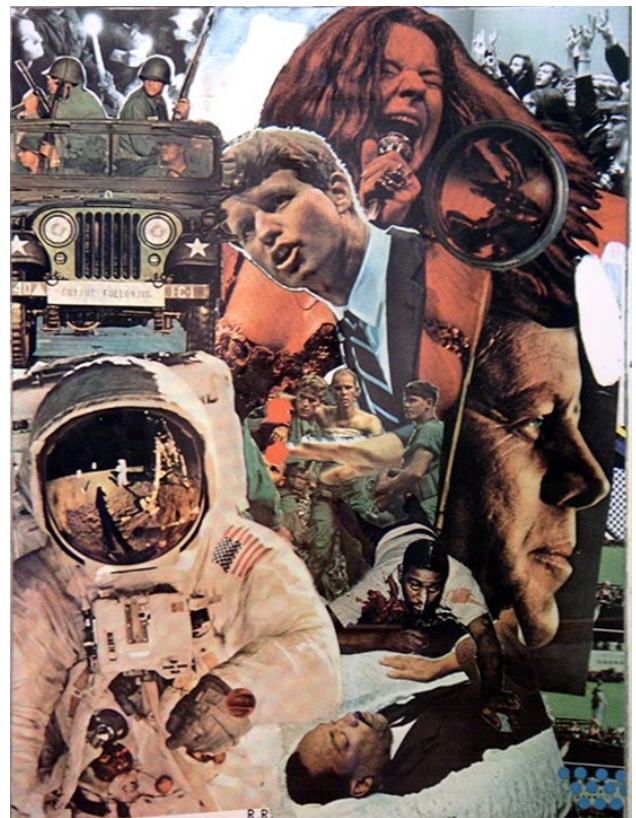


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History 340: The U.S. Since World War II "Tumultuous Decade": America in the 1960s, 1957-1974

The "Sixties" are arguably the first years of our time. With an intensity amped up by the new technology of television, the United States seemed to be propelled from crisis to crisis. Many groups were inspired by the struggles of African Americans against segregation and police violence to assert their equal participation in democracy – women, gays and lesbians, Latinos, and Native Americans.



In fact, starting in 1963, the word "revolution" was on more lips in the United States than perhaps at any time since the, well, Revolution. Movements pressured, Presidents proposed, and Congress passed the most far reaching legislation in race relations since Reconstruction. Student freedom riders escaped burning busses in Alabama, and then fanned out across the South to make a voting rights revolution. In the process, they challenged their powerful white allies to make good on promises of inclusion in the Democratic Party, and protection from violence and arbitrary arrest. In each case, they were sorely disappointed, charting new courses toward Black Power. Meantime, Congress and President Johnson passed a raft of social welfare legislation, overhauled the immigration system, and initiated a multi-pronged "Unconditional War on Poverty." A conservative popular revolt against the Establishment within the Republican Party ended in humiliation for the 1964 Republican presidential candidate, Barry Goldwater. But in the context of escalating political and cultural conflict, the New Right mobilized in defense of "family values," patriotic anti-communism, and a defense of racial segregation, albeit in "coded" terms.

Military intervention against Vietnamese communists escalated in ways that cramped reform at home, even as the war radicalized students and civil rights activists. Triggered by violent confrontations between police and citizens in big-city neighborhoods, 200 racial uprisings challenged American to provide opportunity and to reform police practices. In the nest of the Great Society lay the eggs of our contemporary dilemmas of mass incarceration and mass immigration, and of ongoing debates about affirmative action and abortion, civil liberties and public order.

Nevertheless, the achievements of these years hold valuable lessons and insights for overcoming our ongoing injustices.

This course has crucial key words. Its success depends upon your efforts to reach common understandings and respect differences around the meanings of civility, consensus, conflict, the “rights revolution,” liberalism, radicalism, conservatism, “identity politics” and feminism. We will evaluate whether “youth rebellion” or “rising expectations” should be key words for interpreting the complex changes of the decade. Does dividing the 1960s into the “good” earlier years and “bad” later years make any sense? We will revisit the raging debate about whether the United States government behaved in Vietnam more like an empire than as responsible leader of the “free world.”

The country also vigorously debated the legitimacy of using various controversial tools to achieve democracy, equality, and inclusion. Which was most effective, and which was a dangerous distraction: electoral politics and voting rights, nonviolent direct action protest, disruptive civil disobedience, even violence? Did radical methods promote social justice or disrupt law and order? Over the long-term, conservatives proved to be more adept at mobilizing votes within the electoral system than liberals or radicals. But on issues such as opposition to abortion and school busing to achieve school desegregation, opponents on the right learned from and imitated civil disobedience strategies and symbols of the left. If this was a decade of “Uncivil Wars” as our textbook claims, who fired the opening shots, and who escalated these “uncivil” confrontations? What did civility and incivility mean in the context of conflicts over race, gender, patriotism, and the values many Americans insisted were essential to national cohesion?

