

American History: 1865 to the Present

Course Number: 21:512:202:70
Fall 2016
Time: Monday/Wednesday 6-7:20pm
Place: Conklin-343

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

What is history good for? Southern novelist William Faulkner famously wrote, “The past is never dead. It’s not even past.” Faulkner here and elsewhere was meditating over longings for personal redemption from past misdeeds. But he recognized that the past is something that can never finally be escaped. Under what conditions, then, does the past shape the present? This might be a political or social question as much as it is a personal one. Karl Marx, another canonical writer, offered a similar point. “Men make their own history,” he wrote, “but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past.” Marx and Faulkner both offer us the compelling possibility that we might study the past in order to understand our present opportunities and limitations. Our task, as

students of history, might be to study the past in order to know what to do *now*. History is for action.

But we also might study the past for its own sake. Another novelist—a British one—offered an alternative perspective: “The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there.” This sentiment emphasizes the difference between the past and the present. We could not easily, even if we wanted to, blend into past time periods. Nor should we today approach old artifacts and texts assuming they are commensurable to our own. These were different places with different people who understood their world in remarkably different ways than we do now. Our task, then, as students of history, might be a careful recovery project. As a contemporary historian, William Cronon, put it, “Our core business is resurrection: helping the dead past live again.” History is for recovering human voices and artifacts in order to tell a story about the past for its own sake.

Which perspective is correct—history for action or history for its own sake? Or could they both be correct in different ways? How do we understand a past that is markedly different from our present? What is the relationship between our present moral, political, economic, and religious needs and our past ones?

These are just a few of the big questions that we will encounter over the weeks of this course. But we won’t be addressing these questions in such abstract ways. We will get down to the words, the sights, sounds, artifacts, and texts of the American past. And we’ll put our approaches to the past to work. Along the way we will explore major social, political, economic, and cultural changes in American life from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the twentieth century. We will examine defining moments from Reconstruction, the emergence of Populism, Labor Unionism, and Feminism, urbanization and progressivism, to the New Deal, the Cold War, the 1960s counterculture, and the Reagan Revolution. By the end of the semester, we will follow several key themes of historical change: the centralization and bureaucratization of the federal government, the influence of human rights, the changing relationship between the self and large organizations, the place of America in the world, the political and social role of religion, gender, and sexuality, the relationship between political (and economic) rights and social movements, and the development of the economy.

COURSE GOALS

1. Understand a chronology of significant events and historical changes from 1865 to the present.
2. Analyze a number of primary sources including news articles, speeches, testimony, essays, party platforms, photographs, legal cases, music, letters, and film.
3. Acknowledge and appreciate the complexity of historical causation and the difficulty of scholarly interpretation.
4. Write two analytical summaries of primary sources.
5. Understand and adjudicate conflicting scholarly understandings of historical events.
6. Write two historiographical essays.
7. Communicate historical interpretations in speech and the written word.

REQUIRED READINGS

You will encounter three kinds of readings in this course. The first will provide **broad overviews** of modern American cultural and political history. This kind of secondary literature is represented by the required texts listed below, both of which I hope you will find rewarding and want to keep on your bookshelves even after this course concludes. Lears and Cowie will give you context for some of the broader themes of the class. The second kind of readings are secondary texts as well, but they **focus on more narrow time periods and problems**. These scholarly selections will deepen your analysis of the past and give you a window into the kinds of questions historians grapple with. The third type are **primary sources** (speeches, letters, images, news articles, etc.). These demand that you slow down. You should interrogate these texts. Read them actively. Take notes while you read. And come prepared to class with analytical and critical thoughts to share.

Lears, Jackson. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920*. New York NY: Harper Collins, 2009. ISBN 978-0060747503.

Cowie, Jefferson. *The Great Exception: The New Deal and the Limits of American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016. ISBN 978-0691143804.

