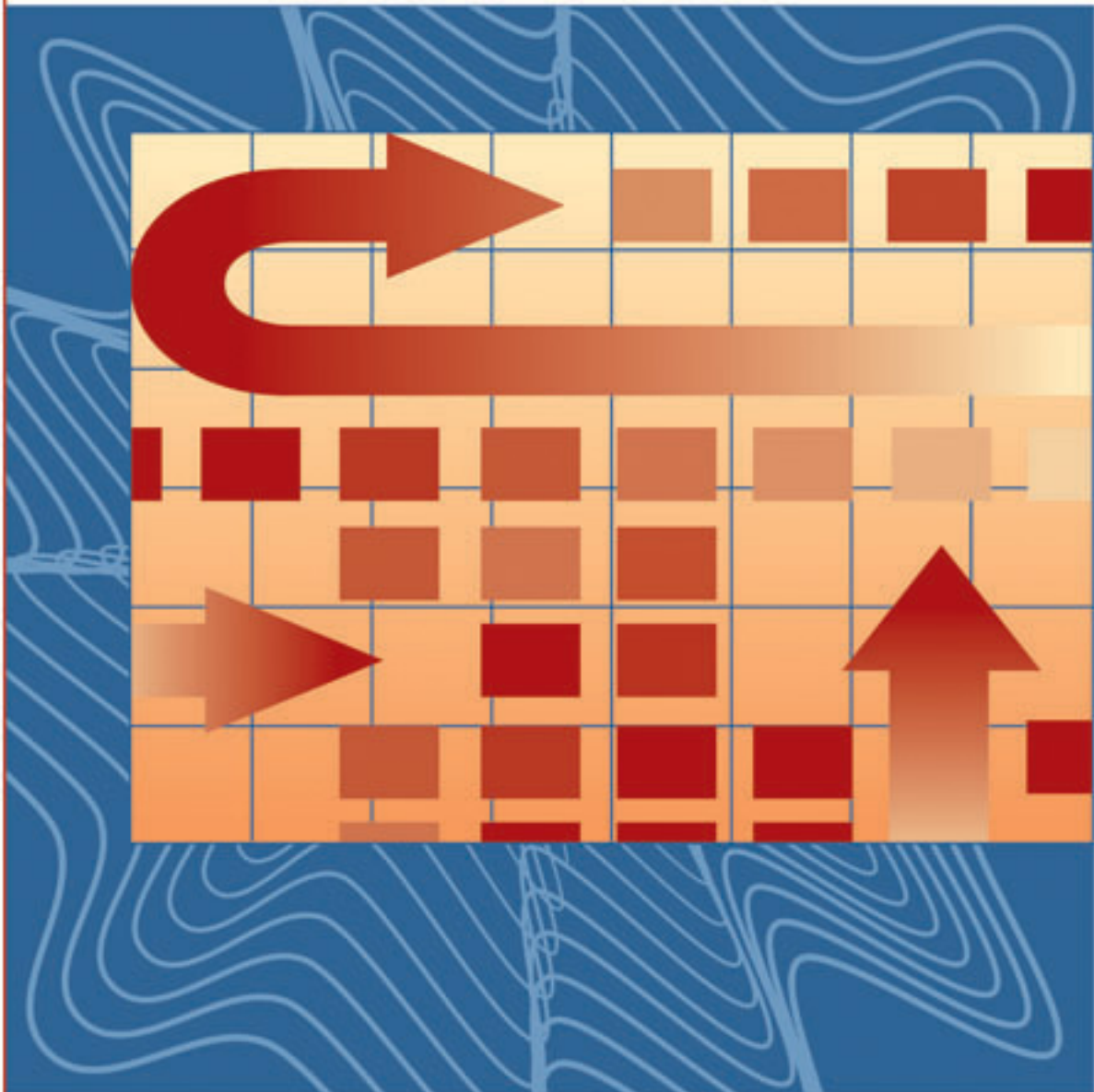


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AMERICAN HISTORY ACTIVATORS



20th Century—Volume 2: 1950–1979

American History Activators

Cold War through Iranian Hostage Crisis

By Bill Lacey, Kevin Wallace, and Robin Lovec





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This work is a revised edition of *American History Activators: 20th Century—Volume 2: 1950–1979* (1995). Every Activator now has an extensive new section, "Historical Investigation Activity," written specifically to align with Common Core State Standards.

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Welcome to American History Activators

Cold War through Iranian Hostage Crisis

Immerse students in living history as you introduce
seven major milestones in American history.

Whether used as lead-ins to upcoming lessons or as
wrap-up activities, these mini-simulations provide your
students with experiences that will shape their
historical perceptions and positively enhance
their understanding of past, current, and future events.

Each of the seven units is brief, requires little preparation,
and includes a ready-to-use lesson, background essay,
narration, and postscript. Each unit concludes
with a corresponding Common Core-based
historical investigation activity, which utilizes students'
historical thinking skills and provides a driving question
with primary and secondary sources for analysis.

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Introduction

Purpose

These simple-to-use Activators supplement your U.S. History classes and immerse your students in “living history” situations. Students get up from their desks, move around in different classroom configurations, and find themselves drawn into history that becomes compellingly real. For a variety of reasons, students seem to function better and learn more when actively engaged. American History Activators provide brief, clever, and exciting experiences for your students.

What Are Activators?

Activators possess three common elements, which embody a philosophical foundation.

1. Activators are simple and brief and require little background reading or preparation. Most Activators take one to two class periods.
2. Duplication requirements are minimal. Brief essays read and visual schematics displayed can provide all the background information students need.
3. Activators involve most, if not all, of your students, even those of limited English fluency.

Special Lessons

American History Activators provide experiences that shape students’ historical perceptions and positively enhance their understanding of past, current, and future events. As you introduce the units to your students, help them to understand that we re-create history because doing so has an inherent value.

- **Be Prepared.** Be sure to read the **Setup, Directions,** and **Lesson Plan** options thoroughly before introducing the Activator to your students. Enlist students’ help in setting the scene within the classroom.
- **Reinforce Student Response.** During the action of an Activator, your students are involved in issues and events. When students make personal comments, either in class or during the **Debriefing**, praise them for their astute remarks. Your reinforcement of their experiences emphasizes for all students that history is real because it touches them. Above all, express your pleasure that students are so involved.



Teaching tip

Every student in your class will be standing, walking, marching, crawling, lying down, negotiating, plotting, and perhaps even “flying” as participants at crucial turning points in the development of our country.



Teaching tip

An Activator provides memorable experiences that your students will retain long after other school events fade.

Activating History

Lessons in the traditional social studies classroom embody mainly visual and auditory learning. However, many students learn more effectively in kinesthetic situations. Activators emphasize the use of body movement, or the kinesthetic learning style often seen in skilled athletes, dancers, and actors. Perhaps students respond so positively and energetically to classes in physical education, shop, art, or home economics, not to mention extracurricular activities, because they can move around and socialize as they learn. Kinesthetic learning can be underutilized in social studies, yet this form of active learning generates highly effective and often indelible lessons.

Ability Levels

Activators are appropriate to use for various grade and ability levels and appeal to a wide variety of student learning styles. Activators follow the thesis: "Keep it simple and get kids up and moving."

Gifted Students. Most gifted students love to play roles. They will probably ad lib dialogue with great success. Some gifted students are natural directors.

Drama Students. Tap your drama students to play the pivotal roles. Allow them time to rehearse, and document the performance by filming it.

Middle School Students. Spend some time before and after the action of the Activator explaining the whys of the event dramatized. Also, it is suggested that you tap your best and brightest to perform the key roles.

Lower Ability and Limited English Students. These two groups of students appreciate and respond well to the kinesthetic learning of Activators. Rehearse two or more times. Do not proceed with the action of the Activator until everyone knows exactly what will occur and when.

Grouping Students

Activators promote the concept of "students as workers and teachers as managers and facilitators." Activators allow students to participate in their learning in ways that are often unfamiliar to them. Consider the following when planning the action of an Activator:

- **Division of the Class and Assignment of Roles.** Take into account individual ability, gender balance, maturity, and ethnic diversity.
- **Student Directors.** You may select four or five student directors early in the school year to rotate responsibilities for a series of Activators. Allow each director three or four days to prepare for his or her Activator. Meet with the cadre before and after the action of the first Activator. Review your standards and expectations for the Activators. Grant enough latitude so they may apply their talents—and their time—fully.

- **Small Group Responsibility.** Divide your students into six groups of five or six. Put each group in charge of an Activator scheduled during the academic year. Allow each group three or four days to prepare for their Activator. Meet with the class before and after the action of the first Activator. Review your standards and expectations for the Activators. Select, or allow each group to select, the Director.

Time Allotment

Activators vary somewhat in length—from one to two or more class periods, depending on how extensive your preparations and **Debriefing**. Other variables include class ability, grade level, the Activator itself, which Lesson Plan option you choose to use, and time for rehearsals. Whatever you decide, Activator lessons are worth the time spent and pay dividends later.

Room Arrangement

Most Activators require that you move your classroom furniture around to accommodate the action. Experience proves that changing the room's configuration offers students a fresh perspective, and provides a welcome change to the daily routine. If you are a teacher who uses cooperative learning teams, your students are probably veteran furniture movers. Project the provided **Schematic** as a guide, and have students quickly move the desks, tables, and chairs.

Teaching Options

Most Activators include two or more options for how to conduct each **Lesson Plan**. Study the options carefully, and decide which one or combination will work best with your students, time constraints, classroom configuration, and administrative support.

Debriefing

A debriefing discussion of the action of the Activator is crucial to help students place the Activator lesson in the context of your course content and to ensure that they grasp the relevance of their experiences. Each Activator includes short and long debriefing suggestions. Study these options carefully and select one or more that reinforce your teaching objectives, or develop your own debriefing topics.

- Consider dividing your class into cooperative learning groups to sort out the debriefing points you decide are appropriate. Take into account individual ability, gender balance, maturity, and ethnic diversity in setting up these groups.
- For closure to the Activator lesson, an essay encompassing the event would be appropriate.

Learning Logs

A **Learning Log** is a special section of students' notebooks. Teachers using the Learning Log process in their classes often set aside five minutes at the end of certain—sometimes all—class periods.

- Students may write down exactly what happened in class, what they specifically did, and how they felt about what happened.
- Students may write in response to a writing prompt that you devise or that is provided in the **Debriefing**.

Visual History

Note the suggestions found in the **Resources to consult** section of the **Lesson Plan**. Commercial films or television programs sometimes include memorable scenes re-created from history. Even without an overall story line, these scenes can effectively communicate complex and compelling history. When you know of such a scene in a film or documentary, consider obtaining the film and sharing the experience with your students. Limit the time involved to less than 15 minutes.

Flourishes

Activators themselves might be considered flourishes that supplement regular classroom lectures and reading. Yet, additional touches can enhance each Activator **Lesson Plan**. Students tend to forget most of what we think are teacher gems; instead they latch onto some strange and clever magical moments. Consider the following suggestions:

1. Find some music representative of the historical era to play as the students arrange the classroom for the action of the Activator.
2. Provide a glossary of words from the **Background Essay**, the **Narration**, or the **Postscript**. Ask for definitions after the activity.
3. If you have time, you or your students may create some historical ambiance with posters or graphics.
4. Assign one group to create an alternative scenario based on the events of the Activator.
 - Assume the opposite happened (e.g., Rosa Parks obeyed the bus driver, *Apollo 11* never reached the moon, etc.)
 - Change history and explore a series of “what ifs?”
 - Require that students present a different version of the **Postscript**.

5. If possible, dim the lights and use a bright light source—like a spotlight—to focus on the main participants during the action. Later, focus the light on the individual history-makers as you read and discuss the **Postscript**.
6. Find images dealing with the event in books or on the Internet and project five to ten of these during the **Debriefing**.

Evaluation

Although your students may expect to earn incentive certificates, classroom money, or grades, it is suggested that you focus on these subtler means of assessing student achievements:

- **Comments during Debriefing.** When your students make personal comments during the **Debriefing** about their anger, compassion, or perception, other students will hear and usually respond. History becomes immediate and personal, not distant and impersonal.
- **Learning Logs.** Require, or make it an extra credit option, that students write in their Learning Logs at the end of each Activator experience.

When to Use Activators

Many experts in educational motivation believe that enrichment or experiential activity should happen after students study and “master” the material. Others believe that enrichment activity can be an effective motivator, stimulating students’ interest, and generating enthusiasm prior to introducing material.

Every lesson presents its own demands for the appropriate dramatic and relevant moment for introducing a related Activator. Some Activators serve as review units to sum up major events of a particular historical era. Other Activators serve to crystallize national or individual motivations that had a significant impact on the historical era.

In any case, these simple and easy-to-use American History Activators will spark your other lessons, enthuse your students, and break up the routine of an academic classroom without requiring a large commitment of your preparation time or actual classroom time.

Historical Investigation Activities

This last component affords opportunities for students to utilize historical thinking skills—as part of the Common Core State Standards (CCSS)—and is an excellent way to fashion an appropriate and effective closer to each Activator. You will find at the end of each Activator a **Historical Investigation Activity** lesson that requires your students to become history detectives, sorting out facts and points of view from brief but carefully selected primary- and

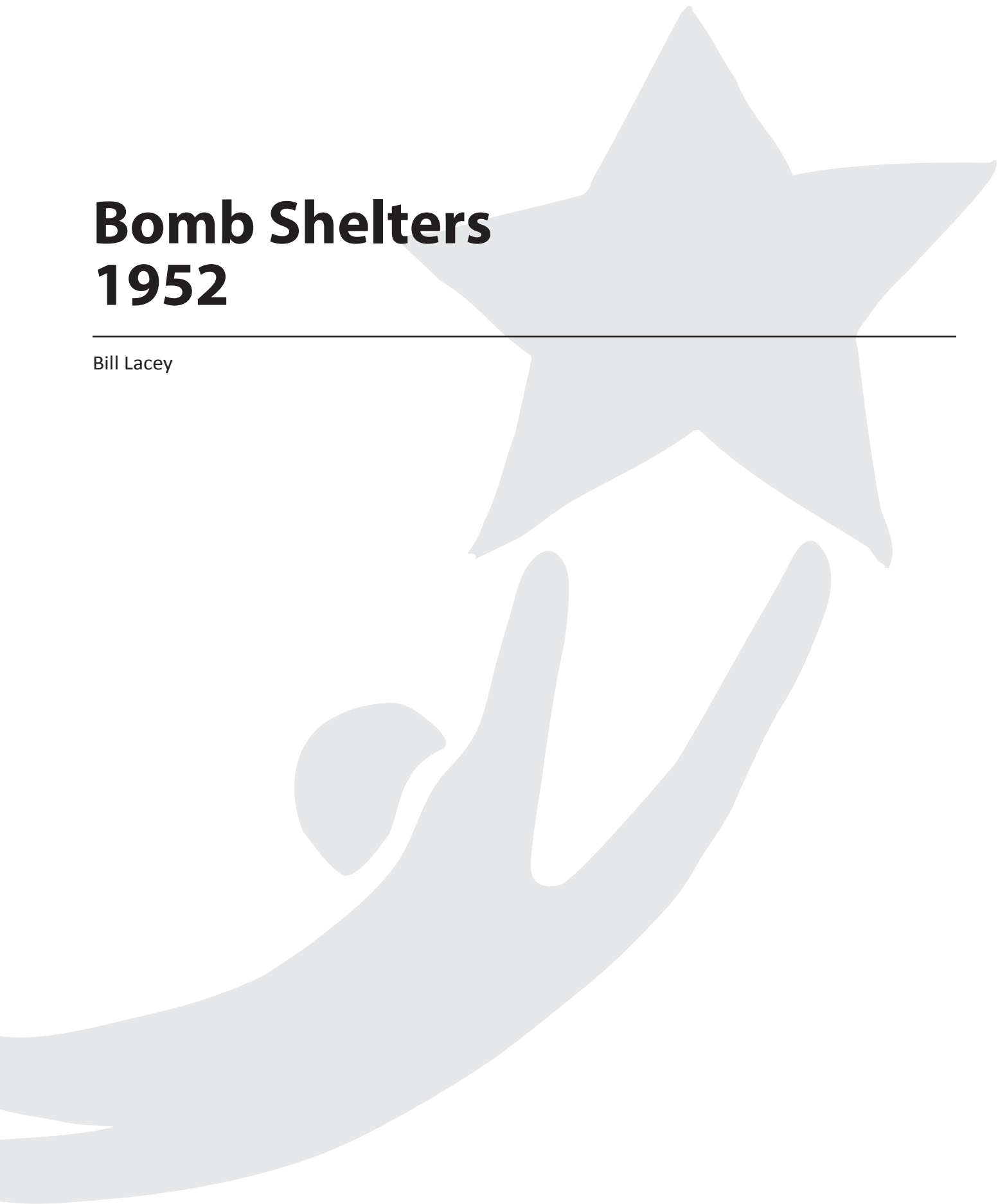
secondary-source documents. A **Focus Question** drives student inquiry (e.g., “Rock ‘n’ Roll: Did it play a major role in improving race relations during the early civil rights movement?”).

This valuable coda to the Activators allows you and your students to go beyond textbooks and the short essays and dramatizations of events by examining the “raw materials” of history. Examining the documents, students delve into thought-provoking controversies and at the same time sharpen the tools that are the staples of historical investigation: evaluating evidence and making well-reasoned arguments while drawing conclusions about events in world history.

By reading like historians through letters, speeches, diaries, communiqués, etc., students confront a “rich diet” of conflicting interpretations in sources that can only help advance their literacy and promote healthy skepticism. Hopefully, this practice will generate a set of transferable critical-thinking skills for students, who by using these skills can withstand throughout their lives the bombardment of the ploys of various “snake-oil salesmen.”

Bomb Shelters 1952

Bill Lacey



Lesson Plan

Overview

This Activator involves your students in the Communist hysteria of the early 1950s, a time when the cold-war rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed on the brink of heating up to a nuclear attack by one side or the other. As a precaution to the possibility of sudden air attack by the Russians, many Americans—exact numbers will never be known since secrecy was vital to the owner—constructed bomb or fallout shelters. Your students will form families of the 1950s and decide, once the attack seems imminent, what to do about aggressive neighbors, their food supplies, and what to stock in their shelters to while away the hours until they reemerge days or weeks later.

Setup

1. Duplication

- **Background Essay**—class set
- **Postscript**—class set

- #### 2. Schematic, props, set, costumes:
- Study the **Schematic** carefully. Make a simulated, three-dimensional “bomb shelter” out of cardboard. (Refrigerator boxes are ideal.) Place obstacles nearby (see the **Schematic**) so that family members will have to “crawl underground” to enter and leave it. Finally, if possible, encourage students to bring to class props and costumes that will help create a 1952 ambience. Students will likely enjoy helping make the shelter and experience more real.

3. Roles

- a. This Activator consists of four five-member families. There are no leadership roles or historical roles to fill. Each family will have a father, mother, and two or three children/youths.
- b. It is recommended that you place at least one capable/dependable student in each family to role-play a 1950s dad or mom. All family members will discuss the list of items from which to stock their shelters and respond to at least one of the questions Ed Murrow on the *Person to Person* TV show asks the family.

- #### 4. Narrator(s):
- This Activator has no narrator. The basic strategy is to have 1950s families—one at a time—“go into” a fallout shelter where members will be interviewed by TV’s Edward R. Murrow, who will ask each family five to six questions while members are “underground.”

Teaching tip

If you have major elections on your campus, you could round up some large voting booths to use for this and other Activators throughout the year.



Directions

1. Hand out the **Background Essay** either the day before as homework or on this first day. To check students' reading, briefly question their comprehension of its contents. **Note:** *If you have a younger group or students with reading problems, you may wish to spend time while you and other students read the essay aloud. In such a case you should also check for understanding.*
2. Display the **Schematic**, explain it, assign family roles (dad, mom, two to three kids), and if you haven't set up a bomb shelter set/corner yet, have some students help you do this. As you do, have the families meet in their groups to devise answers to the Edward R. Murrow questions you have put on the board or passed out to them. Here are the six questions:
 - Why did you build your bomb shelter?
 - How long do you think you'll be down in your bomb shelter?
 - What essentials do you have in the shelter to sustain life? Show us.
 - What other items do you have there to make life in the shelter tolerable, to while away the long hours? Show us.
 - How will you react to less prepared neighbors who panic at the last moment and want to enter your unit?
 - What kind of world above do you expect to experience when you emerge days or weeks from now, if the Russians and Americans have been lobbing atomic bombs at one another's cities for days?
3. You may use either **Option A** or **Option B** below, but regardless, begin by following these three paragraphs.

Say: "Everyone—Take any hats off, sit up straight, hands on top of desks, feet together, please. (Pause) Now everyone. (Pause) Drop! Drop under your desks . . . Duck and cover!" *(Encourage all students to get under their desks—you too! Insist that there is quiet. Require that they remain in the protective, fetal position for 30 seconds.)*

"All right. Everyone back up. (Pause) What you've experienced—along with some classroom deportment from a 1952 school—was not unlike a drill school children all over America were subjected to as a preventative measure in case the Russians dropped an atomic bomb in their vicinity.

"At that time it seemed America was deadlocked with the USSR in a battle for the planet. That meant ever-increasing amounts of defense dollars to build bigger and better weapons to force the Russians not



Teaching tip

Filming each family's responses to these questions and then playing the complete video should provide insight and humor during the debriefing.



Teaching tip

This little sponge activity should help motivate your families for the task that follows.

to challenge us with 'The Unthinkable'—an all-out nuclear war and possible annihilation of life on Earth. It didn't happen, but it left a legacy of hysteria and panic. One example of this panic was the construction of fallout shelters."

Option A

1. Once in families of four or five (*four is best*) have students briefly discuss the six questions. This segment may take 20–40 minutes. (Each student in each group should be prepared to answer at least one of the six questions.)
2. Perhaps the next day, with the other families watching, have the first 1950s families get up and enter the fallout shelter you've set up—visible to all in the classroom. They may bring props, or objects to represent props, with them (*Remember: They must climb over some obstacles to simulate entering their underground shelter.*)
3. Once settled and seated, you, or a good student, as Edward R. Murrow on TV's *Person to Person* should say hello to the family, ask them their names, and then go through the six questions. Try to make the exchange informative and yet relaxed and conversational. Finally, have the family crawl out of the shelter and go to their seating area.
4. Proceed through all remaining families.

Teaching tip

Murrow was always stately and wore a bow tie.



Option B

1. Once in families of four or five (*four is best*) have students briefly discuss the six questions. This segment may take 20–40 minutes. (Each student in each group should be prepared to answer at least one of the six questions.)
2. If you have an area nearby such as a computer center or library where students can work while other families enter the shelter and are questioned, use it. Simply set up a runner to go and get the next family as its turn approaches. Send the family that has left the shelter to the computer center or library.

Debriefing

Decide whether you wish to use a short or long debriefing.

Short Debriefing

1. Hand out the **Postscript** and read it, or give its information in a brief lecture.

2. Ask students to discuss what they learned and what they felt as they went through this fallout shelter experience.
3. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the short debriefing.

Long Debriefing

Use one or more of the following debriefing activities:

1. Hand out the **Postscript** and read it, or give its information in a brief lecture.
2. Show a portion from a feature or documentary film in the **Visual history**. Especially recommended is a 12–15-minute segment on duck and cover drills, etc. in *The Atomic Cafe*. The frightening possibility of nuclear accident is dramatized most effectively in 1964's *Fail Safe*.
3. Discuss with students the possibilities of nuclear war happening now. Discuss too, the general reactions of Americans in 1952 when in fact only five percent actually bought fallout shelters.
4. **Ask this question:** *Are there similar issues today that might motivate some Americans to do something comparable to buying shelters? What common traits do such Americans share?*
5. **Ask this question:** *If you lived in 1952 and a neighbor asked you to make some comments about his new backyard shelter, what would you say to him? Be honest.*
6. Stage a dialogue between a high ranking 1952 general wanting a larger budget to keep pace with the Russians and to build more nuclear weapons and a current social critic who thinks he/she needs to set the general straight about the needless hysteria of the 1950s and the collapse of Communism in the late 1980s.
7. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following this debriefing.



Teaching tip

If you filmed each family in the shelter, without being watched by the other families, play the video and discuss various responses.

Teaching tip



Note how the student is pleased that he thought about real problems that people had years ago. History became real to him because the Activator put him into a crisis that a past American faced. As a result, the class suddenly became authentic. Of course, writing things down helped clarify his thinking.

Write a Learning Log ...

Learning Log	
	What I liked about this activator was how it made us
	think about how real persons felt in the past. I know
	that the 1950s weren't that long ago, but I was
	surprised by how Betty and Troy got into being
	Susan and my ten-year-old twins in our 1952 shelter.
	They set the tone right away by acting really scared
	as we all crawled into the shelter. They were
	whimpering and really acting. (Of course, they're in
	drama club.) I suddenly found myself trying to be
	a frightened parent. When Ms. Whittington, playing
	Edward R. Murrow, then asked us about our
	neighbors, I suddenly began ...

Resources to consult

Barson, Michael. *Better Dead Than Red: A Nostalgic Look at the Golden Years of Russiaphobia, Red-Baiting and Other Commie Madness*. New York: Hyperion, 1992.

DeGroot, Gerard J. *The Bomb: A Life*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Halberstam, David. *The Fifties*. New York: Villard, 1993.

Miller, Douglas T., and Marion Nowak. *The Fifties: The Way We Really Were*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977.

Morgan, Ted. *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Random House, 2004.

Oakley, J. Ronald. *God's Country: America in the Fifties*. New York: Dembner, 1990. Especially the chapter entitled "Living with the Bomb."

Rovere, Richard. *Senator Joe McCarthy*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973.

Visual history

Documentary: *The Atomic Cafe* (1982). An exposé of the government's attempt to soft-sell the bomb; it also includes duck-and-cover drills, etc.

Feature films: *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil* (1959)—the last three survivors of earth; *Fail Safe* (1964)—accidental nuclear war with Henry Fonda as the president; *On the Beach* (1957).

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.

**Teaching tip**

One of these feature films will capture the hysteria of the time.

Background Essay

Place: Lake Forest, Illinois

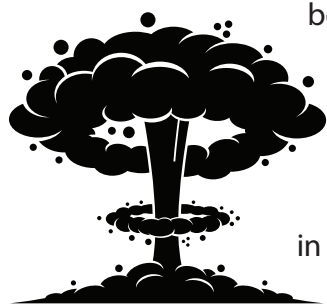
Time: July 1952

This is it!

Most of the 1950s generation can still remember dropping under their desks and covering their heads in a fetal position to avoid the shattering glass in the eventuality of a real Russian nuclear attack. Most children and youth believed this ritual would somehow allow them to survive atomic annihilation. Imagine a nine-year-old's fear, after years of practicing bomb drills and being fed government propaganda that the Communists wanted to destroy America, when he saw an airplane flying over his house and thought, "This is it! An atomic bomb is going to be dropped from this plane on my house!"

The atomic age

This personal paranoia began on August 6, 1945, when the United States dropped an atomic



bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. This decision, made by President Harry Truman to bring a quicker end to the Pacific Theater of World War II, resulted in the near destruction of the city and the death of more than 50,000 Japanese. This

ushered in the nuclear, or atomic, age. With it came an arms race in atomic weapons between the two superpower rivals, the U.S. and the USSR. For the next forty-five years—1945–1990—both governments would spend billions of dollars and rubles to keep pace with the other's arsenal.

The Red Menace

Nothing fueled the cold war era like the hyped American perception of the Russians. Many believed the Soviets had the technology, resources, and will to destroy the American way of life and dominate the rest of the world.

This assumption led to a hysteria of fear and suspicion unprecedented in intensity. Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin led what he called a crusade to ferret out Communists in the government. Never has the loyalty of Americans toward their country been so challenged as during the 1947–1954 era. As a result, America was drenched in anti-Communism and the threat of annihilation.

To the brink

This hysteria reached a new height in 1949 when Russia detonated its first atomic bomb over Siberia. The monopoly on the bomb was suddenly over. Now the race was really on to build bigger, better, and more powerful nuclear weapons. To meet the menace, Americans were told by their government not to shirk their responsibility as a world leader, even if it meant going to the brink of total destruction with the new enemy.

The reality

The U.S. government's strategy to allay the fears of its people of possible annihilation was no small undertaking. In fact, Americans were rarely told the truth about the real chances of survival after a nuclear attack. Some scientists pondered a situation where eighty percent of the population would likely die, and radioactive fallout would leave a barren, lifeless nuclear "winter."

The dangers

More accurately, the government took an ignorant stand on these "realities." It insisted that the "battle for the planet" with the Russians required that we match the Soviets bomb test for bomb test and weapon for weapon. Statistically, during the 1950s, the United States conducted 122 above-ground atomic bomb tests (the

Russians conducted at least fifty). Few realized in those years how dangerous the radioactive fallout could be. Over the years, evidence gathered indicates that human and animal life was indeed endangered by the fallout from these tests. Cancer, birth defects, genetic effects, and even horrible mutations were frighteningly possible. Innocent Americans have come forward to blame the government for all kinds of nuclear experiments. For example, in a school, children were fed cereal laced with radiation. But again, few really knew the dangerous potential.

“Learning to love the bomb”

The nation’s media rushed to embrace the positive benefits of the nuclear age and, like the government, downplayed the realities. Many articles appeared in magazines and newspapers that glamorized the atom’s peaceful use. A common theme in this popular literature was the probability of family survival from a nuclear attack if members were prepared. This awareness was heightened further when Walt Disney produced a mass market and charming documentary, *Walt Disney’s Story of our Friend the Atom*. As a counter to this, Americans could also watch the Hollywood film *On the Beach* (1957), a numbing portrait of the human race’s last months on earth as Australians await the spread of fallout to their country.

Bomb shelters

Those who paid two dollars to see *On the Beach*, or were aware of reality literature available, probably posed an important question to themselves: Should I take the government’s recommendation and build a fallout shelter—that is, a bomb shelter—to protect my family in case of nuclear attack? Again, most of the media seemed in line with the government. Periodicals such as *Life* magazine featured stories of

average American families going through the process of financing, building, and preparing to live in a fallout shelter. Further, civil defense literature advised each owner with lists of what to include in his own atomic age, backyard defense unit. Although only a small percentage of Americans actually constructed shelters, they were in vogue in the early 1950s and had larger counterparts for employees of companies. In upstate New York, for example, executives of Standard Oil were prepared to escape a nuclear holocaust in shelters carved into a mountain.

The Mininsons

Frequently, the media publicized stories that dealt with those who did decide to spend some time trying out the solitude of a shelter. One honeymoon couple, Maria and Melvin Mininson of Miami, Florida, were given extensive coverage before, during, and just after their stint in a twenty-two ton, 8 x 14-foot steel and concrete bomb shelter. Twelve feet underground, the happy couple had a phone, radio, and enough food to last longer than the two-week deal they cut with a local contractor. When they emerged no worse for wear, the Mininsons were given a two-week trip to Mexico for their “ordeal.”

The neighbors

For those who were really convinced fallout shelters were really necessary, and not sales hype, there were many hard decisions to make before, during, and after shelter life, should it be necessary. Besides the lists of shelter “musts” that had to be pared down, there were other perplexing questions.

Should you allow a neighbor and his family into your shelter when in fact your food and oxygen supply will not accommodate everyone? If your neighbor insists on entering your shelter without your consent, do you have the right to defend yourself with armed force? (One man in Beaumont, California, put up a machine gun



in front of his shelter.) Thankfully, no one really knew how they would react to these situations, but some must have pondered the possibilities.

“The day after”

Another certain question often posed in the life of a bomb-shelter owner was what kind of world would he and his family come up to after days or weeks in a shelter. Supposing that the Soviets and Americans did exchange nuclear bombs for days and the world as we knew it vaporized, would life on earth after such an exchange be worth living? Some scientists speculated that there would be burned forests; uninhabitable cities; contaminated air, water, and food; lingering radiation sickness; and, no doubt, anarchy for the “lucky” survivors.

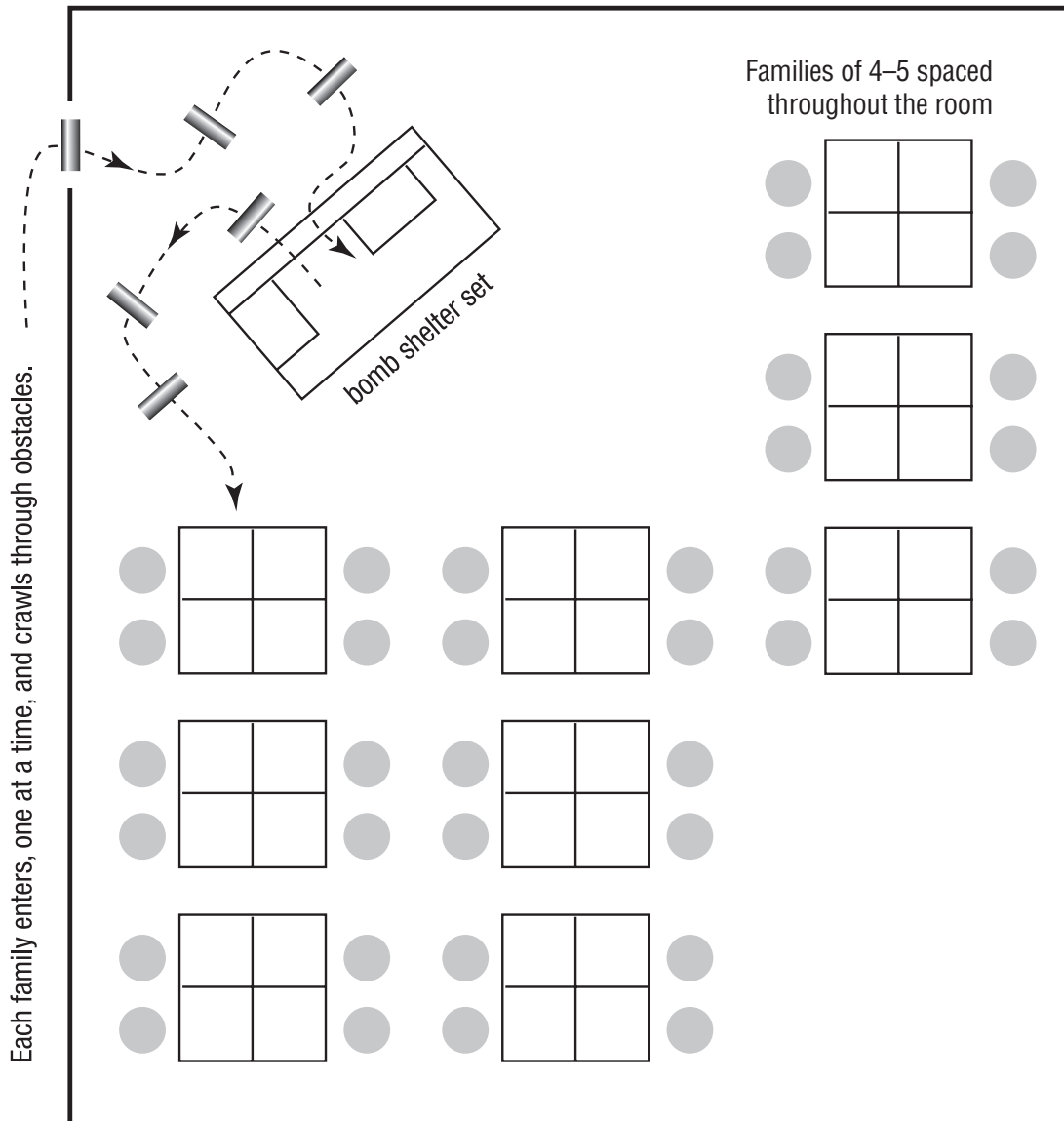
Questioning begins

By the late 1950s many Americans began to question the huge military budgets, the atomic bomb testing, the efficiency of drop-and-cover drills in schools, and the claim that the Red Menace was a real threat to our national security. Yet, for those who bought fallout shelters (at prices ranging from \$3,500 for a deluxe model with a telephone and Geiger counter), the possibility of survival justified the effort and expense.

Like those families in the early 1950s, it is now time for you and your classmates to make some of those same decisions as you prepare to enter your shelter. A Soviet nuclear assault seems imminent. Therefore, think carefully. Would you rather be dead, Red, or below ground in your shelters?



Schematic



Suggestions

- Keep all families outside the room and bring them in one at a time.
- As family members enter the room, have them crawl over or through some obstacles to simulate crawling underground to get into the bomb shelter set, which represents their home's bomb shelter.
- Film a family's responses to the questions you ask.
- Once a family has finished answering the questions, have them crawl out of the bomb shelter set and go to its table to listen/watch the other families that follow.
- Play a recording of bombs exploding during each interview.

Postscript

It is easy to look back and label the early Cold War, the Red Menace, and bomb shelter building silly, unnecessary, and even laughable. Yet, viewed in the 1950s by those who lived it, the Russian threat did seem real and menacing. Both sides were then polarized in the belief that the other was out to destroy and dominate it. Being drenched in the anti-communism hysteria in the United States of that time explains, if not excuses, the damages, shortcomings, expenses, and tensions of the Cold War.

As it turned out, the tensions and crises of the early decades thawed out a bit by 1955, after the decline of McCarthyism, the death of hard-liner Russian Premier Joseph Stalin, the armistice of the Korean War, and the evolution of a peaceful coexistence stance by both superpowers. For the most part, however, atomic bomb testing and the arms race continued into the 1960s.

To the average American, the Russians were still the enemy, but now they seemed to have human faces that countered the faceless, menacing portrayals on propaganda posters and in literature in the early 1950s. Cultural exchanges between the two rivals became common. For example, jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong went to the USSR to entertain, and the famed Bolshoi Ballet appeared on *The Ed Sullivan Show*.

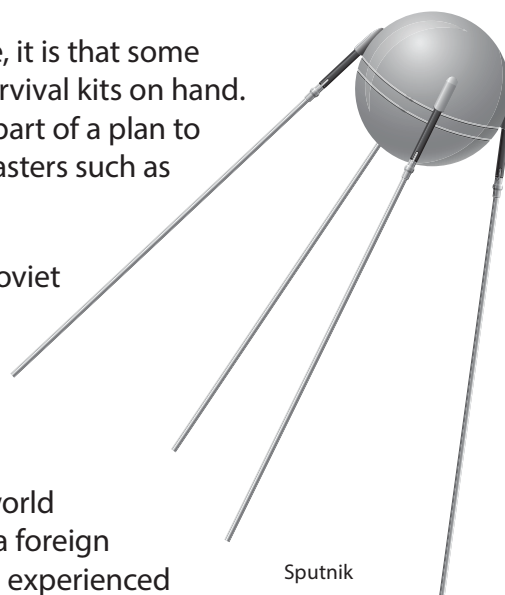
In America's public schools the duck-and-cover drills continued to be a weekly ritual. The imminent danger of nuclear attack certainly lessened, but the practice of obeying a teacher's command ("just in case") generated few complaints from parents.

The craze for bomb shelters abated somewhat in the late 1950s, only to make a resurgence in the fall of 1962 when the immediacy of the Cuban Missile Crisis brought the Americans and Russians closer than ever to thermonuclear war. It is a fact that only five percent of the American people ever made an outlay of cash to construct something resembling a fallout shelter. The other ninety-five percent in the 1950s never bought into the idea of actually putting out money for protection from something that was more possible than probable.

If there is one permanent legacy from this bomb-shelter phase, it is that some Americans then and many Americans now have emergency survival kits on hand. Food, water, candles, and other necessary items were and are part of a plan to withstand not so much an enemy nuclear attack as natural disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes, and tornadoes.

And what of the Red Menace, the enemy? The specter of the Soviet Union's plan to dominate the world gradually dissipated over the years. First to put a satellite in orbit (Sputnik in 1957), the Soviets soon watched their rivals dash ahead in the space race by the late 1960s.

Important summit meetings in the 1970s and 1980s kept the world in relative peace, despite each power's experiencing defeat in a foreign war (Vietnam and Afghanistan). By the mid-1980s, the Russians experienced

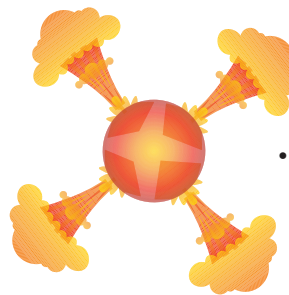


massive internal reform (Gorbachev's Perestroika) before the complete collapse of Communism there and in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and 1990s.

From a distance, the early 1950s, the Red Menace, and bomb shelters may seem quite unique. This uniqueness created a time capsule of fads, names, songs, and products exclusive to those years, and even now, a mention of some of them illustrates the grip the atomic bomb and the anti-Communist hysteria had on America. Here are some examples:



- The "Bikini" swimsuit was named after the South Pacific atoll where the United States first tested the hydrogen bomb in 1953.



- Atomic FireBall candy was very popular.

ATOMIC



- Open for business: Atomic Cab Co., Atomic Cafe, Atomic Cleaners, and Atomic Insecticide.



- Songs: *Atomic Love*, *Shh-Boom*, *Atom Bomb Baby*, *Jesus Hits like an Atomic Bomb*.

In all, the atomic bomb left an indelible mark on the early 1950s, a time when the threat of nuclear Armageddon sent fearful 1950s families who owned fallout shelters scurrying into these 8 x 12-foot underground concrete-and-steel units in hopes of surviving a devastated planet a dozen feet above them.



Historical Investigation Activity

Bomb Shelters (1952)

Focus Question

Senator Joseph McCarthy: Were his early Cold War anti-Communist efforts a dangerous witch hunt or a patriotic crusade?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–G**—*class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**—*class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Ask students, “Can you think of a recent episode in your life when someone spread a rumor about you? This rumor was either a lie, entirely false, a distortion, or half-truth. Eventually, you had to explain the accusation, otherwise other people might believe the hurtful rumor.” Have some discussion.
- “Today our subject is Senator Joseph McCarthy’s efforts to root out—what he believed were—Communists who were working in our government, and as they worked, subverted our life and death struggle with the U.S. rival, the Soviet Union. Some historians believe that during McCarthy’s so-called crusade, he destroyed lives by using lies, half-truths, and deception to catch these ‘disloyal’ Americans.”
- Continue: “What can you tell me about the early Cold War, our rivalry with the USSR, and Senator McCarthy?” Write responses on the board as spokes emanating out from a hub/circle, and discuss these responses. Then move on to the backstory data below.

