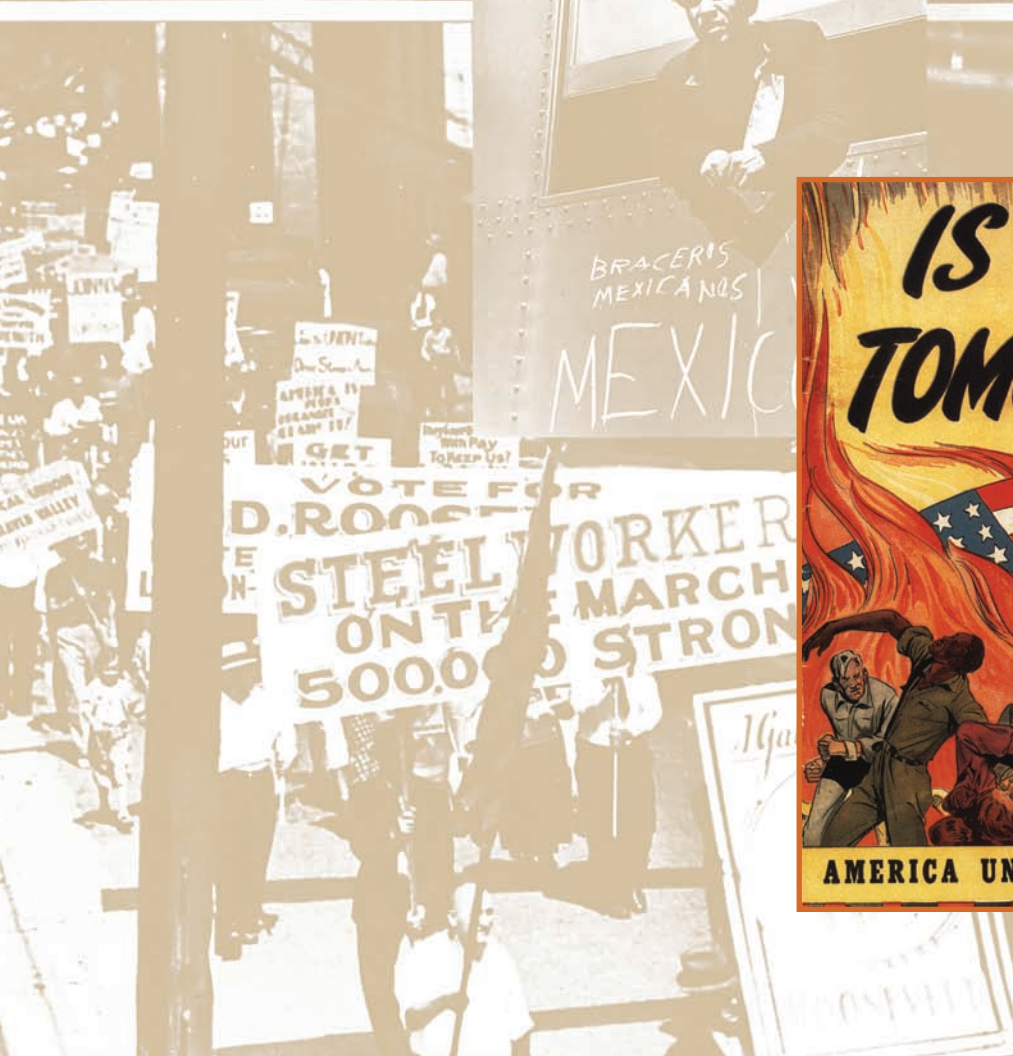
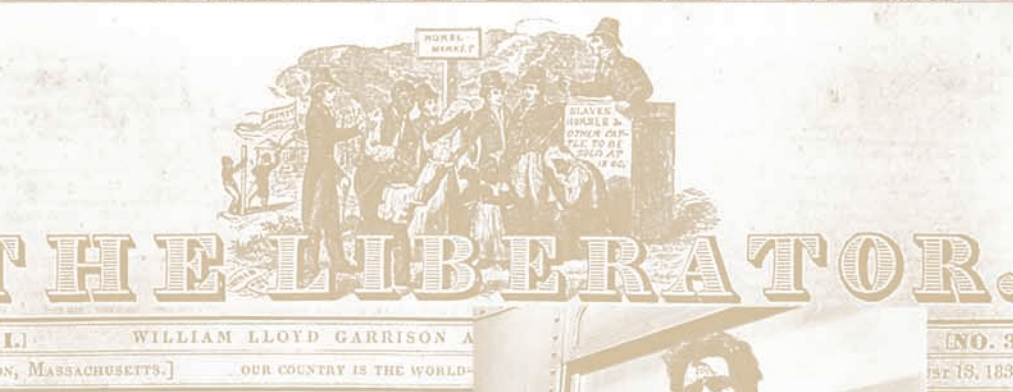


UNITED STATES HISTORY

1945-1960

The Cold War: Containment at Home and Abroad



PLEASE SEE
NOTES ON
THE PDF,
PAGE 5.

LESSONS IN US HISTORY

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THE UCI CALIFORNIA HISTORY-SOCIAL SCIENCE PROJECT

The California History-Social Science Project (CH-SSP) of the University of California, Irvine, is dedicated to working with history teachers in Orange County to develop innovative approaches to engaging students in the study of the past. Founded in 2000, the CH-SSP draws on the resources of the UCI Department of History and works closely with the UCI Department of Education. We believe that the history classroom can be a crucial arena not only for instruction in history but also for the improvement of student literacy and writing skills. Working together with the teachers of Orange County, it is our goal to develop history curricula that will convince students that history matters.

HUMANITIES OUT THERE

Humanities Out There was founded in 1997 as an educational partnership between the School of Humanities at the University of California, Irvine and the Santa Ana Unified School District. HOT runs workshops in humanities classrooms in Santa Ana schools. Advanced graduate students in history and literature design curricular units in collaboration with host teachers, and conduct workshops that engage UCI undergraduates in classroom work. In the area of history, HOT works closely with the UCI History-Social Science Project in order to improve student literacy and writing skills in the history classroom, and to integrate the teaching of history, literature, and writing across the humanities. The K-12 classroom becomes a laboratory for developing innovative units that adapt university materials to the real needs and interests of California schools. By involving scholars, teachers, students, and staff from several institutions in collaborative teaching and research, we aim to transform educational practices, expectations, and horizons for all participants.

THE SANTA ANA PARTNERSHIP

The Santa Ana Partnership was formed in 1983 as part of the Student and Teacher Educational Partnership (STEP) initiative at UC Irvine. Today it has evolved into a multi-faceted collaborative that brings institutions and organizations together in the greater Santa Ana area to advance the educational achievement of all students, and to help them enter and complete college. Co-directed at UC Irvine by the Center for Educational Partnerships, the collaborative is also strongly supported by Santa Ana College, the Santa Ana Unified School District, California State University, Fullerton and a number of community based organizations. Beginning in 2003-2004, HOT has contributed to the academic mission of the Santa Ana Partnership by placing its workshops in GEAR UP schools. This unit on *The Cold War: Containment at Home and Abroad* reflects the innovative collaboration among these institutions and programs.

CONTENT COUNTS: A SPECIAL PROJECT OF THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

This is one in a series of publications under the series title Content Counts: Reading and Writing Across the Humanities, supported by a generous grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Content Counts units are designed by and for educators committed to promoting a deep, content-rich and knowledge-driven literacy in language arts and social studies classrooms. The units provide examples of “content reading”—primary and secondary sources, as well as charts, data, and visual documents—designed to supplement and integrate the study of history and literature.

Additional external funding in 2003-2004 has been provided to HOT by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, UC Links, the Bank of America Foundation, the Wells Fargo Foundation, and the Pacific Life Foundation.



A publication of Humanities Out There and the Santa Ana Partnership
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The Cold War: Containment at Home and Abroad

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

This unit introduces students to the themes of the Cold War, emphasizing the connections between political events and cultural beliefs. Although the standards emphasize the leaders and major foreign policy initiatives of the era, the Cold War affected the way that average Americans perceived themselves. During these years, public policy, political ideology, and the American home became so intertwined that everyday practices like grocery shopping and familial living arrangements were infused with geo-political significance. Historian Elaine Tyler May has observed that, during these years, consumption—the use of economic goods to satisfy wants—became synonymous with democracy.

This unit will introduce students to efforts to contain communism at home and abroad. Lesson 1 reviews the source of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the postwar era so that students understand the origins and consequences of the Cold War. It begins by asking students to draw the battle lines of the Cold War in Europe. After an introduction to the basic differences between capitalism and communism, students are asked to consider both the United States' and the Soviet Union's objectives in the aftermath of World War II. Stu-

dents then review excerpts of the major foreign policy initiatives of the era, including the “Iron Curtain” speech, the Truman Doctrine, and NSC-68 and discuss what impact these policies had on American democracy.

Lessons 2 and 3 introduce students to the Cold War “home fronts” in both the Soviet Union and the United States. By reviewing advertising and propaganda, students deepen their understanding of the basic tenets of capitalism and communism and gain a better understanding of the conflict between the nations. Students examine state-sponsored Soviet propaganda and American advertising campaigns to see how each nation promised prosperity. Students also read the Nixon-Khrushchev “kitchen debate” and learn that Cold War diplomacy extended beyond discussions of military might to include issues such as way of life. In the final lesson, students discuss whether fears about communist subversion caused (or justified) limitations on First Amendment rights in the United States. In particular, students read testimony presented to the House Un-American Activities Committee as well as files from the FBI's investigation of communism in Hollywood and discuss whether the threat posed by the CP warranted the measures taken to suppress them.

This unit includes a writing prompt at the end of the unit (Lesson 4), though students would need supplementary information from lectures and textbooks to give satisfactory answers. The writing prompt asks students to assess the United States' foreign and domestic policy of “containment” in the 1940s and 1950s. They are given a range of potential topic sentences to use in their responses.

This unit emphasizes skills associated with historical interpretation, as students use primary sources to explore the causes of the Cold War and the connections between the war and domestic economic expansion and cultural change. The modules also ask students to consider the meaning and impact of the Cold War on American society. While reading the major speeches and diplomatic texts of the era, students also learn that the Cold War affected domestic as well as foreign policy.

HISTORY STANDARDS COVERED IN THIS UNIT

Skills

■ **Chronological and Spatial thinking**

- Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.

■ **Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View**

- Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

■ **Historical Interpretation**

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
- Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

Content standards

■ **11.7. Discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front.**

- 11.7.8. Analyze the effect of massive aid given to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan to rebuild itself after the war and the importance of a rebuilt Europe to the U.S. economy.

