

History 340-01 (SI), Spring 2003
The United States Since World War II

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M,W, F 10:00-10:50
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This course weaves together three rich strands of history. We will examine central ideas, events, decisions and controversies in the black freedom movement, the “Vietnam Wars” and mass immigration to the United States from the Third World (principally Latin America and Asia) since the 1960s.

Some of the central unifying themes of the course are:

The civil, political and economic dimensions of freedom and democracy, and who decides how people exercise these rights.

The importance of leadership and decision making at key historical junctures. The power of ideology and historical “lessons” to shape behavior (“containment,” “nonviolence,” “freedom”).

The voices, strivings and experiences of ordinary people, who often get marginalized in grand narratives of history.

The varied ways humans have of communicating, resolving their differences, or imposing their will upon others: through speech, negotiation, protest, violence and warfare.

The importance of what the philosophers call “contingency”: the fact that at any historical moment, people make choices from among an array of conceivable or explicitly expressed alternatives. But they do so on ground not of their own choosing. And the outcomes of their choices are rarely in their full control. People make history, but only in the context of ideas and realities they inherit in a world shaped largely by others.

The course balances reading, writing and speaking. But what happens in class – questioning, reporting, debating, finding common ground, testing ideas against evidence – depends on everybody’s preparation, mutual respect and courage in speaking.

Each class will have several “point people,” leaders whose responsibility it will be to briefly review the main points contained in the readings, and to assist the instructor in asking questions and guiding discussion on those issues. We will also have some informal debates and small group exercises in which the point people will organize their classmates to discuss problems or develop positions they can support with evidence. Each time you serve as a point person, you must submit a 1 page single-spaced “point paper” that states and comments upon the specific issue you volunteer to present (this can be in prose or *detailed* outline form). Each of you will have to do 5-6 of these over the semester.

I require each of you to give two 8-minute presentations to the class (with a few minutes for question and answer), along with a 3-4 page paper to accompany each presentation. I’ll coach you on these presentations, which should be spoken, not read, in a conversational style that engages the audience. One of these will present the argument of a notable scholar on a specific subject (just as if you were presenting their views at a conference). Another presentation/paper will present and then comment upon a primary document produced by an historical actor (speech, memoir, correspondence, etc.). Again, neither of these should be READ to the group. They should be TALKED. Visit the Speaking Center for an appointment with a Consultant and read the materials I hand out.

We’ll have three or four “round table” discussions over the course of the semester, when you will actually assume the voice of an historical figure in a series of structured statements followed by a freewheeling debate. Those of you who don’t participate in these debates will have “press conferences” in which you take on a character to explain and defend a major decision. Your performance in the round table, as well as other opportunities that emerge to voice this person’s views, will provide the basis for a 5-page paper on that person’s arguments *in context* (due a week after your round table or press conference).

I. Reading and Preparation

For this class to work, everyone must consistently prepare. You will be responsible for reading approximately 100-125 pages per week. Two books are available for purchase in **Addams University Bookstore** (on Tate Street) and at the **University Bookstore** (Elliot Center). Each day has brief, focused, often brilliant readings that mix scholarly writing with primary documents: speeches, letters, essays, oral histories, press releases, news articles.

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990* (NY: Harper Perennial, 1990)

Adam Fairclough, *Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).

ALL Other Reading (Unless Otherwise Noted) is on Electronic Reserves for HIS340. Each day we'll consider short excerpted primary and secondary sources. **It is imperative that you learn the ereserves system and that you be willing to patiently locate the readings for a given day and bring them to class with you.**¹ The deal is that I've saved you considerable money and selected pure gold from a couple dozen sources. The downside is that sifting through the quirky manner of citation and printing them out can be somewhat of a hassle. Print out several weeks' material in advance. Use the library's two-sided printers.

II. Writing Assignments (50%):

1. 5-6 (five to six) 1 page "point papers" when you serve as point person (there will always be more on paper, you'll find, than you'll be able to say) **10%**. Succinctly, describe three main analytical points, relate to some pieces of evidence, and provide a question, comment or your own evaluation (something the group can discuss). (These may be in outline, or "bullet" form: whatever helps you speak clearly to the group-- see the guidelines). I will ask you to sign up for specific readings covering discrete issues; 3 people a day will perform this essential service.

2. 2 (two) 3-4 page essays on a short piece of scholarship and a primary source, 10%. Analyze their main points in terms of the evidence they present. This is a more formal essay that is the basis for your presentation. This should not be *read* to the group; but *presented* in formal, yet conversational style. How does the author's point of view and evidence add to or run counter to what the class has read?

3. 1 (one) 5-6 page analysis of the position you took in the "round table" discussion-debates or press conference (due 1 week later). You have represented someone in public. Now step back and analyze their arguments in light of what you learned in the debate and what we know now.

"Stonewall Jackson's" Extensions Policy: Please, do not even ask unless personal illness, family loss or serious emergency intervenes. Otherwise, late work will suffer 1/4 of a grade reduction the day after it is due and every day after that.

