works best if we all focus on questions and controversies narrowly and deeply. That way, we see a variety of interpretations, and can dig down to the bedrock of evidence and human experience and decision making that can often be missing in a survey or a textbook.

Revolutions in technology and information retrieval have in the last 20 years vastly improved our access to different points of view and sources of information. Are we any better at finding and judging the reliability of information? Are students at universities more aware of how to combine various strategies of discovery, involving the indispensable resources of a research library? Can students better assess how even the most persuasive arguments are constructed and supported? Independently investigating and comparing arguments, sources and truth claims is the only way to responsibly and confidently know something, I believe. Much of what

we accept as truth is in fact pre-packaged, from the rankest hearsay to the most persuasive argument that draws upon evidence carefully assessed – by someone else. “Finding out for ourselves,” identifying contested points of view, independently verifying and corroborating evidence, using logic and language to arrive at our own conclusions – these are among the best things a university can give you. They are crucial to wise choices, individual success and the state of democracy.

Taking off the training wheels on the information superhighway can be a bit daunting. Some of this course will feel like trying to play a strange new instrument. Frustrating, overwhelming at times (these feelings never go away, and they shouldn't). It takes a while to put together a whole piece, much less create music! But real freedom is exhilarating as well as daunting. What does it take to fly your own plane, play your own music, or leave the RVs behind and make your own trail?

None of these come naturally. No one learns alone. Use me. Use your classmates. Use the reference librarians, the manuals, the scholars we read and their footnotes. And centrally, use your imagination.

### **Course Requirements:**

This course will make extensive use of the Blackboard system, for daily assignments, submission of work, online discussion, announcements and grading. I will show you. **Daily reading assignments** and readings to download as Acrobat Reader files will be clearly labeled. **Writing assignments** will have their own content area. Submit an electronic file as well as print out your work, so I may comment upon your writing on paper and on line. The **Discussion Board** should draw regular attention and contributions. I will create forums just for reporting on helpful document and internet sources you discover. These will benefit us all and earn you points. Your first assignment is to write about yourself in the **Roster** and upload a picture so others and I can identify you.

### **I. Reading and Preparation**

For this class to work, everyone must consistently prepare and be willing to share your insights verbally. You will be responsible for reading 80-100 pages per week, in addition to the individual research and writing assignments. Four short books are available for purchase at the University Bookstore (Elliot Center) and Addams Book Store (Tate St.). I supplement these each day with some primary scholarship and secondary sources that allow us to continually measure interpretation against evidence. We will work a lot on interpreting primary sources: speeches, letters, essays, oral histories, press releases, and news articles. And we will discover how to use what others have written to identify the questions that matter and the boundaries of what is known, what is up for debate, what remains to be discovered, and what can never be known.

Mary Lynn Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, Fourth Edition (Bedford St. Martins, 2004)

Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism, Second Edition* (Bedford St. Martins, 2004)

Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Penguin, 1964).

Fredrik Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War* (New York: Pearson, 2001).

**ALL Other Reading (Unless Otherwise Noted) are available for download on the Blackboard site for this class. (You may also find many on the Electronic Reserves pages under HIS340).** I will also put several monographs and document collections on hard copy reserve: books that several of you may want to use at the same time.

**II. Attendance:** Attendance is mandatory, especially in this class where the quality of your learning depends upon sharing ideas and practical experience with research. *You must email me in advance if you will miss class, or, in case of emergency, within 24 hours after class.* I can excuse absences only on the grounds of personal or family illness or serious emergency (not conflicting work schedules, appointments, oversleep, or extracurricular activity). More than three unexcused absences and your final grade goes down 2 points for every day missed. Three *consecutive* unexcused absences constitute grounds for withdrawing you from the course.

**II. Preparation and Class Participation (10%):**

Note that these are not the same thing! We will explore the issues, questions and controversies that *matter* to us as historians. Try to stay on topic and respond to the questions we have before us. Raise questions as to the relationship between interpretation and evidence. Always be ready to share the results of your secondary source review and primary source discoveries. Balance listening and talking. If you are relatively quiet in class, you can make up some of this by contributing to the next requirement.

