

THE SOURCE

*A Quarterly Publication of The California
History-Social Science Project*



Group [of Puerto Rican Children] in C class, 1947. Image from the Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2013646428/>

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How I Stopped Worrying and Learned to Love the Cold War*

I stopped teaching high school in 2000. Since that time, I have been asked many times if I missed teaching, and my answer has always been no. One thing I have learned in these last fourteen years is that to really be successful teaching history requires more patience, energy, and skill than I currently have to share with students. I think I have a pretty good understanding of what it takes to help children develop their understanding of a given time or event, think critically, and improve their literacy, I just worry that I don't have the skills or demeanor to make it happen.

I have recently been tempted to return, however. In 2013, we completed our first full draft of our second History Blueprint unit, *The Cold War*. This was a massive lift for our office, and while we will continue to make revisions to make it better, I am very proud of what we have accomplished - a comprehensive and engaging curriculum, spanning more than 50 years of American and global history. Although our team of teacher leaders, graduate students, and scholars did the heavy lifting, led by my colleagues Beth Slutsky (U.S.) and Shennan Hutton (World), I did do some of the editing. In the process, I remembered just how fun it was to teach this era, especially now that we have increased access to thousands of primary sources available online for free. As we put together this special Cold War edition of *The Source*, I reviewed the unit and went down that rabbit hole once again - spending an afternoon clicking through the online collections of the Library of Congress, the National Archives, presidential libraries, branches of the military, the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, university holdings, international institutions, and private

U.S.S.R. Moscow, Mr. K[hruhshchev] & V.P. Nixon on T.V. at American exhibit, 1959. Image from the Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2009632334/>

collections. (See page 19 from this edition of *The Source* for an excerpt from the unit and visit <http://chssp.ucdavis.edu/programs/historyblueprint/coldwar> to download individual lessons or the whole Cold War unit).

The Blueprint curriculum, in part, inspired this edition of *The Source*. We tried hard to build a curriculum that aligned with the content standards for both 10th and 11th grade, as well as the Common Core State Standards, and at the same time, the latest historical scholarship. This historiography is represented in my colleagues' articles, including Dave Neumann's "The American Cold War in Global Perspective" and Editor Shelley Brooks' piece on the environmental impact of the conflict. Many of our favorite images from the *Blueprint* unit have even made their way onto our cover page collage for this issue, created by our very talented Graphic Designer, Kevin Tsukamoto, who is currently a sophomore here at UC Davis.

The ongoing work of our regional sites also contributed to this issue. Mary Miller and Emma Hipolito, Co-Directors of the UCLA History-Geography Project, for example, interviewed Justinian Jampol, Founder and Executive Director of the Wende Museum in Culver City. He began his personal collection of Soviet and Eastern European Cold War artifacts when he was just a boy and the interview offers an engaging perspective on the conflict, its legacy, and good reasons to schedule a field trip to the museum if you teach in the LA area.

And so if I ever do return to the classroom, I hope I can teach the Cold War once again, so I can try out these resources myself, and share these sources with students. In the meantime, I hope each of you will take the opportunity to try out some of the lessons in the unit, consider the resources shared by my colleagues in this edition, and share your feedback with us, so we can continue to improve the curriculum to meet the needs of your classroom and your students. To share your perspective, write to us at chssp@ucdavis.edu or post on our Facebook page (www.facebook.com/californiahistorysocialscienceproject).

*Thank you, Dr. Strangelove...

Nancy McTyghe,
Executive Director

The US and the World: The American Cold War in Global Perspective

by Dave Neumann

For the last ten to fifteen years, historians have brought fresh perspectives to familiar American stories by viewing them through an international or global lens. This trend toward “transnational” history or “globalizing the United States” might seem redundant in approaching the Cold War, since this conflict was by definition an international phenomenon. But a good deal of recent scholarship has enlivened our understanding of the Cold War, and insights from this work can enrich the way teachers think about the period. This article will briefly describe the emergence of this field, then it will sketch out three ways newer scholarship has deepened our understanding of the Cold War United States. It will conclude with some brief suggestions for teaching this topic.

Long before journalist Thomas Friedman announced that globalization was creating a “flat” world, some scholars had become dissatisfied with a narrative centered on nation-states. These scholars noted that a number of important trends defied national borders—from trade goods, to technology, to religious belief, to pop culture. This conviction gave rise to the World History movement in the 1980s with the formation of the World History Association and its *Journal of World History*. Around the start of the new century, historians of the United States began to give serious consideration to the implications of this movement for their own field. A number of scholars took up the challenge of globalizing American history. While some sought to ignore or at least minimize national borders, many made less radical departures from traditional scholarship—primarily by placing the US in a larger context and linking domestic and foreign developments.

This new scholarship has the potential to reinvigorate secondary history instruction. While it is generally easier for college faculty to reshape their courses than it is for high school teachers, the disappearance of the California Standards Test seems to offer teachers more flexibility. Here are three important ways that teachers might globalize their teaching of the Cold War in classroom instruction.

First, the common Cold War narrative in both 10th and 11th grade California classrooms centers heavily on the East-West binary established by superpower tensions. Teachers, particularly in US history courses, often give little

attention to a tremendously important movement happening simultaneously: decolonization. The post-World War II movement for independence across Africa and Asia gave rise to dozens of new nations in a few short decades. These movements often intersected with Cold War tensions, making it difficult to adequately understand US intervention in this period outside of the context of the collapse of European empires—including unofficial neo-colonial empires in the Middle East and Latin America. Paying closer attention to the establishment of nationalist regimes helps students better understand the motives and actions of leaders the US confronted in the Cold War. For example, Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh was motivated not just by communism, but also by nationalist desires for an independent nation-state. The comingling of nationalist and communist dynamics became a common pattern among nations where the US intervened either covertly or through more direct means. John F. Kennedy’s inaugural address, a portion of which teachers often use in 11th grade classrooms, addresses this connection: “To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.”

