

# Cold War World Lesson #:3

## *Principles vs. Practices*

### Major Topics:

- Racism in the First World
- Prague Spring 1968
- China: Chairman Mao's Challenge
- Chile 1973

### ***What is the relationship between principles and practice ?***



*Marchers for Allende, James N. Wallace, Photographer. September 5, 1964. US News & World Report Photographs. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004666289/>*

Previously in this unit students learned that the Three Worlds promoted competing social, economic and political ideals. In this lesson, students evaluate regional crises or hotspots in the US, USSR, and China as evidence of how the superpowers contradicted the principles they championed. In fact, the actions of the superpowers created external realities that undermined the efforts of Third World nations to follow a third way, as in the case of Chile under Salvador Allende.

Students will analyze speeches, posters, videos, and newspaper articles, paying special attention to multiple points of

views. In particular, students will determine how people and governments tried to persuade and/or forcibly impose adherence to guiding principles in actions and words.

An optional newspaper research project has been developed for this lesson (CWW4). It is highly recommended as it reinforces the idea that the responses of the Three Worlds to regional hotspots undermined their appeal and ideological authenticity.

## Procedures

### Step 1: Introducing the Focus Question (Class Time: 10 minutes)



Ask students if they recall from the previous lesson the three main visions for world order. Distribute **CWW3.1 Comparing Principles & Practice** as a reminder and as an introduction to the lesson focus question: *What is the relationship between principles and practice in each of the three world orders?* Tell students that they will investigate four example crises or hot spots from the 1960s and 1970s: racism in the US, Soviet repression of Prague Spring in 1973, Mao Zedong's rule in China and the 1973 coup against Allende in Chile. Each of these hot spots shows a different way that the three world orders had been compromised in principle and practices. As the lesson develops, students will use **CWW3.1** to note how each hotspot illustrates this point. Because the media, TV and newspapers, carried graphic images of those actions all over the world, people questioned the US and the Soviet Union's ideological intents, which undercut the efforts of the superpowers to promote their visions of liberal capitalism or communism. Tell the students that they should pay careful attention to the role of the media, and to the different points of view of leaders in the US, the Soviet Union, China, and Chile as they investigate how each hotspot erupted, progressed, and was resolved. To evaluate these Cold War events together, and before continuing on with the unit, students will complete a "Ready to Move On" quick write (**CWW3.15**) at the end of this lesson.

### Step 2: Institutionalized Racism in the US (Class Time: 50 minutes)



Even with the end of slavery, racism in the United States was systematic and pervasive. **CWW3.2**, a secondary reading on Jim Crow, segregation, and the Civil Rights Movement provides students with background information of the road towards racial equality in the US. After reading independently, in a group, or as a full class, ask students to identify some of the goals of the Civil Rights Movement. The key is to focus their attention on the relationship between the movement and world public opinion about US contradictions. Then divide the class into pairs. Give each pair one of the **CWW3.2** primary source readings (by John F. Kennedy (**CWW3.2.1**), Martin Luther King, Jr. (**CWW3.2.2**) and Mao Zedong (**CWW3.2.3**) to complete. Review their answers as a class so that all students have a chance to hear the different viewpoints. To check for understanding, ask students which US principles were undermined by charges of racism? Tell students to document how racism conflicted with the government's position on self-determination and promotion of liberal democratic ideals using **CWW3.1**.



### Step 3: Soviet Repression of Prague Spring (Class Time: 120 minutes)



Remind students that the Soviet Union claimed to be a "workers' paradise" among other key components of their approach to world order. Because of this, the resistance of people in its Eastern European satellites embarrassed Soviet officials. People repeatedly tried to escape from these communist countries, as in the case from East to West Berlin, before the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, and then over the wall itself. In addition, Eastern European communist

governments sometimes tried to reform by setting policies, such as allowing more than one political party, or relaxing censorship, that Soviet officials opposed. When that occurred, the Soviet Union repressed the reform, often by sending in the Soviet army (supplemented by troops from Warsaw Pact countries) and physically forcing the rebellious government out of power. The fact that the Soviets had to use force to keep people and countries in its sphere of influence undercut their claim in the superiority of communism and the happiness of their workers.

Tell students that they will be investigating one Soviet hot spot—repression of the Prague Spring reforms in Czechoslovakia in 1968. After reading a secondary summary, they will analyze primary texts and TV reports. Students should pay close attention to the point of view of the media, especially the words employed to describe the conflict between Soviet principles and practices.



First, students will read an secondary account of the crisis in Czechoslovakia written in 2008 by the United States' Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Distribute **CWW3.3 "Prague Spring & the Soviet Invasion"** secondary reading and chart. Working in small groups of two or three, have students complete the cause and effect chart on page three of the handout in order to clarify what happened in 1968 in Czechoslovakia and understand how the text details causal relationships, going back and forth in time.



Second, students will analyze a primary source about the Prague Spring reforms, written by Ukrainian communists who were spying on Czechoslovakian television broadcasts. In their groups, have students read **CWW3.4 Role of the Media in Prague Spring, 1968**, select and describe events that would have concerned the Soviets and explain why the Soviets would be worried.

Third, students will analyze events through archival video footage. Distribute **CWW3.5 Prague Spring Archival Film** to students and play one or both of the videos below. (If these videos are not available, substitute any short video on Soviet repression of Prague Spring that uses archival video footage from 1968):



- "Eyewitness: Prague Spring Crushed," BBC, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7572276.stm>, which includes BBC footage, commentary, and video clips from 1968 (2:55 minutes);
- "1968 Invasion of Prague," <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XgxLgnpRYw> (5:32 minutes), compiled by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

Ask students to share their answers and use it as a springboard for discussion of media techniques.



Fourth, students study Prague Spring through the lens of a Soviet state-sponsored newspaper. Read **CWW3.6 "The Brezhnev Doctrine"** written by Sergei Kovalev aloud with students, and guide them through the first two or three examples of coded language. Remind them of the special vocabulary of Marxism, and that the word "socialism" here means Soviet-style communism. Then have students work in pairs to complete the rest of the worksheet and to add Prague Spring examples to **CWW3.1**. As a conclusion, read the quote by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev at the bottom of **CWW3.6**. Is a threat to "socialism" the same as a threat to the power of the Soviet Union? Ask students if the "Brezhnev Doctrine" (which is summarized by this quote) is similar to the "Truman Doctrine" in any way. Have them record in their **CWW3.6** and **CWW3.1** notes that the Brezhnev

Doctrine gave the USSR an excuse to intervene in any internal politics that threatened Soviet hegemony over the Second World. But by defining socialist interests as the interests of the USSR, Brezhnev weakened the potential appeal of socialism in the Third World. He also opened the USSR up to the criticism of another communist power, China.

#### Step 4: Mao Zedong's China (Class Time: 90 minutes)



In groups or individually, have students read **CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong**, which is a background reading covering the major programs of the Mao Zedong era in China. Students should complete pages four and five of the document, which supports closer analysis of the source. This might be assigned for homework, with a review the following day.



Students analyze **CWW3.8**, a series of Chinese propaganda posters, in this next activity. Hang the posters throughout the class. Hand out **CWW3.9 Propaganda Analysis: Posters and Quotes from Mao** to each student. Project **CWW3.8 Carry on the Struggle** and model the poster analysis and quote explanation for students. Explain to them that the message in a piece of propaganda is more than just the obvious action of supporting and opposing an idea. Propaganda has a "hook" that promises the audience some benefit, usually an emotional benefit. To figure out the message, fill in the blanks in this sentence: If you [the intended audience] support (or oppose) \_\_\_\_\_, you will get the benefit of feeling \_\_\_\_\_. Point out to them the similarities between propaganda and advertising.

Tell students that they will walk around and view the posters and then match posters to the quotes from Mao's *Little Red Book*. Require them to analyze at least 3 different posters. There may be blank spaces on their worksheets. (Note: several posters can be used for many of the quotes on the worksheet; it is not a one-quote/one-poster match.)

Conclude by asking students how Mao's practices undermined his principles. How would leaders in the Third World view the failure of the Great Leap Forward and the chaos of the Cultural Revolution? Have students record these conclusions as part of their **CWW3.1** notes:



- Mao split China away from the Soviet Union in the early 1960s and set China up as an example of true socialism for the Third World.
- The failure of the Great Leap Forward and the chaos of the Cultural Revolution exhausted the Chinese spirit for revolution and discredited Mao in the eyes of his fellow communists and Third World leaders.
- Mao's last big act, welcoming Nixon to China, marked the end of Chinese communist radicalism.

## Step 5: President Allende's Third Way for Chile (Class Time: 100 minutes)

President Salvador Allende of Chile tried for a Third Way alternative after his 1970 election. Ask students to review the intentions of countries not aligned with the United States or the Soviet Union using **CWW3.1**. To assess the rise and fall of Allende's presidency, have students first understand Chile's economic context through a statistical analysis with **CWW3.10 Chile Statistics, 1970** and then read **CWW3.11 Chile in 1973: Background** and answer the questions on page three of the handout. You might have students answer the questions in groups during class, or have them complete it for homework. For the second option, review the questions with them the next day.



