

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

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While this book is primarily a synthetic one, I have drawn on material housed at the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson presidential libraries. I have also made use of a good deal of archival research done over the last ten years for a variety of scholarly projects. For this book I have also read on microfilm hundreds of issues of underground newspapers, several years of *Time* and *Newsweek*, and many pages of *The New York Times*.

For the three years prior to writing this book I had Columbia College and Barnard College students enrolled in my courses "America in the 1960s" and "The Civil Rights Movement in America" prepare oral history reports. I read about 900 of these oral histories and found them vital in thinking about the 1960s and in understanding how people felt about those times; I received permission to quote from many of these oral histories and have made frequent use of them, usually not to prove a point but rather to illustrate one. I have also talked with hundreds of people about their memories of the 1960s and found many of their accounts helpful in making the literary leap from the 1990s to the 1960s.

Rather than provide an exhaustive survey of sources in this bibliographic essay, I have included only those books and articles that I found most useful or important.

For historical overviews I relied on: Michael Barone, *Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan* (1990), a hardheaded, trustworthy chronicle of political and economic history; William H. Chafe, *The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War II* (1986), most useful for its sympathetic accounts of social change movements; Charles R. Morris, *A Time of Passion: America 1960–1980* (1984), a smart, skeptical appraisal of public policy and the conventional wisdom; *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*, eds. Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle (1989), a collection of essays most useful in explaining the role of the state in



the life of the American people over the last several decades; *Major Problems in American History Since 1945*, ed. Robert Griffith (1992), a historically sophisticated collection of useful documents and essays; James Gilbert, *Another Chance: Postwar America 1945–1985* (1986), a superb overview of the nation's large-scale social and cultural changes; and Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time: From World War II to Nixon—What Happened and Why* (1978), a beautifully written, insightful account of postwar “establishment” thinking and cultural upheaval in the 1960s.

Other histories of the 1960s include: John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society 1961–1974* (1991), which is particularly astute on events in Washington, D.C.; Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (1987), a fascinating and fruitful mélange of memory and history; Allen Matusow, *The Unraveling of America* (1984), a riveting, biting account of liberalism and its radical critics in the 1960s; and the scholarly collection *The 1960s: From Memory to History*, ed. David Farber (1994).

For overviews of the Cold War period, I balanced the very critical Thomas J. McCormick, *America's Half Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War* (1992) with the always wise John Gaddis, *The Long Peace* (1987). Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity and the Civic Culture* (1990), provided a brilliant examination of American identity. Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (1989), offers a superb reading of postwar American culture. Tom Wolfe, *Tom Wolfe: The Purple Decades* (1982), is a funny and telling portrait of America.

Other important overviews for understanding specific aspects of the 1960s include: Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth Century America* (1988); James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty 1900–1985* (1986); *The New American State: Bureaucracies and Policies Since World War II*, ed. Louis Galambos (1987); Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (1984); Edward D. Berkowitz and Kim McQuaid, *Creating the Welfare State: The Political Economy of 20th Century Reform* (1992); James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (1988); Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (1988); Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were* (1992); Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985); Robert Wuthnow, *The Restructuring of American Religion* (1988); Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Develop-*

*ment, and the Transformation of the South, 1938–1980* (1991); Jack R. Goldfield, *Black, White and Southern* (1990); and Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences* (1992).

## 1. GOOD TIMES

This chapter draws heavily on Robert Collins, “Growth Liberalism in the 1960s: Great Societies at Home and Grand Designs Abroad,” in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber. My analytic frame is influenced by Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (1976). To capture America at the cusp of the 1950s and 1960s, I found the following particularly helpful: Douglas T. Miller and Marion Novak, *The Fifties* (1977); Elaine May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988); John Patrick Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941–1960* (1988); William O’Neil, *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945–1960* (1986); *Recasting America*, ed. Lary May (1989); Thomas Hine, *Populuxe: The Look and Life of America in the 50's and 60's* (1986); and Roland Marchand, “Visions of Classlessness, Quests for Dominion: American Popular Culture, 1945–1960,” in *Reshaping American Society and Institutions, 1945–1960*, eds. Robert Bremner and Gary W. Reichard (1982).

The Kitchen Debate is well described by Stephen Ambrose, *Nixon: The Education of a Politician* (1987).

For car culture and corporations: James Flink, *The Automobile Age* (1988), and Louis Galambos and Joseph Pratt, *The Rise of the Corporate Commonwealth* (1988). For poverty: James T. Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty* (1986). For an understanding of American culture in the late 1950s and early 1960s, I draw on Beth Bailey, “World Without Limits,” unpublished paper.

## 2. THE WORLD AS SEEN FROM THE WHITE HOUSE 1960–1963

I was very much influenced in this chapter by Mary Sheila McMahon, “Naming the System: Foreign Policy and Political Culture,” in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber.

