This course will focus on popular movements, politics, and foreign policy in the United States between 1962 and 1964. It central concern will be to examine changes in the political culture and understand better the impact social movements can have on policies and powerful elites. Nineteen Sixty Three was an incredibly pivotal year in US history. The civil rights movement became a truly mass movement and cracked wide open for debate national definitions of “civil rights” and “equal opportunity.” (This was truly a national process and not just southern). Recoiling from near nuclear catastrophe in the Cuban missile crisis, the US and Soviet Union began a long process of negotiated detente, even as the arms race continued to escalate. First Kennedy, then Johnson made decisive commitments to hold the line against communism in South Vietnam. Congress passed the civil rights bill and made provision for a sweeping War on Poverty even as the war in Vietnam escalated. New broadcast media technologies brought disturbing images from domestic and foreign conflicts into American living rooms. These actually presented unprecedented opportunities for groups as diverse as Birmingham’s high school children and South Vietnam’s Buddhists to dramatize injustice and articulate their dreams. Looking at US history in a compressed time span will allow the class to explore and interpret a range of issues captured in diverse primary and secondary sources. We will see intersections between issues that have been generally understood as discrete and separate. Sources are especially rich on presidential decision-making, local movements for civil rights and economic justice, Cold War crisis management, and paths taken and not taken into the Vietnam quagmire.

Since the goal is to write a coherent paper with a developed point of view, each student will proceed through a series of assignments: short response pieces analyzing common readings and sources selected by you; an annotated bibliography of secondary sources in a focused field of interest; a proposal with a sharp set of questions that can be answered with *readily available secondary and especially primary sources*; a first draft to be peer-reviewed; and a final draft. I will divide the class into working subgroups to provide support, dialogue, information, and feedback. Undergraduates will write a 20-25 page paper; graduates will write a 25-28 page paper.

Half of your grade will be determined by the originality and persuasiveness of the final paper based mainly on primary source analysis. (In this case I interpret "originality" to mean “derived substantially and persuasively from original primary sources” rather than holding you to a high standard of professional historical originality of interpretation or bold discovery). The other half of your grade will reflect how well you completed the incremental assignments, and the quality of your class participation and peer reviews once I break you into affinity groups.

To clarify and repeat, the final paper must be based principally upon primary sources that you have located. We will use secondary sources (scholarly literature) to help you develop a focused topic, an informed set of research questions, and important research leads to primary sources. Recent US history presents the lucky but daunting challenge of incorporating mountains of source material. We have absolutely no problem of access (unless of course you select a topic whose sources are not accessible through Jackson library or the Internet, including interlibrary loan).
Many of these issues have been gone over by social scientists, communications scholars, memoirists, and journalists. History occupies a middle ground between simply telling stories about events on the one hand, and generating sweeping generalities in the “behavioral sciences” on the other. If you are reading social science, try not to get drawn into their larger theoretical debates, about “collective behavior” for example. Rather ask how do his or her concepts help us understand the unfolding of events and decisions. As we will see social scientists played central roles in defining goals in the war on poverty and assessing progress in the war in Vietnam. (On the other side of the ledger, when you are tallying up “the facts,” do make sure that you have in mind something that needs explaining. Here’s a good example: “given all the options for honorable negotiated withdrawal from Vietnam in 1964, why did LBJ pursue what he himself recognized was an almost hopeless strategy of solidifying popular support for noncommunist military dictatorship in the South?”

History is built from blocks we call sources. (In fact, the Greek word for history translates loosely as "what the observer saw"). This class will distinguish among and assess the arguments and reliability of many sources. Turning sources into questions and evidence is fun, but tricky. By now you should really be able to analyze the main themes and arguments of a piece of scholarship. As important, you should be able to appreciate the sources and methods employed by scholars. Sometimes the best way into a topic is to "follow the footnotes." "The argument" refers simply to the main lines of interpretation a scholar puts forward. "Methods and sources” refers to the way in which a scholar collected, excluded, evaluated, corroborated, and interpreted her or his sources.

This class is more chronologically focused than previous 511 courses I taught. I made it so for several reasons: 1. Of all possible topics, I know it best, and can guide you quickly to sources. 2. Fairly quickly the class can get on the same page; possibilities for helping each other thereby multiply. 3. In fascinating ways this watershed in American history is a distant mirror of our own current national challenges. By digging deeply into this unique moment of challenge and opportunity in American history, we can use the benefit of hindsight to think about our own choices as a nation. (You will see this is especially true with respect to recurring and tenacious challenges of unemployment).