Once the class is clear that the US government opposed Allende's presidency, distribute and read as a whole class **CWW3.12 Nixon's Security Council**. Guide students through the sentence deconstruction chart to help them understand the euphemisms. Explain that Nixon ordered his officials to disrupt Chile's economy, from pressuring the World Bank to stop loans to the cease of trade by American businessmen. The success of these actions show both the influence of the US government in the world economy and over private corporations, and the dominance of US corporations in the world economy. Make sure students understand that heads of multinational corporations would share the principles of US and the First World. Then divide students into pairs and have them answer the questions as a Think-Pair-Share activity.

Tell students that President Allende brought his struggle to restructure the Chilean government to the United Nations. Divide students into groups of four and distribute **CWW3.13 President Allende's 1972 UN Speech**.



On the left side of the reading, students will comment on the items in the speech that would appeal to the USSR and other communist regimes. On the right side of the reading, students will comment on items in the speech that the US should find appealing, based on its principles. Each student should get one quote or paragraph from Allende's speech to annotate. A short video of Allende giving the speech at the UN is available online.

Afterwards students share their responses in their small groups and interpret the speech as a whole by completing **CWW3.14 Interpreting Allende's 1972 UN Speech**. Point out that Allende was trying to construct a third way for Chile, rather than following the lead of either of the superpowers. Why was he not able to do that? What realities of the Cold War interfered with his agenda for Chile? Explain that by 1973 many Third World nations were very disillusioned and discouraged about the possibilities of creating a Third Way. Socialist and Communist leaders doubted whether they would receive support from the Soviet Union or China.



## Step 6: Evaluating the Three World Orders (Class Time: 20 minutes)

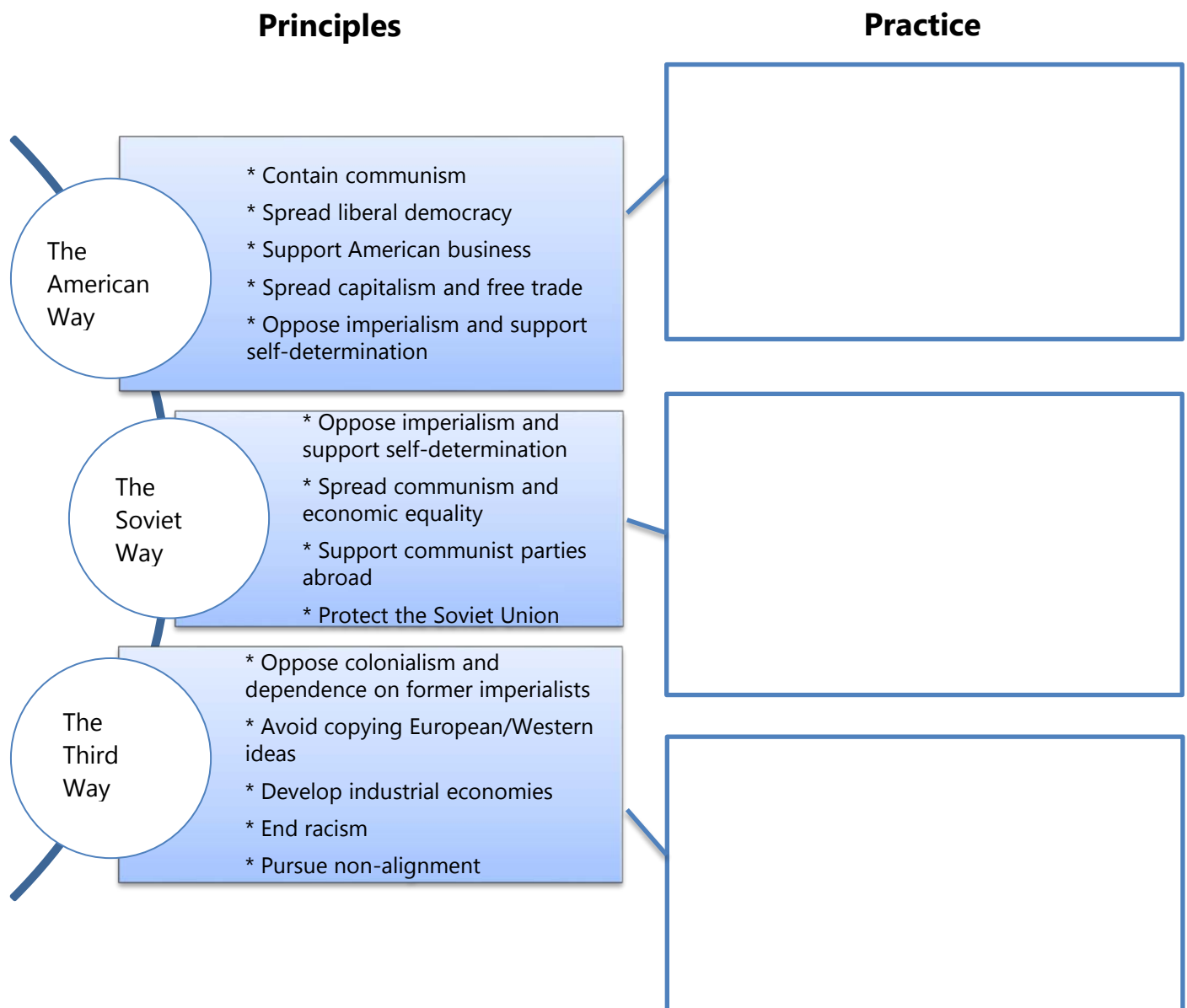


Students will now demonstrate learning by completing a quick write in which they will use their notes from **CWW3.15** to answer the lesson's focus question. Instruct them to write *What is the relationship between principles and practice in each of the three world orders?* at the bottom of **CWW3.15** and the answer the question in no more than 200 words. Check for student understanding with the teacher key **CWW3.15K** before moving on.



## CWW3.1 Comparing Principles to Practice

*Directions:* Previously, you learned about the first, second, and third world orders during the Cold War. Countries in each of those orders shared common beliefs, or principles, about their economies, their forms of government, and foreign relations. In this lesson, you'll consider how those principles or guiding ideas compared with actions, by looking in-depth at the United States (as a representative of the first world order), the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and China under Mao (both examples of the second world order), and Chile under Salvador Allende (as a representative of the third way). In the chart below, we've already included bullet points to summarize each of the world orders on the left-hand column. In the right-hand column, briefly summarize the actual practice or behavior of the representative nations, noting similarities and differences from the principles in the left-hand column. As you complete the chart, consider the following: *What is the relationship between principles and practice in each of the three world orders?*



## CWW3.2 Institutionalized Racism in the United States (Page 1 of 3)

In 1868 the passage of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment guaranteed African-Americans citizenship in the United States, but for the next 100 years blacks rarely received equitable treatment. After the end of Reconstruction, Jim Crow laws spread throughout the South to keep African-Americans from enjoying the same rights as white citizens. Even following World War II, in which African-American soldiers helped achieve Allied victory, they were denied basic rights, treated as second-class citizens. While racial injustice was most pronounced in the South, African-Americans throughout the country suffered discrimination. African-Americans struggled to gain access to the vote, secure quality education and jobs, and enjoy everyday conveniences such as restaurant service. Where blacks were allowed, they were usually segregated into "colored only" waiting rooms, passenger cars, restrooms, swimming pools, water fountains, etc.



Russell Lee, "Negro drinking at "Colored" water cooler in streetcar terminal, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma." Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, [LC-USF3301-012327-M5].  
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/fsa1997026728/PP/>



Governor George Wallace attempting to block integration at the University of Alabama, June 11, 1963. Warren K. Leffler, Photographer.  
 Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003688161/>

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States has a long history, but the term refers to the period immediately following WWII when blacks repeatedly challenged inequality – through protests on the street and in the courtroom – until they achieved major victories, such as the Voting and Civil Rights Acts and *Brown v. Board of Education*, a decision by the Supreme Court that ruled segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. Many state and local leaders resisted these integration efforts. At times, the federal government ordered the National Guard to force schools to admit African-American students. For example, President Kennedy ordered the National Guard to integrate the University of Alabama in 1963, after Alabama Governor George Wallace refused to enroll two black students in the University.

## CWW3.2 Institutionalized Racism in the United States (Page 2 of 3)



*Congress of Racial Equality conducts march in memory of Negro youngsters killed in Birmingham bombings, All Souls Church, 16th Street, Wash[ington], D.C., September 22, 1963. Thomas O'Halloran, Photographer, US News & World Report Photograph Collection. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003688165/>.*

between the National Guard troops and anti-integration protestors, or between Civil Rights protestors and local police, played out on TV screens across the US and the world. To the leaders and people of the new nations in Africa, the struggle of black people in the US seemed very similar to their own struggle against former colonial powers. Many people in the Third World thought that the existence of racism and segregation inside the US itself demonstrated the hypocrisy of America's claim to be the leader of the "free world."

Third World citizens also condemned South Africa, which had relatively close relations with the US during the early years of the Cold War. White settler minorities dominated the South African government, enforced segregation, and denied equal rights to the black majority. The Third World denounced South Africa's claim to be a democracy and condemned the US's support for South Africa as a part of the "free world." Leaders in the Soviet Union and China used this struggle over racism as an opportunity to condemn the US and promote communism and anti-imperialism.



