**Syllabus**

**HIST 3301, Autumn 2018**

**Lyndon Johnson and the Battle for the Great Society**

**The George Washington University**

Monday / Wednesday, 09:35 – 10:50 / Phillips 111

**Instructor: Bell Julian Clement,** [**Clement@GWU.edu**](mailto:Clement@GWU.edu)

**Office Hours: M / W 11:15 – 12:15, or by appointment, Phillips 304**

## Course Statement

The Great Society endeavor challenges Americans to think about national ideals and government’s role in achieving them. It presents questions about the relation between law, public policy, partisan politics, and social movements in shaping social goals and outcomes. Its experiments in active, assertive government provide opportunities for exploring how – and if – concerted public action achieves stated public goals.

If, along with the Progressive Era and the New Deal, the Great Society represents one of the important reform phases of twentieth century American governance, where in the larger trajectory of American liberalism should the Johnson administration’s effort be placed ? It has been called the “high tide” of American liberalism by some; its groundbreaking commitment to individual rights, to the quality of civic life, and to ensuring that all Americans have access to the benefits of America are celebrated. Other observers look at the Johnson years and see undisciplined government growth, dangerous centralization of political power, and, ultimately, the abandonment of time-honored American values of individualism and independence in favor of reliance on shabby claims of entitlement. Who has the better argument ?

The 1960s saw the emergence not only of the Great Society but also of a remarkable range of powerful citizen activism. The movement for African American civil rights, the student movement, rise of the New Left, anti-war activism, the birth of second-wave and radical feminism, and of gay rights activism, brought a new set of – preponderantly youthful – voices into the American civic conversation. Civic activism ranged in tone and texture from the golden legend of the March on Washington, August 28, 1963, to the brutish terror of the Chicago Democratic National Convention riots, August 28, 1968. To what degree – and in what directions – did this matrix of dialogue and demand shape politics and policymaking ?

Less conspicuously, but also significantly, the Great Society years altered the processes of American government. Johnsonian Creative Federalism recalibrated the relations between national and state and local government. The Johnsonian determination to bring public effort to bear not only in enhancing the quantity of American production but the quality of American life drew government into undertakings never before publicly attempted, using methods not previously innovated. Did the Great Society also recast the role of the American citizen ? How lasting were these changes ? How significant ?

We will use studies by historians and political scientists, memoirs, contemporary and current critiques, and the records of governance itself including speeches and statutes, to map the basic structure of the Great Society endeavor and to consider the questions: Where does this effort fit within the longer trajectory of American liberalism ? What was the relationship between legislative activism and social activism in selecting goals to be sought and methods for achieving them ? How, and with what consequences, did the methods of American governance change during these years ?

## Learning Deliverables

Upon successful completion of this course – including energetic engagement with the readings, active participation in class discussions, thorough response to written assignments, and focussed effort to develop their own independent points-of-view on topics addressed – participants will have gained

• Familiarity with the major American domestic events, actors, and developments of the 1960s;

• Familiarity with the objectives and basic program structures of key Great Society initiatives in the areas of civil rights, social welfare, health, education, criminal justice administration, and urban development;

• Sharpened ability to evaluate and absorb scholarly analyses of social and political issues;

• Familiarity with key texts dealing with the Johnson presidency, and experience in making use of them in historical and policy analysis;

• Familiarity with executive and legislative branch materials relating to Great Society programs and experience in accessing them and making use of them in historical and policy analysis.

• A more fully articulated personal position concerning major course themes: the place of the Great Society endeavor in the larger trajectory of American liberalism; the relationship between government and social movements in creating policy change; and the impact of the Johnson years in altering forms of American governance.

## Assignments and Evaluation

Written work for the course consists of (1) a review essay evaluating and comparing three texts relevant to an area of Johnson administration policymaking; (2) an annotated bibliography exploring primary and secondary sources relevant to analysis of an area of Johnson administration policymaking; and (3) an essay using those sources to analyze an area of Johnson administration policymaking in its historical context. A final, take-home, exam is also assigned. I will provide rubrics giving specific instructions and stating evaluation criteria in advance of each written assignment and the exam. Session attendance and participation are required, and highly valued, and are weighted accordingly in calculating course marks.

• Session attendance and participation – 20 percent of course mark

• Review essay, 2000 words – Due: noon, Tuesday, October 2 – 15 percent of course mark

• Analytic essay topic statement – Due: noon, Tuesday, October 23

• Annotated bibliography – Due: noon, Tuesday, November 6 – 15 percent of course mark

• Analytic essay, 3000 words – Due: noon, Tuesday, December 4 – 25 percent of course mark

• Final exam – Due: 5 p.m., Friday, December 14 – 25 percent of course mark

## Sessions and Readings

Weekly readings will be made available via links provided to Gelman electronic databases or as PDFs posted to Blackboard under “Electronic Reserves.”