2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- The Cold War was on! The Russians had the bomb. China turned communist. Atomic bomb spies had been arrested and South Korea was attacked by North Korea. Some people were even constructing deep bomb shelters in their backyards preparing for Soviet bombs to land on—besides their homes—key American cities and installations. It was a time of fear, hysteria from the possibility of an imminent Soviet invasion and takeover. Some thought that the United States might someday be under Communist rule. It was an era of suspicion, of non-



conformists, and intellectuals whose behavior challenged and disrupted the American way of life.

- Then, in 1950, one man emerged who thought he could lead the charge to stand up to the Communists. His rise was sudden.
- "I have in my hand a list of two hundred and five that were known to the Secretary of State as members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department." This dramatic bombshell was delivered on February 9, 1950, in front of 250 mostly Republican women in Wheeling, West Virginia. It was spoken by the junior senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy. It was a stunning statement and it pushed McCarthy into the spotlight for the next five years.
- His charges that our government was infiltrated with Russian agents and spies resonated quickly. He repeated his findings—the numbers were altered each time—over and over on the senate floor, and McCarthy's career took a quantum leap to a crusade-leading patriotic movement against communism.
- The color red now became a symbol associated with the Russians, their system, and for everything foreign and anti-American. The battle for the planet was on; the Russians were the enemy, competing with us for world domination, a struggle between freedom and despotism.
- This threat challenged the American way of life—and it was everywhere in popular culture, books, magazines, TV, and movies (*I Was a Communist for the FBI*). America was drenched with the Red Menace.
- McCarthy spoke of winning this epic battle by vigilance and by following his lead in rooting out these homegrown Commies, especially in government and education. Those who spoke against him and his beliefs, or were lukewarm about America and didn't share his patriotic passion, were suspicious. But innocent people were hurt, careers ruined. Reckless accusations and charges were part of his M.O.—tactics and results his critics would call "McCarthyism."
- For us the questions are: Did his words and actions, in fact, help Americans fight a real Communist threat from abroad and from within? Did he spike the already-charged atmosphere of fear and hysteria to further his own political career? Should history judge Senator McCarthy's anti-Communist efforts during the early Cold War as a dangerous witch hunt or patriotic crusade?

3. Tell students, "From this backstory, our discussions, and from experiencing the Activator on bomb shelters, and before we look at the documents, let's make an educated guess, a hypothesis, about McCarthy. For #1, write



down your brief opinion on this subject." Pass out the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** and allow students to write for 3–5 minutes. Discuss and survey by a show of hands how many are in each camp: dangerous witch-hunt or patriotic crusade? Recall that the term "witch hunt" refers to the Salem Witch trials of 1692 when many innocent Puritans were charged, found guilty, and hanged for witchcraft beliefs and actions, in a hysteria similar to the early 1950s.

4. Say, "Our working hypothesis is: Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-Communist efforts were more _____ than _____ because ..."
5. Pass out the **Document A–G** package and say, "What do the documents tell about McCarthy and his words and actions? What can we conclude?"
6. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (perhaps in pairs or trios) to read and analyze the document package. Before they begin perhaps you or a student should read aloud **Document A**—McCarthy's own words—and then discuss the gist of the document. Remind students that they should analyze the documents carefully and write their thought-out answers on the **Response Sheet**. The documents are *not* in sequence.
7. Discuss thoroughly their findings and, if time allows, have some students read their answers to the **Focus Question**.

An Option

If you ...

- Have students whose abilities may make it difficult to analyze all the documents in this package ...

Or

- Have limited time in class to implement the full package of documents ...

Consider carefully pulling out 2–3 documents to use that will still help students think like historians. Using this strategy would mean selecting only those tasks and questions on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** that directly apply to the documents you have chosen to use. Whatever the case, these investigations, even in an abbreviated format, can still be effective and fulfill your objectives.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: Senator Joseph McCarthy: Were his early Cold War anti-Communist efforts a dangerous witch hunt or patriotic crusade?

1. Before I analyze the document package, I think Senator McCarthy's efforts to get rid of Communists and Communist sympathizers in our government (and schools and U.S. Army) was a witch hunt/crusade because

2. **Document A:** (Excerpt 1) According to McCarthy, what kind of limits should be put on a person, presumed innocent until proven guilty when they "chum" with Communists?

(Excerpt 2) Why does McCarthy think we should not extend academic freedom to a Communist teacher or professor?

3. **Document B:** How does Owen Lattimore explain McCarthy's "success?"

4. **Document C:** How does this document defend McCarthy's controversial methods?

5. **Document D:** What are the four basic principles of Americanism that McCarthy seemed to ignore?

What dangers can come from the loss of these basic principles?

6. **Document E:** (Excerpt 1) How does President Truman define “cancer” in this quote?

(Excerpt 2) How does President Eisenhower explain his reasons for hesitating to criticize or take actions against Senator McCarthy’s reckless zeal?

7. **Document F:** What colorful metaphors does author Richard Rovere use to criticize McCarthy? What words does he use to compare McCarthy to Hitler?

8. **Document G:** What arguments do the authors use that could justify Senator McCarthy’s controversial methods and excessive zeal?

9. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a long paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of this sheet. Make at least 3–4 major points to substantiate your position. Emphasize your claim with evidence.

10. The era of McCarthy, to many, produced a half generation of Americans who were generally conformist, and afraid to speak up or write about controversial issues. A popular saying at the time was:

Don’t Say

Don’t Write

Don’t Join

Is it ever wrong or dangerous for Americans to voice dissent and have strong words against government policy, people in government, or specific laws, local or national?

Is dissent good for a democracy?

11. Do you think it is probable that Americans might face another kind of "Red Scare," when restrictions on free speech, freedom of association, or limits on due process of the Fourteenth Amendment might be required?

Document A

Senator Joseph McCarthy's Own Words

Excerpt 1: On Guilt by Association

Is not a person presumed innocent until proven guilty?

Yes. . . . [But]

A government job is a privilege, not a right. There is no reason why men who chum with Communists, who refuse to turn their backs upon traitors and who are consistently found at the time and place where disaster strikes America and success comes to international Communism, should be given positions of power in government. . . .

I have not urged that those whom I have named be put in jail. Once they are exposed so the American people know what they are, they can do but little damage. . . .

Strangely enough, those who scream the loudest about what they call guilt by association are the first to endorse innocence by association. . . .

We are not concerned with guilt by association because here we are not concerned with convicting any individual of any crime. We are concerned with the question of whether the individual who associates with those who are trying to destroy this nation, should be admitted to the high councils of those planning the policies of this nation: whether they should be given access to top secret material to which Senators and Congressmen are not given access.

Source: Quoted from Senator McCarthy in his book, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1952).

Excerpt 2: On Academic Freedom

The thing that I think we must remember is that this is a war which a brutalitarian force has won to a greater extent than any brutalitarian force has won a war in the history of the world before. . . .

. . . Unless we make sure that there is no infiltration of our Government, then just as certain as you sit there, in the period of our lives you will see a red world. . . .

The average American can do very little insofar as digging Communists and espionage agents out of our Government is concerned. They must depend upon those of us whom they send down here to man the watchtowers of the Nation. . . .

. . . The thing that the American people can do is to be vigilant day and night to make sure they don't have Communists teaching the sons and daughters of America. I realize that the minute anyone tries to get a Communist out of a college or a university, there will be raised the phony cry that you are interfering with academic freedom. I would like to emphasize that there is no academic freedom where a Communist is concerned. He is not a free agent. He has no freedom of thought, no freedom of expression. He must take his orders from Moscow or he will no longer be a member of the Communist Party. . . .

Source: From a statement of Senator McCarthy before the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, 1954. *Hearing before the Special Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations United States Senate, Eighty-Third Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 189* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1954).

Document B

Owen Lattimore Fights Back

Owen Lattimore was a professor at Johns Hopkins University and an expert on Asian affairs. He was singled out by Senator McCarthy and blamed for “losing” China to the Communists in 1949. In fact, McCarthy labeled Lattimore as the “top Russian espionage agent in the country.” Twice acquitted on all charges, Lattimore nonetheless lost influence in his field.

The witch-hunting of which McCarthy is a part is recruited from ex-Communists and pro-Fascists, American Firsters, anti-Semites, . . . and similar fringe fanatics of the political underworld. . . .

[They] flourish on dissension, turmoil, and notoriety. To keep themselves in the news and to promote the sale of their books and their appearances on radio, television, and lecture platforms they need a never-ending supply of victims. To provide themselves with the victims they need, they resort to a merciless use of “guilt by association. . . .”

McCarthyism has not yet been successful in establishing thought control, but it is using well-tried propaganda methods in its effort to do so. In order to stop a well-qualified independent expert from expressing his personal opinion, the McCarthy method is to accuse him of other things. Accuse him of being an espionage agent. Bring in a witness to accuse him, not on the grounds of what the expert has written, but on the ominous suggestion that he “organized” other writers. . . .

The McCarthy kind of politician resorts to Congressional immunity to build up his charges in a way that would be libelous if first made in the press or on the radio. But once the charge has been made under immunity, the quoting of it does not expose the press and radio to libel actions. A charge made under Congressional immunity has sensational news value. Under a pattern of journalism that has, unfortunately, become frozen and conventional, press and radio are bound to follow up every angle of sensational charge. . . .

Since millions of people read only headlines, the accusation persists in the public mind.

The McCarthy demagogues who are working to destroy our traditional liberties have already made great gaps in the tradition of freedom which has made this country unique. They have been working to strengthen and to exploit politically a dark tide of unreasoning, hysterical fear. McCarthyism insists constantly, emotionally, and menacingly that the man who thinks independently thinks dangerously and for an evil, disloyal purpose. . . .

It is time for us to wake up to the fact that the McCarthy tactics of bullying any man who stands up for an independent opinion are crowding us into setting up a similar vicious standard here in America.

Source: Owen Lattimore, *Ordeal by Slander* (New York: Bantam, 1950).

Document C

Defending McCarthy

No one can deny the importance of the fight against communism. Ours is a double-barreled encounter for we must not only stop Communist aggression in free foreign nations but at the same time we must clean out the Communists here at home who have infiltrated into influential positions of government, education, clergy, industry, organized labor, and any other sphere where they would be effective in undermining our American way of life. . . .

. . . To a great many Americans McCarthy is a hero — he is their champion and leader in the fight against communism. Others in America compare McCarthy to Hitler. . . . They have no argument with McCarthy, except with the methods he employs, which they have termed McCarthyism. . . .

We would also suggest that the critics of McCarthy's tactics realize that the Communist battle is one in which we must fight fire with fire. Failure would be inevitable if we were to employ kid-glove rules of play against the Communist menace. As we all well know, Communists lie, deceive, and even swear allegiance to our flag and country while at the same time plotting to deal America a fatal blow.

Somehow or other we just can't find sympathy for those bleeding hearts who with pious indignation point their accusing finger at Senator McCarthy. . . .

So much for Senator McCarthy's tactics. Of equal or perhaps of much more importance is the question: Is he producing results with his methods of fighting fire with fire?

Just what is the box score to date of his expose of United States Communists who have infiltrated into high places of power and influence?

The box score of names is impressive beyond one's wildest imagination. The list is long and very enlightening.

Source: "The Record to Date," *Building and Construction Trades Bulletin* (July, 1953). This publication assessed McCarthy after three years of fighting communism. Eventually this article made its way into the *Congressional Record*.

Document D

Standing Up to McCarthyism: Senator Margaret Chase Smith

I think that it is high time that we remembered that we have sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution. I think that it is high time that we remembered that the Constitution, as amended, speaks not only of the freedom of speech but also of trial by jury instead of trial by accusation. Whether it be a criminal prosecution in court or a character prosecution in the Senate, there is little practical distinction when the life of a person has been ruined.

Those of us who shout the loudest about Americanism in making character assassinations are all too frequently those who, by our own words and acts, ignore some of the basic principles of Americanism: the right to criticize, the right to hold unpopular beliefs, the right to protest, the right of independent thought. The exercise of these rights should not cost one single American citizen his reputation or his right to a livelihood, nor should he be in danger of losing his reputation or livelihood merely because he happens to know someone who holds unpopular beliefs. Who of us does not? . . . Otherwise thought control would have set in.

The American people are sick and tired of being afraid to speak their minds lest they be politically smeared as Communists or Fascists by their opponents. Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. . . .

The American people are sick and tired of seeing innocent people smeared and guilty people whitewashed. . . .

Today our country is being psychologically divided by the confusion and the suspicions that are bred in the United States Senate to spread like cancerous tentacles of “know nothing, suspect everything” attitudes.

Source: Statement of Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine before the Senate, June 1, 1950. (From the *Congressional Record* 81st Cong., 2nd session.)

Document E

Presidents Truman and Eisenhower Weigh in on McCarthy

Excerpt 1: Truman

McCarthyism. . . . It is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of 'due process' of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. . . . This horrible cancer is eating at the vitals of America and it can destroy the great edifice of freedom.

Source: Harry S. Truman, radio and television address, November 17, 1953.

Excerpt 2: Eisenhower

McCarthyism was a much larger issue than McCarthy. This was the truth that I constantly held before me as I listened to the many exhortations that I should "demolish" the Senator himself. Although he was striving to make himself the embodiment of the anti-Communist, antisubversive movement in the United States, he too often forgot the complex and precious American issues of personal liberties and constitutional process. . . .

Lashing back at one man, which is easy enough for a President, was not as important to me as the long-term value of restraint, the due process of law, and the basic rights of free men.

That is why I condemned book-burning, rather than bandying about the names of the men of the moment who would burn the books.

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Mandate for Change* (New York: Doubleday, 1963).

Document F

McCarthy: “Screamer, Thug, Exploiter of Popular Fears?”

No bolder seditionist ever moved among us—nor any politician with a surer, swifter access to the dark places of the American mind. . . .

. . . Like Hitler, McCarthy was a screamer, a political thug, a master of the mob, an exploiter of popular fears. . . .

. . . [H]is talk was laced with obscenity. He was a vulgarian by method as well as, probably, by instinct. . . .

. . . He made little pretense to religiosity or to any species of moral rectitude. He sought to manipulate only the most barbaric symbols of “Americanism”—the slippery-elm club, the knee in the groin, and the brass knuckles. . . .

. . . He was . . . a prince of hatred. . . .

. . . He was morally indecent. . . .

. . . McCarthy had become liberated from the morality that prevailed in his environment.

Source: Richard H. Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).

Document G

Do the Venona Messages Justify McCarthy's Anti-Communist Zeal?

Intercepted cable messages between Moscow and Communist spies in America in the 1930s and 1940s, deciphered by cryptanalysts and then kept secret for decades by U.S. government officials, were made public in 1995. They revealed a vast Soviet spy network operating within the United States. Called Venona by these officials, the thousands of messages, along with recently opened files from both Russian and U.S. archives, have led some scholars to seek new interpretations of Cold War history. Does Venona, for example, now seem to justify Senator McCarthy's excessive Red witch-hunting to expose those believed to be—or accused to be—Soviet spies or Communist sympathizers? Scholars seem to be divided on the Venona's overall effect, along with doubts about accurate translations and the difficulty of identifying spies by their covert names (cryptonyms). Nonetheless, the Venona transcripts have some support, as seen in the account below.

By 1948 the accumulating evidence from other decoded Venona cables showed that the Soviets had recruited spies in virtually every major American government agency of military or diplomatic importance. American authorities learned that since 1942 the United States had been the target of a Soviet espionage onslaught involving dozens of professional Soviet intelligence officers and hundreds of Americans, many of whom were members of the American Communist party (CPUSA). The deciphered cables of the Venona Project identify 349 citizens, immigrants, and permanent residents of the United States who had had a covert relationship with Soviet intelligence agencies. . . . [S]o it was only logical to conclude that many additional agents were discussed in the thousands of unread messages. Some were identified from other sources, such as defectors' testimony and the confessions of Soviet spies.

The deciphered Venona messages also showed that a disturbing number of high-ranking U.S. government officials consciously maintained a clandestine relationship with Soviet intelligence agencies and had passed extraordinarily sensitive information to the Soviet Union that had seriously damaged American interests. . . .

The betrayal of American atomic secrets to the Soviets allowed the Soviet Union to develop atomic weapons several years sooner and at a substantially lower cost than it otherwise would have. Joseph Stalin's knowledge that espionage assured the Soviet Union of quickly breaking the American atomic monopoly emboldened his diplomatic strategy. . . .

Taken as a whole, the new evidence—from the deciphered Venona documents, the FBI files released in the past decades under the Freedom of Information Act, and the newly available documents from those Russian archives opened since the collapse of the USSR—along with . . . testimony before various congressional committees, and the trials of major Soviet spies, shows that from 1942 to 1945 the Soviet Union launched an unrestrained espionage offensive against the United States.

Source: John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955



Bill Lacey

Lesson Plan

Overview

This Activator will involve your students in the civil rights struggle of the mid-1950s. Your class will re-create the historic 1955 bus ride that brought a determined black woman, Rosa Parks, to history's center stage. Her city's ordinance required that she give her seat to a white man and move to the back of the crowded bus. She refused. Her action and what followed in Montgomery dramatically "kick-started" a national crusade seeking equality and justice for all African Americans.

Setup

1. Duplication

- **Background Essay**—class set
- **Postscript**—class set

2. Schematic, props, costumes: Study the **Schematic** carefully. Find and bring to your classroom any props and costumes that will help create the setting and the mood. (Your students can help you find and bring such props to your classroom.)

3. Roles

- In this Activator you need a way to differentiate whites from blacks. We recommend you or a student(s) make white armbands and black armbands. Give the appropriate color armband to all students as they are assigned roles.
- You will need these roles: Rosa Parks, bus driver, white male passenger, several other white passengers, and two white male police officers. Your remaining students will be black passengers.
- Assign all roles—except for Rosa Parks—by chance. If you have a student who can play the role forcefully, assign it to her. Simply place all other roles (written on small slips of paper) in a hat or bowl.

4. **Narrator(s):** If the script is being narrated (**Option A**), decide whether you or one or more students will narrate. If you are using **Option B**, you may want to assign the narrator(s)—if you are not doing the narration—and the major roles a day or so before the actual activity.

Teaching tip

Tell your students in advance what



would enhance the classroom experience.

For example, you might ask, "Do any of you have a parent who has a uniform that looks something like what a bus driver wears?"

The student role playing this person could wear such a uniform.

Directions

1. Hand out the **Background Essay** either the day before this class as homework or pass it out now. If you have given it as homework, conduct an informal discussion of the main points brought out in the essay. If you are passing it out now, read the essay aloud to the students as they read with you, pausing to explain the main points. (This choice is, of course, determined by the reading level and age of your students.)
2. Display the **Schematic**, explain it, assign roles, and then have the students rearrange the classroom to create the setting.
3. Have all students move or prepare to move to their positions. Narrators—if you are not doing the narration—should be in a clearly visible and audible place as you start.

You have at least two different ways you can conduct the actual play:

Option A

1. Assign all roles except Rosa Parks by chance.
2. Tell all whites and blacks to put on their respective arm bands.
3. Slowly begin going through the **Narration**. Direct your students' movements and actions. Make changes and adjustments as necessary.
4. Proceed through the **Narration** at a comfortable pace, allowing for some improvisation along the way as well as for critical discussion if it comes up.

Option B

1. A few days in advance of using the Activator, assign roles by chance as described in the **Setup**.
2. Tell the major characters (Rosa Parks, et al.) to write out several lines of dialogue and to practice their lines.
3. Also, tell other role players that they will rehearse their part and that during such rehearsals they are to role-play to the best of their ability how they think a Southern white American or Southern black American would have responded to this situation in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955.
4. If possible, plan to film this role play—the *second time through following the rehearsal*. This video will then give you an excellent vehicle for use in the debriefing.



Teaching tip

Of course, if you have imaginative students who are into drama, you could have them create portions of actual sets. For example, they could use large sheets of cardboard as sides of the bus and police car.



Teaching tip

Note: Before this narration is slowly read, make sure all roles have been filled, all preparation has taken place, and students are in their place.

Debriefing

Decide whether you wish to use a short or long debriefing. Here are possible ways to make meaningful what happened during the Activator on the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955:

Short Debriefing

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. Ask students to discuss what they learned and what they felt as they played their roles.
3. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the short debriefing. Writing these logs will help students crystallize their understandings of historical content as well as the feelings they experienced while playing their roles and while observing other students' body language and comments.

Teaching tip

We cannot emphasize enough the power writing has in the learning process.



Write a Learning Log ...

Learning Log	
	We re-created the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955 today. I had to be the white bus driver. At first I thought this was going to be a fun power trip. So I went ahead and said some things I now regret. After that I just went ahead and did my job of driving the bus. What is interesting is that I believe everyone learned something from this activator. Even Mrs. White, who has taught history for 20 years, said she didn't know blacks had to get off the bus and re-enter the bus through the rear door after they had paid their dime.

Long Debriefing

Use one or more of the following debriefing activities:

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.

2. Focus on the black viewpoints throughout America as the bus boycott was taking place after Rosa Parks' arrest.
 - a. Imagine you are all Southern black Americans who have gathered at a home or church meeting in Montgomery just two days after the boycott has begun. How would you answer the following questions?
 - How does this make you feel?
 - Are those boycotters going too far?
 - What are the good things that can happen?
 - What are the bad things that can happen?
 - What do you think of Martin Luther King Jr.?
 - b. Next imagine you are all Northern black Americans who have gathered at a home or church meeting to discuss what is happening in Montgomery. Also in attendance are a few sympathetic whites who also have opinions they wish to express. How would those attending answer the following questions?
 - How does this make you feel?
 - Are those blacks in Montgomery going too far?
 - What are the good things that can happen?
 - What are the bad things that can happen?
 - What do you think of Martin Luther King Jr.?
3. Focus on the white viewpoint in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955.
 - a. Imagine you are a white committee member who makes decisions about public transportation (buses and taxis) in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955—two days after the boycott begins. You realize that Rosa Parks' defiant act is going to eventually cost the city millions of dollars in revenue. How would you respond to these pivotal questions?
 - What plan of action should we follow to solve this problem?
 - Should we compromise?
 - Should we resist African American demands and let them continue their boycott?
 - Should we consider repression, violence, or any punitive measures to halt the actions? Is compromise possible?

Montgomery Bus Boycott: 1955

Lesson Plan

- b. List on your paper several plans of action you would take. After each consider what reactions the black community might have.
- c. Choose the one strategy you think would work the best for the city's general good. What do you think the black reaction will be to your strategy?

Resources to consult

Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–1963*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988 (pp. 128–131 for Parks' role).

Brinkley, Douglas. *Rosa Parks: A Life*. New York: Penguin, 2000.

Burns, Stewart, ed. *Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Robinson, Jo Ann. *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Robinson*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987.

Stevenson, Janet. "Rosa Parks Wouldn't Budge." *American Heritage* 23, no. 2 (February 1972): pp. 56–64, 85.

Williams, Donnie, and Wayne Greenhaw. *The Thunder of Angels: The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Press Review, 2007.

Visual history

Feature film: *The Long Walk Home* (1990) starring Whoopi Goldberg and Sissy Spacek. In this powerful film, Sissy Spacek plays an upper middle-class white woman whose life is disrupted because her maid, Whoopi Goldberg, cannot get to Sissy's home because of the bus boycott. When Sissy begins using her car to pick up Whoopi and drive her to Sissy's home to work, serious problems surface, and their lives and dreams intertwine.

PBS Documentary: *Eyes on the Prize*. Episode 1: "Awakenings: 1954–1956" covers events in Montgomery (60 minutes).

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.

Teaching tip

Using scenes from this film later



in your course while teaching elements of civil rights history would reinforce students' earlier experience with the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Background Essay

Place: Montgomery, Alabama

Time: December 1955

Jim Crow laws

For nearly a century after the Civil War (1861–1865) most white Southern legislators had kept black people “in their place” with discriminatory Jim Crow laws. These laws segregated the races in parks, restaurants, restrooms, and on taxis and buses. “Coloreds” were even forced to drink from separate water fountains and swear courtroom oaths on separate Bibles. Such laws were allowed because in 1896 the Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that such discrimination is constitutional as long as the separate facilities are “equal.” No aspect of Southern life was untouched by these laws.



“The Southern Way”

Jim Crow laws and a traditional way of social behavior became known as “the Southern Way”—an entrenched system of racial segregation that went unchallenged until the mid-1950s. Even the majority of blacks, not

knowing any other social system, accepted a way of life that put them in a social and economic position of inferiority. This code required that black men accept being addressed as “boy,” that they never be “uppity” with whites, and that they never stare at a white woman or speak of her except in a subservient manner. Those black men who broke such rules could be punished by beatings or, on occasion, lynchings.

Emmett Till

Such was the fate of fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, who came from Chicago in 1955 to visit his relatives in Greenwood, Mississippi. For Till, the contrast of Illinois and Mississippi must have seemed like Earth and Mars. He didn’t know how African Americans behaved in the South; he either spoke to or whistled at a white woman. Soon after, Till was dragged from his bed, killed, and flung into the Tallahatchie River. A heavy cotton gin fan had been tied to his neck with barbed wire. Reaction to the Till case varied with the community. To Southern whites, the fuss over the dead boy was puzzling. Said one Mississippi white, “That river’s full of n[—].” In due time, Till’s funeral (with an open casket) and the acquittal of the three accused killers resulted in indignation and rage among African Americans. The stage was set, the mood was right, and a spark would soon ignite a revolution in the civil rights struggle for equality and justice.

Montgomery buses

In 1954, in the *Brown v. Topeka* decision, the Supreme Court ruled 9-0 against desegregated public schools. With this decision, the court overturned the precedent set in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. As a result, it seemed logical that the next appropriate focus for the integration movement was the South’s bus lines. Few aspects of

antiquated Jim Crow laws frustrated blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, more than the city's law governing buses. Working blacks in this Dixie city had to contend with several "traditions" on the city's bus lines:

- The first four rows were reserved *permanently* for whites, even on buses that had routes in black sections of the city.
- Bus drivers—always white—often were hostile and discourteous. They would use insulting language when communicating with black passengers.
- Black passengers, after paying their ten cent bus fare upon entering the front door, had to exit the bus and reenter through a rear door—so they would not pass through the white section.
- On occasion, while blacks made their way from the front door to the rear door, drivers would slam both doors and drive off, leaving blacks on the curb, minus the dime they had paid.

Claudette Colvin

Interestingly, Rosa Parks' simple act of defiance had some antecedents. Similar incidents before had failed to awaken Montgomery's black community of 50,000. One case in March 1955 involved a fifteen-year-old girl, Claudette Colvin, who was arrested and even handcuffed as she was forced off a bus. The hope, however, to legally challenge the city's segregated buses went unfulfilled when her parents refused to let their daughter appear in court. Besides, her lack of standing in the community hurt any attempt to initiate action.

The spark

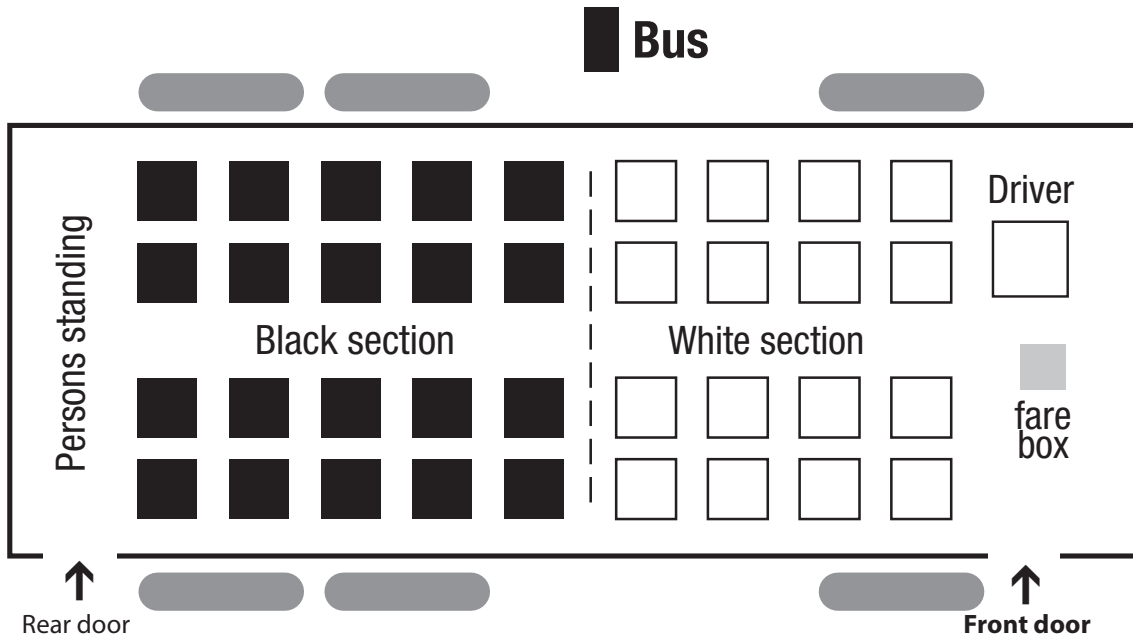
The mood was changing. African Americans in Montgomery were tired of being humiliated, inconvenienced, and discriminated against. All that was needed was someone to light the fuse. That happened late in the afternoon of December 1, 1955. One courageous act of defiance would give black people a strategy with which to battle injustice and discrimination for the next fifteen years and help to alter American history.

Now you will re-create that famous bus ride, a ride that set the stage for another history maker, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who was relatively unknown before December 1955.



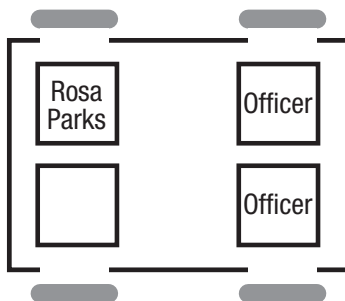
Claudette Colvin

Schematic



Whites enter at front door, pay ten cents, and sit down. Blacks enter at front door, pay ten cents, exit through the front door, walk to the rear of the bus, reenter through the rear door, and then sit down or stand.

Police car



Characters needed

- bus driver
- Rosa Parks
- two narrators
- one white man (last to get on bus)
- passengers on bus (black and white) getting on and off
- two arresting police officers
- finger printer
- E. D. Nixon
- Clifford Durr

Suggestions

- Use a bar stool to elevate bus driver.
- Use chairs or single-unit desks for seats on bus and in car.
- Use cardboard box for fare box.
- Create walls/sides of bus with large sheets of cardboard/voting booths.
- Create walls/sides of police car with smaller sheets of cardboard.

Narration

NARRATOR: It was late in the afternoon of Thursday, December 1, 1955. A middle-aged black woman named Rosa Parks had just left her job as a seamstress at the Montgomery Fair Department Store and prepared to board her regular bus to go home. After a particularly rough day, Rosa was dog-tired and her feet hurt. She dropped her dime into the fare box just inside the front door. Then, as was custom for “coloreds” in Montgomery, she exited the bus, walked along the curb, and reentered through the rear door.

Once inside the bus, Rosa saw only one vacant seat. It was in the fifth row, just back of the first four rows, the reserved white section. It was an aisle seat in the first row of the black section. She sat down and noticed that a black man sat next to her and two black women sat across the aisle from her. Her observations also told her that there were a few empty seats at the very front of the bus in the permanent white section.

After two more stops, Rosa was aware of the bus getting more crowded, with many blacks standing in the back, behind her. Now all of the thirty-six bus seats were occupied.

Next, a white man entered the bus, paid his fare, and made his way down the aisle. Seeing that no seats were available and the white man was going to have to stand in the aisle, bus driver J. P. Blake turned around and said, “Blacks, move back,” a typical request to blacks in the first row of their section to get up and move to the rear.

As if the driver had never spoken, none of the four in Rosa’s row reacted. Seconds later, Blake mumbled to himself, stopped the bus along the curb, rose, faced the passengers and spoke again, “You’d better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats.” The noise of the traffic outside heightened the dramatic silence inside the bus. Most of the passengers—white and black—looked toward the area to see who was “making trouble.” The white man, still standing in the aisle, said nothing. While the other three blacks in Rosa’s aisle got up and moved into the aisle, she remained still and stared out the window.

Upon seeing Mrs. Parks’ stubbornness, the driver walked up to her.

BUS DRIVER: Are you going to stand up?

ROSA: No, I’m not

BUS DRIVER: Well, if you don’t stand up and vacate the seat for this man, I’m going to have you arrested. City laws give me the authority to arrest you. *(There was a dramatic pause.)* All right. You wait here until I get a policeman

NARRATOR: The bus passengers remained curious as tension filled the air. Angrily, Blake got off the bus and within a few minutes returned with two police officers. They walked to where Rosa remained seated.

FIRST OFFICER: Did the driver here ask you to stand up?

**Acting tip**

Read with a clear voice. Do not muddy your sounds.

Use enough volume so that everyone can hear you.

When necessary, become more dramatic.

Above all, do not read in a monotone voice that puts listeners to sleep.

**Acting tip**

Note that different people are speaking. If you are one person reading more than one part, make your voice sound different for each person.

Rosa: Yes, he did.

OTHER OFFICER: Well, why didn't you give up your seat?

Rosa: I paid my fare and occupied a seat. I don't think I should have to stand up and vacate my seat.

NARRATOR: At this point, the policemen took her by the arm to start her standing up. One told her she was "under arrest." They walked her down the aisle and through the front door to the street where they put her into a police car. Once in the back seat, she was asked again by the policeman why she didn't move to the back of the bus.

Rosa: I'm bone-weary, and I'm fed up with being imposed on.

NARRATOR: At the police station, Rosa was booked, fingerprinted, and briefly incarcerated. She was given one phone call home and her mother's voice groaned, "Did they beat you?" Almost immediately Rosa's mother called E. D. Nixon, a prominent leader in Montgomery's black community. Within an hour or so, Nixon and Clifford Durr, a lawyer, came to the jail and found out that Mrs. Parks had been charged with violating the Alabama bus segregation laws. They paid the fifty dollar bond and took Rosa home. Soon Nixon and Durr would discuss the question on the minds of black leaders all over the South: *Would this be the case that would challenge public transportation segregation laws?*

Postscript

Rosa Parks' simple act of defiance gradually galvanized the African American community in Montgomery. Some historians credit her with the important title, "the Mother of the Movement." What followed in the wake of her arrest and trial was "the spark that lit the fires of resistance" throughout America.

Leaders of the black community discussed their choices and decided to stage a one-day boycott of the Montgomery buses on Monday, December 5, 1955, the same day Rosa Parks would go to trial. In theory, it seemed an impossible goal. The city's 50,000 or so blacks had never been unified on any issue or by any leader. Additionally, working-class blacks depended on the buses to get to their jobs; losing just a day's pay could produce economic hardships. Another problem surfaced—how to get the word out for the boycott. Most black homes lacked telephones, radios, and televisions. Leaders handed out thousands of leaflets and made announcements from the Sunday pulpits throughout Montgomery.

Hoping that 50–60 percent of Montgomery's blacks would boycott the buses, leaders were heartened early Monday morning. City buses were either empty or had only a few white passengers.

By mid-morning, it was an amazing sight. Sidewalks were jammed with black pedestrians; others were thumbing rides and packing themselves into cars. One man even cooperated in the boycott by riding a mule. By 9:30 a.m., the attention shifted dramatically to the courtroom, where Rosa faced her charges. The judge found her guilty and fined her ten dollars and court costs—a total of twenty-four dollars. Her counsel told the judge the verdict would be appealed.

That night a mass meeting of the black community was held at the Holt Street Baptist Church. With Rosa Parks clearly on view alongside other black leaders, a new face came to the pulpit and delivered one of the most inspiring speeches in United States history. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., a recent arrival to Montgomery, forcefully and eloquently outlined his ideas of passive resistance. If ever a speech inspired a movement, it was this speech. A cheering assembly decided to continue the boycott.

The boycott did continue for more than a year. Then on December 16, 1956, the Supreme Court struck down Montgomery's bus segregation laws. Within days, segregation on buses ended. Black Americans were victorious in this first unified struggle for equality. The civil rights movement had truly begun.



“
If ever
a speech
inspired
a movement,
it was this
speech.”

Historical Investigation Activity

Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955)



Focus Question

Rock 'n' Roll: Did it play a major role in improving race relations during the early civil rights movement?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–G**—*class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**—*class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Say to students “Let’s start with the immortal words of Richard Penniman, aka ‘Little Richard’—Wop Bop a Loo Bop a Lop Bam Boom—Tutti Frutti! Arooti! How would you describe early rock ‘n’ roll music? How is it different from other genres?” Discuss before asking, “Who are some early rock ‘n’ roll singers/performers?” Discuss, then ask, “In what years were these singers popular?” Discuss.
- Tell students, “The early rock ‘n’ roll era was from about 1954 to 1963—essentially from ‘Sh-Boom’ by The Chords, Crewcuts, and Fats Domino’s ‘Blueberry Hill’ through Elvis, Little Richard, Ricky Nelson to the Beatles, who in their own way changed the course of rock. Interestingly, these early years of rock ‘n’ roll parallel the early civil rights movement. By looking at some documents today, we’re going to see if early rock ‘n’ roll had any impact on the historic civil rights movement.
- “Before we do that, let’s have you write down on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** [pass out to each student or to each pair or trio] for #1, your thoughts about rock ‘n’ roll’s influence on civil rights for African Americans from 1954 to 1963—an era of the Brown school desegregation Supreme Court decision, Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., the Greensboro Four as well as Jerry Lee Lewis, Frankie Lyman and the Teenagers, and Chuck Berry.”
- Allow 3–5 minutes for students to write their thoughts about the rock ‘n’ roll—civil rights possible connection. Afterward, discuss their tentative hypotheses. And say, “So our working hypothesis is that rock ‘n’ roll did/did not play a major role in the early civil rights movement.”



2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- Rock 'n' roll, known and understood all over the globe, is both a music type and an attitude. As you probably know, it is a blend or synthesis of many genres of music—a stew of African tribal music, slave plantation song, New Orleans jazz, ragtime, gospel, country music, even classical and swing.
- Rock 'n' roll began in the early- to mid-1950s as a new style of dance music for teenagers and young adults of the so-called “silent generation” (those born c. 1930–1945). It actually came to define what it meant to be a teenager—affecting in no small way the way they spoke, listened, dressed, acted, and thought.
- From the beginning, rock 'n' roll challenged accepted norms in American culture, often provoking—as Little Richard, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Elvis did on a regular basis—defiance, disrespect for authority and, some would say, revolution among its devotees. Its primitive beat and frequently “smutty” lyrics caused many an adult to worry and criticize this new “jungle” music and the effect it might have on their nice, obedient kids. Even popular crooner Frank Sinatra, himself a bobbysoxer “dreamboat” in the 1940s, was critical. To him rock was “the most brutal, ugly, degenerate, vicious form of expression it has been my displeasure to hear. . . . It smells phony and false . . . played by cretinous goons.” (He would later do a TV special with Elvis.) America’s southern preachers were even more censorious and disapproving.
- In many ways, rock 'n' roll created a generation gap between teens and parents well into the 1960s. It also fashioned a community of like-minded young music enthusiasts who felt a bond with each other, much like those who attend concerts today.
- Rock 'n' roll in the early years was fairly simple music, if not simplistic. Love, lost love, cars, boys, girls, dancing—just listen to Elvis, The Platters, Frankie Lymon, or Chuck Berry to get a sense of the subjects of the songs. All this changed, of course, in the tumult of the 1960s when violence, assassination, the drug culture, and the Vietnam War battered America. Rock mirrored the tenor of the times.
- Rock 'n' roll was an earthquake that hit the bland, conformist mid-1950s. It offered a powerful cultural alternative in the first few decades of postwar America. Just who was the responsible party in the birth of this newly packaged music? It’s hard to say. Fats Domino said, “I wouldn’t want to say that I started it [rock 'n' roll] but I don’t remember anyone before me playing that kind of stuff.” Maybe so, but other observers point to a recording of “Sh-Boom,” while another candidate might be Bill Haley and the Comets’ epic hit “Rock Around the Clock.”



- Some even give credit to a disc jockey from Cleveland, Alan Freed, as the man who gave rock 'n' roll its name on his "Moondog" show and promoted early rock with his concerts and the repetitive play of rock 'n' roll on his radio show.
 - Whatever the case, rock 'n' roll exploded onto the scene. It became popular all across the nation at sock hops, concerts, on radio and TV, and in films. Rock 'n' roll's catchy, pulsating beat, often sassy, edgy lyrics and its energy accentuated by electronically-amplified guitars captured a generation who made this music their own. To love this new music was to be cool and possess swagger and attitude.
 - It had an impact like no other cultural movement. Few could even imagine a symphony by Beethoven, or a ballad by Tennessee Ernie Ford, or Perry Como having the same effect as "Rock Around the Clock" had on those watching the opening credits to the movie *Blackboard Jungle* in 1955. As Chuck Berry, one of rock's greatest superstars, so nobly sang, "Hail, hail, rock 'n' roll! / Deliver me from the days of old / The feeling is there / body and soul."
 - At this junction in U.S. history, the topic of rock 'n' roll is relevant. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, sparked by Rosa Parks' defiant stand to challenge the outdated and racist Jim Crow laws in the city, ran parallel to rock 'n' roll's banner year, 1955–1956.
3. Say, "From this backstory, your original hypothesis on the connection between rock 'n' roll and the civil rights movement, and your participation in the bus boycott Activator, one of the pivotal events of that era, we are now ready to see if rock 'n' roll had an impact on civil rights. So, did rock 'n' roll play a major role in improving race relations during the early civil rights movement? That's our **Focus Question** and the documents will hopefully answer it."
 4. Say, "As a reminder, our working hypothesis is rock 'n' roll did/did not play a major role in improving race relations in the early civil rights movement. What will the documents tell us? What can we conclude?"
 5. Pass out the package of **Documents A–G** and explain what students are to do.
 6. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (perhaps in pairs or trios) to read and analyze the document package. Perhaps you or a student could read aloud the first one or two documents and then discuss the gist of each. Remind students that they should analyze the documents carefully. The documents are not in any sequence.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: Rock 'n' roll: Did it play a major role in improving race relations during the early civil rights movement?

1. Regarding rock 'n' roll's influence on the early civil rights movement (1954–1963), I think rock 'n' roll did/did not play a role because

2. **Document A:** What words would you use to describe what the critics of rock 'n' roll were saying in that time? What were their specific worries?

3. **Document B:** How do President Eisenhower's brief words apply to rock 'n' roll, prejudice, and the early civil rights era?

4. **Document C:** How would the "anecdotal evidence" mentioned by Julian Bond help the arguments of those who responded positively to the **Focus Question**?