*Civil rights march on Washington, D.C., August 28, 1963. Warren K. Leffler, Photographer. US News & World Report Photograph Collection. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003654393/>.*



## CWW3.2 Institutionalized Racism in the United States (Page 3 of 3)



In response to this criticism, judicial and legislative action, and growing public support for the Civil Rights Movement, American presidents took strong measures to demonstrate the US' commitment to ending racial discrimination. Although the Civil Rights Movement did not achieve complete equality for African-Americans, it did go a long way towards ending legally protected segregation, expanding voting rights, and protecting civil rights.

*Pres. L.B. Johnson signs the 1968 Civil Rights Bill, April 11, 1968. Warren K. Leffler, Photographer, US News & World Report Photograph Collection. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003673965/>*

## CWW3.2.1 John F. Kennedy, “Civil Rights Announcement” (Page 1 of 3)



*On June 11, 1963, President Kennedy told the nation that he had sent in the National Guard to physically protect the rights of two African-Americans to enroll at the University of Alabama. Below is an excerpt from the address, which was broadcast on both radio and television...*

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama. This order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happen to have been born Negro. . . .

. . . Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. When Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only.

It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed

up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodations—such as hotels, restaurants, theatres and retail stores—without having to resort to mass demonstrations in the streets. And it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal. It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the rights and privileges of America, regardless of race or color. . . .

**We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home; but are we to say to the world, and, much more importantly, for each other, that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race, except with respect to Negroes?**

Source: “Radio and television address on civil rights, 11 June 1963” from the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, available at <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-045-005.aspx>. Listen to the audio recording at <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKWHA-194-001.aspx>.

### CWW3.2.1 John F. Kennedy, "Civil Rights Announcement" (Page 2 of 3)

Directions: Using the bolded excerpts from Kennedy's Announcement, fill in the third column of the following sentence deconstruction chart by writing in all missing words. Also fill in the blanks (\_\_\_\_) in all the columns.

Time Marker or Connector	Historical Actor	Verb or Verb Phrase	What?
This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements,	the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen		on the University of Alabama campus
		to	the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama.
	This order (____)		the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents
who	(the two residents)		Negro. . . .
Today	we (____)		a worldwide struggle
		to	the rights of all who wish to be free.
	It		possible
therefore, for	American students of any color	to	any public institution they select
without	(____)		by troops.
	It		possible
for	American consumers of any color	to	equal service in places of public accommodation-such as hotels, restaurants, theatres and retail stores-
without	(____)		mass demonstrations in the streets.
	We (____)		freedom around the world
and	we		it (____)

### CWW3.2.1 John F. Kennedy, “Civil Rights Announcement” (Page 3 of 3)

Time Marker or Connector	Historical Actor	Verb or Verb Phrase	What?
and	we		our freedom here at home;
but	(are) we	to	to the world, and much more importantly, for each other,
that	this (_____)		a land of the free except for the Negroes;

**Cite specific evidence from the primary source to answer these questions:**

1. What incident prompted Kennedy to give this speech?
  
  
  
  
  
2. What principles did he state?
  
  
  
  
  
3. What practice(s) did he describe?
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  - 
  -
  
  
  
  
  
4. How did he connect his order sending the National Guard to the University of Alabama with the Cold War?
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## CWW3.2.2 Martin Luther King, Jr., “Speech on South Africa” (Page 1 of 3)

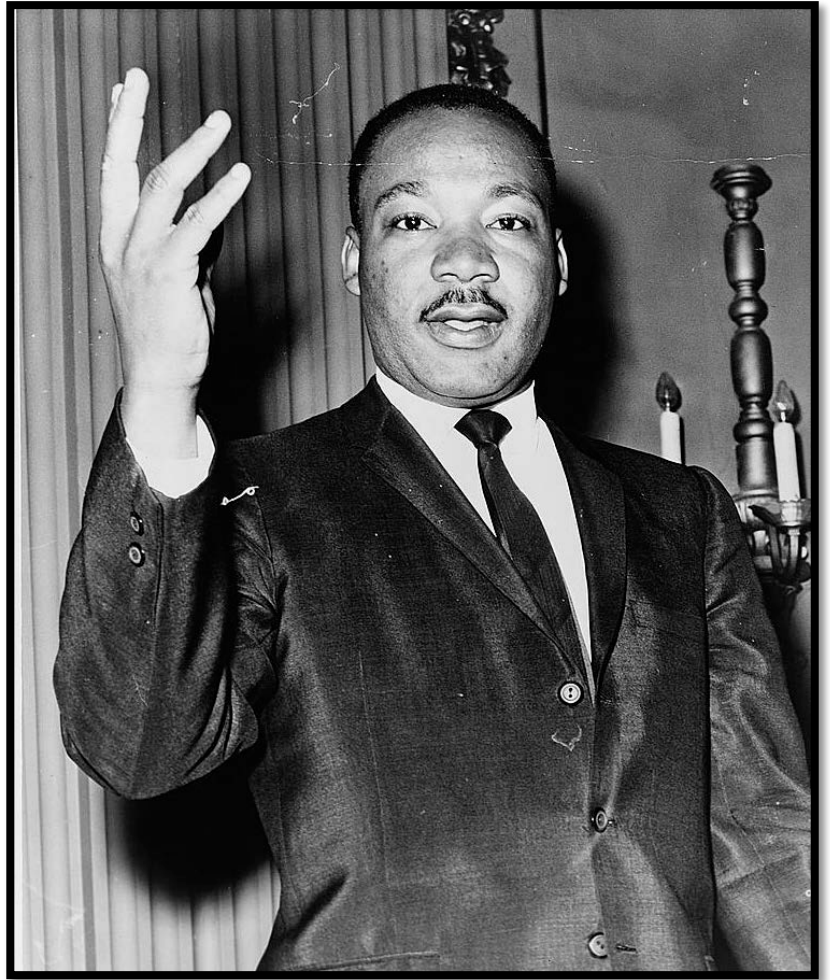
On December 7, 1964, Martin Luther King, Jr. gave a speech on South Africa in London, en route to Oslo to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. Read below for an excerpt.

I understand that there are South Africans here tonight—some of whom have been involved in the long struggle for freedom there. In our struggle for freedom and justice in the United States, which has also been so long and arduous, we feel a powerful sense of identification with those in the far more deadly struggle for freedom in South Africa. . .

**It is in this situation, with the great mass of South Africans denied their humanity, their dignity, denied opportunity, denied all human rights; it is in this situation, with many of the bravest and best South Africans serving long years in prison, with some already executed; in this situation we in America and Britain have a unique responsibility.** For it is we, through our investments, through our Governments` failure to act decisively, who are guilty of bolstering up the South African tyranny.

Our responsibility presents us with a unique opportunity. We can join in the one form of non-violent action that could bring freedom and justice to South Africa—the action which African leaders have appealed for—in a massive movement for economic sanctions. . . .Why does our Government, and your Government in Britain, refuse to intervene effectively now, as if only when there is a bloodbath in South Africa—or a Korea, or a Vietnam—will they recognize the crisis?

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., “Speech on South Africa in London, December 1964,” RFK in the Land of Apartheid: A Ripple of Hope website, created by Larry King, <http://www.rfksafilm.org/html/speeches/africking.php> (March 16, 2013).



*Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., half-length portrait, facing front] / World Telegram & Sun photo by Dick DeMarsico, 1964. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/00651714/>.*

### CWW3.2.2 Martin Luther King, Jr., “Speech on South Africa” (Page 2 of 3)

Directions: Using the bolded excerpts from King’s speech, fill in the following sentence deconstruction chart by writing in any words or phrases missing in the third column. Also fill in the blanks ( ) in all the columns.

Time Marker or Connector	Historical Actor	Verb or Verb Phrase	What?
	It		in this situation ( )
with	the great mass of South Africans		their humanity, their dignity,
			opportunity,
			all human rights;
	It		in this situation,
with	many of the bravest and best South Africans		long years in prison,
with	some ( ) already		
in this situation,	we in America and Britain		a unique responsibility.
For it is	we, through our investments, our Governments’ failure	to	decisively,
who			the South African tyranny.
	Our responsibility		us with a unique opportunity.
	We ( )		the one form of non-violent action
that			freedom and justice to South Africa
-the action which	African leaders		- in a massive movement for economic sanctions.
Why (does)	our Government, ( ) and your Government in Britain,		effectively now,
As if only when	there		a bloodbath in South Africa – or a Korea, or a Vietnam-
	(will) they ( )		the crisis? ( )

## CWW3.2.2 Martin Luther King, Jr., “Speech on South Africa” (Page 3 of 3)

**Cite specific evidence from the primary source to answer these questions:**

1. Why did King argue that the US had responsibility for the struggle in South Africa?
2. What principles did he state?
3. What practice(s) did he describe?
  - 
  -
4. How did he connect his plea for economic sanctions against South Africa with the Cold War?
  - 
  -
5. What point of view did King represent?

CWW3.2.3 Mao Zedong, "A New Storm against Imperialism" (Page 1 of 2)



Zhang Zhenshi, "Mao Zedong's Official Portrait at Tiananmen Gate," 1960-1966, Source: Wikipedia, public domain.  
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mao.jpg>

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the US imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of nonviolence. Nevertheless, the US imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance toward him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the Black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression. . .

**The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also . . . a tremendous aid and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against US imperialism and to the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialism. . . . I call on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all who are willing to fight against US imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people in the United States!**

Source: Mao Zedong, "A New Storm against Imperialism, 1968," in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung: Volume IX* (Secunderabad, India: Kranti Publications, 1971).