I am especially interested in the impact of the black freedom movement and the peace movement on policy and popular consciousness. I am also increasingly curious about how journalism changed over the course of the decade, as a check on executive power, as a new way of representing social possibilities, or, alternatively, as a force for stabilizing unjust status quo.

A note on respect and civility: This was certainly no “golden age” of civil discourse, and demonstrably, the decade took an acrimonious and divisive turn. Many decry the Sixties as the beginning of the deep polarization and partisanship that now afflicts our politics. Others celebrate it as a time of necessary conflict and confrontation in the service of overcoming historic injustices. Still others see it as a turning point in American history, when unrestrained sexuality, pornography, moral decline, and collapsing respect for law and order won the day, with the help of a misguided activist federal judiciary and an expanded permissive welfare state.

Interpreting the 60s remains controversial because so many of the issues raised during the 60s remain unresolved. With a decade that in so many ways determined who we are (and why we are at odds with one another), there will be inevitable instances when our political differences will influence our value judgments about past actors and actions.

Guidelines for Civil Democratic Debate about an “Uncivil” Time:

So I offer these guidelines, and I will ask the class for your input on others I may have missed:

1. It is more important to “take historical perspective” than to render snap judgments that make us feel better about our morality or wisdom. That means understanding everyone as the product of their culture, and their personal history, at the same time as we understand and hold them accountable for their responsible actions. We must continually remind ourselves the last 50 years of *our* past was in fact *their* future – they knew as much about today’s past as we know about our future 50 years hence.

2. Listen to understand, and express your views, in equal measure. Exercise empathy and accord respect for differing interpretations, but stick to your convictions when warranted, and above all, your commitment to evidence and openness to changing your views.

3. Learning is about challenging our own inherited interpretations and assumptions by exposing us to novel arguments and evidence, as much as it is about “winning” arguments or confirming preconceptions we may have adopted or inherited.

Learning Goals for History Majors: Thinking in Time

Consider the recently revised History Department goals for your education. What do they mean? These generalizations encompass the many time periods, locales, questions, and methods that you find in this department and in historical writing generally. History Graduates will be able to:

1. **Analyze historical duration, succession, and change** in terms of human agency and larger systems or structures in a wide variety of places and periods. [Historical Comprehension]
2. **Use historical thinking to contextualize and analyze primary and secondary sources** representing different points of view. [Historical Analysis]
3. Conduct **original research by investigating and interpreting primary and secondary sources**. [Historical Research]
4. Use **evidence-based reasoning to interpret the past coherently while developing and presenting an original argument, orally and in writing**. [Historical Interpretation]

HIS 340 Student Learning Outcomes

Upon successful completion of this course, students should be able to:

Analyze competing and changing interpretations of the 60s in American politics and culture. [LG2 Analysis]

Describe and explain the significant changes and continuities in race relations, foreign policy, popular culture, party competition, and political culture over a 15 year period. [LG1 Comprehension]

Evaluate and report on the main ideas and key pieces of evidence in both primary and secondary sources [LG2]

Pose a focused question and answer it on the relationship between a popular movement and an elite response [LG3 Research; LG4 Interpretation].

Assignments and Evaluation

Required Readings (Available in Campus Bookstore and from Online Sellers, also Digitally through Links and Canvas or Google Drive Documents)

Lytle, Mark H. *America's Uncivil Wars: The Sixties Era : From Elvis to the Fall of Richard Nixon*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. AFFORDABLE COPIES AVAILABLE FOR ORDER. I CAN HELP.

Various Short PDF Readings on Canvas. These are generally short, scholarly articles, book chapters, or excerpted primary sources from various online and personal collections. They flesh out and give voice and immediacy to the class themes.

I have tried to keep the volume of reading, viewing, and listening within reasonable limits for busy people with other courses and lives to deal with. University guidelines stipulate 2 hours of preparation outside of class for every hour inside of class. My readings tend to average 30-40 pages per session, more or less. Understand much of the class success and your grade depends upon thorough and serious consideration of assigned readings and viewings, and occasional reports on extra readings or videos or films.