On the domestic side, the black revolt or "Negro Revolution" of 1963, and the consequent policy concessions at the federal government level, lie at the core of this course. Also, debates about economic policy, affirmative action, and poverty that raged during this period had long-range consequences continuing to this day. In foreign relations, ways in which Cold War pressures influenced domestic racial policy has been a central concern of historians. So have presidents Kennedy and Johnson’s management of Cold War conflict through Third World interventions in Cuba and Vietnam.

Each of you will encounter a majority of the following kinds of sources. The best researchers and writers can identify author, audience, purpose, potential bias or point of view, and can distinguish main ideas from supportive ideas or evidence.

**Secondary Sources.**
*Encyclopedia articles*, covering events, trends, and biographies.
*Scholarly journal articles or article-length chapters* in edited scholarly books. These are sharply focused.
*Chronologies* (very useful for understanding context and sequence and detail).
*Online essays and articles by reputable scholars*; and conversely, online essays and articles by unknown
and/or potentially unreliable authors.

Documentary films (of varying quality and reliability).

**Primary Sources**

*Periodicals* (scholarly journals from the era under study and popular magazines or commentary periodicals).

*Newspapers* (feature story, news analysis, opinion editorial, letters to the editor, photographs, advertisements, announcements). We will work with these a lot.

*Books* (memoirs, political commentary, various analyses for popular audiences). These are also rich sources.

*Unpublished Sources in Manuscript Collections* (on microfilm or digitized on the Internet or paper in any number of libraries or archives). We have some excellent, excellent manuscript collections on microfilm. These will include unpublished speeches, memoranda within an organization, meeting minutes, correspondence with the public, diary entries, phone logs, and sometimes transcripts of audio recordings.

*Government Documents*. Published by local state or federal agencies, from reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, to the series *Foreign Relations of the United States* (a compendium of major State Department documents), to all sorts of statistical reports, to numerous congressional reports and hearings transcripts from committees (available through LEXIS-NEXIS Congressional and extremely revealing).

*Public Opinion Poll Data*. Available in raw form from LEXIS-NEXIS and published form from journalism and academics.

*Oral histories*. Conducted by professional oral historians or citizens or students or you. (The closer to the time and the fewer 'leading questions' the better). In repositories, on line, often also published.

**The Pedagogical Method of This Course:**

For the first six weeks, each week we will explore a theme or a problem from a cluster of assigned sources. This will get the whole class on the same page on the big issues of the class. Simultaneously we will be sharpening our tools of interpreting sources in context.

I will develop some rubrics for analyzing primary and secondary sources. We will have in-class and out-of-class exercises geared to careful analysis. When assessing secondary scholarly sources, be ready to identify: 1. Main themes and arguments; 2. Methods and sources, deployment of evidence. 3. Questions the scholarship raises for more research, and 4. A primary source or another source worth checking that the scholar cites in footnotes. These exercises will help you develop an excellent annotated bibliography (getting you mainly on top of the secondary literature), and proposal (a flexible plan of researching primary sources even as you continue to use secondary sources).

Learn to see the forest for the trees and do not fall back on descriptive summary. Helpful hint: look at the introduction or introductory paragraphs and the conclusion first; know the main questions the author is answering; scan the footnotes for places where the author inserts herself into the broader historiographical discussion. (Book reviews are fair game but no substitute for the part that asks you to comment on evidence).

We begin the class with a demanding reading assignment for the first week, a narrative and interpretive overview of the entire period and the full range of issues the country grappled with at the time. It is essential from the outset that you start identifying interesting questions and problems. Conflicting truth claims and accounts often produce fruitful research. A discrepancy between someone's generalization
and a set of solid facts is also fruitful to pursue.

The historiography will help you formulate questions that matter to historians and citizens. Abundant primary source collections exist to afford you quick access to the issues and actors that will fill your pages.

**Learning Goals:**
- Appreciate the pivotal social and political developments of the early 1960s, crucial Cold War presidential decisions, and their relationship.
- Improve information literacy, that is, become more nimble and resourceful at finding answers to questions that only University research libraries can fully satisfy.
- Identify and frame questions around a focused, researchable, and significant issue confronted by contemporaries of the time and historians since.
- Compile, evaluate, and extract usable information from historical primary and secondary scholarly sources, citing them in standard historical footnote and bibliographic form (Chicago Manual of Style, 15th ed.).
- Analyze thoughts and decisions of historical actors through close analysis of primary sources and placement in meaningful historical context.
- Research, write, and report on an important historical question using the above sources and techniques.

**Course Requirements:**

**Attendance and Participation:**
This class has a strong collaborative dimension, though we do not meet every week. Attendance is mandatory (unexcused absences will hurt you grade – excuses are limited to medical or family emergency, NOT competing work obligations or extra-curricular conflicts). Required active participation consists of in-class discussions and peer review of each other’s project descriptions and first drafts. The best critiques mix searching challenges (questions, counter-arguments) with appreciation (who wants to hear only what is lacking in their efforts?).