III. Speaking and Participation Assignments (50%)

1. General participation (10%). Comments, questions, effectiveness in debate and discussion. We're shooting for a balance of quality and quantity here.

2. "Point Person" leadership (10%). Condensation of main points, commentary upon evidence and discussion-provoking question or comment

3. Reports based on primary and secondary sources (10%). Succinct, enlightening summaries and commentaries on 2 extra readings. We will have sign ups in the second week, and add more if necessary.

4. "Round table" discussion-debates and press conferences (10%). Master the arguments, point of view and evidence of an historical figure, and represent them as they would have wanted to be represented. (At the very end, if time permits, each student will provide *their own* assessment).

5. Improvement and mutual support (10%).

SEE THE GUIDELINES AND EVALUATION SHEETS FOR SPEAKING ON 1-4

¹ At <http://library.uncg.edu/> click "reserves" and search HIS340. Usually the title comes first, the author last, and readings bunched according to topic (though not always). The username is "ereserves" and the password "spring2003". You must have acrobat reader. Ask for help at the Library reserve desk.

University Speaking Center: http://www.uncg.edu/cac/site_main.html

I require each of you in advance of your first primary or secondary source report to visit the speaking center and have a 45-minute consultation with one of the student consultants. Take the guidelines and the assignment along. Surf their website for ideas—read the guidelines for SAC courses or even browse some of the articles in the bibliography. Take what is useful and incorporate it into your own style of speaking. One of the more useful approaches is to regard *speaking* as an essential tool to discover and refine your own *thinking*. **Here are two quotes from the Speaking Center Website:**

“The principle of active learning is at the heart of the new program. As students express opinions, argue their viewpoints, question assumptions, present findings, and listen to their peers, they engage more fully in the subject matter, thus learning more.”

“The Speaking Center is proud to be providing faculty, students, and employees, with one-on-one mentoring and presentations addressing various aspects of communication. Members of the UNCG community are invited to come to the center and make a 45-minute appointment with a Consultant.”

IV. Attendance: Attendance is required, more strictly in this class than others. *You must email me in advance if you will miss class, or, in case of emergency, within 24 hours.* I can excuse absences only on the grounds of personal or family illness or serious emergency (not conflicting work schedules, the blues, or other extracurricular activity). More than three unexcused absences and your final grade goes down for every day missed. Three *consecutive* unexcused absences may result in my request that you drop the course.

Written Work: All papers must be typed and formatted as follows: Times New Roman font (or Garamond), 11 or 12 font size, double spaced lines, margins no larger than 1” all around. Too short papers or large font papers will be returned immediately for resubmission. For the two essays and the longer paper, reference your quotes and paraphrases with **footnotes** the way all the authors we are reading use them. Example:²

Conferences: I am here to help with questions, to guide you in developing your ideas and speaking strategies, and to give you helpful, honest feedback on your work. Do not hesitate to visit my office hours or schedule an appointment if they are not convenient. Use the resources of the Speaking Center as well.

Honor Code: I remind you that the URL for the University’s Academic integrity policy is <http://saf.dept.uncg.edu/studiscp/Honor.html> If you have not read it, please do so thoroughly. I have an uncanny ability for detecting violators and do not wish to lose more sleep on this issue than I already have in my career.

Round Tables and Press Conferences:

1. Fall 1966: What new directions should the black freedom movement take in response to the advances and reversals of the past years: the successes of the civil rights and voting rights acts, the promise and disappointments of the War on Poverty, the escalating Vietnam War, the emergence of “black power,” and the violent uprisings and repression in the nation’s urban ghettos?
2. Fall 1967: Should the Johnson administration’s current military and diplomatic policies in Indochina be continued until the freedom of South Vietnam is secured, or should there be a major change in policy?
3. Fall 1996: Are current levels of immigration to the United States good for the country? For native-born low wage workers? Should illegal immigrants and their children continue to have access to education, health and welfare, or should these services be withheld to discourage mass immigration?

Depending on the numbers in this class we may have a fourth round table or a set of press conferences.

² Use Turabian FN (footnote): <http://library.uncg.edu/depts/ref/handouts/turabian.html>

If you need further guidance, consult Mary Lynn Rampola, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1995), on hard copy reserve in the Library for **HIS340**.

Collections of Primary and Secondary Sources on Hard Copy Reserve for This Course:

These are referred to throughout the syllabus. Feel free to browse these and other collections for primary source and scholarly reports that might not be listed on this syllabus, but which interest you.

Marvin E. Gettleman, et.al., eds., *Vietnam and America: A Documented History* New York: Grove Press, 1985

Carson, Clayborne. *The Eyes on the Prize : Civil Rights Reader : Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle, 1954-1990*. New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin Books, 1991.

Levy, Peter B. *Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, eds, *Sisters in the struggle : African American women in the civil rights-black power movement* New York University Press, 2001.

SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS AND DUE DATES

1/13 Introductions and Review of the Syllabus

1/15 Vietnamese Communism, Nationalism and U.S. Policy Choices

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 1, The Fate of OSS Agent 19 (1945-1946), 1-20.