**III. Online Threaded Discussion Board (on Blackboard) (10%):**

I will set up several forums on Blackboard. Make your subject line a title that clues your reader into the substance of your point or response. I require at least one entry every other week, and encourage thoughtful responses to each other's points. Be succinct. Absolutely no cutting and pasting from your papers or God forbid, the Internet. Email me with a question if you would like to open up a forum. Cite evidence or counter evidence and be succinct (don't go over 500 words, but don't be pithy either). Share your discoveries on the internet or in the library on a forum covering "new sources." Provide citations for your quotes and insights, according to Rampolla's footnote rules. Be respectful but contentious. I require an extra posting whenever you miss class for whatever reason.

**IV. 2 short reviews of secondary sources (20%):**

1 memoir; 1 historical monograph (the results of a historian's original research into primary sources, with footnotes), 3 pp. (800-900 words) each. Follow Rampolla, *Pocket Guide*, pp. 24-26 on writing book and film reviews. These are *critical reading* and *formal writing* exercises. Follow the thesis-body-conclusion format outlined by Rampolla. Use standard searching techniques to find the materials, and feel free to use book reviews, bibliographic essays and authors' footnotes (we will have workshops on these). For the monograph and the memoir, you are not required to read the entire book. **YOU MAY CHOOSE A MEMOIR AND MONOGRAPH WHICH DEAL WITH THE SAME SUBJECT (IN WHICH CASE YOU MAY WRITE A PIECE COMPARING THEM, AT DOUBLE LENGTH), OR YOU MAY CHOOSE TO DO THEM SEPARATELY.** In each case, try to identify the main theme or thesis or point of view, and analyze selected episodes or issues in terms of the supporting evidence and possible counter arguments. (For example, our reading selection from Glen Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, covers thirty pages. The section captures the crux of his whole book. His view of Martin Luther King is highly controversial and debatable). Share your insights when they become germane to class discussion or on the discussion board. I will post some of the best of these on Blackboard.

**Reviews are due the day that they are relevant to discussion, or at latest, the last day of the unit.** Here's how to do it: pick a day that especially interests you; read ahead with some questions in mind; then identify someone to investigate or an interpretation or assertion to test. ASK ME, or use the material as a springboard. Example: We are reading a couple of paragraphs from Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time*. You could read the memoir and ask whether her main purpose in writing it was to pose as a champion of civil liberties, or to explain her life in the Communist Party and her reasons for leaving it.

**V. 6 Research Exercises (20%):** 500 words or less.

You will be reading along and a question will pop into your head. Who was this person who influenced Lyndon Johnson so much? How did journalists interpret the children's march in Birmingham? What does this person have to say for him or herself about this criticism? What were the pundits, the public intellectuals and academics saying about the decision to stabilize South Vietnam by bombing North Vietnam? Go to the library or search an electronic database and find a primary source and write a summary analysis. What is the basic point? Why is it significant? What did it reveal? Can you discern a bias on the author's part, evident in the use of language? Do this in any sequence you wish but keep up with this and do 2 for each unit. Each of your primary source analyses should come from a different category below. The only required one is something significant from manuscript microfilm collections.

1 Biographical profile of a key participant: essential events, meaning, which biographical encyclopedia and source proved to be most informative and reliable?

1 weekly magazine: *Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Life*, *Look*. Select a major story, not just a cursory entry.

1 *New York Times* search, surveying a major piece or cluster of stories. How did the nation's newspaper of record report or comment upon an event or decision or public figure?

1 journal of opinion: *Christian Century*, *Commentary*, *Dissent*, *Nation*, *National Review*, *New Republic*, *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. [Or any other one that publishes opinion and reasoned debate, not just reporting]

1 African American newspaper. Find it through *Ethnic Newswatch* or the *Pittsburgh Courier*.

1 Manuscript Microfilm Collection [Some significant documents available through Nexis Lexis trial subscription -- ask me]

1 Oral history or congressional testimony.

**Research Initiative, Intellectual Growth and Class Citizenship (10%).**

These are obviously less quantifiable than the assignments, but they are crucial to the success of the class as a whole. **How helpful** have you been to others (as measured by your responses to your classmates' comments in class, your entries on discussion boards, and your presence on the "acknowledgments" footnote on other people's final papers)? **How creatively** have you found sources, exploring and sharing new avenues that the class may not have considered? This might include your demonstration of research databases that are especially flexible or comprehensive, or web sites that you have discovered that contain reliable secondary and primary sources. (There is room in the "External Links" content area for you to report briefly on these websites). Finally, **how much have you grown intellectually**, as evidenced by improvement in your writing, how you use sources, how much you have acted upon Rampolla's and my guidelines?