■ **11.8. Students analyze the economic boom and social transformation of post-World War II America**

- 11.8.7. Describe the effects on society and the economy of technological developments since 1945, including the computer revolution, changes in communication, advances in medicine, and improvements in agricultural technology.
- 11.8.8. Discuss forms of popular culture, with emphasis on their origins and geographic diffusion (e.g., jazz and other forms of popular music, professional sports, architectural and artistic styles).

■ **11.9. Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.**

- 11.9.2. Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO and SEATO, in deterring communist aggression and maintaining security during the Cold War.
- 11.9.3. Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Korean War; the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine.

NOTES ON THE PDF:

1) Please note that in this pdf document the page numbers are two off from the printed curriculum. For example, page 2 in the printed curriculum is now page 4 in this pdf document.

2) We apologize if some of the hyperlinks are no longer accurate. They were correct at the time of printing.

3) Full-page versions of the images in this unit—some in color—can be found at the back of this pdf.

4) You can easily navigate through the different parts of this document by using the “Bookmark” tab on the left side of your Acrobat window.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Domestic policy and culture

* Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared! The Commie Menace in Propaganda and Popular Culture* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001). Aimed at a popular audience, this text offers extensive popular images of communism and the Soviet Union from both the First and Second Red Scares in the United States.

Paul Buhle, *Radical Hollywood* (New York: New Press, 2002). In this work, Buhle assesses the influence of the Hollywood Left in the early years of the movie industry.

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Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000). Dudziak examines the struggle for racial equality in the United States in the context of the global Cold War. She shows how segregation (not to mention lynching) became a liability for American foreign policy as well as how Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy linked desegregation to national security.

* Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York: Knopf, 1986). Another work aimed at a popular audience, this text reviews the popular culture—and the consumerism—of the 1950s through advertisements, automobiles, and appliances.

Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). May's work explores the connections between Cold War foreign policies of “containment” and American family life.

KEY TERMS

Capitalism—an economy based on private ownership of wealth, by investments that are decided privately (not publicly), and by prices/production/distribution of goods determined by competition.

Communism—in the USSR, communism meant government ownership of land and property, a single-party government, and the absence of individual rights. There was also a call for worldwide revolution.

Consumption—the use of economic goods to satisfy wants and/or shape identity. Historians like Elaine Tyler May and Lizabeth Cohen have noted that during the twentieth century, Americans increasingly identified themselves as consumers rather than workers.

Containment—a term first used by American diplomat George Kennan during the late 1940s. As the USSR exerted influence in Eastern Europe, the American government adopted a foreign policy that sought to limit, or “contain,” Soviet influence in the rest of the world.

Diplomatic history—history that examines the negotiated relationships between nations. Diplomatic historians usually focus on areas such as leadership and treaties.

Political history—history that examines government

and activities related to government (e.g., political parties, elections).

Production—the making of goods available for use. In mass production, goods are created using assembly-line techniques.

Social history—history that explores the interaction of individuals and groups.

ASSESSMENT:

Diagnostic—see final lesson for writing prompt.

Victor Navasky, *Naming Names* (New York: Viking Press, 1980). This is a history of the House Un-American Activities Committee, with a particular interest in the “friendly” witnesses.

Ellen Schrecker, *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998). Schrecker explores the impact of anticommunism in the United States from the first Red Scare until the end of McCarthyism. In doing so, she also offers a history of the Communist Party in the United States.

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Foreign policy

* Victoria E. Bonnell, *The Iconography of Power: Soviet political posters under Lenin and Stalin* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997). This monograph offers examples of and insights into Soviet propaganda.

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Thomas Paterson, *On Every Front: The Making and Unmaking of the Cold War* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992). This work offers an overview of the events and policies of the Cold War in the United States.

Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991). Young reviews the history of the Vietnam War, including policy decisions, political justifications, and the war’s impact on both American and Vietnamese civilians.

* Denotes a work with primary sources that could be used in the classroom.

Primary sources available on the Web

Avalon Project at Yale Law School: <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon>. This website offers an alphabetized—and searchable—database of documents from American history, including the Cold War. Its twentieth century diplomatic collection includes the text of the Truman Doctrine (1947) and the NATO treaty (1949).

FBI: <http://foia.fbi.gov/room.htm>. This site includes FBI documents from its investigation of communism in the motion picture industry. Look for information through the link to “historical interest listing.”

The Internet Archive: <http://www.archive.org/movies>. This film archive, drawn from the Prelinger Collection, includes Cold War-era ephemeral films, including the classic “Duck and Cover” as well as films that feature students discussing the relative merits of capitalism, democracy, and communism. Films may be downloaded or watched via Real Player streaming format. The films in this collection are in the public domain. The website is fairly easy to use, as it is organized so that visitors may browse by topic as well as by title. Relevant titles for Cold War instruction include *Capitalism, It's Everybody's Business*, *Meet King Joe* (a cartoon that highlights the benefits of capitalism for American workers) and several others.

Internet Modern History Sourcebook: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook.html>. This database includes various Cold War-era documents that are part of the public domain.

Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection at University of Texas, Austin: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/index.html>. This site offers an excellent collection of contemporary and historical maps.

The Cold War: Why did the United States and the USSR enter into the Cold War after World War II?

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
- Students interpret past events and issues within the context in which an event unfolded rather than solely in terms of present-day norms and values.

Content standards

■ 11.7. Discuss the constitutional issues and impact of events on the U.S. home front.

- 11.7.8: Analyze the effect of massive aid given to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan to rebuild itself after the war and the importance of a rebuilt Europe to the U.S. economy.

■ 11.9. Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.

- 11.9.2. Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO and SEATO, in deterring communist aggression and

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

Lesson 1 reviews the source of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union (USSR) in the post-World War II era so that students understand the origins of the Cold War.

In a sense, World War II represented a break in the hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union, which had become a communist nation during World War I. Even then, the United States was concerned that the Soviet Union would pose a challenge to America's government and values. As a capitalist nation, the United States feared the revolutionary rhetoric of communism, which vowed to create a world order led by workers and which denounced organized religion. As a result, Americans did not establish diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union until 1933. American and Soviet relations soured when Joseph Stalin agreed to a non-aggression pact with Adolf Hitler, but Hitler nullified the treaty by invading the USSR in 1941. During World War II, the United States sided with Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union (the Grand Alliance) to fight the Axis Powers. However, the United States and the Soviet Union disagreed about what postwar Europe should look like, and their mutual suspicion gradually led to a Cold War that lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

After World War II, American leaders hoped that an American monopoly on the atomic bomb would convince the Soviet Union to agree to American plans for Europe (the monopoly was short lived, as the Soviets developed a bomb by 1949). American leaders wanted to ensure the continued health of its economy, so it wanted to see governments with similar economic and political systems established in Europe. Although this foreign policy coincided with American economic needs, Americans saw these goals not as self-interest but as a crusade to bring freedom, democracy, and capitalism to the world. They therefore tried to “contain,” or limit, the spread of communism all over the world.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union feared another invasion and wanted to protect its western borders by establishing pro-communist governments in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union suffered incredible losses—including 20 million deaths and heavy damage to industry and agriculture—during World War II. Joseph Stalin wanted to protect the USSR from further attack by establishing “satellite nations” that were sympathetic to communism along its western borders. Stalin claimed that he was protecting Soviet interests in Europe, just as the United States was protecting its interests. Suspicious of the United States, Stalin did not participate in agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which helped established capitalist economies in Western Europe.

During the Cold War, the United States divided the world into the “free” and “unfree” world. The “free world” included nations that were willing to cooperate with the United States and Western Europe. This did not necessarily mean that its allies were all democracies; indeed, it may be noted that countries such as South Africa—whose official policy of apartheid ended only in the 1990s—and the Philippines—which was ruled by US-supported dictator Ferdinand Marcos—were considered “free” nations. At the same time, the Soviet Union—and most notoriously Joseph Stalin—pursued oppressive policies in its own nation and across Eastern Europe. While this module focuses on events in Europe, teachers might initiate fruitful discussions of these contradictions by expanding class discussion to include content standards that focus on the Vietnam War, Latin America, and/or the Middle East.

Lesson Goals

Lesson 1 will introduce students to the major diplomatic and economic issues of the early Cold War. Teachers should begin by asking students to locate the key nations involved in the Cold War on a map. The students then read and analyze a series of speeches and papers that outline “containment,” which became the key policy of American foreign policy. In the next module, students will discuss how the idea of “containment” affected American culture.

A Discussion Guide for Teachers

Format: Students should be divided into groups of five or six students. Depending on time constraints, the teacher may wish to have each group examine one excerpt, then report to the class.

This lesson is intended to introduce students to some of the basic political, economic, and military objectives of both the United States and the Soviet Union following World War II. Since the lesson only includes Europe, teachers may wish to expand discussion beyond the map of Europe, since the Cold War included so many “theaters” around the world, including Southeast Asia, Central America, and the Caribbean. A discussion of these non-European theaters could lead to an interesting discussion of how the United States and the Soviet Union attempted to—or more often failed to—consider themes such as nationalism and racial geopolitics in these countries during the Cold War. After conducting such a discussion, teachers could add another column to the “Cold War perspectives” exercise at the end of the module that asks students to consider events from the perspective of a non-Western nation (e.g., Vietnam).

In Part II, students read several well-known foreign policy documents associated with the early years of the Cold War. In these documents, American, British, and Soviet leaders and policy

maintaining security during the Cold War.

- 11.9.3. Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy.

KEY TERMS

Capitalism—an economy based on private ownership of wealth, by investments that are decided privately (not publicly), and by prices/production/distribution of goods determined by competition.

Communism—in the USSR, communism meant government ownership of land and property, a single-party government, and the absence of individual rights. There was also a call for worldwide revolution.

Containment—a term first used by American diplomat George Kennan during the late 1940s. As the USSR exerted influence in Eastern Europe, the American government adopted a foreign policy that sought to resist, or “contain,” Soviet influence in the rest of the world.

TIME REQUIRED

- 70 minutes. The first half of the workshop is intended to familiarize students with the alliances of World War II and the Cold War. If students are already familiar with this information, teachers can use the map exercise as a review, or they can skip it altogether.