From Jackson, Cohen, Dudley, et.al., “Vietnam Document Set, 1930-1954”:

1) Ho Chi Minh, “Program of the Communist Party of Indochina, February 18, 1930,” in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 12-13. 2) Ho Chi Minh, “Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, September 2, 1945,” in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 24-26.

1/17 Holding the Line: The Extent and Limits of U.S. Commitment to the French in Vietnam

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 2, The Thirty-Year War Begins (1946-1954), 20-36.

From Jackson, Cohen, Dudley, et.al., “Vietnam Document Set, 1930-1954”:

Informal in-class debate: 1) John Foster Dulles, “America Should Consider Direct Military Intervention in Indochina,” 4/12/54, vs. 2) John Fitzgerald Kennedy, “America Should Be Cautious,” 4/6/ 54, in William Dudley, ed., *The Vietnam War: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego: Greenhaven, 1998), pp. 36-46.

Over the Weekend -- Geneva and The Early Regime of Ngo Dinh Diem

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 3, A Pause Between the Wars (1954-1956), 37-59.

From Jackson, Cohen, Dudley, et.al., “Vietnam Document Set, 1930-1954”:

1) “Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference, July 21, 1954” in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 47-49. 2) “Statement By Walter Bedell Smith at the Geneva Conference, July 21, 1954), in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 49-50. 3) Ngo Dinh Diem, “Statement Regarding the Geneva Agreements, July 22, 1954,” in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 50-51. 4) Ho Chi Minh, “Long Live Peace, Unity, Independence and Democracy in Vietnam, July 30, 1954,” in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 51-52.

What were the central provisions of the Geneva Accords? Is there anything in the Walter Smith or Ngo Dinh Diem statements that might have clued anyone that the U.S. and Diem would subvert national elections in 1956?

1/20 No Class – MLK Holiday

1/22 The Cold War and Global Containment

Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon—What Happened and Why* (New York: Random House, 1976, 1995), 17-47.

What were the fundamental assumptions of the Cold Warriors? Did the Cold War and McCarthyism necessarily lead to U.S. intervention in Vietnam?

Point People: 1) The assumptions of the Cold Warriors. 2) Atomic diplomacy and the loss of the American nuclear monopoly. 3) From international confrontation to domestic anticommunism?

Scholar's Report: Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power* (Stanford U. Press, 1992), pp. 496-516. How does Leffler parse responsibility for the Cold War? How prudent and accurate were American leaders' judgments about the communist threat in the core industrial world and the "Third World"?

1/24: McCarthyism

Robert Griffith, "American Politics and the Origins of 'McCarthyism'" in Chafe and Sitkoff, *A History of Our Time* pp. 62-73.

Ellen Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, Primary source excerpts: J. Edgar Hoover, 113-120; Joseph McCarthy, 210-214; William O. Douglas, 243-246. (ER)

Pick out your favorite, most illuminating passage from one of the three speeches and be prepared to read it with verve and panache. Then tell us why it is important. **Question:** Did McCarthyism reflect popular paranoia (Hodgson) or party politics and powerful right-wing interest groups (Griffith).

Point People: 1) Griffith's interpretation of the political sources of anticommunism. 2) Hoover and McCarthy's rhetoric as key anticommunist strategies. 3) William O. Douglas compared with Hodgson and Griffith.

Scholar's report: Ellen Schrecker, Chapter 10: "A Good Deal of Trauma," from *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton Press, 1998) pp. 359-415. How did McCarthyism affect the civil rights movement, its relation to the labor movement and popular movements for economic justice? How did McCarthyism affect the State Department and the "Asia experts" who might have counseled a different course in Vietnam?

1/27: The Rise and Fall of Ngo Dinh Diem

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 4, The War for the South Begins (1955-1962), 60-88.

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 5, The Fall of Diem (1963), 89-104.

"An Asian Liberator," (Man in the News Article on Diem) *New York Times* (May 10, 1957)

Point People: 1) How did the Americans support and build up Diem's public image? 2) Behind this image, how did Diem try to consolidate a South Vietnamese nation? 3) Should the fall of Diem signaled, not a failure of leadership, but of the viability of a South Vietnamese anticommunist state?

Primary Source Report: From "Vietnam Document Set, 1957-1963": Truong Nhu Tang, et. al., Excerpted Voices from the National Liberation Front, 1957-61, from McMahon, ed., *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War*, pp. 285-299. (This is the major part of reading #11 under HIS340 – skip JFK).

What was the appeal of the NLF, other than their opposition to Diem's and Nhu's brutality?

1/29 Lyndon Johnson Embraces "That Bitch of a War"

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 6, Taking the War North (1963-1964), 105-123.

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

Hans J. Morgenthau, "Realities of Containment, June 8, 1964," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 100-102.

Lyndon Johnson, "Our Purpose is Peace, 8/5/64," in Mooney and West, eds., *Vietnam*, 86-87.

Point People: 1) How did domestic politics affect Lyndon Johnson's approach to Vietnam? 2) Was the administration deceiving the Congress and the people? Was he indeed seeking "no wider war?" 3) What evidence exists to support Young's thesis that the United States would simply not allow a South Vietnamese leader to seek "neutralization" through negotiation?