**Final Paper (30%):** 6-8 pp. Identify a historiographical problem that can be addressed with primary and secondary sources. Follow Rampolla's guidelines for writing research papers. Your topic and question may emerge from our discussions, from one of your reviews or primary

source discoveries. We stop reading before Thanksgiving, and by then I expect a first draft. I will promptly return them with comments and you will have until December 13 to revise. The first footnote should be a brief “acknowledgment” the five or so people from the class who have helped you the most. Research and writing are both individual and collective enterprises!

**Conferences:** I am here to help with questions, to guide you in developing your ideas and research strategies, and to give you helpful, honest feedback on your work. Do not hesitate to visit my office hours or schedule an appointment if they are not convenient. Use the resources of the Writing Center as well.

**Honor Code:** I remind you that the URL for the University’s Academic integrity policy is <http://saf.dept.uncg.edu/studiscp/Honor.html> If you have not read it, please do so thoroughly. Beware of copying without citing sources; this is a special danger with respect to the Internet, a wonderful research tool that has also contributed to the proliferation of plagiarism. I will pursue violators to the fullest extent. The university requires me to impose a range of punishments depending on the infraction: failure on an assignment, failure in the course, an Honor Board hearing. Recall that university expulsion is automatic for repeat offenders with a record of plagiarism in the Office of Student Affairs. It cheapens the value of honestly earned university degrees to permit plagiarism to thrive. See Rampolla, *Guide to Research*, chapter 6.

### **Identity, Politics and History**

This history is unfinished in a way quite different from if we were studying the French Revolution. We are all a product of this history, and its issues and controversies are very much alive today. So our identities and political convictions are bound to influence what we think. We should strive, however, to understand the past and its many actors on their own terms first. Understand that past actors did not have our knowledge of their future. Academic study can help us clarify who we are and why we got here, but it also offers us the opportunity to rise above our inherited assumptions and become wiser and less parochial. Anecdotes from the past, and contemporary political issues are welcome as points of discussion, but they should *supplement* and in no way *supplant* our study of the complex study of past beliefs and actions. This takes book learning and an imaginative search for a broader range of experience among many people.

### **Schedule of Classes**

#### **8/16: Introductions**

#### **8/18: Interpreting Primary Sources**

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide*, 1-21, 22-3 (on reading and summarizing), 70-81 (on plagiarism and judicious quotation). These may be the most important 34 pages you read all semester! Keep this guide with you throughout this class.

Assignment: Consider in depth: “**Looking at sources: an example,**” pp. 14-21.

Find the original story in the Jackson library Database, “New York Times Via Proquest.” Does the journalist have a bias? Who is his audience? What is his purpose in telling the story the way he does? What is his attitude toward the Tennesseans who showed up? What is lost in the excerpt? Write a brief précis/evaluation, just a paragraph, paraphrasing mostly, selectively quoting when necessary. Cite the article according to footnote style outlined on p. 93.

**Class Roster:** Tell the class about yourself, your main interests in history, something of your background that connects you to this history, and a picture. When you have decided on a final

paper topic, describe it on the roster, so others interested can talk to you about your research strategies and experiences.

The schedule of classes and readings are on the blackboard web site. Remember: it is up to you when you submit assignments, but you must do so on a regular basis. 2 primary source reviews per unit; 1 book or memoir or scholarly article review per unit.

**8/23: Communists and Anticommunists: Call it Hooverism? 52 pp.**

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, chapters 1-4. Documents 1-4.

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Chapters:

1. The American Communist Party
2. The Growth of the Anti-Communist Network
3. Communism and National Security: The Menace Emerges
4. The State Steps In: Setting the Anti-Communist Agenda 1-25

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Documents:

1. The World of American Communism: Party Members Talk about Their Experiences  
*Howard Johnson, A Communist in Harlem*  
*David Friedman, A New York City Schoolteacher in the Party*  
*Marge Frantz, A Longtime Woman Activist in the Party*  
*Rose Krysak, A Rank-and-File Communist in the 1950s, 97-120*
2. From the Communist Party's Perspective: William Z. Foster Looks at the World in 1947  
*William Z. Foster, The New Europe*
3. The Communist Menace: An American Legion View  
*James F. O'Neil, How You Can Fight Communism*
4. To Quarantine Communism: J. Edgar Hoover Speaks to the American People  
*J. Edgar Hoover, Testimony Before HUAC, March 26, 1947*

**Optional:** a brilliantly written piece by a British journalist and historian. He parrots the *Radical Right* thesis, but explains better than anyone in narrative form the series of international shocks that led to growing fear among the elites.

Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon—What Happened and Why* (New York: Random House, 1976, 1995), "The 1940s," 17-47. Focus on how he employs the ideas of the "pseudo-Conservative" revolt among small town WASPs and status conscious rising urban ethnics to build a case for McCarthy's popular base pp, 37-47. How would you settle the difference between Hodgson (and the authors of *The Radical Right* (1955) behind How did McCarthyism affect the civil rights movement, its relation to the labor movement and popular movements for economic justice? How did McCarthyism affect the State Department and the "Asia experts" who might have counseled a different course in Vietnam?

[Click here to download.](#)

**See Blackboard for content and questions.**

**8/25: Trumanism? The Loyalty-Security Program, State and Local Governments**

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, chapters 5-7; Documents 7-9 and one to download.

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Chapters:

5. Communists in Government and the Big Spy Cases
6. Atomic Espionage
7. The Loyalty-Security Program

13. Anticommunism at the State and Local Levels

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Documents:

6. Atomic Espionage and the Rosenberg Case (skim or skip this. It is a bit dull, but see Judge Kaufman's Sentencing, first full paragraph, p. 167). Did the sentence fit the crime?

7. The Truman Administration Deals with the Communist Menace: The 1947 Loyalty-Security Program, 150-172

**Harry S. Truman**, *Executive Order 9835, March 21, 1947*

8. A Political Test for Employment: The Loyalty-Security Program in Operation [read one or the other or both]

*The Federal Loyalty-Security Program: Case 1*

*The Federal Loyalty-Security Program: Case 2*

9. Guilt by Designation: The Attorney General's List

*The Attorney General's List of Totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, Subversive, and Other Organizations*

"New York Leads the Way," *Adler v. Board of Ed. NY*, 3/3/52, in Fried, *McCarthyism*, 113-114 (Get through electronic reserves or click below to download. Print it all out.)

**8/30: Hunting Secondary Sources (CITI Lab Jackson Library)**

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide*, ch. 3, 4.

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, "Interpreting McCarthyism: A Bibliographical Essay," 255-262. Read this carefully and pick something that interests you.

Robert Griffith, "American Politics and the Origins of 'McCarthyism'" in Chafe and Sitkoff, *A History of Our Time* pp. 62-73. Download from Blackboard in the "McCarthyism" content area, or from ereserves. Were the excesses and internal dynamics of McCarthyism due to popular fears or the hyped fears of politicians and interest groups? The 1950s liberal intellectuals behind the *Radical Right* argued the former, Griffith the latter.

**9/1: Prosecutions of the Communist Party and the Left-Led Unions 36 pp.**

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Chapters:

8. The Assault on the Communist Party

9. The Destruction of the Communist Fronts and Unions

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Docs:

10. Communism in Court: Excerpts from the 1949 Smith Act Trial of the Communist Party's Eleven Top Leaders

**John F.X. McGohey**, *Opening Statement on Behalf of the Government, March 21, 1949*

**Eugene Dennis**, *Opening Statement on Behalf of the Communist Party, March 21, 1949*

**Louis Budenz**, *Testimony, March 1949*

11. Outlawing the Communist Party: The Supreme Court Upholds the Smith Act

**Chief Justice Fred Vinson**, *Majority Opinion in Dennis et al. v. United States*

**Justice Hugo Black**, *Dissenting Opinion in Dennis et al. v. United States*

What kind of evidence was necessary to convict the Smith Act defendants? On what basis did the Supreme Court find the convictions constitutional?

13. Purging the Labor Movement: The CIO Expels Its Left-Wing Unions

*Resolution on Expulsion of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Of America*

See also Fried, *McCarthyism*, 60-63: "Throwing the Communists Out of the CIO," CIO Proceedings, 11/49. (All the Fried documents can be downloaded from the 8/25 folder)

How did the unionists in the left-led unions try to resist the CIO's adoption of strict anticommunist tests of loyalty? What was the effect of requiring affidavits of union officials?

