
2413: HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1975

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Office: 220 Lefrak

Hours: M/W 1:30-2:30

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Students may complete the requirements of this course by completing two exams:

1. Midterm Exam: **October 25**, in class (covers all lectures and readings to date).
2. Two-Part Final Exam: **Friday, December 15 9:00 AM to NOON**

Part A: Short answers (drawn only from lectures after Midterm)

Part B: Essays (covering entire semester)

Final grade: The midterm will count 1/3, and each of the two parts of the final exam will count 1/3. The format of the exams will be similar to those in previous years, copies of which can be found in the *History 2413 Course Booklet 2017* (available for purchase at Village Copier, 1181 Amsterdam Ave.

OPTIONAL PAPER:

In addition to the exams, students may complete an 8-page term paper, due **November 29**. The topic and submission requirements are described later in this syllabus.

CLASSROOM PROTOCOL

The instructor intends to reserve time for questions. He often prefers them at the **beginning** of the subsequent lecture, in response to what was said at the previous class. Laptops and iPhones are allowed, but **ONLY** for students seated in the last two rows of the lecture room. Students who choose to play *World of Warcraft*, text friends, or check their investments should do so quietly, and affect suitably studious facial expressions. Those electronic devices that announce themselves audibly are to be confiscated by a vigilant neighbor and brought to the instructor, who will auction them off and donate the proceeds to some worthy campus charity.

University policy forbids recording lectures, unless special arrangements have been made with the instructor.

REQUIRED BOOKS

Although no purchases are "required," the list of paperbacks that follows will be read nearly in entirety, and they are for sale at *Book Culture*, 536 West 112th Street, and at the *Columbia University Bookstore*. There is one exception. The instructor's notes and outline for each lecture, along with a compilation of previous exams for the course, are available in an inexpensive booklet entitled, *The United States: 1940-1975, Course Booklet 2017*, available at Village Copier, 1181 Amsterdam Avenue.

Cost-Cutting Advisory: **The main text is William Chafe's *The Unfinished Journey***, which covers the period from 1940 to the present. Because this course does not go past about 1980, and because most of this book's revisions have focused on the past two decades, students are encouraged to save money by buying earlier, cheaper, used editions. Sometimes Chafe has altered the organization of chapters, in which case you may need to adjust your reading slightly to fit the lecture schedule.

Books available at *Book Culture*:

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1. 9780199347995 *The unfinished journey: America since WW II* (see "cost cutting advisory" above) William H. Chafe, NY: Oxford Univ. Press (used, price variable)
2. 9780385337816 *Coming of age in Mississippi* (2004) Anne Moody NY: Delta Trade paper (2004) \$16
3. 9780321383259 *Lyndon B. Johnson and the transformation of Am. Politics* (2008) John L. Bullion
(NY: Pearson, Longman \$28)
4. 9780321393883 *Betty Friedan: the personal is political* (2008) Susan Oliver (NY: Pearson, Longman) \$27
5. 9780312393199 *The age of McCarthyism: a brief history* (2002) Ellen Schrecker (NY: Paltrave) \$17
6. 9780618706419 *The things they carried: a work of fiction* (1990, 2009) Boston: Houghton Mifflin \$14

NOTES ON REQUIRED READINGS

Chafe's *Unfinished Journey* functions somewhat as a "text" for the course. Chafe has a strong interpretive position; often it differs from that of the instructor. Students are encouraged to challenge Chafe's views, and those of the instructor, too. The second section of both examinations, in fact, require students to offer their own opinions on various matters.

Anne Moody's *Coming of Age* is an autobiography of a black woman's childhood in the rural South and her later involvement in the civil rights movement. Students will likely read this at a single sitting if only because it is such a powerful story. Tim O'Brien's searing novel on the Vietnam War--*The Things They Carried*--is a major literary work. For Moody and O'Brien's books, the details matter less than the overall message.

Several of the other required books offer useful introductions to particular topics; but they also include abundant primary sources. Sometimes these details matter: the precise wording of legislation, the substance of an executive memo, the rhetoric of a position paper. Lastly, several books offer concise biographies of significant figures. In addition to these materials, some lectures include online readings—chiefly of primary source documents. Students can acquire a sense of the instructor's judgment of which details matter by perusing previous exams for the course.

