# History 340, Fall 2005 The United States Since World War II (RI, WI)

Professor Tom Jackson M,W 2:00-3:15
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Office Hours: M, 3:30-5:00, w, 11-12:30, Th, late afternoon, by appointment only

This course examines key developments in U.S. politics, foreign relations, and society in the last six decades. We will consider some of the ways that the age-old hierarchies of race, class and gender have structured society, conditioned life chances, and spurred social movements. We will examine how relations of power changed as a result of shifting electoral coalitions, wars, political ideologies, the waxing and waning of government activism, and the changing strength of constituent groups in the political economy (business, unions, consumer or civil rights groups, government). We will appreciate the concrete social and political dynamics and decisions that undermined radicalism, strengthened and then weakened liberalism, and energized conservatism. We will examine the relationship between presidential personality, presidential power, the rise of the national security state, and its implications for democracy and the constitutional system. We will consider and debate William Chafe's contention that the United States passed through several moments of historical opportunity, when national development could have been set upon alternative courses.

Since this is a research intensive and writing intensive course, assigned reading is kept to a minimum. The foremost requirement is that you become an active learner and a resourceful investigator. I expect you to master or to improve key elements of good writing: framing compelling questions; identifying and retrieving *relevant* sources; accurately paraphrasing, quoting, and citing sources; and analyzing your sources in a way that sheds light on your compelling question. The best history writing uses evidence to explain an event, decision, or expression in terms of a larger context of meaning or a larger analytical argument that reveals its true significance.

As Mary Lynn Rampolla recommends, you need A PROBLEM, not A TOPIC.

Example: "Lyndon Johnson's 1965 Johns Hopkins University address marshaled every argument ever made by five presidents for US military intervention in Vietnam. A masterpiece of public relations, the speech nevertheless committed Johnson (and liberalism) to a path of self-destruction. Grounded and pragmatic in domestic affairs, Johnson was moralistic and fatally out of touch with realities on the ground in Southeast Asia. The speech's inner contradictions, its ideological distortion of the capabilities of the South Vietnamese régime and the US military, and finally, its fatalistic denial that the most important decision of the entire war had been Johnson's own, all make the speech key to understanding that anti-Communist liberalism contained the seeds of its own destruction."

# Course Requirements (Roman numerals indicate requirements composing your grade)

#### Readings:

William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II (5<sup>th</sup> edition)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)

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

Material YOU find, read and assess for the research and writing components of the class. Reading available for download on the Blackboard site for this class. I will also put several document collections on hard copy reserve.

**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.

**I. Participation: Class and Blackboard Discussion Board (10%):** We will explore the issues, questions and controversies that *matter* to us as historians. Try to stay on topic. If you are extroverted, think before you speak and make room for introverts. If you are an introvert, don't worry if your point is tightly sewn up. Just jump in or signal me you have a point. Always be ready to share the results of your source discoveries. Points earned in this category will either raise or lower your final grade by up to 3.3 points, depending on whether they are at, below, or above the median for the class. If you are extremely reticent to speak, make up for it on the discussion board. The discussion board is where everyone should raise questions or follow-up upon unresolved debates.

## II. Research Imagination and Resourcefulness (10%):

You will get separate points for Jackson Library and Internet research. I will show you many paths to discovery, but you must travel them yourselves. Use me, the reference librarians, and each other. In each case, points earned in this category will either raise or lower your final grade by up to 3.3 points, depending on whether they are at, below, or above the median for the class.

**III.** Three Research Exercises (30%): 4 pp. You must sample as many source categories as possible, between this and the other panel discussion-debate paper. Part of your grade is how broadly you gain familiarity with different types of sources. Combine and compare different sources in one paper. It is usually advisable to consult scholarship on your topic, to help you develop a critical perspective. (Although the due dates are fixed, I expect you at least to have done the research before the class in which it matters. Part of your participation grade will be how reliably you share important insights and results when the class is discussing issues you have investigated. I will not call on you. You must volunteer your insights at the best opportunity that you see. Consult Blackboard for suggestions).

A question will pop into your head. Who was this person who influenced Lyndon Johnson so much? Is what he said in his memoirs consistent with taped telephone conversations? Does the speech Chafe quotes contain other expressions that might complicate or contradict his analysis? How does this person's public rhetoric compare with private correspondence or taped conversations? How did different press outlets cover an event differently? How did various journalists from the mainstream and African American press interpret the children's march in Birmingham in 1963? (Just a few brief news articles will not count as a substantial enough source base for telling the reader anything interesting or valuable). What do the numbers really tell us on this question of public opinion or social, economic, and political change? Write a summary analysis. What do your sources reveal? How do they change our understanding? SHOW, don't tell, that is, present the evidence and don't simply summarize it. On the other hand, TELL us also what we are to make of it.