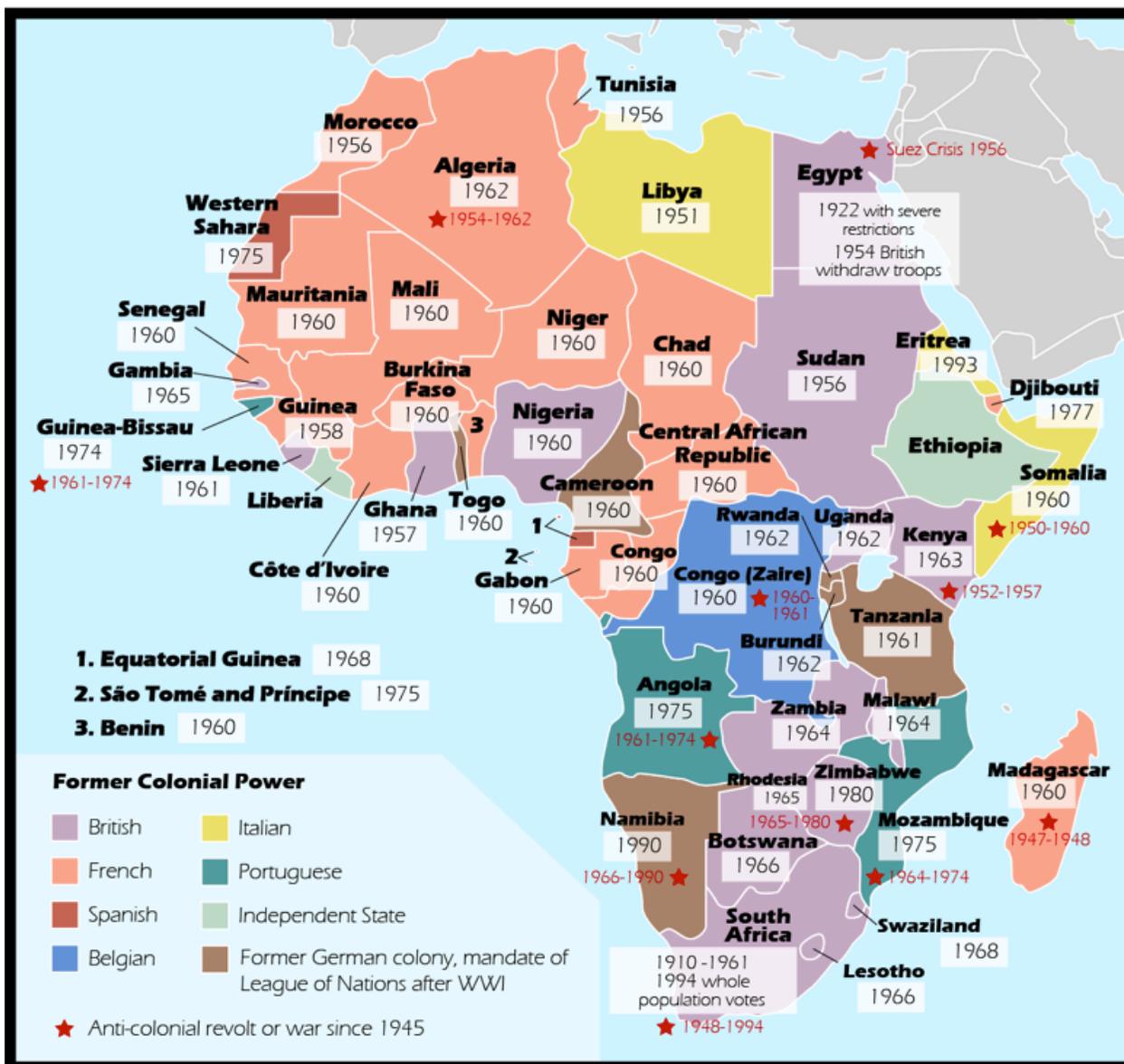


29 December 1962, Miami, Address to the 2506 Cuban Invasion Brigade. Mrs. Kennedy speaks informally with Brigade leaders Oliva, San Roman, Artime, and former Cuban President Cardona. JFK Presidential Library and Museum: <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/H55aYSncgkGYZPzBVLTOIA.aspx>

Second, scholars have increasingly viewed the civil rights movement in a global perspective, as many leaders of the time did. African Americans often sympathized with the plight of colonized Africans seeking independence from white colonial overlords. Cold War politics often prompted the US to side with these colonial powers, perhaps most notoriously in the case of South Africa, which began to develop a coherent apartheid policy in the post-World War II period. African Americans often saw the newly-formed United Nations as an international forum to air the common grievances they shared with their compatriots in Africa. Cold War dynamics prompted American government officials to fear that the civil rights

movement was riddled with communists; more constructively, American racism tarnished the image of the US in the eyes of a Third World that government officials hoped to win over. These concerns sometimes spurred positive engagement in the civil rights movement, as when the State Department filed a friend of the court brief in *Brown v. Board of Education*, or President Kennedy announced new civil rights legislation in the wake of violence in Birmingham. Again, key figures of the time were aware of these global-domestic connections. In Martin Luther King's famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail," another text teachers often use, King explicitly contrasts the nature of racial progress in the US with that

Decolonization in Africa



Map Source: *The Cold War History Blueprint, CVWW Lesson #2: Decolonization*. Map created by Sonali Judari for the California History-Social Science Project. Copyright © 2013, The Regents of the University of California. All Rights Reserved.

of the Third World: “We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jetlike speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse-and-buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.”

Another key domestic development of the Cold War period is the postwar boom; while teachers often teach this separately from the Cold War for practical reasons, considering these two topics together makes a lot of sense. It is difficult to exaggerate the degree to which the postwar economy depended upon government spending, on infrastructure such as highway construction but most directly on the military-industrial complex. This connection is most evident in Sunbelt locations like Southern California, where suburban affluence rested on aerospace manufacturing and its subsidiary industries, as well as on the military itself. Thus, the domesticity of the period was linked directly to foreign policy concerns. Historian Elaine Tyler May effectively employed the foreign policy concept of “containment” to make sense of developments within the home during the Cold War era, thus linking Cold War-generated anxieties to conservative marriage and family patterns. The American home became an area of ideological contestation in the Cold War quite literally during the famed Kitchen Debate in 1959. Vice President Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev, the senior Soviet leader, held an impromptu debate in a simulated kitchen set up in the US Embassy in Moscow. Nixon, a native of sunbelt Southern California, began the kitchen debate by noting that the kind of kitchen on display could be found in California houses. Nixon sought to link technology, domesticity, and gender as he announced the superiority of the American system: “This is our newest model. This is the kind which is built in thousands of units for direct installations in the houses. In America, we like to make life easier for women...”

Scholarship that places the United States in a global context thus offers the potential of invigorating the teaching of the Cold War. But how can teachers integrate these scholarly insights into their own teaching? The most important point to make might be about what *not* to do. Teachers do not need to try constructing a massive unit that deals with foreign policy and domestic developments simultaneously; indeed, a good case can be made for keeping separate units. For example, it makes sense to have students examine the civil rights movement as a coherent subject, which would preclude integrating it into



Electric Institute of Washington. Woman cooking on electric range. Image from Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/thc1995004405/PP/>

a larger unit on the Cold War. Teachers can take a much more modest, but still significant, step. They can simply look for instructional moments when these connections make the most sense, and build them into their existing units. In other words, teachers can help students to see the connections that are already hiding in plain sight, often by highlighting different portions of primary source texts they frequently already teach—as the Kennedy inaugural and “Letter from Birmingham Jail” texts illustrate. Students often tend to assume that events they learn about later took place after events they have already read about. Teachers can clearly tell students that they are returning to a time period they have covered before, but are now considering from a different angle. While teachers may see some of these connections on the spur of the moment, they’re more likely to make connections effectively if they strategically plan instruction in advance.