### CWW3.2.3 Mao Zedong, “A New Storm against Imperialism” (Page 2 of 2)

Directions: Using the bolded excerpts from Mao’s speech, fill in the following sentence deconstruction chart by writing in any words or phrases missing in the third column. Also fill in the blanks (\_\_\_) in all the columns.

Time Marker or Connector	Historical Actor	Verb or Verb Phrase	What?
Some days ago	Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman,		by the US imperialists.
	Martin Luther King		an exponent of nonviolence.
Nevertheless,	the US imperialists		any tolerance toward him
but	(the US imperialists)		counter-revolutionary violence
and	(the US imperialists)		him in cold blood.
	The Afro-American struggle (is) not only a struggle		by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation,
	It (_____)		a tremendous aid and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against US imperialism. . . .

**Cite specific evidence from the primary source to answer these questions:**

- How did Mao connect the struggle of African-Americans to imperialism?
- What incident prompted Mao to write this article?
- What principles did he state?
- What practice(s) did he describe?
  - 
  -
- How did he connect his support for African-Americans with the Cold War?
  - 
  -
- What point of view did Mao represent?

### CWW3.3 Prague Spring & the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia (Page 1 of 3)

*Editor's Note: the following text is excerpted from the Central Intelligence Agency's "A Look Back... The Prague Spring and Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia," August 21, 2008, News and Information, Featured Story Archive. For the full text, visit <https://www.cia.gov/news-information/featured-story-archive/2008-featured-story-archive/a-look-back-the-prague-spring-the-soviet.html>.*

*Directions: As you are reading, circle or highlight time markers within the narrative, such as specific dates, references to time of year, phrases like "one month later," etc. Use these time markers to complete a timeline of events that clearly details the causes and effects of the crisis on the fourth page of this document.*

On the night of August 20-21, 1968, Czechoslovakia was invaded from the north, east and south by 20 Soviet and Warsaw Pact divisions totaling some 250,000 men . . . .

With this military operation, Moscow put an end to the "Prague Spring," the brief flowering of political and economic democracy that began the previous January with the appointment of Alexander Dubček to the post of First Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. Initially backed by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, Dubcek had replaced the Stalinist Antonin Novotny in December 1967.

Dubcek moved quickly to **supplant** (replace) the existing repressive regime with a much more **pluralist** (having more than one set of ideas; including multiple viewpoints) one — "Communism with a Human Face." Aware of the suspicion this was likely to evoke from Moscow and the rest of Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe, Dubcek was careful to maintain Czechoslovakia's position as a loyal ally of the Soviet Union and member of the Warsaw Pact, insisting only on Prague's right to internal self-determination.



*Soviet troops and armored vehicles block access to Prague Castle, the government headquarters. Photograph taken by Dusan Neumann, a Czech journalist, and displayed at the American Center in Prague in 2008. As Neumann says, "This series of pictures is a small reminder of events that must never be forgotten." US State Department Photo Archive, <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/4110/prague/prague4.jpg>.*

#### The Intelligence Community Watches

In Washington, the Intelligence Community watched these developments with a mixture of astonishment and growing unease. Previous liberalization efforts in Poland, East Germany and Hungary had been brutally repressed. But those had been rebellions against the Warsaw Pact and Soviet dominion in Eastern Europe, which the Czech leadership was taking great pains to avoid. Moreover, it had been apparent even to the

### CWW3.3 Prague Spring & the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia (Page 2 of 3)

Kremlin that Czechoslovakia was in need of some kind of economic reform. Czechoslovakia, which was once a small industrial powerhouse, was now, after 20 years of communist rule, a basket case. . . .

Over the spring and summer of 1968, however, Soviet patience with Prague wore thin and tensions rose. Even if Moscow was willing to tolerate a more liberal regime in Prague, Eastern European communist governments — many as Stalinist as Czechoslovakia's had been — could not accept such a deviation (going away) from communist **orthodoxy** (the one correct set of beliefs).

#### Optimism Fades

Preparations for military action quietly went ahead: a series of Warsaw Pact military exercises over June and July brought Soviet, East German, Polish and Hungarian troops into Czechoslovakia. They were in a position for a rapid takeover. They eventually departed Czech soil, but hovered just outside the borders of the country. . . .



*On August 25, 1968, a child plays in the park at October Revolution Square in Prague, alongside a Soviet tank. Dusan Neumann, Photographer.*

Source: US State Department Photo Archive, [http://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/4110/prague/prague12\\_001.jpg](http://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/4110/prague/prague12_001.jpg)

#### Soviet Invasion Renews the Cold War Chill

When, just over one month later, these forces invaded Czechoslovakia, events moved with dramatic swiftness. Within twelve hours, the brief flowering of Czechoslovakian independence was over.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia brought a renewed chill to the Cold War. Soviet control over Eastern Europe was reinforced. Détente was deferred and nascent arms control negotiations were cancelled.

Most affected were the people of Czechoslovakia, who saw an end to their hopes for a more open society.

There was no summer that year. The Prague Spring was followed by a Stalinist winter that lasted another 23 years.

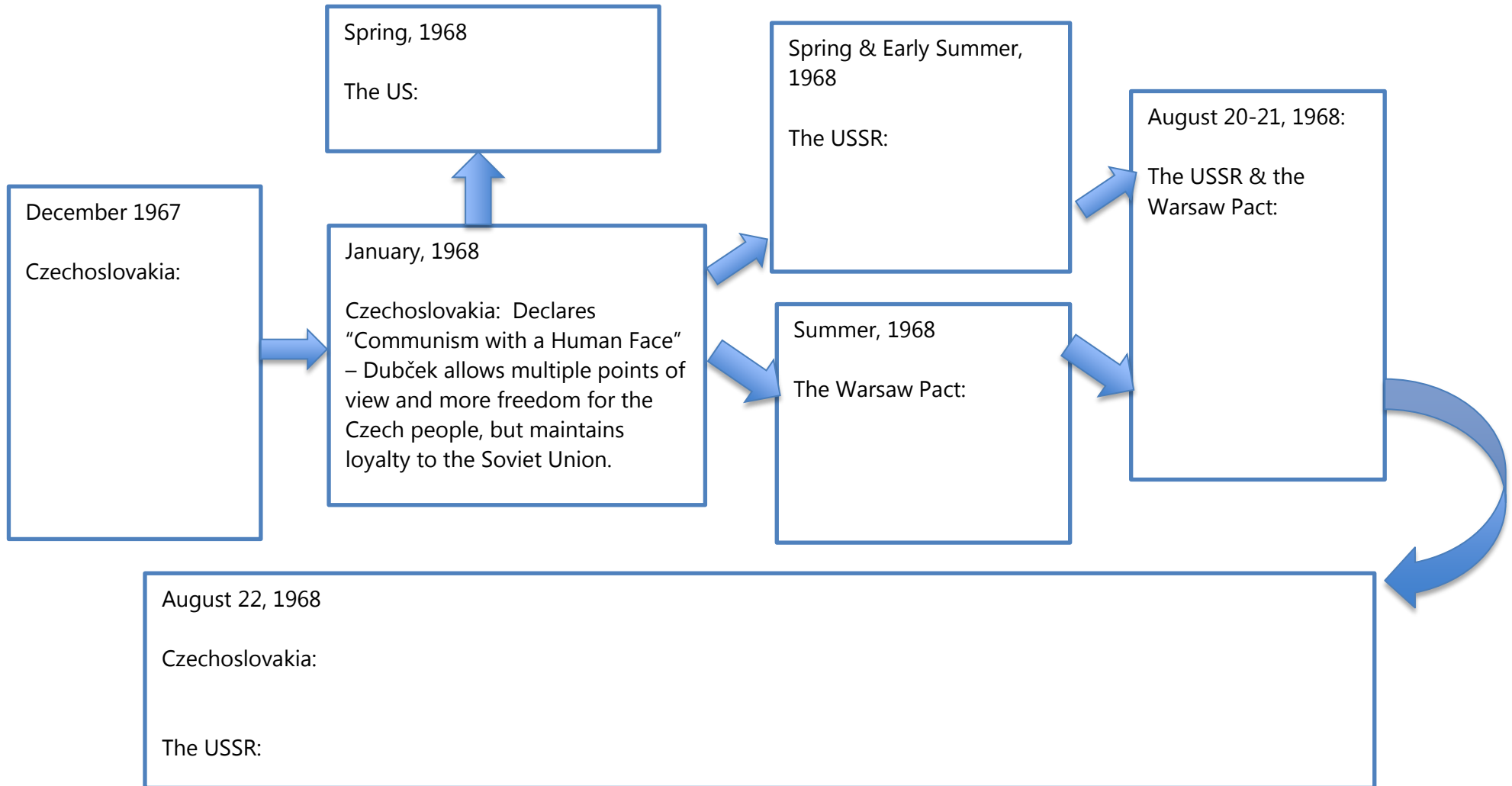


*Near the offices of Czech Radio, Soviet tanks burned out a barricade of vehicles built by defiant Czechoslovakians. Crowds surround the wreckage. Dusan Neumann, Photographer.*

Source: US State Department Photo Archive, <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/4110/prague/prague7.jpg>

**CWW3.3 Prague Spring & the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia** (Page 3 of 3)

*Directions:* After reading "Prague Spring & the Soviet Invasion," use the time markers (dates, seasons, etc.) that you highlighted in the reading to complete the following flow chart, filling in the actions of Czechoslovakia, the US, the Warsaw Pact, and the USSR, as detailed in the individual boxes below.