The literature on John F. Kennedy is voluminous. The best insider account remains Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (1965); for a more balanced portrait, consult



Herbert Parmet, *JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy* (1983), and the pithy biography by David Burner, *John F. Kennedy and a New Generation* (1988). The most evocative account of the Kennedy-Nixon race is by Theodore White, *The Making of the President 1960* (1961), the first and, I think, best of his election books. For an account of Kennedy's domestic record, more positive and richer than my own: Irving Bernstein, *Promises Kept: John F. Kennedy's New Frontier* (1991).

For Kennedy-era Cold War events, I have relied heavily on Michael Beschloss, *The Crisis Years* (1991); also Richard Ned Lebow, *Between Peace and War* (1981).

The letters mourning JFK's death come from the condolence mail collected at the Kennedy Library.

### 3. THE MEANING OF NATIONAL CULTURE

The most useful overview of the mass media in the postwar years is by James L. Baughman, *The Republic of Mass Culture* (1992). Other important works include: *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer*, eds. Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann (1992); Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (1980); Cecelia Tichi, *Electronic Hearth: Creating an American Television Culture* (1991); and Erik Barnouw, *Tube of Plenty* (1982).

Rock 'n' roll: Jon Weiner, *Come Together* (1983); Lawrence Grossberg, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place* (1992); Robert Pielke, *You Say You Want a Revolution* (1985); Robert Pattison, *The Triumph of Vulgar: Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism* (1987); Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo, *Rock and Roll Is Here to Pay* (1977); and George Lipsitz, "'Who'll Stop the Rain'—Youth Culture, Rock 'n' Roll and the Social Crises of the 1960s," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber. For a sprightly and informative history of the baby boomers: Landon Jones, *Great Expectations: America and the Baby Boom Generation* (1980).

### 4. FREEDOM

The civil rights movement has earned a rich historical literature. I am indebted to Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement* (1990); Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality*, Rev. ed. (1992); Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945–1982* (1982); Taylor Branch,

*Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963* (1988); Hugh Davis Graham, *Civil Rights and the Presidency: Race and Gender in American Politics 1960–1972* (1992); Jack Bloom, *Class, Race and the Civil Rights Movement* (1987); the documentary film series *Eyes on the Prize*, Blackside Production 1986–1987; *Black Leaders of the Twentieth Century*, eds. John Hope Franklin and August Meier (1982); William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (1980); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960's* (1981); David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross* (1987); David Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1983); Michael R. Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order: Racial Violence and Constitutional Conflict in the Post-Brown South* (1987); Goldfield, *Black, White and Southern*; and Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt*.

### 5. THE LIBERAL DREAM AND ITS NIGHTMARE

For the March on Washington, Branch, *Parting the Waters*, and for SNCC and its discontents, see Carson, *In Struggle*. The best short survey of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is found in Graham, *Civil Rights and the Presidency*. Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (1988), is an excellent account of the white volunteers active in Mississippi.

LBJ's memoirs are a valuable source: Lyndon Baines Johnson, *The Vantage Point* (1971). See also Vaughn Roberts, *The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson* (1983); Paul K. Conkin, *Big Daddy from the Pedernales: Lyndon Baines Johnson* (1986); Harry McPherson, *A Political Education: A Washington Memoir* (1988); and for the early years, Robert Caro, *The Path to Power* (1982) and *Means of Ascent* (1990). The Great Society is intelligently discussed in Matusow, *The Unraveling of America*; Morris, *A Time of Passion*; Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land* (1991); *Exploring the Johnson Years*, ed. Robert Divine (1981), and *The Johnson Years*, ed. Robert Divine (1987); Patterson, *America's Struggle Against Poverty*. Useful conservative critiques include Charles Murray, *Losing Ground* (1984), and Lawrence M. Meade, *Beyond Entitlement* (1986).

For Hoover, I relied on Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (1987).

Although much was written about the riots in America's cities when they occurred, almost no solid historical treatments of the riots exist except for the story of Detroit done by Sidney Fine, *Violence in the Model City* (1989).



## 6. VIETNAM

I have based my account mainly on the following works: George Herring, *America's Longest War* (1986); James William Gibson, *The Perfect War* (1986); Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam War: 1945-1990* (1991); James S. Olson and Randy Roberts, *Where the Domino Fell: America and Vietnam* (1991); Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam* (1988); *Light at the End of the Tunnel*, ed. Andrew Rotter (1991); and *Major Problems in the History of the Vietnam War*, ed. Robert J. McMahon, (1990).

For an intelligent defense of the war: Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (1978). For an immoderate Marxist attack on the U.S. position: Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of a War: Vietnam, the United States and the Modern Historical Experience* (1985).