The US was “international at the creation,” and has remained so ever since. Recognizing this does not mean abandoning a nation-centered history, but it does suggest helping students see how the US has been affected by the rest of the world, and has affected it in turn. Making connections between the foreign and the domestic facilitates historical thinking by underscoring the importance of context and the complex factors that cause historical change. On a more basic level, making connections that weave an intricate web and demonstrating the complexity of events makes history more interesting, and helps students better understand the way the world works.

Dave Neumann is Site Director of The History Project at CSU Long Beach, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Southern California, and a former high school teacher.

Suggested Reading on the American Cold War in the Global Perspective

Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*

Thomas Bender, *Nation of Nations: America's Place in World History*

Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*

Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*

David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order*

Carl Guarneri, *America in the World: United States History in Global Context*

Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961*

Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*

Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact: A Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires*

An Interview with Cold War Expert, Justinian Jampol

Justinian Jampol is the founder and Executive Director of the Wende Museum in Culver City, CA, which houses thousands of artifacts from the Cold War era in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations. Dr. Jampol began his collection as a boy and has since created a rich resource of materials available to researchers, educators, and the general public. Dr. Jampol, who is also an Adjunct Professor of History at Claremont Graduate University, focuses on visual cultural studies and the connection between contemporary art and iconography from the Cold War-era. He earned his Doctoral degree in modern history from Oxford University and studied as an undergraduate at UCLA where he was recently inducted as a Notable Alumni. In addition to extensive publications, Dr. Jampol has produced two documentary films on the subject of the Cold War and several urban art projects including The Wall Project. He spoke with Mary Miller and Emma Hipolito, Co-Directors of the UCLA History-Geography Project, about his collection and this important period in world history.



Plaster Lenin Bust, vandalized in 1989 uprising, East Germany. 1965/89. 2004.900.052.
Image courtesy of the Wende Museum.

Is the Cold War over? If not, who are the players now?

The Cold War has traditionally referred to the period of hostility between the capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union, following the end of World War II in 1945 and continuing on until the dissolution of the USSR on Christmas Day in 1991. But even when the political entity of the Soviet Union ceased to exist, tensions lingered – political relationships between the United States and Russia, the inheritor of a significant portion of the geography of the USSR, continue to be strained in many ways. The legacy of the Cold War, which was truly a global conflict, continues to impact geopolitical relationships from the Middle East to Africa and South America. Meanwhile, China, which maintains a somewhat revised communist government, has begun to fill the power vacuum that emerged following the collapse of the USSR. Some political observers predict a future Cold War with the Asian continent. North Korea is one of the last hardline communist states in existence and

has occasionally used its nuclear arsenal as leverage to extract concessions from the West.

Do you attribute the collapse of the Soviet Union more to external political pressures, internal economic pressures, or something else?

It's complicated. External pressures were important in terms of pushing the government to respond to the West in ways that impacted domestic policy and even daily life. For example, the arms race with the United States resulted in massive military expenditures that displaced investment in civil infrastructure and reduced the availability of consumer items. In other words, precious funds were being funneled to fighting the Cold War rather than to improving the quality of life of Soviet citizens. That said, the Soviet Union was in a difficult position even without the pressures from the West and its economic situation. The Soviet Union was by far the largest country in the world by landmass, stretching out over 11 time zones. Its fifteen



Soviet and East German Posters, Ferris Collection 2009.053.175. Mikhail N. Rozhdestvin (1954 -), "??", 1991, Cardboard, tempera paint, USSR. Komov's Notes: Who will win Stalinist reactionaries or Gorbachev? Gorbachev is a controversial figure torn by two ideas, communism and democracy. The blue bird indicates a bit of Stalin's negativity on Gorbachev's part. Gorbachev could not completely get rid of communism. Image courtesy of the Wende Museum.

republics were filled with disparate groups of peoples with different ethnicities, languages, religions, and cultures. The ideology of communism and its centralized government system was effective in providing the ‘glue’ to bind the country together, at least after the Russian Revolution in 1917, but in many ways, it was an impossible task. As the USSR faced increasing external threats, it was crumbling internally, and the different republics used the opportunity to seek independence from Moscow. Political and cultural nationalism ultimately won the day.

In a 2005 *Spiegel Online* article about you and the museum, there are several references to East Germans’ nostalgia for their former lives under Communism. Do you think that still exists? If not, what has changed beyond just the aging of that generation and the rise of young people with no recollection of the era?

All people are nostalgic in one way or another – we reflect upon our lives with some sense of familiarity and loss. It is a profoundly human trait. Even though communism was brutal to a significant segment of the population, most citizens living in East Germany considered their lives to be ‘normal.’ Observers have often mistaken cultural nostalgia for support of the former government and the old borders of the Cold War. The popular perception of the Cold War is colored by those who have personally experienced it. As the past becomes history and newer generations take the place of their parents, we will have a more balanced and objective understanding of the multi-layers of the Cold War, which encompassed cultural, social, and artistic trends and expressions.

You are too young to have spent as much time in air raid shelters as I (Mary) did, so when did you become interested in the Cold War and why?

I am an historian who is interested in human behavior – why do we do the things that we do? When I was a graduate student at Oxford University, I discovered the Cold War as a period that would provide an ideal case study for investigating the full range of human activity, from the very best to the very worst, and a lot in between. Ultimately, the Cold War is the story of all of us. It is about everyday life just as much as it is about top-level politics and the threat of nuclear annihilation. It is about our world today and what shaped it.

Is there a single object in your collection that you think best encapsulates the *zeitgeist* of the Communist era in East Germany?

Objects are just things without the personal stories attached to them. The most impactful artifacts in the museum reflect a range of experiences and events that shape our collective history. One such item in the collection is a simple stamp – it is plastic, just about five inches tall. At one time, it was used by a border guard at the Bornholmerstrasse checkpoint that divided communist East Berlin and the capitalist West, to control who was allowed to cross and who was not. On the night of November 9, 1989, East German citizens descended upon the border crossing. The border guards were faced with growing crowds demanding access to the West. The guards decided to open up the border and let them pass for the first time unhindered, avoiding bloodshed. A peaceful revolution had toppled the Berlin Wall, changing the history of the world forever.

You can visit the Wende Museum’s fascinating collection on Fridays from 10 AM-5 PM and on other weekdays by appointment. It is located at 5741 Buckingham Parkway, Suite E, Culver City, CA 90230. For further information, see their website at <http://www.wendemuseum.org>.



Original Berlin Wall segment painted by Thierry Noir and located at the entrance to the Wende Museum. Image courtesy of the Wende Museum.

