A HISTORY 2413: THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1975

Mark C. Carnes

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Office: 902 Milstein

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

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

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

1. Midterm Exam: **Wednesday, March 16**, in class (covers all lectures and readings through Monday, March 14).

2. Two-Part Final Exam: **Monday, May 11, 9:00 AM to NOON**
   - Part A: Short answers (mostly from material since midterm)
   - Part B: Essays (covering material developed over 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 2018* (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 April 22. 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, after he has briefly summarized that lecture. Laptops and iPhones are allowed. Students who choose to play *World of Warcraft*, text friends, or check investments should do so quietly, and affect suitably studious expressions. The last row is reserved for these students. 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 whatever charity a majority of the class favors.

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 2018, 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 extend beyond 1980, and because most of Chafe'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:

1. 9780199347995 The unfinished journey: America since WW II (see "cost cutting advisory" above) William H. Chafe, NY: Oxford Univ. Press (used, price variable)


Recommended:


2. ISBN 9780190053819 (paperback, available February 1, 2020):


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. In fact, the second—essay—section of the midterm and final 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.

Notes on the Recommended List: Tim O'Brien's searing novel on the Vietnam War--*The Things They Carried*--is a major literary work; it is worth buying, and is probably available in plenty of used formats. One short question on the final exam will focus on this book. For Moody and O'Brien's books, the details matter less than the overall message.

Rosalind Rosenberg's *Jane Crow* is a detailed biography of one of the most interesting people of the century. Born in 1910, she was a major figure in civil rights movement and the fight for women's rights; a woman who believed herself to be a man, she has become an icon in the LGBTQ movement. She was also the first African-American woman to be ordained an Episcopal priest. Depending on your particular interest, you may wish to sample this book. The optional paper is focused on this biography, although you are free to choose another.

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 from the text. History 2413 is not a survey. Nevertheless some materials in the lectures overlap with the text; many others do not.

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**LIBRARY RESERVES**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Friedan, Betty.</td>
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<td>Marable, Manning</td>
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<td>May, Ernest R.</td>
<td>American Cold War strategy : interpreting NSC 68</td>
<td>UA23 .A598 1993</td>
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<td>Moody, Anne, 1940-2016.</td>
<td>Coming of age in Mississippi</td>
<td>E185.97.M65 A3 1982</td>
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<td>Oliver, Susan, 1945-</td>
<td>Betty Friedan : the personal is political</td>
<td>HQ1413.F75 O45 2008</td>
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<td>Schrecker, Ellen.</td>
<td>Age of McCarthyism : a brief history with documents</td>
<td>E743.5 .S37 2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>White, Hayden</td>
<td>Metahistory: the historical imagination in 19th-century Europe</td>
<td>D 13 W565 1975</td>
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Rosenberg, Rosalind  Jane Crow: The Life of Pauli Murray  E185.97.M95 R67 2017

**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, 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, 902 Milstein. Final exams will not be returned but will be available for perusal. This is university policy.

**FINAL EXAM: MONDAY, MAY 11: 9:00 AM TO NOON**

All students must take the final exam, scheduled according to university rules, for Monday, May 11: 9:00 AM to Noon. This exam schedule applies to all university courses, based on the time that 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.

**Illness:** The Barnard Dean of Studies has posted these rules:

- 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): DUE APRIL 22**

**TOPIC: DISTORTING THE PAST THROUGH HISTORICAL NARRATION?**

Historians engage in ceaseless debate. Why did Truman drop the atom bomb? What accounted for the successes of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s? 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, simply 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, or so White argues.

For this paper, you are to read Rosalind Rosenberg, *Jane Crow: The Life of Pauli Murray* or some other interpretive work of history, and analyze it in light of White's model. Your essay will show how the author, to advance a coherent argument or compelling narrative, shaped materials in ways that inevitably produced distortions and made it "unreal"—at least according to White. You should then reflect more broadly on what, if any, truth can be found in any historical account.

Please note: This assignment is NOT a book review. The following essays, available online through the Columbia libraries, contain the gist of Hayden White’s argument. (Roth’s essay might be the best place to begin.)


**SUBMISSION RULES, INCLUDING EXTENSIONS**

The paper is due **April 22** in the Barnard history office (813 Milstein) 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 May 1.

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

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1 You may substitute a biography of another figure who was prominent during the period of this course; but you should request the instructor’s prior approval.
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.

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**SOME HELP WITH HAYDEN WHITE**

Hayden White’s ideas are not easy to understand, and his prose is unhelpful. The review article by Michael Roth will help clear them up. What follows is an attempt to help guide you in completing this assignment.

First, consider this thought experiment. If you were asked to write a 100-page history of your life, you would probably decide to break it into chapters. But where would you break up your life and how would you entitle your chapters? Biological age? Year 3, Year 4, Year 5…? Or perhaps “stages of life”? Chapter 1: Infancy; Chapter 2: Childhood; 3: Teenager? Or perhaps by schooling: K-3; 4-6; 7-9; High School, College? Or perhaps by residence: Cupcake Kansas, Paterson New Jersey, Morningside Heights? Or by paramount friendship: John, Janice, Jomysha, Jordan?

Your choice of chapter and title will influence what you say. What happened in your life did not change; but your choice of mode of presentation changed the history of your life. In short, the task of writing your life story requires that you create a plot, a narrative arc that will allow readers to draw meaning from your life. But though your life may be rendered as a narrative, you have probably not lived it in such a way. That is, your life unfolded naturally, organically, confusedly, without special regard for the narrative lines you may have imposed on it after the fact. The act of writing your personal history ensures that it will not by truthful in some fundamental way.