I encourage you to purchase these used from the bookstore or from an online reseller. Other required readings will be made available online on Blackboard.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Assignments

These assignments are designed to encourage you to come to class prepared, ready to engage with the lecture and participate in discussion. They will also give you opportunities to give careful attention to primary source readings and to engage with secondary, scholarly literature. **All assignments must be in 12pt font, with normal margins, and in hard copy in class.**

1. *Participation (15%)*. The participation grade will be based on attendance and classroom discussion. See **Attendance Policy** below.
2. *Final Exam (30%)*. The final exam will be cumulative and will be composed of several short essay questions and two long essay questions. A study guide will be made available online.
3. *Quizzes (10%)*. There will be several pop quizzes administered at the beginning of class over the course of the semester. These will be short quizzes, made up of several short answer questions based on the readings and lecture. **These are reading quizzes, designed to encourage you to complete the readings. The questions will evaluate your comprehension of the primary and/or secondary source readings, not your interpretation of them.** The lowest graded quiz will be dropped. **There will be no-make-up quizzes.**
4. *Short Paper (15%)*. A four-page essay comparing and contrasting two different scholarly interpretations of a historical event. Students will choose among three topics and excerpts from academic articles will be available online. (A detailed handout for this assignment will be distributed.) **Due Wednesday, October 5.**
5. *Long Paper (20%)*. An eight-page historiographical essay analyzing three different scholarly interpretations of a historical event. Students will choose among three topics and three

academic articles will be available online. (A detailed handout for this assignment will be distributed.) **Due Monday, November 21.**

6. *Précis (10%)*. Over the course of the semester you will be required to turn in two précis, which is a kind of summary of a primary source text. A handout with assignment details will be made available. Students will choose two assigned primary sources, one from the first half of the semester and the other from the second half of the semester, and turn in their précis at the beginning of class on the dates those primary sources are assigned. These will not be accepted after class on the date those primary sources are assigned. The first précis must be turned in before **October 26**, the second before the last class meeting (**December 14**).

Attendance Policy

Consistent class attendance and regular participation in class discussion are required to earn a good Participation grade (15% total). This includes not just your physical presence in the classroom, but also attentiveness. More than three (3) unexcused absences (i.e., other than an illness or emergency, religious observance, or university approved absence) will have an adverse effect on your grade. For each unexcused absence beyond the 3 allowed, your final course grade will be lowered by 2 percentage points (e.g., if you accumulate 5 unexcused absences during the semester and have a grade of 83%, your grade will be lowered to 79%). Any student who misses eight or more sessions through any combination of excused and unexcused absences will not earn credit in this class. Such students should withdraw to avoid getting an F.

Late Paper Policy

A paper that is turned in after the deadline will lose 10% of the paper grade. For each day thereafter that the paper is late, an additional 10% will be deducted. Extensions without academic penalty are only granted to students who make arrangements beforehand with the professor.

Grading

The +/- grading system will be used for all assignments (not for final grades); the scale is:

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	D	60-66
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72	F	0-59

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to be familiar with, and to abide by, the guidelines in the Code of Student Conduct and the Academic Integrity Policy. Any form of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be directed to the Chief Academic Officer and the Office of Student Conduct for adjudication before a University Hearing Board. Students found in violation of the Academic Integrity Policy may receive a disciplinary F (XF) course grade and may be subject to academic probation, suspension, or permanent expulsion. For more information, please visit <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/academic-integritypolicy#I> Academic Integrity. **On all major exams and assignments, students will be required to sign a pledge of academic integrity, which is as follows: "On my honor, I have neither received nor given any unauthorized assistance on this examination / assignment."**

Students with Disabilities

Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey abides by the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Americans with Disabilities Act Amendments (ADAA) of 2008, and Sections 504 and 508 which mandate reasonable accommodations be provided for qualified students with disabilities and accessibility of online information. If you have a disability and may require some type of instructional and/or examination accommodation, please contact the Office of Disability Services. If you have not already done so, you will need to register with the Office of Disability Services, Kate Torres, Robeson Campus Center, Suite 352, Newark Campus. Phone: 973.353.5300. Email: kate.torres@rutgers.edu.

The Writing Center

The Writing Center (<http://www.ncas.rutgers.edu/writingcenter>), located in Room 126 of Conklin Hall, offers writing tutoring and writing workshops to all undergraduate students currently enrolled in classes on the Rutgers-Newark campus. Their tutors work to help students become more independent readers and writers capable of responding well to the demands of writing within the university. The Writing Center is free of charge. If you are having difficulty with writing assignments, I encourage you to make use of this valuable help.

