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**HIS 511A, Fall 2012 - Seminar in Historical Research and Writing**  
**“Crisis to Crisis: Cold War, Civil Rights, and Urban Revolt, 1961-1969” (WI, SI)**

During the 1960s, the United States seemed to be propelled from crisis to crisis, at home and abroad. In fact this marked a period of remarkable social change and a turning point in America's role in the world. This course will focus on popular movements, politics, and foreign policy in the United States between 1961 and 1969, with special attention to the "watershed years" 1963-1965. We will examine changes in the political culture and understand the impact nonviolent movements and violent uprisings had on people, policies, powerful elites, and political coalitions.

Had you lived through it, you would have noticed a lot of drama in the years 1961-1969. Freedom riders escaped burning busses in Alabama, and then fanned out across the South to help make a voting rights revolution. Schoolchildren challenged police dogs and fire hoses in Birmingham, and helped ignite a national revolt against racial injustice and economic denial. Recoiling from near nuclear Armageddon in the Cuban missile crisis, the US and Soviet Union began a long process of negotiated detente, even as the arms race continued. First, John Kennedy, then Lyndon Johnson made decisive commitments to hold the line against communism in South Vietnam, with fateful long-term consequences. Movements pressured, Presidents proposed, and Congress passed the most far reaching legislation in race relations since Reconstruction: the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. They also planned a multipronged War on Poverty, even as the war in Vietnam escalated in ways that limited domestic reform. Urban riots galvanized poverty warriors in and out of government to bring opportunity to deprived communities before the break out of what they feared would be a race war erupted. After a walloping defeat in the election of 1964, conservative forces regrouped behind slogans of "law and order." Of utmost importance, new broadcast media technologies beamed disturbing images from domestic and foreign conflicts into American living rooms. These presented unprecedented opportunities for groups as diverse as Birmingham's high school children and South Vietnam's Buddhists to dramatize injustices. But the intense coverage of these crises fueled a growing sense of national crisis, which was only accelerated by growing divisions of opinion and mass protests against the Vietnam War.

We will begin the class with a rich, though demanding, week of reading from three scholars who cover this ground differently. Each week for the first six we will analyze texts, see films, discuss search strategies and computer search engines, and relentlessly pose questions! Our sources are especially rich on presidential decision-making and Cold War crisis management, local movements for civil rights and economic justice, and the paths chosen by two administrations and Congress in making war in Southeast Asia.

Since the goal is to write a coherent paper with a developed point of view, each student will proceed through a series of assignments: 1) short response pieces analyzing common readings and primary and secondary sources; 2) an annotated bibliography of secondary and primary sources in a focused field of interest; 3) a *proposal* with a sharp set of questions that can be answered with *readily available secondary and primary sources*, and that states a working hypothesis; 4) a working outline or rough draft; 5) a first draft to be peer-reviewed; and 6) a final draft. I will divide the class into working "affinity" subgroups to provide support, dialogue, information, and feedback. Undergraduates will write a 20-25 page paper;

graduates will write a 30-35 page paper.

Half of your grade will be determined by the originality and persuasiveness of your final paper, based mainly on primary source analysis, but also shaped and guided by existing scholarship and your own relentless imaginative questioning. In this case "originality" means "derived persuasively from original primary sources" rather "bold new discovery no one ever considered before."

The other half of your grade will reflect how well you complete the step-by-step assignments, the quality of your class participation, and the thoroughness and thoughtfulness of your peer reviews after you break into "affinity groups."

To clarify and repeat, the final paper must be based principally upon primary sources that you have located, with my help, the help of the Jackson Library staff, and the help of each other. We will use secondary sources (mostly, peer-reviewed scholarly literature) to help you develop a focused topic, an informed set of research questions, and important research leads to primary sources. One good method: "follow the footnotes." Another: get nimble in the research library and online search engines. Another: relentlessly ask questions. Another: do not regard research and writing as separate and sequential. Start writing early in the game, and be ready to revisit your sources to strengthen your claims.