5. **Document D:** Does Fats Domino's receiving an award from the president give credibility to rock 'n' roll artists and their contribution to the **Focus Question's** claim? Is it just hyperbole at an awards ceremony or is it genuine?

6. **Documents E and F:** On what points do these scholars agree and disagree?
Agree: _____
Disagree: _____

7. Which documents seem to be the strongest and most convincing in shaping your claim in the **Focus Question**?

What pieces of evidence within the document(s) are most convincing? Why?

8. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a long paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of this sheet. Make at least 3–4 major points to defend your position.

9. Do you think music today can have a powerful influence on political and social events like it did in the 1950s and 1960s with rock 'n' roll, folk, and protest music?

Document A

Critics Trash Rock 'n' Roll

Before rock 'n' roll became accepted nationwide, critics from all over—especially the South—had harsh comments about the music then gaining momentum and commercial success. In the *New York Times*, one psychiatrist called rock 'n' roll “a communicable disease.” Other critics thought the music helped the Communists and inspired juvenile delinquency across America.

Excerpt 1

Two, four, six, eight! We don't wanna integrate!

Source: Chant heard near Fats Domino's house in New Orleans, November 14, 1960.

Excerpt 2

Going to a rock 'n' roll show is like attending the rites of some obscure tribe whose means of communication are incomprehensible. An adult can actually become frightened. Two notes are played on-stage and, like one vast organism, the assembled teen-agers shriek on exactly the same pitch. Or, just as suddenly, they become deathly quiet except for the rhythmic clapping of their hands on the second and fourth beat of every measure. Another number is played, and like one voice, they sing, “*Why-hey do foo-ools fall in lu-uve?*”—their youthful enunciation and melody somehow sweet and haunting. Sometimes, a few of them dance—in the aisles if there is no other place. More rarely, they engage in more strenuous exhibitionism.

Source: George Leonard, “The Great Rock 'n' Roll Controversy,” *Look* (June 6, 1956).

Excerpt 3

The obscenity and vulgarity of the rock 'n' roll music is obviously a means by which the white man and his children can be driven to the level of the negro.

Source: Asa “Ace” Carter of the Alabama White Citizens' Council, March 1956.

Excerpt 4

NOTICE!

STOP

Help Save The Youth of America

DON'T BUY NEGRO RECORDS

(If you don't want to serve negroes in your place of business, then do not have negro records on your juke box or listen to negro records on the radio.)

The screaming, idiotic words, and savage music of these records are undermining the morals of our white youth in America.

Call the advertisers of the radio stations that play this type of music and complain to them!

Don't Let Your Children Buy, or Listen To These Negro Records

Source: Flyer issued by Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans and passed out to 8,000 "flag-waving" whites, March 20, 1956.

Document B

President Eisenhower Speaks against Intolerance

The final battle against intolerance is to be fought—not in the chambers of any legislature—but in the hearts of men.

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Address at the Hollywood Bowl, Los Angeles, California, October 19, 1956.

Document C

Julian Bond on the Rock 'n' Roll-Integration Connection

Julian Bond was a respected black activist, congressman, and former chairman of the NAACP.

There's plenty of anecdotal evidence . . . that southern segregated rock 'n' roll shows (and eventually integrated ones) in the '50s exposed white youth to black America for the first time—as did the music over the radio—and if the introduction was to a romantic and stereotyped notion of who black people were, I believe it helped prepare them for the civil rights movement then yet to come.

Source: Julian Bond in correspondence to Rick Coleman, March 21, 2002, as reprinted in Rick Coleman, *Blue Monday: Fats Domino and the Lost Dawn of Rock 'n' Roll* (Cambridge, MA: DaCapo, 2006).

Document D

President Clinton Praises Fats Domino and Rock 'n' Roll

Few rock 'n' roll artists had more impact on early- to mid-1950s music than Antoine "Fats" Domino, called by many the "father" of rock 'n' roll. His concerts were composed of mixed white and black attendees and his popularity in record sales preceded Elvis, Little Richard, and Chuck Berry. Listen to "Ain't That a Shame," "I'm Walking," and "Blueberry Hill" as evidence of his widespread talent, appeal, fame, and influence.

His [Domino's] rich voice and distinctive piano style helped to define rock 'n' roll, the music that more than any other creative force in America has brought the races together.

Source: President Bill Clinton, November 5, 1998, at the White House, presenting Domino (in absentia) with the National Medal of Arts.

Document E

Rock 'n' Roll and Civil Rights

The revolution in music that we know as Rock & Roll evolved along side of and as part of the Civil Rights Movement. While not all phases of its evolution are directly traceable to the Civil Rights Movement, the social anxiety and social revolution of the Civil Rights Movement is intimately woven into the heart of Rock & Roll. . . .

. . . Rock & Roll broke down barriers, ripped away window shades and forced society to confront prejudices and injustices institutionalized into the fabric of our society. . . . so many phases simultaneously bombarding society, that escape or avoidance was simply not possible. This was a revolution that swept through the teenage generation and in the process, carried everyone else along. . . . [I]t's message supported integration as well as cooperation and collaboration between the races.

Source: Cheryl Baer, "Concurrent Revolutions: Rock & Roll and the Civil Rights Movement" (2005) Master of Social Sciences thesis, Humboldt State University (California).

Document F

A Common Culture

In the 1950s, rock 'n' roll was able to do what jazz couldn't when it created a common culture amongst white and black teenagers. This was made possible by the advent of the radio, the availability of records, the television, and the population movement and societal changes of the 1950s. The common culture of rock 'n' roll helped to erode long standing prejudices felt toward African Americans.

Source: Eric Vaillancourt, "Rock 'n' Roll in the 1950s: Rockin' for Civil Rights" (2011) Education and Human Development Master's Theses, The College at Brockport: State University of New York.

Document G

A Coincidence?

Freedom expressed in music, of course, does not necessarily imply the same latitude in other forms of conduct. Perhaps no sociological lessons or abstract theses can be drawn from a music produced during a particular period and its effects on the racial relations of that era. Furthermore, cross-cultural exchanges or bridges did not necessarily exist because two distinctly different racial groups created and shared a particular type of music. Any correlation between rock 'n' roll and the emergence of the civil rights movement may have been purely coincidental. That both movements materialized at approximately the same time was nothing more than a historical accident. Furthermore, perhaps the sole explanation for rock 'n' roll is that a large number of young people, both black and white, liked the way the music sounded and deemed its accented rhythms easily adaptable for dancing. Nothing more, nothing less. Case closed.

Source: Michael T. Bertrand, *Race, Rock, and Elvis* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

Sit-In Demonstration 1960

Bill Lacey



Lesson Plan

Overview

This Activator involves your students in the developing civil rights struggle of the early 1960s. Your students will re-create one of the many sit-in demonstrations that occurred at segregated lunch counters all over the South in this era. Interestingly, city ordinances, although allowing African Americans to buy items from anywhere in these “dime stores,” prohibited them from sitting at the lunch counters with whites. Because these peaceful demonstrations were eventually successful, they helped desegregate all public facilities in the South.

Setup

1. Duplication

- **Background Essay**—*class set*
- **Postscript**—*class set*
- **Narration**—*one or more copies* (see #4 below).

2. **Schematic, props, costumes:** Study the **Schematic** carefully. Ask students to help you find and bring to class any props and costumes that represent the late 1950s and early 1960s. Such items will help you create the setting and the mood of a 1960 dime store lunch counter. Your students will likely enjoy researching and making poster cards for the demonstrators to hold up who are waiting to sit-in. Ask students also to bring in paper cups filled with torn-up pieces of paper to simulate pouring of condiments over the demonstrators’ heads. Artistic students will enjoy printing/painting some signs for luncheon specials or cokes to hang near the lunch counter.

3. Roles

- a. In this particular Activator, there are several groups or sides: the student demonstrators; the white protestors; the police; and the drug store personnel (waitresses and general manager). Black demonstrators might wear black armbands; white protestors might wear white; the police could wear blue arm bands; waitresses could carry a pad, chew gum, and stick pencils in their hair. Another nice touch for waitresses would be aprons.
- b. See the **Schematic** for the number of roles you need for a sample class of thirty-five students. Of course, reshape the sample roles to fit your class situation.

Teaching tip
To help set the
ambiance, have
some students make
signs. For example:



MEAT LOAF
DINNER
65 cents

COFFEE
5 cents

- c. Assign all roles by chance. Put names in a box or hat and then draw out identities.
4. **Narrator(s):** Decide whether you or one or more of your students will act as the narrator(s)—if the script is being narrated rather than being thoroughly “acted out” as in **Option B**.

Directions

1. Hand out the **Background Essay** either the day before this class as homework or pass it out now. If you have given it as homework, conduct an informal discussion of the main points brought out in the essay. If you are passing it out now, give time for students to read it and then check for understanding. If you have younger students, you may wish to help them read it aloud prior to checking for understanding.
2. Display the **Schematic**, explain it, assign roles, and then have the students rearrange your room to create the 1960 lunch counter setting.
3. Now, have all students move or prepare to move to their positions to reflect the **Schematic**. Narrators should be in a clearly visible and audible place as you start (if you are not doing the narration.) **Note:** *If you are not doing the narration, you may wish to assign the narrator(s) and major roles a day or so before the actual Activator takes place. However, this is usually unnecessary unless you are using Option B.*

You have two options for running the Activator:

Option A

1. Assign all roles by chance.
2. Tell all students to put on their armbands—if you are utilizing this idea to differentiate between black and white role-players.
3. Slowly begin going through the narration. Direct your students’ movements and actions. Make changes and adjustments as necessary.
4. Proceed through the script narration at a comfortable pace, allowing for some improvisation along the way as well as for critical discussion as it becomes necessary.

Option B

1. A few days in advance of using this Activator, assign roles by chance as described above.



Teaching tip

Note: Before this narration is slowly read—with appropriate pauses—make sure all roles have been filled, all preparation has taken place, and all students are in their respective places. Refer to the **Schematic**.



Teaching tip

Proceed through the narration slowly. Until the actual confrontation broke out, the tension no doubt took a while to build, especially as the white thugs built up enough courage to begin hitting demonstrators.

Sit-In Demonstration: 1960

Lesson Plan

2. Tell the major characters (police spokesman, characters who have dramatic actions, etc.) to write out any lines of dialogue or ideas for action/reaction on a piece of paper, and to practice them.
3. Tell other students that everyone will rehearse Activator roles and that during such rehearsals they are to role-play to the best of their ability how they think Southern whites and protesters would have reacted at a sit-in, given their positions in 1960.
4. If possible, plan to film this role-playing—the second time through following the rehearsal. This video will then give you an excellent vehicle for discussion during the **Debriefing**.

Debriefing

Decide whether you wish to use a short or long debriefing. Here are possible ways to make meaningful what happened during the Nashville sit-in of February 1960.

Short Debriefing

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. Ask students to discuss what they learned and what they felt as they played their roles.
3. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the short debriefing.

Long Debriefing

Use one or ore of the following debriefing activities:

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. **Discuss:** Would the tactics of passive resistance used by the early demonstrators still work today? Here are their tactics: love your enemy; don't fight back; remain passive; be persistent; disobey unjust laws; go limp when police try to carry you off to jail.
3. **Discuss:** In your opinion, what were specific reasons the white protestors chose to resist integration of lunch counters, rather than accept changes that would seem inevitable?
4. Write a profile of a typical demonstrator at the lunch counter, and then do a profile of one of the white protestors. Do they have any qualities/ attributes in common, or are they poles apart?

Teaching tip

Pose this question:

What passive resistance methods would you use to protest:



- bad food in the cafeteria?
- unfair suppression of students?
- the firing or rehiring of a controversial teacher?

5. Can you think of any strategies either side could have used in 1960 that would have resulted in a “win-win” situation—where both sides could have been appeased?
6. Show the recommended documentary *Eyes on the Prize*. Episode 3: “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails: 1960–1961” (60 minutes). Discuss how closely the classroom Activator resembled the documentary film. React to actual film footage as if you were one of the following:
 - President Dwight Eisenhower
 - Mayor Ben West (of Nashville)
 - A Southern segregationist
 - A Northern African American (from Chicago)
 - African Americans whose grandparents were slaves
7. **Discuss:** Do you think there is no discrimination at lunch counters in Southern cities today? Could this kind of confrontation occur today?
8. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the debriefing.

Write a Learning Log ...

Learning Log	
●	I was amazed by what happened in this activator yesterday. It took everyone a little while to take this seriously. Jason and I were supposed to be protesting whites angry at the black demonstrators. I couldn't really get into it, but Jason really did. He picked up the small cans with paper pieces in them representing catsup and poured them on John's head. The can hit John's head rather hard, and John got mad. Things got a little out of control. There were some remarks made and shoving before police officers stepped in. During the debriefing, both John and Jason talked about how each one felt. It was really interesting what they said. I realized that...
●	



Teaching tip

A good procedure before students

write is to divide the class into trios or quads (cooperative learning groups of three or four students each) so that they can discuss what they have learned and felt during the Activator. Then separate the students so that they can write their individual Learning Log entries in isolation.

Resources to consult

Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988, pages 273–280.

Carson, Clayborne. *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Halberstam, David. *The Children*. New York: Random House, 1998.

Hampton, Henry, and Steve Fayer. *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s*. New York: Bantam, 1990, pages 53–71.

Houston, Benjamin. *The Nashville Way: Racial Etiquette and the Struggle for Social Justice in a Southern City*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Lewis, John. *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2015.

Williams, Juan. *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954–1965*. New York: Viking, 1987, pages 126–143.

Visual history

PBS Documentary: *Eyes on the Prize*. Episode 3 “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails: 1960–1961” (60 minutes).

CBS series: *I’ll Fly Away*—One particular episode in this outstanding but short-lived 1991–1993 series covers a lunch counter sit-in.

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.

Teaching tip

Students will really respond to the powerful visual history that exists on the civil rights movement. The superbly acted series *I’ll Fly Away* has amazing power to emotionally involve adolescents in the issues of this period in American history.



Background Essay

Place: Nashville, Tennessee

Time: February 1960

Separate and unequal

Since the Civil War (1861–1865), African Americans have struggled for equality. That quest was made more difficult by laws all over Dixie which kept black Americans in an inferior, semi-subservient position in society. Separate public facilities, schools, transportation, drinking fountains, and toilets were indicators that the whites had no intention, legal or otherwise, of changing a policy that was known as “The Southern Way,” the tradition of keeping whites and blacks segregated. Named after a fictional black character, laws that validated any legalized segregation were known as Jim Crow laws.

The Brown case

Prominent African Americans and their supporters in the early 1950s chose to focus on the public schools’ segregation as the first barrier to equality that needed to be torn down. An earlier 1896 Supreme Court decision, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, had established the “separate but equal” doctrine with regards to segregated schools. However, in 1954, the Earl Warren Court, by a 9-0 vote, struck down segregation in public schools; *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* reversed the *Plessy* decision, demanding action “with all deliberate speed.”

Emmett Till

Nevertheless, custom and prejudice slowed any federal demand to change the system of Southern segregation. Most white Southerners still regarded African Americans as inferiors who should know and accept their current position in a white-dominated society. One young black who inadvertently chose to challenge this inequality was Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old from Chicago visiting relatives in Greenwood, Mississippi in 1955. He was ignorant of how

African Americans behaved in the South. At a local store, Till spoke to or whistled at a white woman. Within hours he was abducted, beaten, killed, and tossed into the Tallahatchie River. A heavy cotton gin fan had been tied to his neck with barbed wire. Till’s funeral generated rage and indignation among African Americans, north and south.

Montgomery Bus Boycott

In the early winter of 1955, just months after Emmett Till’s funeral, a spark was ignited that started what became known as the civil rights movement.

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a seamstress exhausted after a long day’s work, got on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. When more whites needed additional seating, the bus driver asked Parks and other African Americans to vacate their seats and move further back on the bus. Her refusal and resulting arrest initiated a series of events that led to a massive boycott of the city’s buses. Parks’ defiance, the black community’s unity, and the guidance of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference under Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., combined to launch the first real challenge to segregation.



Rosa Parks

Crisis at Little Rock

By December 1956, the Montgomery bus boycott was over; African Americans could now ride integrated transportation in that “Cradle of Dixie,” Montgomery. Next, civil rights workers

Image Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-111235

turned their attention to carrying out the Brown decision. Despite the tone and earnestness of the Supreme Court's order to desegregate public schools, however, African Americans met hardened resistance. In September 1957, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus used the state's national guard troops to prevent nine African American students from enrolling in Little Rock's Central High School. President Dwight Eisenhower, empowered to enforce federal law, placed the guard under his control and sent paratroopers to safeguard and oversee the successful integration of African American children into that public school. As in Montgomery, the Little Rock challenge was a victory, and the civil rights movement seemed to get stronger

Sit-in at F. W. Woolworth's

The examples of success in Montgomery and Little Rock laid the groundwork for the next stage of the movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 1957, Congress passed the first Civil Rights Act in over ninety years. This act set up a commission to investigate violations of civil rights and gave the Attorney General authority to sue anyone hindering an American's voting rights. With hope, strength, a new confidence, and an admired leader, Martin Luther King Jr., African Americans saw another opportunity for victory and a new strategy in the wake of a courageous act in Greensboro, North Carolina.

In Greensboro, on February 1, 1960, four black students—David Richmond, Ezell Blair, Joseph McNeil, and Franklin McCain—freshman from nearby North Carolina Agriculture and Technical College, decided to challenge the injustice of the segregated lunch counters, a common practice throughout the South. At 4:30 p.m. the four walked into F.W. Woolworth's five and dime store, purchased a few items, then went downstairs and sat down at the lunch counter, and ordered. An African American waitress first told them, "Fellows like you make our race look bad." Then she refused to serve them the coffee they ordered. The four remained at their stools,

undisturbed and unserved, until closing time at 5:30 p.m.

The Greensboro Four

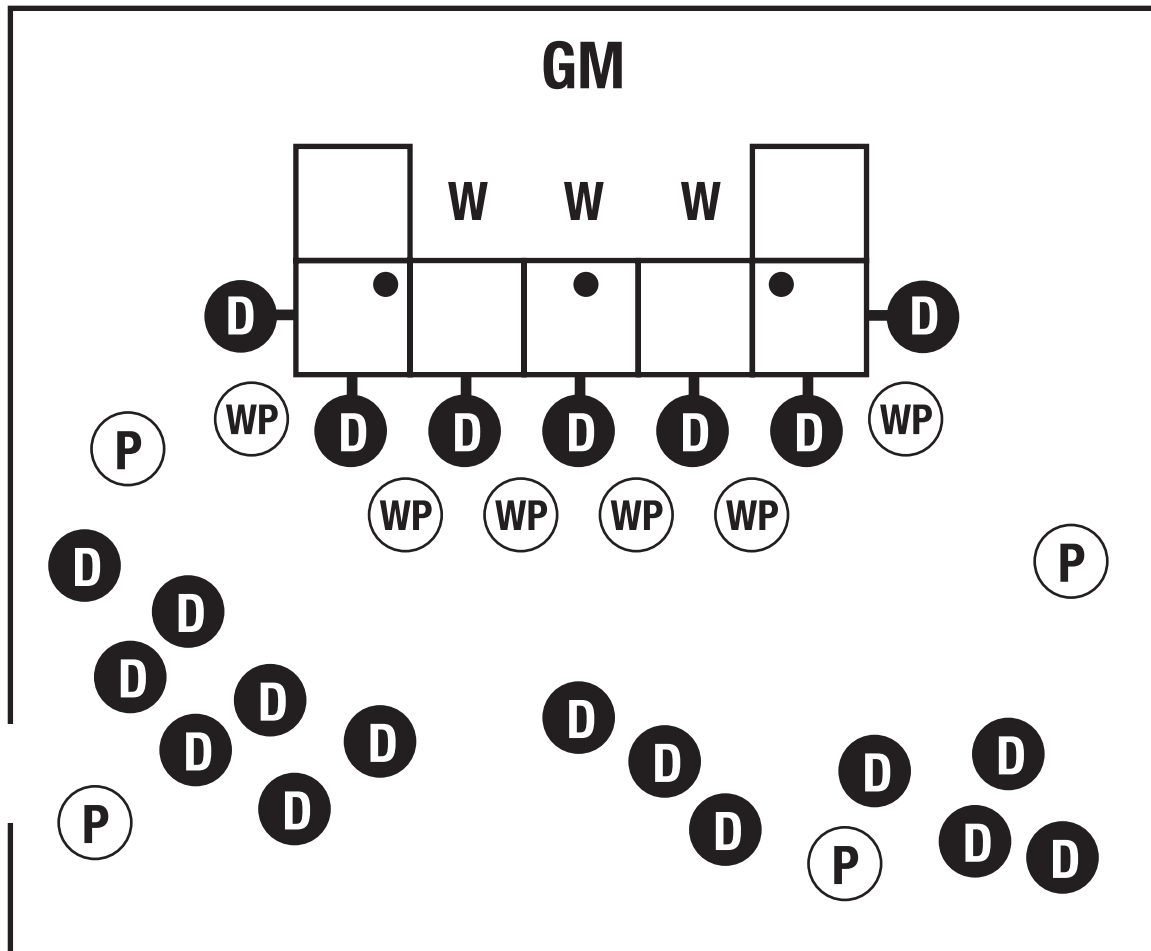
That night the buzz across the college made the "Greensboro Four" instant celebrities. The next day, having discussed strategies in late-night bull sessions, nineteen students appeared at Woolworth's lunch counter, ordered, were refused service, and remained for the rest of the day. On Wednesday, eighty-five students participated. Confused but generally polite managers at Woolworth's finally called in police when business from white customers fell off considerably that first week. The sit-in, in which civil rights supporters remained seated at segregated lunch counters until they were served or arrested, became the new strategy of a growing passive resistance movement—loving your enemy and not fighting back. This "Montgomery Way" was recommended and practiced by Martin Luther King Jr. and his followers, who pointed out how it had been practiced earlier by Jesus, Henry David Thoreau, and Mahatma Gandhi.

Join the movement . . . or resist it . . .

The students who participated in the Woolworth's sit-in February 1–4, 1960, had no plan, no training, no preparation. They weren't even sure what kind of reactions store managers would have. In this particular case, the sit-in was spontaneous and open-minded. Yet, it excited African American leaders, and focused on a new battleground—lunch counters and other public facilities. The potential for success generated hope all over the South. Most of all, the sit-in became "a contagion." Soon sit-ins would grow in numbers and size in larger cities such as Nashville, Tennessee.

You and your classmates will now role-play those who participated in the Nashville sit-in in February 1960, either as a waitress, a store manager, hecklers, police, or as the brave protesters determined to desegregate downtown Nashville's lunch counters.

Schematic



Characters needed

For a class of 35:

- Demonstrators (D)
3 waves x 7 = 21
- White protestors (WP) = 6
- General manager (GM) = 1
- Waitresses (W) = 3
- Police (P) = 4

Historical note

Protesting whites did not pour condiments (●) onto the heads and backs of demonstrators at Nashville. They carried out this act later in a Jackson, Mississippi sit-in demonstration.

This action was included here in this Activator to give students an idea of what African Americans had to endure during the civil rights movement.

Narration

With the example of the Greensboro sit-in at Woolworth's in early February 1960, plans now were put forth to stage similar demonstrations all over the South. Besides Woolworth's, other national chains of so-called "dime stores" such as Kress, some with several stores in each city, became targets for sit-ins. Here was the sit-in scenario: walk in, sit down at the lunch counter, politely request food or drink (usually coffee—the college student's drink of choice), remain at the counter on the bar stool or swivel chair when refused service, and above all, *keep silent*.

If the Greensboro sit-in was somewhat spontaneous, the one planned for Nashville in late February was not. Students who had decided to stage the Nashville protest against lunch counter segregation had attended Jim Lawson's workshop on nonviolence. Lawson was an older African American with experience in Gandhian passive resistance in India. There he had refused to fight in the Korean War. Back in the states he had trained and educated Nashville's black students to never fight back, to love their oppressor, and to absorb, if necessary, the body blows from hostile forces. His message: "Respond in dignity."

On February 18, students from Nashville's four black colleges staged their first sit-in downtown. Diane Nash, a 22-year-old from Chicago, was one of two hundred who sat down at the segregated lunch counter that day. Along with John Lewis, C. T. Vivian, and Leo Lillard, she was "wall-to-wall terrified" of being not only a lawbreaker but also a victim of physical violence—although no sit-in as yet had generated a confrontation. Nash, who would soon be recognized as a leader and the articulate spokesperson for the demonstration, thought this first sit-in in Nashville was almost comical, even laughable. Nervous waitresses kept dropping dishes and all the other employees were confused. Moderate white reaction in Nashville produced comments such as: "These are agitators from up North" and "These are not our blacks."

Day after day for more than a week, the sit-in ritual was played out by these dedicated, well-trained, and inspired students. But on February 27, a Saturday, Diane Nash's fears were justified when violence actually erupted, even though this particular sit-in had begun like all the earlier ones.

The students walk in, sit down at all available lunch counter swivel chairs, order lunch or coffee, and are soon told by the waitresses that "We don't serve you coloreds here." The demonstrators sit passively until another supporter dashes into the counter area and announces the imminent arrival of an angry gang of white hoods. *(Pause)*

Within minutes these teenage toughs come through the front door of the dime store and walk downstairs to the lunch counters. Some of Nashville's police force walk among them as if to watch what happens rather than prevent an outbreak. The mob of whites approach the swivel chairs, stop, and hover around the fearful students in silence. *(Pause)* Everyone senses an explosion is about to happen. Suddenly, the thugs shout racial slurs and epithets to the seated students, who stare straight ahead, and neither speak nor turn around.

This non-action disturbs the toughs. *(Pause)* Suddenly several grab the shirts and jackets of the protesters, hit them, and try to pull them away from the stools. Many students have locked their legs around the bolted-down chairs, yet, this does not prevent the students from taking blow after blow to the head, neck, and abdomen from the white mob.

One black student is pried away from his stool, and because he is being beaten with fists, he assumes a fetal position on the floor. Still he is kicked, slugged, and spit on. Two more black students have cigarette butts ground into their necks. They wince, but do not turn around to confront or attack their oppressors. Three thugs then grab bottles and jars of catsup and mustard off the lunch counter and begin dousing the students, who remarkably still remain immobile.

As this action occurs, the police still do nothing. A few even smile at the proceedings. *(Pause)* Minutes later, one police officer steps forward. "Okay," he says, "all you blacks, get up from the lunch counter, or we're going to arrest ya for disturbing the peace." *(Pause)* "Everybody's under arrest."

Most of the students comply with the officer's request, but as they stand up and are escorted away to the wagons outside, something wondrous happens. A second wave of demonstrators slide into the vacated seats and sit quietly. So, another officer and his fellow policemen arrest this second group and lead them upstairs and out the door to the police vans which are now bulging with demonstrators. As this happens, a third wave of students sits down. They, too, will be arrested by the perplexed police. Still others are waiting outside, prepared to fill the counter seats.

The gang of white teens who instigated the confrontation and caused an outbreak are left behind smirking and basking in their success.



Counter segment where Greensboro students staged a civil rights sit-in protest on display in the National Museum of American History in Washington DC.

Image Source: ©RadioFan/CC BY-SA 3.0

Postscript

What made the protest at the lunch counters so different from the Montgomery bus boycott or the Little Rock school integration crisis was obvious. These two earlier events were reactions; the sit-ins were direct actions. The sit-in in Greensboro, followed by fresh demonstrations at lunch counters the next week in Raleigh, Durham, and Winston-Salem, set the tone and pattern for the sit-in in Nashville. Segregation, after a hundred years, was becoming antiquated. As Dr. King eloquently said: "The underlying philosophies of segregation are diametrically opposed to democracy and Christianity."

Two days after the February 27 sit-in in Nashville, those arrested came before a judge who ignored the defense counsel and pronounced all of the demonstrators guilty of disturbing the peace with a \$150 fine, plus court costs. Fourteen of the protesters—including Diane Nash and John Lewis—refused to pay the fine and spent the next thirty-three days in a city work house, an experience later considered a "badge of honor" among students.

Jail time excluded, the Nashville sit-in was successful in fulfilling its purpose. The large number of supporters and demonstrators at the lunch counter site ready to replace the arrested was a vital factor. Also important was the unexpected honesty of Mayor Ben West, who when asked by Nash, publicly admitted that segregation based on color was morally wrong. The most important factor for the sit-in's eventual success was the boycott of Nashville's downtown stores by the 70,000 strong black community. The boycott even extended into northern cities where national chains such as Kress and Woolworth's had stores.

By the end of March, after several weeks of the boycott, Mayor West's comments, and the negative press about Nashville's treatment of the students, the town's Greyhound Bus terminal lunch counter finally served African Americans. This first sit-in victory, however, was marred by the fact that four students being served were badly beaten as they tried to eat. Two days later, two unexploded bombs were found in the terminal.

Perhaps the most important outcome from the dramatic events of the winter of 1960 was the success of the sit-in itself as a protest strategy in the civil rights movement. The Montgomery bus boycott had shown that a boycott could work. Now it was clear that sit-ins at lunch counters also worked. Sitting at lunch counters day after day, with backup demonstrators ready to slide into vacated chairs proved to be another arrow in the quiver of the nonviolent strategies preached by followers of Thoreau, Gandhi, and King.

The movement would move on to other battles: freedom rides, marches, and protests to integrate public facilities; increasing African American voter registration; and outlawing literacy tests and poll taxes. Perhaps none, however, would have the drama of seeing college-age men and women join the ranks in the quest for racial justice. For they braved hecklers who poured condiments over their heads, dodged fists to their bodies, and twisted their legs around bar stools seats to avoid being dragged away to jail by police. No doubt the Nashville sit-in quickened the nation's pulse for justice and reform, and in a large way defined the coming decade, the 1960s, which, it should be noted, would see many if not all goals of the movement achieved.

Historical Investigation Activity

Sit-In Demonstration (1960)



Focus Question

The Nashville sit-in protesters: Did they faithfully and effectively apply the passive resistance tactics of Thoreau, Gandhi, and King?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–H**—*class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**—*class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Ask students, “Now that we have studied the Brown Supreme Court case and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, we’re going to move on to an analysis of the Nashville sit-in, another vital event in the civil rights movement.”
- Continue, “Let me ask you this: If you wanted to change the food that was served in the school cafeteria from regular fare to a more healthful cuisine and your efforts to make this change by talking to school officials had failed miserably, what other options would be open to you?” Discuss the same options open to supporters of civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s: boycotts, demonstrations, picketing, petitions, sit-ins, protests, etc. Hopefully, students will offer these choices during the discussion. Ask, “Which options and strategies do you see on TV newscasts or on streets in your own city/town? What are the usual issues? Are these efforts usually successful?” Discuss.

2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- Many believe that African Americans of the 1950s and 1960s achieved many of their civil rights by applying the principles of passive resistance and civil disobedience. Time and time again, from the Montgomery bus boycott through the sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, demonstrations, and protests, African American leaders utilized the same tactics that proved successful for centuries in helping to secure basic rights, better treatment, or equal justice under the law.
- Passive resistance is the practice of achieving goals through symbolic protests, civil disobedience, and economic or political non-cooperation without resorting to violence.

Sit-In Demonstration: 1960

Historical Investigation Activity



- The civil rights movement had decades—even centuries—of shining examples in front of them. The philosophy and theory of passive resistance and civil disobedience goes back to classical and biblical origins. A brief list might include:
 - Jesus’ “love your enemy” and “turn the other cheek” from the Bible
 - The American Revolution came about as a result of civil disobedient defiance to excessive taxes and lack of representation. Aroused colonists boycotted, marched, and demonstrated their disapproval of “tyrannical laws.”
 - Henry David Thoreau’s tax protest against the United States waging the Mexican War and the expansion of slavery
 - Women’s suffrage in both the United States and Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries
 - Irish nationalists resisting British rule by refusing to pay taxes and by setting up alternative local governments
 - Gandhi’s leadership in protesting British rule in South Africa and India
 - Norwegians in World War II using non-cooperation strategies, distancing themselves from the occupying German army and distributing illegal newspapers
 - U.S. draft resisters during the Vietnam War, refusing to cooperate with the Selective Service System by misrepresenting their physical or mental condition to the draft board, disrupting draft procedures, going “underground,” going to jail, leaving the country, or serving in alternative jobs
 - More recently: Czechoslovakia (1968); Egypt (2011); Occupy Wall Street (2011); and in 2013 in Turkey, the Ukraine, and Hong Kong
 - Here at home, familiar protests are common over school budgets, labor disputes, and abortion. (Our First Amendment provides for peaceable assembly.)
- These same tactics were quickly adopted by leaders of the civil rights movement. The bus boycott in Montgomery showed that passive resistance and civil disobedience can work effectively. Thanks to the historical antecedents above, leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and James Lawson, both of whom had been to India and studied Gandhi’s beliefs and his application of “active” passive resistance provided wisdom to others.



- Say, “So the tactics the sit-in demonstrators utilized in Nashville weren’t new, and Montgomery’s success was still fresh.
 - “But how faithful in application of passive resistance and civil disobedience were the brave Nashville sit-in protesters? Did they, like other peoples in earlier times, take on their suffering with patience and sympathy? Were they able to convince hardened Southern segregationists that African Americans in their city deserved the same treatment, justice, and equality as whites did—even if the battlegrounds were five and dime store lunch counters?
 - “The sit-in demonstrator’s specific goal: to use passive resistance and civil disobedience tactics at stores like Kress, Woolworth’s, Grants, and McLellan’s to integrate their lunch counters. Interestingly, clerks waited on African Americans for socks and toothpaste but not for sit-down food service. Up to this time, there were virtually no places downtown for African Americans to eat at lunchtime.”
3. Pass out the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**. Say, “From this backstory and the Activator you participated in, and in your opinion, before we analyze the documents, I want you to write for #1, your thoughts on how closely and how well the Nashville sit-in demonstrators followed the principles of Thoreau, Gandhi, and King to carry out their task.”
 4. Allow 5–7 minutes for students to respond in writing. Afterward, discuss their tentative hypotheses.
 5. Say, “Our working hypothesis, based on your opinions, is: The Nashville sit-in demonstrators did/did not utilize the passive resistance ideas of others faithfully or very well because . . .”
 6. Pass out the package of **Documents A–H** and explain what students are to do.
 7. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (in pairs or trios) to read and analyze the document package. Before releasing students, perhaps you or a student should read aloud the first one or two documents and discuss the gist of each. Remind students that they should analyze the documents carefully and write their thoughts on the **Response Sheet** as they examine each document. In addition, tell students that there is no sequence to the documents.
 8. Once students complete the analyses have a thorough discussion, ending with several students reading their answers to the **Focus Question**.



An Option

If you ...

- Have students whose abilities may make it difficult to analyze all the documents in this package ...

Or

- Have limited time in class to implement the full package of documents ...

Consider carefully pulling out 2–3 documents from the HIA to use that will still help students think like historians. Using this strategy would mean selecting only those tasks and questions on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** which directly apply to the documents you have chosen to use. Whatever the case, these investigations, even in an abbreviated format, can still be effective and fulfill your objectives.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: The Nashville sit-in protesters: Did they faithfully and effectively apply the passive resistance tactics of Thoreau, Gandhi, and King?

1. My thoughts on whether the sit-in protesters effectively used the tactics of passive resistance utilized earlier by Thoreau, Gandhi, and King:

2. **Document A:** Thoreau was not the first American to use civil disobedience as an act of passive resistance. What makes him stand out as perhaps the best example? What was the issue he opposed and what did he do to oppose it?

Which tactics (e.g., boycotting, marching, picketing, demonstrating, refusing) did he use in his defiant stand?

3. **Document B:** In less than ten words each, describe the philosophy of Gandhi and King in applying passive resistance.

Gandhi _____

King _____

4. **Document C:** In your opinion, which of Gandhi's eight rules would bring about the most success when applied in a protest situation/episode? Why?

Which would bring about the least success? Why?

5. **Document D:** Why was it so important for civil rights supporters to train for weeks, months, before sitting down at segregated lunch counters?

6. **Document E:** What was Lewis’ “badge of honor?”

What specific tactics did the protestors use that reflected the advice of Thoreau, Gandhi, and King?

Any advice they didn’t heed?

7. **Document F:** Diane Nash, despite her fear at first, became a brave and articulate spokesperson for the Nashville “We Were Warriors” protestors. What character traits does she (and others who were with her) possess?

What made her description somewhat different than most who wrote about it? (What advice did she violate?)

8. **Documents F:** Which specific tactics, suggested by Gandhi, Thoreau, and King were actually applied or not applied by the protestors Lewis, Nash, and Laprad?

Used/Applied	Not Used/Applied

Which ones would you use?

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9. **Document G:** What specific words in this document suggest that the discrimination against African Americans was firmly dealt with?

In your opinion, did this Congressional act solve segregation in “public accommodation” places? Why/Why not?

10. **Document H:** In your opinion, is dissent—specifically dissent against government acts and policies—“the highest form of patriotism” as Zinn believes? (Offer examples when it is or is not.)

11. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a long paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of this sheet. Make at least 3–4 major points to defend your position.

Document A

Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*

Gandhi was very familiar with the words and actions of Henry David Thoreau, who in the 1840s carried out a brief singular act of civil disobedience in his native Concord, Massachusetts. Thoreau was jailed overnight for refusing to pay his taxes, a protest against his federal government's support for the war in Mexico and the possibility of extending slavery into the war-acquired territories.

Excerpt 1

It is not a man's duty, as a matter of course, to devote himself to the eradication of any, even the most enormous wrong; he may still properly have other concerns to engage him; but it is his duty, at least, to wash his hands of it, and, if he gives it no thought longer, not to give it practically his support.

Excerpt 2

If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth—certainly the machine will wear out. If the injustice has a spring, or a pulley, or a rope, or a crank, exclusively for itself, then perhaps you may consider whether the remedy will not be worse than the evil; but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter-friction to stop the machine.

Excerpt 3

If a thousand men were not to pay their tax-bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood.

This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceful revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax-gatherer or any other public officer asks me, as one has done, "But what shall I do?" my answer is, "If you really wish to do anything, resign your office." When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished.

Source: Henry David Thoreau, *Civil Disobedience* (1849).

Document B

Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. on Civil Disobedience-Passive Resistance

Excerpt: Gandhi

Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul-force. For instance, the Government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If by using violence I force the Government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Source: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon, 1957).

Excerpt: Martin Luther King Jr.

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored. My citing the creation of tension as part of the work of the nonviolent-resister may sound rather shocking. But I must confess that I am not afraid of the word "tension." I have earnestly opposed violent tension, but there is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension which is necessary for growth. . . .

I hope you are able to see the distinction I am trying to point out. In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law, as would the rabid segregationist. That would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do so openly, lovingly, and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and who willingly accepts the penalty of imprisonment in order to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the highest respect for law.

Source: Martin Luther King Jr., *Letter from Birmingham Jail* (1963).

Document C

Gandhi's Rules for Nonviolent Resistance

Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) utilized his own version of passive resistance first in South Africa and then in his native India. He called his version “Satyagraha” (“firmness in a good cause”—a “truth force”).

Gandhi's Rules of Civil Disobedience

1. Harbor no anger, but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assault of the opponent
2. Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.
3. Refrain from insults and swearing.
4. Protect opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.
5. Do not resist arrest nor be attached to property, unless holding property as a trustee.
6. Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.
7. If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.
8. As a member of a satyagraha (civil disobedience) unit, obey the orders of satyagraha leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.

Source: Kuruvilla Pandikattu, ed., *Gandhi: The Meaning of Mahatma for the Millenium* (Washington, DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2001).

Document D

James Lawson's Role in Nashville

Rev. James Lawson taught his students and supporters at workshops the basic principles of civil disobedience as they were earlier applied by Gandhi. Lawson, like Martin Luther King Jr., had traveled in India in the mid-1950s and was well versed in the Bible.

I began to prefer the Gandhian term satyagraha, or the Gandhian non-violence, because it to me was supposed to have a kind of militant aggressiveness about looking at life and going forward and going towards it.

. . . [I]t was the women who impressed me and I think everyone else with the notion that "You men don't do the shopping for our families, we do the shopping and we shop downtown. And there's no place downtown where we can stop to rest our feet. If we have children, there's no place downtown where we can stop to give them a rest, get them a cup of ice cream. And we do get insults downtown. And if you have a large family, then you're shopping downtown for three or four hours. And you're dead tired."

And it was based upon that . . . that we overwhelmingly came to the consensus by the spirit that we're going to set out to desegregate downtown Nashville. . . .

My approach to non-violence had always been out of a Christian ethos [one's value system]. So in the workshops in Nashville, as in the workshops I still do, I spend a certain amount of time on the person of Jesus as a non-violent athlete. And I try to show that in the actual teachings of the New Testament. . . .

We had tried to prepare the police and the managers. . . . And as long we were well behaved and peaceful, they were not going to let anything happen. And that's exactly what did happen.

So, they were very good in my judgment in those first couple of weeks in seeing to it that no crowds, unruly crowds, threatening crowds could congregate anywhere. But as it did not go away, then they took it with more seriousness and as they recognized the intensity of the whole struggle, so that by the last Saturday in February they were threatening mayhem and arrests and what not on us. . . .

And all of our people were magnificent. The violence did occur. The young white men were in the stores, taunting, spitting, putting cigarettes on people, knocking two or three people off the stools and on to the floor. And our group, they were just really excellent. They sat through the discipline until the police came in and chased the guys out and then arrested everybody.

Source: *A Force More Powerful* (PBS, 2000). Interview with Rev. James Lawson.

Document E

John Lewis Earns His “Badge of Honor”

John Lewis, a Lawson trained leader at Nashville, was one of the many participants at a sit-in to desegregate downtown lunch counters. He was later elected to Congress.

We went into the five-and-tens—Woolworth, Kresge’s, McClellan’s—because these stores were known all across the South and for the most part all across the country. We took our seats in a very orderly, peaceful fashion. The students were dressed like they were on the way to church or going to a big social affair. They had their books, and we stayed there at the lunch counter, studying and preparing our homework, because we were denied service. The managers ordered that the lunch counters be closed, that the restaurants be closed, and we’d just sit there, all day long. . . .