MATERIALS

- Photocopies of documents and map, markers/colored pencils to draw on map. In addition to the map of Europe, it is recommended that teachers also have a world map available so they can have students locate Japan, Korea, and Vietnam.

analysts outline their nation's actions. Teachers should have their students circle or outline key words in an effort to identify the vocabulary used to justify the War (teachers should decide whether they wish to give students the list of "goals" given at the beginning of the section). At the end of the section, students should brainstorm a list of economic, political, and military/national security goals, collected from the lesson, which each country pursued (there could be more than two potential responses). The writing assignment at the end of this module asks students to apply the concept of "containment" to the situation in Korea in 1950. Teachers may wish to assign this brief "position paper" along with textbook reading; the assignment gives the student the opportunity to practice persuasive writing. The theme of "containment" will continue as the modules move to a discussion of domestic policy.

Writing Exercise:

[See end of lesson]

The Cold War: Why did the United States and the USSR enter into the Cold War after World War II?

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

In this lesson, you will learn about the source of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the post-World War II era. The two nations were allies during World War II, but the United States was concerned that the Soviet Union, which was a communist nation, posed a challenge to America's government and values. As a capitalist nation, the United States feared the revolutionary rhetoric of communism, which vowed to create a world order led by workers and which denounced organized religion. The United States and the Soviet Union disagreed about what post-war Europe should look like, and their mutual suspicion led to a Cold War that lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

After World War II, American leaders hoped that an American monopoly on the atomic bomb would convince the Soviet Union to agree to American plans for Europe (the monopoly was short lived, as the Soviets developed a bomb by 1949). American leaders wanted to ensure

the continued health of its economy, so it wanted to see governments with similar economic and political systems established in Europe. They therefore tried to "contain," or limit, the spread of communism all over the world. On the other hand, after suffering 20 million deaths and huge damage during the war, the Soviet Union feared another invasion and wanted to protect its western borders by establishing pro-commu-

nist governments in Eastern Europe. Stalin claimed that he was protecting Soviet interests in Europe, just as the United States was protecting its interests.

In the rest of this lesson, you will map the alliances that formed in Europe during the Cold War. You will also read sources in which American, British, and Soviet politicians explore their goals and their foreign policy in the years after World War II.



Temporary basement fallout shelter, circa 1957.

Source: Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared*, p. 134

PART 1—MAPPING WORLD WAR II AND THE COLD WAR IN EUROPE

Europe at the end of World War II

1. During World War II, the United States sided with Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union against Germany, Italy and Japan. *On your map of Europe, please locate the following countries:*
 - a. Allies: Great Britain, France, USSR, USA. Mark these countries with the letter “A.”
 - b. Axis Powers: Germany, Italy, Japan. Mark these countries with the letters “AP.” With your teacher, find Japan on a world map.
2. In February 1945, when it was clear that the Allies would win the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt met with Joseph Stalin (USSR) and Winston Churchill (Great Britain) to discuss the fate of postwar Europe. The leaders divided Germany into quarters to be occupied by American, French, British, and Russian forces, and Stalin agreed to allow elections in Poland, which was occupied by Soviet forces. *On your map of Europe, please locate the following countries:*
 - a. Germany: draw a line from the northwest corner of the German border with Czechoslovakia to the Baltic Sea. The area to the west of this line will be West Germany (the combined quarters of USA, France, and England) and the area to the east of this line will be East Germany (USSR). Color East Germany red.
 - b. Poland. Color red.

The division of Europe

3. The Soviet Union gained control over parts of Eastern Europe that Germany had captured during the war. *On your map of Europe, please locate the following countries and color them red:*
 - a. Albania and Bulgaria. Occupied by USSR in 1944, communist-controlled by 1948.
 - b. Czechoslovakia. Communist-controlled by 1948.
 - c. Hungary and Romania. Communist-controlled by 1947.
 - d. East Germany. Occupied by Soviet Union after war, communist government established 1949.
4. As the Soviet Union established satellite nations, the United States collected allies among Western European nations. In 1949, the United States joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to counter Soviet power in Europe. *On your map of Europe, please locate the following countries and color them blue:*
 - a. Great Britain
 - b. France
 - c. West Germany
 - d. Norway
 - e. Belgium
 - f. Italy
 - g. Turkey
 - h. Greece
 - i. Netherlands
 - j. Denmark
 - k. Portugal

PART II: COLD WAR DIPLOMACY

American goals: American leaders wanted to keep the nation's economy strong, so they wanted to see nations with capitalist economies and representative governments established in Europe. Although this foreign policy met American economic needs, Americans saw these goals not as self-interest but as a crusade to bring freedom, democracy, and capitalism to the world. They therefore tried to “contain” the spread of communism all over the world.

Soviet goals: The Soviet Union suffered huge losses—including 20 million deaths and heavy damage to industry and agriculture—during World War II. Joseph Stalin wanted to protect the USSR from further attack by establishing “satellite nations”—that is, nations that were sympathetic to communism—along its western borders. Stalin said that he was protecting Soviet interests in Europe, just as the United States was protecting its interests. Suspicious of the United States, Stalin did not let the USSR join agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which helped the capitalist economies in Western Europe.

Winston Churchill

Speech by Winston Churchill
Winston Churchill delivered this famous speech
at Westminster College in Missouri
on March 5, 1946.

...From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has **descended** across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet **sphere**, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow...

Source: Internet Modern History Sourcebook

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT:

descended—fallen over or covered

sphere—an area of interest or influence

Questions about Churchill's speech (see page 13):

1. Looking at your map of Europe (page 22), draw a line that separates the Soviet-bloc nations from the Western European nations that were members of NATO.
2. What phrase does Churchill use to describe Soviet power in Eastern Europe? Why might this scare an American audience in 1946?
3. Why would an American care about Soviet power in Europe?

Joseph Stalin

Joseph Stalin's response to Churchill
Printed in the New York Times (p.4) on March
14, 1946 (interview with Pravda)

... Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a **firebrand** of war. And Mr. Churchill is not alone here. He has friends not only in England but also in the United States of America.

In this respect, one is reminded remarkably of Hitler and his friends. Hitler began to set war loose by announcing his racial theory, declaring that only people speaking the German language represent a fully valuable nation. Mr. Churchill begins to set war loose, also by a racial theory, maintaining that only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations, called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world.

The German racial theory brought Hitler and his friends to the conclusion that the Germans, as the only fully valuable nation, must rule over other nations. The English racial theory brings Mr. Churchill and his friends to the conclusion that nations speaking the English language, being

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT:

firebrand—one who speaks forcefully for a cause

irrevocably—unable to change

oblivion—the state of being forgotten

expansionist tendencies—having the desire to grow or achieve more power

Stalin continues on next page.

the only fully valuable nations, should rule over the remaining nations of the world....

As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has **irrevocably** lost in battles with the Germans, and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labor camps, about 7,000,000 people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together.

It may be that some quarters are trying to push into **oblivion** these sacrifices of the Soviet people which insured the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke.

But the Soviet Union cannot forget them. One can ask therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal? How can one, without having lost one's reason, qualify these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as "**expansionist tendencies**" of our Government? . . .

Source: Internet Modern History Sourcebook

Questions about Stalin's response:

1. What historical figure does Stalin compare Churchill to? Why do you think Stalin uses this comparison?
2. In the fourth through sixth paragraphs above, Stalin states how many Russians died during World War II. Why were these losses important, according to Stalin?
3. How does Stalin defend the Soviet Union's post-World War II actions in Europe? Were Stalin's goals military goals, national security goals, or economic goals?

Harry Truman

Truman Doctrine (March 12, 1947).
This excerpted speech, given by President Harry Truman before a joint session of Congress, outlined the president's plans for economic aid to Greece and Turkey.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted **subjugation** by **armed minorities** or by outside pressures...

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes...

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the **survival** and **integrity** of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a **profound** effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

Source: Internet Modern History Sourcebook

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT:

subjugation—control

armed minorities—
Truman means a small group that takes over through force

survival—ability to live

integrity—soundness or completeness

profound—important or deep

Questions about the Truman Doctrine:

1. Find Greece and Turkey on your map again.
2. Given the world political situation in 1947, who do you think are the “armed minorities” and “outside pressures” who are trying to take over Greece and Turkey?
3. According to this excerpt, what kind of aid does Truman plan to give to Greece and Turkey?
4. Looking at the final two paragraphs, what does Truman say will happen in Europe and the Middle East if the United States does not help Greece and Turkey?
5. Truman’s foreign policy has often been described as the “domino theory.” Here’s the concept: if dominoes are stacked one slightly behind the other, a slight push on one will knock down all of the pieces in a row. Why do you think it has been described in this way?
6. Were Truman’s plans in Greece and Turkey military goals, national security goals, political goals, or economic goals?

George C. Marshall

Marshall Plan (June 5, 1947)
This excerpted speech, given by Secretary of State George C. Marshall, outlined the need for American economic aid to western Europe.

...The truth of the matter is that Europe's **requirements** for the next 3 or 4 years of foreign food and other essential products—principally from America—are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have **substantial** help or face economic, social, and political **deterioration** of a very grave character...

Aside from the **demoralizing** effect on the world at large and the possibilities of **disturbances** arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political **stability** and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or **doctrine** but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the **revival** of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions exist.

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT:

requirements—needs

substantial—great

deterioration—decline or fall apart

demoralizing—taking away the spirit

disturbances—lack of order

stability—order

doctrine—a set of beliefs, especially religious or political

revival—a return to working order

Questions about the Marshall Plan:

1. What kind of aid did Europe need from the United States?
2. Why would the United States want to help Europe?
3. What does Marshall mean when he says, “Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos”?
4. Was Marshall’s plan a military goal, a national security goal, a political goal, or an economic goal?

National Security Council

National Security Council Paper 68
(April 7, 1950)

This top-secret document, an internal memo of the newly formed National Security Council, argued that only the United States could stop Soviet expansion. It advocates the policy of "containment."

As for the policy of "**containment**," it is one which seeks by all means short of war to (1) block further **expansion** of Soviet power, (2) expose the **falsities** of Soviet **pretensions**, (3) induce a **retraction** of the Kremlin's control and influence, and (4) in general, so **foster** the seeds of destruction within the Soviet system that the Kremlin is brought at least to the point of **modifying** its behavior to conform to generally accepted international standards.

...It is quite clear from Soviet theory and practice that the Kremlin seeks to bring the free world under its **dominion** by the methods of the cold war. The preferred technique is to **subvert** by **infiltration** and **intimidation**. Every institution of our society is an instrument which it is sought to **stultify** and turn against our purposes. Those that touch most closely our material and moral strength are obviously the prime targets, labor unions, civic enterprises, schools, churches, and all media for influencing opinion. The effort is not so much to make them serve obvious Soviet ends as to prevent them from serving our ends, and thus to make them sources of confusion in our economy, our culture, and our body politic...