In my field of 20th century U.S. history, we have no dearth of primary sources. Archivists and librarians have devised powerful print and digital systems that will help you read and write informed history. Your challenge will be to pose manageable questions and plan *actionable* research. The final project will be a research paper of 20-25 pages and a brief informal presentation.

Primary sources are the clay, trees, and minerals out of which historians fashion bricks, lumber, and wires that we call "evidence." With this evidence we hope to reconstruct true and accurate replicas of past events, decisions, and changes. We want them to withstand the winds of counterargument and to weather the hailstones of new evidence. But sometimes our replicas are leaky. Or maybe we just set them down in safe places that offer no fresh vistas. We are continually reevaluating, asking new questions, pushing the boundaries of knowledge, like any academic discipline. You will learn that we also love to scavenge for tools and useful concepts and methods from sister disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. You may find yourself wondering why leaders made certain decisions when other proposals were clearly on the table, and whether they missed opportunities to coalesce around different paths. Students often dismiss this kind of questioning as metaphysical, but they also know people always make choices from a range of options.

By now you should really be able to analyze the main themes and arguments of a piece of scholarship. Last year our departmental assessment of a sample of 511 papers showed good results, but came up a bit short on student understanding of scholarly argument and how to put together a bibliography. We'll work on this. For now, an authors' "argument" refers simply to the main lines of interpretation he or she sketches. "Methods and sources" refer to the way in which historians collect, evaluate, corroborate, and interpret evidence, and ways in which they use concepts and theories in relation to facts and actions. Do not be intimidated by a scholar's command of the language, facts, and interpretations. We are always bringing new perspectives, new questions, and deeper insights that complicate or even contradict some famous historian. Sometimes students find an angle on a problem no one ever thought of. Sometimes you will find ideas that are just plain wrong, misreadings of evidence that became entrenched among historians, because someone started a "bandwagon" interpretation, no one questioned, and everyone followed. I will give an example from a prize-winning book early in the semester.

History is more than mere recitation of facts. Nor does it aim to a level of theoretical generality characteristic of the "behavioral sciences." We work in the middle ground, seeking higher ground, staying grounded, using empirical evidence, describing, narrating, analyzing, and persuading our readers. We always take up something that needs explaining. 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 supporting the anti-Communist but hardly democratic or popular military dictatorship in South Vietnam?"

To clarify your sense of where we are going with you, please read the 2 Appendices at the end of this syllabus: 1) The American Association of Colleges and Universities "Inquiry and Analysis VALUE Rubric," and 2) HISTORY DEPARTMENT RUBRIC FOR HIS-511 (to assess learning goals 3 and 4).

We begin the class with a demanding reading assignment for the first week, a narrative and interpretive overview of the entire period and some big issues the nation confronted at the time. It is essential from the outset that you start identifying interesting questions and problems. Conflicting truth claims and accounts by both historical actors and scholarly historians often produce fruitful research.

#### **Student Learning Outcomes:**

Upon successful completion of this course students will be able to:

Appreciate the pivotal social and political developments of the early 1960s, what many took to be a revolution in race relations, as well as crucial Cold War developments, and their relationship.

Improve your information literacy, becoming nimble and resourceful at finding answers to questions in University research libraries and reliable online repositories of information.

Identify and frame questions around a *focused, researchable, and significant* issue that contemporaries grappled with and subsequent historians debated.

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, 15<sup>th</sup> 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.

#### **We Will Practice Identifying and Evaluating Sources.**

Here is a list of some of what you will encounter. I will conduct mini-tutorials on how to find different sources, and our library liaison, Dr. Stephen Dew, will visit the class. The richer and more diverse your source base, the more informed and interesting your collaborative notes and final paper will be, if written well.

#### **Secondary Sources**

*Encyclopedia articles*, covering events, trends, and biographies.

*Scholarly journal articles or article-length chapters* in edited scholarly books. These are sharply focused.