Contacting Your Instructor

I am here to help. Reach me by e-mail or come to office hours. If you cannot make it to my normal office hours, let me know and we can arrange another time. Please be in touch with me if you have questions or concerns of any kind. These include: questions or problems about exams or papers, absences, questions about the readings or lecture, concerns about incidents in class, questions about grades (for privacy reasons, I will discuss specific grades in person). *Do not let yourself fall behind in the class.* If you are having problems in the class, do not fall off the map—we'll find a way to get you back on track.

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION

Review of Syllabus. Outline of the Course. Q&A. (9/7)

WEEK 2: RECONSTRUCTION AND THE WEST (1865-1893)

Reconstruction was a project for transforming the social, political, and economic conditions of the former Confederate states. Its defeat in the 1870s created opportunities for a reunification between the North and the South on white supremacist lines. But the promise of Reconstruction—the promise of economic and social equality—remained a powerful idea in American life well into the twentieth century. At the same time, the movement of immigrants across the Western Frontier had promised for some—white, European immigrants—to be a “release valve” for economic conflict.

Its closure, declared by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893, posed certain economic, political and social problems.

Questions to Consider

What did Reconstruction mean for African-Americans? Why was it defeated? What happened to freedmen after the end of Reconstruction? For whom was the Frontier a promise of economic possibility? How did the agrarian way of life shaped America in the nineteenth century?

Reconstruction, Redemption, and Reunion (9/12)

- Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, Introduction & Ch. 1, 1-11; 12-31.
- Ellen Parton, 'Testimony on Klan Violence (1871)
- Thomas Nast, Colored Rule in a Reconstructed State, Harper's Weekly (1874)
- Frederick Douglass, "What the Black Man Wants" (1865).

The Agrarian Way of Life and the Closing of the Frontier (9/14)

- Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, Ch. 2, 51-57; 71-91.
- Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."
- Helen Hunt Jackson, Challenges to Indian Policy (1881)

WEEK 3: INDUSTRY, LABOR, AND AGRARIAN RADICALISM (1870-1896)

As the Second Industrial Revolution transformed American life, new institutions became defining features of politics and the economy. These were large, concentrated business firms that were much more efficient and powerful than ones that came before. These large industrial corporations provoked political backlash from agrarian and labor groups. These social and political movements challenged and brought attention to industrial threats to American democracy, but these new business organizations nevertheless radically rearranged social and cultural life. We will examine what was lost and gained by these protest movements. And we will explore how the rise of communication and transportation networks transformed space and time.

Questions to Consider

Why did the bigness of industrial corporations matter to the agrarian populists? How did the labor movement develop from the Knights of Labor to the American Federation of Labor? How did the way Americans understood space change with the coming of the railroad, telegraph, and telephone?

Industrialization and Its Discontents (9/19)

- Cowie, *The Great Exception*, Ch. 1, 35-61.
- Lawrence Goodwyn, "The Alliance Develops a Movement Culture," in *The Populist Moment*, 20-54.
- "The Omaha Platform" (1892).
- William Jennings Bryan, "The Cross of Gold Speech" (1896).
- Mary E. Lease, "Wall Street Owns the Country," & "Speech to the WTCU" (1890)
- Samuel Gompers, "What Does the Working Man Want?" (1890)

The Networking of a Nation (9/21)

- Richard John, “Making a Neighborhood of a Nation,” in *Network Nation*, 5-23.
- Visit the digital humanities project: Cameron Blevins, Jason Heppler, Geography of the Post. <http://cameronblevins.org/gotp/>.

WEEK 4: THE ORDER OF PROGRESS (1890-1915)

The city was a new thing in American life. Sure, there had been cities before, but not at the concentration or organization that was seen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Urban spaces were sites of conflict based on class, race, ethnicity, and religion. Reformers sought to improve the morals, sanitation, and health of the city at the same time that they sought to establish economic and racial power. “Progressivism” was the label that historians used to describe an array of political, social, and economic movements that took place within cities at the turn of the century. We’ll examine the conflicts and coalitions of reform movements. We’ll consider their contributions to American life while also giving attention to the racial, gender, and class dimensions of their projects.