None of the Truman administration's toughness dampened the fire from the right wing of the Republican Party (and their Southern Democratic allies). The explosion of the Russian bomb and the Chinese revolution led to the most difficult days of the Cold War. Read the famous: 16. "I Have in My Hand...": Senator Joseph McCarthy Charges That There Are Communists in the State Department

**Senator Joseph McCarthy**, *Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia*

**9/8: Finding Primary Sources in the Electronic Jungle and the Paper Labyrinth (Meet in Jackson Library CITI Lab).**

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide*, ch. 5, 7. [By Now you MUST have learned the conventions of footnoting that are outlined in detail at the end of Rampolla, ch. 7]

NB: The Next set of readings is longer than most. Get started on it!

**9/13: McCarthyism, or Was It Nixonism? Congressional Investigations and the Blacklists**

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Chapters:

10. Congressional Committees and Unfriendly Witnesses

11. Red-Baiting and Careerism: Joseph McCarthy at Work

12. Congressional Investigations and the "Loss" of China (Shouldn't I connect to Vietnam?)

14. Blacklists and Other Economic Sanctions

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Documents:

14. The Dilemma of an Unfriendly Witness: Lillian Hellman Takes the Fifth Amendment

**Lillian Hellman**, *Letter to HUAC, May 19, 1952*

15. "Are You Now...?" HUAC Investigates Hollywood

**John Howard Lawson**, *Testimony before HUAC, October 27, 1947*

**Richard Lardner, Jr.**, *Testimony before HUAC, October 30, 1947* [skim]

17. The Hollywood Blacklist Begins: Studio Heads Fire the Hollywood Ten

*The Waldorf Statement, December 3, 1947*

18. The Blacklisters' Bible: Red Channels [skim]

*Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television, 1950*

19. The Blacklist in Operation: Testimony from the John Henry Falk Trial [Skim or skip: Susskind is interesting in illustrating how corporate sponsors exerted pressures on television shows]

20. Unfriendly Witnesses and Their Lawyers: The HUAC Testimony of Robert Treuhft [Read this; this is chilling].

**Robert Treuhft**, *Testimony before HUAC, December 3, 1953*

Fried, *McCarthyism*, 17 pp.

3. Reagan Versus the Reds, 7/30/51, 125-126

6. The Pathos of Larry Parks, 3/21/51, 131-134

7. Kazan Explains Why, 4/12/52, 135-6



10. Standler Confounds HUAC, 5/6/53, 143-147
13. Paul Robeson Takes on the Committee, 154-156

Why did anticommunists find Congressional investigating committees to be good forums for ferreting out communists and fellow travelers? What techniques did they employ, traps did they set? Why did witnesses take such varied approaches to testifying? Why did they switch from the 1<sup>st</sup> amendment to the 5<sup>th</sup>? Why was Lillian Hellman so unique in resisting being required to "name names."

### **9/15: Commitment and Capitulation, Liberals and McCarthyism**

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Chapters:

15. Liberals and the Struggle against McCarthyism
16. The Legacy of McCarthyism

Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Documents:

12. A Liberal Opposes Anti-Communist Legislation: Truman Vetoes the Internal Security Act of 1950

**Harry S. Truman**, *Veto of the Internal Security Act of 1950*

21. Heresy and Conspiracy: A Cold War Liberal View of the Communist Threat

**Sidney Hook**, *Heresy, Yes -- But Conspiracy, No*

22. A Liberal Deplores the Witch-Hunt: Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas on "*The Black Silence of Fear*"

**William O. Douglas**, *The Black Silence of Fear*

Fried, *McCarthyism*, 9. The Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and Their Faculties, 3/53, 140-142.

Liberals traditionally defended civil liberties. Was theirs a pragmatic or principled response to McCarthyism? Or were they simply caving into fear? How do you distinguish Douglas' liberal anticommunism from Hook's? How did McCarthyism affect liberalism?

### **9/20: FINDING AND ASSESSING INTERNET SOURCES -- AT A COMPUTER LAB -- TBA**

We will talk about how to assess the reliability of a website, how to use materials they provide, how to cite them.

### **McCarthyism Historiography Discussion for Researchers**

**OPTIONAL:** REQUIRED ONLY FOR THOSE WRITING THEIR PAPERS ON MCCARTHYISM.

Ellen Schrecker, Chapter 10: "A Good Deal of Trauma," from *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton Press, 1998) pp. 359-415, except pages pp. 386-395, for next time. [Reserves, Parts A and B] 55 pp. Schrecker's footnotes are especially valuable. How does she use evidence to support her thesis of McCarthyist devastation of the left? You may skim 30% of this, if you focus on several of the bases she covers that interest you. What was the long term effect of McCarthyism on: unions, universities, foreign policymakers, television, movies?

