

HISTORY 709-02 (SPRING 2019)
INTRODUCTORY RESEARCH SEMINAR IN US HISTORY
“PUBLIC CULTURE IN THE LONG 1960s”

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MHRA 3207
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In this course you will research and write an article-length paper on a problem of your choosing (25-30 pages) that reflects original research grounded in scholarship and primary sources. You will improve on your ability to select a topic, turn that topic into a compelling and focused research problem, identify pertinent secondary and primary sources that answer key questions, present your hypotheses and findings both orally and in writing, and constructively criticize the work of your peers. In this case, “original” does not connote something someone has never examined before. Rather, I am asking for substantial reflection upon and interpretation of original primary sources, informed by the best that has been written on the subject, but still bearing the stamp of your creative insights. This length requirement is in fact on the short end of publishable article standards, but it is imperative that we get going with good topics and research questions, gain ready access to sources, adopt a plan, and define a method for completion. You all came here because you find history **fun** and intellectually engaging. That is a primary requirement of the course.

For a long time my abiding concerns have been: How did powerful elites and ordinary Americans debate and define the boundaries of American citizenship, especially in the arenas of economic citizenship, immigration, and civil rights? At various levels and branches of government, how did the state mobilize citizens to achieve national purposes in times of war, reform, economic or environmental crisis? And how did Americans define their obligations and defend their liberties in the contexts of these challenges and decisions? We will identify “burning” questions in the historical study of the black freedom movement, the urban crisis, Kennedy-Johnson liberalism, feminism, the Vietnam War, the first stirrings of gay and lesbian organizing, and the antiwar movement. (These do not exhaust the possibilities).

The first several weeks of the course will be devoted to individual explorations and collective discussions of some of the best historiographical and synthetic scholarly overviews of the decade. We will then discuss some examples of the “best practices” in scholarship on public culture, to alert you to possibilities and perhaps provide a model for what you might write. In week three you will begin your annotated bibliography, which will culminate in a proposal by February 4, the day before you “pitch” your idea to the class.

If you are in the Public History Program, selection of topics may vary and reflect questions in your field: commemoration and memory, visual culture or filmic culture, popular culture (as long as it has to do with the galvanizing political issues of the day). After discussions with Drs. Filene and Parsons, we decided that these papers should follow all the conventions of publishable academic articles, such as what might appear in the *Journal of American History*. Everyone should be versed in practices of academic history, we decided.

Definitely make use of my knowledge and resources, since I can guide each of you rather quickly to the relevant secondary literature and many primary sources. I have strengths in **political history, cultural history, social movement history, and the history of the African American freedom movement**. I have a significantly broadened competence in **journalism history, especially broadcast journalism**. Though much of this might be difficult to research outside of Washington DC and the Library of Congress, know that I am working with the Library of Congress and the American Archive of Public Broadcasting, and can quickly access a lot of the programming from the early 1960s on the subject of race in the South and North.

By early February, students will be in possession of an important question and a body of sources likely to yield answers. I will make sure that you are connected to a body of rich primary source materials available through Jackson library, local collections, oral histories, or the Internet.

I have scheduled a step-by-step process: surveying relevant historiography and general syntheses; identifying primary sources; choosing a topic; compiling a bibliography; formulating working hypotheses; outlining, drawing up an early draft; peer-reviewing; drawing up revision plans in line with feedback that makes sense to you, and revising the final draft. Paper topics may vary widely, but you all face similar challenges of researching and writing a piece of original scholarship, so the effort will also be collaborative. In fact I hope it is. **Collaborate on finding and identifying sources, methods, burning questions and controversies. The final product will reflect your individual interpretations and foci.**

I urge those of you with interests or foci developed as undergraduates to consider a fresh approach, not a continuation or a different angle on something you have written about before. I have approved such projects in the past and will no longer do so, as they involve unfair advantages and often, work very difficult to assess on its own merits.

The key words you will hear probably more than you want this semester:

Focused

Researchable

Significant

In your interests, I will ruthlessly challenge students on the “researchable” issue. Many start with topics and sources that they imagine are there, but that turn out to be not as accessible or not as rich. After a certain point, the deficiencies become obvious, hopefully not too late. I am sure you will all do fine! (ask me about Unit 731).

Course Student Learning Outcomes:

A research project on this scale is very challenging, and my goal as instructor is to help you develop critical thinking and research skills that will serve you well at this University and beyond. Upon successful completion of the course, students will be able to:

Exercise information literacy at a level not yet attained, using the Library and the exploding universe of digitized historical sources to access the very best scholarship and original sources pertinent to a focused and significant question.

Interpret and analyze primary source material and draw original conclusions that are relevant to an existing body of historical literature.

Critically evaluate various types of sources, while formulating an historical argument supported with evidence.

Conduct independent research and present the findings of research orally as well as in written form.

Constructively criticize the work of your peers while also utilizing feedback from others to revise their own projects.

Integrate writing into all phases of the research process, in order to break the undergraduate notion that writing only happens at the end!