GLOSSARY FOR EXCERPT:

containment—to prevent or limit the advance, spread, or influence of

expansion—the process of growth: the opposite of containment

falsities—lies

pretensions—appearances

retraction—a pulling back

foster—to encourage growth

modifying—changing

dominion—rule

subvert—to ruin or corrupt from within

infiltration—enter secretly

intimidation—threat of force

stultify—to make useless

Questions about the National Security Council Paper 68, page 17:

1. How did the United States plan to stop Soviet expansion? Does the document argue that the United States should go to war with the USSR?
2. According to this document, what were the key parts of “containment”? What does the phrase “by all means short of war” mean?
3. According to the document, how is the Soviet Union trying to increase its influence over the free world? Is the Soviet Union using armed confrontation or another method? How does this threaten American institutions, and how might this threat differ from other wars, like WWI or WWII?
4. Using NSC-68, can you argue that Americans were worried that communists would “subvert” (definition: to ruin or corrupt from within) American culture? Why?
5. If Stalin had issued a response to the NSC-68, what do you think he would have said?

PERSPECTIVES ON THE COLD WAR

Now that you have read the documents, please describe the objectives of the United States and the Soviet Union as each nation’s leaders (or allies) explained them. Are there any similarities?

United States	Soviet Union
Economic Goals 1) 2)	Economic Goals 1) 2)
Political Goals 1) 2)	Political Goals 1) 2)
Military/National Security Goals 1) 2)	Military/National Security Goals 1) 2)

WRITING ASSIGNMENT:

The year is 1950, and North Korea, a communist country, has invaded South Korea (look at world map). President Harry Truman has to decide whether to commit ground troops to help the South Koreans fight the invasion, which would mean that the “cold war” would become a “hot war.” You are a policy analyst for the newly-formed National Security Council. Using the documents in this worksheet, write a five-sentence paragraph in which you argue for or against committing ground troops. You will need to address why the policy of “containment” applies or does not apply to the situation in Korea.



The Cold War: How did the Cold War affect American culture and Soviet culture?

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

In this module, students will learn how the Cold War affected American and Soviet culture during the early years of the conflict. In the Soviet Union, state-sponsored propaganda campaigns claimed that the nation had created considerable prosperity and happiness for its citizens, despite the fact that the war, fought on Soviet grounds, had severely damaged the economy. The campaigns criticized capitalism in the West for problems such as war, unemployment, exploitation, and racism.

Americans enjoyed an era of prosperity after World War II, but the fear of communism dominated American culture during the 1950s. The war had revived the American economy, and Americans quickly adjusted to a consumer economy. Advertisements encouraged Americans to invest in homes, televisions, and kitchen appliances. While concerned about the Soviet Union's advancements in nuclear arms and space technology, Americans believed that consumer abundance proved the superiority of the capitalist system.

Lesson Goals

In Lesson 2, students examine the American and Soviet “home fronts” during the Cold War. By examining a variety of primary sources—advertisements, magazine articles, and state-sponsored propaganda—they will consider how the Cold War affected thinking in both the United States and the Soviet Union. They will also try to understand why each country believed that its economic and political system—capitalism/democracy or communism—offered the better path to prosperity. Although it may seem as though consumer goods would have little relevance to a war, they will see that consumer culture had an important role in the Cold War. By reading the Nixon-Khrushchev “kitchen debate,” students will learn that Cold War diplomacy extended beyond discussions of military might to include issues such as way of life. The workshop is designed to help students understand the connection between the Cold War and the era's economic, social, and cultural transformation.

It is important that students remember that all of the sources they examine will have a bias. The sources were intended to convince citizens that their nation's way of life, whether democracy or communism, was the best way to achieve happiness.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View

- Students construct and test hypotheses; collect, evaluate, and employ information from multiple primary and secondary sources; and apply it in oral and written presentations.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

Content standards

■ 11.8. Students analyze the economic boom and social transformation of post-World War II America

- 11.8.7. Describe the effects on society and the economy of technological developments since 1945, including the computer revolution, changes in communication, advances in medicine, and improvements in agricultural technology.
- 11.8.8. Discuss forms of popular culture, with emphasis on their origins and geographic diffusion (e.g., jazz and other

Discussion Guide for Teachers

Format: Teachers may want to divide students into groups to discuss the different sections. Some of the work could be completed for homework.

This lesson is designed to help students understand the domestic consequences of the Cold War. To supplement the images in this workshop, teachers may wish to include a clip from one of the Cold War-era educational films available through the Prelinger Collection at the Internet Archive (<http://www.archive.org/>), a collection of public-domain films from the twentieth century. Films such as *Capitalism*, *A Look at Capitalism*, *Meet King Joe*, and *It's Everybody's Business*, locatable using the alphabetical index, address the perceived differences between American and Soviet culture, and students may enjoy analyzing how Americans compared their system to that of the Soviet Union.

In this lesson, the primary sources from American culture are drawn from popular magazines and advertisements. Students should notice the emphasis on the (white) “nuclear family,” consumer abundance, and “traditional” gender roles. They may also notice that the ads do not depict blue-collar Americans (some of the films at the Prelinger Archive do depict working-class Americans). Moreover, the excerpt from *Look* magazine equates women’s rights with access to beauty salons. The teacher may wish to ask students what groups of Americans are missing from these advertisements.

In contrast to the American ads, the Soviet posters champion the worker while condemning capitalism. For example, Viktor Govorkov’s poster depicts an American worker who is literally counting his pennies in front of a fat-cat tycoon while a Soviet worker (wearing a tie) happily holds consumer goods. The question posed in the poster, “Who Receives the National Income?,” is thus answered: the Soviet worker. Ivan Semenov’s poster, “The Goal of Capitalism is Always the Same,” similarly condemns capitalism. Each frame of the poster depicts a worker in a different “capitalist” struggle: extraction of resources, slavery, and war (the workers are of different races). In each case, the profit/sweat/blood drains into the bottom frame, where the capitalist collects his profits.

Although it may seem as though consumer goods would have little relevance to a war, students will see that consumer culture had an important role in the Cold War. By reading the Nixon-Khrushchev “kitchen debate,” students will learn that Cold War diplomacy extended beyond discussions of military might to include issues such as way of life. During the tour, which occurred two years after Sputnik challenged American technical supremacy, Nixon consistently attempted to draw attention to the benefits of the American consumer economy. Although Khrushchev refused to concede defeat on this front of the Cold War, he nonetheless offered stinging criticism of consumerism, including his retort that Soviets did not share “the capitalist attitude toward women” and his assertion that household goods “are merely gadgets.”

forms of popular music, professional sports, architectural and artistic styles).

KEY TERMS

Capitalism—an economy based on private ownership of wealth, by investments that are decided privately (not publicly), and by prices/production/distribution of goods determined by competition.

Communism—in the USSR, communism meant government ownership of land and property, a single-party government, and the absence of individual rights. There was also a call for worldwide revolution.

Consumption—the use of economic goods to satisfy wants and/or shape identity. Historians like Elaine Tyler May and Lizabeth Cohen have noted that during the 20th century, Americans increasingly identified themselves as consumers rather than workers.

Production—the making of goods available for use. In mass production, goods are created using assembly-line techniques.

TIME REQUIRED

- At least one hour plus the writing assignment

MATERIALS

- Photocopies of workshop images and text.

WRITING ASSIGNMENT

- See end of lesson.

The Cold War: How did the Cold War affect American culture and Soviet culture?

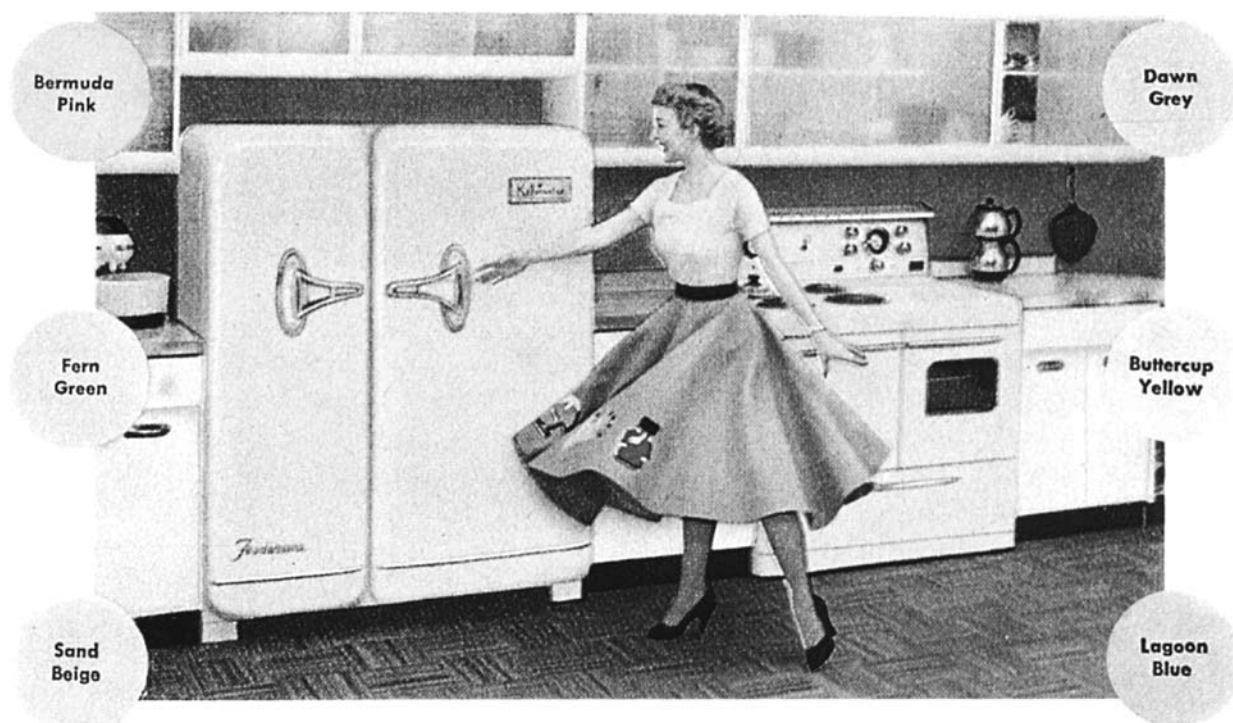
INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

In today's lesson, you will learn how the Cold War affected American and Soviet culture in the 1950s. The sources you will examine tried to convince citizens that their nation's way of life, whether democracy or communism, was the best way to achieve happiness. In the United States, Americans quickly adjusted to a consumer economy after World War II. Advertisements encouraged Americans to invest in homes, televisions, and kitchen appliances. However, Americans were