I will evaluate your results by three criteria: 1) depth of analysis; 2) breadth of and richness of sources; 3) quality of writing, including paraphrase, quotation, grammar, sentence and paragraph structure, and ABSOLUTELY, in ALL written work, precision in the form of citation in footnotes, according to Rampolla's and Jackson library's Turabian guidelines. How many sources you use depends upon the richness of each source. Don't ask me for a number or page length; ask yourself if you have shed substantial light from different historical perspectives on an important question.

# Source categories (remember, I must see evidence of a substantial effort to sample the six categories):

- 1. Secondary sources (scholarly books or articles NOT textbook or general internet copy).
- 2. News coverage (newspaper or magazine or broadcast media).
- 3. Quantitative survey research (raw data from the census, opinion research, economic, demographic, voting or other quantitative data).
- 4. Recorded speech at the time of event or decision (anyone's speeches, telephone transcripts from the Kennedy, Johnson, or Nixon administrations; FBI surveillance of Martin Luther King, etc.). 5. Memoirs and oral histories.
- 6. Correspondence or formal reports found in archival manuscript collections on microfilm, or available through LEXIS-NEXIS, or through edited documentary collections, such as the *Papers of Martin Luther King Jr.*

### **V. Pop Quizzes (20%):**

These will be unannounced. They will be identifications or short questions central to the issues of the class. They will cover Chafe or other assigned reading or material I presented in the class. (Example: NSC-68; counterinsurgency; what are the central elements distinguishing black power from the civil rights vision of the early 1960s?).

## VI. Panel Discussion and Paper (20%) 5-6 pp.:

In this case you will take the point of view of a public figure, group, or scholar on one of the following controversial historical questions. I will meet with each group in advance to discuss appropriate personas for you to adopt and strategies of research and debate. If you do not find enough material on one person, you may present a composite portrait (such as working-class black women in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party). After a period of presentations and responses, the rest of the class will pose as a sympathetic or contentious group of journalists and activists, asking questions or engaging points of difference between each representative. Exactly one week later, you will hand in a paper defending or critiquing the point of view you presented, in light of what you learned from the debate and other research. You will select one of the following soon, or if there is a group of people who want to debate another issue, we can substitute.

- 1. "Black Freedom: Where Do We Go from Here?" 1967. What are the appropriate strategies for pursuing black freedom on the national level, in the light of recent events and decisions: resistance to enforcement of the civil rights acts, Vietnam, cutbacks and power struggles in the war on poverty, the emergence of the black power movement, challenges to big-city segregation, violent urban uprisings and the growing white backlash?
- 2. "Vietnam: How Did We Get Here and What Do We Do Now?" Summer 1968. Was the Truman-Eisenhower-Kennedy-Johnson strategy of containment in Southeast Asia appropriate or misguided? Why has the United States become bogged down, or is it winning the war? What is the nature of the régime we are defending and who in fact is the enemy? Should the United States simply withdraw, seek negotiations, stay the course with bombing and "attrition" of the enemy, or escalate for all-out victory?

- 3. "Women's Oppression and Women's Liberation: What Needs to Change to Win Full Freedom and Equality?" Early 1970s. What are the sources of women's oppression and inequality? What must be transformed: the public sphere, the private sphere of home and family, or the "system"? Or is it simply not a problem? Why didn't the social movements of the 1960s and the liberal feminist agenda of the National Organization of Women win more freedom for women? Is "sisterhood" possible across racial and class lines, and what issues do feminists need to connect and pursue to liberate men and women?
- 4. "Watergate and the Imperial Presidency: An Abuse of Power or Is the Structure of Power Itself the Problem?" 1974. What did Nixon do wrong? Was he more sinned against than sinning? Is this just a crooked politician or is there something wrong with the presidency and its powers? Has the constitutional system corrected itself by forcing his resignation or are there deeper problems with the balance or extent of American power?
- VII. Revision of the Debate Paper (10%) 8 pp. Due during the exam period for this course. I will evaluate you on the basis of how well you have responded to my feedback and suggestions for clarification for further research. If revisions are negligible, you risk losing four points from your final grade; if revisions are impressive, you could earn the full 10 points and improve the grade on the original paper one full grade.
- "Stonewall Jackson's" Extensions Policy: Please, do not even ask unless personal illness, family loss or nuclear holocaust intervenes. Late work will suffer 1/3 of a grade reduction the day after it is due and every day after that.