Required Readings (Highly Individualized):

A series of shared and individual journal articles and book chapters, mostly available through Jackson Library’s digital portals or the class folders on Google Drive. I have collected literally hundreds! (Since I have also taught this recently to undergraduates, I have aggregated ALL my best digital sources in a course folder titled “511A F18 Sixties.” We will be reading just a few to talk about method. I aim to put you in touch with the best that has been

written in the field of your choice. In the course of things each of you will present another scholar's work as if it were a very brief "round table" presentation.

Optional But Encouraged (all in Google Drive):

"How To" research guides vary widely in quality and usefulness, and each of you has a unique skill set. So there are no cookie-cutter assignments on method. Rather I make available in a google folder a wealth of digitized materials, and suggest individually what you might find especially helpful.

Kate L. Turabian, Wayne Booth, et. al., *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations Chicago Style for Students and Researchers*, 7th Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). This is NOT digitized and is incredibly helpful for you to own: **The library has multiple copies as does Amazon.com – earlier editions are less expensive.**

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, Joseph M. Williams, Joseph Bizup, and William T. FitzGerald. *The Craft of Research, Fourth Edition*. 4 edition. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2016. EBOOK. **This IS digitized and quite useful.** I have placed the ebook in the class Google Folder:

Those of you who wish to access the full library that I and Kyra Turnage have assembled, entitled "**Historiography UNCG**" should join Zotero and send me your username ASAP. These are the best historiographical essays, seminal articles in various fields, book chapters, and even some ebooks. All those who choose to do comprehensive exams with me are members.

A note on Strategic Reading: Practice strategic reading, i.e. *preview* and *highlight* main ideas and analytical milestones evident in paragraph transitions and sub-headings. **Find the paragraph early on that encapsulates the structure of the whole.** Understand the questions they are asking and paraphrase them for yourself. **Especially preview the conclusion of any writing, which is meant often to restate the puzzles and contradictions and offer an at least partial resolution.** If the reading is long and time is short, *skim* and *scan* for details that answer a question.

Requirements, Assessment, and Evaluation

Participation and Peer Review: 20 %

This includes your regular attendance and contributions to class discussion, presentations, and the quality of your peer reviews (which should reflect thoughtful reading and mix positive and critical assessment). By no means should you miss a class unless in the most dire emergencies. Unexcused absences will result in grade reduction.

Proposal—Justification and Annotated Bibliography (10%)

Writing is not something you reserve for the end of "research," but is integral to the process of discovery, your research choices, and every stage up to the final draft. **See detailed rubric in Canvas.**

First (or Better, Second Draft) (10%)

Final Paper: (50%) -- Approximately 25-30 pages formatted according to Chicago Manual of Style or Turabian (a link to a handy guide will be on the Canvas syllabus page). This is due **electronically and in hard copy** the department on May 7 at 6:30 PM.

Discussion and Presentation Rubric

Rubric for discussing common scholarly articles and presenting your own choice of "best practice" scholarship.

What are the major analytical claims this scholar makes? Is there an "arc" to their narrative of change, or key words that encapsulate the thesis?

How does the author address the literature and articulate the larger implications of her work (the all important "so what" question, otherwise known as their "intervention")?

How does the author reason from evidence to support his claims? Give two or three of the best examples. What are the main sources yielding this evidence? (See footnotes but no need to elaborate precise archives or collections).

Concluding critical appraisal.

Conferences: These are for me often the most fun in these classes. I will send out calendar sign up links from time to time. Make sure your google calendar is set to EST, not GMT! Come with questions, sources, examples, outlines.

Email Etiquette and Efficiency – Required Subject Line "HIS 709 Question"

Please address questions to me via email regarding assignments, appointments, mishaps. **Subject line:** "HIS 709 – [brief synopsis of your issue]." I have a filter and deal with them all at once. Expect to hear back from me in 24 hours (weekends excepted). If I fail to respond, please try me again! Use your UNCG account to make sure you don't end up in my spam.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a serious offense of the academic code and is treated as such by faculty. Familiarize yourself with the responsibilities of the instructor and the options I have: <http://sa.uncg.edu/handbook/academic-integritypolicy/> I will report violations of the honor code to the Dean of Students through one of the two paths explained on the website. This is more serious at the graduate level. See the Rampolla chapter linked on the main Canvas page, or **Plagiarism 2.0: Information Ethics in the Digital Age** [Plagiarism 2.0 Video](#) ("Patch Writing" a form of plagiarism that plagues undergraduates, starting at 4:30).

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.

Schedule of Meetings and Deadlines (OR, "THE SCHOLAR'S FISHING EXPEDITION")

1/15: INTRODUCTIONS

Members will introduce each other after 5 minute interviews. Review of syllabus and requirements. Introduction to my suggested research questions. Demonstrations of the most productive on-line search engines (active student contributions welcome): Red box, America History and Life, JSTOR, EBSCO, HathiTrust.org, ProQuest Historical Newspapers (UNCG and UVA), **ProQuest History Vault** (digitized microfilm); Archives Unbound, iPoll, ProQuest Congressional.