America's Forgotten War: Korea

by Nicole Gilbertson

Often referred to as the “Forgotten War,” the Korean War certainly deserves attention in our classrooms as a way to highlight important Cold War themes. Through a study of the politics that preceded the war, and the strategies and battles (political and military) of the war itself, students can investigate the implementation of the policies that shaped United States’ Cold War diplomacy. As the first war involving the United Nations, the Korean War also provides insight into ideologies shaping international politics. Examining the Cold War requires that students comprehend the shift in international relations from one of armed conflict to a tense balance of power between the U.S. and its Western allies and



Douglas MacArthur at the front lines above Suwon, Korea, accompanied by Courtney Whitney, Matthew B. Ridgway, William B. Kean, and others. Image from the Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003655442/>

the U.S.S.R. and China. By studying the voices of the people on the ground, students can analyze the perspectives, biases, and experiences of soldiers and bystanders involved in a military conflict that continues to impact our world today. Reading, analyzing, and discussing primary sources related to the Korean War can bring students closer to an understanding of causes and consequences of this important international conflict of the Cold War. With these resources the Korean War will not be a “forgotten war,” but a central component of our students’ understanding of the Cold War and its effects on the contemporary world. Below are my top three lesson suggestions for teaching the Korean War:

The Containment Policy: Investigating the Korean War

In the lesson “Containing Communism Abroad” from the *History Blueprint Cold War* students read, analyze, and synthesize the Charter of the United Nations and a UN poster proclaiming, “The United Nations Fight for Freedom” to consider the role of this new supranational agency in settling conflict and promoting international peace. To juxtapose these documents, the lesson also asks students to consider United States’ NSC 68 (National Security Council) and how it redefines the policy of containment. Students will analyze the specific language of the document (for example, “block,” “expose,” and “foster the seeds of destruction”) that called for an aggressive policy toward the Kremlin. Students then engage in their own policy-making using classified documents, images, maps, and timelines from the Korean War to decide whether it was an effective containment strategy for the United States. This common-core aligned lesson can be found at chssp.ucdavis.edu/cwa2-us-abroad-print.pdf

Corroborating through Conversations

These first-hand accounts of the Korean War, along with a variety of secondary source materials available online, sparked my own interest in developing a lesson on the Korean War that considers the question, *What caused the Korean War?* I started with a lesson from Stanford History Education Group, that has two textbook excerpts of the Korean War, one from North Korea and the other from South Korea (<http://sheg.stanford.edu/korean-war>). Students read these conflicting accounts and are then asked to reconcile this dilemma. Given the variety of sources available on the Korean War, I expanded this activity to include ten sources that require students to independently examine two conflicting sources and then to discuss the sources with their colleagues (who read other source sets). The lesson includes a structure for students to analyze sources independently and in small groups as they consider the perspectives and reliability of their sources. As a group, students come to a consensus on the following questions:

- *Why do different sources provide differing accounts of the war?*
- *What trends do I see as I read the documents and learn about them from my colleagues?*

Finally, students write a response to the prompt: *What was the most significant cause of the Korean War?*

See the following page for more information on this lesson, and download at: http://www.humanities.uci.edu/history/ucihp/resources/11thgrade_curriculum.php

Voices and Viewpoints from the Korean War

Another approach to studying the Korean War is to have students examine veterans' voices – perhaps within their own community, or through online collections. The Library of Congress' Veterans History Project (<http://www.loc.gov/vets/>) allows students to search its archives of oral history interviews by conflict, branch of service, gender, and whether or not the veteran was a prisoner of war. The Korea Society provides a lesson, "Remembering the Forgotten War," with a variety of perspectives from diplomats, reporters, and soldiers from all sides of the conflict: (http://www.koreasociety.org/cat_view/102-k-12-teachers/103-by-subject-area/114-korean-war).

In this lesson, the primary sources are excerpted and put into narrative context in chronological order. This format allows students to engage in a dialogue by reading the sources and narration aloud to consider a variety of points of view of the Korean War. Students then analyze these sources in relation to Korean War memorials in the U.S., Korea, Australia, and Turkey. As a culminating assessment, students consider how to develop their own interpretation of the "Forgotten War" as a historian or novelist, or by developing questions for an interview with a Korean War veteran.



Stainless-steel troopers on "patrol" at the Korean War Veterans Memorial, Washington, D.C.. Image from the Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011634617/>

Nicole Gilbertson is Site Director of The UC Irvine History Project, and holds a Ph.D. in European History.

Teacher Planning Sheet for Discussion Groups

Editor's note: The following is from a lesson developed by Lisa Hutton and Emma Hipolito, Directors of the CSU Dominguez Hills History Project and the UCLA History-Geography Project. To view the entire lesson, visit http://www.humanities.uci.edu/history/ucihp/resources/11thgrade_curriculum.php

Content Standard

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

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

- The Korean War

Common Core Standards

Reading Standards for History-Social Science

-Key Ideas and Details 1-3

-Craft and Structure 6

-Integration of Knowledge and Ideas 7-9

What is the objective of the discussion (engagement for new standard or topic, going in depth for an important issue, extending learning, etc.)?

To provide students with practice analyzing multiple and contradictory primary source texts.

To give students opportunities to learn to summarize and analyze multiple pieces of evidence through a collaborative process.

What do I want students to understand by the end of the discussion?

That the Korean War was an important flashpoint in the Cold War.

Discussion Question (The question should be open-ended enough to promote thoughtful discussion)

What caused the Korean War?

Documents I will use for the small group discussions:

Korean War Source Packet

Additional questions to promote thought and understanding for the whole group discussion

Why do different sources provide differing accounts of the war?

What trends do I see as I read the documents and learn about them from my colleagues?

What will students do after the discussion to reflect on what they have learned (reflection, further reading, formal writing, etc.)?

Students will write an argumentative essay using evidence from the discussion using the prompt: What was the most significant cause of the Korean War?

The Cold War and the Environment

by Shelley Brooks

We're all familiar with the geopolitical strands of the Cold War – the nuclear threats and positioning, decolonization, protests, battles, and wars – but what about what was happening not just on the ground, but *in* the ground? How did the earth and air, water and creatures all respond to the unprecedented amount of development? How did new and more numerous chemicals, nuclear waste, and exploration (and alteration) in space, polar regions, and undersea affect the planet? Moreover, how did these alterations impact subsequent human choices? This global story has many parts that we will never be able to fully document, but the easiest answer is that the Cold War placed enormous stress on the earth, expanding human opportunities on some fronts and circumscribing them in others. Certain effects will be felt into the distant future, like nuclear fallout. Other Cold War era developments re-ordered our relationship to the earth, such as the large-scale use of fertilizers and irrigation introduced through the Green Revolution (a program supported by the West, in part, to feed and promote democracy among citizens of non-aligned nations). And some Cold War effects were acute but reversible, like unexploded land mines and other military ordinances here in the United States and around the globe. But the environmental impact of the Cold War extends much beyond warfare and diplomacy. As a public relations offensive against the Soviet Union during the Cold War, the United States promoted a consumer-oriented, auto-dependent, technology-dependent, suburban culture that had far-reaching environmental consequences throughout the nation and abroad. By studying the environmental impact of this resource-dependent culture, students gain a more complete understanding of the pervasive and long lasting impact of the Cold War era.