Graded Assignments:

Class participation (20%)

Discussion Posts (30%)

Primary source analysis and oral presentation (10%)

Secondary source analysis and oral presentation (10%)

Final project, research paper that answers a question (30%).

I. Class participation (20%): I evaluate the clarity, pertinence, and conciseness of your comments and questions during the general class discussion. Quality is as important as quantity. *Preparation, active speaking, cooperation, and respectful debate, is essential.* I will lecture, but most of the time, I will set up a framework of questions, then orchestrate – support small group discussions, help with presentations, synthesize and query your statements, spur you to deeper reflection.

A note on written work that follows: *This class has no quizzes, midterms, or final examinations.* It does have “formative assessment” assignments along the way, mainly informal writing in response to specific questions. It also has two short and one longer writing assignments requiring in-depth inquiry. These changes to the conventional course format are supported by robust recent research into inquiry-based learning. Reading, viewing, listening, writing, and speaking are all essential and organically part of historical thinking.

II. Discussion Posts (30%): Respond to any the prompts once a week with thoughtful reflections supported by good examples and evidence. Generally 300-400 words. **Your best ten count for your grade.** This is your chance to practice writing in a less pressured way, and it is my chance to help you with your writing and do “formative” assessment along the way. It also helps me calibrate the class based on what you are and are not getting.

III. One written primary source analysis and oral presentation 4 pp. and 8 minutes with time for questions (10%): You will sign up for one day and topic and source in Canvas. Under “Recommended Primary” you will see here and more fully on the **Canvas Syllabus page options for reading and reporting on original testimony from past actors.** In some cases I have provided fuller, complete sources that Mark Lytle only summarized. In any case, your purpose is to inform the class of what they have **not** been exposed to. This should be considered **added value** for the class and totally depends on your doing all of the assigned reading -- to avoid repetition, and more importantly, to help contextualize your source and compare it to other perspectives the class is considering.

Evaluation: These call for a skillful combination of succinct paraphrase in your words, and judicious choice of the very best quotes, contained within your own analysis and contextualization. **Evaluate in terms of text, subtext, context (see rubric that elaborates on all these terms).**

IV. One written secondary source analysis and oral presentation, 4 pp., and 8 minutes with time for questions (10%):

I try to select the most readable, concise, jargon free scholarship in article or chapter-length form for you. I ask each of you to inform the class of things they have not read or considered. **So, again, this requires that you know the assigned readings for that day extra well -- enough to not simply repeat information that is already familiar to the class.**

Structure of the written and oral assignment:

1. Render the thesis: With any piece of writing, you should be able to succinctly, in a few sentences, identify its thesis, the main ideas and analytical claims and their logical development. This of course depends on your conveying the basic topical or journalistic descriptive elements your audience needs to know: Who? What? When? Where? But the main thesis question is usually Why?

2. Place your selected scholarly work in the historiography or the “conversation” among scholars and the public: How do they see their scholarship contributing to changing interpretations and debates? Often, but not always, they will refer to previous scholarship or common beliefs or misconceptions and half-truths that need correction.

3. Identify evidence and sources: Present **the most interesting examples** and evidence that best supports their thesis. Mention quickly (based upon footnotes or endnotes) where they found the evidence. (Don't detail sources in depth: just mention “the Truman library” or “oral histories” or “SCLC presidential files from ProQuest”). Clarity and concreteness of evidence will make or break a presentation, as here is where you show historical actors speaking and acting in surprising ways.

4. Critical evaluation: Best to save this for last. How persuasive is the scholar? Do the main concepts really capture what the evidence says the actors were doing or thinking? Is the evidence pertinent and complete? **Is a counter argument, a previous argument, a popular myth, still persuasive?**

A side note on grading these: One third of the grade will be how well you present to the class (see canvas rubric). Two thirds of the grade will be the quality of the written synopsis and critique (these depend upon how well you render the main ideas through paraphrase and selective quotation, and how well you contextualize the source in either historical change or the scholarship about it. See canvas rubric).

V. Final project, research paper that answers a question, 8 pp. (30%).

To facilitate focusing and discovery, you should choose a topic in consultation with me and announce it to the class through a discussion post by April 11 at the latest. You may reference assigned readings for the class as you pose your questions. Indeed the best papers will emerge from things we are discussing. But understand that the body of what you write should reflect individual research in primary and secondary sources in equal measure

1. Identify an **issue that required popular action** to effect change through government policy.
2. Or identify a **cultural movement that elicited control responses** from elites. Write about the causes and issues of the movement and/or the concessions or actions of elites in government, universities, or corporations.
 1. For organized social change: what debates about strategy within the organization promoted or limited its effectiveness? How did organizing and social action influence policymakers? How were their concessions shaped by popular action, lobbying, publicity, and opposition from other groups or special interests?
 2. For cultural change (like an expression of sexuality or experimentation with LSD): Why did behavior and culture change so dramatically in the first place? What values were the cultural practitioners trying to promote or protect? What fears did they stir up among elites or ordinary Americans that helps explain a control response?