SEE: Jackson Library: Subject Guides-> History->Jackson 511A

1/22: CHARTING THE CURRENTS – IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

First Hour: The Wide Sea – Its Teeming Abundance and Dead Zones. Or, "Historiography." What do the experts recommend about finding our way?

READ: 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 <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/cjas/lacy.html> (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)

Hall, Simon. "Framing the American 1960s: A Historiographical Review." *European Journal of American Culture* 31, no. 1 (February 2012): 5–23. Useful in identifying more specialized monographs for next time.

On Canvas Discussion Board: Write 400-600 words: 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? **Pose ONE in terms of a researchable question. Example:** Not, “why did the March on Washington happen?” but rather “why did original plans for sustained civil disobedience at the Capital devolve into a one day rally at the Lincoln Memorial?” Not, “why did Johnson declare a War on Poverty”? Rather, “how much was War on Poverty planning an intentional or inadvertent response to the widening racial crisis and ramifying demands of a civil rights movement that clearly now included Northern protest?”

Second Hour: General Discussion of What Happened and Main Currents of Change. Spend a few hours familiarizing yourself with the Sixties, in at least two main areas. After the preceding historiography piques your interest, find and read about 100-150 pages from one or two of the general works of historical synthesis that I have identified in the Canvas bibliography, and collected in Google Docs (main folder). [Best: Patterson, Kazin, Lytle, Appy]. Pick something more specific, not *too* specific, since I want you to survey widely, and if you do this, try to sample how two of the general works of scholarly synthesis interprets your event or trend. [Example: not the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, but rather Student Radicalism from that event to the 1969 Days of Rage]. Is there a person, decision, event, or course of political and cultural development that you can identify by next week really captures your imagination? (See all my suggestions at the end, which range from areas of interest to focused questions).

Optional: sometime in the next two weeks: Booth, et. al., *Craft of Research*, chs. 3-5. From Topics to Questions to Sources, very helpful. How does this mysterious process work: refining our “interests” into “topics” and “research problems” and beginning to generate “working hypotheses” about important questions?

1/29: WATCHING THE NET CASTERS, AND MAPPING YOUR TERRITORY

I. First Hour: What’s Good? Appreciating Method and Research Focus. Discussion and Reporting about Common Readings in 2 Groups (1 hour outside of class MAX and 30-45 minutes discussion in class. Pick one set—practice reading for the main ideas and best examples, noting sources and method. This is an exercise in quick apprehension, so spend no more than 30 minutes with each):

EITHER: 1. Poor Women and the Politics of Welfare:

Levenstein, Lisa. “From Innocent Children to Unwanted Migrants and Unwed Moms: Two Chapters in the Public Discourse on Welfare in the United States, 1960-1961.” *Journal of Women’s History*; *Baltimore* 11, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 10–33.

Laurie Green, “Saving Babies in Memphis,” In Orleck, Annelise, and Lisa Gayle Hazirjian. *The War on Poverty: A New Grassroots History, 1964-1980*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

OR: 2. Reclaiming Hallowed Ground

Sandage, Scott A. “A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963.” *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993): 135–67.

Jones, W. 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 (October 7, CR Black Power folder.

II. Second Hour: Finding Sources and Imagining Results

(Do We Need a Session with Lynda Kellam on Library Search techniques?)

Now you are getting a good sense of where the big fish swim.

Read two of the many more specific **historiographical** reviews that I posted on Google Docs and referenced in the Canvas Bibliography. Do this with a view to sharpening the **questions** you might be answering. **Informed questions.** As you develop an interest, ASK ME! I am continually raking in fascinating material, much of it in digital form. NB: Historiographical reviews are not reports on specific research projects, rather surveys and commentary on several questions, as in “the state of the field.”

Begin constructing your **working annotated bibliography** in Google Docs. “Share” with me and one other collaborator who might become your peer reviewer. By this week I expect you to be considering the range of scholarship that will help you with your informed focused question. So this is a Draft Working Bibliography, at this point consisting of 6-8 books and articles whose theses, methods, and sources may become of use to you. Above your working bibliography, take a stab at refining one of those questions from last week (you can steal someone else’s at this point, with their permission of course).

2/5: ASSAYING THE SHIPWRECKS, AVOIDING THE SHARKS, STAYING IN CLEAR WATERS

Continue constructing your **working annotated bibliography** in Google Docs with your emergent proposal. This refines the questions, delimits the topical scope, and defines the analytical or historical significance (what you are explaining, why we should take interest). I expect to see new titles, refined annotations, blooming questions on top, and **clearing out of seaweed that only serves to obscure your targets**. On the bottom I expect to see shimmering reefs filling up with primary sources that speak to your questions. **I will actively contribute to these documents in comments sections.**

Student Reports on “Best Practice” Article Length Scholarship (Not historiography, actual scholarship): Take the **best article you’ve read**, something you wish you had written. Not a historiographical essay, a real bona fide product of original research. All selections must be cleared with me in advance. Present it to the class as you might a SHORT Ted Talk (10 minutes max). Tell us the main claims; the historical conversation wherein it resides; the most vivid examples; where to find the sources they relied upon and what makes them enticing (nothing fancy, just the manuscript collection and the repository suffices).