The culture that emerged during the Cold War reflected the economic and social ramifications of the Great Depression and a World War. After World War II most Americans not only believed that participation in a mass consumer economy would promote prosperity, but that affluence was also integral to the realization of long sought American ideals – democracy and equality. Consumption drove an economic cycle that created jobs for Americans, and in turn a higher homeownership rate that spurred a greater consumption of goods such as cars, appliances and furnishings. A quote from *Bride Magazine* in the late 1940s encouraged this cycle: [When you buy] “the dozens of things that you never bought or even thought of before...you are helping to build greater security for the industries of this country...[W]hat you buy and how you buy it is very vital in your new life – and to our whole American way of living.”¹¹ Individual consumer choices were tied to national security, and in no arena was this more obvious or widespread than in the suburban home – a rapidly spreading phenomenon. Indeed, one

By the Numbers

25%

Proportion of U.S. homes standing in 1960 that had been built in the previous decade

18%

Increase in homeownership rates from 1940-1960

1954

The first year in California's state history in which the number of acres in agricultural production began to decrease

1962

The year in which California surpasses New York as the most populous state in the nation

60,000

Number of agricultural acres cleared in California each year for residential development during the 1950s & 60s

20,000,000

Number of participants in the first Earth Day, April 22, 1970

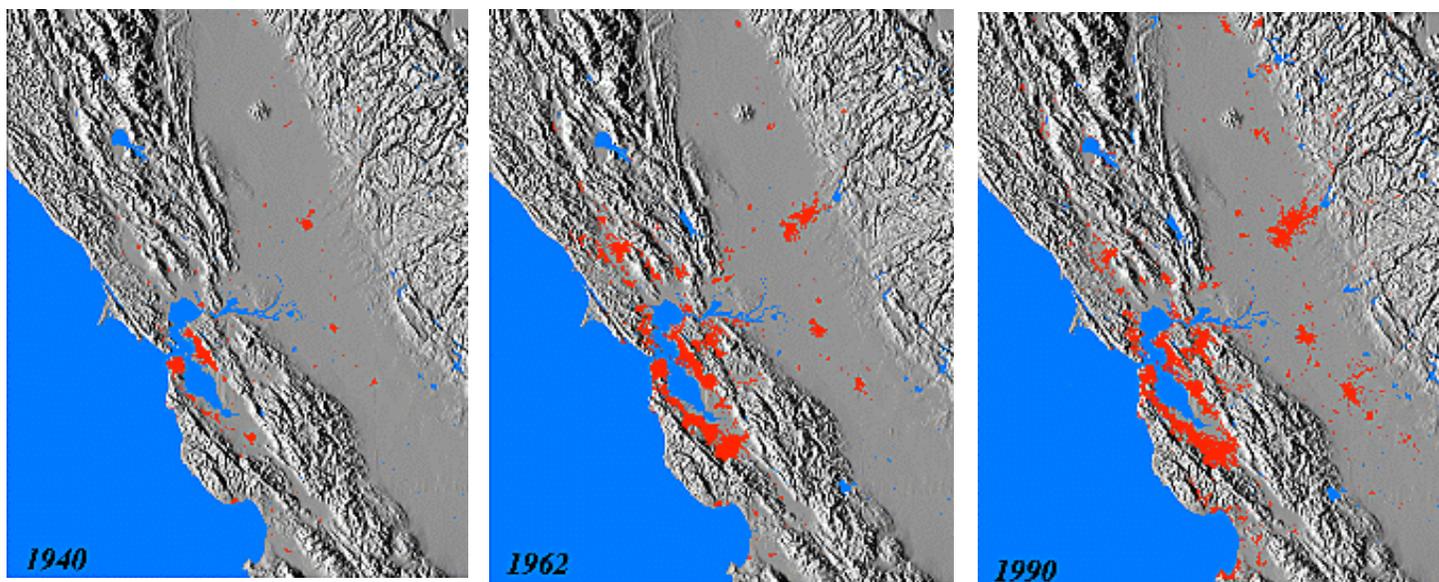
23

Number of federal toxic cleanup sites in Santa Clara County, home of Silicon valley – the highest of any county in the nation

out of every four homes standing in the U.S. in 1960 had been built in the 1950s, bringing homeownership to 62% of Americans (in comparison to 44% at the beginning of WWII).

Students do not have to look far to see the impact of these national developments. California embodied and often influenced the shape of America's Cold War culture, as well as the emerging environmental ethic that flowed from these remarkable developments. Federal defense spending drove Cold War research and development in the Golden State (ultimately bringing far more wealth and people than the Gold Rush), and sustained the state's phenomenal growth that began in the early 1940s. It is not an exaggeration to say that wartime imperatives reshaped the California landscape. Nowhere was this felt more keenly than along California's treasured coastline, which has always drawn the bulk of the state's residents. These maps show a striking amount of development along the San Francisco Bay from World War II until the close of the Cold War – note the year 1962, when California celebrated its new status as the union's most populous state. Residential and commercial development proceeded so rapidly in this era that by the 1960s only 1/5 of California's coast was accessible to the public. In places such as Port Hueneme, north of Los Angeles, artificial fill and breakwaters caused stretches of the beach to disappear altogether, prompting the importation of sand to preserve a town's beachfront. A significant portion of coastal sloughs and estuaries disappeared, and with them, valuable habitat and nature's pollution filter.

Of course we cannot attribute all California development in this era to wartime prerogatives - plenty of new residents and businesses came to California because of its captivating qualities - but the economic opportunities of this era were largely generated by the state's military industrial complex. As the Cold War heated up, California's coast supported an ever-increasing number of residents and businesses. The development of Lakewood in the early 1950s – a suburban community of 17,500 new homes situated less than 20 miles from the Pacific and close to industrial plants such as Douglas Aircraft – is California's version of Levittown. The City of Lakewood became an enormous footprint of homes, roads, shopping centers, schools and churches, where once stood a sugar beet farm. These new and extremely popular suburbs met the enormous housing demand by utilizing tract-home designs that were relatively inexpensive and quick to assemble. But these homes were not designed or sited to take advantage of natural shade, sun exposure, or cross-ventilation, nor did insulation or windows vary considerably depending on the climate. While inexpensive to purchase, these tract homes had high environmental costs due to their energy inefficiency. And yet such reckonings did not slow the spread (some said "sprawl") of California's suburbs. 1954 marked the first year since statehood in which the number of acres in farmland began to decrease; during this decade and in the 1960s, 60,000 acres of California's agricultural land was cleared each year for residential development. Southern California industries spawned the greatest growth, but as already noted, the San Francisco Bay Area experienced rapid growth as well, especially due to the boom in the Silicon



A historical perspective of urban development for the San Francisco Bay region. Image courtesy of the USGS Land Cover Institute.