*Monographs*, scholarly peer-reviewed book-length reports on sustained research on a problem.

*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*. We'll talk about the Web!

*Documentary films* (of varying quality and reliability).

*Feature Films.* *Forrest Gump* is not a secondary source, but *Good Night and Good Luck* could be. *Forrest Gump* is a great primary source for understanding what 1990s Americans wanted to forget.

### **Primary Sources**

*Periodicals* (including scholarly journals from the era under study and popular magazines or 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.

*Published document collections* such as the Papers of Martin Luther King Jr.

*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, many of which I have access to in digital form through ProQuest's History Vault. A complete set of guides to these collections is on Google Docs and will be made available to you. 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 ProQuest Congressional Universe and extremely revealing).

*Public Opinion Poll Data.* Available in raw form from ProQuest 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.

### **Walter Clinton Jackson Library and the Wide World of the World Wide Web**

We have a major university research library right here. Though the web yields up treasures daily, the physical library will be essential to fully answering your questions. The physical and online resources, in the form of paid research database subscriptions, as well as the human resources in the form of reference librarians and our own history liaison, Dr. Stephen Dew [shdew@uncg.edu](mailto:shdew@uncg.edu), are impressive and should not be overlooked.

Please familiarize yourself with the "**Subject Guide for History**," and the specific guides for courses I have taught, HIS 511A, HIS 340, and HIS 332. Put this on your bookmarks toolbar:

<http://uncg.libguides.com/his>

**Every single class will devote time to finding and assessing sources. So if you have a laptop or a tablet with Wi-Fi, please bring it.**

### **Course Requirements:**

#### **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 our Barnes and Noble campus bookstore handles financial aid purchases, and Copy King does not. But this is the lowest cost alternative, absolutely. And there is nothing comparable commercially to what I have been able to put together for you. Bring this to class every meeting having read the assigned material.

**Optional**, but terrific, and available through the bookstore or Internet:

Marius, Richard, and Melvin E. Page. *A Short Guide to Writing About History*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Boston: Pearson, 2012, or 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Longman, 2010

Also useful: Presnell, Jenny L. *The Information-Literate Historian : A Guide to Research for History Students*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Marius and Page are especially good on guiding you to discover what matters to you in history, what makes for good historical writing and presentation, and what major pitfalls students encounter in their search for valuable insights and stories. Hint: Everybody bites off more than they can chew at first!

**Head Start:** For those of you interested in news analysis, see all the uploaded materials under Course Documents entitled "Issue Framing in the News." See also numerous bibliographies and .pdf excerpts on various topics in Blackboard Course Documents in coming weeks. These may be included in your "annotated bibliographies" but cannot constitute the majority of citations when you deliver it. That is, much of your reading (and all of it in the second half of the course) will come from materials you have discovered.

**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).

**Reading, Preparation and Class Citizenship: 25%.** Active participation is essential to class citizenship and creating a learning environment no single instructor can create. I will evaluate your contributions to in-class discussions and peer review of each other's project descriptions and first drafts. The criteria will be consistency and quality. The best critiques mix searching challenges (questions, counter-arguments) with appreciation of strengths in argument and imagination in finding evidence. You will provide evidence of this mainly in blackboard posts in response to weekly assignments (find them in this syllabus and on Blackboard under "Discussion Board" and "Announcements." I will need to see and will give you feedback on 1-2 page peer-reviews of rough drafts and first drafts of papers in your affinity group.

**Research process: 25%.**

By mid semester, you will have grades in this category for the following: the annotated bibliography of secondary and sources in the focused field of interest; the formal proposal with a sharp set of questions or working hypothesis that can be answered with an identifiable base of secondary and primary sources. Later you will receive grades for your rough outline of the paper, along with comments on its strengths and holes of logic or evidence. **When I return your first draft you will learn the cumulative grade.**

**Final draft: 20-25 pages, including footnotes, not including bibliography. 50%.**

I will post 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)

I will use the rubric you find at the end of this syllabus that the history department uses in its evaluation of 511 papers.