See Discussion and Presentation Rubric above and on Canvas.

2/11: MONDAY (ONE DAY AHEAD TO ALLOW PROFESSOR AND PEER REVIEW)

The Proposal! With Annotated Bibliography and Working Hypotheses. 10%. SEE CANVAS RUBRIC. Twelve weeks to finished product!

Introduction/Prose Body: Pose a focused, researchable, and significant question. Justify in light of what has been written. Hook your reader. Elaborate on how you will fulfill the promise. Present working hypotheses or areas of mystery and uncertainty.

Crisp, leaned out annotated bibliography. Settle on the list of at least 4-5 key secondary works (books or journal articles) on your topic and *briefly* summarize the authors’ findings and sources (but not everything: *note only those findings and claims and sources pertinent to your question and methods, not a complete overview or traditional exhaustive “annotation”*).

Fully Fleshed Out List of Accessible Rich Primary Sources. Complete a list of the most important primary sources you intend to consult for your paper and briefly describe them, and again their *pertinence to the questions*. Are you confident yet that these sources will satisfy the burning questions you are asking? Can you get to them or are you just hoping and wondering? (Don’t list individual news articles however, just the range of newspapers and magazines consulted, and don’t include long urls).

2/12: TUESDAY: YOUR “PITCH” FOR FUNDING TO THE WHOLE CLASS

I have \$100,000 in play money to award one grant of \$75,000 and one of \$50,000. Class will vote on who gets the dough. It is your responsibility to “hook” your audience on a compelling question and persuade us that your choice is 1. Focused. 2. Researchable. 3. Significant. You each will have up to 15 minutes total, so shoot for 10 minutes with 2-3 for Q and A. Each student will mark feedback sheets and I will tally scores and award awards!

2/15, FINAL REVISION OF HITHERTO NOT-YET APPROVED PROPOSALS

2/19: YOU AND THE LONE HORIZON – INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH

No Class, Possible Conferences or Affinity Group Meetings

2/26: SMOOTH TRAWLING OR SNAGGED LINES AND BEACHED BOATS?

Discussions of Representative Primary Source Analyses

Students will also write up 1-2 pages of primary source analysis: person, audience, context, text, subtext, skilled mix of paraphrase, direct quotation of that language so remarkable that it cannot be paraphrased, where it might fit in the development of your idea.

SPRING BREAK – RESEARCH! WRITE! THESE AREN'T NEAT, DISCRETE PHASES!

3/13 NO CLASS – SEVEN WEEKS TO FINAL DRAFT, FIRST DRAFT, TWO WEEKS TO OUTLINE!

3/20: INFORMAL PROGRESS REPORTS, AFFINITY GROUPS, POSSIBLE SHARED READING TBA

3/26: OUTLINES DUE FOR PEER REVIEW AND CLASS DISCUSSION

Outlines should venture an introductory paragraph, your justification in terms of scholarship, and an indeterminate number of logically connected topic sentences and bullet points evoking ideas and evidence that is taking shape. 3-4 pages

3/27 DISCUSSION OF OUTLINES

4/3: POSSIBLE MEETING DEPENDING ON CLASS NEEDS

4/8 MONDAY!!! AT LATEST. FIRST SECOND DRAFTS DUE! 28 DAYS TO FINAL DRAFT

Upload to canvas for professor and peer review.

Read at least 1 other students' drafts (as assigned in teams; feel free to read others) and write up a constructive one page single space critique: identify strengths of the essay but make sure that you concentrate on the aspects of the essay that need strengthening. Alternately, use "Review" in Word with "Track Changes" and "Comments" to communicate substantially the same thing. CANVAS will have TWO upload sites with rubrics, one for me and another for your peer reviewer.

4/9: PEER REVIEWS IN TEAMS AND GENERAL DISCUSSION

4/16, 4/23: POSSIBLE CLASS SESSIONS DEPENDING ON STUDENT NEEDS.

4/30: DIVING TROPHIES – PRESENTATION OF KEY FINDINGS – LAST CLASS! BELIEVE IT!

Please take no more than 15 minutes to highlight the most interesting and significant pieces of your argument and show some supportive illustrations. Believe it or not, the last class.

TUESDAY MAY 7: 6:30 PM. ABSOLUTE DROP DEAD DONE DONE DONE NO BULL NO EXCUSES

DEADLINE (CAUGHT, GUTTED, COOKED, SERVED!) The final draft will be evaluated on its coherence, logical development, significance for history, relationship between interpretation and evidence, and its lucid compelling writing style! This is when I reap the rewards of all of our hard work. Please give them to me elegantly filleted and delicately cooked!