Questions to Consider

What was the difference between Populism and Progressivism? Who benefited from the reform of the city? What was the role that race played in Progressivism? How did people’s understanding of the role of government change in this era?

Cities, Immigration, and the Politics of Urban Spaces (9/26)

- Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, Ch. 6, 222-248.
- Visit the Cornell University ILR School’s Kheel Center online exhibit “Remembering the Triangle Factory Fire”: <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/trianglefire/>.
- Excerpts from Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (1910).
- Excerpts from Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890).

Searching for Progressivism (9/28)

- Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, Ch. 6, 248-275.
- Nancy Cott, “The Birth of Feminism,” in *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, 13-20.
- Theodore Roosevelt, “The New Nationalism” (1910).
- Progressive Party Platform (1912).

WEEK 5: EMPIRE, RACE, AND WAR (1898-1924)

One term for describing American ambitions of westward expansion in the nineteenth century is imperialism. The United States displaced native peoples and made room for European settlers across the North American continent. As the frontier closed and the project of civilization seemed mature, the continued desire for martial valor and the perceived need for economic expansion paved the way for a uniquely American perspective on global interests. At the same time, through a series of immigration restrictions and the implementation of Jim Crow in the North and the South, the

United States articulated a particularly white supremacist vision of American empire both at home and abroad.

Questions to Consider

Why did America go to war with Spain? What is the relationship between Progressivism and World War I? Between the Western Frontier and American imperialism? What is the difference between race and ethnicity? How did African-Americans respond to their exclusion from the public sphere under Jim Crow? Why were some Progressives anti-war?

American Empire and World War (10/3)

- Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation*, Ch. 7, 276-326.
- William Appleman Williams, "Imperial Anticolonialism," in *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, 18-27.
- Robert La Follette, "Antiwar Speech," (1917).
- Albert Beveridge, "The March of the Flag" (1898).
- "Civilization Begins at Home" (1898).

The Making of a White Nation (10/5)

- Nell Irvin Painter, "Introduction," "The Second Enlargement of American Whiteness," "Intelligence Testing of New Immigrants," & "The Melting Pot a Failure?" in *The History of White People*, ix-xii; 201-211; 278-290; 301-310.
- Matthew Frye Jacobson, "The Fabrication of Race," in *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 1-12.
- "Women of the Ku Klux Klan" (1927).
- A Philip Randolph & Chandler Own, "The New Negro--What is He?" (1920)

10/5/16: SHORT PAPER DUE IN CLASS IN HARD COPY

WEEK 6: RELIGION, CULTURE, AND ECONOMY OF THE 1920s (1919-1932)

Here we encounter the emergence of a division between the liberal and fundamentalist wings of American Protestantism. On the liberal side, we see a less vigorous religious orthodoxy, but a unique engagement with the social and political problems of the period. And on the fundamentalist side, we see a rallying cry for the defense of traditional Christian doctrine and a no less vigorous engagement with moral and cultural concerns. This split between fundamentalists and liberals will have long-lasting ramifications for American political and cultural life. At the same time, we will observe how many of the economic conflicts of the Populist and Progressive eras gave way to a new optimism about the mitigation of class war through new forms of organization and technology.

Questions to Consider

Was there necessarily a conflict between the economic ideals of liberal and fundamentalist Protestantism? What does the story of William Jennings Bryan tell us? Was Herbert Hoover an individualist? What was Fordism?

Fundamentalist and Liberal Protestantism (10/10)

- Excerpt from Daniel K. Williams, “From Isolation to Influence,” in *God’s Own Party*, 11-21.
- Excerpt from R. Laurence Moore, “Religious Advertising and Mass Media,” in *Selling God*, 210-220.
- William Jennings Bryan, Closing Statement of Scopes Trial (1925).
- Excerpt from J. Gresham Machen, *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923).