Many of the lectures also include “required” online readings, which should be read in advance of the lecture. Students who prefer to skip the lectures may consult Mark C. Carnes and John A. Garraty, *The American Nation*, 15th edition (Pearson, 2016), a college text covering the entire span of American history. Chapters 29 through 32 focus on 1940-1980. This course, however, takes a very different approach. History 2413 is not a survey. Nevertheless some materials in the lectures overlap with the text; many others do not.

LIBRARY RESERVES

The following books have been placed on reserve at the Barnard library (1st floor, Lefrak).

Bullion, John L., 1944-	Lyndon B. Johnson and the transformation of American politics	E847 .B85 2008
Chafe, William H., 1942-	Unfinished journey : America since World War II	E743 .C43 1986
Friedan, Betty.	Feminine mystique	HQ1426 .F844 2001
Friedan, Betty.	Feminine mystique	HQ1426 .F83 1984
Friedan, Betty.	Feminine mystique.	HQ1420 .F7
Howard-Pitney, David.	Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and the civil rights struggle of the 1950s and 1960s : a brief history with documents	E185.615 .H65 2004
Marable, Manning	Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention	BP223Z8 L57636

May, Ernest R.	American Cold War strategy : interpreting NSC 68	UA23 .A598 1993
Mills, C. Wright (Charles Wright), 1916-1962.	Power elite	HN90.P6 M55 2000
Moody, Anne, 1940-2016.	Coming of age in Mississippi	E185.97.M65 A3 1982
Moody, Anne, 1940-2016.	Coming of age in Mississippi.	E185.97.M65 A3
O'Brien, Tim, 1946-	Things they carried : a work of fiction	PS3565.B75 T48 1991
Oliver, Susan, 1945-	Betty Friedan : the personal is political	HQ1413.F75 O45 2008
Schrecker, Ellen.	Age of McCarthyism : a brief history with documents	E743.5 .S37 2002
White, Hayden	Metahistory: the historical imagination in 19 th -century Europe	D 13 W565 1975

EXAM PROTOCOL

The following rules, recommended by Columbia University, apply to exams in this course:

- 1) Students approved by disabilities services are automatically entitled to take exams under the supervision of the disabilities staff at Barnard or Columbia;
- 2) No electronic devices are allowed in the exam room, wherever the exam is being offered;
- 3) If you bring a coat, bag, or computer, pet, electronic device or other incidentals to an exam, you will be required to leave them at the front of the room during the exam.

Midterm exams will be returned in class; those that are not claimed will be placed in a "Return Folder" on the door of Carnes's office, 220 Lefrak. Final exams will not be returned but will be available for perusal. This is university policy.

FINAL EXAM: FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15: 9:00 AM TO NOON

All students must take the final exam, scheduled according to university rules, for Friday, **December 15, 9:00 AM to Noon**. This exam schedule has been applied to **all** university courses, based on when classes are held. Insofar as students cannot be enrolled in two courses that meet at the same time, scheduling conflicts should be rare. Most exam conflicts occur when instructors violate the university schedule. In such cases, students should ask those instructors to make provision for rescheduling; an alternative is to ask your dean of studies to corral the wayward

instructor. The protocol is for instructors of smaller courses to yield to those with larger courses. It's easier to set up alternative exams in a course with 15 students than for one with 200.

If you are ill in the day of the exam, please be mindful of the following procedures, released by the Barnard Dean of Studies:

The official exam schedule must be followed unless you have 2 exams scheduled for the same time or unless you have 4 exams within 48 hours or 3 within 24 hours. An instructor is not allowed to change the scheduling of an exam without having received verification of the conflict or overload on the designated Registrar's Office form.

If you are unable to take an exam because of illness or disabling personal or family emergency, you must obtain permission for a deferred exam from your course instructor, as well as a dean in the Dean of Studies Office, on the day of the exam--prior to its scheduled beginning time.

If a deferred exam is approved by both the instructor and dean, you must submit the required form, including an administration fee, to the Registrar's Office by early January, 2018. The form is available at the Registrar's Office. Deferred exams for Barnard and Columbia courses will be administered [at a specific time and date determined by the Barnard Registrar, usually during registration in January].

OPTIONAL TERM PAPER (8-PAGES)

TOPIC: DISTORTING THE PAST THROUGH HISTORICAL NARRATION?