**Conferences:** I am here to help with questions, to guide you in developing your ideas and writing 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. Since I must limit my typing, do not expect e-mail replies; call me at home at the designated times, or drop by office hours.

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. I have an uncanny ability for detecting violators and do not wish to lose more sleep on this issue in my career. The minimum penalty for plagiarism required by the university is failure on the assignment; serious or repeated violations can involve failure in the course or expulsion from the University. You are entitled to a conference with me or a hearing before the Academic Integrity Committee, who will impose an appropriate penalty. Do not mess with this. I have taken action in the past resulting in the expulsion of two graduate students (who never got their M.A.s), delayed the graduation of one senior (to the bereavement of her grandmother), and have myself been the victim of plagiarism. You must know the definition of plagiarism and ALL instances in which it occurs, most commonly, copying someone else's text and presenting it as your own without appropriate quotation marks (even if you cite the source). There is nothing complicated or ambiguous about plagiarism, and there is NO excuse. If you got away in high school or at this University with "research" that involves cutting and pasting from the Internet without attribution, be warned, I catch plagiarism and prosecute it to the fullest extent. Plagiarism cheapens the value of your education, and much more importantly, corrupts the standards by which honest students earn the evaluations they show to the world. See Rampolla, Guide to Research, chapter 6, for more information. Dartmouth College and Georgetown University each have superb websites on the nuances of plagiarism.

### SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS AND DUE DATES

8/15: Introduction

# 8/17: Frameworks of Interpretation

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, Prologue and Epilogue

## 8/22: World War II

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, pp. 3-10, 21-30

### 8/24: CITI LAB – News sources

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide*, 1-21, 22-3 (on reading and summarizing), 70-81 (on plagiarism and proper quotation). These may be the most important 34 pages you read all semester! Consider in depth: "**Looking at sources: an example," pp. 14-21.** It would not hurt to read this whole book now if you have time. Carry it around with you as you do research and write.

## 8/29: Cold War – Origins and Escalation

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, ch. 2-3, pp. 31-75.

# 8/31: CITI LAB – Secondary Sources and Reference Materials

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, ch. 3, pp. 22-38. Discussion of writing assignments: get the thesis, don't just summarize. You must have a problem, not just a topic!

Assignment: find a secondary article on the Cold War that presents a different view than Chafe.

### 9/7: CITI LAB—Quantitative and archival and government documents

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History,* ch. 4, pp. 39-52.

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 107-112.

Clifford Cobb, Ted Halstead, Jonathan Rowe, "If the Economy Is Up, Why Is America Down?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, October 1995, 59-78.

# 9/12: Truman, the Unions and the Anticommunists

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, pp. 76-79, 88-105.

Rampolla, Pocket Guide to Writing in History, Ch. 5, 53-69.

Assignment: Look up unfamiliar terms in reference guides or encyclopedias: "business union," "open shop," "union shop." Research provisions of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act and be ready to discuss. Why was the act so destructive of labor organization?

## 9/14: Women and Blacks in the 1940s

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 10-21 (WWII), 79-88 (Cold War and Anticommunism) Ellen Schrecker, Chapter 10: "A Good Deal of Trauma," excerpts on unions, blacks and women, from *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton Press, 1998) pp. 379-395.

#### Recommended:

Robert Korstad and Nelson Lichtenstein, "Opportunities Found and Lost: Labor, Radicals, and the Early Civil Rights Movement," *Journal of American History* 75 (Dec., 1988), 786-811.

Horowitz, Daniel. "Rethinking Betty Friedan and the Feminine Mystique: Labor Radicalism and Feminism in Cold War America." *American Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (1996).

## 9/19: Women, the Family, and Mass Culture in the 1950s

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 112-131, 135-139.

Rampolla, Pocket Guide to Writing in History, Ch. 7.

Question: How might the sexual conservatism of the 1950s be related to the Cold War?

# FIRST RESEARCH EXERCISE DUE (Footnote according to Rampolla's guidelines or it will be immediately returned to you to fix).

# 9/21: Civil Rights in the 1950s

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, pp. 140-158.

Compare two news articles (on Blackboard): George Barrett, "Jim Crow, He's Real Tired'," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 3, 1957. Compare it with Ted Poston, "The Negroes of Montgomery," *New York Post*, 6/15&19/56, in *Reporting Civil Rights*, v. 1, 266-279.