### Session 1 – Introductions and Overview

Monday, August 27, 2018

READINGS

**Conkin**, Paul Keith. Chapter 1, “Parentage and Place,” pp. 1-15, and Chapter 2, “Legends of Young Lyndon,” pp. 1-36 in *Big Daddy from the Pedernales: Lyndon B. Johnson*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986. **[Bb]**

**Caro**, Robert A. Chapter 10, “Cotulla,” pp. 166-71, and Chapter 19, “‘Put Them to Work !’,” pp. 341-368 in *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power*. Vol. 1. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982. **[Bb]**

**Dallek**, Robert. Chapter 6, “The New Dealer,” pp. 159-84 in *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908-1960*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.**[Bb]**

### Session 2 – Lyndon Johnson

Wednesday, August 29, 2018

### Session 3 – Transition and Team

Wednesday, September 05, 2018

READINGS

**Caro**, Robert A. pp. 307-21 [the Kennedy assassination], pp. 329-36 [the swearing-in], and pp. 357-72 [D.C. return] in *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Passage of Power*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012. **[Bb]**

**Johnson,** Lyndon B., Address before a Joint Session of Congress, November 27, 1963. *Public Papers of the President,* 1963-1964, Vol. 1, pp. 8-10.

### Session 4 – Fulfilling the Kennedy Agenda

Monday, September 10, 2018

READINGS

**Graham**, Hugh Davis. Chapter 1, “Kennedy, Johnson, and the Presidency in Civil Rights,” pp. 27-46 and Chapter 3, “The Civil Rights Bill of 1963,” pp. 74-99 in *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960-1972*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. **[Bb]**

**Johnson**, Lyndon B. “Address before a Joint Session of Congress, November 27, 1963.” In *Public Papers of the President - Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964, Book I*, 10–11. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963.

### Session 5 – The Mid-Century Congress

Wednesday, September 12, 2018

READINGS

**Zelizer**, Julian E. Chapter 3, “Bomb-Throwing Liberals,” pp. 33-62 in *On Capitol Hill: The Struggle to Reform Congress and Its Consequences, 1948-2000*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. **[Bb]**

### Session 6 – Civil Rights Act of 1964

Monday, September 17, 2018

READINGS

**Carson**, Clayborne. Chapter 2, “Getting Organized,” pp. 19-30 and Chapter 3, “Freedom Rides,” pp. 31-44 in *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1981. **[Bb]**

**Mann**, Robert. Chapter 19, “Tell Him to Cry a Little,” pp. 379-405, and Chapter 20, “An Idea Whose Time Has Come,” pp. 406-32 in *The Walls of Jericho: Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Richard Russell, and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1996. **[Bb]**

### Session 7 – Kennedy-Johnson Economics

Wednesday, September 19, 2018

READINGS

**Stein**, Herbert. Chapter 4, “Kennedy and Johnson: Activism Exhausted,” pp. 89-122 in *Presidential Economics: The Making of Economic Policy from Roosevelt to Clinton*. 3rd rev. ed. Washington, D.C: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1994. **[Bb]**

### Session 8 – War on Poverty: Antecedents

Monday, September 24, 2018

READINGS

**Murrow**, Edward R. *CBS Reports:* *Harvest of Shame*, 1960. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJTVF_dya7E>.

**Bigart**, Homer. “Kentucky Miners: A Grim Winter: Poverty, Squalor and Idleness Prevail in Mountain Area Poverty Grips Kentucky Miners With Winter’s Ordeal Looming.” *New York Times*. October 20, 1963.

**Harrington**, Michael. Chapter 1, “The Invisible Land,” pp. 1-19 in *The Other America: Poverty in the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1962.

### Session 9 – War on Poverty: Policymaking

Wednesday, September 26, 2018

READINGS

**Galbraith**, John Kenneth. Chapter 1, “The Affluent Society,” pp. 13-16; Chapter 18, “The Theory of Social Balance,” pp. 198-211; Chapter 23, “The New Position of Poverty,” pp. 250-58; and Chapter 25, “On Security and Survival,” pp. 270-76 in *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958.