Jackson's Burning Questions That You Can HAVE

What follows are a number of ideas, some of them pioneered by recent undergraduates, for which I have a ton of scholarship and primary source material already, which I would be happy to share with you through Google Drive and Zotero. I can show you extensive collections of newspaper articles that I have been able to assemble and download through my ProQuest subscription at the University of Virginia.

Popular Culture and the Cuban Missile Crisis -- taking off on recent work by Alice George and Sheldon Stern, this would recover an angle of public reaction to America's biggest brush with Armageddon. Other angles on the Cuban Missile Crisis involve the United States Information Agency's attempt to "spin" the crisis in the Third World, or a contrast between the

Administration's "official narrative" as embodied in house historian Arthur Schlesinger vs. dissident critiques from the Left most cogently presented by I.F. Stone.

Missiles in Cuba: Presidential Toughness or Cold War Recklessness?

I have in mind perhaps a comparison of the public relations aspects at the time as people assessed Kennedy's leadership and as it became a political football, comparing the administration's dominant narrative with revelations that have emerged since then – that diplomacy may have diffused the crisis sooner, that the missiles were probably not strategically game changing, that no one and the degree of control they projected at the time.

Bernstein, Barton J. "The Week We Almost Went to War." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 32, no. 2 (February 1976): 12–21.

Dobbs, Michael. *One Minute to Midnight: Kennedy, Khrushchev, and Castro on the Brink of Nuclear War*, 2008.

American Journalists and the Buddhist Crisis South Vietnam 1963 - The First Credibility Gap. A wave of protest against the US sponsored anti-Communist regime of Ngo Dinh Diem captured international headlines with the immolation of a Vietnamese monk. Journalists were split over the legitimacy of the regime, and a cohort of gung ho American journalists played indispensable roles in calling into question the regime and the entire war effort. The unsuccessful efforts of the Kennedy administration to contain their counter-narratives foreshadowed later conflicts between the press and the military and the Johnson Administration.

Birmingham 1963: a victory for the national movement and a defeat for the local movement? Scholars are sharply divided, Glen Eskew on the one hand, King biographers on the other.

Assembling the Jobs and Freedom Coalition in the 1963 March on Washington. I have a chapter on this in my book, the digitized manuscript papers of A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King's president's office files, including several hundred letters from ordinary people. Because of my collaboration with the Library of Congress and the American Archive of Public Broadcasting, I also have access to full network coverage of the March itself (LOC is slowly digitizing and releasing this).

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 1963: From Economics to Civil Rights? From Militancy to Moderation?

Is David Garrow correct when he argues that the original economic focus of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom "became largely invisible" (in favor of the narrower goal of passing the Kennedy civil rights bill), due to the influence of the Kennedy Administration and civil rights moderates?

(Sources: newspapers, magazines, Kennedy Administration MOW files on film, Bayard Rustin Papers and A. Philip Randolph Papers on film; SNCC and CORE and NAACP and SCLC papers on film; memoirs of participants such as Cleveland Sellers and John Lewis – Thomas Gentile, *March on Washington*). See Malcolm X's denunciation of the "farce on Washington" in "The Ballot or the Bullet,"

JFK, RFK, and the Processing of Civil Rights. Drafting, proposing, amending the Civil Rights Bill of 1963. Historians don't generally differentiate between those rights the Bill squarely addressed, and those it deferred -- especially voting rights and federal protections for civil rights workers brutalized by police and the Klan in the South. Great opportunity to work with the White House tapes, presidential speeches, and a number of black leaders who supported the bill but wished to extend and strengthen it.

The Politics of Riot Commissions -- Were They Listening to Black Voices? I have digitized collections from "Civil Rights during the Johnson Administration," Part V. being the collected testimony behind the 1968 Kerner Commission report. And the United States Commission on Civil Rights collected a remarkable array of testimony from grassroots people. So too did congressional committees, liberal and conservative anti-communist.

The Civil Rights Leadership and the Urban Crisis: The Kennedy-Ribicoff "City Hearings" of 1966

Every major civil rights leader and a host of urban experts testified in the Senate Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, under the title, the "Federal Role in Urban Affairs." Robert Kennedy and Abraham Ribicoff solicited wide ranging analyses and recommendations for addressing the urban crisis. You could read and contrast the analyses of every mainstream civil rights leader, and examine press coverage as well to find out whether this national forum was actually reaching the American people.

Economic Policy, Racial Conflict, and the Origins of the War on Poverty

How much did a mass movement – the civil rights movement as it especially took on issues of poverty and northern racial apartheid – influence a new poverty policy aimed at a broader constituency that had not been mobilized? Participants and later historians have reached very different conclusions about how much the war on poverty was intended to capture a newly militant civil rights movement, and how much it was intended to appeal either to middle-class humanitarianism or to white poor people. Really gets to a central question of how much popular movements can influence policy and opportunity. There's a good summary of the debate in Katz.