Scholar's Report: Leslie H. Gelb and Richard K. Betts, *The Irony of Vietnam: The System Worked*, 9-26.

1/31 "Seduction": Missed Diplomatic Opportunities, Bombing and the Ground War in Vietnam

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 7, A Wider War (1964-1965), 124-149.

"New York Times Coverage of the U Thant Diplomatic Initiative, February/March 1965," Max Frankel and Thomas Hamilton (ER).

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

Lyndon B. Johnson, "Peace Without Conquest, April 7, 1965," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 108-112.

Point People: 1) Why were the peacemakers (Ball, U Thant, de Gaulle) unsuccessful? 2) What was the point of bombing (Rolling Thunder), the March coup overthrowing General Khanh, and the introduction of ground troops in March 1965? 3) What potential existed for "pacification" as advocated by ambassador Lodge and John Paul Vann, instead of large scale bombing and the commitment of conventional forces?

Scholar's Report: Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of War*, Pantheon, 1985, 199-224. On the growing dependency of South Vietnam on American dollars.

2/3 World War II and Black Communities Organizing for Change

Morris, Aldon D. "A Man Prepared for the Times: A Sociological Analysis of the Leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr." and comments by Robert Parris Moses, In *We Shall Overcome Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Black Freedom Struggle*, eds. Peter J. Albert and Ronald Hoffman, (NY: Pantheon, 1990), 35-58.

Tyson, Timothy B. *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams & the Roots of Black Power*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999. pp. 26-48 only (second half will be read later).

Primary Source Report: Debate about legal action vs. mass direct action: A. Philip Randolph, vs. Thurgood Marshal, in *The Civil Rights Movement: Opposing Viewpoints*, pp. 46-59. (Ask me for a loan to make a copy of this).

2/5 The Making of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 1, The Shaping of a Mind, 1-16.

Garry Wills, "Rhetorical Leader: Martin Luther King, Jr.," in *Certain Trumpets* (Simon and Schuster, 1994), pp. 211-224.

From Martin Luther King, Jr., "Selected Documents from the 1940s and 1950s":

"The Negro and the Constitution," 5/44, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, v. 1*, pp. 109-111.

"Kick Up Dust," 8/6/46, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., v. 1*, pp. 121.

Letter to Coretta, July 18, 1952, in Carson, ed., *Autobiography of MLK*, p. 36.

Optional: "An Autobiography of Religious Development," 11/22/50, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., v. 1*, pp. 359-363.

Primary Source Report: U.S. Supreme Court, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), and Tom P. Brady, "Black Monday: Segregation or Amalgamation . . . America Has Its Choice," in Carson, et.al., *Eyes on the Prize Reader*, 64-74, 83-94. **Hard copy reserve.**

2/7 The Montgomery Bus Boycott

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 2, The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 17-33.

Martin Luther King, Jr., et. al., "MIA Mass Meeting at Holt Street Baptist Church," in Clayborne Carson, ed., *Papers of King*, v. 3, pp. 71-5, 78-9. **(If not yet under HIS340, look under "Jackson" or HIS212)**

Burns, Stewart, ed. *Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, selected voices of protest and resistance: pp. 101-3, 115, 118-119, 125-133, 222-225.

Primary Source Report: Burns, Stewart, ed. *Daybreak of Freedom*, 59-87. Montgomery organizing before King. *Check this out soon.*

2/10 Human Rights and Nonviolent Leadership

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 34-57.

From Martin Luther King, Jr., "Selected Documents from the 1940s and 1950s":

"Paul's Letter to American Christians," 11/4/56, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, v. 3, 414-20. "'Some Things We Must Do,' Address Delivered at the Second Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change," 12/5/57, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, v. 4, pp. 328-

342. Separate reserve entry: "Palm Sunday Sermon on Mohandas K. Gandhi," 3/22/59, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, v. 1, v. 5 (forthcoming, no pagination).

In-class debate: Fairclough states: "non-violence had, at least potentially, a radical political edge." Pro or con: "King's radical political edge was completely blunted in the 1950s."

Primary Source Report: King, *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, final chapter.

2/12 Violence, Economic Reprisals and the Southern Roots of Black Power

Tyson, Timothy B. *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams & the Roots of Black Power*, pp. 144-151, 208-217.

Robert F. Williams, "Is Violence Necessary to Combat Injustice?" and King, "The Social Organization of Nonviolence," in Carson, et. al., eds., *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader* 110-114.

"Civil Rights Documents from the 1950s," in Levy, ed., *Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement* (Greenwood, 1992: 1) Robert F. Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, excerpts 89-91. 2) "Tent City: 'Home of the Brave'" (1961), 86-89. 3) E.W. Steptoe and Aaron Henry, "Affadavits," 132-133.

Scholar's Report: Walker, Jenny. "A Media-Made Movement? Black Violence and Nonviolence in the Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement." In *Media, Culture and the Modern African American Freedom Struggle*, edited by Brian Ward, 41-66. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. I can email you an acroread copy if you need it.