## 7. A NATION AT WAR

I have been very influenced in this chapter by Richard Immerman, " 'A Time in the Ride of Men's Affairs': Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam," unpublished paper. Christian G. Appley, *Working Class War* (1992), offers a striking portrait and insightful analysis of the men who fought the war. A solid history of the Selective Service System and Vietnam is provided by Lawrence M. Baskir and William A. Strauss, *Chance and Circumstance* (1978). For the hotly argued issue of the mass media and Vietnam, I relied on Chester Pach, " 'And That's the Way It Was': The Vietnam War on the Network Nightly News," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber. Peter Braestrup, *Big Story: How the American Press and Television Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet in Vietnam and Washington* (1977), is highly critical of the mass media, while Daniel C. Hallin, *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam* (1986), provides a more nuanced and sophisticated portrait.

I have also drawn on haunting firsthand accounts of the war: Michael Herr, *Dispatches* (1977); Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (1977); Tim O'Brien, *Going After Cacciato* (1978); and dozens of oral histories of Vietnam vets done by my students, often with their fathers or uncles. I have also talked with many Vietnam veterans about their experiences.

For the antiwar movement: *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, eds. Melvin Small and William D. Hoover (1992); Charles DeBenedetti, with Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The*

*Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (1990); Nancy Zaroulis and Gerald Sullivan, *Who Spoke Up? American Protest Against the War in Vietnam* (1984); Kenneth Heineman, *Campus Wars* (1992); David Farber, *Chicago '68* (1988); and for an important overview on protest in the 1960s, Terry Anderson, "The 'New American Revolution': The Movement and Business During the 1960s," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber. For the important issue of how much the antiwar protesters affected policymakers: Melvin Small, *Johnson, Nixon and the Doves* (1988).

## 8. THE WAR WITHIN

Counterculture: Emmett Grogan, *Ringolevio* (1990); *Cows Are Freaky When They Look at You: An Oral History of the Kaw Valley Hemp Pickers*, eds. David Ohle, Roger Martin, and Susan Brosseau (1991); Abe Peck, *Uncovering the Sixties: The Life and Times of the Underground Press* (1985); Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury* (1985); *Digger Papers* (1968); Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1969); and Jay Stevens's wonderfully told *Storming Heaven* (1987). For the sexual revolution: Beth Bailey, "Sexual Revolution(s)," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber; and John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality* (1988); and Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise* (1991).

## 9. STORMY WEATHER

For the political and cultural divide separating Americans, see Farber, *Chicago '68*. For the New Left: Tom Hayden, *Reunion* (1988); James Miller, " 'Democracy Is in the Streets': From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago" (1987); Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968: The Great Refusal* (1982); Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt: An International Oral History* (1988); and Heineman, *Campus Wars*.

For the Berkeley scene: William J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (1989).

The Black Power movement is sympathetically recounted by William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture* (1992). A vivid portrait of Malcolm X is given by Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (1979); see also *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, as told to Alex Haley (1965); Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*



(1967); and David Colburn and George Pozzetta, "Race, Ethnicity and the Evolution of Political Legitimacy During the 1960s," in *The 1960's*, ed. Farber. For both the New Left and Black Power advocates I have made frequent use of oral histories.

#### 10. RN AND THE POLITICS OF DECEPTION

Richard Nixon is portrayed sympathetically by Herbert Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America* (1990). More critical are Stephen Ambrose, *Nixon* (1987), and Joe McGinniss, *The Selling of the President* (1970). Also useful are Kevin B. Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (1969); Gary Wills, *Nixon Agonistes* (1970); William Safire, *Before the Fall* (1975); Richard Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (1978); Stanley Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate* (1991); Robert Coles, *The Middle Americans* (1974); and David Farber, "The Silent Majority and Talk About Revolution," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber.

For the economy of the late 1960s and early 1970s: Peter N. Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970s* (1982); Collins, "Growth Liberalism in the 1960s: Great Societies at Home and Grand Designs Abroad"; Barone, *Our Country*; and Morris, *A Time of Passion*.

#### 11. A NEW WORLD

I was much influenced in this chapter by Kenneth Cmiel, "The Politics of Civility," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber.

The environmental movement and policy is discussed by Samuel Hays, *Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (1987).

The women's movement is fast developing a rich historical literature. The best overviews include: Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (1984); Rosalind Rosenberg, *Divided Lives: American Women in the Twentieth Century* (1992); and Cynthia Harrison, *On Account of Sex: The Politics of Women's Issues 1945-1968* (1989). For the 1960s and early 1970s the best sources are Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (1980); Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (1989); Alice Echols, "'Nothing Distant About It': Women's Liberation and Sixties Radicalism," in *The 1960s*, ed. Farber; Jo Freeman, *The Politics*

of Women's Liberation (1975); and Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963).

For gay liberation: John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (1983), and D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*.

For both the women's movement and the gay movement I have benefited from oral history accounts.