**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 Marius and Page, *A Short Guide to Writing History*, or Mary Lynn 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.

**Rev. Jackson Preaches:** *"If you are never willing to risk saying something dumb, you'll never learn to say anything smart."* -- Rev. Jackson

## Schedule of Meetings and Assignments

### 8/23: 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 your 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.

**8/30: Overview – The first week carries a heavy reading load, 207 pages. Get on top of this and you will be glad you did!**

**Assigned reading:**

Hodgson, Godfrey. *America in Our Time*. 1st ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976, 153-243.

Jackson, Thomas F. *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, chs. 6-7, 155-217. (Just before that is a press release about a book written by Stewart and James MacGregor Burns, *A People's Charter* (1992) that spurred the author to investigate and in large part disagree with their interpretation. A chapter from this Burns and Burns book is on Blackboard in .pdf form, with the thesis stated clearly on pp. 326, 334 .

James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: the United States, 1945-1974* (New York: Oxford, 1996), chs. 15, 21 (for a moderate to conservative argument). See the book review by Tim Lacy on Blackboard if time permits, where toward the end he takes direct aim at the idea that movements for justice can be explained in terms of "rising expectations."

**Blackboard Assignment (300-400 words):**

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 several questions in such a way that shows you understand the authors' generalizations and are aware of concrete examples and places where research might be fruitful. This is in part an exercise in imagination, but from the outset, even with unfamiliar new material, you should be raising pointed questions of interest to historians and classmates.

2. On a topic that captures your interest, read one of the **historiographical essays** I posted for this week on Blackboard. Where is the action in this field of research, and what great question can you find in the essay? A full bibliographic list of the articles will be posted as well, same folder, saved as a MS Word document. Be prepared to report briefly to the class how the author represents the trend in the field and a couple questions that seem to be at the cutting edge. [Definition: "Historiography" is a fancy term for the study of how historians agree, disagree, change their minds, ask new questions, reach new conclusions. We generally do it in identifiable groups following clear trends, or "fashions" if you don't like the trend].

**9/6: Assessing Presidential Decisions: JFK, LBJ, Cuba, and Vietnam**

**Missiles in Cuba, 1962:**

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

Dobbs, Michael. "Why We Should Still Study the Cuban Missile Crisis." 2-12: United States Institute of Peace, 2008.

Sorensen, Theodore C. *Counselor: A Life at the Edge of History*. 1st ed. New York, NY: Harper, 2008, 296-309. How does Kennedy's speech writer and close advisor see JFK's decision making in retrospect? Was JFK still the "rational actor" of Sorensen's *Kennedy* (1965)?

**Escalation in Vietnam, 1964-1965:**

Logevall, Fredrik. *Choosing War : The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, xvi-xxv for the thesis, 252-255, 280-91 for crucial details of the overall argument.

Hubert Humphrey Memorandum, in Logevall, Fredrik. *The Origins of the Vietnam War*. Harlow, England ; New York: Longman, 2001. 124-128. What precisely is Humphrey asking Johnson to do, to re-think? What is his analysis of the South Vietnamese regime's prospects, and of the dangers of a negotiated settlement?

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 you think they bear out Logevall's thesis?

**Assignment:** 1) Find a couple book reviews assessing the scholarly contributions of Michael Dobbs and Fredrik Logevall. Use them to help you identify analytical claims about presidential decision-making and world affairs in the cold war that might be subjects of research. 2) Using newspaper search engines, find an opinion editorial or news analysis that raises important issues about war and peace and presidential leadership. Turn evidence from the book reviews, the readings, and the newspaper article that you discovered into questions or hypotheses on Blackboard (400 words). You need not focus precisely on what was going on in the White House, as there were many actors with influence over events.