2/14 Charismatic Leaders, Ideas, and Mass Mobilizing, 1960-1962

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 57-70.

"**Documents on the Student Sit-Ins, 1960,**" in Carson, et. al., eds., *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, 114-122, 130-132: "Interview with Franklin McCain," "An Appeal to Human Rights," "SNCC Statement of Purpose," Ella J. Baker, "Bigger Than a Hamburger," James Lawson, "Eve of the Nonviolent Revolution?"

"**Documents on SNCC in Georgia and Mississippi,**" Tom Hayden, Robert Moses, Slater King, Bernice Reagon, excerpted in Levy, ed., *Documentary History*, 91-99.

Scholar's Report: Rouse, Jacqueline A. "'We Seek to Know . . . In Order to Speak the Truth': Nurturing the Seeds of Discontent--Septima Clark and Participatory Leadership." In *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, edited by Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, 95-120. New York: New York University Press, 2001. (Hard copy reserve).

2/17 Confrontation: Birmingham

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 70-82.

"**Birmingham's Civil Disobedience Debate**": Alabama Clergymen Public Statements, "Civil Disobedience Should Not Be Employed," Jan. 17 and April 12, 1963, and Martin Luther King, "Civil Disobedience Should Be Employed" (Letter from a Birmingham City Jail), April 16, 1963, in Dudley, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement: Opposing Viewpoints*, pp. 111-127.

Fred Shuttlesworth, "The Birmingham Manifesto," in Levy, ed., *Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement*, 108-109.

"**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.

Scholarly report: Manis, Andrew Michael. *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999, pp. 366-399. Did King's compromise in the Birmingham Truce Agreement a sell-out the demands of local militants led by Fred Shuttlesworth?

2/19 The Fruits of Mass Direct Action and the Civil Rights Act in Greensboro

Chafe, William. *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980, ch. 5. The crisis over property rights vs. human rights comes to a head at the END of this chapter, so pay close attention to that.

“President Kennedy’s Report to Congress Outlining a Civil Rights Bill,” in Leon Friedman, *The Civil Rights Reader*, 245-249.

Questions: How did Greensboro activists, Mayor Schenk and President Kennedy address the main objections to desegregation of private business establishments serving the public: the argument that the property rights of owners included the right to serve whomever they wished? What forms of “speech” were involved?

Scholar’s Report: Brock, Annette K. "Gloria Richardson and the Cambridge Movement." In *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, edited by Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse and Barbara Woods, 121-143. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. With Addendum: Gloria Richardson, “Cambridge, Maryland, ‘City of Progress’ for Rich” *New America* August, 31, 1963. **Ereserves**

2/21 A Revolution or a Picnic? Assessing the 1963 March on Washington

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 83-91.

Martin Luther King, Jr., “MLK, WWCW excerpt on March on Washington,” from *Why We Can’t Wait* (Mentor, 1964), pp. 120-125.

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

John Lewis, “Address at the March on Washington,” and Martin Luther King, “I Have a Dream,” Aug. 28, 1963, in Carson, ed, *Eyes on the Prize Reader*, 163–165.

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

Randolph, Rustin, et.al., “Correspondence Regarding the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom,” 1963 (Rustin Papers and National Urban League Papers, Library of Congress).

Question: To what degree was the original militancy and economic focus of the march on Washington diluted by the inclusion of moderate-liberal elements and its focus on the Kennedy civil rights legislation?

Primary Source Report: Lewis, John, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998, pp. 201-205, 213-227.

2/24 On the Tiger’s Back: The American Way of War

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 8, The American Invasion of South Vietnam (1965-1966), 150-171.

“Memoranda on Vietnam Escalation,” July-December 1965, by George Ball and Robert McNamara, in Gittleman, et.al. *America and Vietnam* 281-83, 286-9, 291. (In class re-enactment of the Ball-McNamara debate – 1 point person on each side).

Scholar’s Report: Eric Bergerud, *The Dynamics of Defeat: The Vietnam War in Hau Nghia Province* (Westview, 1991), 12-23, 54-68, 82-84. How the NLF was able to gain control of an important province west of Saigon in the early to mid-1965 – village level study.

2/26 The Arrogance of Power? War and Diplomacy in the Deepening Quagmire

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 9, An American War (1966-1967), 172-191.

Letter from Lyndon B. Johnson to Ho Chi Minh, February 8, 1967, and Ho Chi Minh’s Reply February 15, 1967, in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 146-148.

Senator J. William Fulbright, “The Arrogance of Power,” (1966), in Mooney and West, eds., *Vietnam*, 97-99.

Primary Source Report: Harold Wilson, “February 1967: When the War in Vietnam Might Have Ended,” *Life* (May 21, 1971). Excerpted from *A personal record: the Labour Government, 1964-1970*. (Borrow from me or check the memoir out). On the aborted peace talks initiated by British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Soviet Foreign Minister Alexi Kosygin, supported by the State Department but undermined by National Security Advisor Walt Rostow.