For your Conclusion: Any lessons (last 2 pages) for those who seek to promote social change or protect their interests or rights?

3. Alternative final project: **comparative News media coverage of a movement or major decision** or event. Multiple perspectives-- should be done in close cooperation with professor who has unprecedented digital newspaper and other media resources available to him.

IMPORTANT UNIVERSITY RESOURCES

History Department (his.uncg.edu/; www.facebook.com/UNCGDepartmentofHistory/)

Have you considered majoring or minoring in history? It may be easier than you think! Follow his facebook page for important events and provocative articles.

Dean of Students (sa.uncg.edu/dean/support/): Supports and advocates for students in crisis, including those with family emergencies, extended illness, trauma, etc.

Office of Accessibility Resources and Services (ods.uncg.edu/): Students who have documented disabilities that require accommodation should register with OARS and bring in the required paperwork. Why you need an accommodation is not necessarily my business unless you want to explain it; I do need to understand the nature of the accommodation and how best, to put it into practice.

Information Technology Services (its.uncg.edu/): Your source for all tech problems, including computer malfunctions, issues with Canvas, etc. I cannot help you with these!

University Writing Center (writingcenter.uncg.edu/): Provides help with paper structure, argument, grammar, style.

University Speaking Center (speakingcenter.uncg.edu): Provides help for all oral presentations, to both individuals and groups.

Academic Integrity: Plagiarism is a serious offense of the academic code and is treated as such by faculty. Do your own work and clearly cite any sources you rely upon for your information. Familiarize yourself with the responsibilities of the instructor and the options I have under the university's academic integrity policy:

<http://sa.uncg.edu/handbook/academic-integritypolicy/> In clear cases, I will report violations of the honor code to

the Dean of Students through one of the two paths explained on the website. In any case, preliminary conferences with me are required. Watch: Plagiarism 2.0: Information Ethics in the Digital Age [Plagiarism 2.0 Video](#) (Beware specifically "Patch Writing" a form of plagiarism that plagues undergraduates, starting at 4:30). If you are in any doubt, ask me! I use "Turnitin" software for everything, which alerts you to instances of possible quotation without attribution.

Strategic Reading and Writing with a Purpose: Expect to read about 60 pages per week— allow quiet time for careful preparation and focused analysis. The class will have as much discussion and dialogue than lecture. The quality of your learning depends upon me, but probably more so on how you and your peers view the class: can you count on your fellow students' to share a common fund of insight and is each individual willing to share, agree, and disagree with openness and honesty? **Please make that commitment to reading, preparing, discussing, presenting, and answering weekly questions.** Employ your skills of **previewing, reading, highlighting, note taking,** and of course, **writing.** Good writing consists of accurate **paraphrase, summary, and selective quotation. I expect grammatical sentences, coherent paragraphs** (each with one controlling idea), and **overall essay coherence** or idea development (frequently evident in good **transitions** between paragraphs).

Class Etiquette: A classroom is a communal space where we all gather for a brief period to pursue a common goal via group interactions. Please do not bring food unless you have enough to share with the entire class. You are welcome to bring a drink. **Cell phones should be on "silent" mode and put away; inform the professor if you must take an emergency call and sit near the door so you can exit without disturbing the class.** Arriving late, leaving early, leaving the room during class, **using computers and cell phones for non-class activities,** and sleeping interfere with learning and suck energy from the class. **Laptop computers are for taking notes and referring to pdfs, and occasionally searching online information sources.** I strongly advise you to print out the relevant sections of readings or bring paper notes to class for discussion. If I see technology distracting you and your classmates, I will discuss with individuals how to lessen these distractions.

Your UNCG account: You must have this up and running to get into Canvas, to collaborate with each other and your instructors within Canvas and gain access to the essential Google Docs. You also crucially kneaded to ...the paid subscription databases the Library affords for optimum information literacy!

Only email me through your Google UNCG Account or Canvas, please. Other emails from gmail or yahoo addresses often end up in my spam folder. And many of the class exercises require that you login to UNCG. Do not ask for permission to get into assigned Google folders from non UNCG accounts. These requests will be ignored. All linked readings are open only to those with UNCG accounts. I try to answer emails within 24 hours of receiving them, but often do not read them until the evening. If you fail to get through, try again Please, because my inbox is getting chocked full.