Historians engage in ceaseless debate. Why did Truman drop the atom bomb? Did the civil rights movement succeed? Why did the United States lose the Vietnam War? Why did Nixon engage in a coverup of Watergate? And on and on. One generation's pathbreaking iconoclasm becomes the dull orthodoxy of the next. For the most part, historical debates focus on the nature and use of evidence.

But during the past four decades, a new form of historical criticism has emerged, partly from literary theory and the history of philosophy. The new critics charge that all historians, in the way they tell stories and advance hypotheses, end up imposing distortions of the past. In *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination of Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973), Hayden White showed how nineteenth-century historians inevitably utilized narrative structures that resonated with the cultural expectations of their readers. Though clothed in the white-coated garb of scientific empiricism, historians performed "an essentially **poetic** act," utilizing tools of "emplotment" to shape their materials into tragic, comedic, ironic, or other literary tropes. That is, historians shape their materials in predictable arcs that readers may find persuasive; but the historian's process of "shaping" materials ensures that their version of the past contains distortions.

For this paper, you are to take one of the secondary sources, such as Manning Marable's *Malcolm X*, John L. Bullion's, *Lyndon B. Johnson* or Susan Oliver's *Betty Friedan*, or some other interpretive text (required or otherwise), and show how the author of the book transformed the chaos and complexity of the past into something that, however comprehensible or meaningful, was not a true

or real rendering of the past. Your essay will show exactly how the author shaped her materials in ways that impose distortion, and you will show, by citing other facts or sources, how alternative narratives were possible. You should also reflect more broadly on what, if any, truth can be found in any historical account.

Please note: This assignment is NOT a book review.

Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe*, Introduction and Chapters 1-2. (Available online: thru CLIO)

Michael S. Roth, "Cultural Criticism and Political Theory: Hayden White's Rhetorics of History," *Political Theory*, Vol. 16, # 4 (November, 1988), pp. 636-646. (Jstor) (Roth provides a useful introduction to Hayden White).

SUBMISSION RULES, INCLUDING EXTENSIONS

The paper is due **November 29** in the Barnard history office (Lefrak 204) by 5:00 PM.

1) Extensions are automatic—but at a cost of a half-grade reduction (B+ to B, for example) if the paper is even a few minutes late. For every 72 hours after the deadline (excluding Saturdays and Sundays) the grade will be reduced an additional half grade. No papers will be accepted after 5:00 PM December 12th.

2) Papers must be submitted in hard copy form AND electronic form (email to mcarnes@barnard.edu). And they must include a statement, signed and dated by you, that includes the following phrase: "I affirm that this essay is my own work and does not violate college or university rules of plagiarism."

If your paper is not signed and fails to include the above affidavit, it will not be graded.

LECTURE SCHEDULE WITH READING ASSIGNMENTS

(1) September 6 -- 1940: Questions Posed: Beneath the Precipice

(2) September 11 -- Doubts Resolved: The Home Front during WWII

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished Journey*, Chapter 1: "The War Years"

Online:

Executive Order 9066, <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5154>

Decision of Justice Davis, *Ex Parte Milligan* (1866)

<http://www.constitution.org/ussc/071-002a.htm>

Note: The first 7 pages of the *Milligan* decision are technical. Skim those pages and focus on what remains, which outlines the principle of "military necessity"

(3) September 13-- Uncertain Allies

Online Readings:

Munich Pact (1938): <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/munich1.asp>

Atlantic Charter (1941): (in Course Booklet)

[September 15: Last day to change academic program for BC/CC students]

(4) September 18-- The Manhattan Project: Unloosing the Genie

Readings: Begin Chafe for next class.

(5) September 20 -- The Ideological Foundations of the Cold War

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*, Chapter 2: "Origins of the Cold War"

Online: Truman Doctrine (1947): http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

(6) September 25 -- Containment in Action in Europe: 1946-1950

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*, "Chapter 3: Truman and the Cold War"

Online: Marshall Plan speech:

http://www.marshallfoundation.org/library/MarshallPlanSpeechfromRecordedAddress_000.html (You can also listen to the audio recording of the speech at Harvard.)