The first day nothing in terms of violence or disorder happened. . . . Finally, on Saturday, February twenty-seventh, when we had about a hundred students prepared to go down—it was a very beautiful day in Nashville—we got a call from a local white minister who had been a real supporter of the movement. He said that if we go down on this particular day, he understood that the police would stand to the side and let a group of white hoodlums and thugs come in and beat people up, and then we would be arrested. We made a decision to go, and we all went to the same store. It was a Woolworth in the heart of the downtown area, and we occupied every seat at the lunch counter, every seat in the restaurant, and it did happen. A group of young white men came in and they started pulling and beating primarily the young women. They put lighted cigarettes down their backs, in their hair, and they were really beating people. In a short time police officials came in and placed all of us under arrest, and not a single member of the white group, the people that were opposing our sit-in, was arrested.

That was the first time that I was arrested. Growing up in the rural South, you learned it was not the thing to do. To go to jail was to bring shame and disgrace on the family. But for me it was like being involved in a holy crusade, it became a badge of honor.

Source: John Lewis as reported in Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s* (New York: Bantam, 1990).

Document F

Experiencing the Nashville Sit-in

Excerpt 1: Diane Nash

The sit-ins were really highly charged, emotionally. In our non-violent workshops, we had decided to be respectful of the opposition, and try to keep issues geared towards desegregation, not get sidetracked. The first sit-in we had was really funny, because the waitresses were nervous. They must have dropped two thousand dollars' worth of dishes that day. It was almost like a cartoon. . . . [W]e were sitting there trying not to laugh. . . . At the same time we were scared to death.

Source: Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s* (New York: Bantam Books, 1990).

[People would say] how brave I was for sitting in and marching, [but] I was . . . wall-to-wall terrified. . . . I was really afraid. . . .

[On Saturday, February 27] The police said, 'Okay, all you niggers, get up from the lunch counter or we're going to arrest you.' [Then] they said, 'Everybody's under arrest.' So we all got up and marched to the wagon. Then they turned and looked around at the lunch counter again, and the second wave of students had all taken the seats . . . then a third wave. No matter what they did and how many they arrested, there was still a lunch counter full of students there.

Excerpt 2: Paul Laprad

Laprad, also a Fisk University student, was one of several whites who participated.

Curiously, there were no police inside the store when the white teenagers and others stood in the aisles insulting us, blowing smoke in our faces, grinding out cigarette butts on our backs and finally pulling us off our stools and beating us. Those of us pulled off our seats tried to regain them as soon as possible, but none of us fought back in anger.

Source: Both excerpts are from Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954–1965* (New York: Bantam, 2013).

Document G

Civil Rights Act of 1964

Despite Supreme Court decisions and other federal laws, it took the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to make discrimination officially illegal.

Title II—Injunctive Relief Against Discrimination in Places of Public Accommodation

Sec. 201 (a) All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, and privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation, as defined in this section, without discrimination or segregation on the grounds of race, color, religion, or national origin. . . .

1. Any inn, hotel, motel, or other establishment which provides lodging to transient guests. . . .
2. Any restaurant, cafeteria, lunchroom, lunch counter, soda fountain, or other facility principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises . . . or any gasoline station.
3. Any motion picture house, theater, concert ball, sports arena, stadium or other place of exhibition or entertainment.

Source: Public Law 88-312; 78 Stat. 241 [H.R. 7152] Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress.

Document H

Howard Zinn on Dissent

Historian Howard Zinn (1922–2010) was a professor, writer, and social activist who described himself as “an anarchist,” or “maybe a democratic socialist.” He wrote extensively on issues of civil rights (He himself participated in countless marches and demonstrations), antiwar movements, and dissent, which is defined as: “to refuse to conform to an authority, policy, or doctrine for philosophical or personal reasons.” The excerpt below seems fitting for the civil rights movement, when dissent flourished.

While some people think that dissent is unpatriotic, I would argue that dissent is the highest form of patriotism. In fact, if patriotism means being true to the principles for which your country is supposed to stand, then certainly the right to dissent is one of those principles. And if we’re exercising that right to dissent, it’s a patriotic act. . . .

[O]bedience to government certainly is not a form of patriotism.

Source: An interview with Howard Zinn, posted on July 3, 2002 at howardzinn.org/dissent-in-pursuit-of-equality-life.

Women's Liberation 1960s



Bill Lacey

Lesson Plan

Overview

This Activator involves your students in the women's liberation movement of the 1960s, a time when protest and even confrontation made daily headlines across America. Your class will role-play both a 1957 family in a dinner table setting and a 1972 family in a comparable situation. They will notice gender roles changing during the intervening years of the 1960s. Finally, they will pair off to negotiate a compromise contract in which both parties achieve equality.

Setup

1. Duplication

- **Background Essay**—*class set*
- **Postscript**—*class set*
- **Contract of Compromises**—*class set*
- **Family Mini-Drama: 1957**—*one for each actor*
- **Family Mini-Drama: 1972**—*one for each actor*

2. Schematic, props, costumes:

Study the **Schematic** carefully. With your students' help, find and bring into your classroom any props and costumes that will help create the setting and the mood of the mini-dramas and the negotiating session. (Examples: apron, pizza box, red pumps, etc.)

3. Roles

- a. In this Activator, there are two activities: family mini-dramas for 1957 and 1972 and the negotiating session. We recommend you choose active, dramatic students to role-play the families in each of the two mini-dramas, especially the parental roles.
- b. Here are the specific roles you need to fill: Robert Hanson, Gloria Hanson, the two Hanson kids (Robbie and Laurie); John Merrick, Maureen Boland-Merrick, and Brent Merrick. After these, all students, including, those who role-play the above characters, will negotiate issues in the last part of the Activator.
- c. You may assign some roles by chance. Be aware, however, that the most eloquent and dramatic students can pull off the mini-dramas the best.

Teaching tip

Small costume flourishes and props really aid in the Activator's success. It's amazing what an apron or pizza will do to set a mood.



4. **Narrator(s):** There are no narrators to tell a story as in some of the other Activators in this series. The mini-dramas are read/acted out, and the negotiating session is carried out without a narration.

Directions

1. Hand out the **Background Essay** either the day before this class as homework or pass it out now. If you have given it as homework, conduct an informal discussion of the main points brought out. If you are going over it now, read the essay aloud to the students as they read with you, pausing to explain the main points.
2. Display the **Schematic** if you think the students need to see the activities' configurations. Also, it would be helpful in utilizing student muscle to rearrange furniture and/or create the proper setting, first, for the mini-dramas and last, for the face-off arrangement during the negotiating session. Once done, students who are involved in the first mini-drama (1957) should set up for their family dinner with props or costumes.

You have one or two ways to conduct both the family mini-dramas and the negotiating session:

Option A

1. Assign roles as discussed in **Setup #3**.
2. Have family members for both mini-dramas take the script home and memorize it. That way the drama can be acted out without any cumbersome paper on the dining room table. This option, of course, requires some memory skills. (Drama students can easily carry this off.)
3. Consider, too, filming the two dramas for closer analysis. Show them and see what students can perceive.
4. Have students watch the two mini-dramas and take notes on a divided paper. Make sure students realize that the two mini-dramas are stereotyped versions of family life from the two decades.
5. Discuss notes and make comments, pointing out that the differences came only after the women's liberation struggles of the 1960s.
6. Pass out the **Contract of Compromises**. Tell students to fill out their worksheets and award each issue a 3, 2, or 1, according to their importance. (Allow ten minutes for this private marking.)



Teaching tip

Especially with this segment of this particular Activator, filming can really enhance your discussion. Since the mini-dramas take only a few minutes each, scrutiny of the interaction more than once lets students see new layers each viewing time.

Teaching tip

It is highly unlikely that your class will have an equal amount of boys and girls. It is recommended that you assign partners at random.



Teaching tip

Another option might be to have students fill out their contracts. Then, as you slowly deal with each, have students go to different corners of the classroom to reflect and voice opinions on each issue on the agenda: strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. This version was also pilot tested and generated very satisfying discussion.



7. Pair off students. Tell them that it is now time to sort out issues that might confront modern couples in American society, but probably not in a formal negotiating session paralleling the one in this classroom.
8. Before the negotiating starts, make it clear what is to be accomplished. Define both "compromise," a settlement of differences in which each side makes concessions, and "quid pro quo," this for that. Then tie the word and phrase into the outcomes of negotiating so that students see that the goal is to apply fairness and equality in any given relationship.

Let students face off and negotiate the issues, making their relationships fair and equitable. Later, you will point out that it isn't a matter of one wins and one loses. You will stress that such compromising hopefully results in a win-win situation.

Allow enough time (approximately 15–20 minutes) for pairs to negotiate all ten issues. Encourage give and take.

9. Once the issues have been negotiated, have students create contracts with their partners.

Option B

1. Assign roles the same way as discussed in **Setup #3**.
2. Have students role-play the families in the 1957 and 1972 mini-dramas without the memorization. Make sure students realize that the two mini-dramas are stereotyped versions of family life from the two decades.
3. Stop the action at appropriate places to explain, clarify, and ask questions.
4. Have students take notes as in **Option A, #4**.
5. Discuss the differences in the woman's role in each era as exhibited in each mini-drama.
6. Unlike **Option A**, this option suggests that you stage the negotiating session a bit differently after you pair off students.
 - Allow students ten minutes to fill out the worksheets and prioritize (3, 2, 1) the ten issues.
 - Select one pair to negotiate issue #1, another to negotiate issue #2, etc., until all twenty debaters have been chosen.

- Rearrange desks according to the **Schematic** or have students negotiate standing up with toes on a masking tape line, about three feet apart in the middle of the room.
- 7. Call pairs up to the “battle line” to negotiate their issue. This option, rather than **Option A**, may get more heated and competitive. Make sure your students are up to this “up-front” performance.

Debriefing

Decide whether you wish to use a short or long debriefing. Here are possible ways to make meaningful what impact the 1960s has had on gender relations since then.

Short Debriefing

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. Ask students to discuss what they learned and what they felt as they played their roles. Point out that few couples would negotiate issues in such a formal manner, but that similar issues do in fact come up and need to be discussed. Also, comment on the artificiality of winning in this kind of negotiation. Actually, women gaining rights and independence make both genders winners—a win-win situation—because, in a civilized, advanced society, the sexes are equal, despite essential biological differences.
3. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the short debriefing.

Long Debriefing

Use one or more of the following debriefing activities:

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. Ask the girls in class what they like or dislike about being female, and what in society could be changed for the better. Avoiding any male-bashing, try to encourage an open-minded discussion of how gender equality has yet to be achieved.
3. If you have the time, you might want to pursue an experiment in gender relations by having the boys and girls in separate rooms discuss and decide what it might be like to be the opposite sex for a day or two. What would be the biggest change? *Ladies Home Journal* (February 1994) did this with one New York couple with interesting results.



Teaching tip

As you read the **Postscript**, ask students to think of aspects of American life which have not achieved gender equality for women. How might these examples—major league baseball, soccer, Congress, etc.—be rectified?

Women's Liberation: 1960s

Lesson Plan

4. Show an episode of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* or *Murphy Brown* or *The Mindy Project* to illustrate the differences overtime. If you have time, show portions of one of more of these shows—*I Love Lucy*, *Father Knows Best*, or *Ozzie and Harriet*.
5. Discuss this hypothetical question: How would America be different relative to the issues below if women were given more power?
 - health care
 - defense budget
 - child care
 - CEO salaries
 - abortion
 - education funding
 - gun control
 - capital punishment
 - college tuition
6. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following this longer debriefing.

Learning Log	
●	This activator on changing gender roles, male and female, since the 1960s had two interesting mini-dramas. I found it intriguing to find myself "getting into character" as the mother in the 1972 mini-drama. My husband was played by Billy. Although he is really too macho most of the time, he honestly tried to show how men had to change during the 1970s. I guess the boys got the point that . . .

Resources to consult

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The Women's Rights Debate at Seneca Falls. Interact. (This three-day teaching activity—grades 7–12—re-creates the world's first women's rights convention.) Visit teachinteract.com.

Teaching tip

Students enjoy Sally Field in this role because she is memorable as an unlikely but charismatic leader of the union. Her performance won her her first Academy Award.



Visual history

TV Series: *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* has episodes which show an emergence of an independent woman, unmarried, over thirty, interested in a career, and with no particular man to prop her up. This is a ground-breaking early 1970s comedy which set a standard for the next twenty years of strong women in lead TV roles.

Feature Films: *Norma Rae* (1979), a tour de force for Sally Field, is about a gutsy union organizer. Other appropriate films include *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1975) and *9 to 5* (1981).

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.

Background Essay

Place: United States

Time: 1967

The 1960s

Almost unique in U.S. history, the decade of the 1960s saw more tumult and change than any other twentieth-century era. Perhaps because of the undercurrent of unrest and frustration among certain groups of the 1950s, the 1960s exploded and generated an atmosphere of almost revolutionary form. African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, and a media-hyped counter culture found the decade to be a fertile time to push for changes favorable to their agendas, ranging from justice to the environment.

Rebirth of feminism

American women soon joined the "revolution" of the 1960s and evidently found inspiration in the civil rights movement. This movement proved to be a lightning rod for all minority groups among the legions of the dissatisfied.

Yet 1960s feminists, who were known as women's libbers and who were part of the women's lib movement, drew on a long tradition of change agents. Betty Friedan has called their long lineage back into the nineteenth century "a passionate journey."



Struggle for women's suffrage

Women throughout American history have too often been regarded as "inferior" to men except for their contributions in the home (raising children and managing the home). Of course, the reality of our nation pushing westward in the nineteenth century shows a more equitable system of men and women working together—

clearing, building, planting, and maintaining a homestead. Despite this reality in the West, sisters in the East found the gap between the sexes immense, especially in the area of political rights, specifically suffrage, and the right to vote.

Seneca Falls

With a strong, proud cadre of determined men and women, notably Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, the grievances of this generation during the

mid-nineteenth century were advanced at the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848. Here, delegates, paraphrasing the Declaration of Independence, stated that "all men and women are created equal." Then they proclaimed grievances against a society in which men too often dominated women. Demands included more opportunities in education and business fields, rights regarding property, and, especially, the right to vote.

Gains in the early twentieth century

Battling age-old prejudice against women and their ability to make practical political decisions, women finally achieved suffrage after World War I when the Nineteenth Amendment made fifty-one percent of the population franchised voters. With that political equality came new cultural social freedoms and other opportunities, especially in the 1920s. Women like Jeannette Rankin, Frances Perkins, and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt in the 1930s took on responsibilities in government. As they did so, they became pathfinders and role models for their sisters to follow, despite the emphasis on traditional male-only breadwinners during the depression years.





Oyida Peaks riveting as part of her NYA training to become a mechanic at the Naval Air Base, in the Assembly and Repair Department, Corpus Christi, Texas

"Rosie the Riveter"

World War II gave women economic opportunities that they never had before. Men in the armed forces, sent to fight overseas, left a void in the labor force to build the tanks and bullets used against Japan, Italy, and Germany. The American women who accepted the challenge of factory work became known generically as "Rosie the Riveters." The three-plus years in which women toiled in the home front defense plants no doubt contributed enormously to the arsenal of democracy's output. Women's World War II contributions hurried the arrival of peace in the summer of 1945.

Back to the kitchen

As if they had not spent three and a half years as skilled workers, women in the postwar era were expected to leave those wartime jobs and return to the home to become the wives, mothers, and supporters of their bread-winning husbands. After the upheavals of the war, the yearning for stability, continuity, and normality—including

the traditional male-dominated family—was a major factor in this trend. In effect, the 1945–1965 era, primarily the decade of the 1950s, saw a wholesale loss of most of the gains achieved by women during World War II.

The 1950s

Most feminists of the 1960s and 1970s look at the 1950s as the dark age of women's liberation, and, in fact, the root cause of the revolutionary fervor of the movement. A brief analysis of those years reveals the accuracy of this statement. Men controlled wealth, power, politics, religion, economics, education, and the media. Most of all the major decisions in American society were made by men. In their own families, men usually ruled the roost and often thought of themselves as lords of the manor. Women, on the other hand, had to be satisfied and made complete with roles bequeathed to them since ancient times: mother, wife, caretaker, nurturer, and supporter.

There was an attitude permeating throughout America that women were to be adored and put on pedestals; they were to be exalted as wives, baby makers, and maybe, circumstantially, teachers, secretaries, librarians, and office or store clerks. In short, "anatomy is destiny" seemed the appropriate Freudian idea that was applied during these years.

Dr. Spock and popular culture

The traditional view of the male-dominated family was supported and reflected in popular culture—television, billboard ads, best-selling books, and movies. For example, Dr. Benjamin Spock's famous *Baby and Child Care* urged mothers to nurture their children into well-adjusted adults with warmth, trust, and good mothering care. The latter was made easier if they stayed home. This idea remained the 1950s ideal for most Americans. Television sitcoms, too, emphasized this traditional role for women. Shows like *Ozzie and Harriet* and *Father Knows Best* portrayed women as wives and mothers satisfied without careers. Movies of the decade

Image Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-115884

usually directly or subtly communicated that women had to be married with children in order to lead a fulfilled life.

Betty Friedan

The frustrations and dilemma of women who weren't fulfilled by the lifestyle offered to most women in the 1950s remained a "problem that has no name" until a suburban housewife published her experiences in 1963. The author, Betty Friedan, gave voice to her generation's sisters in *The Feminine Mystique*, which became



Betty Friedan

a bestselling "bible" of the women's liberation movement. Written out of personal need, Friedan's book struck the suburbs like a bomb; it made many women realize that they weren't alone in their discontent. In fact, many

women began articulating their feelings of being suffocated while being forced to live such confining roles. Friedan even characterized her suburban life as "a comfortable concentration camp." The housewife's life, she added, resulted in a "sense of emptiness and lack of identity."

NOW

With women reading and responding to Friedan's intellectual milestone, the movement took wings when Friedan and other activists formed the National Organization for Women (NOW), with Friedan serving until 1970 as its first president. Being the nation's foremost champion of women's rights, NOW held its first national conference in 1966 and adopted these resolutions.

We demand the following:

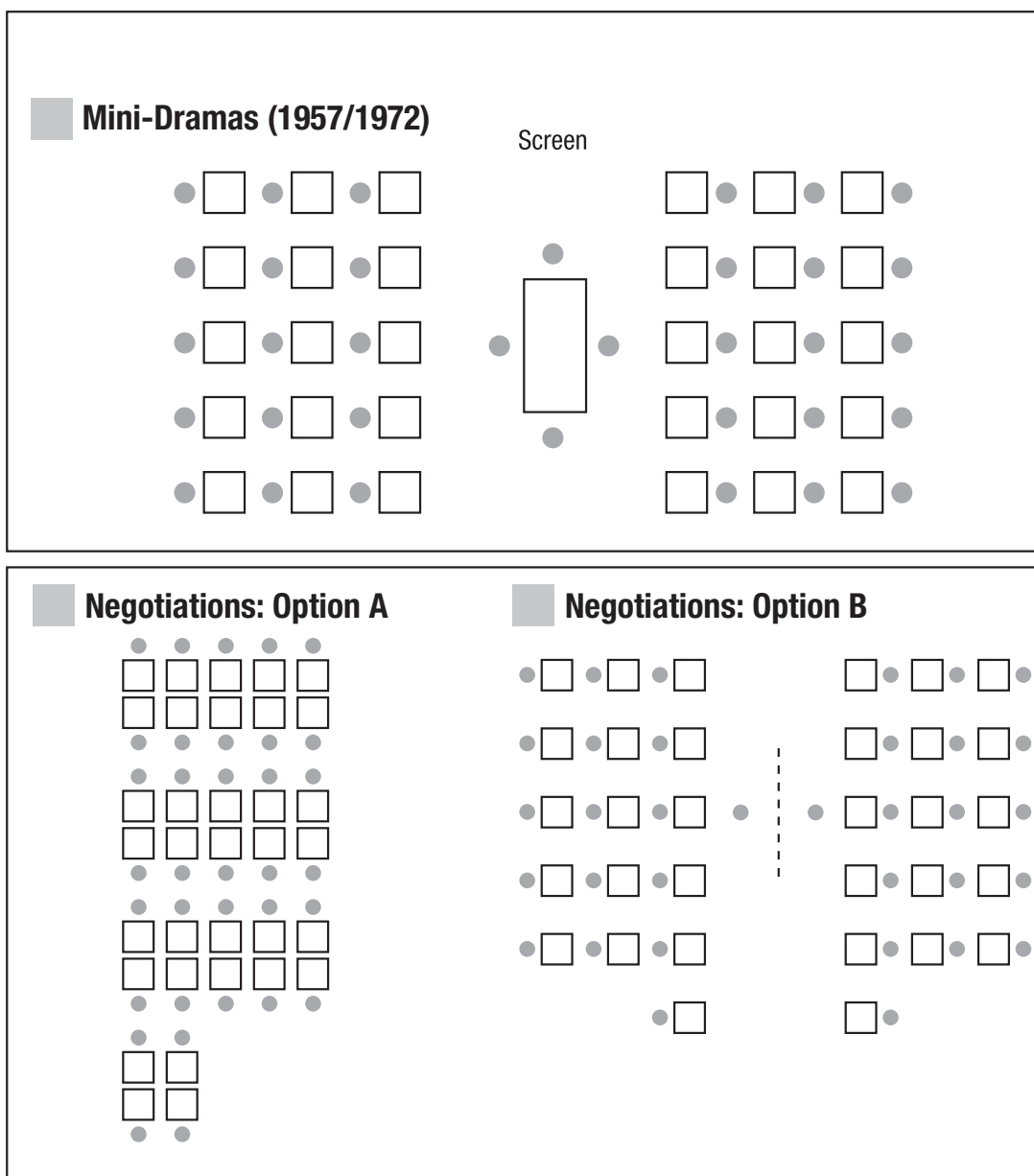
- I. That the U.S. Congress pass the Equal Rights Amendment;
- II. That equal employment opportunity be guaranteed to all women, as well as men;
- III. That women be protected by law to ensure their rights to return to their jobs within a reasonable time after childbirth without loss of seniority or other accrued benefits, and be paid maternity leave;
- IV. Immediate revision of tax laws to permit the deduction of home and child-care expenses for working parents;
- V. That child-care facilities be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries, and public school;
- VI. The right of women to be educated, eliminating all discrimination and segregation by sex, written and unwritten, at all levels of education;
- VII. The right of women in poverty to secure job training, housing, and family allowances on equal terms with men; and
- VIII. The right of women to control their own reproductive lives by removing from the penal code laws limiting access to contraceptive information and devices, and by repealing penal laws governing abortion.

Dealing with gender equality

Many years have passed since the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* and NOW's first conference, yet issues of gender equality continue. Now it will be your turn to enter into the battle of the sexes in a series of three activities, the last of which will involve everyone in this class. As you confront your opposite, attack the argument and not the person, keep an open mind, and consider fairness and justice as you hammer out a "bundle of compromises" together.

Image Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USW361-76

Schematic



Suggestions for Mini-Dramas

- Decorate the table with plates, silverware, napkins, etc.
- Four role-players sit at a table, with the rest of the students watching as in a "theater in the round."

Suggestions for Negotiations (A)

- Each pair of students "face off" one-on-one while sitting down.

Suggestions for Negotiations (B)

- While standing up, each pair of students "face off" one-on-one on one of the ten issues.

Family Mini-Drama: 1957

Setting the scene

It is 6:14 p.m., Wednesday, April 17, 1957. Robert Hanson has just pulled his Chevrolet Bel Air into the two-car garage of his four-bedroom, split-level suburban home. He enters the house and sees his wife coming out of the kitchen. She is smiling in her usual perky demeanor. Wearing a freshly ironed dress with a string of white pearls, red lipstick, and matching red pumps, Gloria looks radiant, but then again, Robert muses, she didn't have to face a hostile boss and impatient insurance clients today. Robert says, "Hi, honey," kisses her on the cheek, and goes into the living room to greet his two children, Robbie and Laurie, who are watching a TV program. Tired but happy to be home, Robert sits in his favorite overstuffed chair and is soon served a martini by Gloria, who remains perky. He sips the drink for five minutes as he browses through an issue of *Look* magazine. Suddenly Gloria calls the family to the dinner table. They all sit down.



Acting tip

The students playing the parents in this mini-drama should watch an episode of *Leave It to Beaver*. June Cleaver always wore pearls!

GLORIA: Robbie, will you pass your father the roast beef?

ROBERT: Thank you, son. (*Plates and bowls of roast beef, mashed potatoes, green beans, cornbread, and sliced tomatoes are passed around the table and the family initiates their normal evening conversation.*)

GLORIA: How was work today, dear?

ROBERT: About the same. Met with several clients. Incidentally, I think I might get a promotion. Mr. Whitwood really likes my work. We're up in volume, you know.

LAURIE: A promotion, dad? Does that mean more money so we can go to California and see Disneyland?

GLORIA: Laurie, sweetheart. Don't talk with your mouth full.

ROBERT: Well, princess. We'll see. (*Pause*) What did my princess do today while dad was slaving away at the office?

LAURIE: Mom took me to Girl Scouts and then ballet. My ballet teacher, Mrs. Devore, says I'm really improving. My recital's next Thursday afternoon.

ROBERT: Good for you. Mom will have to take some photos of the recital for me.

ROBBIE: And I made the Little League team. My coach wants me to play third base. But I almost missed practice. Mom was late picking me up.

GLORIA: Robbie, I told you I was sorry for being late.

ROBERT: Why were you late, Gloria?

GLORIA: Unfortunately, my list of errands practically took all day. After taking the kids to school, I dropped off the cleaning, went to my Friends of the Library meeting, then bridge with the girls. Fran, next door, came over for lunch. Of course, I had to be here for a plumber at two o'clock. As I drove to pick up the kids, traffic on Willow Street backed up for 45 minutes. I just sat in the station wagon, hardly moving.

ROBERT: Gosh, you're lucky to do as much as you do. Honey, I'm amazed how hard you work. And you still look lovely and this dinner is terrific!

GLORIA: (*Smiling and twirling her pearls happily with her fingers*) Well, your little daughter helped. She's going to make some man a great wife someday.

ROBERT: After college I hope Robbie can find someone like his sister, or his mother. Maybe he'll find her at college.

GLORIA: (*Pause*) Robert, do you suppose we can do something as a family this weekend?

ROBERT: Don't you remember, honey? The company retreat is this weekend. I'll need you to socialize with the partners' wives while I'm attending seminars. Your mother said she'd come over to watch the kids.

GLORIA: Hmm. I did forget. Perhaps another weekend soon.



Acting tip

Students playing the roles in this mini-drama should strive to be upbeat and cheerful—but, of course, not to the point of acting and looking ridiculous. Here is the key point: These four persons are used to having meals together almost every evening in a pleasant setting.

Family Mini-Drama: 1972

Setting the scene

It is about 7:30 p.m., October 17, 1972. In front of their downtown apartment, John Merrick and his son Brent pull up in their Volkswagen bus, get out, pass through the door, and enter the living room. John immediately notices that his wife Maureen has not come home yet. He goes out into the kitchen and sees a note on the table: "John, I'll be home a little late. New project at the bank. Make a salad. I'll bring home a pizza. Love, Mo." He tells Brent to set the table while he creates a tossed green salad, pours two sodas and one glass of milk for Brent.



Acting tip

Students roleplaying this mini-drama should talk among themselves to see if they wish to have their "body language" and tones of voice be different than those of the role-players in the previous mini-drama.

Within a few minutes, Maureen Boland-Merrick, wearing low heels and a pantsuit with flared cuffs, enters, and comes into the kitchen. She puts the large pizza on the table, notices that it's set for dinner, and hugs both John and Brent. She praises Brent, winks at her husband, and all three sit down.

MAUREEN: What a day! Ms. Hobbes seems to be more demanding every day. It's all I can do to keep up.

JOHN: Honey, hang in there. The money is good, and the hours are decent.

MAUREEN: You're right. *(Pause)* How was your day, John?

JOHN: 'Bout the same. My third graders are so excitable. Remember when you were in third grade, Brent?

BRENT: That was two years ago, dad!

MAUREEN: *(Pause)* John, didn't you have that important faculty meeting today?

JOHN: Yeah, we did. Our principal, Dr. Dolores Montoya, mentioned that two of us may be transferred to another school. I've put in the most years so I think I won't be moved. Dr. Montoya has sort of promised me that I'll get to stay.

MAUREEN: I hope so. *(Pause)* Brent, was the cleaning lady here when you came home at 3:30?

BRENT: Nope. She must have left by 3 p.m.

MAUREEN: *(To John)* Honey, I almost forgot, my Weight Watchers meeting is on Saturday. Can we reschedule our trip to the mountains?

JOHN: Sure. Brent and I will hang out on Saturday. Okay, guy?

BRENT: Sure, dad.

MAUREEN: Could I also ask you boys to help me out by doing the laundry and the weekly grocery shopping?

JOHN: *(There's a pause as a flicker of disappointment crosses his face, but he quickly covers his emotion.)* I guess I can squeeze in a few "honey, would you's" between the football games. Hey Brent, isn't it Notre Dame vs. Michigan this weekend?

BRENT: It is! All right!

MAUREEN: Thanks, fellas. I appreciate it. John, I just remembered that my *Ms.* magazine subscription ran out, remind me to subscribe again.

JOHN: By the way, after *All in the Family* last night, I saw Gloria Steinem on *The Merv Griffin Show*. She's really a bright girl.

MAUREEN: Woman, John! She's a woman.

JOHN: Oh yeah, woman. Sorry. Maybe I could learn something by reading your *Ms.* magazine that you've told me she writes in all the time.

MAUREEN: You could learn a lot. *(Pause)* I'm stuffed. *(She pushes herself away from the table.)* I'll wash the dishes if you guys dry and make lunches for tomorrow.

JOHN/BRENT: Deal!

MAUREEN: *(Everybody stands up by their chairs.)* If we hustle, maybe we can go out and price new cars. John, you've been wanting to trade in the old bus for a new sports car. I want to look at all the models. Brent, want to go along?

BRENT: All right! Let's go for it.

Contract of Compromises

Fill in this worksheet before you are paired off. Evaluate the importance of these issues to you in your future "marriage" by giving each issue a 3, 2, or 1, with 3 being the most important. Try to gain through negotiation and compromise a balance of your wishes and your partner's wishes. You should negotiate the hardest for issues you awarded a 3, while also being respectful of what your partner wants. Using this worksheet as a template, on a separate sheet of paper you and your partner will create your own contract that satisfies the both of you.

___ 1. Will you keep your last name, take your partner's last name, or hyphenate both names?

___ 2. Where will you live? _____

___ 3. Will you work? Will your partner work? Full-time or part-time?

___ 4. If one of you had to relocate for work, whose job would be given preference?

___ 5. How will household chores be divided?

___ 6. How many children will you have? _____

___ 7. If you do have children, how will child-rearing duties be divided?

___ 8. Will you have a joint checking account or individual checking accounts? Joint or individual credit cards?

___ 9. Do you want a boy's/girl's night out at least once a week? Will you allow your partner the same?

___ 10. Where should you go on vacation this summer? Do you want to go on vacation at all?

Postscript

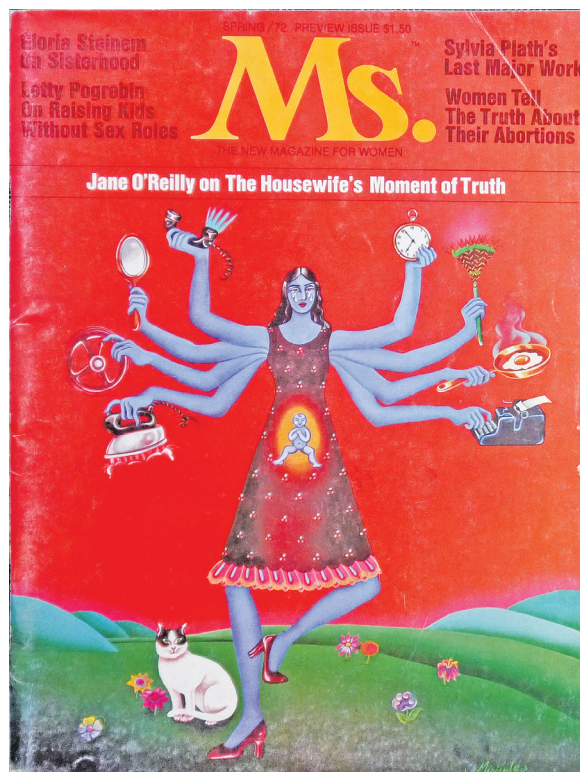
As evidenced by the two differing family mini-dramas of 1957 and 1972, the status and roles of women in American society began changing during the 1960s. After being cast as wife, mother, housekeeper, chauffeur, nurse, and supporter of her husband's dreams in the 1950s, women during the 1960s were being transformed into more liberated persons with a clearer vision of the rights previously denied them.

Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* was more than a clarion call for women. It galvanized support and set the tone for change over the next 10–12 years. Friedan's book, when coupled with the founding of NOW and the growing ferment, established a new militancy and a clear goal for women's rights' advocates—"Equality between the sexes," an admirable objective even if it has not yet been totally achieved in American society.

To be sure, there were stunning successes in the years after *The Feminine Mystique* identified the problem. First was the approval of the birth control pill, giving women options and putting them in control of reproductive rights on a personal level. The pill also ushered in an era of sexual freedom for women that approximated men's freedom. On the heels of the pill came the Equal Pay Act (1963), which banned the practice of paying women less than their male colleagues received for the same work. Enforcement of this law, as expected, was difficult and remains so today in some professional and business positions.

When feminist Gloria Steinem published *Ms.* magazine in the early 1970s, women not only had a militant periodical of their own, but also a new way of being addressed. Not wanting to be called Miss or "Mrs. so and so," identifying them as their husband's wife, many American women began to use *Ms.* (pronounced: miz) to denote either a single or a married woman. By the late 1970s, it was in general use, and feminists felt that this change helped raise the status of women in the workplace.

At first, the focus of women's groups seemed to be achieving gender equality in jobs. By the end of the 1960s, the focus widened to include gender relations in the family and in society as a whole. *Roe v. Wade* (1973), a far-reaching Supreme Court decision, gave women more reproductive rights. Abortions during the first trimester were now legal. The decision, however, spawned two diametrically opposed factions: The National Right to Life Committee (pro-life) was set against the National Abortion Rights Action League (pro-choice) from the early 1970s on. Their passionate differences remain intense today.



Ms. magazine, Spring 1972 issue

Image Source: ©Ms. magazine/CC BY-SA 4.0

Changes in education for women came after pressure from women's organizations resulted in Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. This act prohibited discrimination based on sex in educational activities and programs funded by the federal government. Especially affected were girls' sports, which eventually received equal funding. As a result, within a few years the caliber of professional female athletes was raised. With models like Chris Evert and Billie Jean King to watch, young women had even more options for careers in the 1970s.



Sandra Day O'Connor

Other successes for the women's rights movement as a result of the ferment and activism of the 1960s were just as important as in the education and the business worlds. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan, uncharacteristically for his conservatism, appointed Sandra Day O'Connor the first woman to the Supreme Court. Twelve years later, President Bill Clinton appointed a second female, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, to our nation's highest court. Popular novels and films reflected the changes appearing in real life. Strong female characters in books and on the screen bolstered the cause of the feminists. One movie, *Tootsie*, told the story of an out-of-work actor (Dustin Hoffman) who

disguised himself as a woman to get TV work on a soap opera. He literally walked in a woman's shoes and learned empathy for a gender he had previously exploited.



Ruth Bader Ginsburg

There were disappointments, too, in the women's rights movement. The most spectacular was the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which if passed would have solidified the women's gains over the years. The early 1970s saw the amendment pass both houses and ratification by thirty-one state legislatures, but ratification stalled short of the thirty-six states needed for it to become the 27th Amendment.

Today we see around us many gains for women and men as a result of the women's movement of the 1960s. Knocking down age-old prejudices and myths, today's women can look to opportunities and perceptions which weren't there in 1960 when most women were limited to the roles of wife and mother.



Historical Investigation Activity

Women's Liberation (1960s)

Focus Question

Title IX: Since 1972 has it been a “train wreck” or “godsend” for men’s and women’s athletic programs?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–I** — *class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** — *class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Ask students, “What can you tell me about Title IX? Have any of you or your parents been affected by Title IX provisions outlawing sex discrimination in education, notably athletics?” Write responses on the board, perhaps as spokes emanating from a “hub” circle. Then discuss those responses.

2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- Equal treatment of women and girls—it shouldn’t have been a radical idea, but for a long time it was. In a democracy intent on living out the principles of equality, tolerance, freedom, and rule of law in non-discriminatory ways for males and females alike in educational experiences and opportunities it seemed a no-brainer—treat *everyone* equally!
- The problem was that, since history began, man had the role of aggressor, competitor, and warrior while females were assigned to be wives, mothers, homemakers, nurturers, and typically non-competitors. How does one change such long-standing, traditional beliefs and values?
- By the early 1970s, America was tearing away traditional beliefs about the roles men and women play. The civil rights movement was in full flower in the mid- to late-1960s, and the push for equality for all minorities and women seemed an unstoppable trend. Women’s liberation had given America Betty Friedan’s watershed book *The Feminine Mystique*, the Equal Pay Act (1963), and a monthly manifesto in *Ms.* magazine, published by Gloria Steinem. *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 would legalize abortions.



- But there were distractions from the women's movement: The Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, and the quest for equality by African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans.
 - Then, in 1972, Congress passed Title IX, a simply worded, seemingly non-threatening addition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. At first appearance, it was just another piece of legislation. Its language was elastic enough, however, to generate controversy, opposition, and an eventual backlash against the women's movement. That opposition has remained to this present day. Ironical in so many ways, because opposition to Title IX, which in spirit reflected the nation's aspiration to treat men and women, boys and girls, equally, has come from men's athletic programs where the concepts of fair play, teamwork, cooperation, sportsmanship, and abiding by the rules should be upheld and cherished. Cutting men's sports at federally funded schools and transferring those funds to women's athletics programs generated cries, moans, and sharp words, but the law would remake sports and prove to be one of the most significant civil rights laws for women in U.S. history.
 - Say, "So, what is Title IX all about? (Title IX was renamed in 2002, after its principal author in Congress, to the Patsy Mink Equal Opportunity in Education Act.) Why has it divided people in athletics programs throughout the nation? Has Title IX ("T-9") generated a revolution in sports and thus brought about massive social change, delighting some and alienating others? Since 1972, has the impact of Title IX been a 'train wreck' for men's athletic programs and/or a 'godsend' for women's participation in sports?"
 - Say, "This will be our quest today, to analyze key documents that will help us to answer this **Focus Question**, a question that still resonates across our country in schools and colleges where Title IX is in effect."
3. Say, "From this backstory and our brief discussion, I want you to write your thoughts down about the **Focus Question**." Pass out the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**. Say, "For #1, write down your thoughts and opinions about the impact of Title IX." Allow five minutes for the students to write their responses. Afterward, briefly discuss their responses to give you a working hypothesis.
 4. Say, "Ok, our working hypothesis is: 'Title IX's impact has been/not been a 'train wreck' for men's athletic programs and/or a 'godsend'/not a 'godsend' for women's participation in sports.' What will the documents tell us? What conclusions can we draw?"



5. Pass out the package of the **Documents A–I** and explain what students are to do. Perhaps you could read over **Document A** and clarify exactly what Title IX literally says and how it could be interpreted by different factions.
6. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (in pairs or trios) to read and analyze the document package. Discuss thoroughly after students have completed the **Response Sheet**, including the **Focus Question**.

An Option

If you ...

- Have students whose abilities may make it difficult to analyze all the documents in this package ...

Or

- Have limited time in class to implement the full package of documents ...

Consider carefully pulling out 2–3 documents to use that will still help students think like historians. Using this strategy would mean selecting only those tasks and questions on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** which directly apply to the documents you have chosen to use. Whatever the case, these investigations, even in an abbreviated format, can still be effective and fulfill your objectives.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: Title IX: Since 1972, has it been a "train wreck" or "godsend" for men's and women's athletic programs?

1. My thoughts and opinions about Title IX:

2. **Document A:** When was the Title IX law written? What major act is it attached to? Why are the last ten words so important?

3. **Document B:** What claims are made by the author?

Would the *New York Times* (where the article appeared in 2010) be a generally reliable source? Why/why not?

Which claim/benefit, in your opinion, might be a "stretch?" Why?

4. **Document C:** Summarize the position of conservative writer George F. Will on Title IX.

5. **Document D:** Summarize the position of Leo Kocher, former men's wrestling coach.

Do you think the point of views of Will and Kocher would be different if they, as fathers, raised daughters of their own before and after Title IX? Why, or why not?

6. **Document E:** What years are covered in these stats? _____. Do these sources encourage you to believe or disbelieve the accuracy of the stats?

Why would the author use these particular stats to prove her points?

What statistics "jump out" at you? Why?

Mark Twain, paraphrasing the originator, once said, in reference to using statistics to bolster a weak argument, that there were three kinds of lies: "Lies, damned lies, and statistics." Should we be suspicious when statistics are used to bolster claims in a debate? Would it be difficult or easy to challenge statistical "evidence" today? Why?

7. **Documents F and G:** Why would Billie Jean King be an appropriate defender of Title IX, and what makes her a special agent of change?

What did her match with men's tennis champion Bobby Riggs mean to women in sports, according to the author?

8. **Document H:** Make three points the author uses to support her point of view.

- _____
- _____
- _____

Are any of these points reliable/truthful "evidence" to prove her claim?

9. **Document I:** The defender of Title IX chooses to target the critic's arguments in **Document H**, rather than attack the critic personally. Why is this important in a debate? Which particular arguments does she use to refute the critic's claims?

- ---
- ---
- ---

10. Does it seem possible that Americans on this issue are divided by gender? What kind of men (or women) would tend to support the other side?

11. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a long paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of this sheet. Make at least 3–4 major points to defend your position (use *evidence to substantiate* your claim).

Document A

The First Thirty-Seven Words of Title IX

Few laws have impacted American society like Title IX, which as one critic has said is “ever-mutating,” a reference to the lengthy and wordy additions to the law since 1972. The first eight titles were part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While many names can be attached to Title IX’s passage, implementation, and support, a few people are noteworthy: Congresspersons Patsy Mink and Edith Green, along with Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, Billie Jean King, Donna de Varona, and Donna Lopiano, to name just a few.

No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Source: Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972, Section 1681.

Document B

Title IX Pays Dividends Over a Lifetime

Do sports make a long-term difference in a woman's life?

A large body of research shows that sports are associated with all sorts of benefits, like lower teenage pregnancy rates, better grades and higher self-esteem. But until now, no one has determined whether those improvements are a direct result of athletic participation. It may be that the type of girl who is attracted to sports already has the social, personal and physical qualities — like ambition, strength and supportive parents—that will help her succeed in life. . . .