The construction of Lakewood Subdivision - note the conveyor belt to bring tiles to roof. Image courtesy of the City of Lakewood.

Valley in Santa Clara County. Federal research funds flowed into electronics companies during the war, spurring jobs, innovation, and environmental toxicity as solvents and chemical waste contaminated local water. By 1986 Santa Clara County had more federal toxic cleanup sites than any other county in the nation.

These industrial centers, suburban homes, and urban cores were connected by thousands of miles of new and upgraded highways and freeways built with federal funds coming from President Eisenhower's defense-driven 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act. Even before California overtook New York as the most populous state, the number of registered automobiles in California exceeded that of every other state, and logged as many miles as 18 other states combined. Throughout the state, concrete, asphalt, pipes, and telephone wires covered land that had previously supported agriculture or open space. As a result, flood plains could no longer do their jobs; buried septic tanks leaked and polluted water sources, bays and ports were manipulated by infill, smog increased, and water sources were over-taxed. The State Water Project, promoted vigorously by Governor Pat Brown, further enabled the state's growth by delivering water from the California Delta to thirsty agricultural valleys and Southern California cities. California's State Water Project became the nation's largest state-built water and power development and conveyance system. Its hundreds of miles of canals, tunnels, and pipes, and its numerous reservoirs, dams, and pumping plants are visual reminders of how crucial water manipulation and management are to California's economic endeavors and residential patterns. It is in this era that President

Johnson's Great Society proclaimed that the nation's wealth and resources could and should provide a high standard of living for all Americans, thereby enabling the United States to stand strong against the Soviet Union. California was just one piece – albeit a very significant piece – of a nation that prioritized economic development as a foundation of national security.

It was this very wealth – the product of Cold War-era innovations and growth – that spurred immense environmental changes that ultimately triggered the emergence of the modern environmental movement. Anti-nuclear protests across the globe aimed to convince politicians that the potential costs of nuclear war or even a nuclear accident were unacceptably high. Rachel Carson's 1962 *Silent Spring*, often credited with birthing this environmental movement, portrayed the natural world as negatively altered by technological and chemical "fixes" and nuclear fallout. Carson's message was a clarion call to millions of Americans who feared the new power of nuclear energy, the rapidly decreasing quality of their air and water, and the nation's diminishing open space. Visible environmental degradation led to the passage of the 1964 Wilderness Act, America's first Earth Day "sit-in" in 1970, and the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency under President Nixon.

In California, voters passed Prop 20 in 1972 to protect the state's coastline from overdevelopment and threats such as potential future oil spills. Californians, like other Americans, began to challenge unchecked growth.



East LA Interchange, 6/17/1965. Image from Caltrans.

Stringent environmental regulations – for issues ranging from smog to open space – have since become a hallmark of California. The heady mix of post-war wealth and opportunity in California’s exceptional landscape created a culture that is notable for both its generous consumption patterns and its environmental commitments. After all, it is California’s beauty, inspiring natural spaces, and rich natural resources that have endeared it to so many people, who have in turn admired and altered their home environment.

Note:

¹ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 119.

Suggested reading:

Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*

Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*

Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*

J.R. McNeill and Corinna Unger, *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*

Jared Orsi, “Restoring the Goose to the Commons,” *Southern California Quarterly*

Adam Rome, *The Bulldozer in the Countryside: Suburban Sprawl and the Rise of American Environmentalism*

Kevin Starr, *Golden Dreams: Californians in an Age of Abundance, 1950-1963*

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Oil piled up at the seawall near the Santa Barbara Harbor following the 1969 oil spill. Note the blackness of the incoming wave; the water has a thick layer of oil on top.. Image from Wikipedia.

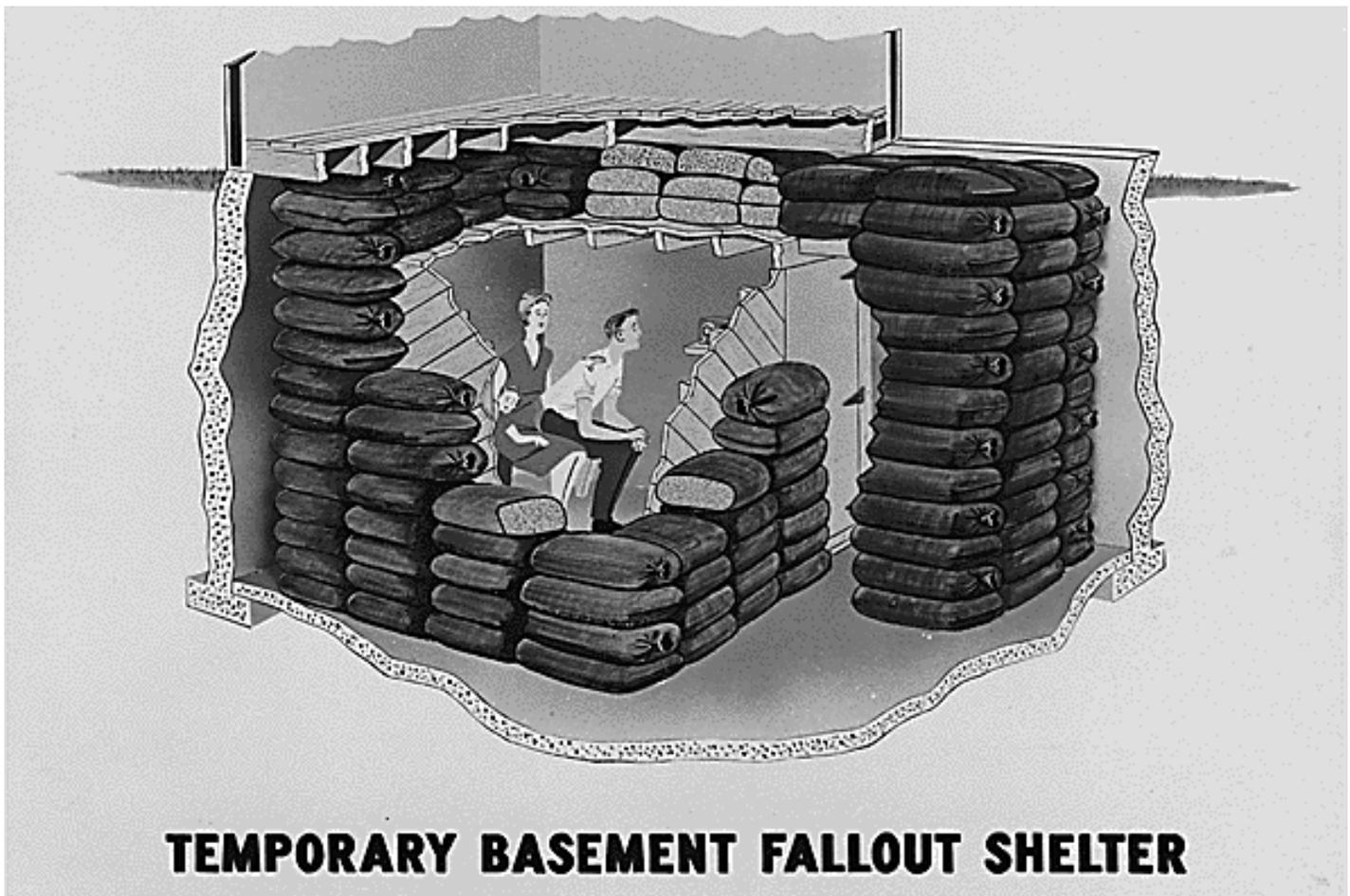
Domestic Containment and the Cold War at Home