George Kennan (Mr. X) article, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct"

<http://www.historyguide.org/europe/kennan.html>

Soviet response: Novikov Telegram:

<http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110808.pdf?v=a8c1bf9f79f04aa2227394087a767c2a>

[Also a few paragraphs in the coursebook for this lecture].

(7) September 27 -- The Cold War Grows Hot, 1950-1953

Readings: "United States Objectives and Programs for National Security: NSC-68"

You should read the entire 66-page typewritten document. The first link (which follows) takes you to the actual photocopy of this document. You should at least read a few pages of this, to see what "top secret" documents looked like in 1950:

https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/10-1.pdf

But you will find it easier to read the entire document by looking at it in modern graphics: A

<http://www.citizensource.com/History/20thCen/NSC68.PDF>

While reading, keep in mind that this is a top secret, in-house policy document for the entire defense community. In what ways does it strike you as unusual?

(8) October 2 --Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction: Atomic Diplomacy, 1945-1954

Online Readings: Acheson/Lilienthal Report

<http://www.learnworld.com/ZNW/LWText.Acheson-Lilienthal.html#text>

Note: This report, though technical, is important: it is the first call for UN supervision of “weapons of mass destruction”. The issues resonate with debates today over the proposed treaty with Iran, in which the United States would lift economic sanctions in return for guarantees—including inspections—that would inhibit Iran’s production of fissionable material for atomic bombs. The entire document is 61 pages long. You should read the first 8 pages, which outlines the need for international control and supervision of fissionable materials. Read also the introduction to Section III: Security through International Cooperative Development. President Truman did not accept the conclusions of the Acheson/Lilienthal Report.

(9) October 4 -- Eisenhower, Dulles and Massive Retaliation

Readings: Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, pp. 5-42

Online: Eisenhower’s “military-industrial” speech, 1961

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/eisenhower001.asp

October 9 – No Class

Readings: Begin Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*

(10) October 11 McCarthyism and the Peril Within

Readings: Schrecker, *Age of McCarthyism*, pp. 71-79; 109-118; 134-170.

(11) October 16 -- Delineaments of Consensus

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*, Chapter 5: “Paradox of Change”

Continue reading: Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (all)

(12) October 18-- Seeking Consensus: The Legal Assault on Segregated Education, 1941-1960

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*, Chapter 6: "The Civil Rights Movement"

Online:

Thurgood Marshall, "Argument before the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education*" (1953)

<http://www.blackpast.org/1953-thurgood-marshall-argument-u-s-supreme-court-brown-v-board-education>

Online: *McLaurin* decision:

<http://supreme.justia.com/us/339/637/case.html>

Brown decision:

<http://supreme.justia.com/us/347/483/case.html>

Joe Darden et al, *Detroit: Race Riots, Racial Conflict, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide*, chapter 3: "Racial Conflict over School Desegregation"

<http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/chapter/782185>

(13) October 23— Martin Luther King, Malcolm X and JFK

Readings:

Chafe, *Unfinished*, Chapter 6: "The Civil Rights Movement" (continued): Sections: "The Movement Spreads", "Conclusion"

Online:

MLK: "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" (1963)

http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html

MLK: "I Have a Dream" speech (1963):

<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/i-have-dream-address-delivered-march-washington-jobs-and-freedom>

Malcolm X: God's Judgment of White America (The Chickens Come Home to Roost)--speech following assassination of JFK

http://www.malcolm-x.org/speeches/spc_120463.htm

(14) October 25 - MIDTERM EXAM

(15) October 30 ---Prologue to a Tragedy: Vietnam and the Failure of Containment, 1945-1954

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*, "Vietnam—the Early Years"

Also: begin reading Tim O'Brien's *The Things They Carried* (1990): finish in two weeks

Online: Geneva Accords (1954): <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/genevacc.htm>

(16) November 1 -- Act I: Curses in Camelot, JFK

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*, Chapter 7: "John F. Kennedy,"

John Bullion, *Lyndon B. Johnson and the Transformation of American Politics*, pp.9-68

Also: Continue reading O'Brien's *The Things They Carried*

Online: Audio: JFK plotting to depose Diem.