## CWW3.4 Role of the Media in Prague Spring, 1968 (Page 1 of 2)

*Background:* When Alexander Dubček took power in Czechoslovakia in December 1968, he quickly began a series of reforms to liberalize communist rule. One reform that angered the Soviet Union was Dubček's decision to allow more freedom of the press.

On May 12, 1968, an official of the Ukrainian Communist Party sent a report (excerpted below) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Ukraine was one of the republics of the U.S.S.R., located next to Czechoslovakia. This made it easy for Ukrainian secret police to watch TV programs from Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainians were essentially spying on events in Czechoslovakia and reporting to their Soviet bosses.

*Directions:* As you read the text below, first circle or highlight any behavior or actions that would challenge Soviet rule. Next, summarize these actions in the margin next to each paragraph. Finally, fill in the boxes on the next page by answering the following questions: 1) What events or actions threatened the Soviet Union? Why would these changes make the Soviet Union anxious? And 2) What role did the press play in the reform movement?

12 May 1968

Certain Items Featured in Czechoslovak Television Broadcasts and in the Newspaper "Rudé Právo":

. . . On 6 May the CSSR [Czechoslovak] minister of internal affairs published a directive ending the jamming of radio stations of foreign countries that transmit radio broadcasts for Czechoslovakia. According to the television, the society viewed this decision very favorably.

. . . A huge number of tourists from capitalist countries, especially from West Germany and Austria, are visiting Czechoslovakia every day. Some 50,000-55,000 tourists are arriving from the FRG [West Germany] and Austria every day. In coverage on Czechoslovak television at the end of April from an entry-exit border point, they reported that officials from the CSSR border guard organs [groups] are faithfully greeting West German tourists without making any attempt to check their belongings and documents. To cross the border, all a tourist has to do is stick his head out the window of a bus and show a paper to the border guard, who then smiles happily at him and wishes him a good time in Prague. The television correspondent emphasized the great "efficiency" of the border services and their hospitality to West German tourists.



*Angry Czechoslovakians surround the statue of the Czech religious reformer Jan Hus in Prague's Old Town Square. Someone has tied a blindfold around the statue's eyes. in Prague's Old Town Square of the great Czech theologian and reformer Jan Hus had been symbolically draped with a blindfold, Dusan Neumann, US State Department Photo Archives, <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/4110/prague/>.*

## CWW3.4 Role of the Media in Prague Spring, 1968 (Page 2 of 2)

... Thus, in a very direct way, Czechoslovakia is being permeated every day with spies, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet literature, religious objects of all sorts, and other such things. . . . In some reports from the border, they broadcast pictures showing the border guards removing barbed wire from installations along the border with West Germany and Austria. . . .

... At the 1st of May demonstration in Prague, Czechoslovak television prominently displayed one of the posters held by the column of demonstrators: "We demand an opposition party." A bit earlier, the television showed a group of public speakers who openly stated that they must do away with the dictatorship of the Communist party, create an opposition to the Communist party, and establish a new polity using the model of the English and American two-party system. . . .

... Elements hostile to socialism have penetrated the press organs, radio, and television. With censorship now lifted under the slogan of "broad information for the public," they are highlighting unsavory features and deficiencies in various spheres of social life and prison life as well as grave shortcomings in the military barracks. They have even seen fit to show tactical-technical data about Soviet tank production and its weak points. During the broadcast the viewers were informed that more information will be shown about other military technology in the future. . . .

... Systematic propaganda has been featured in "Rudé právo" and on radio and television about a new model of socialist democracy. The propaganda emphasizes that in this respect they have set out on an uncharted path that undoubtedly will earn broad support in the Western world. Incidentally, "Rudé právo" regularly features a compilation of reactions from around the world to the events in Czechoslovakia. Someone or other in the CSSR is especially happy about seeing praise in the bourgeois press.

Source: "Yu. Il'ytskyi Reports on Items from the Czechoslovak Media" May 12, 1968, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, TsDAHOU, F. 1, Op. 25, Spr. 28, Ll. 81-85. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/112167>.

1) What events or actions threatened the Soviet Union? Why would these changes make the Soviet Union anxious?

2) What role did the press play in the reform movement?

## CWW3.5 Prague Spring Archival Film

**Directions:** While you watch the video on the Prague Spring, take notes to answer the following questions.

<p>What is the source for this video? Do you think it is a reliable source? Why or Why not?</p>	
<p>What vantage point(s) does the cameraman who captured the video clips in 1968 appear to be at while shooting his video?</p>	<p>What age / gender do the people on the street appear to be? What are the people on the street doing?</p>
<p>What reaction do the Soviet troops seem to have when they notice they are being photographed?</p>	
<p>What can be learned from audio and visual sources that is not available or different from print materials?</p>	
<p>What point of view does this video represent? Give one piece of specific evidence from the video to support your answer.</p>	

## CWW3.6 The Brezhnev Doctrine (Page 1 of 2)

*Background:* The Soviet Union was harshly criticized for its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Soviets defended their actions by arguing that they were defending socialism. See below for two quotes – one from an article in *Pravda*, a Soviet state-sponsored newspaper and another from a speech given by Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev. Both quotes summarize a practice that became known as The Brezhnev Doctrine.

*Directions:* Soviet writers used special language to refer to social groups and historical movements. All writers use euphemisms, or “politically correct” terms that lessen harsh words. Listed below are coded phrases listed in the first article. As a class, we will first write down the actual meaning of the first few coded language phrases. Then, you will finish the “actual meaning” column on your own. We will come back as a class and do the same with the additional impact column. After analyzing both quotes below, summarize the Doctrine in the Soviet row of the Practice column of **CWW3.1 Comparing Principles and Practice**.

Source #1: “Sovereignty and International Duties of Socialist Countries,” by Sergei Kovalev in *Pravda*. September 25, 1968.

*The measures taken by the Soviet Union, jointly with other socialist countries, in defending the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people are of great significance for strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class. ... People who ‘disapprove’ of the actions of the allied socialist states are ignoring the decisive fact that these countries are defending the interests of all the world socialism, of the entire revolutionary movement.*

### Analyzing Coded Language in Kovalev’s Article

<b>Coded Language</b> <i>(Marxist terms, euphemisms)</i>	<b>Actual meaning</b>	<b>What additional impact does the coded language give to the reader?</b>
The measures taken by the Soviet Union		
other socialist countries		
the socialist gains of the Czechoslovak people		
strengthening the socialist community, which is the main achievement of the international working class		
the actions of the allied social states		
Defending the interests of all the world socialism, of the entire revolutionary movement		

Why do you think Kovalev used the word “socialism” so many times in a single sentence?

CWW3.6 "Sovereignty and International Duties of Socialist Countries" (Page 2 of 2)



**Leonid Brezhnev. "Speech at the 5<sup>th</sup> Party Congress of the Polish United Workers Party." November 12, 1968**

*"... when a threat arises to the cause of socialism in [a] country—a threat to the security of the socialist commonwealth as a whole—this is no longer merely a problem for that country's people, but a common problem, the concern of all socialist countries."*

*Richard M. Nixon and Leonid Brezhnev meeting during the Soviet Premier's 1973 visit to the U.S., 06/19/1973. Source: National Archives, ARC Identifier 194517*

In your own words, what do you think the Brezhnev Doctrine meant? How is it similar or different from the Truman Doctrine?



## CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong (Page 1 of 5)

China was in a unique position in the 1960s; it could belong to the Second World, because it was communist, or to the Third World, since it was recovering from imperialism and was not yet industrialized. The Chinese leader, Mao Zedong, tried to challenge the dominance of the Soviet Union over the Second World and to influence the Third World at the same time. From 1949, when the Chinese communists won the Chinese Civil War, until his death in 1976, Mao was the sole dictator of China.

Mao Zedong had led the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the long civil war against Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-Shek) and the Guomindang, or the Nationalist Party. Mao and the CCP took over the mainland of China and named their nation, "the People's Republic of China." The Soviet Union had given some support to Mao and the CCP, but the determination of the CCP and its popularity with the peasants were more important to the CCP's victory than the minimal help they received from the Soviets. The US supported the Guomindang. After its defeat in 1949, the Guomindang fled to Taiwan and set up a Nationalist



*Mao Tse-Tung, leader of China's Communists, addresses some of his followers., 12/06/1944. Source: National Archives, ARC Identifier 196235*



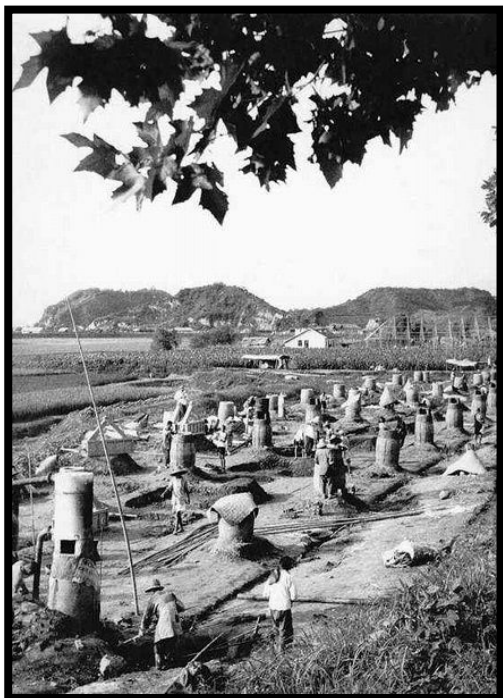
*80,000,000 Chinese Communists who inhabit thousands of square miles of Northern China and are ruled, in spite of the Kuomintang (Government of Free China) by Mao Tse-Tung and his Communist Armies., 12/01/1944. Source: FDR Presidential Library / National Archives. ARC Identifier 196234*

Party government there, with Jiang Jieshi as its first president. China was split into two nations. The US gave diplomatic recognition and military support to Taiwan, which took the name "the Republic of China." The US refused to recognize "Red China," the much larger mainland controlled by the communists. The Soviet Union gave diplomatic recognition and economic and military aid to the communist China. The dispute over the two Chinas was a major source of tension between the superpowers. When the Chinese army fought for North Korea in the Korean War, Americans became more fearful that communist China, with its 550 million people, would encourage the rest of Asia to fall to communism.