Using a complex analysis, Dr. [Betsey] Stevenson showed that increasing girls' sports participation had a direct effect on women's education and employment. She found that the changes set in motion by Title IX explained about 20 percent of the increase in women's education and about 40 percent of the rise in employment for 25-to-34-year-old women. . . .

Another question is whether Title IX has made a difference in women's long-term health. In a carefully conducted study, Robert Kaestner, an economics professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, compared rates of obesity and physical activity of women who had been in high school in the 1970s—as Title IX was taking effect—with similar women from earlier years.

He found that the increase in girls' athletic participation caused by Title IX was associated with a 7 percent lower risk of obesity 20 to 25 years later, when women were in their late 30s and early 40s.

Source: Tara Parker-Pope, "As Girls Become Women, Sports Pay Dividends," *New York Times* (February 15, 2010).

Document C

George F. Will Calls Title IX a "Train Wreck"

George F. Will, one of America's most widely read conservative columnists and writers since the 1980s, takes aim at Title IX's purpose and impact.

Colleges have killed more than 400 men's athletic teams in order to produce precise proportionality between men's and women's enrollments and men's and women's rates of participation in athletics. And Title IX has given rise to a huge "gender equity" industry of lawyers, sensitivity-trainers and consciousness-raisers. . . .

The first Title IX implementing regulations for athletics were written in 1979, and through most of the 1980s athletics were exempted from Title IX coverage. By which time, the women of the 1999 soccer triumph and of the WNBA were already excelling in their sports. By 1979, one in four high-school girls was participating. Since then, the Title IX "revolution" has made the number one in three. Clearly, autonomous cultural change, not Congress, produced the increase in female participation, which carried over into college athletics, where the real Title IX revolution has been perverse. . . .

. . . Leo Kocher, University of Chicago wrestling coach, explains the Alice in Wonderland logic:

"Say there's a school that has equal numbers of boys and girls and it decides to offer 200 athletic opportunities. If they have 100 girls who want to play sports and they have 1,000 boys who want to play sports, the law says you must give 100 opportunities to those 100 girls and you must give 100 opportunities to those 1,000 boys. In the end, 100 percent of the girls are fully accommodated but only 10 percent of the boys are taken care of."

Between 1992 and 1997, 3.4 men's positions on college teams were cut for every woman's spot created. UCLA's swimming and diving team, which has produced winners of 22 Olympic medals? Gone. University of Miami's? Going. As are hundreds of men's gymnastics, wrestling, baseball, track and other teams.

Source: George F. Will, "A Train Wreck Called Title IX," *Newsweek* (May 26, 2002).

Document D

Coach Leo Kocher Criticizes Title IX

Leo Kocher, former wrestling coach at the University of Chicago, has been a leading critic of Title IX. This letter appeared in the *New York Times* in 2011.

To the Sports Editor:

The N.C.A.A.'s own data reveals that female college students, rather than being discriminated against, are afforded an incredible number of opportunities to compete in intercollegiate athletics and win scholarships.

N.C.A.A. members sponsor 1,000 more teams for women than men. The nation's top athletic conferences require colleges to offer more sports for women in order to qualify for membership. And in N.C.A.A. sports in which men and women compete, like soccer, more scholarships are available for female athletes.

The real story behind roster management is that Title IX's strict quota system forces colleges to eliminate opportunities for blameless male athletes when women fail to participate in sufficient numbers. Reform that measures genuine equality of opportunity instead of equality of outcome would seem to be in order.

Leo Kocher

Crown Point, Ind.

Source: *New York Times* (April 30, 2011).

Document E

Comparing Stats: 1971–1972 and 2010–2011

SCORECARD

1971–1972		2010–2011
3,666,917	Boys in high school varsity sports	4,494,406
294,015	Girls in high school varsity sports	3,173,549
170,384	Men in college sports	252,946
29,977	Women in college sports	191,131
500,590	Bachelor's degrees awarded to men	685,382
386,683	Bachelor's degrees awarded to women	915,986
10,435	Men entering medical school	10,193
1,653	Women entering medical school	9,037
85,554	Men in law schools	76,737
8,914	Women in law schools	68,502

Sources: National Federation of State High School Associations, NCAA, National Center for Education Statistics, Association of American Medical Colleges, American Bar Association, as reprinted in Karen Blumenthal, "The Truth About Title IX," *The Daily Beast* (June 22, 2012) accessed at <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/06/22/the-truth-about-title-ix.html>.

Document F

Tennis Icon Billie Jean King Praises Title IX

When I was 11 years old, I played tennis for the first time. As a young girl, I quickly realized that the sport was very uniform with little to no diversity in everything from clothing to class, to race and gender. At 12 years old, I knew two things about my quest in life: I wanted to be the No. 1 tennis player in the world, and I wanted to use my success to change the face of our society to grant equal rights and opportunities for both men and women. In 1974, only two years after Title IX was enacted, I founded the Women's Sports Foundation, an organization dedicated to advancing the lives of females through sports and physical activity.

By keeping the spirit of Title IX alive, and the legislation strong, we will see the number of young women participating in sports grow each year. Just as we do for our sons, we as a nation must support our daughters' sports participation. Keeping girls in the game has a profound positive impact on their physical and emotional health, academic careers and financial success as adults. The increase in opportunities for girls will also lead more women to compete at the high school and college level, receiving a valuable education on the field, in the classroom and in life. Many of these women will perfect the skills they learn and become elite athletes and coaches, strong business women, scientists, lawyers, doctors, educators and other valuable members of society. That is the beauty of Title IX—then and now—it gives young women the tools to become whatever they want to be in life. Help keep her in the game.

Source: "Billie Jean King: Keep Successful Title IX Strong," *USA Today* (June 22, 2012).

Document G

Impact of "The Match": King vs. Riggs

Pressured into playing tennis hustler Bobby Riggs, a former Wimbledon champion (1939), Billie Jean King, in front of 30,000 fans and over ninety million TV watchers, in a circus-like atmosphere in Houston's Astrodome on September 20, 1973, thrashed Riggs 6-1, 6-3, 6-3 in the "Battle of the Sexes." It was the "Libber" versus the "Lobber."

Now, with the match finally over, it hit her. She had done it. She had dismantled female stereotypes, vindicated Title IX, and rallied a movement. Her eyes pooled with tears as she slipped into her husband's embrace. . . .

Around the country, feminists celebrated Billie's bravery with toasts in bars, with cheers from their sofas, with delighted screams out dorm windows. There were tales of women who asked their bosses for raises the very next day.

Just as important, little boys went to sleep on the night of her triumph with a fresh, enlightened view of women. These were boys who would grow up to become fathers of female soccer players, basketball stars, and tennis prodigies.

Source: Selena Roberts, *A Necessary Spectacle: Billie Jean King, Bobby Riggs, and the Tennis Match That Leveled the Game* (New York: Crown, 2005).

Document H

Title IX Is Attacked

Excerpt 1

As I write this [2002], the University of Kansas has eliminated its men's swimming and tennis teams, citing financial pressures and federal gender equity requirements. Bucknell University has announced it will drop wrestling and men's crew as varsity sports, eliminating forty-four men's positions in order to reach statistical proportionality in its athletics program. Seton Hall, Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, and the University of St. Thomas have all dropped their wrestling teams. Iowa State has eliminated baseball and men's swimming. The University of Nebraska has also axed men's swimming and diving. . . . The Big 12 is now questioning whether it will continue to stage a men's swimming and diving championship or do away with it altogether. . . .

This denial of opportunity for men is occurring because a group of people with a narrow agenda has worked hard and successfully behind the scenes to make it happen. Driven by the desire to overcome real discrimination against girls and women that was once widespread, activists . . . set out to create preferences for girls and women.

Excerpt 2

Feminists decry the high costs of big-time football programs as if they were robbing the budgets of women's sports. In fact, according to an analysis done by the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, it is the "have" schools, whose budgets are bursting with "tainted" profits from football and men's basketball, that do the best job of providing opportunities and spending for women's athletes.

The schools that belong to what the Chronicle calls the "equity" conferences with big-time football and basketball television contracts and bowl games—the Atlantic Coast, Big East, Big Ten, Big 12, Pacific-10 and Southeastern conferences—are those that field the largest and most diverse women's sports programs. These schools earn big profits from football and smaller profits from men's basketball, profits that eventually find their way to women's teams.

[One scholar] looked at the data and found . . . that football profits make a big difference, especially in financial aid. . . . With some institutions earning as much as \$10 million a year, this can be a significant influence in the aid that supports "gender equity."

Source: Jessica Gavora, *Tilting the Playing Field: Schools, Sports, Sex and Title IX* (New York: Encounter Books, 2002).

Document I

Title IX Is Defended!

In the excerpts below, Nancy Hogshead-Makar attacks the assertions made by Jessica Gavora in Gavora's 2002 book, *Tilting the Playing Field* (see **Document H**). Over the years, college football in Title IX discussions was called the "800-pound gorilla in the room." *USA Today* writer Christine Brennan said we have three genders: males, females, and football players. Eventually, college football and other revenue-generating sports would be given partial exemptions from Title IX's regulations.

Excerpt 1

Gavora is legally and factually inaccurate in her assertion. Title IX and its regulations have never required a school to cut men's teams or men's sporting opportunities. Instead, it is the decisions of athletic directors that are to blame. . . .

. . . Prior to 1972, boys enjoyed nearly 100% of the sports opportunities, and now must share those educational resources with an expanded pool of athletes—their sisters. Sharing limited resources equitably is a basic and fundamental tenet of all civil rights laws.

. . . Women athletes are not the evil giants that Gavora sees. Rather, it is other men—other athletes at the same school—who currently enjoy the greatest proportion of opportunities, scholarships, budgets, and facilities.

In spite of these statistics, Gavora still argues that men's sports are rapidly declining and need to be saved from the misguided nature of Title IX. She lists the losses that men's teams have suffered over the years due to Title IX, relying on selective but incomplete statistics from a General Accounting Office ("GAO"). . . . Gavora fails to report on the major finding of the research from a related GAO report: when all the men's teams added and dropped are computed, the result is a net gain of 36 men's teams—not a loss. . . . While the report shows that indeed 180 men's wrestling teams were discontinued between 1984 and 2001, 120 new men's soccer teams were added. Numerous men's baseball, lacrosse and football teams were also added. . . .

The GAO report . . . found that the most frequent reason for discontinuing a men's or women's team was due to lack of student-interest in that sport. Finally, 72% of all schools that added women's sports, did not drop any sport.

Excerpt 2

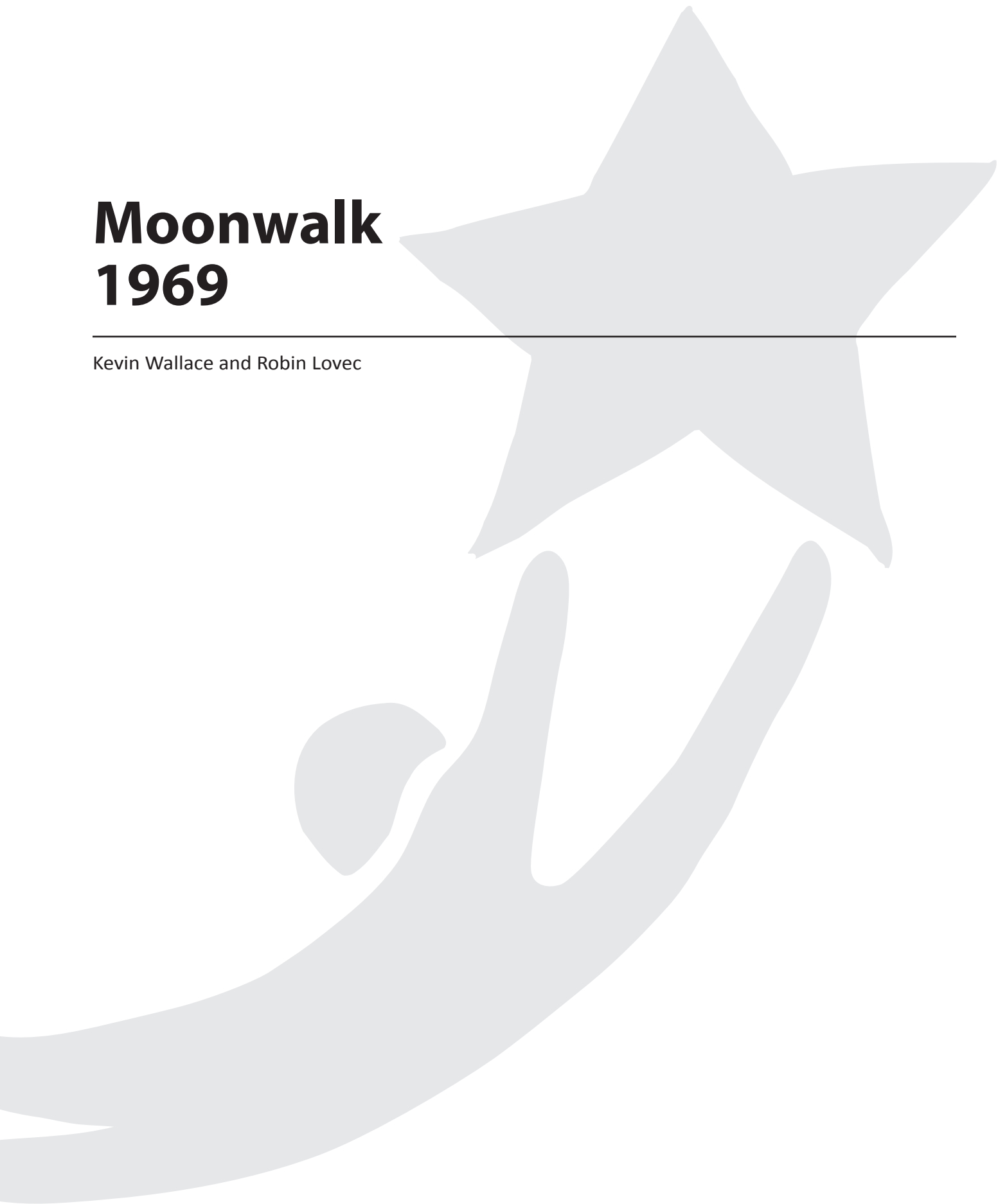
Gavora argues that schools that have large football teams do a better job of providing gender-equity to the female athletes on campus. She tries to make the point that institutions with strong football and men's basketball programs "do the best job of providing opportunities and spending for women's athletics. . . ." However, she fails to tell her readers that schools with big football programs are the same schools dropping men's minor sports, like wrestling. It is precisely at these big football schools, Division I-A, where men's sports are being cut at the fastest clip. . . .

. . . Economists and legal commentators alike have placed the blame for any dropping of men's sports squarely at the feet of these big football programs. If these big football programs help women at all, it is only because Title IX requires that student athletes be given the same treatment and benefits. As schools foist benefits such as facilities, equipment, travel perks, access to training tables and training facilities onto football players, Title IX requires that they provide women athletes with the same benefits. Assuredly, women's advances in schools that have big football programs are not due to the gratuitous nature of schools with football teams.

Source: Nancy Hogshead-Makar and Andrew Zimbalist, *Equal Play: Title IX and Social Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).

Moonwalk 1969

Kevin Wallace and Robin Lovel



Lesson Plan

Overview

This Activator invites your students to take one small step and a giant leap—to experience with Neil Armstrong the first time a human walked on the surface of the Moon. The journey to the Moon was a long one; it was fraught with challenges, disappointments, and difficulties. But the events of July 20, 1969, filled all of America with great pride and amazement. Now prepare for the launch that will land the *Eagle* module on Tranquility Base, a quarter of a million miles from home.

Setup

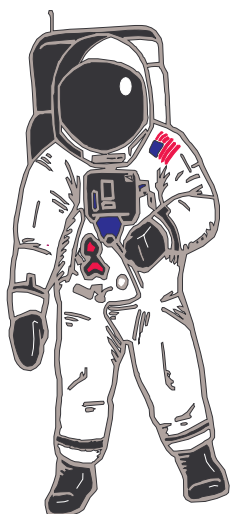
1. Duplication

- **Acting Out the Voyage of Apollo 11**—*class set*
- **Background Essay**—*class set*
- **Narration**—*two or three*
- **Postscript**—*class set*

2. Schematic, props, costumes: Gather props and costumes as suggested on the **Schematic**. The following additional materials will enhance the atmosphere during the Activator:

- Paper plates—*two per student*
- Headphones—*one set (for Mission Control)*
- Mock computer station—*one (for Mission Control)*
- Small American flags—*class set (optional)*
- Silk or chiffon scarves—*class set (optional)*

3. Roles: Moonwalk includes three roles: A narrator, a Mission Control officer, and Neil Armstrong. Two students take positions at the table as narrator and Mission Control, the remainder of the students act out the voyage to the moon and the walk on the lunar surface. To encourage students to really immerse themselves into the Armstrong persona, have an Armstrong look-alike contest. To help students search for realistic representations of astronaut suits, show film clips and pictures of Armstrong and other astronauts.



4. **Narrators:** Choose more than one narrator. The Narration will be more effective if a second or third voice reads the Mission Control part.
5. **Flourishes:** Display pictures of the *Apollo 11* flight during the Activator.
6. **Sound Effects:** Conduct a brainstorming session with the class to gather ideas of various ways to represent the sounds of an Apollo lift-off. This could be as authentic as capturing jet engine sounds or finding prerecorded segments, or students can vocally represent the sound of lift-off. These sounds should be played for use in the Activator.
7. **Music:** *The Blue Danube* composed by Johann Strauss Jr. (used in *2001: A Space Odyssey*).

Directions

1. Students can learn the information contained in the **Background Essay** either through a homework assignment or during a class reading/writing exercise. Based upon your students' age, you may:
 - Assign the **Background Essay** as homework. On the first day of the Activator, conduct an informal discussion of the main points brought out in the essay.
 - Distribute the **Background Essay** at the beginning of class. Analyze the information paragraph by paragraph, asking students to read silently, highlighting key points. Using key words, students construct a summary sentence for each section of the **Background Essay**. As students write, circulate among the students, reading samples aloud to generate enthusiasm and to spark ideas.
2. Arrange your classroom as described on the **Schematic**. Allow enough space on one side of the room to turn chairs or desks upside down and on the other side of the room for the moonwalk movement. Students sit in these as though they are sitting inside the command module. Chair or desk legs serve as control levers. Have students move desks and the narrator/mission control table to the proper positions. Students don their costumes and prepare for launch. Narrator(s) take their places next to Houston Mission Control (the student at the computer).
3. Display **Acting Out the Voyage of Apollo 11** and review how each action on the script will be acted out. Demonstrate or have students demonstrate all of the actions of the script prior to beginning the voyage.
4. Have the narrator slowly and clearly read the **Narration** while the astronauts and Mission Control operator act out the required movements and emotions. You can direct or encourage students as needed.



Teaching tip

Narration note:

Text in italics should be acted out or if in bold face, read aloud, then choral echoed by students.



Teaching tip

Students' depth of understanding is enhanced when they write to learn.

Option A

During the final step of the narration, students walk over to the stage, select two paper plates, place a foot on each plate, and glide to the music of *The Blue Danube* to simulate the weightlessness of the Moon. Allow your students to improvise. Each student may plant a small American flag on the surface of the "Moon."

Option B

Divide the class into small groups and communicate the following objective: each group will choreograph its own movements to the waltz *The Blue Danube* (theme song for *2001: A Space Odyssey*) composed by Johann Strauss Jr. Distribute two paper plates per student and request that each student bring one or more lightweight chiffon or silk scarves. Students will "skate" across the floor, each foot on a paper plate, while tossing the lightweight scarves to pantomime the weightlessness of the Moon.

Debriefing

To conclude the Activator, students should participate in a debriefing activity. Debriefing activities allow students to synthesize facts, events, emotions, and activities into a significant learning experience. Following are two options:

Short Debriefing

1. Distribute the **Postscript**, read this to your students or have them practice the same reading/writing connection activity suggested in the **Directions**, #1.
2. Moderate a class discussion of students describing what they learned and how they felt in their role as Astronaut Neil Armstrong.
3. Examine poems written about heavenly objects and heroes. Use these as examples to inspire students to create their own poems about the Moon, astronauts, the Apollo 11 mission, and their Moonwalk experience. See the **Resources to consult** section.
4. Have students choose research projects related to space exploration and utilize the Internet to complete the research projects.

Long Debriefing

Use one or more of the following debriefing activities:

1. Distribute the **Postscript**; read this to your students or have them practice the same reading/writing connection activity suggested in the **Directions**, #1.

2. To broaden the literature connection for your students, have them choose one of these myths to read, then explain and/or adapt in their own words.
 - *Moon Rope*, by Lois Ehlert (1992). This whimsically illustrated book, written in both English and Spanish, tells of Fox and Mole's attempt to reach the Moon. Students can read this story individually or as a class.
 - *Moontellers: Myths of the Moon from Around the World*, a myth anthology by Lynn Moroney (1995). *Moontellers* includes twelve short two-paragraph moon myths from around the world.
3. Explain that each student will create an individual mission patch. Using the Internet, have students collect the various patches that symbolize the numerous space missions. Print the mission patch images and use the images to facilitate discussion of the assorted symbols, and as models for students as they make their own mission patches.
4. Have students utilize the Internet and other resources to complete research projects related to space exploration or other astronauts such as Alan Shepard, John Glenn, or Christa McAuliffe.
5. The Apollo Project was estimated to cost over twenty-five billion dollars. Have students debate whether American tax dollars were wisely spent.
6. Within your classroom, have the students create an *Apollo 11* capsule using a large cardboard box (such as from a washing machine or other large appliance). Fill it with objects and controls similar to those found in the real capsule. Place three students inside and discuss the problems of living and functioning in such a limited space for an extended period of time.
7. At the conclusion of all debriefing activities, have students write a journal entry from Neil Armstrong's perspective.
8. Show preselected film clips of Philip Kaufman's *The Right Stuff* (1983) and Irwin Winkler's *Apollo 13* (1995). Adult language and adult subject matter may pose some problems for airing these films in their entirety; check with your district's standards and practices.

**Teaching tip**

As an art project, students may replicate actual mission patches or use their imaginations to create their own unique mission patches.

**Teaching tip**

The gravity of the Moon is only one-sixth that of the Earth; how much would you weigh?

Resources to consult

Arno, Roger. *The Story of Space and Rockets*. Santa Barbara, CA: Bellerophon, 1996.

Barbree, Jay. *Neil Armstrong: A Life of Flight*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2014.

Chaikin, Andrew. *A Man on the Moon: The Voyages of the Apollo Astronauts*. New York: Penguin, 1994.

Cortright, Edgar M., ed. *Apollo Expeditions to the Moon: The NASA History*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2009.

DeGroot, Gerard J. *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest*. New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Editors of Time-Life Books. *Century of Flight (Our American Century)*. Alexandria, VA: Time-Life, 1998.

Gold, Jay, ed. *To the Moon*. New York: Time-Life Records, 1969.

Heppenheimer, T. A. *Countdown: A History of Space Flight*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997.

Kauffman, James L. *Selling Outer Space: Kennedy, the Media, and Funding for Project Apollo, 1961–1963*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994.

Kerrod, Robin. *Race for the Moon*. Minneapolis, MN: Lerner, 1980.

Napoli, Tony, ed. *Our Century 1960–1970*. Milwaukee: Gareth Stevens, 1993.

Reynolds, David West. *Apollo: The Epic Journey to the Moon, 1963–1972*. Minneapolis, MN: Zenith, 2002.

Stein, R. Conrad. *The Story of Apollo 11: First Man on the Moon*. Chicago: Children's Press, 1985.

Twist, Clint. *Gagarin and Armstrong: The First Steps in Space*. Texas: Raintree Steck-Vaughn, 1995.

Ward, Jonathan H. *Rocket Ranch: The Nuts and Bolts of the Apollo Moon Program at Kennedy Space Center*. Chichester, UK: Praxis, 2015.

Visual history

Documentary: *Apollo 13: To the Edge and Back*. Embrace the troublesome mission of 1970 (87 min.).

Documentary: *The Eagle Has Landed*. Relive the voyage of Apollo 11 (30 min.).

Documentary: *New Look at the Old Moon*. A summary of the Apollo missions (30 min.).

Feature film: Irwin Winkler's *Apollo 13* (1995) captures typical Apollo launch sequence (show only key portions; some adult language and subject matter).

Feature film: Philip Kaufman's *The Right Stuff* (1983) portrays the drama of the Apollo missions (some adult language).

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.

Websites

National Space Society: <http://www.nss.org/>

NASA: <http://www.nasa.gov/>

Debriefing resource recommendations

Poetry

Skofield, James. *Crow Moon, Worm Moon*. New York: Four Winds, 1990.

Storytelling and myths

Ehlert, Lois. *Moon Rope*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.

Moroney, Lynn. *Moontellers: Myths of the Moon from Around the World*. Northland, 1995.

Background Essay

Place: The Moon

Time: July 20, 1969

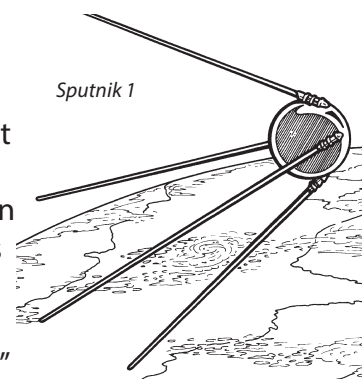


The Space Race

This term described the scientific rivalry between the two "superpowers," the Soviet Union and the United States during the late 1950s and 1960s. Following the end of World War II in 1945, the United States, Britain, and France remained allied in opposition to the Soviet Union. They feared the spread of communism to the western democracies from the Soviet Union and its allies. By the mid-1950s, both the United States and the USSR had developed long-range missiles capable of carrying hydrogen bomb warheads. These thermonuclear H-bombs were more powerful than the atomic bombs that had brought about the surrender of the Japanese to end World War II. The destructive power of these bombs meant that neither side could risk all-out war. Fear prevented both sides from risking an actual fighting war but they found other ways of competing. Their limited conflicts and clashes became known as the Cold War. Technological and scientific accomplishments became an important measure of who was most powerful, and space exploration became a crucial arena for this rivalry.

Soviet accomplishments

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet news service, Tass, shocked the world by announcing that a Soviet rocket had launched the world's first artificial satellite, the 184-pound Sputnik 1. The aluminum sphere remained in orbit for three months, emitting radio beeps from space that were meaningless in any language, but sending a clear message to the entire world—the Soviets had won an important scientific and technological victory over the United States. In the United States, Sputnik intensified the terror of nuclear annihilation and fueled the fear that Soviet scientists might win the Cold War. Physicist Edward Teller, a key developer of the hydrogen bomb, called the Russians victorious in "a battle more important and greater than Pearl Harbor."



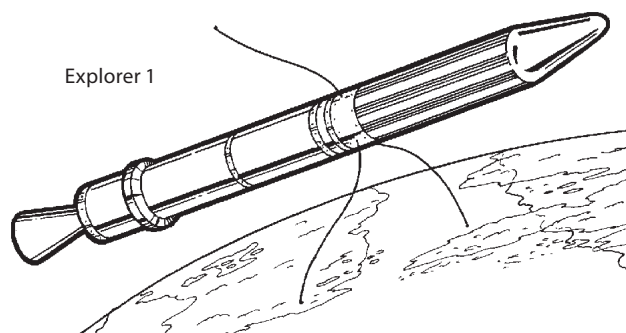
A month later, Sputnik 2 fanned the flames of American paranoia. On November 3, the USSR launched a second satellite, this one carrying a little dog named Laika. The "space dog" remained in orbit for approximately one week. Scientific instruments monitored biological data from Laika's life support system, which included a machine to feed her. The last bit of food contained poison. At that time Soviet scientists could not return a satellite safely to the earth. Sputnik 2 burned up in the Earth's atmosphere. Because the Russians obviously led in the space race, people in the United States were tremendously worried about the possibility of a space or rocket-launched bomb attack anywhere in the United States.

United States accomplishments

Although he did not share the public alarm over the launching of the Sputniks, President Dwight D. Eisenhower responded swiftly to the Soviet scientific threat. On November 7, 1957, Eisenhower announced that he had approved one billion dollars for the first direct federal aid to education—the National Defense Education Act—“to meet the pressing demands of national security in the years ahead.”

During the middle and late 1950s, the cold war and the space race were considered military priorities; the military managed all missile projects. Each branch of the military was anxious to be the first to orbit an American satellite. On December 6, 1957, the Navy publicly launched a Vanguard Rocket. It was a spectacular failure; it rose a few feet above the launch pad, then fell back and blew up. The six-inch satellite rolled out of the flaming wreckage, dutifully emitting its radio beeps. Newspapers dubbed the event “Kaputnik” and “Stayputnik.” On January 31, 1958, the United States gained back a measure of its national pride. From the space center at Cape Canaveral, the Army launched its Explorer 1 satellite, a thirty-pound instrument package designed to measure cosmic rays. Explorer 1 allowed scientists to discover the Van Allen radiation belts surrounding Earth.

On July 29, 1958, President Eisenhower signed the National Aeronautics and Space Act, establishing NASA as a civilian-run space exploration agency.

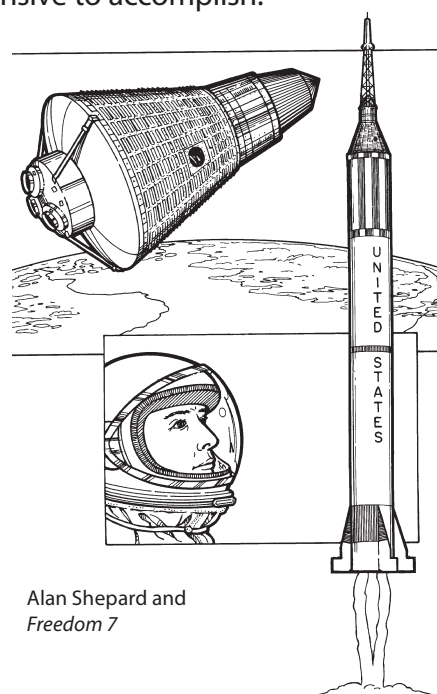


Cosmonauts and astronauts

In April of 1961, the Soviets sent cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin to be the first human to orbit the world. The United States sent Alan Shepard, the first American astronaut, 110 miles into Earth's atmosphere on a fifteen-minute suborbital flight on May 5, 1961.

Although always second in the space race, the Americans had plans more ambitious than just catching up with the USSR; the Americans had set their sights on the Moon. Alan Shepard's flight lasted only fifteen minutes, yet it was the first step to such a goal. Approximately three weeks after Alan Shepard's *Mercury* flight, President John F. Kennedy announced that the United States would put a man on the Moon before the end of the 1960s:

I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to the Earth. No single space project . . . will be more exciting, or more impressive to mankind, or more important . . . and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish.



Quest for the Moon

The Moon has fascinated people from the earliest times. It played an important role in humans' lives. Early people used its phases to invent a calendar; they created stories and dreamed of traveling there. They gazed up at this pale orb, wondering about it. Were there living things on the Moon? Would people be able to journey to the Moon?

Humans have been writing stories about space travel for centuries. An early example written by the Greek author Lucian (second century AD) entitled *True History* described the adventures of a band of sailors who were plucked from Earth by a whirlwind and deposited on the Moon. Other writers, both early and more recent, such as Johannes Kepler, Francis Godwin, Jules Verne, and H. G. Wells produced science fiction pieces about travel to the Moon and all depicted the Moon as most-definitely inhabited.

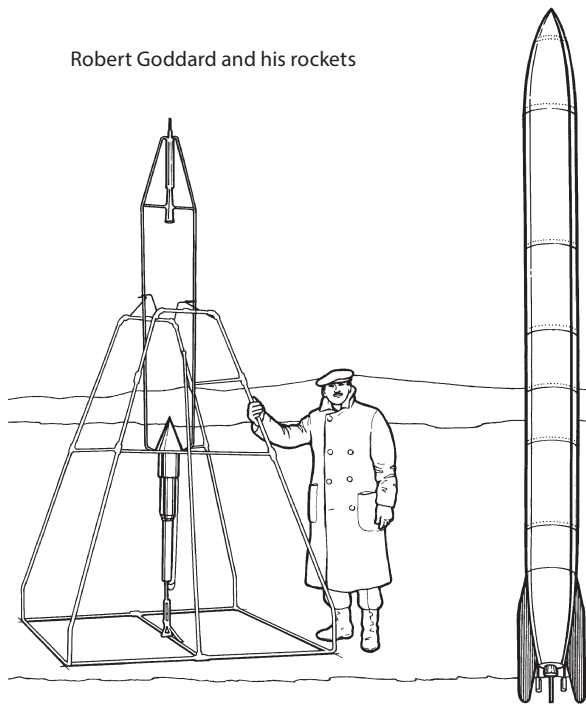
Rocket power

Of all the means employed by the travelers of these early fictional journeys to the Moon, the most realistic and possible was omitted—rocket power! Rockets had been used for warfare purposes as early as 1232 but were not intensely developed until the early 1800s. In 1855, an English scientist, Edward Boxer, developed the first two-stage rocket, which was used to propel lifelines to stricken sea vessels. Gunpowder was used to fuel early rockets and is still utilized in fireworks rockets. Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, a Russian-born mathematician, conceived many of the principles of modern space flight. He realized that only a reaction engine (a rocket) could work in space, multi-stage rockets must be used, and they should be propelled by liquid fuel rather than gunpowder.

An American scientist pioneered the development of the first modern liquid-fueled rocket. By 1935, Robert H. Goddard had tested rockets that

could travel at seven hundred mph and reach an altitude of 1.5 miles.

Robert Goddard and his rockets

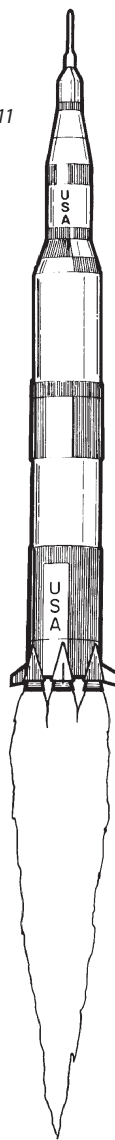


A rocket engine and a jet engine function on the same basic principle—the burning of fuel with the aid of oxygen. The difference between the two engines lies in the source of the oxygen. The jet engine draws its oxygen from the earth's atmosphere while the rocket carries its own supply of oxygen. This explains why a rocket can operate in space. Solid-propellant, a synthetic-rubber substance, and liquid fuels are the propellants of modern rockets.

Physics and trajectories

Early rockets designed by both Soviet and United States scientists succeeded in propelling satellites into temporary earth orbit. In orbit, a satellite is firmly held in the grip of Earth's tremendous gravity. It simply balances this gravity by virtue of its speed. Sending spacecraft to the Moon requires a lot more power than putting a satellite into orbit. To reach the Moon, a spacecraft has to escape from Earth's gravity and let itself be drawn instead by the gravity of the Moon. Also, a

Apollo 11



ship sent to the Moon with people inside needs to return safely to the surface of Earth.

Sending a craft to land on the Moon is no simple feat. Earth is rotating on its axis while the Moon is orbiting Earth at a high rate of speed. Try throwing one stone in the air and, while it is in motion, attempt to hit it by throwing another stone. This is a simple illustration of how difficult it is to plan a flight to the Moon. The distance from Earth to the Moon is tremendous, approximately 243,000 miles. If you want to travel 243,000 miles in a car, drive at sixty mph for twenty-four hours a day for 169 days (almost six months).

Apollo 11

Apollo 11, the subject of this Activator, launched without error on July 16, 1969, from Kennedy Space Center. The forty-ton *Apollo 11* spacecraft consisted of three parts: the command module (*Columbia*), the lunar module (*Eagle*), and the service module.

Within moments of launch, the three astronauts, Neil Armstrong, Edwin (Buzz) Aldrin, and Michael Collins were beginning their brief orbit of the Earth.

The powerful *Saturn V* three-stage rocket which carried *Apollo 11* beyond the pull of Earth's gravity reached a speed of 24,226 mph, about ten times the speed of a rifle bullet. The *Saturn V* weighed 2,700 tons (the average car weighs about two tons) and was the largest rocket ever built.

On the way to the Moon, the three astronauts broadcast the first color pictures of Earth as seen from space. Millions of people all around the

world sat before their televisions in awe of the breathtaking sight of the planet we inhabit.

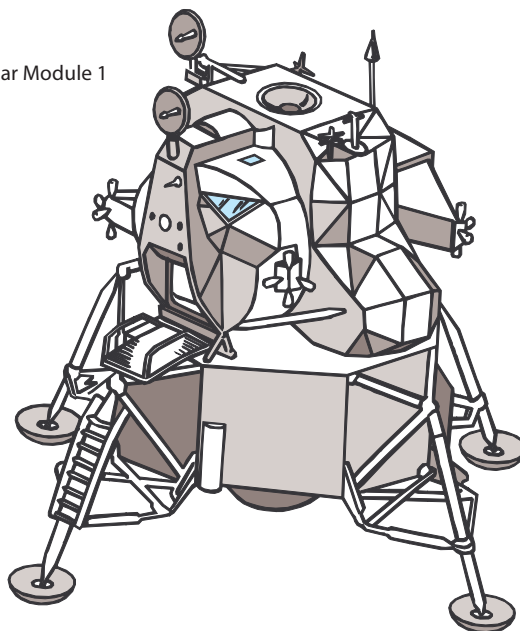
A lunar landing

After orbiting the Moon once, Armstrong and Aldrin climbed into the *Eagle* to prepare for its landing while Collins stayed aboard *Columbia*. As the two crafts separated, the astronauts radioed NASA, "The *Eagle* has wings!"

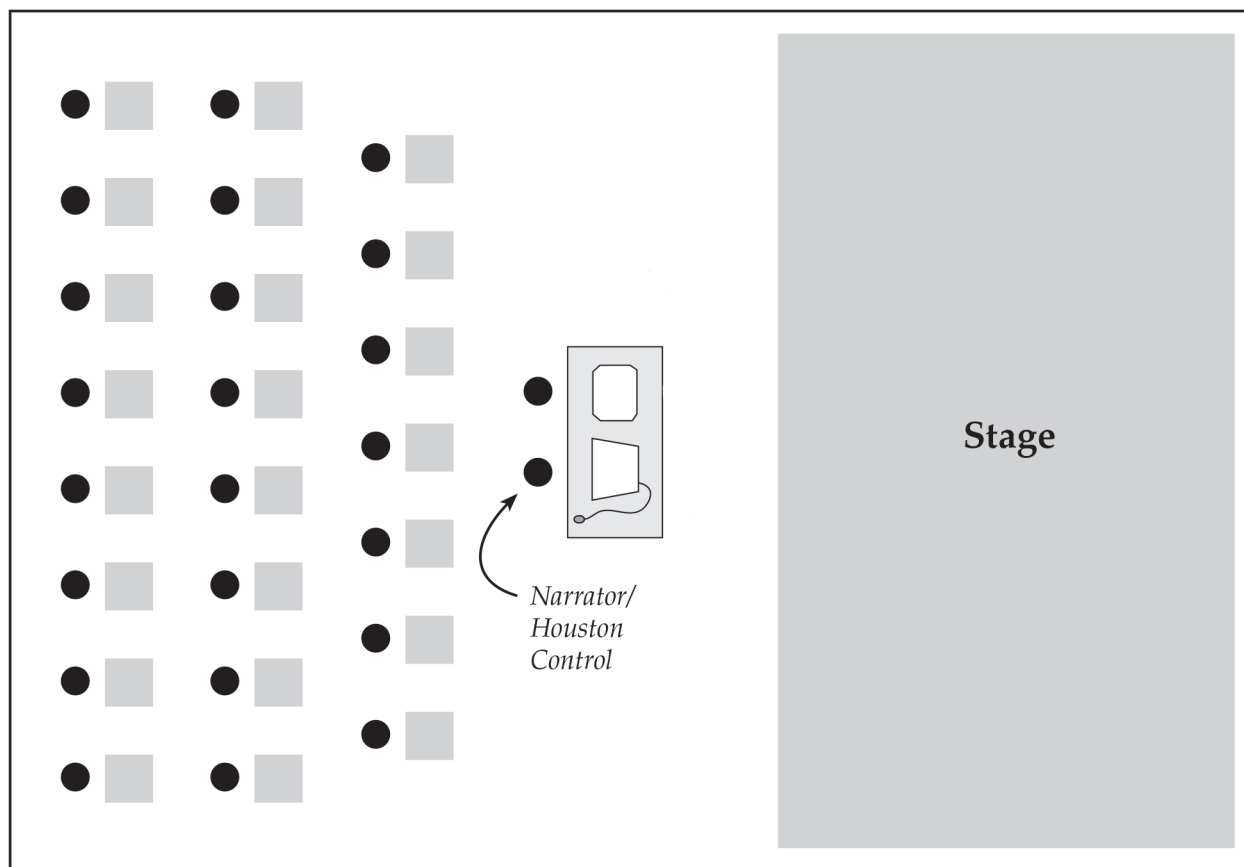
Commander Armstrong was forced to manually land the *Eagle* module as it had strayed off course due to an equipment problem. After several minutes of radio silence during descent, at 4:17 p.m. EST, on July 20, 1969, *Apollo 11* landed safely on the Moon's surface. Commander Armstrong radioed, "The *Eagle* has landed!" NASA replied, "You got a bunch of guys about to turn blue. We're breathing again. Thanks a lot."

A camera attached to the lunar lander captured the historic moment as Neil Armstrong carefully descended the ladder in his bulky space suit to place the first human footprint upon the powdery surface of the Moon. Once again, Commander Armstrong radioed Earth from 243,000 miles away, "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind."

Lunar Module 1



Schematic



Depending on the type of desks and chairs in your room, consider these suggestions:

Chairs: If you have access to chairs, they will work best. Turn the chairs upside down and have the students sit with their backs on the floor and their legs curled over the upside-down chair. The chair legs will serve as control levers.

Desks: If you have one-unit desks, turn them upside down and have the students sit on the bottom side of the desk portion with their legs curled over the bottom side of the chair. Again, desk legs serve as levers.

Visuals: Have students create instrument panels using construction paper, newsprint, or poster board to be taped on the chair or desk legs.

Images: Show images during the appropriate stages of flight. Turn the lights off/on to simulate phases of orbit.

Costumes: Encourage students to bring in items such as motorcycle helmets, big backpacks, disposable automotive coveralls, snow suits, bulky winter gloves, and snow boots. Have them tape or pin their personal mission patch on their coveralls.

Stage: This area will be used as the Moon's surface. Place one pair of paper plates per student on the stage. Students will use the plates as they make their lunar walks.