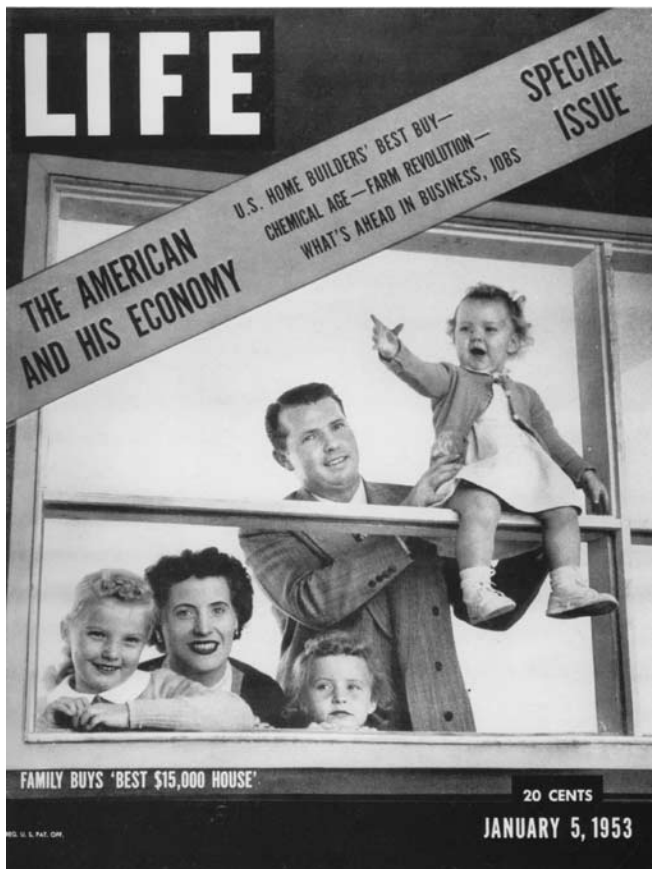
also worried about the spread of communism. Many advertising campaigns and magazine articles tried to persuade Americans that the availability of consumer goods proved the superiority of the American way of life. In the Soviet Union, which suffered tremendous damage to its economy during World War II, state-sponsored propaganda campaigns claimed that the nation resulted in prosperity and happiness for its citizens. The campaigns criticized capitalism in the West for problems such as war, unemployment, exploitation, and racism.

COLD WAR: HOW DID AMERICANS EXPLAIN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN COMMUNISM AND CAPITALISM?

Following are advertisements, articles, and photographs from American magazines and television during the 1940s and 1950s. Using these pictures, answer the questions at the bottom of page 27.



Advertisement for kitchen appliances, 1950s. Source: Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York: Knopf, 1986), p. 22



Life magazine cover, 1953. The caption on the cover reads, "Family Buys 'Best \$15,000 House'"



A 1950s Family

Source: Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York: Knopf, 1986), title page.

“Women—Russia’s Second-Class Citizens”
Julie Whitney, “Russian-born wife of an American newspaperman,”
[this excerpt appeared in *Look Magazine* in 1954]

“A woman in Russia has a chance to be almost anything, except a woman. Even today, in a relatively cosmopolitan Moscow, a good-looking, well-dressed girl wearing make-up is one of three things: a foreigner, an actress or a prostitute.... The majority of statues of women in Russian parks wear brassieres and gym pants! Needless to say, there is no ‘Miss U.S.S.R.’” In Moscow, with its population of five million, “there are just two beauty parlors which by Western standards deserve the name. The other half-dozen are ‘medical cosmetic institutions.’”

Source: <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/home.html>

American advertising and culture:

1. Which photograph best summarizes capitalism and/or democracy in the 1950s as you understand it? Who are the “heroes” of these advertisements? Be ready to explain your answer.
2. Which photographs (there is more than one) celebrate life in the United States? Explain why.
3. Which source contains a critique of communism and/or the Soviet Union?
4. Do you think these images accurately depict life in the United States in the 1950s?
5. Do these images leave any group of Americans out of the picture?

COLD WAR: SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS

Answer the questions at the bottom of this page using these posters from Soviet propaganda campaigns in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s (also see next page).



Viktor Govorkov, “Who Receives the National Income?” 1950. The worker on the left is an American. The worker on the right is a Soviet.

Source: Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power* (LA and Berkeley: UC Press, 1997), figure 6.6

Propaganda in the Soviet Union

1. Which poster best summarizes communism as you understand it? Who are the “heroes” of the posters? Who are the “villains”?
2. Which posters celebrate life in the Soviet Union?
3. Which posters (there is more than one) contain a critique of capitalism and/or the United States?
4. Do you think these posters accurately depict life in the Soviet Union?



Ivan Semenov, "The Goal of Capitalism is Always the Same," 1953.

Source: Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power* (LA and Berkeley: UC Press, 1997), figure 6.15.



Nikolai Charukhin, "I am a man. Racism—shame of America" 1969.

Source: Aulich & Sylvestrova, *Signs of the Times: Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe 1945-1995* (NY: St. Martin's, 1999), p. 197.

THE KITCHEN DEBATE

The Cold War was an unusual war in that the two nations involved did not face each other on a battlefield. Instead, Americans and Soviets argued that their political system was better by comparing each nation's way of life. Such was the case in 1959, when Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev held a public discussion at the American National Exhibit in Moscow comparing the technological capabilities of the two powers.



Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the Kitchen Debate, 1959.

Source: Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York: Knopf, 1986), p. 131

After reading the following excerpt from the debate, answer the questions on page 32.

Nixon: "...There are some instances where you may be ahead of us, for example in the development of the thrust of your rockets for the investigation of outer space; there may be some instances in which we are ahead of you – in color television, for instance."

Khrushchev: "No, we are up with you on this, too. We have bested you in one technique and also in the other."

Nixon: "You see, you never concede anything."

Khrushchev: "I do not give up."

Nixon: ...[Later in the tour, Nixon halted Khrushchev at model kitchen in model house]: "You had a very nice house in your exhibition in New York. My wife and I saw and enjoyed it very much. I want to show you this kitchen. It is like those of our houses in California."

Khrushchev: [after Nixon called attention to a built-in panel-controlled washing machine]: "We have such things."

Nixon: "This is the newest model. This is the kind which is built in thousands of units for direct installation in the houses." He added that Americans were interested in making life easier for their women.

The kitchen Debate continues on the next page.

Mr. Khrushchev remarked that in the Soviet Union, they did not have “the capitalist attitude toward women.”

Nixon: “I think that this attitude toward women is universal. What we want to do is make easier the life of our housewives.”

He explained that the house could be built for \$14,000 and that most veterans had bought houses for between \$10,000 and \$15,000.

Nixon: “Let me give you an example you can appreciate. Our steelworkers, as you know, are on strike. But any steelworker could buy this house. They earn \$3 an hour. This house costs about \$100 a month to buy on a contract running 25 to 30 years.”

Khrushchev: “We have steel workers and we have peasants who also can afford to spend \$14,000 for a house.”

He said American houses were built to last only 20 years, so builders could sell new houses at the end of that period

“We build firmly. We build for our children and grandchildren.”

Mr. Nixon said he thought American houses would last more than 20 years, but after 20 years many Americans want a new home/kitchen, which would be obsolete then. The American system is designed to take advantage of new inventions, he said.

Khrushchev: “This theory does not hold water.” He said some things never got out of date -- furniture and furnishings, perhaps, but not houses. He said he did not think that what Americans had written about their houses was all strictly accurate.

Nixon [pointing to television screen]: “We can see here what is happening in other parts of the home.”

Khrushchev: “Don’t you have a machine that puts food into the mouth and pushes it down? Many things you’ve shown us are interesting but they are not needed in life. They have no useful purpose. They are merely gadgets...”

Source: *New York Times*, as excerpted at <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/episodes/14/documents/debate/>

Questions about the Kitchen Debate:

1 Can you summarize what Nixon and Khrushchev are talking about in this excerpt?

Nixon says that	Khrushchev says that

2. Can you compare what Nixon says about consumer goods like houses and washing machines to what Khrushchev says about them?

Nixon says that	Khrushchev says that

3. Khrushchev says that the Soviet Union did not have “the capitalist attitude toward women.” What do you think he means?

4. How could you argue that this disagreement fits into the Cold War context, when capitalism and communism were in conflict?

Writing Assignment

If you have any time left at the end of this lesson, you may complete the following writing exercise. Pretend that you are an advertising executive in the weeks after Nixon’s kitchen debate with Khrushchev in 1959. You have decided to develop an ad campaign for a brand of car or home appliance (for example, a television, dishwasher, or washing machine) that uses the ideas from the kitchen debate. Write a paragraph explaining what your ad campaign will look like. You may include an illustration for your campaign as well.

The Cold War: How did anti-communist fear affect American politics and Culture in the 1950s?

INTRODUCTION FOR TEACHERS

In the years after World War II, American society experienced a wave of anti-communist fear. During this period, opportunists like Joseph McCarthy used accusations of communism to undercut political and cultural opponents. The foreign policy and domestic policy initiatives began at approximately the same time, as the first hearings of House Un-American Activities Committee began within days of the Truman Doctrine speech in the spring of 1947.

The United States had experienced a Red Scare before, in 1919-1920, when government officials attempted to deport foreign-born labor activists. The Communist Party (CP) in the United States was not popular again until the Great Depression, when some Americans became disenchanted with capitalism; during this period, members of the CP joined other Americans in calling for unemployment relief and union organizing. The CP also called on its members to join noncommunists to form a “Popular Front” to fight fascism in Germany. The (short-lived) 1939 non-aggression pact between Adolf Hitler (Germany) and Joseph Stalin (USSR) ended the Popular Front, and the CP encountered attacks from liberals and conservatives alike until Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, making the nation an American ally in WWII.

The Cold War revived American anticommunism. Communism was inevitably linked to the Soviet Union, and it was assumed that all communists were loyal to the USSR, that they followed the party line, and that they would work to subvert the American system. In retrospect, some historians have questioned whether the threat posed by the CP warranted the measures taken to suppress them.