Email etiquette and file naming: Please always in the Subject line list "HIS 340," and enough information that I can know what you are asking, such as "documented excuse," or "you listed a source in the module that is missing." You may address me "Hey, Dr. Jackson," since I have lived in North Carolina long enough to know that is a salutation. But always put in a salutation, and sign your full name.

Grading Scale:

A (93 and above), 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 (less than 60, unacceptable work).

You are entitled to timely feedback, clear criteria and explanations for my assessments.

Class Schedule and Assignments

(ALL questions, links, sign-up opportunities, and modifications will be on the Canvas syllabus page by date. Always check Canvas before preparing for class, for fleshed out questions, full assignments and links to materials and questions more extensive than what are outlined here. This schedule will be modified in some content and timing as I become aware of resources, so ALWAYS check Canvas)

1/15: Introductions

The syllabus, the role of Canvas, backgrounds and perspectives and principal areas of interest of students and the professor. Opportunities in University programming around "The '60s: Exploring the Limits."

1/17: Myth and History: Generational and Culture Wars over the "Sixties"

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, ix-xiv, 1-9, 375-379

James Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 15: "The Polarized 60s: an Overview," 442-457.

Tim Lacy, "James T. Patterson's *Grand Expectations*: A 10-Year Retrospective Appreciation and Critical Review," *Columbia Journal of American Studies* (abridged by T. Jackson)

Rick Perlstein "Who Owns The Sixties? The opening of a scholarly generation gap," *Lingua Franca* Vol. 6, No. 4 - May/June 1996 (Abridged by T. Jackson)

Some of these readings might assume you know more than you do about the topics, and that is fine and to be expected. Ask me! These will make more sense at the end, but I want to talk about interpretation from the start!

Assignment (Canvas Discussion): Regardless of your previous knowledge and exposure, you should be able to identify the main outlines of an argument (some analyses and references to events might be clearer in parts of these readings than others). So answer: **What two "myths about the 1960s" seem most important to reconsider and revise in light of the questions, evidence, or perspectives that we now have 50 years later?** And how should they be revised? **Pose ONE in terms of a research question?** (Research questions are generally focused on past actors and events, and answerable with new methods and evidence. They are different from philosophical questions, counterfactual questions, or questions focused solely on the present (though present concerns inevitably dictate the points of interest and skepticism). I will share mine too.

Week 2: Cracks in the Cold War Consensus

1/22: Cold War and Youth Rebellion in the 1950s

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 13-43

J. Edgar Hoover, "[To All Law Enforcement Officials](#)," May 1, 1958, FBI law enforcement bulletin. v.26-27 1957-1958. Hathitrust.org

In Class: HUAC Film "Operation Abolition," and Anti-HUAC film produced in response.

Recommended Secondary:

Lipsitz, George. "Who'll Stop the Rain? Youth Culture, Rock V Roll, and Social Crises." In *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, edited by David Farber, 206-31. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Discussion Prompt: Where does our author think the first opening shots in the "uncivil wars" came from? Though he uses the word "consensus" he questions how universal commitment to the Cold War, and middle-class conformity. In fact were in the 1950s. Where you think the values of the "Cold War consensus" were LEAST evident? Make sure you can briefly summarize what these values were. The popularity of comic books, rock 'n roll, and teen flicks upset many of the guardians of the Cold War consensus, like FBI director J Edgar Hoover, who called teen flicks "trash mills which spew out celluloid poison destroying the impressionable mind of youth." What about youth culture looked so threatening, since it certainly wasn't directly challenging anti-Communism or the free enterprise system? Weren't the comics and movies products of the free enterprise system?

1/24: Roots of Revolt: Intellectuals, Artists, Beats, Housewives

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 3., 44-71.

Allen Ginsberg, *Howl*, excerpted.

Hodgson, *America in Our Time*, 322-324, on *Howl*.

Recommended Primary: Kerouac, *On the Road* (excerpted).

Recommended Secondary: Swerdlow, Amy. "Ladies' Day at the Capitol: Women Strike for Peace versus HUAC." *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 3 (1982): 493-520.