Brauer, Carl M. "Kennedy, Johnson, and the War on Poverty." *Journal of American History* 69 (June 1982): 98-119. Russell, Judith. *Economics, Bureaucracy, and Race: How Keynesians Misguided the War on Poverty*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Selected 40 p.

Piven and Cloward, *Poor People's Movements, and Regulating the Poor*.

Michael Katz, *The Undeserving Poor, ch. On origins WOP*.

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.

"Maximum Feasible Participation" -- The Fight over Community Action in Congress and Key Cities. The central program of the war on poverty directed at grassroots community organization called for "maximum feasible participation" of poor people in designing programs to conquer poverty. Just how poor people would fit in relation to all the other middle-class poverty warriors and politicians was a bone of contention. However, the civil rights commissions' testimony can be combined with extensive congressional inquiry (and a lot of grassroots testimony before congressional committees) as well as news media coverage. Should "self-help" for poor people should involve controversial things like voter registration or even organizing them for disruptive protests, as many grassroots people employed by community action agencies advocated?

Congressional committees held hearings in major cities such as New York, Los Angeles, Albuquerque (on Native American poverty), Providence, Rhode Island, etc. Supplement with local press coverage, contemporary case studies by social scientists and materials from the War on Poverty microfilm.

Sources: Congressional Hearings, (available in Government Docs. Ask me to help find these and place in common area).

Senate Select Subcommittee on Poverty, *Expand the War on Poverty*, 1965

House Committee on Education and Labor, *Examination of the War on Poverty Program*, 1965.

Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Examination of the War on Poverty*, 1967.

Black Activists and National Leaders Speak Out at the National Level on the War on Poverty

Was there great variety or essential continuity among various black activists who testified on the effectiveness of the War on Poverty in their city? Source: Congressional Hearings under search term "Antipoverty Programs" and the "Federal Role in Urban Affairs." Speeches or sermons in the papers of Rustin, Randolph, King, Dorothy Height, Roy Wilkins, Whitney M. Young. Was there a "black power" critique of the War on Poverty that differed from mainstream black activists like Rustin and Randolph?

Greensboro, 1963. Unsung Site of the Negro Revolution. There is quite a bit of oral history and local press coverage, but Greensboro scarcely made the national news because it did not experience violence on the level of Cambridge, Danville, or Birmingham (all of which could be studied through media and movement records). Did you know Birmingham had 2400 people in jail at the same time Greensboro had 1400, the two cities with the greatest number of people in jail in the wave of direct action protests of the spring of 1963? Only Birmingham became world-famous, because of the televised confrontations and the charisma of Martin Luther King.

Black Women and Hunger Politics, 1967. There is actually a good bit of congressional testimony and oral history, as the welfare rights movement is in full swing, and Bobby Kennedy takes an active interest in Deep South hunger. This at a moment when the war on poverty is losing support in Congress and activists are seeking cover, in this case under the umbrella of motherhood.

Choosing War, 1964 – The Eyes Wide Shut Agony of Lyndon Johnson. If we can believe Fredrik Logevall, this was a year when pressures to escalate war in Vietnam were not determining, when Johnson poured his ambivalence into the telephone, whose recording system captured untold hours of prodding and testing of his advisors. A lot of these are now transcribed and you have the opportunity to compare his public statements with his agonized private conversations.

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.

See Lytle's footnotes to David Kaiser and Berman.

Hubert Humphrey Memorandum, in Logevall, Fredrik. *The Origins of the Vietnam War*. Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2001. 124-128.

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?

Black Soldiers in the Black Power Era – Patriotic Assimilationism vs. Revolutionary Internationalism. There is some scholarship on the G.I. antiwar movement, and a lot of African-American newspaper coverage as popular support for the war crumbled and racial conflicts within Vietnam accelerated.

Public Opinion and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement. There is really interesting controversy over the degree to which the movement actually impeded the war effort or through the fun house mirror of sensationalized media coverage managed simply to alienate most Americans. Here's an opportunity to work through public opinion polls, records of antiwar organizations, and media coverage (which did turn more positive as public support for the war collapsed around 1971). A digitized microfilm collection from the Johnson Presidential Library is especially rich.

Lester, Robert, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, and Inc University Publications of America. *Vietnam, the Media, and Public Support for the War: Selections from the Holdings of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library*. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1986. Professor has whole collection.

See the separate bibliography in [google drive](#).

George Ball and the Vietnam Dissenters

Johnson's decision to escalate the war in 1964-1965 was riven with internal doubts and quite a bit of dissent. Ball ultimately resigned along with Bill Moyers. William Fullbright was also an early dissenter in the Congress. Consider Ball's sources of information, personal history and sense of relevant history to the decision, as well as his sense of vindication in 1968 when much of the foreign policy "wise men" came over to his position on the difficulty and cost of "winning." Compare scholarship, memoirs, and his writing while in the administration and publicly defending the policy.