2/28 The Soldiers: Working Class War

Christian G. Appy, *Working-Class War*, pp. 6-9, 12-15, 18-23, 28-43, 266-69, 298-305. (40 pp.)

Primary Source Report: James Fallows, "What Did You Do in the Class War Daddy?" *The Washington Monthly*, October 1975, reprinted in *The Wounded Generation: America after Vietnam* / edited by A.D. Horne. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, c1981, and Tim O'Brien, "The Vietnam in Me," *New York Times Magazine* (October 2, 1994). (NYTimes via Proquest)

3/3 Selma and the Voting Rights Act

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 91-104

David Garrow, *Protest at Selma* (Yale: 1975), 135-49, 161-9.

"Debate on the Voting Rights Act": Lyndon Johnson, "The Voting Rights Act Should Be Passed," March 15, 1965, and David Lawrence, "The Voting Rights Act Should Not Be Passed," March 29, 1965," in Dudley, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement: Opposing Viewpoints*, 187-197.

"NAACP Petition to the All-White Board of Aldermen, Natchez, Mississippi, 8/24/65," in Jack Davis, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement* (Blackwell, 2001), pp. 248-251.

Scholar's Report: Lawson, Steven F. "From Boycotts to Ballots: The Reshaping of National Politics." In *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, edited by Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan, 184-210. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991.

3/5 The Southern Roots of Black Power

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 115-118.

Sally Belfrage, Fannie Lou Hamer, James Forman, et.al., "Collected Statements on Freedom Summer 1964 and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's Challenge to the Party Convention," in Levy, ed., *Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement*, 135-148.

Stokeley Carmichael, Ruth Turner Perot, et.al., "Collected Black Power Statements," from Carson, ed., *Eyes on the Prize Reader* 262-78,

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

Scholar's Report: Quadagno, Jill S. "Fostering Political Participation," ch. 2 in *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 33-59.

3/7 No Class – I'll be at a Conference on the Civil Rights Movement

3/10-3/14 SPRING BREAK

3/17 Freedom North: The Chicago Freedom Movement

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 105-111.

Kathleen Connolly, "The Chicago Open-Housing Conference," January 1967, in David Garrow, ed., *Chicago, 1966* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 49-67 (half of the selection).

"Program of the Chicago Freedom Movement, July 1966," in David Garrow, ed., *Chicago, 1966* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 97-109.

Primary Source Report: "Proposal by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the Development of a Nonviolent Action Movement for the Greater Chicago Area," 1/5/66, in Carson, ed., *Eyes on the Prize Reader* 291-300, and "Demands Placed on the Door of Chicago City Hall by Martin Luther King, Jr." 7/10/66, in Carson, ed., *Eyes on the Prize Reader*, 300-303. Hard copy reserve. Explain how the SCLC program fit within the larger context of the Chicago Freedom Movement coalition.

3/19 Morality and Politics: The Chicago Summit Negotiations of August 1966

Kathleen Connolly, "The Chicago Open-Housing Conference," January 1967, in David Garrow, ed., *Chicago, 1966* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 67-95.

National Association of Real Estate Boards, "Property Owners' Bill of Rights," 1963, in Leonard Freedman, *Issues of the Sixties*, pp. 112-114.

John McKnight, "The Summit Negotiations: Chicago, August 17, 1966-August 26, 1966," in David Garrow, ed., *Chicago, 1966* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 111, 118-23, 126-134, 139-145.

"The 'Summit Agreement': Report of the Subcommittee to the Conference on Fair Housing Convened by the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race," 8/26/66, in David Garrow, ed., *Chicago, 1966* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 147-154.

1) What was the perspective of the Chicago Real Estate Board? 2) What seemed to be the priorities of the Daley administration and city officials? 3) What were the Movement's goals and were they partially achieved, or "shit"?

Scholar's Report: James Ralph, *Northern Protest* (Harvard, 1993), chapter on white resistance.

3/21 Round-table: "Where Do We Go From Here?" The Next Phase of the Black Freedom Struggle, Fall 1966

A fair sampling of moderates and militants, black power advocates, social democrats and revolutionaries.

Martin Luther King, Jr. "Testimony," December 15, 1966, in U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations, *Federal Role in Urban Affairs* (Washington, GPO, 1967), 2966-77, 2980-82, 2990-95. 19 pp.

(NB: This 14 volume collection of testimony from a range of black activists is a very good primary source for a number of voices, though the revolutionaries were not invited).

3/24 The Antiwar Movement

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 10, The War in America (1965-1967), 192-209.

"Antiwar and Antidraft Activities," from Bloom and Breines, *Takin' It to the Streets*, pp. 220-229, 248-252, 445-53.

Todd Gitlin, "All for Vietnam," in *The Sixties*, pp. 261-267.

Scholar's Report: Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal*, 1-5, 388-405, 408.

3/26 Round-table: Should the U.S. Stay the Course in Vietnam, Escalate, or Withdraw? Summer 1967.