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

**EARLY BIRDS!!! Settling on a Topic and Turning it into a Focused Question:** I would strongly advise you, before the end of these topical classes, to survey the packet of readings, the abundant .pdfs and bibliographies, conduct your own inquiries into reference materials and other sources, and decide upon a general topic to pursue, with the view to transforming your topic into a focused research question and a working hypothesis! Question: When does a night owl become an early bird? When she finishes a piece of writing as the sky lightens and the birds start chirping.

### **9/13: Local Protest Movements in the Urban South and North – A “Negro Revolution”?**

#### **Scholarship:**

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) was due not to the strategy of provocation of violence and federal intervention, but to the dynamic and flexible strategies of the local movement.

Chafe, William. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, ch. 5, pp. 119-151. Wow, this happened here? For those of you interested in researching this, the “Greensboro VOICES” project through Jackson Library is essential, as is consultation of the *News and Record* for the relevant dates. Sorry, digital News and Record coming later in the year. <http://library.uncg.edu/dp/crg/>

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, 286-334 (see original for notes if this catches your curiosity).

#### **Primary Source Analysis (in-class exercise):**

“Meeting on Birmingham,” Robert Kennedy, John Kennedy, John Macy, May 21, 1963, in Rosenberg, Jonathan, and Zachary Karabell, eds. *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Quest for Justice: The Civil Rights Tapes*. New York: Norton, 2003, pp. 106-113. What a conversation! On the containment of violence in Birmingham and the threat of race war and federal moves in equal employment. How are the Kennedy brothers learning about and discussing African-American rebellion and official white violence?

**Writing Assignment Before Class:** Find either a piece of contemporary historical scholarship regarding a city that experienced widespread protest in the spring and summer of 1963, or a substantial news analysis. Looking *Readers’ Guide Retrospective* or other magazine and newspaper search engines. Do not neglect African-American newspapers.

#### **Highly Recommended (on Blackboard):**

Dittmer, John. *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994, ch. 7, “Greenwood and Jackson,” 144-169. Crucial details about the relationship between the vanguard of the civil rights movement and the Kennedy Justice Department.

Kelley, Robin D. G. "The Black Poor and the Politics of Opposition in a New South City, 1929-1970." In *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History*, edited by Michael B. Katz. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 293-5, 302-3, 316-23. Class analysis of why King's middle class aims and methods were not more popular. Controversial.

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

Manis, Andrew Michael. *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999, pp. 366-399. Hunt it up in the library.

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

### **9/20: The Kennedy Bill and The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom**

Review what you have read about Kennedy's legislative concessions and reaction to the mass march. Come prepared to discuss the conflicting narratives various participants took away from the March on Washington. If you had just these documents to understand the March, what conclusions or research problems would you identify?

#### **Assignment: TBA**

A Philip Randolph, National President Negro American Labor Council, "Why the Emancipation March on Washington for Jobs?" May 15, 1963. *Papers of a Philip Randolph (microfilm)*, reel 29.

Rosenberg, Jonathan, and Zachary Karabell, eds. *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Quest for Justice: The Civil Rights Tapes*. New York: Norton, 2003, "Meeting May 20, 1963," and "Meeting on Civil Rights," August 28, 1963 in pp. 120-140. Pay close attention to the provisions of each Title, and why Title II became the centerpiece of the Kennedy Bill. Note where I note an egregious scholarly discrepancy between what the editors heard and is actually on the tape, which you can listen to now on the John F. Kennedy Library website.

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

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

John Lewis, "Address at the March on Washington," and Martin Luther King, "I Have a Dream," Aug. 28, 1963, in Carson, ed, *Eyes on the Prize Reader*, 163-165. Was this a March to ensure passage of the Kennedy bill?

Jay Richard Kennedy, "Transcript of 'March on Washington . . . Report by the Leaders,'" Metropolitan Broadcasting Television, August 28, 1963, in *Civil Rights During the Kennedy Administration (Microform) Reel 3, frame 0618*, ProQuest History Vault (Accessed May 2012).