Although anticommunism affected all parts of American society, the federal government conducted the most well-known anticommunist campaign. The most famous of these efforts was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a Congressional committee that investigated Communist subversion of American society and institutions, especially in labor unions, universities, and the entertainment industry. At HUAC hearings, witnesses were often assumed to be guilty of subversion and were pressured to “name names” of associates involved in their activities. The 1950s also witnessed the Army-McCarthy hearings and the trial of former state department official Alger Hiss. While HUAC hearings on communism uncovered sympathy for liberal causes in places like Hollywood, it did not find rampant subversion of American institutions. Nonetheless, many of the accused found themselves “blacklisted” by former employers—that is, unable to find work.

STANDARDS ADDRESSED IN THIS LESSON

Skills

■ Chronological and Spatial Thinking

- Students analyze how change happens at different rates at different times; understand that some aspects can change while others remain the same; and understand that change is complicated and affects not only technology and politics but also values and beliefs.

■ Historical Interpretation

- Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.
- Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

Content standards

■ 11.9. Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.

- 11.9.3. Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following:

the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Korean War; the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine.

KEY TERMS

Blacklist—in the wake of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigation of the motion picture industry, during which the “Hollywood Ten” refused to answer questions about their membership in the Communist Party, industry executives met in New York to condemn the Ten and issue a statement to ward off future investigation from Washington. The “blacklist,” which prevented actors, writers, and directors with radical sympathies from getting jobs in Hollywood, arose out of this meeting. The Hollywood Ten, who included Ring Lardner, Jr. and Dalton Trumbo, were among those on the blacklist, though many worked under pseudonyms.

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)—a Congressional committee that was created in 1938 and made permanent in 1945. HUAC investigated the present and past political affiliations of citizens. The committee was particularly interested in the affiliations of civil servants, people in the movie industry, labor

Lesson Goals

In Lesson 3, students will use information drawn from laws, testimony, and government surveillance to learn about the fear of communism in American society in the 1940s and 1950s. They will discuss how the American government tried to “contain” communism at home and whether the threat of communist subversion merited restrictions on civil liberties.

A Discussion Guide for Teachers

Format: Students should be divided into groups of five or six students. Depending on time constraints, the teacher may wish to have each group examine one excerpt, then report to the class.

The documents in Lesson 3 are intended to help students weigh the issue of free speech (and individual rights) against the issue of national security during the Cold War. The lesson attempts to get the students to take a stand on whether the threat of domestic communism warranted the large-scale campaigns that were conducted to root out party members.

The lesson begins by asking students to read the First Amendment, define their understanding of “freedom of speech,” and offer examples of possible applications of “freedom of speech.” The questions then ask students to consider whether they would support restrictions on freedom of speech. The lesson then presents students with historical examples of curbs that have been placed on freedom of speech. In the first, an excerpt from the *Schenk vs. United States* decision (which upheld the Espionage Act of 1917), Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. established the need to prove that a “clear-and-present danger” exists to restrict speech. Students may notice Holmes’ famous example of “shouting fire in a theatre.” For this lesson, however, it is important for students to see the distinction that Holmes makes between times of war and times of peace for free speech. Students also review an excerpt from the Smith Act, which banned any group that advocated the overthrow of the government; the law was used to prosecute Communist Party leaders in 1949. Students then read a section of NSC-68, which argued that the Soviet Union would attempt to subvert democratic values through “infiltration and intimidation.” According to this document, Soviet targets included not just the American government but also “labor unions, civic enterprises, schools, churches, and all media.”

The second section of the lesson focuses on the House Un-American Activities hearings on the entertainment industry. Teachers may wish to prompt students to define “un-American,” especially as it would have related to the Cold War context. Students read testimony from Ronald Reagan, who speaks of the communists in the Screen Actors Guild. They also read the testimony of Paul Robeson several years later (specifically, after the Senate’s Army-McCarthy hearings), after HUAC had lost much of its influence. In the third and final section of the lesson, students read excerpts from the COMPIC, the FBI files collected between 1942 and

1958 that investigated the Communist infiltration of the motion picture industry. The documents in this section specifically relate to Dalton Trumbo, a screenwriter and member of the “Hollywood Ten” who was blacklisted by Hollywood after refusing to answer HUAC’s questions regarding his affiliation with the Communist Party. In this section, students should consider whether Trumbo’s leftist leanings constituted a threat to national security.

Because it focuses on the entertainment industry, this lesson stops short of analyzing the ways that anticommunism was used in the political arena, especially by Joseph McCarthy. This lesson might therefore be supplemented with a lesson that reviews the ways that some Republicans used the communist threat as a means for political gain.

unions, and teachers, and it held hearings in which citizens testified about their loyalty. The committee was abolished in 1975.

McCarthyism—named for Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, this term describes anti-communist crusading that used intimidation and accusation to denounce its targets. McCarthy actually began his crusade in 1950, a few years *after* the HUAC hearings in Hollywood and shortly after the Hiss case ended.

TIME REQUIRED

- At least one class period, though students should complete some of the reading in advance.

MATERIALS

- Photocopies of materials.

The Cold War: How did anti-communist fear affect American politics and Culture in the 1950s?

INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

During the course of the twentieth century, Americans frequently worried about the impact of communism on society. In 1919, the United States experienced its first “Red Scare,” as government officials attempted to deport foreign-born labor activists. During the Depression, however, some Americans who were disenchanted with capitalism joined the Communist Party (CP). Then, during World War II, the USSR was an ally with the United States. As the Cold War began to take shape, fears about the threat of domestic communism reappeared. During this period, politicians such as Senator Joseph McCarthy used accusations of communism to attack political opponents. At the same time, the federal government began a series of anticommunist campaigns aimed at finding communists in American institutions such as labor unions, schools, universities, and the entertainment industry. The most famous of these efforts was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a Congressional committee that pressured witnesses to “name names” of associates involved in their activities.

In this lesson, you will begin by discussing the First Amendment and some of the limits that were placed on the freedom of speech between 1919 and 1950. In the second half of the lesson, you will

review testimony and government surveillance documents to learn about communism in American society during the 1940s and 1950s. You will then discuss whether the threat of communist subversion justified restrictions on civil liberties in the United States during the Cold War.



Cover of *Is This Tomorrow*, a color comic book published by the Catechetical Guild Educational Society of St. Paul, MN

Source: Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared*, p. 157

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

The first four documents of this workshop will ask you to think about freedom of speech. It will also ask you to consider how fear of communism caused Americans to place limits on this freedom.

Document 1: First Amendment (1789)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

1. What does “freedom of speech” mean? Can you give any examples of “freedom of speech”?

“freedom of speech” means:

examples of “freedom of speech”:

2. According to the excerpt, under what circumstances may the government limit the freedom of speech? Do you think there should be limits?

limitations on “freedom of speech”:

agree/disagree with limitations:

Document 2: *Schenck v. United States* (1919). In 1919, the Supreme Court upheld a decision against several Socialist Party members who had printed out pamphlets urging young men to resist joining the armed forces. The decision, written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, placed a limit on freedom of speech. It is partially excerpted below.

...the character of every act depends upon the circumstances in which it is done. The most **stringent** protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic. It does not even protect a man from an **injunction** against **uttering** words that may have all the effect of force. The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create clear and present danger that they will bring about the **substantive** evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of **proximity** and **degree**. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a **hindrance** to its effort that their **utterance** will not be **endured** so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS:

stringent—tight or strict

injunction—a court order

uttering—saying

substantive—substantial, considerable

proximity—closeness

degree—a measure of depth or rank

hindrance—a drag (on a cause)

utterance—vocal expression

endured—suffered patiently

1. According to the *Schenck v. United States* decision, what are the limits of free speech? What analogy [comparison based on similarity] does Holmes make to explain the decision?
2. Why, according to Holmes, might the definition of “free speech” in a time of war be different from “free speech” during a time of peace?
3. Do you agree or disagree with these limits?

Document 3: Smith Act. Congress passed the Smith Act in 1940. In 1949, the Justice Department used the Smith Act to jail Communist Party leaders. The Supreme Court upheld the conviction in 1951 (*Dennis et al. v. United States*). The law is partially excerpted below.

Whoever knowingly or willfully **advocates**, **abets**, **advises**, or teaches the duty, necessity, **desirability**, or **propriety** of **overthrowing** or destroying the government of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, District or Possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government; or...

...Whoever organizes or helps or attempts to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction [of the United States] by force or violence; or becomes or is a member of, or affiliates with, any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purposes thereof--

Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both, and shall be ineligible for employment by the United States or any department or agency thereof, for the five years next following his conviction.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS:

advocates—calls for

abets—actively helps or aids

advises—gives suggestions or advice

desirability—the fact of believing that something would be good

propriety—appropriateness

overthrowing—bringing the downfall or defeat of

1. What kind of actions or activities were illegal under the Smith Act?
2. Look at how you defined “freedom of speech” on the previous page. Is this a limit on free speech or free assembly as you defined it? Explain why or why not.
3. Do you think membership in the Communist Party is itself proof that party leaders wanted to overthrow the government? Explain your answer.
4. When the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of CP leaders in 1951, two justices dissented. Why might they have disagreed with the majority of the court?

Document 4: National Security Council Paper 68 (1950). This top-secret document claimed that only the United States could stop Soviet expansion. It argues for the foreign policy of “containment” (definition: the act of preventing the expansion of a hostile power). The following excerpt addresses fears about communism in American society.

...It is quite clear from Soviet theory and practice that the Kremlin seeks to bring the free world under its **dominion** by the methods of the cold war. The preferred technique is to **subvert** by **infiltration** and **intimidation**. Every institution of our society is an instrument which it is sought to **stultify** and turn against our purposes. Those that touch most closely our material and moral strength are obviously the prime targets, labor unions, civic enterprises, schools, churches, and all media for influencing opinion. The effort is not so much to make them serve obvious Soviet ends as to prevent them from serving our ends, and thus to make them sources of confusion in our economy, our culture, and our body politic...

GLOSSARY OF TERMS:

dominion—rule

subvert—to ruin or corrupt

infiltration—enter secretly

intimidation—threat of force

stultify—to make useless

1. According to the document, how did the Soviets plan to gain control of the free world?
2. What organizations or institutions would be the target of Soviet threats? Are these institutions the same as those outlined in the Smith Act?
3. How could anticommunists use NSC-68 to support their crusade against domestic communism? Who would be the targets of the crusade?

HOUSE UN-AMERICAN TESTIMONY

During the 1940s and 1950s, many individuals testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The next section will ask you to consider the activities of some Americans who testified before HUAC and/or were investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As you read these documents, you will be asked to decide whether the person's activities constitute subversion. Before you begin reading, you may want to think about how you would define "un-American activities."

Testimony #1 (October 23, 1947)

Ronald Reagan was the president of the Screen Actor's Guild in 1947. He later became Governor of California (1966) and then President of the United States (1980).