**Bernstein**, Irving. Chapter 4, “The War on Poverty,” pp 82-113 in *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

**Economic Opportunity Act of 1964**, Pub. L. No. Pub. L. No. 88-452, 78 Stat. 508 (1964).

### Session 10 – War on Poverty: Policymaking

Monday, October 01, 2018

### DUE: REVIEW ESSAY, noon, Tuesday, October 2

### Session 11 – Great Society Launch

Wednesday, October 03, 2018

READINGS

**Johnson**, Lyndon B. “Remarks at the University of Michigan, May 22, 1964.” In *Public Papers of the President - Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964, Book I*. Washington, D. C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964. [ Please locate and download ]

**Goodwin**, Richard N. *Remembering America: A Voice from the Sixties*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1988. **[Bb]**

**Johnson**, Lyndon B. “Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union, January 4, 1965.” In *Public Papers of the President - Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965, Book I*, 1–9. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965. [ Please locate and download ]

**Leuchtenberg**, William E. “The Genesis of the Great Society.” *The Reporter*, April 21, 1966. **[Bb]**

### AUTUMN BREAK – Monday, October 8, 2018

### Session 12 – The 1964 Campaign

Wednesday, October 10, 2018

READINGS

**White**, Theodore Harold. Chapter 9, “Lyndon Johnson’s Convention,” pp. 255-308 and Chapter 10, “The Issues: Cry Babylon,” pp. 309-330 in *The Making of the President, 1964*. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1965. **[Bb]**

**Kabaservice**, Geoffrey. Chapter 4, “The Blood-Dimed Tide is Loosed: The GOP and the Goldwater Campaign, 1964” in *Rule and Ruin: The Downfall of Moderation and the Destruction of the Republican Party, from Eisenhower to the Tea Party*. Oxford University Press, 2012. **[Bb]**

### Session 13 – The 1964 Campaign

Monday, October 15, 2018

### Session 14 – Vietnam

Wednesday, October 17, 2018

READINGS

**Williams,** William Appleman, Thomas McCormick, Lloyd Gardner, and Walter LaFeber, eds., Part IV, “The Rise and Fall of American Power, 1963-1975,” pp. 215-79 in *America in Vietnam: A Documentary History*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1985. **[Bb]**

### Session 15 – Education

Monday, October 22, 2018

READINGS

**Graham**, Hugh Davis. “Task Forcing toward Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society.” In *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years*, 53–83. University of North Carolina Press, 1984. <https://www-jstor-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/10.5149/9780807879702_graham>

### DUE: TOPIC STATEMENT, noon, Tuesday, October 23

### Session 16 – Health

Wednesday, October 24, 2018

READINGS

**Berkowitz**, Edward, “The Great Society’s Enduring National Health Insurance Program,” pp. 320-350 in Milkis, Sidney M, and Jerome M Mileur, eds. *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*. Political Development of the American Nation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005. <https://www-jstor-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/j.ctt5vk5wz>

### Session 17 – Voting Rights

Monday, October 29, 2018

READINGS

**Bernstein**, Irving. Chapter 8, “Voting Rights,” in *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996. **[ ProQuest ebook Central ]**

**Johnson**, Lyndon. “On the Right to Vote,” March 15, 1965. **[ Public Papers of the Presidents ]**

### Session 18 – Unrest

Wednesday, October 31, 2018

READINGS

**Moynihan**, Daniel Patrick. “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action,” pp. 1-4 and 29-48, March 1965. **[** [***https://web.stanford.edu/~mrosenfe/Moynihan%27s%20The%20Negro%20Family.pdf* ]**](file:///E:\-----%20W\Projects\Teaching\2018.2%20-%20Great%20Society\Announcements\%20https:\web.stanford.edu\~mrosenfe\Moynihan%27s%20The%20Negro%20Family.pdf%20%20%5d%0d)

**Johnson**, Lyndon. “To Fulfill These Rights,” June 4, 1965. **[ Public Papers of the Presidents ]**

**Rustin**, Bayard. “The Watts ‘Manifesto’ the McCone Report.” *Commentary  (Pre-1986); New York*, March 1966. **[Bb]**

### Session 19 – Creative Federalism

Monday, November 05, 2018

READINGS

**Muskie**, Edmund. “Creative Federalism.” *Saturday Review*, June 25, 1966. **[Bb]**

**Ways**, Max. “‘Creative Federalism’ and the Great Society.” In *Cooperation and Conflict; Readings in American Federalism*, 619–31. Itasca, Ill: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1969. **[Bb]**

### DUE: Annotated Bibliography, noon, Tuesday, November 6

### Session 20 – Implementation

Wednesday, November 07, 2018

READINGS

**Moynihan**, Daniel P. Chapter 7, “Community Action Loses,” pp. 128-66; and Chapter 8, “Social Science and Social Policy,” pp. 167-205 in *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty*. New York: Free Press, 1969. **[Bb]**

### Session 21 – The Great Society and the City

Monday, November 12, 2018

READINGS

**Wood**, Robert C. *Metropolis against Itself*, pp. 11-44. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1959. **[Bb]**