To bring about Marxian socialism, Mao Zedong first followed the Soviet path. Most of China's people were rural peasants, and many owned no land at all. A small number of wealthy landowners owned huge amounts of agricultural land in China. The CCP began with a Land Reform movement in 1950. The government took land away from the landlords and divided it

## CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong (Page 2 of 5)

among the local peasants. The CCP and local peasants killed more than one million landlords during the bitter campaign. In 1953, Mao's government began to force these peasants to join collective farms. The CCP nationalized private companies and introduced a Soviet-style Five Year Plan to industrialize the nation. The Communists also introduced equality for women, child-care and education programs, and other programs for peasants and workers. Hoping to help build a strong and independent modern China, many ordinary Chinese enthusiastically supported Mao's early reforms.



Mao believed that revolution had to continue or it would die. He believed that people had to be stirred to make more and more radical changes in society. He was also not pleased with Soviet leaders and did not want to follow orders from the Soviet Union. In 1958 he began a new program, the Great Leap Forward, which he said would industrialize China faster than Stalin had industrialized the Soviet Union. To accomplish this, the communist party reorganized Chinese farmers into giant communes and directed all agricultural planning. To bypass the lack of factories, Mao ordered peasants to make steel in "backyard furnaces." He mobilized the entire Chinese society for a giant, rapid economic transformation. The results were disastrous. The steel from the backyard furnaces was poor in quality. The commune's crops often failed, and there was a drastic food shortage. More than 20 million people starved to death. The failures forced Mao to abandon the Great Leap Forward project, and he lost the support of many party leaders.

Among common people, however, Mao was the face of the Communist Party. Chinese propaganda told the people that Mao was a visionary leader who would modernize China and guide each Chinese person in his or her daily life. Each Chinese schoolchild read the *Little Red Book*, a collection of Mao's sayings. Propaganda built up a "cult of personality" around Mao that was similar to the lavish praise of Stalin in the Soviet Union.

During the 1960s, Mao Zedong began to pull China away from the Soviet Union. He used Marxist ideas to condemn Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders for straying from the true path of Marxism. Mao argued that China, as the true communist power, should guide the Second World and Third World also. He held China up as a model for radical revolution, anti-imperialism and modernization for Third World revolutionaries. Following Mao's model, a poor Third World nation might transform itself into an industrial power in a mere 25 years.

In 1966, Mao Zedong launched a new radical project, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, to attack his opponents in the party and renew the revolution in China. He turned to the young people of China to attack corrupt party leaders and totally transform Chinese society. Trained to idolize Mao, these young people responded with enthusiasm. Organized into Red Guards and waving their Little Red Books, they were ordered to get rid of the "four olds" – old customs, old habits, old ideas, and old culture. They invaded party offices, libraries,



## CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong (Page 3 of 5)

temples and homes, destroying old art and books, beating up individuals. They targeted officials and party leaders, who were denounced on posters and in mass meetings, bound and forced to wear tall dunce caps, and then sent to the countryside “to learn from the peasants.” The actions of the Red Guards brought China’s economy and society to a halt. By late 1967, even Mao recognized that the Red Guards were out of control. He agreed to order the army to stop the disorder, send the young people in the Red Guards (now numbering 17 million) to different locations in the countryside. The army reestablished order, and the Cultural Revolution was over. The cost of the Cultural Revolution was very high, both for Mao and for China. Mao lost much of his control over the CCP. The Chinese economy was a wreck, and most Chinese people were now exhausted and disillusioned, with little faith in communism.

Mao’s final political project was to welcome President Richard Nixon to China in 1972. When Nixon realized that the Chinese had broken away from the Soviet Union, he saw the opportunity to divide the Second World by dividing its two main powers. As he was trying to end the Vietnam War, Nixon also wanted to change the older US policy of confronting communism to a new policy of Détente, a policy of “understanding” that would lessen Cold War tensions. Part of Nixon’s program was to begin nuclear arms limitation talks (SALT I) with the Soviet Union. Nixon offered to recognize the People’s Republic of China as the “real China,” rather than Taiwan. Nixon and Mao met in Beijing in 1972, and soon after the US officially recognized China. Mao died in 1976.



*President Nixon meets with China's Communist Party Leader, Mao Tse- Tung, 02/29/1972. Source: National Archives. ARC Identifier 194759*

### CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong (Page 4 of 5)

**Directions:** Each paragraph of the secondary source **CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong** describes one of Mao Zedong's projects, actions or programs. Read each paragraph and find the proper name of each project. (if there is more than one project described in the paragraph, choose the most important one.)

Cut out one box for each paragraph. In each, record:

- A. The proper name of the project
- B. A short description of the project
- C. An evaluation – was it success or a failure?

Now decide whether the project described in each paragraph is more radical than the project before it, or less radical. Paste or staple the box along the less radical-more radical continuum. Put each box  $\frac{1}{2}$ " below the box of the previous paragraph. Boxes may overlap if necessary.


CWW3.7 China under Mao Zedong (Page 5 of 5)

**Continuum of Mao Zedong's Projects**

Less

More

Radical

Radical





## CWW3.8.1: Carry on the Struggle



*Translation: "Carry the struggle on to the end to strike against the right deviationist wind of reversing verdicts."*

*Background Information: This poster was actually published after the end of the Cultural Revolution and after Mao's death. The Communist Party leaders were divided into moderates, such as Deng Xiaoping, and radicals, such as the Gang of Four, who wanted to continue Cultural Revolution policies. The radicals were angry because moderate leaders, whom they called "right deviationists," had reversed the verdicts against some party leaders who had been condemned during the Cultural Revolution.*

*Citation: Gui Runnan, "Carry the Struggle," April 1976, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. E13-860, <http://chineseposters.net/gallery/e13-860.php>.*

CWW3.8.2: Chairman Mao Loves Children



*Citation: A Zhi, Chairman Mao loves children (1), Sept. 1960, IISH/Stefan R. Landsbergher collection, no. BG D29/715, <http://chineseposters.net/gallery/d29-715.php>*



CWW3.8.3: To Villages We Go



Translation: To villages we go, to the borders we go, to places in the fatherland where we are most needed we go.

Citation: "To villages we go," Feb. 1970, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. E16-331

### CWW3.8.4: The Commune is Like a Gigantic Dragon



*Translation: The commune is like a gigantic dragon; production is noticeable [and] awe-inspiring.*

*Citation: Wu Shaoyun, "The Commune is like a gigantic dragon," Sept. 1959, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. BG E13-593, <http://chinese posters.net/posters/e13-593.php>.*



CWW3.8.5: Chairman Mao is the Great Liberator



Translation: Chairman Mao is the great liberator of the world's revolutionary people.

Background Information: Chinese propaganda emphasized that they could lead African nations in a struggle for equality because the Chinese were not white, like the Soviets were. Mao Tse Tung is an older way to write Mao Zedong in the Roman alphabet.

Citation: "Chairman Mao is the great liberator," April 1968. IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. BG G1-244, <http://chinese posters.net/gallery/g1-244.php>.



CWW3.8.6: Walk the Road of Dazhai



Translation: Walk the road of Dazhai.

*Background information:* This poster shows the leader, Chen Yonggui, of the village of Dazhai, which was held up as a national example. Following Mao's teachings, the peasants built terraces on mountainsides using only hand tools.

*Citation:* Qian Daxin, "Walk the road of Dazhai," April 1965, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. BG G2-52, <http://chinese posters.net/gallery/g2-52.php>.