**Questions**: What elements of the Montgomery story does each piece reveal? Do you note any biases? Who are their audiences, do you think? <u>Freewrite</u> 1-2 pages for 30 minutes.

## 9/26: Politics and Foreign Affairs in the 1950s

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 131-135, 242-56.

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.

## 9/28: Bear Any Burden: JFK and the World

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 174-201, 257-265.

Barton Bernstein, "The Week We Almost Went to War," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, 32 (1976), 12-21.

#### 10/3: Civil Rights in the Early 1960s

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, pp. 158-173, 201-9.

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.

## 10/5: Civil Rights and Black Radicalism

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, pp. 294-311, 350-355.

Smith, Jean. "I Learned to Feel Black." In *The Black Power Revolt*, edited by Floyd Barbour, 247-62. New York: Collier, 1968.

## 10/10: Fall Break No Class

## 10/12: Lyndon Johnson's Great Society

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 216-240.

Califano, Matusow and Schwartz, "How Great Was the Great Society?" in *The Great Society*, ed. Barbara Jordan (LBJ Library, 1986), pp. 123-131, 143-147, 150-151.

## 10/17: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 266-293.

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.* 

#### 10/19: Youth Rebellion and Women's Liberation

Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 311-326, 418-423.

## SECOND RESEARCH EXERCISE DUE

## 10/24: 1968 and the Liberal Crackup

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 326-350, 356-61.

### 10/26: Richard Nixon's Vietnam Wars

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 376-399.

1) SDS, "The Antiwar Movement Should Seek Radical Change in America," National Action Brochure, 8/1/69, 192-196; 2) Sam Brown, "The Antiwar Movement Should Seek to Influence Mainstream America," Washington Monthly, 8/70, 197-203. William Dudley, ed., *The Vietnam War: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1998).

## 10/31: Nixon's Right Turn

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 361-375, 399-405,

Richard Nixon, "If Mob Rule Takes Hold in the U.S.," in Bloom and Breines, eds., *Takin' It to the Streets*, 338-342.

Spiro T. Agnew, "Impudence in the Streets," in William H. Chafe and Harvard Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.*, pp. 393-99.

### 11/2: Debate -- Black Freedom, 1967

King, Martin Luther, Jr. "The American Dream, Sermon delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church." 7/4/65. Atlanta, Ga. In *A Knock at Midnight (*Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project, Stanford University)

http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/publications/sermons/650704\_The\_American\_Dream.html Stokely Carmichael, "Power and Racism" (*New York Review of Books*, September 1966), 63-76; In *The Black Power Revolt*, edited by Floyd Barbour. New York: Collier, 1968.

## 11/7: Debate -- Vietnam, 1968

Lyndon B. Johnson, "Peace Without Conquest, April 7, 1965," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam,* 108-112. Martin Luther King, Jr. "A Time to Break Silence," April 4, 1967, in James Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope,* 231-243.

## 11/9: Debate -- The Feminist Agenda

Betty Friedan, "The National Organization for Women Statement of Purpose," 1966, pp. 281-286, from *Modern American Women: A Documentary History* ed., Susan Ware (New York: McGraw Hill, 1997)

Robin Morgan, "Feminist Guerilla Theatre," originally published as "No More Miss America!" (1968), pp. 286-9.

Pat Minardi, The Politics of Housework (1969), pp. 289-72.

### **BLACK FREEDOM PAPER DUE**

## 11/14: Debate -- Watergate

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 405-415.

#### VIETNAM PAPER DUE

## 11/16: Class Inequality, the Economy and Jimmy Carter

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 423-446.

Jimmy Carter, "America's Crisis of Confidence," (July 1979) in William H. Chafe and Harvard Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time*, pp. 387-92.

### **FEMINISM PAPER DUE**

## 11/21: Ronald Reagan and the New Right Agenda

Chafe, Unfinished Journey, 446-463.

Rebecca Klatch, "Women against Feminism," in William H. Chafe and Harvard Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time*, pp. 266-284. **LOG** 

#### WATERGATE PAPER DUE

Thanksgiving Break

11/28: Saved by Gorbachev: Reagan, Bush, and the end of the Cold War Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, 463-488.

**11/30: Glittering Promises and Tawdry Affairs: the Clinton -- Gingrich Years** Chafe, *Unfinished Journey,* pp. 488-523.

### THIRD RESEARCH EXERCISE DUE

12/5: American Democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Where Do We Go From Here? Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, pp. 525-548.

REVISIONS DUE THE DAY OF THE FINAL EXAM FOR THIS CLASS PERIOD