SUGGESTION: FIND A BOOK REVIEW. IS IT POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE OR MIXED? DOES IT SUGGEST A FRUITFUL AVENUE OF NEW RESEARCH?

### **9/22: Anticommunism, Civil Rights and Feminism**

Marable, Manning. *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*. 2nd ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991, ch. 2, "The Cold

War in Black America, pp. 13-32. [last few pages of the acroread file not needed, but consult the footnotes for research leads]. Remember: the library has both the W.E.B. DuBois papers and the Paul Robeson papers on microfilm.

Ellen Schrecker, Chapter 10: "A Good Deal of Trauma," pp. 386-395.

What did the civil rights movement lose through the repression of the left-led trade unions? What might the movement have looked like, and would it have happened ten years earlier, but for anti-communism?

## **From Negro Revolution to Black Revolt**

### **9/27: Origins of Mass Protest**

King, *Why We Can't Wait*, Intro, ch. 1-2.

Morris, Aldon D. "A Man Prepared for the Times: A Sociological Analysis of the Leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr." and comments by Robert Parris Moses, In *We Shall Overcome Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Black Freedom Struggle*, eds. Peter J. Albert and Ronald Hoffman, (NY: Pantheon, 1990), 35-58. Compare Morris to Marable on the 1950s and the timing of the civil rights movement.

For King, what were the main reasons for the Negro revolution of 1963? Why did it happen then and not earlier? What does Aldon Morris add to this picture, and what does he miss? For King, what *issues* define black freedom in its fullest sense, and what *methods* work best?

### **9/29: Birmingham: Planning Project C**

King, *Why We Can't Wait*, ch 3-4.

Birmingham: Morris, Aldon D. "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 5 (1993, October): 621-36. **JSTOR**

### **10/4: Birmingham: National Victory and Local Sell Out?**

King, *Why We Can't Wait*, Ch. 6-7

Eskew, Glen T. *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, 262-288.

Rosenberg, Jonathan, and Zachary Karabell, eds. *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Quest for Justice: The Civil Rights Tapes*. New York: Norton, 2003, "Meeting on Civil Rights, May 21, 1963", 106-113. 7 **[Print the whole of this, since we'll be using it for the next three classes]**

### **Optional:**

Lentz, Richard. "Snarls Echoing 'Round the World: The 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign on the World Stage." *American Journalism* (2000), 69-89.

### **10/6: Crisis and Response: Local Struggles and Federal Lawmaking**

**“Debate on the Civil Rights Bill of 1963”:** John F. Kennedy, June 11, 1963, vs. Richard Russell, June 12, 1963, in Dudley, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement: Opposing viewpoints*, 177-186.

Chafe, William. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, ch. 5. The crisis over property rights vs. human rights comes to a head at the END of this chapter, so pay close attention to that.

“President Kennedy’s Report to Congress Outlining a Civil Rights Bill,” in Leon Friedman, *The Civil Rights Reader*, 245-249.

**Questions:** How did Greensboro activists, Mayor Schenk and President Kennedy address the main objections to desegregation of private business establishments serving the public: the argument that the property rights of owners included the right to serve whomever they wished? What forms of “speech” were involved?

### **10/13: March on Washington: “Radiant Day” or “Farce on Washington”**

King, *Why We Can’t Wait*, 115-125.[Get accurate]

Malcolm X, “Message to the Grass Roots,” November 1963, in George Breitman, ed., *Malcolm X Speaks* (NY: 1965), pp. 12-17.

Thelwell, Michael. “The August 28th March on Washington.” In *Duties, Pleasures and Conflicts: Essays in Struggle*, edited by Michael Thelwell, 57-73. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987. MOW a “subtle and terrible betrayal” of original promise to use aggressive civil disobedience.

Height, Dorothy I. “‘We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard’: Black Women and the 1963 March on Washington.” In *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, edited by Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, 83-92. New York: New York University Press, 2001.

Rosenberg, Jonathan, and Zachary Karabell, eds. *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Quest for Justice: The Civil Rights Tapes*. New York: Norton, 2003, “Meeting on Civil Rights,” August 28, 1963 in pp. 130-140.