CWW3.8.7: Transform the Hai River



*Translation: Transform the Hai River, temper yourself.*

*Background information: "Temper yourself" was a play on words, because workers temper steel during its manufacture.*

*Citation: Deng Ke, "Transform the Hai River," August 1958, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. BG G2-52, <http://chineseposters.net/gallery/g2-52.php>.*



## CWW3.8.8: Awakened Peoples



*Translation: Awakened peoples, you will certainly attain the ultimate victory!*

*Citation: Wen Bing, "Awakened Peoples," Sept. 1963, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. BG E15-879, <http://chineseposters.net/gallery/e15-879.php>.*

CWW3.8.9: The Eastern Sea is Red



*Translation: Imperialism and all reactionary forces are paper tigers.*

*Background Information: The Eastern Sea is another name for the Pacific Ocean.*

*Citation: "Eastern Sea is Red," January 1971, IISH/Stefan R. Landsberger collection, no. BG E13-860, <http://chinese posters.net/gallery/e13-860.php>.*

### CWW3.9 Propaganda Analysis: Posters and Quotes from Mao (Page 1 of 4)

**Directions:** Listed below are quotes which appeared in Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book*. Look at the posters hung around the classroom. Which propaganda poster fits the each quote best? Analyze the poster you have chosen using the following questions:

1. What symbols did the artist use and what does each symbol stand for? (Include at least three symbols.)
2. What was the message of the poster?
3. What was the historical context of the poster? (Choose among the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution and Mao's Leadership of the Third World.)

Write answers to the questions in the second column (Image Analysis). Then explain how the quote matches the poster. Be prepared to defend your explanation to the class.

Quotation from "Little Red Book"	Image Analysis	Explanation of why the quote fits the image
<p>Take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses, persevere in the ideas and carry them through, so as to form correct ideas of leadership - such is the basic method of leadership.</p>		



### CWW3.9 Propaganda Analysis: Posters and Quotes from Mao (Page 2 of 4)

Quotation from "Little Red Book"	Poster No. and Title Image Analysis	Explanation of why the quote fits the image
<p>You [workers and soldiers] are the models for the whole Chinese nation, the backbone of the victorious advance of the people's cause in all spheres, pillars of support to the People's Government and bridges linking the People's Government with the great masses.</p>		
<p>Every Communist must grasp the truth, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."</p>		
<p>All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.</p> <p>(Reactionary: anyone opposed to communist revolution)</p>		

### CWW3.9 Propaganda Analysis: Posters and Quotes from Mao (Page 3 of 4)

Quotation from “Little Red Book”	Poster No. and Title Image Analysis	Explanation of why the quote fits the image
<p>Learn to “play the piano.” In playing the piano, all ten fingers are in motion; it won’t do to move some fingers only and not others. But if all ten fingers press down at once, there is no melody. To produce good music, the ten fingers should move rhythmically and in co-ordination.</p>		
<p>Riding roughshod everywhere, US imperialism has made itself the enemy of the people of the world and has increasingly isolated itself. The atom bombs and hydrogen bombs in the hands of the US imperialists will never cow those who refuse to be enslaved.</p>		
<p>Our [Communists’] duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people’s interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected - that is what being responsible to the people means.</p>		

### CWW3.9 Propaganda Analysis: Posters and Quotes from Mao (Page 4 of 4)

Quotation from "Little Red Book"	Poster No. and Title Image Analysis	Explanation of why the quote fits the image
<p>Place problems on the table. This should be done not only by the "squad leader" but by the committee members too. Do not talk behind people's backs. Whenever problems arise, call a meeting, place the problem on the table for discussion, take some decisions and the problems will be solved.</p>		
<p>The Communist Party does not fear criticism because we are Marxists, the truth is on our side, and the basic masses, the workers and the peasants, are on our side.</p>		
<p>Be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at the lower levels before you issue orders.</p> <p>(Cadre: communist party leader)</p>		

### CWW3.10 Chile Statistics, 1970 (Page 1 of 2)

*Directions: Refer to the following table, World Statistics in 1970, and complete the following questions to understand Chile's economy in comparison with First and Second World countries.*

	Chile	First World (United States)	Second World (Afghanistan*)
GDP per capita			
Passenger cars			
Population			
Population growth rate			
Mortality rate of children under 5			

Question, if you were the president of Chile in 1970, what would your agenda be for the nation? Rank the following priorities from 1 to 5. #1 on your agenda should address what you and your group decide is the most pressing problem your nation and your people face. #5 should address the least important problem. Be prepared to explain your choices to the class.

- \_\_\_ Raise exports and investments to increase the GDP
- \_\_\_ Raise the income of poor people
- \_\_\_ Improve health care and education
- \_\_\_ Control population growth
- \_\_\_ Fight the Cold War

\*Records more complete for China than Soviet Union.

## CWW3.10 Chile Statistics, 1970 (Page 2 of 2)

	<b>GDP Per Capita (current US\$)</b>	<b>Passenger Cars in Use</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Population Growth Rate</b>	<b>Mortality Rate of Children Under 5 (per 1000 live births)</b>	<b>Children in Primary &amp; Secondary School</b>
<b>Afghanistan</b>	146	36,000	14,800,000	2.46	309.3	649,000
<b>Algeria</b>	354	143,000	14,300,000	3	198.7	2,137,000
<b>Cambodia</b>	104	26,000	7,000,000	1.8	N/A	421,000
<b>Chile</b>	938	176,000	9,300,000	1.86	81.6	2,353,000
<b>China</b>	112	N/A	829,900,000	2.76	116.6	132,000,000
<b>Cuba</b>	654	72,000	8,500,000	1.75	40.5	1,717,000
<b>Czechoslovakia</b>	N/A	826,000	14,300,000	-0.38	N/A	2,362,000
<b>Ethiopia</b>	N/A	40,000	24,600,000	2.66	230.3	781,000
<b>France</b>	2819	12,900,000	50,700,000	0.76	18.2	7,918,000
<b>Guatemala</b>	350	43,000	5,200,000	2.69	172.4	580,000
<b>Hungary</b>	536	240,000	10,300,000	0.37	43.4	1,463,000
<b>India</b>	115	627,000	539,000,000	2.25	189.2	76,200,000
<b>Japan</b>	2004	6,277,000	104,300,000	1.13	17.6	18,441,000
<b>Kenya</b>	142	58,000	11,200,000	3.47	152.9	1,555,000
<b>Philippines</b>	189	279,000	36,800,000	2.87	87.8	8,688,000
<b>South Africa</b>	808	1,545,000	22,400,000	2.17	139.5	4,270,000
<b>Soviet Union</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.56	40.4	N/A
<b>United States</b>	4998	89,200,000	205,000,000	1.16	23.1	50,761,000
<b>West Germany</b>	N/A	13,941,000	60,600,000	N/A	N/A	8,590,000
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	362	127,000	5,300,000	3.32	118.5	747,000



## CWW3.11 Chile in 1973: Background (Page 1 of 3)

By 1970, Chile had deep divisions in its society despite its democratic government since 1925. The elite controlled the government and the economy, while a majority of poor people labored in fields and industries. A small group of very wealthy landowners called patrons owned most of the land in Chile. They controlled jobs and opportunities and expected peasants to be loyal and subservient to them. Even with a strong union movement in Chile, most workers received low wages and had few benefits. Chile mainly exported raw materials, chief being copper. Its most important trading partner was the US, and from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, US companies owned copper mines, businesses and banks located in the country. Chile's economy depended on the flow of capital and imports from the US and exports of copper and other raw materials to the US. Chilean socialists and communists compared the dependence of Chile's economy on the US to Yankee imperialism. Its industries were inefficient and old-fashioned, and the GDP either grew weaker in some years or actually declined in other years. Chile suffered from persistent inflation, prices increased as wages declined in value.



*Photograph of the President and Mrs. Truman with President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla of Chile and his wife, in formal attire, during the Chilean President's visit to the United States., 04/14/1950?.*

*Source: National Archives, ARC Identifier # 200209.*

Chile's many political parties ranged from the right (most conservative) to the left (most radical). The National Party (Partido Nacional) was the most right-wing party and its members were interested in preserving the power of industrialists and patrons. The party resisted laws protecting labor, union activity, and government spending for the poor. The US supported Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano), a centrist group. It followed the US "Alliance for Progress" program of economic reforms to build the national economy by attracting foreign investment. The two largest groups on the left were Marxist, the Socialists and the Communists, with differing interpretations of Marx's ideas (and the actions of existing communist nations). Socialists, such as Salvador Allende, wanted a "workers' government" but sought to bring about that revolution by peaceful methods, through elections, strikes and other union activity. The Communist Party followed the "Moscow line;" it followed and supported Soviet policies. In the 1960s Salvador Allende unified the Socialists and Communists into the "Popular Unity" coalition, which promised to nationalize the copper mines and bring socialism through peaceful revolution. The Popular Unity coalition combined Marxist ideas with Third World ideas of anti-imperialism and nationalism. Two US multinational corporations, Anaconda Copper and Kennecott, owned Chile's copper mines. The working class supported nationalizing the copper mines. Allende promised that the wealth these US companies gained from Chilean copper would benefit Chile. While Popular Unity did intend to increase benefits to workers and peasants, and bring more government control over the

## CWW3.11 Chile in 1973: Background (Page 2 of 3)



Marchers for Allende, James N. Wallace, Photographer. September 5, 1964. *US News & World Report Photographs*. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004666289/>

economy, Allende promised to increase democratic participation of people in the government and preserve private property ownership for the middle class.<sup>1</sup>

Because of Chile's economic problems and the inability of past presidents to resolve them, the number of peasants voting in elections grew. They increased the Popular Unity coalition's strength. Finally in 1970, the Popular Unity coalition won 36% of the vote, compared to 34% for the National Party and 27% for the Christian Democratic Party. Salvador Allende became president of Chile.