**Reading, Preparation and Class Citizenship: 25%.**
Blackboard posts in response to weekly assignments (in this syllabus and on Blackboard under “Discussion Board”), discussion participation, questioning, critiquing and supporting each other’s research strategies, plus 1-2 page peer reviews of first drafts of other students’ papers.

**Research process: 25%.**
By mid semester, you will have a grade for the following: an annotated bibliography of secondary sources in the focused field of interest; a formal proposal with a sharp set of questions or working hypothesis that can be answered with an identifiable base of secondary and primary sources; a rough outline of the paper, its strengths and holes needing to be filled. **First draft to be peer-reviewed.**

**Final draft: 50%.**
I will post several writing and citation guides on blackboard to help you with this process of drafting, revision, and accurate citation. Or just go to the Chicago Manual of Style citation guide: [http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html](http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html)
Grading Scale: A+: 98-100; A: 93-97; A-: 90-92; B+: 87-89; B: 83-86; B-: 80-82; C+: 77-79; C: 73-76; C-: 70-72; D+: 67-69; D: 63-66; D-: 60-62; F: 59 and lower

Academic 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. See Rampolla, Guide to Research, chapter 6, on Blackboard for more information on plagiarism.

Course policy on sustainability:
Campus-wide policies are being adopted that ask students, staff and faculty to act in ecologically conscious ways while at UNCG. Recycle plastic bottles or bring water in reusable bottles; turn off lights and projectors; recycle office paper, newspapers, and cardboard; print papers on two-sided paper; use scratch paper for quizzes. There are no points for this, just the grade the biosphere gives us at the end of the third millennium! Here are links to sustainability information at UNCG, including a recycling guide. http://sustain.uncg.edu/; http://www.uncg.edu/student.groups/uncgreen/index.htm; http://www.uncg.edu/rcy/index.htm

Course policy on use of electronic devices in class and general etiquette:
Turn cell phones off unless you are a caretaker or emergency responder. No text messaging will be permitted. Laptops should be used for activities exclusively related to class. The energy of the class visibly declines when people are distracted. Give the class your full attention. Audible private conversations really can distract your classmates and your professors.

Strategies for identifying focused, researchable, and significant research problems.
You will need this by week six. This syllabus outlines a half a dozen issue areas, and a bibliography on Blackboard outlines a half a dozen more that I was not able to include in the first half of the course, when we do common readings. If you know what you want to research, read these now and begin identifying more sources by “following the footnotes” and searching the finding aids for primary and secondary sources.

Required Reading:

Course Reader available only at Copy King, 611 W. Lee St., Greensboro, ph. 333-9900 (CALL THEM FIRST). A compendium of readings from a variety of sources. I am aware that Barnes and Noble handles financial aid purchases and Copy King does not, but this is the lowest cost alternative, absolutely. Bring this to class every meeting having read the assigned material.

OPTIONAL BACKGROUND READING on reserve in the library:

**SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS AND DEADLINES**

8/25: Introductions
Discussion of Sources and Best Practices for Locating Primary and Secondary Materials.
As soon as possible and definitely by October you will have settled upon a focused research problem and be busy as bees compiling a bibliography of relevant primary and secondary materials. Remember, just because there is an interesting secondary literature does not guarantee Jackson library or a local repository or the Internet contains primary materials rich enough to satisfy the requirements of an original research paper.

9/1: Overview – The first week carries a relatively heavy reading load, about 200 pages. Get on top of this and you will be ready.

**Assigned reading:**
- Hodgson, Godfrey. *America in Our Time*. 1st ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976, chs. 7-11, 134-137, 142-243. (For those of you interested in media analysis, see the short list of key works in the Blackboard Bibliography and ask me for a good model of a good study you might want to imitate).

**Blackboard Assignment (write several sentences in each case):**
1. In your notes, make a list of the most interesting analytical assertions that each author makes on topics that interest you. What are the main lines of argumentation in each case, and what truth claims might be worth investigating? On Blackboard, pose two questions in such a way that you could test the validity of the authors’ generalizations citing concrete examples. This is in part an exercise in imagination, but from the outset, even with unfamiliar new material, you should be raising skeptical pointed questions of interest to historians and classmates.
2. On a topic that captures your interest, consult an encyclopedia article in a bound volume in the reference section of the Library or on the Internet through the Library’s portal for this course (Subject Guides: History: 511A). Compare it with Wikipedia or Ask.com, or any result from a random Google search. Is one more complete or reliable than the other? How do you know? We will discuss in class.