STRIPLING: As a member of the board of directors, as president of the Screen Actors Guild, and as an active member, have you at any time observed or noted within the organization a clique of either communists or fascists who were attempting to exert influence or pressure on the guild?

REAGAN: ...There has been a small group within the Screen Actors Guild which has consistently opposed the policy of the guild board and officers of the guild, as evidenced by the vote on various issues. That small clique referred to has been suspected of more or less following the tactics that we associate with the Communist Party.

STRIPLING: Would you refer to them as a disruptive influence within the guild?

REAGAN: I would say that at times they have attempted to be a disruptive influence.

STRIPLING: You have no knowledge yourself as to whether or not any of them are members of the Communist Party?

REAGAN: No, sir, I have no investigative force, or anything, and I do not know.

STRIPLING: Has it ever been reported to you that certain members of the guild were communists?

REAGAN: Yes, sir, I have heard different discussions and some of them tagged as communists.

STRIPLING: Would you say that this clique has attempted to dominate the guild?

REAGAN: Well, sir, by attempting to put their own particular views on various issues, I guess you would have to say that our side was attempting to dominate, too, because we were fighting just as hard to put over our views, and I think, we were proven correct by the figures—Mr. Murphy gave the figures—and those figures were always approximately the same, an average of 90 percent or better of the Screen Actors Guild voted in favor of those matters now guild policy.

Questions about Testimony 1:

1. Does Ronald Reagan testify that there are communists in the Screen Actors Guild?
2. Does the group to whom Reagan refers seem dangerous or subversive?
3. Why would the FBI be interested in possible communist activities in the entertainment industry? What does the entertainment industry have to do with national security?

Questions about Testimony 2 (on the following page):

1. Why, according to Mr. Scherer, has Mr. Robeson been asked to testify in front of HUAC?
2. Mr. Robeson claims that he felt like “a full human being” when he went to Russia. What does he mean? Besides the Cold War, what else was happening in the United States during the 1940s and 1950s?
3. When Mr. Scherer asks Robeson “Why do you not stay in Russia,” what is Robeson’s response? What Americans or American images does Robeson mention? Do you think the response was effective?

Testimony #2 (June 12, 1956)

Paul Robeson was an African-American actor and singer. Angered by racism and discrimination in American society, Robeson developed leftist beliefs during the 1930s; he protested lynchings and urged African Americans to resist the draft after World War II. Because the government determined that the actor and his wife were members of the Communist Party, they were not able to use their passports between 1947 and 1958, when the Robesons moved to Europe. Robeson appeared before HUAC in 1956. His testimony is excerpted below:

MR. ARENS [*quoting a speech by Paul Robeson*]: If the American warmongers fancy that they could win America's millions of Negroes for a war against those countries (i.e., the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies) then they ought to understand that this will never be the case. Why should the Negroes ever fight against the only nations of the world where racial discrimination is prohibited, and where the people can live freely? Never! I can assure you, they will never fight against either the Soviet Union or the peoples' democracies.

Did you make that statement?

MR. ROBESON: I do not remember that. But what is perfectly clear today is that nine hundred million other colored people have told you that they will not. Four hundred million in India, and millions everywhere, have told you, precisely, that the colored people are not going to die for anybody: they are going to die for their independence. We are dealing not with fifteen million colored people, we are dealing with hundreds of millions.

[*more testimony*]

MR. ROBESON: In Russia I felt for the first time like a full human being. No color prejudice like in Mississippi, no color prejudice like in Washington. It was the first time I felt like a human being. Where I did not feel the pressure of color as I feel [it] in this Committee today.

MR. SCHERER: Why do you not stay in Russia?

MR. ROBESON: Because my father was a slave, and my people died to build this country, and I am going to stay here, and have a part of it just like you. And no Fascist-minded people will drive me from it. Is that clear? I am for peace with the Soviet Union, and I am for peace with China, and I am not for peace or friendship with the Fascist Franco [Spain], and I am not for peace with Fascist Nazi Germans. I am for peace with decent people.

MR. SCHERER: YOU are here because you are promoting the Communist cause.

MR. ROBESON: I am here because I am opposing the neo-Fascist cause which I see arising in these committees. You are like the Alien [and] Sedition Act, and Jefferson could be sitting here, and Frederick Douglass could be sitting here, and Eugene Debs could be here.

FBI FILES; DALTON TRUMBO

Between 1942 and 1958, the FBI investigated the Communist Party's supposed infiltration of the motion picture industry. Ten individuals—later known as the “Hollywood Ten”—refused to answer HUAC's questions regarding their affiliation with the Communist Party; they were convicted of contempt and blacklisted by Hollywood.

Dalton Trumbo, a screenwriter with leftist sympathies, was one of the “Hollywood Ten.” During World War II, he wrote the screenplay for films such as “Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo,” but he was blacklisted by Hollywood after he refused to testify before HUAC. Writing under a different name, Trumbo wrote the Oscar-winning original

stories and screenplays for films like “Roman Holiday” and “The Brave One.”

The following information is an excerpt from the FBI's files on communism in Hollywood. The blackened marks represent information—like informant names—that is still considered confidential.

Source: <http://foia.fbi.gov/compic.htm>

Figure 1: Dalton Trumbo

Dalton Trumbo was born in Montrose, Colorado, December 9, 1905. He is said to have been the writer of “Tender Comrade”, recently produced by RKO and has also been employed as a screen writer by MGM Studios. Available Communist Party membership lists in Los Angeles indicate he was a member of Branch A, Northwest Section, Communist Party, Los Angeles County, under the Party name Hal Conger. Trumbo is a member of the Screen Writers' Guild, the League of American Writers, and was a contributor to the “Clipper”, the publication of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. He was a member and speaker at the meetings of the American Peace Mobilization, and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. [REDACTED] states Trumbo wrote a pamphlet in defense of Harry Bridges, and has written articles appearing in the Communist West Coast news organ, the “Peoples World.” He has been one of the most active members in the Hollywood Democratic Committee and was extremely active in working against the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of Democratic Ideals, an anti-Communist group formed recently to fight Communism in the motion picture industry.

Figure 2. Excerpt from document concerning the CP influence on Hollywood unions and cultural organizations. Dalton Trumbo was the editor of the Screen Writers Guild member publication, "Screen Writer."

Screen Writers Guild

The Motion Picture Almanac for 1942 and 1943 reflected that the Screen Writers Guild was an affiliate of the Authors League of America, Inc. The Hollywood Press Times for November 10, 1944, reflected that the Screen Writers Guild was organized in 1933 in the Hollywood motion picture industry. Informant [redacted] has reported that this was one of the first unions in the cultural field to come under the influence of Communists in Hollywood. He related that among the original organizers were John Howard Lawson, Samuel Ornitz, and Guy Endore. These individuals who have been identified as Communists are referred to in Section I of this memorandum where their Communist affiliations are set forth. According to [redacted] John Howard Lawson, Robert Rossen, Lester Cole, Hugo Butler, Waldo Salt, and King Lardner, Jr., are among the leading Communists in the Guild who have been most influential in the forming of its policies. All of these individuals have been identified as Communists and their Communist affiliations are set out in Section I of this memorandum.

According to the organization's official publication in June of 1945 there were approximately 13,000 members of the Screen Writers Guild. Of this number about 100 were identified as Communists at that time through the information obtained [redacted]

[redacted] The names of these individuals who are still affiliated with the motion picture industry are set out in Section I of the memorandum. In addition, a great many others, according to [redacted] were associates of Communists reported to be sympathetic to Communist ideologies and/or members of Communist front organizations.

As an example of the influence had by these Communists within the organization, I desire to call to your attention the October, 1946, issue of the "Screen Writer." In this publication, an editorial appears concerning the Communist inspired American Authors Authority; an article concerning the scope of the Screen Writers Guild; a third article by Communists Howard Dimsdale and Guy Endore; a fourth article on a technical phase of writing; the fifth on opinions and motion pictures; and the sixth by Communist screen writer Lester Cole on wage negotiations for screen writers. The Communist affiliations of Howard Dimsdale, Guy Endore and Lester Cole referred to as Communists are set out in Section I.

It is through the Communists in this group, the Screen Writers Guild, that Communist ideology is disseminated to the fellow traveler, Communist sympathizer and unsuspecting writers who are affiliated with the Guild in the motion picture industry. The Communists and Communist pressure in the Guild thus caused the injection into motion picture scripts of Communist propaganda and the elimination of anti-Communist statements and scenes from original motion picture scripts.

Questions about Dalton Trumbo:

1. Was Dalton Trumbo a member of the Communist Party?
2. According to the files, what kind of activities did CP members like Trumbo engage in? Do you think these activities were subversive (i.e., a threat to American institutions)?
3. When Dalton Trumbo testified before HUAC, he refused to answer questions about his CP membership on the grounds that the First Amendment guaranteed his right to free speech. Looking back at the First Amendment, do you agree that the amendment protected his decision?

Final Assessment: Did the policy of containment go too far or not far enough to stop the spread of communism during the 1940s and 1950s?

INTRODUCTION AND ASSESSMENT GOALS

This unit has introduced students to a variety of perspectives about the Cold War, including those of critics on both the Left and the Right. As a culminating activity for the unit, the students should compose a written essay that asks them to create their own interpretation about the foreign and domestic implications of the Cold War. Students

will decide upon a thesis statement, which may be one of their own or may be drawn from one of the five thesis statements presented on the chart below. Based on the materials provided in this unit plus additional materials covered in lectures and textbook reading, students should develop a well-supported argument in defense of their thesis state-

ment. The final product is expected to be a five-paragraph (at minimum) essay, ranging from two to three pages in length. If teachers don't wish to assign this essay as an in-class test or homework assignment, they might wish to consider developing another in-class assignment around the assignment and rubric.

Final Assessment: Did the policy of containment go too far or not far enough to stop the spread of communism during the 1940s and 1950s?

ESSAY PROMPT FOR STUDENTS

Evaluate whether the steps taken by the United States government to “contain” communism after World War II went too far or not far enough. In your response, you must address America’s foreign and domestic policy, paying particular attention to whether the steps taken to contain communism were in line with the threat posed by communism.

The first paragraph of your essay must contain a thesis statement that will likely fall somewhere along the continuum represented below. Once you have determined the position you want to take, you may create your own statement, or you may adapt one of the statements on the following page.