The Roaring Twenties and the Politics of Economic Crisis (10/12)

- Cowie, *The Great Exception*, Ch. 2, 63-89.
- Henry Ford, “‘Labor’ and ‘Capital’ Are False Terms” (1922).
- Excerpt from Herbert Hoover, *American Individualism* (1922).

WEEK 7: A NEW DEAL AND ITS CULTURE (1932-1944)

The New Deal was a contradictory set of policy prescriptions for an unprecedented economic crisis. Franklin Roosevelt and his advisor early on made use of the political economic ideas that were available to them, most of which could be summed up by two alternative visions: an anti-monopolistic, small business economy and a large, concentrated, and regulated economy. Both approaches inspired the early New Deal, but both were supplanted by a liberal vision that sought to make peace with capitalism, at least as America had understood it. Meanwhile, Americans came to understand a particularly national vision of culture. There was a growing desire—not unrelated to New Deal programs—to go back to the “authentic” byways of national life, to document and preserve them and to be inspired by them.

Questions to Consider

What was the difference between the first and second New Deal? How was the new liberalism different from the alternatives of the first New Deal? How might we characterize the relationship between Populism, Progressivism, and the New Deal? Why does Warren Susman say the teens and twenties were the era of the word and the 1930s was the era of the sight and sound?

The New Deal, Parts 1 & 2 (10/17)

- Cowie, *The Great Exception*, Ch 3, 91-121.
- Kim Phillips-Fein, “Paradise Lost,” in *Invisible Hands*, 3-25.
- FDR, First Fireside Chat (1933).
- FDR, Message to Congress on Curbing Monopolies (1938).
- Minnie Hardin, Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt (1937).

The Culture of the 1930s (10/19)

- Warren Susman, “The Culture of the Thirties,” in *Culture as History*, 150-183.
- Excerpt from James Agee & Walker Evans, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941).

- John Steinbeck, “The Harvest Gypsies” (1936).
- Watch: Mickey Mouse, Ye Olden Days (1933): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h4T3H43INA0>.

WEEK 8: THE STATE OF WORLD WAR II (1938-1950)

This week we will examine the causes and conflicts of World War II, but we will also study the influence that world war had on American domestic politics. The war produced new categories of citizens, some of whom came to deserve more benefits and support from the government than others. It also led to a drastic expansion of government, dwarfing the New Deal. In the second half of the week, we will screen a documentary on the anxieties and ambitions of the nuclear arms race.

Questions to Consider

What is citizenship? How did World War II change the way Americans thought about their government? How did it change the way they thought about business?

World War and the Warfare State (10/24)

- Cowie, *The Great Exception*, Ch. 4, 123-151.
- Margot Canaday, “Building a Straight State: Sexuality and Social Citizenship under the 1944 G. I. Bill,” *Journal of American History* 90, no. 3 (2003): 935-957
- WWII Posters on Women Workers
- FDR, “The Four Freedoms” (1941).
- A. Philip Randolph, from “Call to Negro America to March on Washington” (1941).

Film (10/26): The Atomic Café (1982).

WEEK 9: COLD WAR ORIGINS AND CULTURE (1945-1958)

There are many ways of understanding the origins of the Cold War. One way is to see that both sides—Russia and the rest of the Soviet bloc and America and its Western allies—were committed to mutually exclusive but no less global visions of how the world should work. One was communist, the other was capitalist, but as critics early on pointed out both were committed to expansion. This week we will explore the foreign policy of containment and the fear of communism at home. But we will also explore how in this Cold War context, consumption and renewed religious fervor were viewed through patriotic lenses.

Questions to Consider

What was containment? How did the policy of containment pave the way for increasing military and political intervention abroad? What was the relationship between the Marshall Plan and the origins of the Cold War? How could buying things be patriotic? How could consumption become a way of creating new identities? Why was Billy Graham so important in the middle of the twentieth century?

The Origins of the Cold War (10/31)

- Excerpt from Ernest May, “Introduction,” in *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC-68*, 1-19
- Excerpts from NSC 68: United States Objectives and Programs for National Security (1950).
- George Kennan, “The Long Telegram” (1946).
- Soviet Objections to the Marshall Plan (1947).