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB101/index.htm#audio>

The audio clip is listed in conjunction with Document 18. Click on it. In this snippet JFK is briefed by intelligence officers who argue that, with covert U.S. support, South Vietnamese generals will likely succeed in driving Diem from power. Much of the discussion concerns military plans for implementing the coup. Robert F. Kennedy, JFK's brother (and Attorney General), raises the question of whether Diem's Presidential Guard units will be able to stop the coup; the CIA analyst notes that a nearby tank unit, commanded by supporters of the coup, would deal with the Presidential Guard units "handily". There is no discussion of what would happen to Diem after the coup. The subsequent murder of Diem and his brother, Nhu, were never part of the plan.

NOVEMBER 6-7: ELECTION HOLIDAY: NO CLASS

(17) November 8 -- Act II: LBJ Triumphant at Home and Defeated in Vietnam, 1964-1968

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*: Chapter 10: "Lyndon's War"

Bullion, *Lyndon B. Johnson*, pp. 69-224.

Online:

Online: Civil Rights Act of 1964

<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97&page=transcript>

Continue reading O'Brien's *The Things They Carried*

(18) November 13 -- Entr'acte #1: Students and the Great Mandella

Readings:

Chafe, *Unfinished*: Remainder of: Chapter 11: "Coming Apart at Home," sections including: "The Student Movement," "The Emergence of Women's Liberation," and "The Counterresponse," "The White House Response," "Conclusion" and:

And: Chapter 12: "1968".

C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*. Any edition: chapter: "The Power Elite."

Malcolm X : audio recordings

Malcolm X was a powerful speaker: razor-sharp edged and witty. Of those talks that have survived, most were merely audiotaped. Sample from the following:

https://archive.org/details/Malcolm_X

Especially consider "Revolution" (4:27), a powerful call for violent revolution, and "Put Them To Bed," a wickedly clever rendering of the same theme.

Also read: Malcolm X: "King is the White Men's Best Weapon" (1963)

<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/ows/seminars/aahistory/BestWeapon.pdf>

Malcolm X: "Message to the Grassroots" (1963)

<http://www.blackpast.org/1963-malcolm-x-message-grassroots>

(19) November 15 -- Entr'acte #2: NOW and the Ascent of Feminism

Readings: Oliver, *Betty Friedan* (pages 1-97); including Appendices A and B:

Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963),(any edition): Preface and chapters entitled: "The Problem that has No Name," "The Happy Housewife Heroine," "The Sex-Directed Educators," and "A New Life for Women"

Online: *Roe v. Wade*

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/cgi-bin/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=410&invol=113>

November 16: Last Day to Pass/Fail or to Withdraw from Course

(20) November 20 – Act III: Nixon: “Law and Order” and “Peace With Honor”: 1969-1973

Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*: Chapter 13: “Bringing Us Together”

Online: Joe Darden et al, *Detroit: Race Riots, Racial Conflict, and Efforts to Bridge the Racial Divide*, chapter 1: “Historical Causes and Consequences of the 1967 Civil Disorder”

<http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.cul.columbia.edu/chapter/782183>

Finish reading O'Brien, *The Things They Carried*

NOVEMBER 22-26: ACADEMIC HOLIDAY: Thanksgiving

(21) November 27 – Watergate:

Readings:

Online: <http://www.nixonlibrary.gov/forresearchers/find/tapes/excerpts/watergate.php>

NB: Particularly listen to Conversation #668.8 *March 21, 1973: “Cancer on the presidency”:

Check Course Booklet for further guidance.

(22) November 29 -- Nuclear Games (1959-1975)

No readings: begin reviewing for final exam.

(23) December 4 -- Postwar Work, the Economy, and the Stagflation of 1973

Chafe, *Unfinished*: Chapter 14: “New Rules, Old Realities” or, in recent versions of Chafe “An Era of Political Malaise” (the title of the chapter has changed over time)

NOVEMBER 29: TERM PAPER DUE: Due in class or in Barnard history office by 5:00 PM: For submission requirements, see subsequent section of this syllabus.**

(24) December 6 -- Post 1973: Recession and the Assault on Feminism

Readings: Oliver, *Friedan* (pages 98-156)

Phyllis Schlafly, “What’s Wrong with Equal Rights for Women”

Online: <http://eagleforum.org/publications/psr/feb1972.html>

(25) December 11: The Past and You: Musings

Study Days: December 12-14

FINAL EXAM: Friday, December 15 9:00 AM to NOON