A representative sample of "hawks" and "doves." Make sure the person you select left enough of a record to fill a 5 page paper: Hawks: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, Walt Whitman Rostow. Doves: Robert F. Kennedy, Tom Hayden, and an antiwar woman who is also confronting male supremacy in the antiwar movement (we'll have to look for sources).

Read: Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 111-114.

Martin Luther King, Jr. "A Time to Break Silence," April 4, 1967, in James Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope*, 231-243.

William Westmoreland, "The United States is Winning the War, 11/11/67," in Dudley, ed., *The Vietnam War: Opposing Viewpoints*, pp. 123-130.

3/28 The 1968 Tet Offensive, The Media and the Turning of US Public Opinion

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 11, The "Cross-Over Point" (1967-1968), 210-231.

Seymour M. Hersh, "What Happened at My Lai?" in Gettleman, et.al. eds, *Vietnam and America*, 410-424.

"**Documents on Tet, 1968: Perception and Reality**," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 205-11, 214-15: "Mike Wallace, "Saigon Under Fire: CBS News Special Report, January 31, 1968" Walt W. Rostow, "The Diffusion of Power," 2/8/68; General Earle Wheeler, "Report on the Situation" 2/27/68; Walter Cronkite, 'Who, What, When, Where, Why: Report from Vietnam, 2/27/68"

Question: Were the real prospects for defeating the Communist insurgency in Vietnam somehow compromised or defeated by a liberal media and Congress?

Primary Source Report: "Reporting the Darkness: The Role of the Press in the Vietnam War," in David Anderson, ed., *Facing My Lai* (Kansas U. Press, 1998). Journalists Sy Hersch and David Halberstam, among others, in a round table discussion, reflect back.

Scholar's Report: Chester J. Patch, Jr., "And That's the Way It Was: The Vietnam War on the Network Nightly News," in David Farber, ed., *The Sixties* (Chapel Hill, 1994), pp. 90-118.

3/31 Violence and Nonviolence: Burning Cities and the Poor People's March

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 118-29.

Thomas Jackson, "Power to Poor People: Civil, Political and Economic Rights in the Poor People's March, 1967-68," Paper presented to New York University International Center for Advanced Studies, November 1999, excerpts. **ER LOG**

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

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

Primary Source Report: Charlayne Hunter, "On the Case in Resurrection City," *Trans-action* (October, 1968). In the Stacks.

4/2 Nixon's War: Peace or Honor?

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 12, Bloodbaths (1968-1971), 232-253.

"Documents on the Nixon Air War": Robert C. Seamans, Jr., "The Absolutely Essential Bombing," January 28, 1972, and Senator Gaylord Nelson, "The Tragedy of Vietnam," February 25, 1972, in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 314-18.

"Documents on the Bombing and Invasion of Cambodia": William Beecher, "Raids in Cambodia by U.S. Unprotected," in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 278-280, and Richard Nixon, "Address by the President on the Situation in Southeast Asia," April 30, 1970, in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, pp. 280-85.

Primary Source Report: Paul Feeny with Jim Allaway, "The Ecological Impact of the Air War," in Gettleman, ed., *Vietnam and America*

4/4 American Demoralization, Vietnamization and Air War

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 13, "A Savage Retreat" (1971-1973), 254-280.

"Fragging and Other Withdrawal Symptoms," by Eugene Linden, 1/8/72, in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 240-243.

"Vietnam Veterans against the War, Statement by John Kerry," 4/23/71, in Cohen, ed., *Vietnam*, 366-371.

Primary Source Report: Col. Robert Heinl, "The Collapse of the Armed Forces," (1971), in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America*, pp. 326-335.

4/7 Their War: American Legacies and Southeast Asian Bloodletting

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 14, "Their War" (1973-1975), 281-299, and Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, 15, After the War (1975-1990), 300-318.

"Debate on American Complicity in Cambodia's Genocide," Anthony Lewis, "But the Patient Died," April 29, 1976, and "The Cambodian Horror," Wall Street Journal editorial, April 16, 1976, in Cohen, *Vietnam*, 294-297.

Scholar's Report: Nayan Chanda, *Brother Enemy*, excerpts.

4/9 Legacies of Struggle and Violence: Amnesia and Commemoration

Young, *The Vietnam Wars*, Epilogue, 319-330.

Fairclough, *MLK, Jr.*, 129-139.

Scholar's Report: Michael Eric Dyson, *I May Not Get There With You: The True Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: Free Press, 2000), ch. 13.

4/11 The Third World Comes to America: Chinese and Southeast Asians

Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (Little, Brown, 1989), 416-432, 448-471.

Scholar's Report: David Reimers, *Still the Golden Door*, ch. 4.

4/14 Legals, Illegals, Refugees: The Debate in the Early 1980s

James Fallows, "Immigration: How It's Affecting Us," *Atlantic Monthly* (November 1983), excerpted.

Primary Source Report: *New Americans: an oral history : immigrants and refugees in the U.S. today*, Al Santoli.. NY: Viking, 1988 (select your own).

4/16 The Global Inner City: The "Underclass" in Context

William J. Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (NY, Vintage, 1996), 25-31, 34-37, 46-50, 55-59, 78-84, 183-193.