Narration

1. It is July of 1969. You, Neil Armstrong, along with Buzz Aldrin and Michael Collins, plan to fly *Apollo 11* into the Moon's orbit, then deploy a small landing craft to reach the Moon's surface. All of you have already flown in space during various Gemini missions. You have been intensively training as a team for many months. An amazing thought strikes you. All of you were born within a few years of Charles Lindbergh's first flight across the Atlantic (1927).

You are filled with pride as you think of President John F. Kennedy's speech given at the beginning of this decade when he said,

"We choose to go to the Moon! We choose to go to the Moon in this decade and do the other things—not because they are easy, but because they are hard."

2. Your objective—**"Safely perform a manned lunar landing and return mission."**

You are going through the complicated business of being strapped in and connected to the spacecraft's life-support system.

You reflect upon the past few hours. You were up early, ate, and began to suit up—a rather laborious and detailed procedure involving many people. You realize that you must repeat the procedure, without the help of those people, before entering the Lunar Module (LM) for your lunar landing. As you rode the elevator to the top of the launch vehicle, you watched the surf just beginning to rise out of an azure-blue ocean. As far as you could see, there were people and cars lining the beaches and highways. You could see the massiveness of the *Saturn V* rocket below and the magnificent precision of Apollo above. You savored the wait and marked the minutes in your mind as something you would always want to remember.

3. You and your crew are secured to your spacecraft. The most important control is on your left side, just outboard of your left knee. It is the "abort" handle, which now has power to it. If you rotate it thirty degrees counterclockwise, three solid rockets above you will fire, yanking the Command Module free of the service module and everything below it. It is only to be used in an extreme emergency. You notice that a large bulky pocket has been added to the outside of your left suit leg. Collins points out that it looks as though if you move your leg slightly, the pocket will snag on the abort handle.

You grab the pocket and pull it as far over to the inside of your thigh as you can, but it still doesn't look secure to either one of you. Holy cow! You can see the headlines now:

"Moonshot falls into Ocean! Mistake by crew, program officials hint. Last transmission from crew prior to leaving the pad reportedly was 'Oops.'"

4. Mission Control in Houston radios the countdown: **"10 ... 9 ... 8 ... 7 ... 6 ... 5 ... 4 ... 3 ... 2 ... 1 ... WE HAVE LIFT-OFF!"**

5. Collins says to you, "This beast is best felt. Shake, rattle, and roll!"

You are thrown left and right against your straps in spasmodic little jerks. The module is shaking like crazy!

6. It will be a busy eleven minutes before you reach your orbit of Earth.

You are busily checking and rechecking gauges, switches, and levers on your control panel.

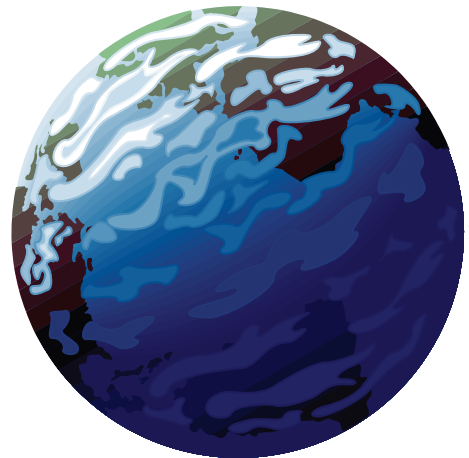
7. **"Hey Houston, Apollo 11. This Saturn gave us a magnificent ride. We have no complaints with any of the three stages on that ride. It was beautiful."**

8. Mission Control radios, "Roger on the beautiful ride, Columbia."

9. You are 100 miles above Earth's surface. You engage the rocket which will propel you away from the pull of the Earth toward the Moon.

"Start the burn."

At 180 miles from the Earth's surface, *you shut off the rocket*, but due to the momentum of the rocket's thrust you continue to climb at a high rate of speed. Only nine hours later, you will be 57,000 miles from the Earth. That's a whopping 6,333 mph and about one-fifth of the way to the Moon.



Earth

10. Your next major task is to *separate the command module Columbia from the Saturn third stage*. Once free of the Saturn rocket, you will turn your capsule around and connect with the Lunar Module *Eagle*, which is stored within the rocket casing. *Eagle* is now exposed; its four enclosing panels have automatically come off and are drifting away. The separation and docking are critical to the success of the flight plan. The possibility of an in-space collision and the subsequent decompression of *Columbia's* cabin requires that the crew remain in their space suits. If any portion of the docking maneuvers does not work, *Columbia* will have to return to Earth.
11. **"Houston . . . docking proceeded perfectly to completion and heading for the Moon."**
12. At 10:30 p.m. Houston time, fourteen hours after liftoff, *you fasten covers over the windows of the slowly rotating Command Module and go to sleep.*

13. Collins turns to you and says, "The honeymoon is over . . . we are about to lay our little pink bodies on the line."

You are astounded when *Columbia* stops its spinning motion and you swing the module around so as to bring the Moon into view. You have not been able to see the Moon for nearly a day now, and the change is electrifying. The Moon you have known all your life, that two-dimensional small yellow disk in the sky, has disappeared, to be replaced by the most awesome sphere you have ever seen.

You peer out the window in stunned amazement.

The Moon is three-dimensional and the belly of it bulges out toward you in such a pronounced fashion that you almost feel you can reach out and touch it. To add to the dramatic effect, you can see the stars again. You are in the shadow of the Moon now (turn lights off), and the elusive stars have reappeared.

14. You have just over eight minutes to go before you start the burn that will place you into lunar orbit.

You are super careful now, checking and rechecking each step several times. When the moment finally arrives, you flip several switches, the big engine instantly springs into action and reassuringly plasters you back in your seats.

The acceleration is only a fraction of one G but it feels good nonetheless. The burn will last for six minutes. If you over burn as little as two seconds, you will be on an impact course for the other side of the Moon.

15. You are now preparing for your trip to the Moon's surface. Collins is in the Command Module (*Columbia*) while you and Buzz are preparing the Lunar Module (*Eagle*).

Collins throws the switch that releases the lunar module and bids you good-bye, "You cats take it easy on the lunar surface ..."

You exalt, "**The Eagle has wings!**"

16. A yellow caution light comes on. "**Program alarm. It's a 1202.**"

Houston fires back, "Roger, we're OK on that alarm. Just an overload on the computers."

17. When you are just three thousand feet above the surface, the computer flashes. Another equipment problem!

You decide to manually land the Lunar Module.

18. You radio Houston:

**"540 feet, down at 30 (feet per second) . . .
down at 15 . . .
400 feet, down at 9 . . .
forward . . .
350 feet, down at 4 . . .
300 feet, down 3 1/2 . . .
47 forward . . .
1 1/2 down . . .
13 forward . . .
11 forward? Coming down nicely . . .
200 feet, 4 1/2 down . . .
5 1/2 down . . .
5 percent . . .
75 feet . . .
6 forward . . .
lights on . . .
down 2 1/2 . . .
40 feet? Down 2 1/2, kicking up some dust . . .
30 feet, 2 1/2 down . . .
faint shadow . . .
4 forward . . .
4 forward . . .
drifting to right a little . . .
O.K."**

19. Houston radios, "We copy you down, *Eagle*."

20. **"Houston, Tranquility Base here. The *Eagle* has landed."**

21. Mission Control radios back, "Roger, Tranquility. We copy you on the ground. You've got a bunch of guys about to turn blue. We're breathing again. Thanks a lot."

22. *You carefully climb down the ladder in your bulky space suit carrying a television camera so that millions of people around the world may watch as you step onto the Moon's surface.*

23. Once more you radio Earth, **"That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind."**

24. *Perform moon walk movement using paper plates on the Stage while listening to The Blue Danube.*

Acting Out the Voyage of *Apollo 11*

1. You are filled with pride as you think of President John F. Kennedy's speech given at the beginning of this decade when he said . . .

2. **"Safely perform a manned lunar landing and return mission."**

You are going through the complicated business of being strapped in and connected to the spacecraft's life-support system.

3. *You grab the pocket and pull it as far over to the inside of your thigh as you can . . . "Oops!"*

4. **"10 . . . 9 . . . 8 . . . 7 . . . 6 . . . 5 . . . 4 . . . 3 . . . 2 . . . 1 . . . WE HAVE LIFT-OFF!"**

5. *You are thrown left and right against your straps in spasmodic little jerks. The module is shaking like crazy!*

6. *You are busily checking and rechecking gauges, switches, and levers on your control panel.*

7. **"Hey Houston, *Apollo 11*. This Saturn gave us a magnificent ride. We have no complaints with any of the three stages on that ride. It was beautiful."**

8. **Mission Control radios, "Roger on the beautiful ride, *Columbia*."**

9. **"Start the burn."** . . . you shut off the rocket . . .

10. . . . *separate the command module *Columbia* from the Saturn third stage.*

11. **"Houston . . . docking proceeded perfectly to completion and heading for the Moon."**

12. . . . *you fasten covers over the windows of the slowly rotating command module and go to sleep.*

13. *You peer out the window in stunned amazement.*

14. *You are super careful now, checking and rechecking each step several times. When the moment finally arrives, you flip several switches, the big engine instantly springs into action and reassuringly plasters you back in your seats.*

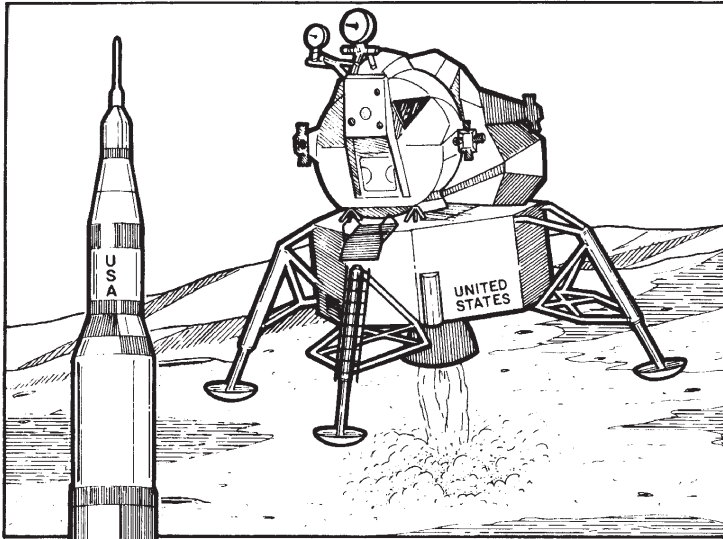
15. **"The *Eagle* has wings!"**

16. **"Program alarm! It's a 1202."**

Houston fires back, "Roger, we're OK on that alarm. Just an overload on the computers."

17. *You decide to manually land the Lunar Module.*

18. "540 feet, down at 30 (feet per second) ...
down at 15 ...
400 feet, down at 9 ...
forward ...
350 feet, down at 4 ...
300 feet, down 3 1/2 ...
47 forward ...
1 1/2 down ...
13 forward ...
11 forward? Coming down nicely ...
200 feet, 4 1/2 down ...
5 1/2 down ...
5 percent ...
75 feet ...
6 forward ...
lights on ...
down 2 1/2 ...
40 feet? Down 2 1/2, kicking up some dust ...
30 feet, 2 1/2 down ...
faint shadow ...
4 forward ...
4 forward ...
drifting to right a little ...
O.K."

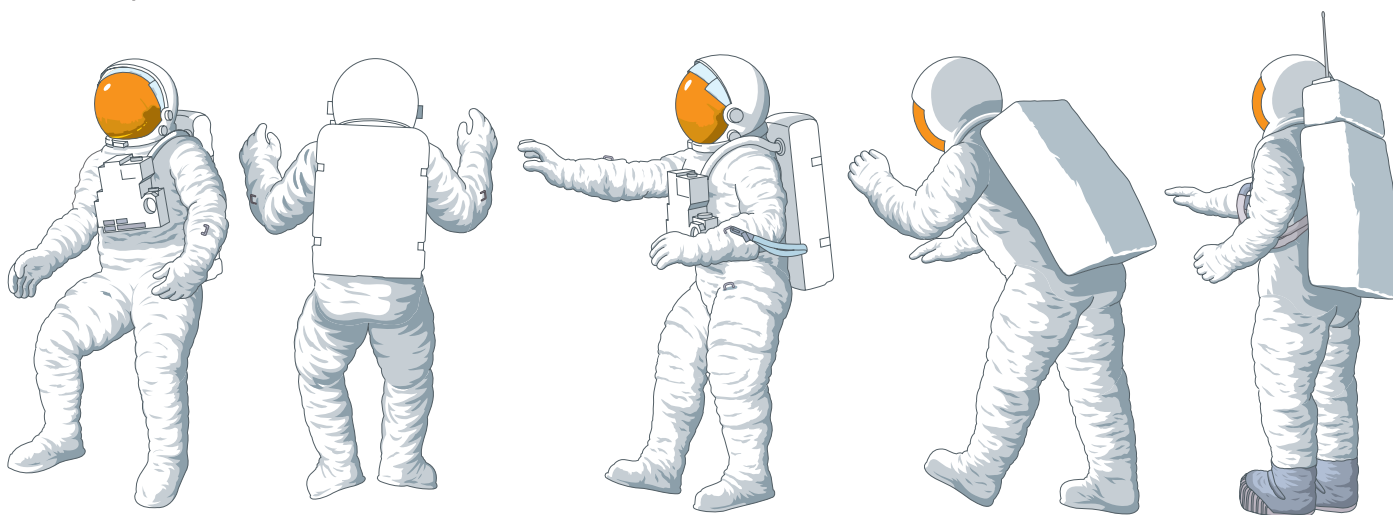


Apollo 11

19. Mission Control says, "We copy you down, *Eagle*."
20. **"Houston, Tranquility Base here. The *Eagle* has landed."**
21. Mission Control radios: "Roger, Tranquility. We copy you on the ground. You've got a bunch of guys about to turn blue. We're breathing again. Thanks a lot."
22. *You carefully climb down the ladder in your bulky space suit carrying a television camera . . .*
23. **"That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind."**
24. *Perform moon walk movement using paper plates on the Stage . . .*

Postscript

The launch of Sputnik sparked the Gemini and Apollo programs. At a cost in excess of twenty-five billion dollars, the Apollo Project resulted in six lunar landings. *Apollo 12* landed on a site named Ocean of Storms; *Apollo 14* landed at Fra Mauro crater; *Apollo 15* visited the Sea of Rains; *Apollo 16* visited the Cayley Plains; and *Apollo 17* landed at the Sea of Serenity. The third lunar mission, that of unlucky *Apollo 13*, never made it to the surface of the Moon. An explosion in the service module forced the astronauts to use the life-saving oxygen and power of the lunar lander to survive during the trip home.



The expenses of the space program became a source of conflict during the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s, when a younger generation concerned with civil rights, education, and the environment questioned the economic priorities of an older generation influenced by World War II and the Cold War. Partly due to concerns about costs, NASA developed the next generation of space vehicle, the shuttle. Flown between 1981 and 2011, shuttles were the first launch vehicles designed to be reusable, thus reducing the cost of putting payloads into orbit. When a shuttle completed its mission it slowed down with retro-rockets, leaving orbit and reentering the atmosphere. The shuttle can land on a conventional jet runway.

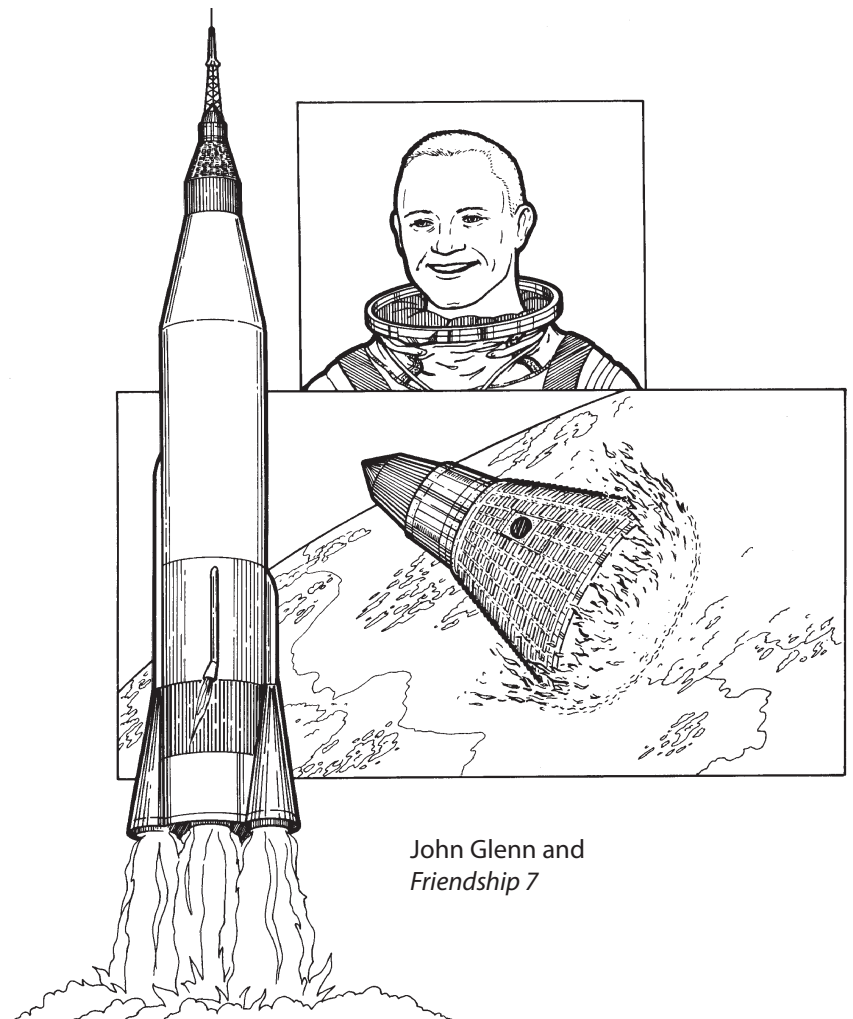
Though the National Defense Education Act was approved in the late 1950s, ten years later post-Sputnik changes were barely evident in elementary classrooms. After the first Apollo flight, however, elementary educators began to dream that their own students might one day travel in space. Scientific awareness fueled the movement for curriculum reform and mobilized school districts nationwide to upgrade courses in math and science. Throughout the Apollo Program and the early years of the Shuttle program, classroom enthusiasm and interest in space study continued to rocket. In 1985, NASA proudly announced that Christa McAuliffe, a high school social studies teacher from New Hampshire, would be aboard the space shuttle *Challenger*. But with all great innovations, there are also heartbreaking setbacks. On January 28, 1986, as millions of school children in classrooms all across America watched the launch, the unthinkable happened—seventy-three seconds after take-off the craft exploded into a ball of fire. All seven crew members were killed instantly.

NASA had experienced problems in the past though never with the magnitude of the *Challenger* disaster. On January 27, 1967, the three *Apollo 1* astronauts were killed in a launch pad fire. Because the space program was in its infancy, America found the deaths tragic, but forgivable. With *Apollo 11*'s landing on the moon, faith in NASA and its programs was restored. The safe return of *Apollo 13* reinforced the idea that American technology could avert disaster. From *Apollo 1* until the *Challenger* calamity, America had never lost an astronaut. Sobered but determined to continue the space program, NASA forged ahead, launching additional shuttle missions and robotic explorations of other planets in our solar system.

The Space Race grew out of the Cold War, pitting the most powerful nations after World War II against one another. For a half-century, the United States and the Soviet Union competed for dominance in a global conflict of democratic society against totalitarian communism. At the end of the Cold War, the U.S. and USSR agreed to build an international space station and pursue other cooperative space ventures. A contest that began in fear and hostility became a partnership demonstrating the potential for international cooperation in space.

On July 29, 1995, the United States shuttle *Atlantis* docked with the Russian space station *Mir* two hundred nautical miles above the Earth's surface. This rendezvous represented a historic step in the efforts of two former enemies to cooperate in space research. For the first time in history, ten astronauts and cosmonauts briefly occupied the same orbiting spacecraft.

Marine Lt. Col. John Glenn Jr. made history in 1962 by being the first American to orbit the earth. Senator John Glenn Jr. again made history in October of 1998, qualifying to fly on space shuttle *Discovery* at the age of seventy-six. The entire nation watched as this revered senior astronaut once more braved the rigors of space travel to demonstrate his commitment to space exploration and scientific research.



John Glenn and
Friendship 7



Historical Investigation Activity

Moonwalk (1969)

Bill Lacey

Focus Question

Early U.S. space exploration: Was it worth the cost and effort?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–K**—*class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**—*class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Say to students, “Tell me all you know about the U.S./NASA space programs from the early 1960s to 2011. Write down specific programs, events, and any specific names attached to successes or failures. Perhaps you could use this format.” Show this example on your board.

Programs/Launches	Events	Names of People Involved

Allow 5–7 minutes for students to use a similar note-taking graphic organizer to put thought on paper. Discuss responses.

2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- Lots of you, of course, have mentioned the most spectacular event of the entire space program—the moon landing on July 20–21, 1969. It remains, like Pearl Harbor, the JFK assassination, and the *Challenger* explosion, a key event for a particular generation of Americans. Perhaps as many as one billion people watched the moon landing on live



television, even the pope and Queen Elizabeth stayed up to watch. Americans were moonstruck. TV shows, movies, hotels, restaurants, and toys made the words space, astro, rockets, and moon popular and ubiquitous. Astronauts like Armstrong and Aldrin became heroes. We were lost in space as well as moonstruck!

- The moon landing mission was part of the Apollo space program under the U.S. government's special agency, NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration). *Apollo 11*, the mission to the moon with two men to walk on its surface and return with specimens (rocks), was successful after a three-day flight that covered 230,600 miles. Many of you have seen the movie *Apollo 13*, with actor Tom Hanks as astronaut Jim Lovell, trying to get back to earth after a "Houston, we've got a problem" situation.
 - Over the years much has been written about the results of the Apollo program—the "spinoffs" from space research and mission preparations—that have made our lives here on earth better and easier. The list of spinoff benefits is endless. Smart phones might top this list.
 - The reason for the efforts by NASA to put a man on the moon, as described in the **Background Essay, Narration, and Postscript**, are complex. After all, this was the Cold War and scientific and technological accomplishments, like a moon landing, by the two rival superpowers, the U.S. and USSR, became critical gauges by which to assess each nation's economic and political systems, capitalism/democracy or communism. The United States lagged behind the Russians in space exploration until Armstrong and Aldrin stepped on the moon and delivered a Super Bowl-like victory in the Cold War.
 - But there were those Americans who were not "fans" of the space program—critics—who decried the nation's "final frontier." These critics were there throughout the 1960s. Their sharp words offered a counterpoint to all the "wows" that echoed after each launch from Cape Canaveral/Kennedy Space Center. And critics have remained through the decades, even after space "successes" with Skylab, Sally Ride, space stations, and the Space Shuttle programs of the last forty years. Two space shuttle disasters (*The Challenger* in 1986 and *The Columbia* in 2003) gave plenty of ammunition, of course, to these critics in more recent times.
3. Say, "So, the debate over space exploration has been raging since the 1960s. To be sure there were some spectacular space achievements. But at what cost—human and financial? Do the spinoff benefits from the past decades of space explorations by NASA outweigh, or even equal, the costs, disasters, and efforts that often accompany experimental government programs? In short, to reiterate our **Focus Question**: Was early U.S. space exploration worth the cost and effort?"



4. Say, "Just so we can come up with a working hypothesis, I want to pass out your **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** and have you write down your thoughts about the space program's legacy and worthiness." Pass out the **Response Sheet** and allow students 3–5 minutes to respond to #1. Discuss these responses.
5. Say, "Our working hypothesis appears to be, 'In early U.S. space exploration, especially the Apollo program, the cost and effort do/do not appear to be justified.'"
6. Pass out the package of **Documents A–K** and explain what students are to do.
7. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (perhaps in pairs or groups of three) to read and analyze the document package. Perhaps you or a student should read aloud the first one or two documents and discuss the gist of each. Remind students that they should analyze the documents carefully. Pay attention to the arguments each side has—supporter or critic—about the U.S. space program. Is there evidence to support their claims?

An Option

If you . . .

- Have students whose abilities may make it difficult to analyze all the documents in this package . . .

Or

- Have limited time in class to implement the full package of documents . . .

Consider carefully pulling out 2–3 documents to use that will still help students think like historians. Using this strategy would mean selecting only those tasks and questions on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** which directly apply to the documents you have chosen to use. Whatever the case, these investigations, even in an abbreviated format, can still be effective and fulfill your objectives.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: Early U.S. space exploration: was it worth the cost and effort?

1. From the 1960s to the present, I think the U.S. space program's legacy has been

2. **Document A:** How does President Kennedy try to convince Congress to fund NASA in his speech? Why does space exploration "hold the key to our future on earth?"

3. **Document B:** Despite the costs of the Apollo program in these years, what statistic from this document might be used to justify the program's expense? Why?

4. **Document C:** What is Keith Cowing's best argument for the space program's costs? What is in his background that might color/taint his point of view?

5. **Document D:** What does the author mean by "world view?" How does his argument justify the space program's costs?

6. **Document E:** Textualization Skill

Who is the author and when did he give this excerpted speech that might color or taint his point of view?

What points does he make to support the space program?

7. **Document F:** Of the fourteen innovations/products listed by NASA, which three do you think have provided the most benefit to society? Why?

- _____
- _____
- _____

Could these choices of yours be the results of experimentation here on earth rather than in outer space? How so?

8. **Document G:** President Eisenhower created NASA with a stroke of his pen in 1958, yet the excerpts show another side. What are his concerns about technology and the U.S. space program?

9. **Document H:** What is Professor Etzioni's main thesis (idea) in this excerpt?

10. **Document I:** Describe in a few words the main idea of each author.

Schultze _____

Cronkite _____

11. **Document J:** Wit and sarcasm aside, what are the main arguments of the Scottish history professor? Why would he choose to take this sharp point of view?

How is it possible for millions of Americans to be fleeced, as he says, by NASA?

12. **Document K:** How does the author characterize the feelings of many Americans in the 1960s, when the zenith (high point) of the U.S. space program was reached?

What temporarily reversed these feelings? Why?

13. **Reflection:** Several of the sources (**Documents A, C, D, H, J**) hint or state firmly perhaps the *real reason* for space exploration by the United States. What might that be? List key words and phrases that bolster your response.

14. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a long paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of the sheet. Make at least three major points to support your position/claim. Refer to specific documents and evidence.

Document A

President Kennedy's Speech to Congress (May 25, 1961)

This nation is engaged in a long and exacting test of the future of freedom—a test which may well continue for decades to come. . . .

. . . [T]he adversaries of freedom plan to consolidate their territory—to exploit, to control, and finally to destroy the hopes of the world's newest nations. . . .

It is a contest of will and purpose as well as force and violence—a battle for minds and souls as well as lives and territory. And in that contest, we cannot stand aside. . . .

. . . [I]t is time to take longer strides—time for a great new American enterprise—time for this Nation to take a clearly leading role in space achievement. . . .

Recognizing the head start obtained by the soviets with their large rocket engines, . . . we nevertheless are required to make new efforts. . . .

But this is not merely a race. . . . We go into space because whatever mankind must undertake, free man must fully share. . . .

. . . I believe that this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth. No single space project in this period will be more exciting, or more impressive, or more important for the long range exploration of space; and none will be so difficult or expensive to accomplish. . . .

This is a choice which this country must make. . . . It is a most important decision that we make as a nation; but all of you have lived through the last four years and have seen the significance of space and the adventures in space, and no one can predict with certainty what the ultimate meaning will be of the mastery of space.

I believe we should go to the moon. . . .

Let me stress also that more money alone will not do the job. This decision demands a major national commitment of scientific and technical manpower, material, and facilities, and the possibility of their diversion from other important activities where they are already thinly spread.

Source: Excerpted from John F. Kennedy's speech to the 87th Congress, 2nd sess. May 25, 1961, as reprinted in Bruno Leone, ed., *Opposing Viewpoints in American History*, Vol. II (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven, 1996).

Document B

Costs of the Apollo Space Program: 1960–1973

Apollo Program Budget, 1960–1973	19.4 billion dollars
NASA's Total Budget, 1960–1973	56.6 billion dollars
Apollo Share of NASA's Total Budget, 1960–1973	34 percent
Percentage of Total Federal Budget devoted to NASA in 1966	5.5 percent (This was the highest percentage of the federal budget devoted to NASA in NASA's history)
Number of People Employed (by NASA or Contractor) Working on Apollo in 1964	250,000

Source: Richard W. Orloff, *Apollo by the Numbers: A Statistical Reference* (Washington, D.C.: NASA, 2000).

Document C

Defending NASA's Price Tag

Money alone is not a way to gauge the worthiness of the cost of exploring space.

NASA is fond of promoting all of the spinoffs that are generated from its exploits, such as microelectronics. But are we exploring space to explore space, or are we doing all of this to make better consumer electronics? I once heard the late Carl Sagan respond to this question by saying, “you don’t need to go to Mars to cure cancer.” If you learn how to do that as a side benefit, well, that’s great, but there are probably more cost effective ways to get all of these spinoffs without leaving Earth.

To be certain, tax dollars spent on space projects result in jobs—a large proportion of which are high paying, high tech positions. But many other government programs do that as well—some more efficiently.

Still, for those who would moan that this money could be “better spent back on Earth,” I would simply say that all of this money *is* spent on Earth—it creates jobs and provides business to companies, just as any other government program does. You have to spend all of NASA’s money “on Earth.” There is no way to spend it in space—at least, not yet.

Where am I going with this? Asking if space exploration—with humans or robots or both—is worth the effort is like questioning the value of Columbus’s voyages to the New World in the late 1490s. . . . Is manned space exploration worth the cost? If we Americans do not think so, then why is it that nations such as China and India—nations with far greater social welfare issues to address with their limited budgets—are speeding up their space exploration programs? What is it about human space exploration that they see? Could it be what we once saw, and have now forgotten?

As such, my response is another question: for the U.S. in the twenty-first century, is *not* sending humans into space worth the cost?

Source: Keith Cowing, founder and editor of NASAWATCH.com and former NASA space biologist as quoted in Stephen J. Dubner, “Is Space Exploration Worth the Cost? A Freakonomics Quorum,” found at <http://freakonomics.com/2008/01/11/is-space-exploration-worth-the-cost-a-freakonomics-quorum>.

Document D

Apollo's World View

What did we get from putting men on the Moon? Skeptics may say that all we got was a few hundred pounds of moon rocks and closeup looks at a lifeless discard pile, the target of eons of bombardment by random meteors. Plus a hard-fought victory for prestige in the cold war with the Soviet Union and an unforgettable picture of a lustrous blue-and-white Earth rising over the Moon's parched grayness. Yes, we got all of these, but I say we got much more—nothing less than a revolution in our world view. Apollo raised our vision and aspirations outward and upward, toward the far reaches of the universe and of human achievements.

Source: Thomas J. Kelly, *Moon Lander: How We Developed the Apollo Lunar Module* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

Document E

NASA's Return on Investment

We see the transformative effects of the Space Economy all around us through numerous technologies and life-saving capabilities. We see the Space Economy in the lives saved when advanced breast cancer screening catches tumors in time for treatment, or when a heart defibrillator restores the proper rhythm of a patient's heart. . . . We see it when weather satellites warn us of coming hurricanes, or when satellites provide information critical to understanding our environment and the effects of climate change. We see it when we use an ATM or pay for gas at the pump with an immediate electronic response via satellite. Technologies developed for exploring space are being used to increase crop yields and to search for good fishing regions at sea.

Source: Michael Griffin, NASA administrator, speech given upon NASA's 50th anniversary as reprinted at http://www.nasa.gov/50th/50th_magazine/benefits.html.

Document F

NASA Spinoffs

Technology developed by NASA for the space program has led to innovations and products that continue to impact our lives for the better.

- Smoke detectors
- Cordless tools
- TV satellite dishes
- Technology used on commercial aircraft and air traffic control
- Fire-resistant textiles and clothing that are used to protect firefighters and the military
- Medical imaging that helps doctors see what is happening in the human body
- Navy life boat rafts to help sailors in case of an emergency on their boat
- Devices to detect dangerous chemicals in the air
- Ear thermometers
- Invisible braces
- Scratch resistant lenses
- Modern insulation
- Water filters
- CAT scanners

Note: TANG, the powdered orange juice drink, used by astronauts, was not, contrary to popular belief, invented by NASA. That honor goes to General Foods, which began selling the product to supermarkets in 1959.

Source: www.spinoff.nasa.gov.

Document G

Was Eisenhower a Critic?

President Dwight D. Eisenhower was in office (1953–1961) during the early stages of the U.S. space program. He did, at one point, veto the Apollo program, but it was given renewed life under JFK. Eisenhower was worried about the growing influence of the military-industrial complex, which NASA became under Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson's presidencies.

Excerpt 1

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government. . . .

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower, Farewell Address, January 17, 1961.

Excerpt 2

This swollen program, costing more than the development of the atomic bomb, not only is contributing to an unbalanced budget; it also has diverted a disproportionate share of our brain-power and research facilities from other equally significant problems, including education and automation.

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Why I am a Republican," *Saturday Evening Post* (April, 1964).

Document H

Unmanned Vehicle Benefits

Dr. Amitai Etzioni, a professor of sociology at Columbia University for decades, was an outspoken critic of the space program's achievements. His views were held by many scientists in the 1960s.

Although rarely discussed . . . the greatest achievements of the space program—whether by NASA, the military, or the private sector—have been the result of unmanned vehicles and instruments. And, by the way, most of those were in near, not deep, space. Thus we have achieved giant improvements in worldwide communication, navigation, mapping, weather forecasting, and above all surveillance by unmanned satellites.

Source: Amitai Etzioni, "To NASA: Bring in the Drones," *Jewish World Review* (February 13, 2003).

Document I

Entertainment for Dreamers

Excerpt 1

Looked at as entertainment, it sure did have its entertainment value. . . . It's not gonna give us much scientific knowledge, you get some rocks back from the Moon. But you do it on a per capita basis, and as an entertainment tax it's a great entertainment. You get not only the Moon landing itself, but you got all those initial, you know—the first shot around the Earth, Glenn, all of that business. And then you get—I don't remember how many—four or five moon landings and, eh, as an entertainment tax, per capita, it wasn't bad.

—Charles Schultze, LBJ's Budget Director

Excerpt 2

The success of our space program . . . in that terrible decade of the 60's, played an important part in maintaining a semblance of morale in a country that was very, very depressed in everything else that was happening. . . . The Civil Rights fight, the assassinations, the Vietnam War, these were things that split America in a way that we hadn't been split since the Civil War of the 1860's. And here was this one program where people could look up and dream if you please of incredible adventure. And there was a pride in that. It had a great deal to do with maintaining some sense of balance in this civilization of ours.

—Walter Cronkite, CBS News Anchor

Source: Both quotes are taken from remarks made during interviews on radio WAMU, an FM station which over the years broadcast news information and bluegrass country music in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. As reprinted in Gerard J. Degroot, *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

Document J

A View from Abroad

History professor Gerard J. Degroot of the University of St. Andrews in Scotland, excoriates the “magnificent madness of the American lunar quest.”

The Moon mission was sold as a race that America could not afford to lose—a struggle for survival. Landing on the Moon, it was argued, would bring enormous benefit to all mankind. It would be good for the economy, for politics, and for the soul. It would, some argued, even end war. . . .

. . . Putting men in space was an immensely expensive distraction of little scientific or cultural worth. The American people, in other words, were fleeced: they were persuaded to spend \$35 billion on an ego trip to the Moon, and then were told that a short step on the desolate lunar landscape was a giant leap for mankind. . . .

Expressed in the terms set by the Soviets and the Americans, the lunar race was shallow and trivial. The two superpowers behaved like two bald men fighting over a comb. The Moon became the target, not because it was important, but because it was there. . . .

. . . Eventually . . . the space quest was revealed as a rather boring enterprise of little real value to ordinary people on Earth. . . .

Those who justified the presence of men in space argued that the early astronauts were like the medieval seafarers, looking for places to colonize. But the efforts of Columbus and Magellan were inspired by the commercial potential of new territories—exploration was pointless unless commerce followed. The Portuguese and Spanish courts would have pulled the plug on the explorers quicker than you can say Vasco da Gama . . . if they had brought back only worthless rocks. Instead, they returned with valuable commodities—precious metals, spices, trinkets, potatoes—which thrilled the medieval money crunchers. In addition, the places they sought to explore were, by virtue of their existence on Earth, actually habitable. The same could not be said for colonies on the Moon or Mars. . . . The Moon . . . makes Antarctica seem like an oasis. . . .

The lunar mission was a historical accident. It didn’t make sense financially, as previous voyages of exploration had. But for a brief moment in the twentieth century, money didn’t matter. The Cold War was not a good time for accountants; the important thing was to score points against the Russians, and to do so was priceless. . . .

The “need to explore” is in fact a great myth, an imagined construct used to fleece the taxpayer who gets vicarious adventures instead of hospital beds. . . .

[M]anned flights into deep space have brought back little of enduring value. . . . It is not a treasure trove of natural resources. Scientific experiments conducted on the lunar surface have not improved the quality of life on Earth. . . .

The great tragedy of the effort was that the best of American technology and billions of American dollars were devoted to a project of minuscule benefit to anyone. Armstrong's small step did nothing for mankind. . . .

The Moon was part of the sixties zeitgeist. For a very brief period it was in vogue, like lava lamps, love beads, and bell-bottom trousers. In the 1960s the race was symbolic of technological advance. . . . America certainly, and the world, to an extent, was briefly moonstruck. . . .

Space enthusiasts always thought that exploration was the destiny of man. They thought it was the future. But they were wrong. . . . It was simply a battlefield in the Cold War.

Source: Gerard J. Degroot, *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

Document K

Was Apollo Supported by Americans?

[M]any people believe that Project Apollo was popular, probably because it garnered significant media attention, but the polls do not support a contention that Americans embraced the lunar landing mission. Consistently throughout the 1960s a majority of Americans did not believe Apollo was worth the cost, with the one exception to this a poll taken at the time of the Apollo 11 lunar landing in July 1969. And consistently throughout the decade 45–60 percent of Americans believed that the government was spending too much on space, indicative of a lack of commitment to the spaceflight agenda. These data do not support a contention that most people approved of Apollo and thought it important to explore space.

Source: Roger Launius, space historian of the National Air and Space Museum as quoted in Alexis C. Madrigal, "Moondoggle: The Forgotten Opposition to the Apollo Program," *The Atlantic* (September 12, 2012).

Note: The word "Moondoggle" in the article's title is word play for "boondoggle," wasteful or unproductive work.

Kent State Inquiry 1976

A large, faint, light gray graphic in the background. It features a five-pointed star in the upper right quadrant, which is the symbol of Kent State University. Below the star, there is a stylized, thick-lined graphic of a raised fist, a symbol associated with the 1970 Kent State University shootings.

Bill Lacey

Lesson Plan

Overview

It is 1976, six years since a tragic confrontation between student protesters and the Ohio National Guard led to the deaths of four students and the wounding of nine others. There have been countless commissions, inquiries, FBI investigations, and highly-publicized criminal and civil trials that have not brought legal or emotional closure to one of America's most unfortunate episodes. The majority of the nation's citizens want to bring an end to the doubt which lingers about why the Kent State campus became a battleground and killing field. Did the guardsmen feel threatened by the protestors, and fire the sixty-seven shots in self-defense? Were their actions justified? Perhaps these lingering questions will be addressed and answered when some of your students come before a special investigative commission authorized by President Gerald Ford ("The Ford Commission"). The goal of this fictitious panel is to sort out the truth. Students will assume roles of eyewitnesses, commissioners, or any one of a few of the connected individuals. America still wants answers.

Setup

1. Duplication

- **Background Essay**—*class set*
- **Postscript**—*class set*

The five or six commissioners should have:

- **Guidelines for Commissioners**—*one copy for each commissioner (10–12 if two separate activities)*
- **Commissioners' Report**—*one copy shared by all commissioners to write their conclusions on*
- **Commission Witness Sheets**—*copies of individual Q & A pages for the eleven witnesses (Note: If you decide to run two separate inquiry activities—see **Option A**—in your classroom, then you will need to duplicate enough for twenty-two witnesses.)*

Teaching tip

Of course, you may wish to give your students a brief lecture on the Kent State tragedy, utilizing the information in the essay. You could also include portions of or a complete video on this confrontation (See **Resources**).



2. **Schematic, props, costumes:** Study the **Schematic** carefully. Find and bring to your classroom any props and costumes that will help create the setting and mood of a commission's inquiry.
3. **Roles**
 - a. Choose your most reliable dramatic and eager students to be the Commission's Chairperson and the witnesses, especially General Canterbury and Alan Canfora, who have lengthier testimonies to give.
 - b. The rest of the roles of commissioners and witnesses can be filled with other students in class who exhibit enthusiasm.
4. **Historical Accuracy:** While measures were taken by the author to be historically accurate on what witnesses might have said if such a commission had happened in 1976, some changes were made for reasons of simplicity, clarity, and continuity. Changes made/liberties taken:
 - There was no Ford Commission assembled in 1976. This activity is fictitious. This change was made to allow testimony made over the years 1970–1976 at trials, separate commissions, investigations, and newspaper interviews with witnesses to be included.
 - Some witnesses are given fictitious names because they are composites of those who testified or spoke to reporters in interviews after 1970.
 - While some of the questions and answers are not exactly the ones used at various times over the years 1970–1976, they are faithfully close to questions, responses, and beliefs held by those who testified or were interviewed.

**Teaching tip**

Make sure students chosen to play key roles (notably the chairperson of the commission and a few witnesses who have lengthier testimony to impart) have their particular assignment sheets a day or two before the activity.

Directions

1. Hand out the **Background Essay** either the day before the class as homework or pass it out now. If you have given the essay as homework, conduct an informal discussion of its main points. If you are passing it out now, read the essay aloud to the students as they read with you, pausing to explain the main points. (Choose the latter option if your students' age/reading level necessitates reading aloud.) Make sure your students have the essentials of the narrative of what happened on May 4, 1970, either by reading what is available here or by explaining most of it through presentation.
2. At some point (perhaps two days before) select your cadre of performers to take on the roles of the commission and its chairperson, and the eleven witnesses. If you have decided to run two separate

inquiry activities, select students to be ten to twelve commissioners and twenty-two witnesses. If you have any students remaining, they will be reporters.