Tom Kahn, “March’s radical demands point way for struggle,” *New America*, 9/24/63, (1963 march on Washington document)

### **10/18: From Civil to Human Rights**

King, *Why We Can’t Wait*, ch. 8

Chafe, William H. “The End of One Struggle, the Beginning of Another, and Comment, by J. Mills Thornton lii.” In *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, edited by Charles W. Eagles, 127-56. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986.

### **10/20: The Urban Black Revolt**

Bloom, Jack M. *Class, Race and the Civil Rights Movement*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, ch. 7, “Ghetto Revolts, Black Power,” 186-213.

Ryan, William. *Blaming the Victim*. New York: Vintage, 1971, ch. 9 “Counting Black Bodies,” pp. 211-235.

### **10/25: The Public Debate**

Testimony of Archie Moore, 10/25/67, in U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Un-American Activities, *Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting and Burning*, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968). 737-749.

Eldridge Cleaver, "Domestic Law and International Order," in Howard, ed., *The Sixties* (Washington Square Press, 1982), 125-132.

Martin Luther King, "The Crisis in America's Cities," *Gandhi Marg* 12 (January 1968), 17-23. ER524 Delivered 8/15/67, SCLC Convention and before the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders.

### **10/27: No class – Research**

#### **Kennedy's and Johnson's decisions for War**

Fredrik Logevall's monumental book *Choosing War* is on hard copy reserve for those wishing greater details about his controversial thesis. As is David Kaiser, *American Tragedy*, who argues that *Eisenhower* made the crucial decisions and that neither Kennedy nor Johnson had all that much wiggle room.

#### **11/1: The Vietnamese, the French and the Americans**

Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 1-22; 95-103.

John Foster Dulles, "America Should Consider Direct Military Intervention in Indochina," 4/12/54, vs. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, "America Should Be Cautious," 4/6/ 54, in William Dudley, ed., *The Vietnam War: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1998), pp. 36-46.

Questions to guide your reading:

How do we characterize Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh's brand of nationalism and communism? Why did the US rebuff his overtures after World War II and support the French? Was the US just giving France what it wanted or did it see Vietnam as incapable of independent self-government? How did the Cold Warriors analyze Vietnamese Communism, especially after the Chinese revolution in 1949? What historical analogies informed their thinking? Who was Diem, and what kind of regime did he consolidate? What were John Kennedy's main reservations regarding American intervention in 1954?

#### **11/3: Geneva, Diem and the Rise of the National Liberation Front**

Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 25-38; 104-112.

"An Asian Liberator," (Man in the News Article on Diem) *New York Times* (May 10, 1957)

1) William Henderson, "American Aid Has Helped Create A Stable Government in South Vietnam," 1/57, 51-61; 2) David Hotham, "American Aid Has Not Created a Stable Government in Vietnam," 11/25/57, 62-70. In William Dudley, ed., *The Vietnam War: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1998).

Make sure that you know the main terms of the Geneva accords of July 1954. If Ho Chi Minh got so much less than he had hoped, why did neither the US nor the South Vietnamese sign it nor feel bound by its provisions for reunification? What kind of regime was Diem able to consolidate?

**If you need to make up some points on your participation grade, read the following extraordinary memoir of an ex-member of the NLF and post your conclusions:**

Le Ly Hayslip, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places* (Plume, 1989), ix, xv, 33-53.

Compare the formal statement of the NLF with Le Ly Hayslip's experiences of life in the South caught between the Diem regime and the NLF.

**11/8: John Kennedy's Ambivalent March to War**

Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 39-57; 112-118.

Read also ch. 6, 85-92 *carefully*. You may not (yet) be familiar with all the players he mentions, but this is his main thesis about Lyndon Johnson. If Lyndon Johnson more than anyone *chose* war in 1964-1965, we need to start thinking in terms of 1) why did he choose war? 2) could he have acted differently, given the international and domestic political situations of 1964 and 1965? Try to summarize the main elements of the thesis.

**Optional: Fascinating on Fickleness of Media Coverage**

1) "South Vietnamese Forces are Making Significant Progress," ["Their Own Battle," *Time*, 9/21/63], 81-84; 2) Sol Sanders, "South Vietnamese Forces Are Not Making Significant Progress," ["The Truth about a War Americans Aren't Winning," *US News & World Report*, 8/5/63], 85-93. in William Dudley, ed., *The Vietnam War: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1998).