Ball, James A. *George Ball: Behind the Scenes in U.S. Foreign Policy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997. Ebook

DiLeo, David L. *George Ball, Vietnam, and the Rethinking of Containment*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Ball, George W. *The Past Has Another Pattern: Memoirs*. New York: Norton, 1982.

Ball, George W. *The Issue in Viet-Nam*. Washington: Dept. of State; [for sale by Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Govt. Off., 1966.

Arkansas Senator J William Fulbright, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam.

After 1965, Johnson's most influential senatorial critic became the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, Arkansas Senator Fulbright. How he undermined public belief in the administration's version of the Tonkin Gulf incident or the invasion of the Dominican Republic, how Johnson was able to contain him, remain fascinating focused mysteries. Sources: Fulbright's memoirs speeches and most of all the extensive congressional hearings available through ProQuest Congressional.

Vietnam Veterans against the War – John Kerry and the Winter Soldiers Investigation. Remarkable emergence in 1971 of a strong soldiers antiwar movement, makes big news, testifies to troop implication in atrocities, struggles with issues of reintegration and dissent. I found the entire testimony from the Investigation in the Congressional Record, and coverage of their protests and Kerry's testimony has not been plumbed. SIXTIES PROGRAMMING BRINGING DAVID CORTRIGHT TO CAMPUS, WHO DID PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND ACTIVISM ON SOLDIER OPPOSITION.

Robin Morgan, Radical Feminism, and the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (WITCH). WITCH splashed on the national scene in the 1968 Miss America protests, but there was quite a bit of controversy around in-your-face street theater. Morgan is a prolific writer and you could combine her memoir with extensive press coverage.

What really accounts for the emergence of women's liberation? Disgust with the men's antiwar movement as the textbook suggests? Morgan of Redstockings (before WITCH) was a participant and an articulate observer, as well as someone who revised her view of the political effectiveness of radical tactics.

Morgan, Robin. *Going Too Far: The Personal Chronicle of a Feminist*. New York: Vintage, 1978.

Morgan, Robin. *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*. New York: Random House, 1970. Morgan edited but no writings from her.

Morgan, Robin, "Goodbye to All That," reprinted in <http://blog.fairuse.org/2007/09/29/goodbyetoallthatbyrobinmorgan1970/> and in google drive

White Civil rights reporters (singular or collective biography, depending on scope of coverage):

Karl Fleming of Newsweek (new memoir, *Son of the Rough South*, and Newsweek reporting)

Claude Sitton of the New York Times -- extensive coverage

The following two were especially sympathetic and insightful into grassroots black politics:

Pat Watters of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and Nation magazine -- memoir and articles

Paul Good, memoir and articles

The NAACP, Federal Courts, and the Conundrum of “De Facto” Segregation In Big City Schools. Most black legal activists knew there was nothing “natural” about residential and school segregation, but did they in conceding the concept of “de facto” lose important ground in making constitutional arguments against a crucial perpetuating institution in racial isolation and black disadvantage?

The Women Who Put Sex into Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This has to be one of the strangest coalitions in American history. Segregationist Howard Smith seeking to torpedo the bill by inserting “sex” into the protected categories of the employment provisions, the National Women’s Party (itself with segregationist roots) supporting, and liberal congresswomen bitterly divided. Ultimately though the entire Congress came around. What role did African-American Women and women allied with the Presidents Commission on the Status of Women play in building congressional support for the sex amendment? Though the EEOC did not take it seriously for years until women pressured it, this was the entering wedge.

Martin Luther King, the Icon, the Dissident. The forthcoming book by Jason Sokol argues that the “domestication” of King as a consensus leader, in Vincent Harding words, “the harmless dreamer of black and white children on the hillside,” started with the assassination. But you can see it much earlier in national celebration of King’s nonviolence (especially as Malcolm X and radical students seemed to present a more dire threat) and you can see King pushing against the implication he might be a “consensus leader.” Many of King speeches are now readily available, as is a lot of press coverage I have downloaded. Scholars have not plumbed the thousands of letters ordinary people wrote to King to see how they projected their own expectations and fears onto his leadership.

Newspaper or magazine coverage of Martin Luther King: Framing the “American Gandhi” in the 1950s; or Covering (Up) the Radical King, 1965-68. (See Black Newspaper Articles from the 1960s in the Drive, a compilation of all the news articles that I have downloaded over the years on King and various subjects).

The Chicago Freedom Movement, 1963-1967: Integration and Black Power in the North. When King joined the CFM in 1965, he did so because it had a vital but internally divided coalition that was vigorously debating strategies for social change. Do you try to break down ghetto walls by opening up housing opportunities in suburbs? Do you work on securing resources for black community development? How do you effectively shape local and national power at the same time? Abundant sources not only from King’s angle, but recent work and digitized research collections make this a rich topic. Probably the best northern civil rights movement you could study. Especially with the strong and militant newspaper *Chicago Defender* available through my UVA subscription. Start with my Chapter 11 of *From Civil Rights to Human Rights* on Google Drive.