View the 30 minute United States Information Agency, "Civil Rights Roundtable 1963," <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZ2rO9d25pw>. What do the celebrities argue? Why did it get so heated? What did the March mean for the country? Where was it going? Take notes and bring the best quote in the context of your paraphrase and reflection, on one 5x8 card, with references to Minute:Second, i.e. 03:24 that you would like the class to discuss.

In class -- viewing of "The March" a film by James Blue, United States Information Agency, 1964.

#### **Supplemental Literature (All excerpted .pdf on Blackboard):**

Jones, William P. "The Unknown Origins of the March on Washington: Civil Rights Politics and the Black Working Class." *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 7, no. 3 (2010): 33-52. Supports Jackson's argument and stresses the deep origins of the jobs strategy in black trade unionism,

including women who walked away from the march with a deeper appreciation of the need to fight sexism in the movement and the assumptions that the solution to the crisis was jobs for men.

Bryant, Nick. *The Bystander : John F. Kennedy and the Struggle for Black Equality*. New York: Basic Books, 2006, 357-473.

Mann, Robert. *When Freedom Would Triumph : The Civil Rights Struggle in Congress, 1954-1968*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007, 120-166.

"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.

"Speaking of Equality: the Senate Debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1964," from *Going to the Source, v. 2, Since 1865* eds. Victoria Bissell Brown and Timothy J Shannon (NY: Bedford, 2004), 227-248.

Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000. Excerpts. Kennedy administration turns a peaceful protest into an advertisement for American democracy.

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.

Thelwell, Michael. "The August 28th March on Washington: The Castrated Giant." 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.

### **9/27: Lyndon Johnson, War on Poverty, and Urban Crisis**

Brauer, Carl M. "Kennedy, Johnson, and the War on Poverty." *Journal of American History* 69 (June 1982 ): 98-119.

Martin Luther King Jr., "Testimony," December 15, 1966, U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations,. *Federal Role in Urban Affairs*, Washington DC: GPO, 1966, 2967-2977, 2980-2982, 2996.

Assignment TBA: Working with Congressional Hearings and the Congressional Record.

### **Recommended:**

Russell, Judith. *Economics, Bureaucracy, and Race : How Keynesians Misguided the War on Poverty*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. On Blackboard.

Schmitt, Edward R. *President of the Other America : Robert Kennedy and the Politics of Poverty*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010, ch. 2-3, 36-92.

Gillette, Michael L., ed. *Launching the War on Poverty: An Oral History*: Twayne, 1996.

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

### **10/2, Tuesday: Your Annotated Bibliography due to me and peer reviewers.**

A rubric for structuring and evaluating these will be provided. An annotation is a brief statement of the contents of a work as it relates to your specific question, not necessarily a summary of the whole.

Comment on the question it raises in the evidence it points you to.

### **10/4: In-class presentations, affinity group discussions, conferences with your professor on narrowing your topic and defining your questions of interpretation and evidence.**

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

**10/11: FINAL PROPOSAL DUE -- NO CLASS – Individual Conferences to Discuss Your Proposal Will Be Scheduled**

Rubric for evaluating a proposal will be forthcoming on Blackboard. Peer reviews in written form, either separately, or as commentary on original proposal are due back to the author by the end of fall break.

**10/12:** Last day to drop courses without academic penalty. I will advise you on the basis of your performance and proposal whether you are currently failing the class and would be advised to drop it.

**FALL BREAK**

**10/25: NO CLASS – Individual Conferences and Research**

**11/1: NO CLASS – RESEARCH**

**11/6: Project Outlines or Working Drafts Due to Me and Your Peer Reviewers** (a useful excerpt from *A Short Guide to Writing About History* having to do with outlining and drafting will be posted.)

**11/8: Discussion of Outlines and Working Drafts in Class**

**11/15: No Class – Writing**

**11/22: No Class, Thanksgiving Break, Writing, Wolfing Turkey or Tofurkey**

**11/29: Last Class – 10 Min. Reports from Each Person**

**Final Papers Due Monday December 10, no exceptions, in my office 2141 MHRA or department mailbox by 5 PM**