Culture of the 1950s (11/2)

- Cowie, *The Great Exception*, Ch. 5, 153-177.
- Lizabeth Cohen, “Reconversion: The Emergence of the Consumers’ Republic,” in *A Consumers’ Republic*, 112-159.
- Billy Graham, “What’s Wrong with Our World?” (1958).
- Lillian Hellman, Letter to HUAC (1952).
- Watch: Newsreel about Levittown: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OApZePeJsdU>.

WEEK 10: THE LONG AND CLASSIC CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT (1941-1968)

This week we will show that the Civil Rights Movement was not just a political movement of the late 1950s and 1960s, but had roots that went back decades and repercussions went well into the 1970s. Its early history was shaped by the citizenship claims of World War II veterans and by the public image of the Cold War. We will also give attention to the geographical differences of the movement. In the South, it was given a language and an imperative from the prophetic Christian tradition. But in other places, Black Power emerged from more radical traditions. We will explore how Civil Rights built on the promise of Reconstruction—a promise of economic, social, and political equality.

Questions to Consider

Why is the length of the Civil Rights Movement important? What is the relationship between Civil Rights and economic issues? What is the difference between Black Power and the Southern CRM? What is prophetic religion?

The Long Civil Rights Movement (11/7)

- Mary Dudziak, “Coming to Terms with Cold War Civil Rights,” in *Cold War Civil Rights*,” 18-46.
- Martin Luther King, Jr. “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” (1963).
- Fannie Lou Hamer, Address to the Democratic National Convention Credentials Committee (1964).

The End of Reconstruction (11/9)

- David Chappell, “Prophetic Christian Realism and the 1960s Generation,” in *A Stone of Hope*, 67-86.

- Watch: Malcolm X. “The Ballot or the Bullet” (1964)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7oVW3HfzXkg>.
- Stokely Carmichael, “What We Want” (1966).
- Black Panther Party, The Ten Point Program (1966)

WEEK 11: THE 1960S (1963-1975)

Here we encounter one of the conclusions of Cold War ideology: protracted conflict in “Third World” areas around the globe. Vietnam was the most infamous and disastrous of these conflicts for the United States, but similar duels played out in Cuba, South Africa, Ethiopia, Iran, and Afghanistan. The Vietnam-American War had repercussions in domestic policy as well. In the second half of the week, we will explore the multi-valent social movements that arose in the 1960s and early 1970s: the New Left, Feminists, Gay Liberation, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Black Power. We will give particular attention to the counterculture of the period, its origins in folk tradition and the Beats.

Questions to Consider

What is the relationship between containment and Vietnam? What did Americans, like the French before them, misunderstand about Vietnam? Is there a glue that holds together the various social movements of the ‘60s? In other words, what do they have in common? What was the New Left? How was it different from the Old Left?

Vietnam and the Ends of Containment (11/14)

- Excerpts from Tim O’Brien, *The Things They Carried*.
- James Fallows, “What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?” (1975).

The New Left and Cultural Revolution (11/16)

- Van Gosse, “Defining the New Left,” & “Women’s Liberation and Second-Wave Feminism,” “Gay Liberation,” in *Rethinking the New Left*, 1-8; 153-170; 171-186.
- The Port Huron Statement (1962).
- No More Miss America (1968).
- Alcatraz Proclamation (1969).
- Combahee River Collective, A Black Feminist Statement (1977)

WEEK 12: THE PROMISE AND LIMITS OF THE WELFARE STATE (1964-1980)

The Great Society was in many ways an expansion of the New Deal state. It sought to include, by way of welfare programs and by way of Civil Rights, more women and minorities than had been included in the programs first constructed in the 1940s and 1950s. We will look back on that legacy of exclusion and that promise of inclusion, but we will also see how the transformations of the economy both at home and around the globe limited the possibilities of the “New Deal order.”

Questions to Consider

How was the New Deal originally limited? What role did Vietnam play in Johnson’s political machinations? How does race, sex, and class change the way we think about government transfers?

The Great Society and the Expansion of the New Deal (11/21)

- Excerpts from Julian Zelizer, “How Barry Goldwater Built the Great Society,” & “The Fabulous Eighty-Ninth Congress,” in *The Fierce Urgency of Now*, 131-162; 163-201.
- Excerpts from “The Kerner Report” (1967).
- Excerpts from “The Moynihan Report” (1965).
- Lyndon B. Johnson, “The Great Society” (1964).