9/8: Assessing Presidential Decision Making: JFK, LBJ, and Lands to the South


**Missiles in Cuba:**
Was JFK still the “rational actor” of Sorensen’s *Kennedy* (1965)?

**JFK Racial Policy in South Africa and the U.S. South:**


**Escalation in Vietnam:**


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 tape transcripts were a real news sensation when they were released a few years ago, specifically these conversations. Do they bear out Logevall’s thesis?

**Assignment:** Find a couple book reviews assessing the scholarly contributions of Dobbs, Borstelmann and Logevall. Use them to help you identify analytical claims about presidential decision-making that can be subjects of research. Pose these as questions or hypotheses on Blackboard (300 words).

Come to class having read all the secondary and primary sources. There will be in class writing exercises based on rubrics of source analysis I will provide on Blackboard.

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**9/15: Local Movements in the Urban South**


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. "Victory" in Birmingham (most demands met) due not to the strategy of provocation of violence and federal intervention but to the dynamic and flexible strategies of the local movement. Challenges the dominant narrative of the impact and importance of federal power to local change. But his conclusion that Birmingham was a victory for the local movement has been vigorously challenged by Glenn Eskew (see bib), who argues that Shuttlesworth and the black working class were betrayed by King.


Optional: For a superb summary and analysis of the dynamics of northern protest in this period, see: Sugrue, Thomas J. *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*. 1st ed. New York: Random House, 2008. Ch. 9 and 10, 286-341 and notes. Especially important in showing how central jobs were to northern demands and the early importance of black power militancy, especially around issues of police misconduct.

Assignment: TBA. Source analysis and comparison. Perhaps selections of the “Civil Rights Greensboro” oral histories.

Settling on a Topic and Turning it into a Focused Question: I would strongly advise you before the end of these topical classes to decide upon a general topic and to do some intensive reading so that you can transform your topic into a focused research question with a working hypothesis.


Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can’tWait* (NY: Mentor, 1964), 120-125


Highly recommended (in addition to the Blackboard bibliography):


Assignment: TBA

9/26: Annotated Bibliography of Secondary Sources (and Preliminary Primary Sources) Is Due.

Detailed Instructions to Come on Blackboard. You should be well on your way to identifying and analyzing primary sources, having selected your topic and problem.
9/29: The Senators and the Segregationists: Debating, Passing, and Resisting the Civil Rights Act:


10/6: Economic Policy and the Origins of the War on Poverty


Take special note, especially if you are interested in Robert Kennedy’s profound impact on racial and poverty policy in these years:


Oral histories from the LBJ Library, among planners and bureaucrats, mainly on details of program design. Not thoroughly researched for WOP origins question.

10/8: EXACTLY TWO MONTHS REMAINING UNTIL FINAL PAPER IS DUE

10/13: FINAL PROPOSAL DUE -- NO CLASS – Individual Conferences to Discuss Your Proposal

Rubric for evaluating a proposal will be forthcoming on Blackboard.

10/14: LAST DAY TO DROP THE CLASS WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY. Students who do not have a working approved proposal will be asked to drop the class

10/20: -- NO CLASS – Individual Conferences and Research
10/27: NO CLASS--RESEARCH

11/3: Discussion of Outlines – Outlines Due to me and your peer reviewer before class


11/10: No Class – Writing

11/17: No Class – Writing

12/1: Last Class – 10 Min. Reports from Each Person

Researchable topics:
SNCC and the Need for Federal Protection of Civil Rights Workers -- The Justice Department and the Law
Jack Kennedy and Unemployment -- Promise and Performance
Greensboro in the Spring of 1963 -- Breakthrough?
Greenwood and the Justice Department Injunction
Jack Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, and the Decision to Quarantine Cuba
Explaining Lyndon Johnson’s Commitment to South Vietnam in 1964
Mass Communication and the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
Birmingham 1963: Mass Spectacle and Public Reaction
Hollywood Celebrities and Racial Justice: Flood Lights or Fog?
Religious Leadership and the Civil Rights Act of 1964
Movement Pressure on Congress: Did King’s and SCLC’s Protests in St. Augustine Florida Had Any Discernible Impact on Congress?
Morality and Politics in the Senate Debate over the Civil Rights Act of 1964
Was the War on Poverty a Jobs Program or a Program to Aid Blacks As Originally Conceived? How did Lyndon Johnson understand his own war on poverty?
Freedom Summer and the White College Volunteers (there is a ton of material on this)
The Mississippi Freedom Democrats and the Democratic Party Presidential Nominating Convention in Atlantic City, August 1964
The Ripple Effect of Kennedy’s “Victory” in Cuba on Johnson’s Decision-making in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic
Any aspect of visual culture, especially photography, in these years.