Discussion Prompt: This chapter is a great example of the mixed use of intellectual history and cultural history to demonstrate pervasive criticisms of the "Cold War consensus" in the late 1950s and early 60s that would gain widespread popularity later. Quite a cast of characters! J.D. Salinger, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, Hough Heffner, William Whyte, John Kenneth Galbraith, C. Wright Mills, Rachel Carson, Betty Friedan, Joseph Heller, and [later] Stanley Kubrick! What patterns of social critique seem to unite them? What alternatives, if any, were they proposing to corporate culture, the middle class family norms, Cold War power? I am not sure Lytle's "three themes of alienation" (45) captures all the cross currents of criticism. Come to class with a comment and question about one or two, then turn to Ginsberg. Lytle makes much of Allen Ginsberg's sexuality and its challenge to heteronormative mainstream values. But it seems Ginsberg had larger fish to fry. Why did *Howl*, its profanity and apocalyptic imagery, as well as its unsuccessful legal suppression, speak so loudly to cultural radicals for decades?

Week 3. Enter the Sixties [Syllabus subject to change after this week, but not much. You will always know in Canvas.

1/29: Kennedy's Cold War: Fallout Shelters, Television, The Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Permanent Crisis

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, ch. 5. 96-115.

Hodgson, *America in Our Time*, 7. "The Media," 134-152. What role did the three corporate television networks -- that by 1963 had turned from scandal-ridden quiz shows to dramatic news broadcasts -- play in fomenting an almost permanent sense of crisis in the 1960s? **Understand this argument and you understand a LOT about the Sixties. Meat of the argument is 141-150. Why does he compare the media to "a gigantic stereo system," or to a "burning lamp" (blowtorch), rather than to a mirror or a light in the dark?**

Discussion Prompt: Television obviously change a lot in American political culture and news consumption, as after 1961, most Americans got their news from TV. How did five things – television, the presidency, the Cold War, the civil rights movement, and an amped up sense of almost permanent crisis take over public discourse by the end of 1963? How did Kennedy use TV politically, from the 1960 election, to the Cuban Missile Crisis and beyond?

Recommended Primary:

1. *Life Magazine* 1961-1962, Google Books links to two issues with John F. Kennedy statement and articles about fallout shelter planning and popular response.

"How You Can Survive Fallout," September 15, 1961, Prefaced by [a Statement from the President](#), 95-108
January 12, 1962 cover story in *Life*, "[The Drive for Mass Shelters.](#)"

2. CBS News, *Harvest of Shame*, 1960.

Recommended Secondary: Bernstein, Barton J. "[The Week We Almost Went to War.](#)" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 32, no. 2 (February 1976): 12-21. [Video of JFK Oct 22 speech](#).

1/31: Youth in Revolt: the Early 1960s

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 4. 72-95. SDS YAF SNCC .

[Tom Hayden Report from McComb Sept 1961](#) from SNCC Papers ProQuest 252253_044_0880_From_1_to_228, especially p. 3, "Hayden's Report to Haber," September 14-17, 1961.

["Of Civilities and Civil Rights,"](#) Greensboro Daily News editorial

Chafe, William. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, ch. 3 "The Sit-Ins Begin," 71-102.

Recommended Primary:

SDS, "The Port Huron Statement," 1962, 3-10, 47-53 at least,

Week 4. "Negro Revolt"

2/5: SNCC, From Freedom Rides to Voter Registration, Greenwood Ms.

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 116-127; 133-134 (Greenwood, Ms.)

Carmichael, Stokely, with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael*. New York: Scribner, 2005. Ch. XII, Mississippi (1961-1965): Going Home, 277-293.

View in Google Drive: Allen Willis, *The Streets of Greenwood* 1964, independent documentary film.

John Lewis, "Speech Delivered at the March on Washington"

Recommended Primary: Guy Carawan, *The Story of Greenwood* (Smithsonian Folkways Recording, 1964). Intended to raise consciousness and money for the struggle when it was a national cause celebre.

2/7: Greensboro, 1963: The Most Consequential Nonfamous Mobilization of the 1960s

William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights* 1980, ch.5. "My Feet Took Wings"

Relevant news coverage. NB: your professor is working on a proposal for the International Civil Rights Museum to develop this important underappreciated episode in its exhibits.

Week 5. "Black Revolution" From Birmingham to the March on Washington and the Civil Rights Bill [Content TBD]

2/12: Birmingham and the Civil Rights Bill

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 128-133, Morris, Aldon D. "[Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization.](#)" *American Sociological Review* 58, no. 5 (1993): 621-36.

2/14: The March on Washington Coalition 1963

Selected Documents from the March on Washington and coverage.

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 134-140.

Week 6: From Civil Rights to the War on Poverty, 1964

2/19: LBJ and civil rights – The Civil Rights Act and the MFDP

Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 542-547, ch. 18 ebook, 368-370.

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 147-163, 166-173.