Vietnam Soldiers: Demoralization and Dissent?

The dominant image of in country soldiers by 1971 is that of racial conflict, drug abuse, violence against officers, but the political critique emerging from the experience of fighting the kind of war they were asked to fight has not been adequately explored. Some continued to support the war, and they would be worth looking at, but the emergence of an articulate if not coherent antiwar soldiers movement is highly significant. John Kerry was its most famous proponent but not the only one.

Hunt, Andrew E. *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War*. NYU Press, 2001.

Harmon, Mark D. *Found, Featured, Then Forgotten: U.S. Network Tv News and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War*. Knoxville, Tenn.: Newfound Press, University of Tennessee Libraries, 2011. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7290/V7G44N61>.

BARRY, JAN. “Why Veterans March Against the War.” *New York Times*. April 23, 1971.

Nicosia, Gerald. *Home to War: A History of the Vietnam Veterans’ Movement*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2001.

Lewis, Penny. *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory*. Ithaca: ILR Press, 2013. <http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=3138458>.

Appy, Christian G. *American Reckoning: The Vietnam War and Our National Identity*, 2015.

Feminism in the (Male) Mass Media

Many of the antifeminist positions of the 1970s can be explained at least in part by the distortions in news coverage, identifying all feminists with the most outrageous examples. Look at newspaper and popular magazine coverage as well as any television.

Bradley, Patricia. *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003. Ebook.

Jackson Library Microfilm Collections. In addition to my digitized collections outlined in another memo:

Before I came (thanks to my predecessors Steve Lawson and John D’Emilio) we already owned the **SNCC Papers, CORE Papers, Fannie Lou Hamer Papers**, some of the **NAACP Papers, Johnson Library civil rights papers, Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph Papers**. We now own the **CORE “Addendum”** (not yet arrived) covering the 1960s, the **Martin Luther King FBI files** (including the all-important verbatim transcripts of telephone surveillance between King and Stanley Levison), the **Kennedy Administration’s civil rights papers**, the **Johnson Library’s War on Poverty files** (not yet arrived), and the **Paul**

Robeson collection! Run, don't walk, to the library and to the finding aids associated with these collections to get a sense of the profusion of sources on this movement. If you cannot find sources at UNCG, know that the *Duke and UNC Chapel Hill libraries have collaborated to purchase every microfilm collection on this movement known to man and woman* (including ALL the NAACP and SCLC papers), making the North Carolina Piedmont without doubt the best place on the planet to study this movement!

The Senators and the Segregationists: Debating, Passing, and Resisting the Civil Rights Act:

Mann, Robert. *When Freedom Would Triumph : The Civil Rights Struggle in Congress, 1954-1968*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007, 167-208.

"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.

Sokol, Jason. *There Goes My Everything : White Southerners in the Age of Civil Rights, 1945-1975*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006, ch. 4 "Barbecue, Fried Chicken, and Civil Rights: The 1964 Civil Rights Act," pp. 182-237.

Pro: general justice and fairness, morality; Constitutionality; risk of further demonstrations and violence damaging domestic order and international reputation; Congress' authority under the commerce clause; human rights over property rights (or the correct interpretation of the limits of individual property rights).

The African-American response to the Moynihan Report on the black family, 1965-1966. Sources will include the report itself and the documents collected in Yancey and Rainwater, *The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy*, as well as documents from the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights, in part IV of *Civil Rights During the Johnson Administration [microfilm]*. The report causes a furor because it seemed to deflect the causes of deprivation away from poverty and powerlessness onto black family structures and because it came along at just the moment the Johnson administration's commitment to the War on Poverty and civil rights enforcement seemed to be faltering.

The Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike, 1968

Honey, Michael K. *Going down Jericho Road* (Norton, 2007)

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, *Memphis: We Remember*.

<http://www.afscme.org/about/memphist.htm>

Links to oral history, retrospective accounts from the AFSCME newspaper and several scholarly articles and photographs.

Origins of the Modern Environmental Movement: Congressional Action and Citizen Mobilization

Test the Mackenzie/Weisbrod thesis that the 1960s environmental activism originated largely within the Congress and Johnson administrations, and that the public *followed* the federal activism. Edmund Muskie and Gaylord Nelson in Congress seem key pivotal players, but issues at the grassroots that bear examination are the responses to atomic weapons test fallout, suburban water quality (Adam Rome), air pollution, lead in children. What interest groups and advocacy organizations might also have been crucial from the start in keeping ideals of conservation of wilderness and more importantly, quality of the urban environment in the fore.

Sale, Kirkpatrick, and Eric Foner. *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Spencer, Steven M. "FALLOUT: The Silent Killer." *Saturday Evening Post* 232, no. 10 (September 5, 1959): 25-86.

Rome, Adam. "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties." *The Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (September 1, 2003): 525-54. doi:10.2307/3659443.

Rome, Adam. *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*. 1 edition. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Hays, Samuel P. *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.