And what is true of you, when acting as the historian of your own life, is even more obvious when an historian tries to tell a story about the past. The historian’s narrative inevitably imposes a plot that ensures that the narrative differs and perhaps distorts the way the past actually unfolded. Historians may think they are telling true stories; but by choosing any narrative device, their stories significantly distort the past, or so Hayden White contends.

White further contends that historians inevitably choose from among four TYPES of emplotment:

* Romance: the central figures triumph over trials and tribulations;

* Satire: the central figures are buffeted by forces beyond their control;

* Comedy: the central figures, when confronted with forces of disruption, join in common understanding of a shared perspective

* Tragedy: the central figures, recognizing that an agreement is impossible, resign themselves to diminished expectations and accept inevitable loss.

White imposes several other modes of narrative. One concerns the character of the historian’s argument:

* Formalist: emphasis on classifying and categorizing self-contained and discrete elements;
* Organicist: individual elements fit into a larger whole: an historical period can have an overarching “feel” or ethos or coherence.

* Mechanistic: laws shape causation (Marxism is an obvious example).

* Contextualism: events and actions are bound up in a web of time stretching way back

Lastly, White argues that historians adopt ideological perspectives—by virtue of their narrative strategies:

* Conservative: history unfolds slowly, over time, in an organic way;

* Liberal: individuals can speed up evolutionary change, chiefly through social actions (government and laws);

* Radical: revolution can change the world soon

* Anarchist: the state must be destroyed

White argues that any historical account can be fitted—and better understood—by determining which elements of emplotment, argument, and ideology the historian has imposed.

In this course, for example, the instructor configures the entire cluster of lectures on Vietnam as a tragedy.

My guess is that White would have argued that my mode of argument was organicist: JFK, like Bundy, McNamara and a generation of Americans who had come of age with the rise of Hitler, shared a belief in the need to stop totalitarian aggressors.

And probably my ideology for that lecture was conservative: JFK’s confidence—his hubris—was at odds with a political reality, the inevitable independence of Vietnam from western control that had been building for many decades.

But White’s main point is that whatever narrative modes historians choose, they will inevitably impose distortions on the past. The historian’s narrative is fundamentally unreal.

Your task is to ponder White’s challenge, in relation to a particular historical narrative. (You can choose just about any narrative, though I suggest one that is fairly simple in structure and focuses on the second half of the course: from 1960 to 1980.) I ask you to determine whether White’s perspective is valuable in analyzing historical narration. And, finally, you should indicate whether historical narration ensures that we fail to understand the truth—the reality—about the past.
LECTURE SCHEDULE WITH READING ASSIGNMENTS

(1) January 22 -- 1940: Questions Posed: Beneath the Precipice

(2) January 27 -- 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) January 29-- Uncertain Allies
   Online Readings:
   Munich Pact (1938):  http://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/munich1.asp
   Atlantic Charter (1941): (in Course Booklet)
   NOTE: January 31: LAST DAY TO CHANGE ACADEMIC PROGRAM FOR BC/STUDENTS

(4) February 3-- The Manhattan Project: Unloosing the Genie
   Readings: Begin Chafe for next class.

(5) February 5 -- 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) **February 10—The Marshall Plan and 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](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](http://www.historyguide.org/europe/kennan.html)

Soviet response: Novikov Telegram:
   
   (Also a few paragraphs in the coursebook for this lecture).

(7) **February 12 – Korea: 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:


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](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) **February 17 --Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction: Atomic Diplomacy, 1945-1954**

Online Readings: Acheson/Lilienthal Report
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) February 19 -- 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

(10) February 24  McCarthyism and the Peril Within


(11) February 26 -- Delineaments of Consensus


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

(12) March 2— Seeking Consensus: The Legal Assault on Segregated Education, 1941-1960


Online:

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

Online: McLaurin decision:


Brown decision:


(13) March 4 — Martin Luther King and JFK

Readings:


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

(14) March 9 – Cities in Flames, 1964-1967

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

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

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”

**(15)** March 11—MIDTERM EXAMINATION

**SPRING BREAK: March 16-21**

**(16)** March 23 ---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](http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/genevacc.htm)

**(17)** March 25 -- Act I: Curses in Camelot, JFK


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](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.

MARCH 26: LAST DAY TO P/F Course


**Online:**

**Online:** Civil Rights Act of 1964


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

(19) April 1 -- Entr’acte #1: Students and the Great Mandella

Readings:


And: Chapter 12: “1968”.


(20) April 6 -- Entr’acte #2: NOW and the Ascent of Feminism

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


**Online:** *Roe v. Wade*


Readings: Chafe, *Unfinished*: Chapter 13: "Bringing Us Together"

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

(22) April 13 – Watergate:

Readings:


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

Check Course Booklet for further guidance.

(23) April 15 -- Nuclear Games (1959-1975)

No readings: begin reviewing for final exam.

(24) April 20 – 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)

(25) April 22-- Post 1973: Recession and the Assault on Feminism

Phyllis Schlafly, "What's Wrong with Equal Rights for Women"


**OPTIONAL TERM PAPER DUE:** Due in class or in Barnard history office (813 Milstein) by 5:00 PM: For submission requirements, see subsequent section of this syllabus.**

(26) April 27-- Pauli Murray and Equal Rights For Women

Readings: Rosenberg, *Jane Crow: The Life of Pauli Murray*


(27) April 29: Make-Up Class

(28) May 4 The Past and You: Musings
Study Days: May 5-7

FINAL EXAM: Monday, December 17 9:00 AM to NOON

Copies of Previous Exams are Available in the Course Booklet