Freedom Vote 1963 Aaron Henry for Gov and PLATFORM from MFDP General Papers 1963-1965 pt 1 SHSW 38142

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

2/21: War on Poverty: Achievements and Limitations

Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 542-547, ch. 18 ebook, 360-368

Isserman, Maurice, and Michael Kazin. *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*. 5 edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. 100-109.

Harrington, Michael. *The Other America : Poverty in the United States*. Baltimore : Penguin, 1968, 18-24.

Jordan, Amy. "Fighting for the Child Development Group of Mississippi: Poor People, Local Politics, and the Complicated Legacy of Head Start." In *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*, edited by Annelise Orleck and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Theoharis, Jeanne. "Beyond a Bus Seat: The Movement Pressed for Desegregation, Criminal Justice, Economic Justice, and Global Justice." In *A More Beautiful and Terrible History: The Uses and Misuses of Civil Rights History*, 123-41. Boston: Beacon Press, 2018.

Week 7: LBJ's Vietnam and the Antiwar Movement

2/26: Vietnam and Presidential Mendacity -- Explaining Lyndon Johnson

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 163-166, 174-185, 190-193 to 1966, 240-246, to Tet.

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?

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

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

Recommended Primary (Professor will weed out best conversations):

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.*

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?

"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

2/27: Student Radicalism and the Antiwar Movement

J. William Fullbright, "The Price of Empire," American Bar Association, 8/8/67 in *Congressional Record—Senate* August 9, 1967.

"Naming The System" Speech By Paul Potter April 17, 1965,

"Let Us Shape the Future" By Carl Oglesby November 27, 1965, Carl Oglesby, SDS President, spoke at a March on Washington

Statement by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee on the war in Vietnam, Released Jan 6, 1966, Wisconsin Historical Society <http://content.wisconsinhistory.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15932coll2/id/35466>

Statement of the DC 9, "AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CORPORATIONS OF AMERICA," March 22, 1969.

<http://www-personal.umd.umich.edu/~ppennock/doc-Letter%20to%20Dow%20Chemical.htm>

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.

Recommended Primary:

Norman Mailer, *Armies of the Night* (Signet, 1968), 102-105, 134-143, 309.

Murder of Sammy Younge, SNCC Digital Gateway, Summary and press release, January 1966:

<https://snccdigital.org/events/murder-of-sammy-younge-snccs-statement-on-vietnam/>

FSM Berkeley, Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 168-173

Mario Savio, **An End To History, 1964**, <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/savioendofhistory.html>

By Mario Savio <http://www.historyisaweapon.com/indextrue.html#>

Week 8 -- 3/12, 3/14 -- Freaks: Reckoning with the Counterculture, Rock, and LSD

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 143-147, 194-216.

Roszak, Theodore. "Eyes of Flesh, Eyes of Fire, Ch. VIII." In *The Making Of A Counter Culture: Reflections of the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books/Doubleday & Co, Inc., 1969. (May substitute one of the Recommended for this after assessing it).

Recommended Secondary: Klatch, Rebecca E. "The Counterculture, the New Left and the New Right." In *Cultural Politics and Social Movements*, edited by Marcy Darnovsky, Barbara Epstein, and Richard Flacks, 74–89. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

Recommended Primary:

Neumann, Osha. "Motherfuckers Then and Now: My Sixties Problem." In *Cultural Politics Politics and Social Movements*, 55–73. Temple University Press, 1995. "Civil disobedience became progressively less civil." Stick with this essay. It captures the core self-obsession and self-destructiveness of a faction of the counterculture taken to extremes, the search for "total transformation."

Von Hoffman, Nicholas. *We Are the People Our Parents Warned Us Against*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968, excerpts, pp. 128-147.

Mungo, Raymond. *Total Loss Farm; a Year in the Life*. [1st ed.]. New York: Dutton, 1970, 15-18, 157-159.

Week 9-- Urban Crisis and the Rebellion of 1968

3/19: Race Rebels: Urban Revolts and Official Violence,

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 185-190; 224-239.

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

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. Delivered 8/15/67, SCLC Convention and before the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders.

3/21: The Global 1968: Individual Students Sign up to Report on One Country

Select one country from this ebook and sign up to report:

Chen, Jian. *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building*. First edition. 1 online resource (xxiii, 615 pages) : illustrations. vols. Routledge Handbooks. London: Routledge, 2018.

Week 10. The Rights Revolution

3/26: The Supreme Court, and the Rights Revolution

Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, ch. 19, "A Great Society and the Rise of Rights-Consciousness," 562-592.