by Katharine Kipp

With less emphasis on coverage and a renewed focus on depth in the Common Core era, many teachers are reorganizing instruction. Since we are increasingly asking students to look deeply and critically at historical topics, it's helpful when the scholarship points to an engaging angle. Scholarly work on the topic of domestic containment during the Cold War provides important clues about what to emphasize. As an added bonus, the documentary record is chockfull of primary sources that will engage your students and encourage them to analyze and interpret what they see and read.

Containment is an important concept in Standard 11.9: *Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.* Teachers traditionally engage with the concept of containment on an international scale by focusing on the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, and discuss concerns about potential communist threats at home by studying

McCarthyism. Meanwhile, an important work by historian Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, explores the cultural response to Cold War fears to argue the idea of domestic containment. As May explains, traditional gender roles—male breadwinner, female homemaker—were central to domestic containment and essential for a stable and secure family and by extension, the nation. Federal agencies like the Civil Defense Administration and magazines such as the *Ladies Home Journal* turned to domestic containment as a necessary shift to ensure the safety and security of the nation. By inspiring adherence to traditional roles, they sought to control dangerous social forces. The uncertainty of the previous decades and the looming threat of communism and atomic annihilation were prevalent fears for average Americans. While the government utilized diplomatic and military avenues to stop the spread of communism abroad,



Temporary Basement Fallout Shelter (artist's rendition), ca. 1957. Federal Emergency Management Agency. Image from National Archives, ARC Identifier #542104

Americans turned to domestic stability to provide a sense of security and to model the supremacy of democracy. According to May, “the home represented a source of meaning and security in a world run amok” with women firmly at the helm (May, 18). The home became synonymous with security.

Homeward Bound is an excellent resource for educators and students alike. It demonstrates how domestic containment shaped American life in this era. May deconstructs personal and political Cold War attitudes toward women, the family, and the home, and argues that domestic containment served the dual purpose of restructuring society back to its traditional shape and taming technological advances and consumerism. She ties this push for traditional gender roles to the economic instability of the Great Depression and the depleted workforce during World War II. While the number of women in the workforce increased during the Great Depression, it was amidst a great deal of prejudice against women “stealing” men’s jobs. Indeed, 26 states prohibited married women from obtaining paid employment during the Depression. Of course, the number of women in the paid labor force jumped considerably during World War II. These newly employed women found fulfillment in work outside the home as never before.

After the war, society, by way of women’s magazines, television shows, etc., told these women to return to the home. Colleges provided courses on advanced home economics to create expert homemakers. The professionalization of homemaking promised that the satisfaction once found in employment outside the home could be reclaimed in homemaking and childrearing. It was up to the wife/mother to create a stable environment for her husband and children. The man’s job was to provide financially for his family and to sponsor active consumerism. The woman’s job was to create the model home complete with the newest appliances and run according to expert advice. Mothers had to strike the right balance for raising sons. Neglect resulted in criminals, while smothering created effeminate men incapable of assuming their roles as breadwinner. Successfully run homes created protection against subversives in society and the corrupting influence of communism.

Domestic containment also sponsored a strong consumer economy as it pushed for stable suburban homes. The centrality of female consumerism in rebuilding the post-

war economy was paramount. Their spending created demand for jobs and industry as they purchased household goods and increased home construction. Women bought the latest appliances such as washing machines and refrigerators to create modern homes capable of showing the international world the benefits of democracy. May uses the popular television show *People Are Funny* (1948) to demonstrate this idea of using consumerism to aid propaganda campaigns around the world. The show’s “Win a Future” contest asked contestants to briefly detail the benefits of capitalism over communism. The winner would be the proud new owner of a house in the suburbs complete with the latest consumer goods. More importantly, 640,000 individuals entered the contest and their letters were sent to Italy to bolster democratic elections in areas at risk for communist influence (May, 144).

Teachers will find *Homeward Bound* an accessible read for high school students. May’s clear argument, abundant use of primary sources, and manageable writing style makes this a perfect historical text to help transition students into college level reading. Incorporating this text also aligns with the Fair Act edicts to diversify content and appeal to a wider student audience. Furthermore, *Homeward Bound* and its discussion of Cold War domestic containment is a perfect segue for teachers from the war years into the cultural changes and challenges of the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, it leads directly into a discussion of the women’s rights movement. Although domestic containment promised women satisfaction as homemakers, this was not the case for many. A discussion of Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* and the roots of the women’s liberation movement provide a nice transition between the Cold War and the next unit of study, and speak to the larger implications of the Cold War.

Suggested Primary Sources for the Classroom:

1. “The Kitchen Debate” Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, U.S. Embassy, Moscow, Soviet Union, 1959.
2. The Federal Civil Defense Administration, “Duck and Cover” Video
3. “Their Sheltered Honeymoon,” *Life*, August 10, 1959.

Katharine Kipp is the Events Coordinator for the UC Davis History Project, and a graduate student in the History Department at UC Davis.

A Common Core-Aligned Lesson from the History Blueprint



CWA 3.2 – Containing Communism at Home, a Museum Exhibit (page 1 of 4)

Overview: Working in groups of three or four, your task is to design a museum exhibit that explores domestic containment in an engaging and informative way. Each group will be given a total of four packets, each detailing a specific component of domestic containment: harnessing atomic energy for security, rooting out communists and subversives in American society, promoting certain notions of sexuality and the American family structure, and containing the race problem. Each packet begins with a short overview, followed by related primary sources. Each group will use these sources to design its own exhibit, which will be shared with the rest of the class. After each group shares their exhibit, all students will be asked to use this information to answer the following question: *How did the US contain communism at home?*

Specific Directions:

1. To begin, each member of your group should **review each of the four containment source packets**. Read the overview documents first – ask for clarification if you don’t understand the topic’s relation to containment.
2. Next, as a group, **brainstorm a list of possible questions that could organize your exhibit** around the theme of containment at home. These questions should be open-ended; yes or no questions aren’t appropriate. For example, “How were women affected by domestic containment efforts?” works; “Were women affected by domestic containment efforts?” does not. In addition, make sure there is enough evidence in the source packets to answer the question. Although you can do additional research on your own, the majority of your time should be spent analyzing your sources, not searching for them. Once your group has reached consensus, list your top two questions below for your teacher’s consideration. (Questions must be pre-approved).