3. Display the **Schematic**, explain it, then have the students rearrange your room to create the setting.

You have a few different ways you can conduct this inquiry Activator:

Option A

1. Option A assumes you are running two separate inquiry activities at the same time.
2. Assign all roles of commissioners and witnesses and perhaps use a sheet designating who plays whom.
3. Review for students what will happen during this inquiry activity and your expectations for behavior.
 - If you think you need to display the **Schematic**, do this now.
 - In addition, make sure all students playing key roles are in class and ready to go
 - If there are absences, fill roles quickly.
 - Reporters—if you have any—should be encouraged to take notes and submit at the end a headlined article summing up the commission's inquiry.
4. When all is ready, let the inquiry begin with the chairperson of the Ford Commission using the **Guidelines for Commissioners** handout.

Option B

1. This option assumes you are running only one inquiry activity in your classroom.
2. Read the **Background Essay**, or deliver a brief lecture on its data.
3. Conduct the inquiry using only one set of students, not two. This means there will be five or six commissioners and eleven witnesses to be called to testify. With fewer students in these roles, you will need to designate the remaining students as spectators/reporters. For accountability, have these students submit a lengthy headlined article summing up the procedures, key testimony, and the commission's conclusions at the end.

Option C

1. This option calls for a limited inquiry with fewer students participating, and thus a shorter amount of time to conduct the inquiry.
2. Cover the material in the **Background Essay** as a brief lecture.
3. Select three students to fill roles of General Canterbury and two guardsmen and give them handouts. Also, select three other students to fill roles of Alan Canfora, Howard Ruffner, and Michael Bryson. These six roles will encompass views from both sides. Lastly, select two or three students to be commissioners, appointing one to chair the commission.
4. Conduct the inquiry as listed in **Option A** and as specified on the **Guidelines for Commissioners** handout.

Debriefing

Decide whether you wish to use a short or long debriefing. Here are possible ways to make meaningful what happened during the Activator:

Short Debriefing

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. Select a few suggestions from the long debriefing to use for discussion.
3. Have the commissioners read their conclusions and discuss with the entire class to see if the majority agree with the findings.
4. Ask students to discuss what they learned and what they felt as they played their roles.
5. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the short debriefing.

Long Debriefing

Use one or more of the following debriefing activities:

1. Pass out the **Postscript**. Either read this to your students or summarize the main points of each paragraph before going on.
2. The day before the confrontation that killed four and wounded nine others was infused with tension. The guardsmen arrived and took up positions around the campus. Tear gas smoke filled the air and one student leader of the demonstrations borrowed a bullhorn and issued a list of "nonnegotiable demands," including:



Teaching tip

A good procedure to increase student involvement is to divide students into trios or quartets (three or four students) in which they can discuss their experiences and observations. Ask trios or quartets to share with the whole class the most interesting comments they heard from one another.

- Stop the Vietnam War
- Abolish the ROTC program on campus
- Remove the National Guard from campus
- Reduce tuition
- Meet all future demands of the Black United Students
- Lift the curfew in town

Discuss: Which of these demands, if met, might have prevented the deadly event the next day? Were these demands realistic?

3. Testimony at the several investigations, commissions, and trials rarely agree on how close students came to the guardsmen just before the shootings. Guardsmen swore that as many as a hundred rock-throwing protestors charged them, coming as close as thirty feet. Student witnesses claim the closest victim, Joseph Lewis Jr. was wounded while standing at about sixty feet away. A few others were wounded about 150–175 feet from the pagoda and the guardsmen. Those killed were 250–375 feet away.

Discuss: How close would the students have to be to be considered a threat? Is rock-throwing a threat? (Photographs may show distances between the two sides but not how emotionally threatened the guardsmen felt.)

4. Discuss with students some vital questions that should arise when the topic of Kent State is addressed:
 - Whose fault was it—the students? Kent State University? Governor Rhodes? President White? The guardsmen and the officers? President Nixon? Explain.
 - Were the guardsmen in such imminent danger that they had to fire into students?
 - Should the guardsmen—some of whom were as young and inexperienced as the students they fired into—have been given real ammunition and told the students were “the enemy”?
 - What actions—if any—could be considered not within the constitutional rights of the demonstrators?
 - Are obscene gestures and epithets inflammatory? Do protestors have the right to use them no matter how volatile the situation is?

- Could other methods/tactics have been used by the guardsmen to break up the angry students without resorting to rifle-fire? (Possible responses: high powered fire hoses, more troops, close down the school to cool off participants, etc.)
5. Say, "General Canterbury testified later that his men were well-trained in riot procedures and had experience putting down earlier civil disorders. Of the twenty-eight who fired their weapons, twenty-two had actually seen earlier action. One sentence in the *Ohio Guard Training Manual* states: "I will fire when required to save my life or when returning fire." According to the testimony in this Activator, and from what you've read, were the guardsman justified in firing at the students?
 6. "The FBI later analyzed all the rocks thrown during the confrontation. Their findings: 340 single rocks weighing 175 lbs. (the heaviest, 7½ lbs.). They also collected: one whole brick, two pieces of brick, five broken pieces of tile, a Vaseline jar containing rocks, a 2 x 2 inch stick that was twenty-two feet long, and a tree limb that was two and a half inches in diameter and twenty inches long. Does this finding give credence or support to the guardsmen' defense? What flaws are there in relying on evidence picked up *after* this confrontation had taken place?"
 7. Play in class Neil Young's "Four Dead in Ohio." Have students relate the lyrics to the testimony they have heard.
 8. Have students research two events from the American Revolution (1775–1781), specifically the Boston Massacre and the Battle of Lexington, and compare these two earlier actions with the Kent State confrontation.
 9. Stage an interview (twenty-five years after the Kent State Tragedy) between a student demonstrator and a guardsman. Have students come up with eight to ten questions each might ask the other.
 10. To sort out blame, fill in a chart such as this on the class white board or chalk board.

	Guardsmen	Demonstrators
Action justified		
To blame for action		

11. Show all or a snippet from the TV movie *Kent State* (1981) or show the documentary *Our World, 1970* segment on Kent State (10 minutes) There is also a PBS *Frontline* presentation on Kent State.

Teaching tip

When students share Learning



Logs, the sharing can intensify the learning so that they retain the facts, issues, and ideas—as well as their personal feelings—they discovered while experiencing the Activator.

12. Have the students write a Learning Log entry expressing their feelings after role-playing participants in an inquiry six years after the event.

Write a Learning Log ...

Learning Log	
<input type="radio"/>	This activator on a fictional inquiry about what happened at Kent State in May 1970 started out as a lark. I thought that I'd have a great time being a commissioner. But learning about what happened at Kent State that day was really heartbreaking. It was also frustrating realizing that nobody actually knows the truth of what happened that day and that there can be so many opinions about one event ...

Resources to consult

Caputo, Philip. *13 Seconds: A Look Back at the Kent State Shootings*. New York: Penguin, 2005.

Eszterhas, Joe, and Michael D. Roberts. *Thirteen Seconds: Confrontation at Kent State*. Cleveland, OH: Gray & Company, 2012.

Gordon, William A. *The Fourth of May*. New York: Prometheus, 1990.

Kelner, Joseph, and James Munves. *The Kent State Coverup*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Means, Howard. *67 Shots: Kent State and the End of American Innocence*. Boston: DaCapo, 2016.

Michener, James A. *Kent State: What Happened and Why*. New York: Random House, 1971.

The Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

Wischmann, Lesley. "Four Dead in Ohio," *American History Illustrated* 25, no. 2 (May/June 1990): 24–33, 70–72.

Visual history

Feature film: *Kent State* (1981) TV movie starring Talia Shire and Ellen Barkin.

Documentary: *Our World, 1970*, shown on ABC TV in 1987. The segment on Kent State is about ten minutes in length.

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.



Teaching tip

Students would enjoy watching this film after participating in the Activator. They would like to compare their feelings with those displayed in the film.

Background Essay

Place: Kent State University, Ohio

Time: May, 1976

The war in Vietnam

The 1960s was an explosive, jittery decade. In truth, the sixties were an “in-your-face” time, confrontational and divisive. Different generations at the time became openly hostile to one another over a multitude of issues, including long hair, clothing styles, pot smoking, and even food. But if ever an issue gave young people reason to rebel and challenge the decisions of their elders, it was their country’s participation in the Vietnam War and a Cold War foreign policy that made a mission of interfering into far-flung civil wars, especially in Southeast Asia. By 1968, more than 500,000 U.S. ground troops were fighting in the jungles and streets of Vietnam.



Student protesters marching down Langdon Street at the University of Wisconsin-Madison during the Vietnam War era.

The antiwar movement

While many believed that the Vietnam War may never have been winnable, by 1969 it had the makings of a major U.S. defeat, if not disaster. The fighting resolve and tenacity of the communist North Vietnamese under leader Ho Chi Minh was

soon evident after the sobering Tet Offensive in January 1969. By that date even supporters of the war, including popular TV news anchor Walter Cronkite and presidential candidates Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy, publicly announced that the United States should end the war and withdraw. At the same time, American youth of draftable age stepped up their opposition to “this immoral war.” Some students openly burned their draft cards. Others, to avoid military service, fled to Canada. At the war’s height in the late 1960s and early 1970s, protests and confrontations with authorities were common occurrences on college campuses.

Richard M. Nixon

When President Richard M. Nixon was sworn in on January 20, 1969, he inherited the Vietnam war from Lyndon B. Johnson, as Johnson had inherited it from John F. Kennedy. Like his successor, Nixon believed the United States would eventually overpower North Vietnam. He felt he had support to carry out his policy from most Americans—those whom he called “the Silent Majority.” With aid from his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Nixon soon began grappling with the war’s problems, including growing resistance on the home front. However, he ran into a diplomatic deadlock which delayed an honorable peace that would end the war.

Bombing of Cambodia

Meanwhile, protests continued on college campuses. By spring of 1970, the antiwar movement was in high gear, the country was divided, and the war itself was not going well for the United States. To strike a blow against the North Vietnamese, the president decided—after viewing the strong prowar movie *Patton*—to

order major bombing of the enemy sanctuaries in neighboring Cambodia along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. On April 30, 1970, Nixon went on national TV to inform the American audience of his intentions. Those in the antiwar movement felt President Nixon had betrayed his promise to end the war. In fact, the action appeared to be a move to escalate the conflict.

Kent State

Protests over this new strategy hit college campuses with explosive force, even in places where Nixon had strong support, namely the Midwest. At usually peaceful Kent State University (KSU), student reaction to the decision was instant, despite the fact that KSU, unlike Columbia and Berkeley, had no tradition of activism. At noon on Friday, May 1, about five hundred students attended an antiwar rally where they called for abolishing the Reserved Officers Training Corps (ROTC). For years, ROTC had been a target for student protesters as the most visible sign of the university's connection with the government fighting this war. Attacks on and eventual banning of ROTC across the nation, protestors reasoned, could lead to a manpower shortage that would hinder the war effort. A sign on a nearby tree at the KSU rally summed up students' feelings: "Why is the ROTC building standing?"

A weekend of violence

While the rally on Friday ended peacefully, over the next two days, some students went into the local bars and imbibed liquid "courage." Some of them decided to set fire to trashcans, smash windows in downtown Kent, and spray paint antiwar slogans on buildings. Despite the closing of the bars and a curfew set up by Mayor LeRoy Satrom, the erratic behavior of the students continued through Saturday and Sunday. As the number of protesting students increased and became more hostile, some began chanting "One, two, three, four, we don't want

your frigging war!" Others yelled, "get it, burn it, ROTC has got to go." Soon the ROTC building was on fire. As firemen tried to extinguish the blaze, students hampered their efforts by slashing the hoses and throwing rocks at the crews.

Guardsmen arrive

By 9 a.m. Sunday, the Ohio National Guard arrived on campus, called out by Ohio Governor James Rhodes. As the guardsmen took up key sites on campus, student leaders demanded to meet with the city's mayor and KSU's president to negotiate an end to the curfew and removal of the guardsmen. Tear gas smoke and swirling helicopters filled the scene. Students scheduled a rally for the next day, Monday, May 4, at noon.



May 4th memorial at Kent State University

Flashpoint

Over the weekend, President Nixon and others called the many protestors "bums." America's "establishment" overwhelmingly supported a hardline approach to maintain law and order on the KSU campus. By noon, over two thousand students, most merely curious, gathered near the commons area adjacent to Blanket Hill. Facing the students in the shadows of the charred ROTC building were Companies A and C of the 145th infantry, and Troop G of the 197th armored cavalry under the command of Major Harry Jones and General Robert Canterbury. Campus policeman Harold Rice put a bullhorn

Image Source: ©Pacifboyksu/CC 3.0

to his mouth and told the students to disperse, but the noise muffled his voice. Some students replied with chants, including "siege heil" and "peace now." Others tossed rocks that bounced off the jeep. Tear gas canisters were thrown at the approaching troops, making it difficult for both sides to see. Then after a shower of stones hit the guardsmen and obscene finger gestures were flashed, some guardsmen knelt and pointed their weapons at the closest demonstrators, as if to threaten them.

Four dead in Ohio

General Canterbury then ordered his men to retrace their movements up Blanket Hill near an architecture landmark called the Pagoda. Somehow the students sensed the danger was over, but as one lone student carried a black flag and taunted the soldiers, the guardsmen suddenly turned as if in concert and lifted their rifles. Seconds later they heard a single M-1 rifle shot, and, perhaps without an order, fired sixty-seven shots in about thirteen seconds. At approximately 12:25 p.m. students, who were either hit or frightened, dropped to the ground. Four KSU students were fatally hit: Allison Krause, William Schroeder, Jeffrey Miller, and Sandra Scheuer.

Since that day six years ago, countless Americans have tried to understand and answer the difficult and puzzling questions. Likewise, several committees, a few agencies and commissions, and the courts have not fully sorted out the conflicting testimonies. Through the years since, questions usually under consideration include:

- Why did the guardsmen fire at the students?
- Were the guardsmen actually threatened?
- How close did the students come to the guardsmen?
- Is it possible that the guardsmen panicked?
- Were the guardsmen justified in firing at the students?

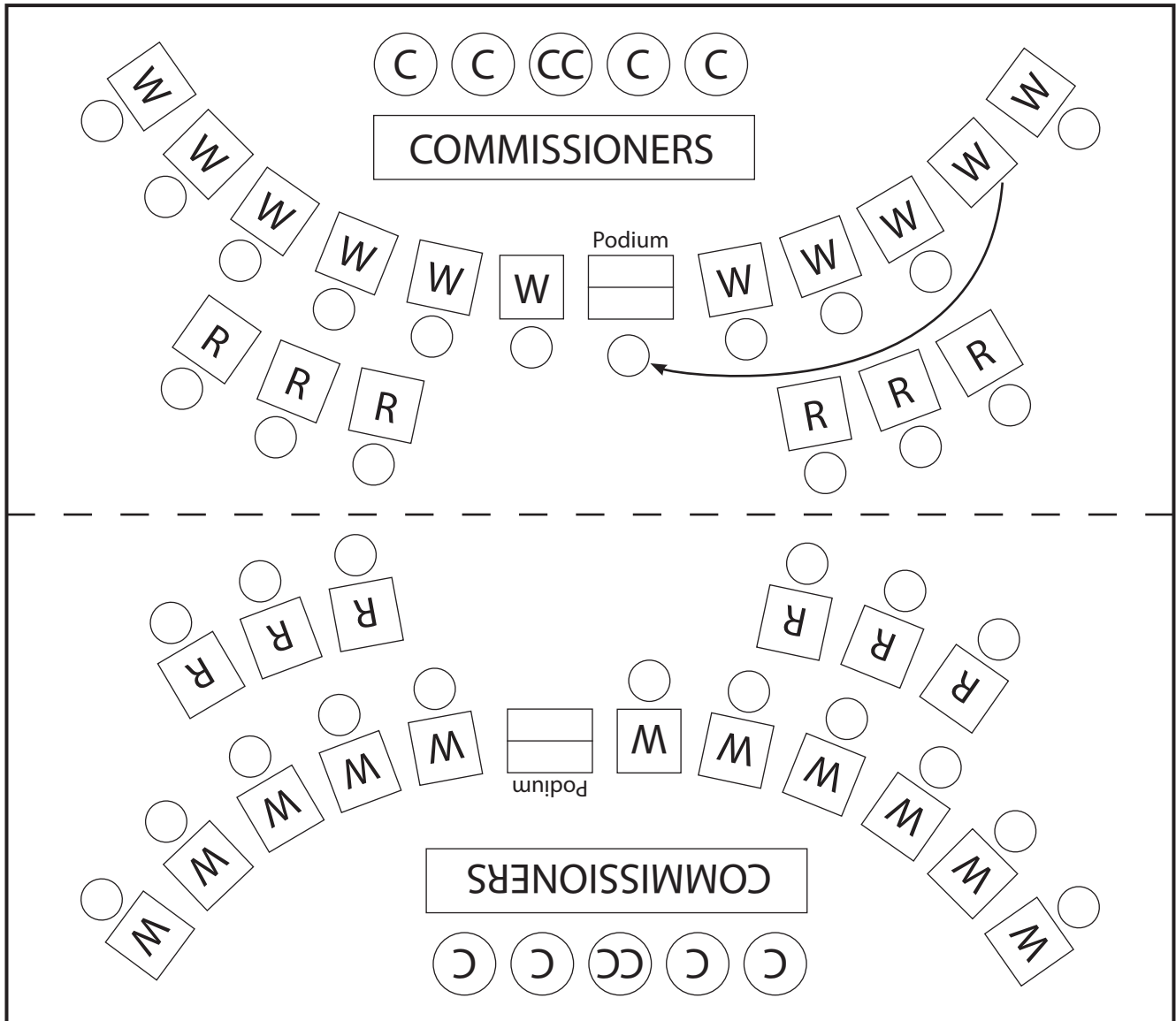
Affixing blame

Affixing official or legal blame was difficult. Early on, no guardsmen were indicted. Those persons most responsible for the incident, an FBI investigation concluded, were individuals in the threatening mob, those President Nixon labeled "bums." The U.S. Department of Justice even declined to convene a federal grand jury right away. By 1974, a grand jury indicted eight of the guardsmen. After the trial, however, charges were dismissed because the prosecution failed to prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt. Less than a year later, in 1975, a three month long wrongful death and injury trial took place in Cleveland and, after reviewing controversial testimony from over a hundred witnesses, a jury decided not to award any financial damages to the parents of the four dead and nine wounded students.

Be part of the Ford Commission's inquiry!

It is now May 1976 and a new investigative commission wants one more crack at answering those lingering questions resulting from that May 4, 1970, tragedy. Take part in this commission's quest by assuming a role as commissioner or witness, be it President Nixon, General Canterbury, an Ohio National Guardsman, or a student demonstrator. Play your role convincingly to help the commission draw its conclusions that might impact future investigations in search of the truth.

Schematic



KEY: CC = Commission Chairman C = Commissioner R = Reporter W = Witness

Suggestions

- Run two separate inquiries at the same time. In this way, you can involve most, if not all, of your students.
- Perhaps a barrier of old voting booths or standard room separators would help filter noise from separate inquiries.

Characters needed

- For a class of 35–40 students implement two ongoing inquiries at opposite sides of the room. To do this you will need for each inquiry:
 - 11 witnesses
 - 5–6 commissioners
 - 4–6 reporters

Guidelines for Commissioners

You have been selected to play commissioners sitting on a panel authorized by president of the United States, Gerald R. Ford. His intention is to bring closure and end the lingering doubts about the Kent State incident of May 4, 1970. On that day—as you read earlier—students on the KSU campus were out on the lawns demonstrating against the U.S. government’s decision to bomb Viet Cong sanctuaries in Cambodia and stop the flow of supplies along the famous Ho Chi Minh Trail. A weekend of confrontation, destruction of property and arson preceded the antiwar rally, where thirteen students were either wounded or killed.

It is now six years since that fateful day in Ohio. The president has formed your commission to sort out the facts by asking witnesses questions that will hopefully bring an end to these doubts. This activity is called an inquiry, defined as a close examination of a matter in search for information and truth.

Answers to four vital questions are the commissioners’ goal:

- Why did it happen?
- Who among the Ohio National Guardsmen fired the first shots?
- Were the guardsmen justified in firing into the crowd of demonstrators?
- Who gave the order to shoot live bullets into the crowd?

Guidelines

1. Five or six of you have been selected to be the inquisitors. One of you should take on the role of chairperson, who, along with the other commissioners, should share the task of asking questions of the eleven representative witnesses who come to the podium in front of you.
2. The chairperson should introduce him/herself and the other commissioners briefly and then say:
“We are gathered here today to seek answers and try to bring closure to all the lingering questions and doubts about the Kent State incident of six years ago. We thank all the witnesses who consented to be here and help in our quest. Perhaps by doing this inquiry we will do what no other commission, investigation, or trial has accomplished—put an end to this sad affair and move on.”
3. Be courteous pleasant and use the names of the witnesses often. Make sure the witnesses come to the podium as they are called. You may call them up in any order.
4. Keep in mind that from 1970 to 1976, no one person or persons has really been held responsible (see **Background Essay**), or been found guilty or blameless for this crime. Even a civil trial (wrongful deaths) last year (1975) ended with a not guilty verdict for the several accused guardsmen. What this means is that your findings will not send anyone to jail; no one will be fined or punished.
5. At the end of the inquiry the commissioners will briefly meet and produce a report with their findings/conclusions on it (see **Commissioners’ Report**). This report has significance in that the conclusions may guide and influence subsequent investigations and inquiries.

Commissioners' Report

Regarding the Kent State incident of May 4, 1970, we, the members of the Ford Commission, conclude that:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

Chairperson of Commission:

Other Commissioners:

Date of signing

Commission Witness Sheet: Sergeant Myron Pryor

A full-time guardsman, you, under oath in an earlier proceeding, denied firing your pistol either in the practice field or on Blanket Hill, despite photographs taken that day showing the opposite.

Q: On Blanket Hill, when the guardsmen turned to face the students, did you turn also?

A: Yes, sir. But I did not give any orders at the time.

Q: What did you do with the pistol you had in your hand?

A: I pointed it.

Q: Pointed it where?

A: At no one in particular. I do remember a tree in front of me.

Q: Did anybody order you to point it?

A: No, sir.

Q: You did that on your own?

A: I did, sir.

Q: Were any other guardsmen pointing guns?

A: I couldn't tell. My back was to them.

Q: And the shots you then heard came from right nearby where you were along the line of guardsmen?

A: Yes, sir. The first shot came from behind me.

Q: These shots weren't from far away?

A: No, sir. From close by.

Q: And did you then advance several feet as an indication of a deliberate attempt to fire at the distant students?

A: I don't remember moving forward.

Q: Photographs taken at the time show you in a stance of a senior noncom of Troop G, pointing your weapon at the students. Sir, this was a deliberate move.

A: Well, I just kept pointing my gun, knowing I had live rounds in it. But I did not shoot.

Q: One guardsman told a reporter that you said at one point: "If they rush us, shoot them."

A: I don't recall saying that.

Commission Witness Sheet: Lawrence Shafer

You were a sergeant in the Ohio National Guard that day. Interestingly, you were the only guardsman to admit to shooting anyone, despite the fact that sixty-seven shots were fired.

Q: Did you fire the first shot?

A: No, the first shot I heard was fired on my left at the top of the hill. I had been close to Taylor Hall, and the shot came from somewhere near the Pagoda.

Q: How close were the students to you?

A: Maybe forty-five feet—where a bunch of people were gathered.

Q: Did panic cause you to start firing?

A: No, sir. I started shooting about two seconds after I heard that first shot.

Q: Had you fired a M-1 rifle before?

A: No. Never. And most men in Troop G were just like me. I think they, like me, had no idea of the power of our weapons.

Q: Where did you aim your first shot?

A: I fired into the air. As I did, I saw one demonstrator give me the finger and then he rushed me, closing to about 15–40 feet. It was hard to judge exact distances in the chaos.

Q: Was this student who rushed you a threat to you?

A: I thought so at the time. He kept giving me the finger and running toward me.

Q: So you aimed your rifle and fired at him? Was this part of your instructions?

A: When fired upon, return fire, as the saying goes.

Q: So this person was firing upon you? Did he have a gun pointed at you?

A: No, sir.

Q: A knife?

A: No. I fired at him because I didn't know what might be in his other hand.

Q: So you aimed at the demonstrator with intent to hit him with a live bullet?

A: Yes. At the time, I didn't know that he might not be armed.

Q: About his middle finger gesture, did this act of derision upset or anger you?

A: No, sir. I didn't fire because of his gesture.

Commission Witness Sheet: Major Harry Jones

You were a major figure in the Ohio National Guard that day, wearing a fatigue uniform, a soft baseball cap, and carrying a two and a half foot “riot baton” made of unbreakable material. You were on Blanket Hill, near the Pagoda, where the firing started.

Q: Do you feel somewhat responsible for the shootings at KSU?

A: If there is any guilt, I accept it. The troops were under my command in the field. But I’ve done nothing I am ashamed of.

Q: Why did the guardsmen shoot?

A: I don’t know. I didn’t hear anyone give an order to fire, no order to fire over their heads, or, as I remember, any order for the troops to turn around at the top of Blanket Hill. I actually told my troops to turn around and face the ROTC building and move out—to get off the hill immediately.

Q: Did you fire your weapon at any time?

A: No, I did not fire my weapon.

Q: Did you give any orders at all, besides to evacuate the hill?

A: Whatever orders I gave none of them involved ordering the men to turn, to kneel, and to take up firing positions.

Q: Do you conclude, as a professional officer, that the firing was not justified in those circumstances?

A: Yes, that is my opinion. It should not have happened. The action against the demonstrators was contrary to the concepts and procedures that we had been trained in.

Q: Was the shooting indiscriminate—random, haphazard, chaotic, careless?

A: Definitely. There was firing all over the area, at trees, at the ground, into the air.

Commission Witness Sheet: General Robert H. Canterbury

You were the highest-ranking officer in the Ohio National Guard that day, Monday, May 4. Thus, you were in the position to give and rescind orders.

Q: General, you were pretty much in charge that Friday to Monday weekend on the KSU campus?

A: Yes, that's correct. In charge of the Ohio National Guard.

Q: And one of your decisions was to disperse the attendees at the rally at noon on Monday. Correct?

A: Yes, whether peaceful or not. And I told campus policeman Harold Rice to read the riot act to everyone through a bullhorn as he rode through the area on a National Guard jeep.

Q: What is the riot act?

A: In Ohio, it's a statute authorizing the breaking up of "violent and tumultuous assemblies that present a clear and present danger to persons or property."

Q: And that applied here, in this situation?

A: We thought so. The riot act was clearly read, giving the Guard the right to disperse and apprehend rioters. The act further specifies that if we use necessary and proper means, then the Guard is guiltless if any persons unlawfully or violently assembled are killed, maimed, or injured if they resist.

Q: Who gave you the authorization to disperse and send Rice out to read the riot act?

A: Late Sunday afternoon, a document was produced. The Matson-Frisina letter—named after the vice president of student affairs Robert Matson and KSU student president Frank Frisina.

Q: What did this letter say?

A: Because of all the disruptive and destructive activities over the weekend by the dissident group of perhaps 500–600 students, the letter specified several decisions that were made.

Q: And what were these decisions?

A: First, it gave Governor Rhodes legal control of the campus and city. Second, it prohibited all forms of outdoor demonstrations and rallies, peaceful or otherwise.

Q: Anything else of note?

A: Yes. It empowered the National Guard to make arrests and establish a curfew.

Q: Essentially, then, because of this letter between an official of the university and a student leader, the campus was under martial law.

A: Martial law, yes. It seemed necessary.

Q: Did the governor sign the letter?

A: To my knowledge, he did not.

Q: Did Matson and Frisina make it a two-man decision at their meeting?

A: I believe there were others consulted. The city's police chief, the local sheriff, and the mayor all acceded to the letter's contents.

Q: By Monday, how did you see the situation?

A: The students were hostile, intending to burn more buildings and my Ohio guardsmen were under threat. And when I started to disperse the demonstrators, the campus, in my opinion, was under martial law, and the riot act had been read.

Q: And Dr. White, KSU's president—did he want all assemblies, whether peaceful or not, to be dispersed?

A: He told me he thought that dispersing the noon rally would be dangerous.

Q: Did Dr. White specifically tell you and the Ohio National Guard to disperse any and all assemblies?

A: I have given you the total of that conversation.

Q: One last question, sir. Did anyone give an order to fire?

A: I was there. There was no order to fire.

Commission Witness Sheet: President Richard Nixon

You were president of the United States when the Kent State incident occurred in May, 1970. Later, you resigned your presidency in August 1974, after investigations into the Watergate burglary involved your complicity in a cover up.

Q: Mr. President, are you, sir, in some way responsible for what happened at Kent State?

A: No, of course not. Keep in mind that during that spring of 1970, the country faced wave after wave of violent campus unrest, some radicals even using bombs to disrupt these institutions of learning. We could not have that. Then violence erupted at Kent State in Ohio.

Q: And this is when you called student agitators “bums?”

A: And some were clearly that—bums! Over the last months, they demonstrated and got arrested. There were injuries and at least eight deaths. These bums set fire to a bank in Santa Barbara and some buildings at the University of Kansas. And then, at Kent State, they burned down the ROTC building. This is clearly criminal and barbarous behavior.

Q: But what set off the students at KSU and other colleges was your decision to bomb Cambodia.

A: You know, that decision was to try to end the war by getting the North Vietnamese back to the peace table. Besides, our targets were along the Ho Chi Minh Trail to stop supplies coming to the Viet Cong and thus weaken the enemy.

Q: The students saw it differently. To them, the government continually lies to them and acts deceitfully and, in this case, secretly. Your action looked like an expansion of the war not an effort to end it.

A: That was not our intention.

Q: So what was your personal reaction when you heard about the disturbance at KSU and the four dead students?

A: When Bob Haldeman came to me that Monday afternoon and said, “The National Guard opened fire and some students were shot,” I was stunned. “Are they dead?” I asked. Haldeman replied, “I’m afraid so. No one knows why it happened.”

Q: And what was your reaction over the next few days?

A: I felt utterly dejected, especially when I read that a father of one of the dead girls told a reporter, “My child was not a bum.” Those days just after Kent State were among the darkest of my presidency.

Commission Witness Sheet: Howard Ruffner

You were a student at KSU when the confrontation occurred. You are a valuable witness because you captured the events of that day on film with your camera—so real some thought they were faked. You stood near Taylor Hall near Blanket Hill and the Pagoda when the shooting started. Somehow, as you dropped to the ground to protect yourself and your cameras, you still snapped pictures of the event.

Q: So, as a photographer that day, what can you tell us about what you and your camera saw?

A: Most of what I saw came later that day when I developed the film and reflected on the negatives. I saw one guardsman aiming his rifle at me.

Q: What else became clear to you?

A: I was amazed to see no students near the guardsmen at any time. No students were near the guardsmen as they walked back up Blanket Hill. The distance between the students and guardsmen was at least 150 feet.

Q: Did you see any objects thrown at the guardsmen?

A: I saw nothing thrown in the air at the guardsmen.

Q: You were, however, close enough to hear the demonstrators chant. What did they chant?

A: "Pigs off campus" and the like.

Q: Were you aware that the guardsmen had loaded weapons when they reached the top of the hill and then turned around to face the protesters?

A: I had no reason to believe the guardsmen's rifles were loaded.

Q: How close were you at this time?

A: Near Taylor Hall. 80–100 feet to the right of the guard. I believe I was the closest student to the guard at the time.

Q: What were the mass of students doing?

A: Not much. Mostly yelling words. I saw no missiles thrown.

Q: Then you heard rifle fire?

A: Yes, I did. From the area between the Pagoda structure and Taylor Hall.

Commission Witness Sheet: Colonel Edward King

You are a military man whose point of view is against the Ohio National Guard. Later, you would become the highest-ranking officer to resign in protest over the Vietnam War.

Q: Colonel King, the KSU students that day were vocal and made many obscene gestures as they faced the guardsmen.

A: That is true.

Q: Does arm waving, chanting, shouting of obscene words in any way warrant an order to disperse if, sir, there is no sign of violence?

A: Those behaviors do not, according to any regulation, warrant orders to disperse.

Q: Other regulations, if I am correct, state that before deadly force is utilized, the army, or, in this case, National Guard, has other graduated steps to use instead. Correct?

A: Yes, correct. For two, the rifle butt and the bayonet. Using these before deadly force are sound procedures to avoid shooting.

Q: And, sir, in a civilian riot situation, is kneeling and aiming loaded weapons in the direction of civilians in conformity with proper standards and procedures?

A: It is not in accord with normal and proper standards and procedures. Those actions—kneeling and aiming—are mostly a bluff. But whatever the case, a guardsman or soldier does not aim a weapon unless he intends to fire the weapon.

Q: And lastly, sir, do individual soldiers in dangerous situations ever determine at what point they actually fire their weapons?

A: You do not act individually in military formation. You react only to orders from your commanders.

Commission Witness Sheet:

Alan Canfora

Few would deny that during the demonstration on Monday, May 4, you were the most active demonstrator. At least a dozen photographs show you as a visible symbol of defiance, even taunting the guardsmen by waving a black flag.

Q: So . . . would you call yourself an activist?

A: Oh, yeah. I was more active this day because I had recently attended the funeral of a friend of mine who was killed in Vietnam the week before.

Q: Have you attended quite a number of rallies like this one?

A: A few. Mostly antiwar rallies to protest the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

Q: Have you ever thought to make a protest at the ballot box?

A: Yeah. I think that is a legitimate way to exercise your democratic rights in this country.

Q: Do you think it is as legitimate as throwing a rock or stone?

A: I think it is more legitimate, yes.

Q: And you, Mr. Canfora, threw some stones or rocks at the guardsmen that day?

A: I threw a single stone but it fell far short. And it was a very small stone—perhaps an inch and a half in diameter, oblong and with no jagged edges.

Q: And why did you throw this “small stone?”

A: I threw it as a gesture of frustration and was not intending to hit the guardsmen. Some of the guardsmen threw stones back at us, although I don’t recall lots of stones being thrown at all.

Q: You threw out of frustration?

A: Oh, yeah. Most of the protestors were perhaps 250 feet away so we figured there was no logical way or reason for them to aim and shoot at us. And it looked like they were marching away.

Q: And they didn’t?

A: No. They turned suddenly, knelt, aimed their rifles and fired a barrage of gunfire that lasted about fifteen seconds. I assumed it was buckshot, not bullets.

Q: What did you do then?

A: For a while I stood there, but when the demonstrators started dropping, my survival instinct told me to run behind a tree, which I did.

Q: Is this where you got hit?

A: Yeah. As I got behind the tree, I felt a sharp pain in my right wrist. An M-1 bullet passed through my arm. I thought to myself, “I’ve been shot . . . I’ve really been shot!”

Q: Then what did you do?

A: Well, I was in shock and disbelief. I stayed behind the tree until the shooting stopped. Looking back, it was the ultimate surreal moment. I’m convinced we had witnessed a cold-blooded, calculated, planned massacre.

Commission Witness Sheet: Michael Bryson*

You were a sophomore geology student at KSU when, as if in a war movie, you found yourself in the middle of the demonstration that Monday.

Q: Mr. Bryson, what are your recollections of the confrontation that day?

A: Well, as a demonstrator in the thick of it, I kept my eyes on the movement of the guardsmen as they climbed up Blanket Hill near the Pagoda. Then I saw them turn around suddenly, kneel, and open fire into the crowd.

Q: In your opinion, were the guardsmen threatened at all by the crowd?

A: The guardsmen were not surrounded by the demonstrators and were not, as I saw, pelted by rocks.

Q: Were there warning shots?

A: Not that I remember. The guardsmen were on the hill about twenty-five feet higher than the level of the parking lot. And the shots were fired directly into the crowd.

Q: What did you see next?

A: People dropping. As soon as the firing stopped, people got up and tried to help the wounded. One boy was holding a rag or handkerchief over one girl's throat, only there wasn't much of a throat left. Another boy was lying face down in a pool of his own blood.

* Michael Bryson is fictional and is a composite of a few different witnesses.

Commission Witness Sheet: Sergeant Harold Magee *

You are one of the guardsmen who were called upon to bring peace to the KSU campus on the Sunday before the May 4 confrontation.

Q: What do you remember about that Monday, May 4, 1970, on the KSU campus?

A: It's a day I'll never forget. A painful subject to talk about. But it was quite simply a military operation and we were following orders.

Q: Did you and those guardsmen around you fire your rifles at the demonstrators?

A: My unit, for the most part, refrained from firing. However, several of us heard one of the commanders on our flank yell, "Fire."

Q: So did you hear a command or an order to fire?

A: I thought I did. I can't say where it came from. There was lots of noise.

Q: Do you think those who fired were provoked into firing by the demonstrators?

A: No.

Q: So, why did they eventually fire, do you think?

A: Something had to be done. Also, most of us thought we heard the word "fire" and I did hear and see the other guardsmen fire.

Q: Was the order to fire—as you heard it—clear for the guardsmen to hear?

A: Hard to say. The roar of the crowd, the tear gas, the confusion—the command to fire was muffled. The first order I distinctly heard was "turn around and stand your ground."

Q: Any other commands that you remember?

A: Yeah. One other command I heard was "use your rifle stocks (butts) and bayonets upon contact." But the crowd was too far away for this to make any sense at the time.

Q: Any other commands?

A: One more. I heard someone yell, "Fire above their heads."

Q: And is that what happened?

A: I heard rifle fire—lots of it—and I noticed several demonstrators drop to the ground.

* Harold Magee is fictional and his testimony is based on a composite of a few different witnesses.

Commission Witness Sheet: Margaret Holloway*

At the time, you were a wife of one of the guardsmen and so your perspective about your husband's role could be vital.

Q: What were your husband's thoughts that day? Did he confide in you following the confrontation?

A: Well, I know my husband Charles is no murderer. Actually, he was afraid—he was not an experienced combat soldier. Only a few were. Charles was sure they—the guardsmen—were going to be overrun by those kids. But he was under orders.

Q: About those orders—what were they?

A: Over a week later, there was still no answer about the orders. General Canterbury insisted that no one gave an order to fire. To me that statement strains credibility.

Q: You doubt that no order to fire was given?

A: Look at the facts. The guardsmen started shooting at virtually the same moment and stopped at the same moment. Many civilian spectators at the scene and some officials seeking to reconstruct the event are convinced that an order was given.

*Margaret Holloway is fictional and her testimony is a composite of different testimonies given between 1970 and 1975.

Postscript

In the years after 1975, America still had no definitive answers, and parents of the dead and wounded students led lives without closure. Then in 1977—a year after the fictitious commission in this Activator—the university began construction of a gymnasium annex over a large section of the 1970 confrontation site. Nearly two hundred students protested and were promptly arrested. That same year, a circuit court overturned the 1975 civil jury's decision on the grounds that the judge mishandled a jury tampering incident. Legal maneuvering during this time, including appeals and possible compromises, seemed to go nowhere. The wheels of justice ground slowly, especially for the parents of those lost in 1970, until a second trial in 1978 began. In this trial, the judge recessed the proceedings to conduct a hearing on another case. Finally, a settlement was reached in January 1979. The terms of the agreement pleased few.

- The plaintiffs (parents of the students) agreed to drop the lawsuits and all future claims against the guardsmen and Governor Rhodes in return for a lump sum of \$675,000 in damages.
- The \$675,000 was to be divided among the thirteen victims (four killed, nine wounded).
- The money was to be provided by the state of Ohio, and not by the individual defendants (i.e. Rhodes, KSU President White, and the guardsmen).

Almost half the sum, \$350,000 went to Dean Kahler, who was permanently paralyzed from his wounds. This amount compensated him for his pain and suffering, and helped him to meet medical expenses in the future. The other eight wounded received from \$15,000 to \$42,000, which was awarded based on the severity of their wounds that day in 1970. Finally, the parents of the four students who were killed—Allison Krause, Sandra Scheuer, Jeffrey Miller, and William Schroeder—were each awarded \$15,000 to compensate them for the loss of their children. At the same time, as one of the stipulations of the settlement, the defendants—those who were officials or guardsmen—signed a “Statement of Regret,” but it was made clear that it was not an apology. Attorney fees and court costs took up \$75,000 of the total compensation package. As a result, what remained was a feeling that someone should have been held responsible for the shootings. It left in its wake grieving parents, consumed scores of days in court, and wasted the time and efforts of witnesses, attorneys, and judges. As a *New York Post* editorial writer wrote:

It is as though the decision had been reached that the dead and injured were the victims of some unfortunate, unforeseen accident, that they had been struck by a runaway car or had perished in a fire, and that no one could honestly be charged with blame.

The Vietnam War, the event which caused the protests leading to the Kent State confrontation, went on for nearly three more years. Then, in January 1973, North Vietnam and the United States stopped fighting. President Nixon's “Peace with Honor” proved to be elusive. The Vietnam War had devastating psychological effects on many Americans who served in the war. Thousands have suffered over the years from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), a latter-day lingering battle fatigue illness. The war itself has stayed in our consciousness for decades. Countless novels, movies, and popular college courses on the war bear testimony to a continuing fascination for America's longest war and only defeat.

The Kent State tragedy was the last time, as a matter of policy for national guardsmen, that loaded rifles would be issued to confront student demonstrations.

Historical Investigation Activity

Kent State Inquiry (1976)



Focus Question

Draft-eligible men during the Vietnam War: How do their views continue to shape our perceptions of that conflict?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–J**—*class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**—*class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Ask students, “So, what can you tell me about some of the views we hold today about the Vietnam War?” Discuss. “And how about the views of the war in 1970, when the Kent State incident occurred? Keep in mind, the war was already five years old in 1970. Let’s have you fill in a T-Chart as a comparison.” Guide students to make a T-Chart on their own paper similar to this:

Perceptions We Hold Today	Views of the War in 1970

Allow 5–8 minutes for students to work. Then discuss their responses. Emphasize that the war still had support, mostly by Americans who at the time were called the “silent majority,” many of whom voted for President Nixon. Protest against the war, however, was increasing and Nixon’s decision to extend the war into neighboring Cambodia, while promising to wind down the conflict, brought new waves of criticism and protest. Ask, “Why was there so much protest by 1970?” Discuss.

2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- The incident at Kent State (Ohio) University in early May 1970, was all about protest. A large group of students (about five hundred or more) turned out on campus to protest not only the existence of the ROTC (Reserve Officer’s Training Corps) building but also the recent decision by President Nixon to widen the war into neighboring Cambodia to destroy enemy sanctuaries along the Ho Chi Minh trail.