(Each student will consult an approved online constitutional law database and prepare to inform the class about the theory and implications of one Supreme Court Case).

Recommended Secondary:

Abraham, Henry J. "Justices and Justice: Reflections on the Warren Court's Legacy." In *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*, edited by Sidney M Milkis and Jerome M Mileur, 351–62. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005.

3/28: Feminism I: Liberal/Labor Feminism and Pushing the Policy Agenda

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 269-282.

Barry, Kathleen M. "'Too Glamorous to Be Considered Workers': Flight Attendants and Pink-Collar Activism in Mid-Twentieth-Century America." *Labor* 3, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 119–38.

Recommended Secondary:

MacLean, Nancy. "The Hidden History of Affirmative Action." In *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S.*, 356–68. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2010.

Week 11 Vietnam and Polarization under Nixon

4/2: Vietnam – Nixon's war from Tet to Kent State

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 338-356

SDS Chicago Aug 1 1969 National Action Brochure "bring-the-war-home"

Richard Nixon, "If Mob Rule Takes Hold in the United States: A Warning," *U.S. News and World Report* Aug. 15, 1966, reprinted in *Congressional Record—Senate* (August 30, 1966), 21169-21170.

4/4: The Soldiers Antiwar Movement

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 358-359.

Prados, John. "The Veterans Antiwar Movement in Fact and Memory." In *A Companion to the Vietnam War*, edited by rilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco, 403–15. Blackwell Publishing Company, 2006.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470997178.ch21>.

Cortright, David. "Refusing War," In *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*, Ch. 8, 155–79. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. **David Cortright will be giving a talk on campus this evening as part of the '60s series.**

John Kerry, Statement Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 22 April 1971, Washington, D.C., in U.S. Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. *Legislative Proposals Relating to the War in Southeast Asia* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), 180-210.

Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War*, pp. 307-337.

Week 12 Liberation

4/9: Feminism II: Confronting the Patriarchy In the Home and the Culture 1968-1975

Hall, Simon. "Women's Rights—The Second Wave." In *American Patriotism, American Protest: Social Movements since the Sixties*, 51–76. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

"Three Articles on W.I.T.C.H" in Morgan, Robin. *Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist*. New York: Vintage, 1978.

Tillmon, Johnnie. "Welfare Is a Women's Issue." *Liberation News Service* (415) February 1972, in Linda Gordon, ed., *America's Working Women* (1976), 355-358.

4/11: Gay rights

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 283-288.

Hall, Simon. "The Struggle for Gay Rights." In *American Patriotism, American Protest: Social Movements since the Sixties*, 26–50. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Or: D'Emilio, John. "Placing Gay in the Sixties." In *Long Time Gone: Sixties America Then and Now*, edited by Alexander. Bloom, 209–29. Oxford ; Oxford University Press, 2001.

Week 13 More Movements than Movement

4/16: Environmentalism and Consumerism

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 14. 316-333.

4/18: Reverberating revolutions: Chicano Power, the Case of Ruben Salazar

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 289-304.

Week 14 Backlash

4/23: Feminism III: Reproductive Rights, the ERA, and Anti-feminism (sections of Hall)

Hall, Simon. "The Anti-Abortion Movement." In *American Patriotism, American Protest: Social Movements since the Sixties*, 117–39. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

4/25: The Rise of the New Right: Race, Class, Gender, and Values Voters -- Antibusing

Hall, Simon. "The Battles Over Busing." In *American Patriotism, American Protest: Social Movements since the Sixties*, 77–94. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

4/30: Nixon's War on the Left and the Media—The Road to Watergate

Lytle, *America's Uncivil Wars*, 361-374

Appendix: final projects. Possibilities

V.A. Popular Movements and Policies: Examples

Any peace group and the policy they sought to change, from Women Strike for Peace and nuclear fallout in the early 1960s to the soldiers' antiwar movement and Vietnam in the early 1970s

SNCC, SCLC, or CORE, and segregation of public spaces, 1960-1965.

Any voting rights campaign and the local and federal response.

NOW and job discrimination using title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

Radical Feminists and Abortion at the State level.

Campaign against School Busing and Richard Nixon

V.B. Cultural Movements and Elites: Examples

Films, comic books, novels and obscenity law (any case that made it to a state or federal Supreme Court).

LSD and state and federal criminalization.

Black Consciousness and Local Schooling

Black self-defense and local policing (Black Panthers have been over-studied; ask me about others)!

Chicanos and Farm Workers Rights, or Chicanos and Bilingual Education

Vietnam Veterans against the War and FBI Surveillance and Disruption