Matrix for Essay

1	2	3	4	5
<p>The United States went too far to contain communism at home and abroad. The threat of communism at home and abroad was overestimated. The foreign policy led to wars in Vietnam and Korea and a near war with Cuba. Attempts at locating communists at home led to McCarthyism and a culture of conformity.</p>	<p>For the most part, the United States went too far to contain communism at home and abroad. The Soviet Union was a threat in certain locations around the globe, but the policy of containment tended to overestimate the overall threat of communism.</p>	<p>The policy of containment was a sensible approach to the potential threat posed by the Soviet Union. There were some domestic and foreign policy mistakes to the policy of containment, but on the whole it was the right policy to protect the nation.</p>	<p>In the face of Soviet aggression at home and abroad, the American policy of containment was necessary. There may have been minor errors in carrying out the policy, but the threat was real.</p>	<p>Soviet aggression around the globe proved that communism posed a threat to democracy in the United States. Therefore, the United States took the necessary steps to contain communism both at home and abroad during the Cold War.</p>

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Book design by Susan Reese

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—Vicki L. Ruiz, Professor of History and Chicano-Latino Studies, The University of California, Irvine

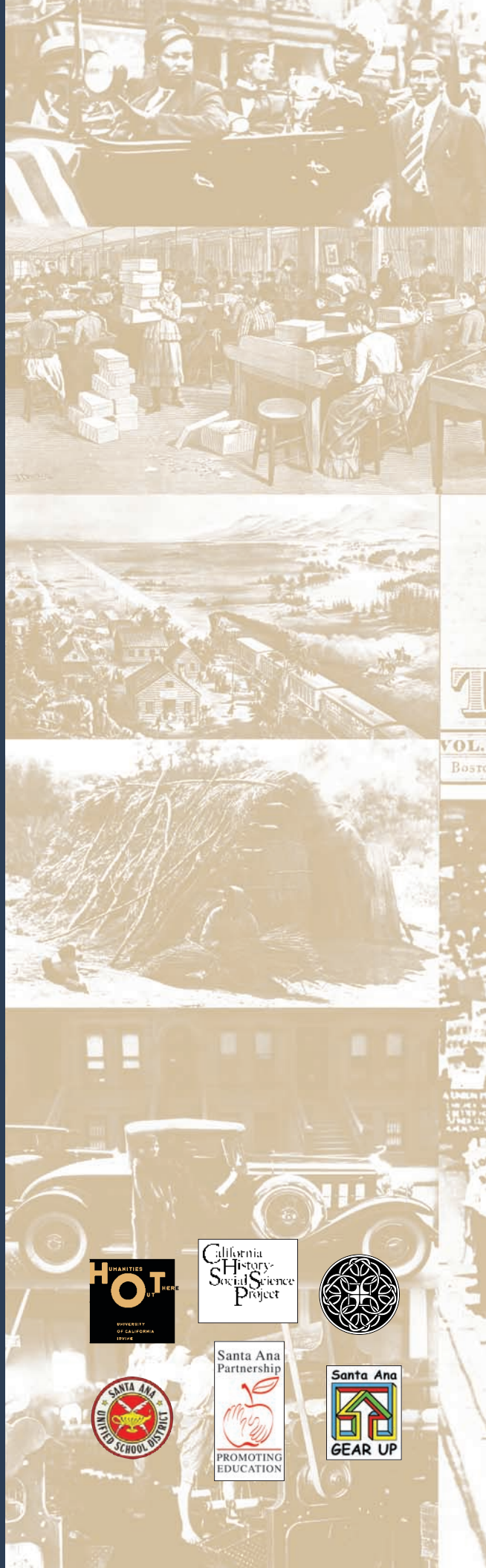
CONTENT STANDARDS COVERED

Skills

1. Chronological and Spatial thinking
2. Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View
3. Historical Interpretation:

Content standards

- 11.7.8. Analyze the effect of massive aid given to Western Europe under the Marshall Plan to rebuild itself after the war and the importance of a rebuilt Europe to the U.S. economy.
- 11.8. Students analyze the economic boom and social transformation of post-World War II America
- 11.9. Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.



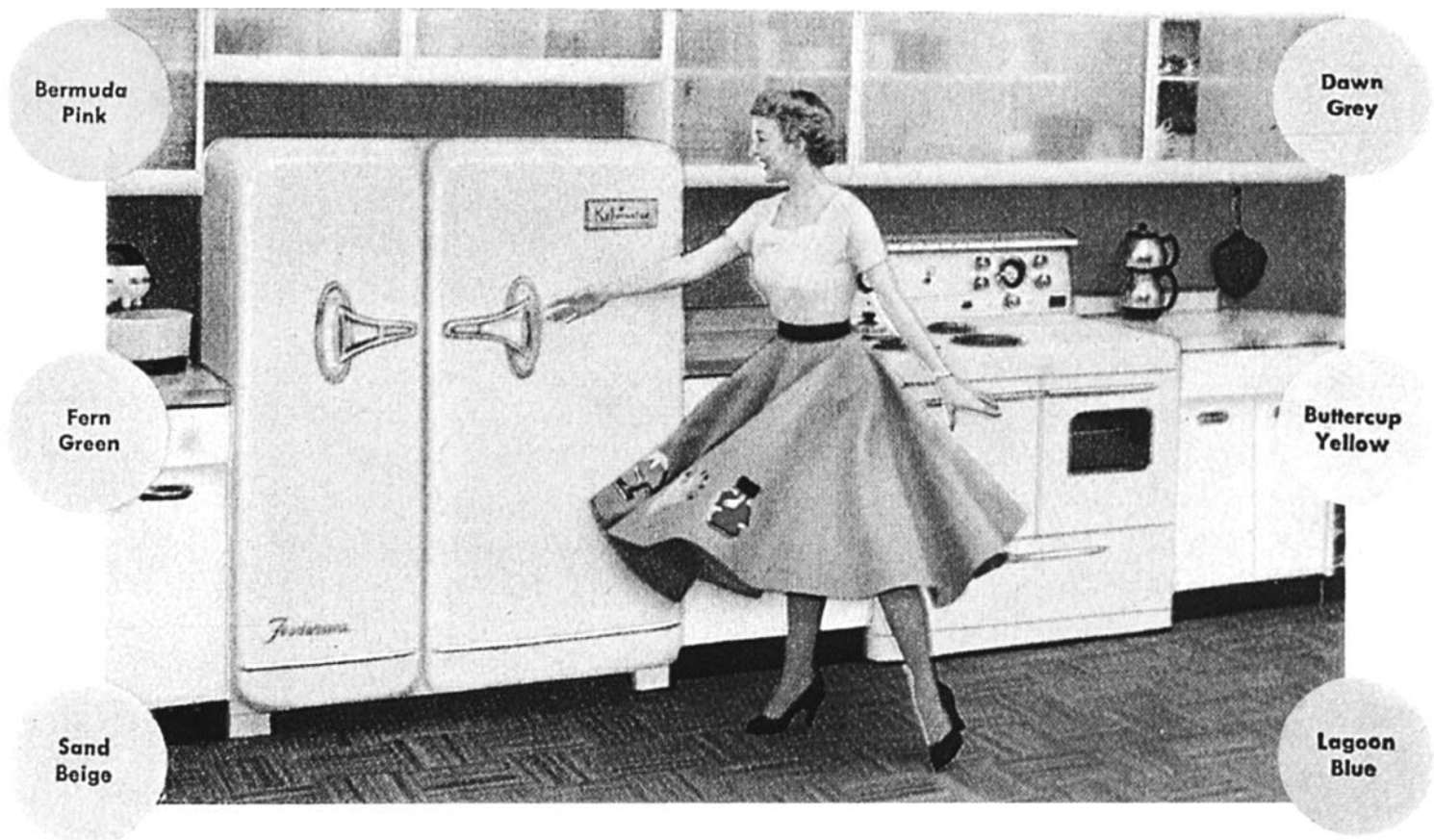


Page 11 Image: Temporary basement fallout shelter, circa 1957.

Source: Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared*, p. 134



Page 22 Image



Page 25 Image: Advertisement for kitchen appliances, 1950s.

LIFE

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FAMILY BUYS 'BEST \$15,000 HOUSE'

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Page 26 Image: *Life* magazine cover, 1953. The caption on the cover reads, "Family Buys 'Best \$15,000 House'"



Page 26 Image: A 1950s Family

Source: Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York: Knopf, 1986), title page.



Page 28 Image: Viktor Govorkov, "Who Receives the National Income?" 1950. The worker on the left is an American. The worker on the right is a Soviet.

Source: Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power* (LA and Berkeley: UC Press, 1997), figure 6.6

ЦЕЛЬ КАПИТАЛИЗМА ВСЕГДА ОДНА:

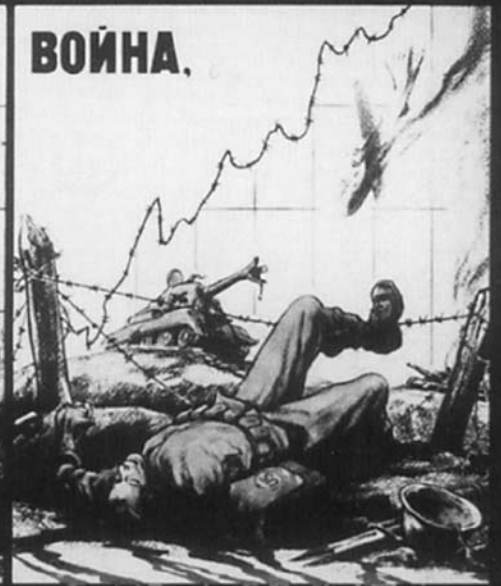
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ГНЁТ.



ВОЙНА.



ЧТОБ НАРОДНЫХ МАСС НИЩЕТА И ГИБЕЛЬ
ЕМУ НЕСЛИ МАКСИМАЛЬНУЮ ПРИБЫЛЬ!

Page 28 Image: Ivan Semenov, "The Goal of Capitalism is Always the Same," 1953.

Source: Victoria E. Bonnell, *Iconography of Power* (LA and Berkeley: UC Press, 1997), figure 6.15.



Page 29 Image: Nikolai Charukhin, "I am a man. Racism—shame of America" 1969.

Source: Aulich & Sylvestrova, *Signs of the Times: Political Posters in Central and Eastern Europe 1945-1995* (NY: St. Martin's, 1999), p. 197.



Page 30 Image: Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during the Kitchen Debate, 1959.

Source: Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York: Knopf, 1986), p. 131



Page 36 Image: Cover of *Is This Tomorrow*, a color comic book published by the Catechetical Guild Educational Society of St. Paul, MN

Source: Michael Barson and Steven Heller, *Red Scared*, p. 157