As president of Chile, Allende began a "Chilean road to socialism." He nationalized the copper mines and increased wages for all workers. However, Chile's economy quickly broke down in three years: 1) inflation raged out of control; 2) the value of wages decreased by 50%; and 3) unions went on strike. Most historians think that the economic problems came from a combination of poor government policies and negative pressures from the US government and multinational corporations. The Soviet Union gave no financial support to Allende's government.

Firmly against Allende, President Richard Nixon determined to undermine his presidency. Promising to "make the economy scream," Nixon cut off all US aid to Chile, and told the World Bank and International Monetary Fund not to loan money to Chile.<sup>2</sup> US corporations refused to do business with Chile. The CIA financed newspapers to oppose Allende and made contacts with military officers to encourage a coup, short for coup d'état, a French term meaning "cut off the head." In a coup, the military seizes the president and his supporters, removes him from power by killing or imprisoning him, and takes control of the government. In all, the CIA spent \$8 million to destabilize Allende's government.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 53-69.

<sup>2</sup> Hal Brands, *Latin America's Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 117.

<sup>3</sup> Alan McPherson, *Intimate Ties, Bitter Struggles: the United States and Latin America Since 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2006, 77-8.

## CWW3.11 Chile in 1973: Background (Page 3 of 3)

By 1973, Allende's government had lost much of its support due to the economic downturn. Under General Augusto Pinochet, a group of military officers launched a coup in September 1973. Tanks rolled into the capital and bombed the presidential palace. Allende either committed suicide or was killed in the attack, and the military killed at least 1200 of his supporters. Pinochet set up a new government and threatened to execute anyone with a "belligerent attitude."<sup>4</sup> Nixon recognized the new government immediately and began sending large economic loans.

Pinochet established an extremely repressive regime. It murdered more than 3100 people. Another 1100 disappeared and were never heard from again after they had been arrested. Pinochet's forces arrested, jailed and tortured more many people. For the next 17 years, Chileans lived under fear and repression as the military controlled the government.

*Discussion Questions:* With your group, discuss each of the following questions. Each group will need to be prepared to provide answers to one or more questions, citing specific evidence from the reading above.

1. What were the most significant problems facing Chile in 1970?
2. What groups were in the Popular Unity coalition led by Salvador Allende? What was its agenda for Chile?
3. In what ways did Allende agree with the communist principles of the Soviet Union? In what ways did his policies differ from the principles of the Soviet Union?
4. What support did Allende receive from the Soviet Union?
5. In what ways did Allende's policies violate US principles?
6. What actions did the US take to undermine Allende's government?
7. What is a coup?
8. What effect did the September 1973 coup have on Chile?

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<sup>4</sup> McPherson, 78.



## CWW3.12 Nixon's National Security Council (page 1 of 2)

The following is an excerpt from notes from Nixon's National Security Council meeting on November 9, 1970, shortly after the election of Salvador Allende. Read the text below and then fill in the sentence deconstruction chart on the next page.



"... the President has decided ... that (1) the public posture of the United States will be correct but cool... but that (2) the United States will seek to maximize pressures on the Allende government to prevent its consolidation and limit its ability to implement policies contrary to US and hemisphere interests.

Specifically, the President has directed that... necessary actions be taken to:

- a. Exclude, to the extent possible, further financing assistance or guarantees for US private investment in Chile...
- b. Determine the extent to which existing guarantees and financing arrangements can be terminated or reduced;
- c. Bring maximum feasible influence to bear in international financial institutions to limit credit or other financing assistance to Chile....
- d. Assure that US private business interests having investments or operations in Chile are made aware of the concern with which the US government views the government of Chile and the restrictive nature of the policies which the US government intends to follow.

Sources:

For text: *The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*, ed. Jussi Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 401-402.

For image: Official Presidential portrait. Profile shot of Richard M. Nixon seated in the oval office., 09/02/1970. Source: National Archives, ARC Identifier # 194328



### CWW3.12 Nixon's National Security Council (page 1 of 2)

Time Marker or Connector	Subject	Verb or verb phrase	What?	Questions
	The President		necessary actions	
		be taken to exclude, to the extent possible,	further financing arrangements or guarantees for US private investments in Chile...	Who will be taking these actions?
			the extent	
to which	existing guarantees and financing arrangements			
		bring maximum pressure to bear	in international financial institutions	Who will US government officials talk to? What will they say?
			credit or other financing assistance to Chile	
		Assure		
That		are made aware	of the concern	
with which		views		
and			the restrictive nature of the policies which the US government intends to follow.	
	the US government			

What weapons did the US use to fight against Allende's socialist government?

What do these weapons show about the power of the US government in the world economy?



Did Nixon's practices violate any American principles? If so, which ones?

How would Nixon defend the use of these practices?

### CWW3.13 President Allende's 1972 UN Speech (Page 1 of 4)

*Editor's note: On December 4, 1972, Chilean President Salvador Allende addressed a general session of the United Nations in New York. An excerpt from that speech is reprinted below, a full copy of the speech is available from the United Nations: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL7/202/82/PDF/NL720282.pdf?OpenElement>*

*Directions: As you read the speech, comment on the left side about the possible reaction of communist regimes to the ideas Allende discusses. On the right side, comment about the possible reaction of the United States and other liberal democratic regimes.*

 Likely Soviet Response	Quote #1	 Likely US Response
	<p>We had to put an end to the situation where we Chileans, struggling against poverty and stagnation, were forced to export huge amounts of capital for the benefit of the most powerful market economy in the world. The nationalization of our basic resources constituted a historical act of reclamation. Our economy could no longer tolerate the state of subordination implied in the concentration of more than 80 per cent of its exports in the hands of a small group of large, foreign companies that have always placed their own interests before the needs of the countries in which they were making exorbitant profits. . . .</p>	

### CWW3.13 President Allende's 1972 UN Speech (Page 2 of 4)

*Editor's note: On December 4, 1972, Chilean President Salvador Allende addressed a general session of the United Nations in New York. An excerpt from that speech is reprinted below, a full copy of the speech is available from the United Nations:*

<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL7/202/82/PDF/NL720282.pdf?OpenElement>



*Directions: As you read the speech, comment on the left side about the possible reaction of communist regimes to the ideas Allende discusses. On the right side, comment about the possible reaction of the United States and other liberal democratic regimes.*

 Likely Soviet Response	Quote #2	 Likely US Response
	<p>In July the world was shocked to learn the details of a new plan of action which the ITT itself presented to the United States Government, a plan aimed at overthrowing my Government within a period of six months. I have in my briefcase the document, dated October 1971, which contains the 18 points of that plan. The objectives of the plan included strangling the country's economy, diplomatic sabotage, sowing panic among the population and fomenting social disorder so that the Government would, it was hoped, lose control of the situation and the armed forces would be impelled to break the democratic system and impose a dictatorship. . . . Before the conscience of the world I accuse the ITT [International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation] of attempting to bring about civil war in my country, the greatest possible source of disintegration of a country. That is what we call imperialist intervention. . . .</p>	

### CWW3.13 President Allende's 1972 UN Speech (Page 3 of 4)

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*Directions: As you read the speech, comment on the left side about the possible reaction of communist regimes to the ideas Allende discusses. On the right side, comment about the possible reaction of the United States and other liberal democratic regimes.*



 Likely Communist Response	Quote #3	 Likely Democratic Response
	<p>We are witnessing a pitched battle between the great transnational corporations and sovereign States, for the latter's fundamental political, economic and military decisions are being interfered with by world-wide organizations which are not dependent on any single State and which, as regards the sum total of their activities, are not accountable to or regulated by any parliament of institution representing the collective interest. In a word, the entire political structure of the world is being undermined.</p>	



### CWW3.13 President Allende's 1972 UN Speech (Page 4 of 4)

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*Directions: As you read the speech, comment on the left side about the possible reaction of communist regimes to the ideas Allende discusses. On the right side, comment about the possible reaction of the United States and other liberal democratic regimes.*

 Likely Communist Response	Quote #4	 Likely Democratic Response
	<p>The aggression that we are suffering makes it seem illusory to give any credence to the promises that have been made in recent years regarding large-scale action to bring the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America out of their backwardness and want. . . . That is the tragedy of under-development and the tragedy of our countries, which have not yet been able to claim our rights and, through vigorous concerted action, protect the prices of raw materials and commodities and withstand the threats and aggressions of neo-imperialism.</p>	

## CWW3.14 Interpreting President Allende's 1972 UN Speech

Directions: With your group members, complete this worksheet together.

Quote Summary (write three main ideas)	How does this quote oppose the First and Second World Orders?	How does this quote support a Third Way?
Quote #1 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>		
Quote #2 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>		
Quote #3 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>		
Quote #4 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> <li>•</li> </ul>		

## CWW3.15 Comparing Principles to Practice (Redux)

*Directions:* Earlier in this lesson, you began to collect information about the practices in the first, second, and third world orders during the Cold War, looking in-depth at race in the United States (as a representative of the first world order), the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and China under Mao (both examples of the second world order), and Chile under Salvador Allende (as a representative of the third way). We've reprinted the chart below. Review your notes in the right-hand column, making sure you've clearly detailed similarities and differences from the principles in the left-hand column. After you complete the chart, answer the following, using specific evidence from the chart to support your answer, in no more than 200 words: *What is the relationship between principles and practice in each of the three world orders? Do principles inform practices? Do practices undermine principles? Explain.*