Fallout shelter built by Louis Severance adjacent to his home near Akron, Mich., ..., ca. 1960. Source: National Archives, Records of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, (397-MA-2s-160), http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/picturing_the_century/postwar/postwar_img80.html

First question: _____

Second question: _____

Teacher approval: _____

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Beyond States and Statesmen: New Approaches to Teaching the Cold War

by James Lin

The Cold War is traditionally taught as a war of ideologies between two superpowers, waged via proxy crises that brought the world to the brink of nuclear disaster. While this narrative remains important for understanding American and world history, new scholarship integrating social, cultural, and transnational approaches may make the conflict more relevant and interesting to California's students.

Though today's students were born after the fall of the Soviet Union, many nonetheless have personal links to this global conflict. California's demographic composition is, in part, the result of the Cold War. For instance, communities, such as east San Jose and Westminster in Orange County, can trace their Vietnamese American populations directly to the American military intervention in their home country. The fall of the Republic of Vietnam in 1975, and the subsequent journey of Vietnamese refugees from Southeast Asia to the shores of California, is not a theoretical exploration but rather their family

history. Teachers can draw on students' own backgrounds and personal narratives in order to ask new questions about the Cold War that resonate with students.

This approach also aligns with recent scholarship among academics, which has moved away from diplomatic and toward social and cultural histories of the Cold War. More recently, historians have examined the experiences of POWs, the influence of nuclear threat on American popular culture, and the flow of people and commodities as part of transnational migrations across the globe. Even diplomatic historians have expanded their lens – shifting from a focus on explorations of two superpowers to examinations of the effects of Cold War battles for the hearts and minds in the hamlets of Vietnam, the deployment of foreign aid in a decolonizing Africa, and the American support of counter-insurgencies via covert action in Latin America. But this reorientation aside, the Cold War, and other events in not so distant history, allows teachers the opportunity to address the very real



Vietnam. Vietnamese children of the Phong Dien refugee hamlet peer through a fence. 01/12/1967. Image from the National Archives, ARC Identifier #532507

legacy of the past as represented in their own classrooms, creating wonderfully unique opportunities to use our students' own histories as additional texts in the classroom and develop historical empathy among all learners.

While at first this shift in emphasis may seem daunting to classroom teachers, a few well-selected primary sources can go a long way in augmenting and complementing traditional curriculum. Primary source documents, of course, can be great tools for practicing critical analysis,

Cold War document collections generally consist of policy memos and diplomatic cables; nonetheless, even these very documents can reveal a great deal about the social, cultural, and global consequences of the Cold War. The previous example comes from a government document, which transmits secondhand accounts of Vietnamese refugees escaping to Thailand from the US Embassy in Bangkok to the Ford Administration.² Looking at this document for its human rather than diplomatic story reveals the extraordinary hardship endured by refugees but also spawns additional questions with regard to the



South China Sea...Crewmen of the amphibious cargo ship USS Durham take Vietnamese refugees aboard a small craft. Image from the National Archives, ARC Identifier #558518.

exploring salient historical questions, and increasing the perceived relevance (and human experience) of historical study. To take one hypothetical example, a student reading an excerpted account detailing the escape of Vietnam war refugees navigating to Thailand by boat, using only “a page torn from a travel brochure which contained a four inch map of the entire South China Sea,” can begin to imagine the consequences of war in new and important ways.¹

human experience of war and toward essential understandings: What are the circumstances and events of the Vietnam War that would have pushed refugees into such scenarios? What factors pulled refugees to various parts of the world, including the United States? How could refugees and the directions they migrated have influenced the course of the Vietnam War and American policy toward Cold War refugees?

Consequently, to help answer these new questions that arise *vis a vis* primary sources, it is useful to deploy complementary primary and secondary readings. For example, excerpts from Graham Greene's fictional novel *The Quiet American*, based on his experiences as a war correspondent in Vietnam, provide vivid descriptions of a battle at Phat Diem and an on-the-ground perspective into the legacy of colonialism and the allure of communism in the "Third World." Alan Brinkley's college-level textbook, *Unfinished Nation*, contains a strong analysis of how the US war policy in Vietnam resulted in uprooting 3 million villagers.³ Then, to show the global aspect of the Cold War, these primary and secondary sources can be linked with a textbook-driven lesson on the changes in American society made possible by the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which eliminated the quota-based system and opened immigration pathways to peoples from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.⁴

This reframing, through the use of primary and secondary sources used in concert with assigned textbooks, would increase relevance both among students whose family histories began with proxy wars abroad and ended in immigrating to the United States during the Cold War, and with those who have no family connection to this lens of the history but whose interest in history increases by learning the stories of everyday people, most notably their friends and neighbors in contemporary California. Additionally, this new lens not only has the potential to increase relevance among students but also aligns with the new questions historians are asking of old evidence.

Suggested source materials:

The Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series, compiled by the State Department and now available in ebook format online, as well as independent archives such as the Cold War International History Project maintained by the Wilson Center, contains thousands of such documents, digitized and neatly organized. FRUS in ebook format can be downloaded from <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/ebooks>; The Cold War International History Project's digital archive is accessible at <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/>

Alan Brinkley covers the shifting demographics of an increasingly immigrant based society in "A Changing

Society."⁵ There is also a superb primary source document in the aforementioned *FRUS* that can complement this discussion, a transcript of a conversation where Henry Kissinger recalls a conversation with then and current Governor Jerry Brown about the political implications of relocating evacuated Vietnamese refugee in California. "Transcript of Telephone Conversation Between Secretary of State Kissinger and the Director of the Special Interagency Task Force on Evacuation of Refugees From Indochina (Brown)," *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1967-1976, Volume X: Vietnam, January 1973-July 1975* (Washington: GPO, 2010), p. 2718. Available online at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v10/d263>

Introduction for primary source document ("Escape from South Vietnam"): I obtained this document from the Gerald Ford Presidential Library website, which has a small sample of documents from their vast offline collection scanned and uploaded for a digital exhibit. "Escape from South Vietnam" [Refugees], July 10, 1976, comes from from the Vietnam War Declassification Project, available at <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/exhibits/vietnam/vietnam.asp>

Notes:

¹ "Escape from South Vietnam" [Refugees], July 10, 1976, Ford Presidential Library. Accessed at <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/exhibits/vietnam/032400098-001.pdf>. The document is reproduced below.

² "Escape from South Vietnam" [Refugees], July 10, 1976.

³ Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, c2010), 776–777.

⁴ See suggested source materials list for more about Vietnam and larger US immigration.

⁵ Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 6th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, c2010), 870–872.

James Lin is a PhD candidate in history at the University of California, Berkeley, and a lifelong California resident. He is currently writing his dissertation examining the origins and changing discourses of international rural development in the US, China, and Taiwan from 1920 to 1975.

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