I found this article by Logevall that might go beyond the analysis of his book even, if anyone wants to do a review:

Logevall, Fredrik, "Vietnam and the Question of What Might Have Been," *In Kennedy: The New Frontier Revisited*, ed., Mark J. White. London, 1998. New York : New York University Press, 1998.E841 .K4657 1998

Possible Memoir here: Le Ly Hayslip, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*

**11/10: The Enigma of Lyndon Johnson 1964**

Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 58-75; 118-124.

Barry Goldwater, "Victory in Asia," from *Where I Stand* (1964), in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 97.

Lyndon Johnson, Richard Russell, Adlai Stevenson, McGeorge Bundy, Presidential telephone conversations, May 27, 1964, in Michael Beschloss, ed., *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964* (Touchstone, 1997), 362-374. *These tapes were a real news sensation when they were released a few years ago, specifically these conversations.*

"New York Times Coverage of the U Thant Diplomatic Initiative, February/March 1965," Max Frankel and Thomas Hamilton.

Strongly Recommended but not required, except for those writing papers in this unit:

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 105-123.

How did domestic politics affect Lyndon Johnson's approach to Vietnam? Why, despite his acute pessimism and that of many of his advisors, did he press ahead with the war? Was the administration deceiving the Congress and the people in 1964 as it secured Congressional resolution after the Gulf of Tonkin incident? How realistic were Secretary General U Thant's

and French President Charles DeGaulle's efforts to reconvene Geneva and settle it diplomatically?

NB: A great research paper would be about the liberal Senators in the spring of 1968 who investigated the Tonkin Gulf incident and cried foul. An eerie parallel to the debate over WMD and Iraq.

### **11/15: Lyndon Johnson Chooses the Quagmire? 1965**

Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 75-92. Re-read chapter 6.

Lyndon B. Johnson, "Peace Without Conquest, April 7, 1965," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 108-112. Make a list of Johnson's main expressed reasons for committing US force to Vietnam. Every reason ever offered is there in one speech. But which reason(s) were *really* uppermost in Johnson's and his advisors' minds?

Richard M. Nixon, "Address to the Commonwealth Club of California, April 2, 1965," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 104-107.

Strongly Recommended but not required, except for those writing papers in this unit:  
Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 124-149.

### **11/17: Lyndon Johnson, 1965, The Record**

Try to assemble the rest of the evidence in a chronological way, and follow the process of decision making: 1) Who were the proponents of escalating warfare? 2) Who were the advocates of negotiation and neutralization? 3) Where was Johnson's "heart" and "mind" at each stage?

Logevall, *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 124-28, 130-132. Pay careful attention to Humphrey's letter.

Lyndon Johnson Telephone Transcripts, 1965, from *Reaching for Glory: Lyndon Johnson's Secret White House Tapes, 1964-1965* (NY: Touchstone, 2001), 180-85, 190-95, 272-273, 279-83, 292-293, 364-366, 388-389, 410-13. Use my markings here. Whose counsel does he take to heart, and who is he just managing and manipulating?

**Optional, but important.** Ball was the main insider who opposed escalation. How does McNamara present Johnson's choices to him? Was Ball's memorandum too late?

"Memoranda on Vietnam Escalation," July-December 1965, by George Ball and Robert McNamara, in Gettleman, et.al. *America and Vietnam* 281-83, 286-9, 291.

### **11/22: The Antiwar Movement**

J. William Fullbright, "U.S. Imperial Policy is Creating Two Wars: The War Abroad and the War at Home," American Bar Association, 8/8/67, 127-137. Ryn Shane-Armstrong and Lynn Armstrong, eds., *The Vietnam War: Great Speeches in History* (Greenhaven, 2003)

Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break Silence (Beyond Vietnam)" from *A Testament of Hope*, James Washington, ed. (NY: Harper and Row, 1986), pp. 230-244.

"Antiwar and Antidraft Activities," from Bloom and Breines, *Takin' It to the Streets*, pp. 220-229, 248-252, 445-53.

Optional: Important for anyone interested in the soldiers' disillusionment with the war and the draft. Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War*, pp. 6-9, 12-15, 18-23, 28-43, 266-69, 298-305.

**11/29: No Class-- Research**

**12/1: Discussion of Research Projects**

**12/6: Discussion of Research Projects**

**12/13: Final Draft of the Paper is Due**