**Johnson**, Lyndon B. “Special Message to the Congress on the Nation’s Cities, March 2, 1965.” In *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon Johnson, 1965, Book I*, pp. 231-40. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965. **[Bb]**

**Weaver**, Robert C. “Goals of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.” *Urban Affairs Review* 2, no. 2 (December 1, 1966): 3–23. **[Bb]**

**Moynihan**, Daniel Patrick. “Is There Really an Urban Crisis ?” *Challenge* 15, no. 2 (1966): 20-22 and 49-50. **[Bb]**

### Session 22 – Model Cities

Wednesday, November 14, 2018

READINGS

**Banfield**, Edward C. “The Bureaucracy: Making a New Federal Program: Model Cities, 1964-68.” In *Policy and Politics in America: Six Case Studies*, edited by Allan P. Sindler, pp. 124–59. Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.

### Session 23 – Great Society Law and Order

Monday, November 19, 2018

READINGS

**Cronin**, Thomas E., Tania Z. Cronin, and Michael E. Milakovich. Chapter 3, “A First Presidential Response,” pp. 25-43; and Chapter 4, “Legislating for the War on Crime,” pp. 44-59 in *U.S. v. Crime in the Streets*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981. **[Bb]**

**Johnson**, Lyndon B. “Special Message to the Congress on Crime and Law Enforcement,” March 9, 1966. **[Public Papers of the Presidents]**

### THANKSGIVING BREAK - Wednesday, November 21, 2018

### Session 24 – Urban Crisis, Riot, Response

Monday, November 26, 2018

READINGS

**Button**, James W. Chapter II, “OEO: The ‘Fire-Brigade’ Approach to Riots,” pp. 24-46; Chapter III, “HUD & HEW: The Case of Moderate Response,” pp. 58-86; and Chapter IV, “Justice and Defense: From Riot Prevention to Riot Control,” pp. 107-34 in *Black Violence: Political Impact of the 1960’s Riots*. Princeton University Press, 1978. **[Bb or** <http://www.jstor.org.proxygw.wrlc.org/stable/j.ctt13x1860> **]**

### Session 25 – The Nixon Transition

Wednesday, November 28, 2018

READINGS

**Whitaker**, John C. “Nixon’s Domestic Policy: Both Liberal and Bold in Retrospect.” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1996): 131–53. **[Bb]**

### Session 26 – Evaluating the Great Society

Monday, December 03, 2018

READINGS

**Levitan**, Sar A., and Robert Taggart. “The Great Society Did Succeed.” *Political Science Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (Winter, 1976-1977): 601–18. **[Bb]**

**Wood**, Robert C. “Model Cities: What Went Wrong - The Program or Its Critics ?” In *Neighbourhood Policy and Programmes: Past and Present*, edited by Naomi Carmon. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1990. **[Bb]**

**Piven**, Frances Fox, and Richard A. **Cloward**. “The Politics of the Great Society.” In *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*, 253–69. University of Massachusetts Press, 2005. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vk5wz.12>.

**Moyers**, Bill D. “What a Real President Was Like: To Lyndon Johnson, the Great Society Meant Hope and Dignity.” *The Washington Post; Washington, D.C.* November 13, 1988, sec. Outlook. **[Bb]**

**DUE: Analytic Essay, noon, Tuesday, December 4, 2018**

### Session 27 – The Great Society and American Liberalism

Wednesday, December 05, 2018

READINGS

**Mileur**, Jerome M. “The Great Society and the Demise of New Deal Liberalism.” In *The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism*, 411–56. University of Massachusetts Press, 2005. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vk5wz.19>.

**Handlin**, Lilian, and Oscar Handlin. “America and Its Discontents: A Great Society Legacy.” *The American Scholar* 64, no. 1 (1995): 15–37. **[Bb]**

### Session 28 – WRAP

Monday, December 10, 2018

### DUE: TAKE-HOME EXAM, 5 p.m., Friday, December 14

NOTE: Over 16 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours (150 minutes) per week attending class for a total of about 35 hours of direct instruction and discussion. Reading course materials and other out-of-class work is estimated at an average of around 7 hours (420 minutes) per week, for a total of about 112 hours over the course of the semester.

**University Policies**

**University policy on observance of religious holidays** In accordance with University policy, students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. For details and policy, see: [students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays.](https://students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays)

**Academic integrity code** Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For details and complete code, see: [studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity](http://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity)

**Safety and security** In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

**Support for students outside the classroom**

**Disability Support Services (DSS)** Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information see: [disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/](https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/)

**Mental Health Services 202-994-5300** The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: [counselingcenter.gwu.edu/](http://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/)