Scholar's Report: Wilson, *When Work Disappears*, ch. 5, on the persistence of employer racism.

4/18 HOLIDAY

4/21 Multiracial Revolt: Los Angeles 1992

Mike Davis, "In L.A., Burning All Illusions," *Nation* (June 1, 1992), 743-46.
Jack Miles, "Blacks vs. Browns: The Struggle for the Bottom Rung," *Atlantic Monthly*, (October 1992).

Scholar's Report: Elaine H. Kim, "Home is Where the Han Is: A Korean American Perspective on the Los Angeles Upheavals," in Robert Gooding Williams, *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising* (Routledge, 1993).

4/23 Gain or Drain? Journalists Examine Two Communities

Millman, Joel, "NEWCOMERS" *New Republic*., 11/24/97, Vol. 217, Issue 21
Roy Beck, "The Ordeal of Immigration in Wausau," *Atlantic Monthly* (April 1994)

Primary Source Report: *New Americans: an oral history : immigrants and refugees in the U.S. today*, Al Santoli.. NY: Viking, 1988 (select your own – different voices than the previous).

4/25 McWorkers, McWorld, and the New Creole Cuisine

Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), excerpts, ch. 8 and 10.
Donna Gabbaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Harvard, 1998), 202-210, 213-15, 218-224.

Primary Source Report: *Sweatshop warriors: immigrant women workers take on the global factory* / Miriam Ching Yoon Louie Cambridge, Mass.: South End Press, c2001, select your own.

4/28 Crossing Boundaries: Coalitions in Workplace and Community

Robin D.G. Kelley, "Looking Forward: How the New Working Class Can Transform Urban America," in *Yo' Mamma's disFUNKtional!* (Beacon, 1997), 124-158.

Primary Source Report: Eddie Batista, "Garbage Wars: The Struggle for Waterfront Justice," May 1998, New York Lawyers for the Public Interest. On the Coalition of Waterfront Organizations, a New York environmental justice network seeking to disperse garbage transfer stations away from the poor neighborhoods of the Bronx and Brooklyn, where child asthma rates are the highest in the country. **I will email you an acroread copy.**

4/30 The Academy and the Immigrants: Views from History and Economics

George J. Borjas, "The New Economics of Immigration: Affluent Americans gain; poor Americans lose," *Atlantic Monthly*; November 1996, 52-68.

David M. Kennedy, "Can We Still Afford to Be a Nation of Immigrants?" *Atlantic Monthly*; November 1996, 52-68.

Scholar's Report: TBA

5/2 Round Table: Fall 1996—Illegal Immigration and Social Services

Roger Daniels, *Coming to America, 2nd ed.*, (HarperPerennial, 2002), 431-41, 443-8.

5/5 Bringing it Home: Immigrants and Native Born in North Carolina

Charlie LeDuff, "At a Slaughterhouse, Some Things Never Die," *New York Times*, June 16, 2000.

Anne Hull, "In N.C., Anxiety and Animosity Put an Edge on an Old Dream," *Washington Post*, 11/25/2001 (ereserve).

Primary Source Report: TBA

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION OF STUDENT ORAL PERFORMANCE:

These are the sheets I will separately hand back to you periodically.

**Student General Participation Evaluation—Unsatisfactory, Satisfactory, Excellent
3 Times/Semester**

Student _____ Date _____

Listen/Response: listening well and responding to something specific.

Individuation: Separating your own conclusions and opinions from the people who made history, and from your classmates' and the professor's views.

Courageous honesty: Clarity and respect in expressing differences and agreements.

Evidence: Reference to statements, events, data that support your truth claims.

Citizenship: Good questions. Support and encouragement for other people's expression. Balance of consistent contributions to the class and permitting others the space and time to express themselves.

**Point Person Leadership—Unsatisfactory, Satisfactory, Excellent
5-6 Times, Your Choice**

Student _____ Date _____

Concision/Specificity: In two or three minutes did you state the main two or three points in the area you chose? (Remember this is not a reading of your paper or a simple summary of what they wrote or said, but a conversational summary and evaluation of the material).

Attention to Evidence: Comment upon how the material relates an analytic point to evidence.

Invitation or Provocation to Discussion. Pose a question or problem that the reading left unresolved, in a way the class can move forward with discussion.

**Primary Source or Scholar's Presentation—Unsatisfactory, Satisfactory, Excellent
Twice/Semester**

Student _____ Date _____

Organization and Thesis Development: Is your report coherent and well-organized? Is there an evident logical development? Do you make that clear to your audience briefly at the outset, and then reiterate briefly before giving your final evaluation? (Obviously, this needs to be more than just a random summary of what you read).

Presentation/Evaluation: Are you clearly separating your own evaluations from the views you are representing? Do the latter first and fully, and at the end spend a few minutes evaluating from your own point of view.

Connection between Analysis and Evidence: Are you presenting the most compelling pieces of evidence in support of each point?

Delivery/Audience Connection: Is your talk spoken, not read? Are you connecting well with your audience, with eye contact, gesture, projection and varied tone of your voice?