11/21/16: LONG PAPER DUE IN CLASS IN HARD COPY

WEEK 13: STAYIN’ ALIVE (1970s)

The 1970s were a transformational decade in the American political economy. Watergate, the failure of Vietnam, and political realignment met economic stagflation, the energy crisis, and post-industrialization. We will untangle these knots, giving careful attention to the ways in which economic transformation changed how ordinary Americans went about their lives and understood their politics. We will also explore the rise of disco, country music, and the films of the decade.

Questions to Consider

How does what one does for a living change in the 1960s and 1970s? Why was Jimmy Carter’s “Crisis of Confidence” speech such a flop? How do the events of the 1970s change the way we think about economic security in the twentieth century? Did the New Deal end in the 1970s? For whom did it end?

Vietnam, Malaise, and the Culture of the 1970s (11/28)

- Excerpts from Meg Jacobs, “Coming Up Dry” & “Turning Right,” in *Panic at The Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s*, 49-85; 89-113.
- Watch: Jimmy Carter, “Crisis of Confidence Speech” (1979)
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kakFDUeoJKM>.

Economic Transformation and the Rise of Precarious Labor (11/30)

- Cowie, *The Great Exception*, Ch. 6, 179-207.
- Louis Hyman, “Temps, Consultants, and the Rise of the Precarious Economy,” *The Hedgehog Review* (Spring 2016), http://www.iasc-culture.org/THR/THR_article_2016_Spring_Hyman.php.

WEEK 14: NEW DIRECTIONS (1976-1992)

The political realignments of the 1970s and 1980s which saw the triumph of the conservative movement was not simply a racial backlash to social movements of the 1960s. Instead, it had long roots that went far back into the twentieth century. We will explore how the kind of state envisioned by New Deal Democrats had always been contested by conservatives. The role of religion is particularly important for understanding how the conservative movement achieved success in America. Finally we will consider the connections between the Cold War that ended in the 1980s and the emergence of a War for the Greater Middle East.

Questions to Consider

Was the end of the Cold War the end of history? How should we understand the problem of racial backlash? Why did evangelicalism rise to such prominence? Can we understand the War for the Greater Middle East (or the War on Terror) as a continuation of the Cold War?

The Long Conservative Movement and the Reagan Revolution (12/5)

- Kim Phillips-Fein, “Making the Moral Majority,” & “The Market Triumphant,” in *Invisible Hands*, 213-235; 236-262.
- Excerpts from Jerry Falwell, “Listen America” (1980)
- Pat Robertson, Action Plan for the 1980s (1979).
- Ronald Reagan, “First Inaugural Address” (1981).

The End of the Cold War and the War for the Greater Middle East (12/7)

- Andrew J. Bacevich. “Let’s End America’s Hopeless War for the Middle East.” *POLITICO Magazine*. <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/04/middle-east-foreign-policy-afghanistan-unwinnable-213778>.
- Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest*, Summer 1989.

WEEK 15: THE POLITICS OF CULTURE (1992-2008)

In the 1990s and 2000s, culture became politicized like it had never been before. Gender, race, prayer in schools, abortion, school curricula, and homosexuality were central concerns to Americans on both the left and the right. At the same time, financialization continued to untether Americans from the foundations of economic realism and mass incarceration compelled many African-Americans into a system of police violence.

Questions to Consider

What is the idea of a “culture war”? How is it connected to race? It is related to the way Americans feel economically secure or insecure? Did “culture war” again become the lens through which the United States came to view the War on Terror?

Culture Wars and Clinton Democrats (12/12)

- Andrew Hartman, “Introduction,” *A War for the Soul of America*, 1-7.
- Heather Ann Thompson, “Why Mass Incarceration Matters,” *Journal of American History*.

Neoliberalism and World Terrorism (12/14)

- Farnaz Fassihi, Report from Baghdad (2004).

FINAL EXAM: MONDAY, DECEMBER 19 6:20-9:20PM