Kent State Inquiry: 1976

Historical Investigation Activity



- Eventually when the Ohio National Guard was sent in by Governor James Rhodes to deal with the restlessness and acts of violence by the protesters, things spiraled out of control.
 - By the time of the antiwar protest rally at Kent State, in the spring of 1970, a large number of American youth had turned against the war. Even many politicians and TV journalists, like Walter Cronkite, saw the same “handwriting on the wall,”—this was an unwinnable war.
 - For many reasons, resistance against the war was growing stronger. To many between the ages of 15 and 25, the Nixon government just didn’t get it. How could anyone in charge continue to fight a war in faraway Asia while the flower of American youth was being returned in body bags in increasing numbers to small towns, villages, and large cities across the nation.
 - But not all young men were against the war, especially at first. Many thought of it as a patriotic duty, serving in Vietnam. Others who didn’t serve in combat for some reason still gave vocal approval to stop the spread of communism in Vietnam. But the majority, for lots of reasons, resisted and many of these found ways to evade, or avoid, the draft.
 - Their points of view—grunts in Vietnam, young men at home, and draft resisters and evaders—exhibit in their own words what draft age men thought and felt about this controversial war. At the same time, their words provide a powerful and revealing document of America’s mood between the years 1965–1973.
3. Ask students, “From this backstory, your participation in the Activator on Kent State, and your opinion, and before we analyze the documents, do you think the views of draft age men in that time might mirror to a large degree the views we have today about the Vietnam War?” Briefly discuss.
 4. Pass out the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** and have students write on the lines for #1 their opinion on whether views held by men then might be similar to our views of that war today. Allow 5 minutes.
 5. Pass out the package of **Documents A–J** and explain what they are to do.
 6. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (in pairs or trios) to read and analyze the document package. Perhaps you or a student might read **Document A: Philip Caputo Joins the Marines in 1965**, discuss the gist of the excerpt and help students fill in the lines for **Document A**. Remind students that they should analyze the documents carefully—time permitting—and the documents are not in chronological order, except **Documents A and I**, which cover the beginning and the end of the war.



7. After students have completed the **Response Sheet**, discuss in detail their lengthy paragraphs answering the **Focus Question** (#7). Perhaps a few students could read aloud their conclusions.

An Option

If you ...

- Have students whose abilities may make it difficult to analyze all the documents in this package ...

Or

- Have limited time in class to implement the full package of documents ...

Consider carefully pulling out 2–3 documents from the HIA to use that will still help students think like historians. Using this strategy would mean selecting only those tasks and questions on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** which directly apply to the documents you have chosen to use. Whatever the case, these investigations, even in an abbreviated format, can still be effective and fulfill your objectives.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: Draft-eligible men during the Vietnam War: How do their views continue to shape our perceptions of that conflict?

1. **Pre-analysis:** My thoughts on how views of the Vietnam War in that era might shape our perceptions today:

2. **Documents A and B:** How are the personal accounts of Caputo and Kovic similar and yet dissimilar?

	Similar	Dissimilar
Caputo		
Kovic		

3. **Document C:** In a few words, what is the message of the declaration, “We the undersigned . . .”? What specifically do these men object to?

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4. **Documents D–H:** Letters are key sources of eyewitness information, giving immediate, informal, and intimate peeks into human feelings, thinking, and relationships. The five letters capture each of these categories.

	Writer	Date	Evidence of Support for the War	Evidence of Disillusionment about the War
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

5. Document I:

	Reason to Resist	Methods to Resist
Draft Resister 1		
Draft Resister 2		

Other methods used by resisters:

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6. **Document J** (Excerpt 1):

Name	What Happened upon Return	Conclusion

Document J (Excerpt 2):

Name/Poem	What Happened upon Return	Conclusion

7. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a lengthy paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of this sheet. Make at least three major points to support your position.

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Document A

Philip Caputo Joins the Marines in 1965

Already I saw myself charging up some distant beachhead, like John Wayne in *Sands of Iwo Jima*, and then coming home a suntanned warrior with medals on my chest. The recruiters started giving me the usual sales pitch, but I hardly needed to be persuaded. I decided to enlist.

I had another motive for volunteering, one that has pushed young men into armies ever since armies were invented: I needed to prove something—my courage, my toughness, my manhood, call it whatever you like. . . .

For my part, I was elated the moment I signed up and swore to defend the United States “against all enemies foreign and domestic.” I had done something important on my own; that it was something which opposed my parents’ wishes made it all the more savory. And I was excited by the idea that I would be sailing off to dangerous and exotic places after college instead of riding the 7:45 to some office. It is odd when I look back on it. Most of my friends at school thought of joining the army as the most conformist thing anyone could do, and of the service itself as a form of slavery. But for me, enlisting was an act of rebellion, and the Marine Corps symbolized an opportunity for personal freedom and independence.

Source: Philip Caputo, *A Rumor of War* (New York: Ballantine, 1978).

Document B

Ron Kovic—From Patriot Marine to Antiwar Activist

Made famous when Tom Cruise played him in the 1989 film based on his book, *Born on the Fourth of July*, Ron Kovic's journey from a gung ho Marine to paralyzed antiwar activist is one of the best examples of how America's views on the war quickly changed, at least for one who fought "in-country."

Excerpt 1

In the last month of school, the marine recruiters came and spoke to my senior class. . . .

"The marines have been the first in everything, first to fight and first to uphold the honor of our country. We have served on distant shores and at home, and we have always come when our country has called. There is nothing finer, nothing prouder, than a United States Marine."

When they were finished, they efficiently picked up their papers and marched together down the steps of the stage to where a small crowd of boys began to gather. . . . I couldn't help but feel I was shaking hands with John Wayne and Audie Murphy*. They told us that day that the Marine Corps built men — body, mind, and spirit. And that we could serve our country like the young president had asked us to do. . . .

My father and I went down together [to sign up]. It was September by the time all the paperwork was completed, September 1964. I was going to leave on a train one morning and become a marine.

I stayed up most of the night before I left, watching the late movie. Then "The Star-Spangled Banner" played. I remember standing up and feeling very patriotic, chills running up and down my spine. I put my hand over my heart and stood rigid at attention until the screen went blank.

*John Wayne acted in World War II movies during the war, as did Audie Murphy after the war. Murphy was one of the most decorated soldiers in World War II.

The time between September 1964, when he joined the U.S. Marines and 1972, when Kovic was interviewed by CBS's Roger Mudd (Excerpt 2), he went to Vietnam and on one mission led his squad across an open field in the DMZ. That ended when he was shot in the heel and shoulder, a wound that resulted in a spinal cord injury and months of painful treatment in often dirty, understaffed hospitals and care centers. From his wheelchair, Kovic became a spokesman for the disabled Vietnam vets and the antiwar movement. He achieved some renown in the 1970s and 1980s from the Mudd interview at the Republican Convention in 1972, his book (1976) and the film by Oliver Stone (1989). Kovic's account of the interview follows.

Excerpt 2

By then a couple of newsmen, including Roger Mudd from CBS, had worked their way through the security barricades and begun to ask me questions.

"Why are you here tonight?" Roger Mudd asked me. "But don't start talking until I get the camera here," he shouted.

It was too good to be true. In a few seconds Roger Mudd and I would be going on live all over the country. I would be doing what I had come here for, showing the whole nation what the war was all about. The camera began to roll, and I began to explain why I and the others had come, that the war was wrong and it had to stop immediately. "I'm a Vietnam veteran," I said. "I gave America my all and the leaders of this government threw me and the others away to rot in their V.A. hospitals. What's happening in Vietnam is a crime against humanity, and I just want the American people to know that we have come all the way across this country, sleeping on the ground and in the rain, to let the American people see for themselves the men who fought their war and have come to oppose it. If you can't believe the veteran who fought the war and was wounded in the war, who can you believe?"

"Thank you," said Roger Mudd, visibly moved by what I had said. "This is Roger Mudd," he said, "down on the convention floor with Ron Kovic, a disabled veteran protesting President Nixon's policy in Vietnam."

Source: (both excerpts) Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (New York: Pocket Books, 1977).

Document C

“We Should Get Out”

Declarations of open protest, like the one below, became a powerful social force of the antiwar movement in abolishing the draft. This was originally published in the *National Guardian* on April 25, 1964, even before the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

We, the undersigned,

Are YOUNG AMERICANS OF DRAFT AGE. We understand our obligations to defend our country and to serve in the armed forces but we object to being asked to support the war in South Vietnam.

Believing the United States' participation in the war is for the suppression of the Vietnamese struggle for national independence, we see no justification for our involvement. We agree with Senator Wayne Morse, who said on the floor of the Senate on March 4, 1964, regarding South Vietnam, that “We should never have gone in. We should never have stayed in. We should get out.”

BELIEVING THAT WE SHOULD NOT BE ASKED TO FIGHT AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM, WE HEREWITH STATE OUR REFUSAL TO DO SO.

Source: Alice Lynd, ed., *We Won't Go* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968) as reprinted in Marvin Gettleman, ed., *Vietnam and America: The Most Comprehensive Documented History of the Vietnam War* (New York: Grove, 1995).

Document D

Letter from Jack S. Swender (killed in action, December 18, 1965)

20 September, 1965

Dear Uncle and Aunt,

. . . Some people wonder why Americans are in Vietnam. The way I see the situation, I would rather fight to stop communism in South Vietnam than in Kincaid, Humbolt, Blue Mound, or Kansas City, and that is just about what it would end up being. Except for the fact that by that time I would be old and gray and my children would be fighting the war. The price for victory is high when life cannot be replaced, but I think it is far better to fight and die for freedom than to live under oppression and fear. . . .

Well, enough soothing my own conscience and guilt. . . .

Your nephew,

Jack

Source: Bernard Edelman, ed., *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

Document E

Capt. Rodney R. Chastant Writes Home (killed in action, October 22, 1968)

10 September '67

David,

. . . Here in Vietnam the war goes on. Morale is very high in spite of the fact that most men think the war is being run incorrectly. One of the staggering facts is that most men here believe we will *not* win the war. And yet they stick their necks out every day and carry on with their assigned tasks as if they were fighting for the continental security of the United States. Hard to believe but true.

The Marines are taking a fierce beating over here. They don't have enough men. We must have more men, at least twice as many, or we are going to get the piss kicked out of us this winter when the rains come. The Marines have been assigned a task too big for so few. . . .

. . . We must destroy the will of Hanoi quickly and stop doling out American lives in that penny-ante effort. Then reallocate our resources of money and materiel and, with two or three times the present manpower, crush the guerrillas.

And how can we adopt this approach? By electing a president who will restate our objectives, restate our motives, and who will end this ill-thought-out approach to world peace; a man who rejects a status-quo world, who has the long view of history and nation-making, who does not overreact to the label communism, who can establish priorities whether they be at home or abroad, who can understand that a Ho Chi Minh Vietnam is better than a Vietnam of old men and women without the dedication and vision of its young men, and finally a man who will be content to influence history rather than make it. . . .

Source: Bernard Edelman, ed., *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

Document F

Sp-4 Ken Bagby Writes to His Parents

Nov. 17, 1965

Plei-Ku, Vietnam

Dear Folks,

Folks, by all rights I should be dead. The good Lord evidently saw fit to spare me, for some reason. I prayed, and prayed and prayed some more, the three days we were in battle.

The many men that died, I will never forget. The odor of blood and decayed bodies, I will never forget. I am all right. I will never be the same though, never, never, never. If I have to go into battle again, if I am not killed, I will come out insane. I cannot see and go through it again. I know I can't. The friends I lost and the many bodies I carried back to the helicopters to be lifted out, I will never forget. . . .

Folks, don't let these men die in vain. Appreciate what they are doing over here in Vietnam. They died protecting you all, and all the people in the United States. We just cannot have the enemy get to the folks back home. We have got to stop them here, before that happens. If it is God's will, we will do it. Tell the people back home to pray for us, as we need their prayers. . . .

Folks, I am glad Eddy is not here and my son Kenny is not here. I hope they never have to see or experience the horrors of war. I will give my life to see that they don't. . . .

As always,
Your son,
Kenneth

Source: Bill Adler, ed., *Letters from Vietnam* (New York: Ballantine, 2003).

Document G

Navy Ensign Jeff Rogers Writes Home

Jeff Rogers, son of then Secretary of State William P. Rogers, served as a navigation officer aboard a hospital ship off the coast of South Vietnam from 1968 to 1969. Rogers had earlier rejected getting drafted, applying for C.O. (conscientious objector) status. Being from a distinguished and privileged family, and never thrown into jungle combat, Rogers was certainly not the typical enlistee fighting in Vietnam, yet his views mirror many other young men who served in the war. This particular letter, dated April 20, 1969, was written just before his father and mother were scheduled to make an inspection tour of Vietnam, to demonstrate the Nixon administration's unflagging support.

Dear Mother and Dad,

So there are a few high spots, but much just sitting around waiting and thinking, both of which can get pretty depressing. It's funny that many of the situations I've been in the past several years seem somehow prison-like or other-wordly. Even at college (though I hardly felt it there) a common expression was "When we get to the outside world." At med school the same: everyone looks forward to going out in the "real world." At OCS to extremes: "Only 28 days to freedom, back to the outside." And in Vietnam you hear everywhere, on the radio, etc.: "when you go back to the world—wonder how things are in the world." Or just civilian life in general referred to as the "outside." And then there's the added confinement, even with the material luxuries of being on a floating football field.

That confinement is one reason I've been wondering, Dad, if you plan to travel at all around Vietnam when you're here—if you still plan to come. It's a shame to be over here a year and see only the coastline and bits of Da Nang. I don't know if it's possible or ethical for me to travel around with you (or your entourage, that is) for a day or so, but it would be great if it would. If it's impossible, I certainly understand.

The longer I'm over here, the more I think we should get out quickly, almost no matter how. Even an initial small unilateral withdrawal might both demonstrate our ultimate peace goal and scare the South Vietnamese into doing a little more for themselves. As I've said before the thing that bothers me most about it all are the sickening sameness of each day, of the news reports, of the "battles," of the intelligence briefings, of the dead and dying people—there seems to be no progress or even change—just more dead and destroyed. The other aspect that makes me doubt that we should stay is the very strong impression that NO ONE REALLY KNOWS what's happening over here. . . .

. . . It's not that intentions are bad—it's just that knowledge of what's really happening is abysmal, and given the nature of the war and the country it's probably impossible to ever attain a complete, accurate picture. And if no one can really understand what's happening now, how can anyone decide what should happen or how to get there. . . .

I like what the administration has been saying so far but, as you pointed out, it seems awfully important that results be “forthcoming,” not just talk. Look forward to seeing maybe both of you next month.

Love, Jeff

P.S. If troops are pulled out of Vietnam, an excellent way to get them back would be on big white ships.

Source: Letter written by Jeff Rogers as published in Victoria Bissell Brown and Timothy J. Shannon, *Going to the Source: The Bedford Reader in American History, Vol. 2: Since 1865* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004).

Document H

A Grunt Writes to a Massachusetts Newspaper Editor

[July 1970]

[Dear Editor:]

This letter I am writing is not only from me but quite a few of my friends. I just thought you might like it.

This letter is from the men who daily risk their lives in the air over the war-wrought land of Vietnam. It is the combined thoughts and beliefs of 1st and 2nd flight platoons, B Company, 159th Aviation Battalion, 101st Airborne Division, and you can believe me that a lot of our descriptive phrases are being omitted due to the grossness and obscenities of them.

The outburst of raw violence and malice spontaneously occurred when the following quotation was read aloud to them from a letter: "We've had some memorial services for them at school and there's a movement for a strike." The quotation was in regards to the recent killings at Kent [State University] in Ohio. We are sorrowful and mourn the dead, but it grieves us no end and shoots pain into our hearts that the "biggest upset is over the kids who got killed at Kent [State]."

So why don't your hearts cry out and shed a tear for the 40-plus thousand red-blooded Americans and brave, fearless, loyal men who have given their lives so a bunch of . . . radicals can protest [and] dissent . . . about our private and personal war in Vietnam and now Cambodia?

During my past 18 months in hell I've seen and held my friends during their last gasping seconds before they succumbed to death. And not once, I repeat, and not one goddamn time did they chastise our country's involvement in Vietnam. . . . [W]e cheered when Nixon sent troops to Cambodia—we are praying we'll also see Laos.

And how in the hell do you think that we in Vietnam feel when we read of the dissension and unrest in our country caused by young, worthless radicals and the foremost runner of them all: the vile and disease-ridden SDS [Students for a Democratic Society]. . . .

Last month my company lost 12 good men and five more were torn up so bad that they have been sent back to the States. We shed true tears for these men. What did you do? Protest. In your feeble and deteriorating and filthy degenerate minds you have forced and caused these men to die for nothing. Do you place such a low value on our heads? We are trying to end the war so that our loved ones will never have to face the harsh realities of death in our own country.

Do not judge us wrongly. We are not pleading for your praise. All we ask is for our great nation to unite and stand behind President Nixon. Support us, help us end the war, damn it, save our lives. . . .

With love,
Greg Lusco
Phu Bai
South Vietnam

Source: Bernard Edelman, ed., *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985).

Document I

Resisting the Draft

The Vietnam War became a lightning rod for heated debate, especially about the Selective Service System, the conscription or draft of young men. Many young draft-age males, for various reasons, “worked” the system to avoid the draft. It is estimated that over 500,000 men at some point, risking arrest, fine, or imprisonment, either fled to Canada, went “underground,” or used one or more of the following strategies to get a lower draft status: apply for C.O. (conscientious objector) status, intentionally fail the physical (i.e., ingest dirt/dust to exacerbate asthma, fail the eye test—“What eye chart?”, go on a caffeine binge to raise blood pressure, shoot off a toe, blow out a knee before coming in), move around the country and delay returning paper work, and, one used by many, stall draft boards (see Draft Resister 2).

Draft Resister 1

I didn’t want to be drafted because I didn’t want to die. I began to develop very strong political opposition to the war around 1966–67. It’s always hard, I think, to distinguish between one’s personal desire not to die and one’s political beliefs, and where one starts and ends and the other one picks up. I really don’t know; even in retrospect, I can’t say.

In 1966 I was at San Francisco State, in the process of obtaining a master’s degree in semantics; I had a student deferment. I was very aware of the war. I would say I had always been a liberal, but had not been involved really in the politics of war. I began to get very swept up in the events that were happening in San Francisco at the time; I found myself, at one point, marching in the streets against the war.

At the same time, I was very aware that I was about through with school at that point, and when my school was over, I was going to have to deal with the military. . . .

. . . I got some draft counseling. At that point, I had already been reclassified 1-A. The counselor told me, “If you get your draft notice, it’s all over. Your only choice at that point is not to cross the line; you can either go to jail or you can go to Canada. . . .

I hired . . . a marvelous attorney—who was one of the many attorneys involved in draft counseling, advising people of their legal and constitutional rights, how to exercise all of your procedural rights. I went through that marvelous process of facing your draft board, having them ask questions about conscientious objection. . . .

. . . The marvelous irony was that I did not *want* to be a conscientious objector; it was simply a matter of using my procedural rights to avoid being drafted. They could have completely destroyed me by granting me [noncombatant] status, because that meant I would have been drafted, sent to Vietnam, and thrown onto a battlefield without so much as the means to protect myself, to defend myself; I would certainly have been killed or wounded, because that was the fate of virtually all conscientious objectors who were drafted. . . .

It turned out—and I wasn't happy about this—that I got a 1-Y deferment anyway, because of my knee. I didn't need the 1-Y deferment, and I hoped that wouldn't hurt me in some way, having a medical deferment. Unfortunately, I wasn't put to that ultimate test of having to decide.

Draft Resister 2

I really didn't think much about the draft—going or not going—until I was midway into college and they changed the draft rules to eliminate occupational deferments. . . . I never had any intention of going into the military; I saw no reason to give up a portion of my life, at very low pay, for no particular good reason. I was pretty naïve about the war; I didn't think much about it at all. When there appeared a chance they might take me, I began to listen to people talking about problems with Vietnam and why we shouldn't be there. . . .

. . . So I went and talked to this guy, an attorney doing this as volunteer work, who made it clear that he thought there were things I could do to avoid the draft. I was to listen, and follow his instructions, and use the morass of draft laws in my favor, the theory being that I would attempt to delay them for as long as humanly possible. . . .

I had, apparently, a relatively dumb draft board. They had all sorts of rules and regulations they were supposed to follow, and every time they don't, you take them back to square one ("You didn't give me this right, pursuant to this paragraph"). Very quickly, it evolved that they had not done about forty things that they had to do in order to get my body. Every time I would write them a letter, they'd screw up two or three times. The guy who was counseling me would chortle a great deal, comment on how dumb the draft people must really be in Minneapolis, make up his new list of things to do, and start again from line one. In the space of a year and a half, they still hadn't decided whether I was enough of a hardship case to reassign me to California. My draft counselor could not believe that these people could be so stupid. . . . I would, of course, delay until the last possible moment sending anything: if I had thirty days, I would take twenty-nine.

Eventually, my draft board apparently got tired of trying to take my body. They sent me a reclassification, saying I was no longer 1-A. I think they called it 1-H, which meant my number was so high, I would never be called—even though my number was 7, and [it] had been called a year and a half previous. As my counselor explained it, they gave up on me. They got so tired of having to answer these letters, they gave me an illegal deferment rather than have to go through all these steps to draft me.

Source: Sherry Gershon Gottlieb, *Hell No, We Won't Go!: Resisting the Draft During the Vietnam War* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1991).

Document J

Returning Home

Many American soldiers returned home to find, in many cases, if not all, an ungrateful nation and sometimes outright hostility and rejection. The reactions below might be considered typical.

Excerpt 1

Frank: I was spit on. This gang of guys walking behind me threw peanuts at me . . . These guys were long-haired, long-bearded . . . We went out to a dance that night. All I had was my Class A uniform . . . People looking at me like, "You scum." They'd walk by and spit on the ground. And I got this tremendous feeling that I had done something wrong. . . .

Rose: I refused to put down that I was in Vietnam in my applications for jobs. It didn't mean anything anyway: why bother trying to explain it to people? Vietnam was very unpopular then; you didn't want to set yourself up as being a Vietnam Veteran, let alone a woman who had been there. . . .

Tom: We got home and went into the airport. We went into the bathroom and there was uniforms scattered all over. Guys were just leaving them there. We threw ours away, put on civilian clothes and never mentioned Vietnam again.

John: I know my family had a hard time with Vietnam. It was kind of like a death in the family, something you didn't talk about, and we still don't talk about it. Vietnam is a very embarrassing subject. It's difficult. You just don't talk about Vietnam over a meal. . . .

Michael: The thing that used to really make me mad was to watch the evening news. . . . It was just a different war you would see on television and that had such an effect on the American people. . . . The humanitarian things that the American soldier did over there far outweighed any of the devastation they may have caused, or the My Lai's [Vietnamese village in which atrocities were committed by American soldiers].

Mike: In addition to feeling my own personal confusion, lack of worth and stuff . . . I was also feeling like my country was going through the same thing in a way. And what was happening to us as a nation? . . . I was having a hard time connecting that with my vision of America and what it stood for. . . .

John: We were depicted in the press as drug-addicted, crazed killers and it was a stereotype that stuck. The naïve public bought the press hype about Vietnam vets. But we weren't that way; we were just Joe-Blow citizen-soldiers that went over, did what we thought was supposed to be done, came back and found out that it was the wrong thing! . . .

Source: D. Michael Shafer, ed., *The Legacy: The Vietnam War in the American Imagination* (Boston: Beacon, 1990).

Excerpt 2

COMING HOME

W.D. Ehrhart

San Francisco airport—
no more corpsmen stuffing ruptured chests
with cotton balls and not enough heat tabs
to eat a decent meal.

.....

I bought a ticket for Philadelphia.
At the loading gate, they told me:
“Thank you for flying TWA;
we hope you will enjoy your flight.”
No brass bands;
no flags,
no girls,
no cameramen.
Only a small boy who asked me
what the ribbons on my jacket meant.

THE LONGEST WAR

Jan Barry

The longest war is over
Or so they say
Again
But I can still hear the gunfire
Every night
From
My bed.

Source: Philip Mahony, ed., *From Both Sides Now: The Poetry of the Vietnam War and Its Aftermath* (New York: Scribner Poetry-Simon and Schuster, 1998).

PEER GROUP

Bill Shields

Me & the boys got the highest rate
of alcoholism & drug use & divorce
& mental illness & suicide
than any other group
in America
It's good to see us win
for a change.

Source: Gary Baines, *South Africa's 'Border War': Contested Narratives and Conflicting Memories* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014).

Iranian Hostage Crisis 1979–1981



Bill Lacey

Lesson Plan

Overview

When a revolution in the Middle East nation of Iran in the 1970s resulted in the taking of Americans from the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, the United States was nearly powerless, unable to get their hostages back. As events played out, the hostages were subjected to humiliating public displays, brutal interrogations, and captivity in small cell-like rooms dispersed all over the Iranian capital and outlying areas. The details of this episode, which lasted 444 days—from November 4, 1979 to January 20, 1981—made for riveting nightly television, and ABC's *Nightline* coverage kept it the top news story for those fourteen and a half months. Your students will soon re-create the Iranian hostage crisis as it unfolded and captured the nation's attention. Students will play key participants—two presidents and their wives, a Supreme Court chief justice, militant Iranians, hostages, TV anchor Ted Koppel, former hostage Richard Queen, and narrators.

Setup

1. Duplication

- **Background Essay**—*class set*
- **Postscript**—*class set*
- **Narration**—*sufficient copies for those students who have speaking parts long enough to require a copy, including Koppel, President Carter, a few hostages and Iranian militants, and the chief justice of the Supreme Court who swears in Ronald Reagan*
- **Koppel-Queen Interview**—*one copy each to Ted Koppel and Richard Queen*

2. Schematic, props, costumes:

Study the **Schematic** carefully. Find and bring to your classroom any props and costumes that will help create the U.S. Embassy, Tehran, the Capitol Building, airport setting, and mood of the times. (Your students can help by finding several blindfolds, rope, and simple costumes.)

3. Roles

- a. In this Activator you need to clearly differentiate between Iranian militants and American hostages. Costumes or black armbands would effectively single out the militants while white blindfolds will make the hostages stand out.

- b. Here are the roles you will need to select (for a class of thirty-five): 8–10 hostages, 17–20 militants, President Carter, President Reagan, former hostage Richard Queen, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, narrator(s), and news anchor Ted Koppel. Minor roles: speaking parts for militants, hostages, Nancy Reagan, and Rosalynn Carter.
4. **Narrator(s):** Decide whether you or one or more of your students will act as the narrator(s), if the script is being narrated rather than being more thoroughly “acted out” as in **Option B**.

Directions

1. Unless you plan to present its information in a lecture, hand out the **Background Essay** the day before this class as homework. Conduct an informal discussion to check for understanding. If your students are younger or less capable readers, hand out the essay today and read significant portions of it aloud, asking students to contribute to the reading aloud. Check for understanding as you proceed.
2. Display the **Schematic**, explain it, assign roles, and then have students rearrange your room to create the setting. Try playing some 1979–1980 tunes to ease their burden of moving desks (“My Sharona,” “YMCA,” “Bad Girls,” et al.). Now have all students move or prepare to move to their positions. Narrators should be in a clearly visible and audible place as you start if you are not doing the narration **Note:** *You may want to assign the narrator(s) and the major roles a day or so before the actual activity. However, this is usually unnecessary if you are using Option B.*

You have at least two different ways you can conduct the actual play:

Option A

1. Assign roles of hostages and militants by chance. Students who play narrator, Koppel, Reagan, and Carter should have some dramatic flair and enthusiasm.
2. Tell all Iranian militants to put on their black armbands, if you are using this suggestion, and any other costume pieces.
3. Once everyone is in place, display the **Schematic** and slowly begin going through the **Narration**. Direct students’ movements and actions. Make any adjustments as necessary.



Teaching tip

Make every effort to avoid blatant Arab/ Middle Eastern stereotyping.



Teaching tip

Note: Before this narration is slowly read make sure all roles have been filled, all preparation has taken place, and students are in their place. Refer to the **Schematic**.

Iranian Hostage Crisis: 1979–1981

Lesson Plan

Teaching tip

Option: Parade your hostages down a hall or corridor with Iranians yelling from the sides.



Teaching tip

If you have some students who are talented at making videos, allow them to film the action and then create a “TV special” news program for later viewing for the entire class.



Teaching tip

All students might want to assume the roles of the fifty-two hostages and write a series of four to five diary entries about their 444-day captivity nightmare.



4. Proceed through the **Narration** script at a comfortable pace, allowing for some improvisation along the way as well as for critical discussion if it comes up. Be aware, too, of the need for periodic pauses to have scene changes, or action, catch up to the narration.

Option B

1. A few days in advance of using the Activator, assign roles as described in the **Setup** above.
2. Tell the major characters to write out the lines of their dialogue and practice these lines. Some may want to put these few lines on their hand or arm.
3. Also tell other students who have been assigned roles that everyone will rehearse their Activator roles and during such rehearsals they are to role-play to the best of their ability how they think an Iranian militant, hostage, or a president would have responded to this particular crisis is 1979–1981.
4. If possible, plan to film this action the second time through following the rehearsal. This video will serve you well during the **Debriefing**.

Debriefing

Decide whether you wish to use a short or long debriefing. Here are possible ways to make meaningful what happened during the Activator on the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979–1981.

Short Debriefing

1. Pass out the **Postscript** or give a brief lecture on its contents. You may wish to check for understanding.
2. Ask students to discuss what they learned and what they felt as they played their roles.
3. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry following the short debriefing.

Long Debriefing

Use one or more of the following debriefing activities:

1. Pass out the **Postscript** or give a brief lecture on its contents. You may wish to check for understanding.
2. Terrorism has plagued the modern world for many years, but the trend of abducting hostages in faraway lands reached a crescendo in the

1980s. As an assignment, ask students to create a hostage situation in a paragraph or two, and then brainstorm ways an American president and his advisers would solve the crisis. Then ask students to ask themselves: *How different are your solutions from the ones President Carter probably came up with? What are the risks of each solution?*

3. During the 1979–1981 crisis, a sizable portion of Americans brandished bumper stickers on their cars and pickup trucks: “Nuke Tehran” and “Make Iran Glow.” Ask students to write a one-page dialogue between a person in favor of a strong military response and an individual with more moderate proposals to solve the hostage crisis.
4. Many observers have noted that television networks played a powerful, visible role in the Iranian hostage crisis. From the following perspectives, write comments reflecting how you think heavy TV exposure of the crisis helped or hurt each.
 - President Carter
 - Stockholder of ABC-TV
 - Spouse/family of hostage
 - Military
 - The hostages themselves
 - The ayatollah
 - Muslims in general
5. Show a video relating to the hostage crisis. Recommended: A ten-year-anniversary perspective of the birth of *Nightline*, shown in 1989; a PBS *Frontline* special, shown in 1992, on the October Surprise allegations.
6. The Middle East remains one of the world’s most explosive regions (see **Postscript**). Ask students what kinds of solutions they can offer to diffuse the tensions and minimize the nearly continuous warfare.
7. Consider having students write a Learning Log entry. While they do, play a recording of the song played over and over again as the hostages were cheered by crowds all over the country upon their return: “Tie a yellow ribbon ‘round the old oak tree.” Here is an added flourish: Tie a yellow sash or cloth around a stick or pole in your class as the song plays three or four times and pass the stick/pole around the room during the song.

Iranian Hostage Crisis: 1979–1981

Lesson Plan

Teaching tip



Note: Prior to unit or semester examinations, consider having students sit in cooperative learning groups in which they can share any Learning Logs they have written while using Interact's twentieth century Activators. Reading one another's Learning Logs will bring back what they learned and felt during their previous experiences.

	Learning Log
●	What an emotional experience we had re-creating this crisis in American history. I loved getting into my role as a hostage at first since I expected it would be fun.
	Surprisingly, it was not. Once Ms. Bales displayed the Schematic up on the screen, the pressure really fell on me. The mob of students in class role-playing Iranian militants came all dressed up. They also carried placards with slogans telling how terrible President Carter and the rest of us were. And they treated us terribly. There was a lot of screaming,
●	shoving, roping our wrists together. I really found it hard to keep my cool when we were being herded through the classroom and down the halls—
	representing the streets outside the U.S. embassy. . .

Resources to consult

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Visual history

Several specials on the Iranian Hostage Crisis have appeared on television over the years. PBS aired a *Frontline* special in 1992 on the *October Surprise*. In 1989 a ten-year anniversary *Nightline* special reviewed the events of the 444 days.

Visuals are important and often essential. Though there are countless visuals to use in the classroom for this particular Activator (films and documentaries), most of these might be difficult to find and then show. Instead, you might find it easier to go online to locate exactly the kind of visuals most appropriate. As of 2016, Crash Course with John Green has been extensively utilized by teachers.

**Teaching tip**

Students get a better understanding of the ordeal the hostages went through when they see the events on film.

Background Essay

Place: Iran and the United States

Time: November 1979–January 1981

The Middle East

Perhaps no region in the world has been more explosive and experienced more conflict in recent times than the Middle East. Sandwiched between the land masses of Europe, Africa, and Asia, the nations and peoples here have been a frequently volatile mixture of different races, religions, and cultures. Indeed, the modern countries of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Saudi Arabia make headlines daily, especially because of the area's strategic location and its "gift" of one particular natural resource: oil.

United States' role

Since World War II the world's most powerful nations have focused much attention on the Middle East. In 1948 the United States supported the United Nations' resolution to create a Middle Eastern homeland for Jews. Carved out of Arab and Muslim Palestine, the new state of Israel faced increasing Arab nationalism and eventual opposition to its policies which has lasted until the present day. Crisis over the Suez Canal, intervention in Lebanon in the 1950s, and border incidences throughout the 1960s, including the Six Day War in 1967 and the Yom Kippur War of 1973, exhibited American determination to remain a presence in the oil-rich region. At the same time the United States has supported Israel's continuing development in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, the most volatile region in the world was a source of constant danger for the United States.

Camp David Accords

A serious attempt to resolve the differences aflame in the Middle East came in 1979, when President Jimmy Carter invited Israel's

Menachem Begin and Egypt's Anwar Sadat to negotiate peace at Camp David, a presidential retreat in the mountains of Maryland. As a result of this, Israel was recognized by Egypt, and Egypt gradually regained the Sinai Peninsula, which had been lost years before to Israeli troops. Unresolved, however, was the fate of the Palestinian refugees, who, without a homeland, were now guided by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a terrorist entity led by Yassir Arafat.



From left to right: Menachem Begin, Jimmy Carter, and Anwar Sadat in Camp David

The shah of Iran

If the Camp David agreements were President Carter's greatest triumph, another issue in the Middle East became his greatest crisis and failure. The source of this problem was the shah of Iran, whose government over the years had support from the United States; the CIA had helped the shah regain his throne in 1953 as a buffer against Russian influence. Living lavishly and ruling autocratically for twenty years, the shah saw his support within Iran dry up as he faced a threat from several movements including Islamic fundamentalists. These Iranians were angered personally at the shah's lifestyle and his

Image Source: Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

policy of westernization, which the clergy saw as impurities that strayed from Islamic values.

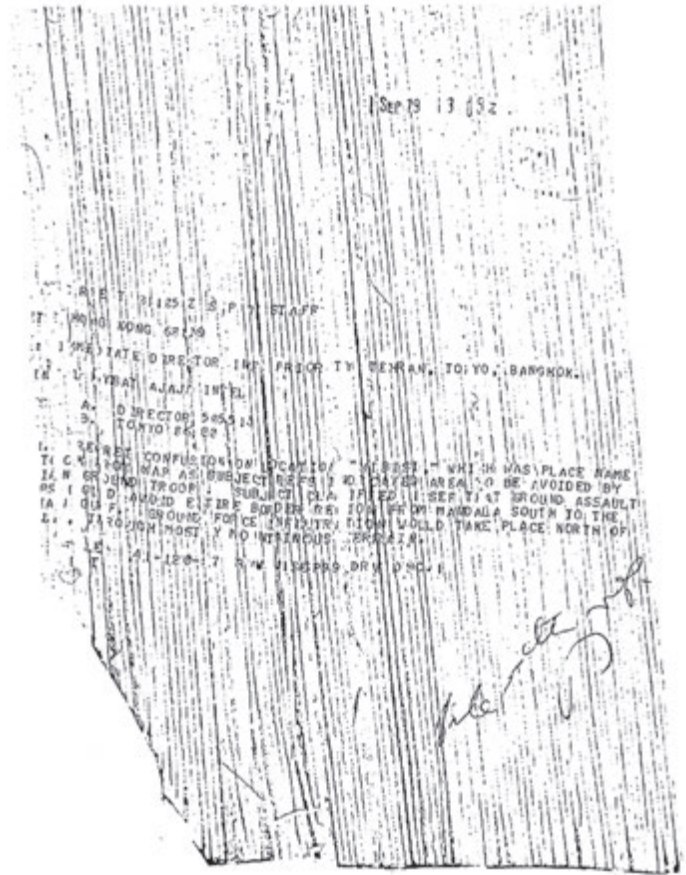
Revolution and the ayatollah

With hatred centered on the shah, a popular revolution broke out in Iran in January, 1979. Soon the shah fled the country. A charismatic religious leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, seized power and began a regime hostile to the west and specifically to the United States. Attempts were made by the United States to reestablish cordial relations with Iran, but these actions came to nothing. Then, in October 1979, the shah, who had been in exile in Panama, flew to New York to be treated for cancer. Iran's leaders were outraged at the United States for giving aid and asylum to a man they wanted to summarily execute for his "25 years of crimes against the Iranian people."

Iran retaliates

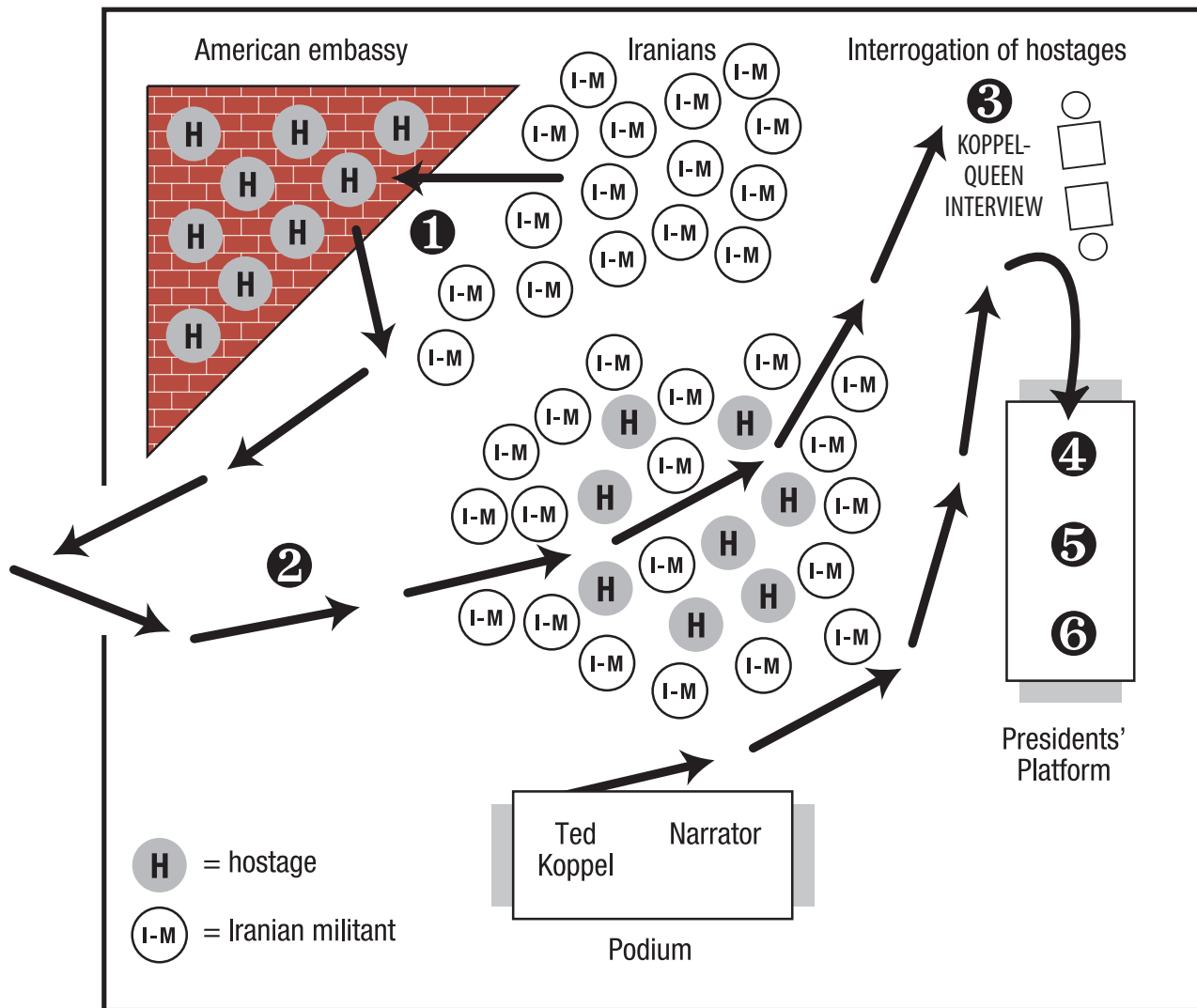
In those tense months of late 1979, the United States was totally unprepared for an Iranian counteraction that would stun the western world and nearly render the Carter administration helpless. On November 4, 1979, Americans working in the American Embassy in Tehran, Iran, were taken hostage, initiating one of the most frustrating and humiliating events in U.S. history. The crisis would topple one president and aid the election of another. It would involve the mistreatment over 444 days of fifty-two hostages who were taken to the limits of their endurance.

Hostage, militant, or president? *Which role will you play in this Activator?*



An example of shredded and reassembled documents from the former American Embassy in Tehran.

Schematic



Action Scenes

- 1** Hostages abducted.
- 2** Hostages paraded through streets.
- 3** Koppel-Queen interview
- 4** President Carter interviewed by Ted Koppel
- 5** President Reagan sworn in.
- 6** President Carter speaks to Georgians.

Suggestions

- Iranians wear black armbands.
- Blindfold hostages.
- Play *Nightline* theme before Koppel warmup.
- Go over narration a few times before actual performance of the Activator.
- Have banners and poster cards with "DEATH TO THE SHAH!" and "DEATH TO CARTER!" on them.

Characters needed

(For a class of 35 students)

- 8–10 hostages
- 17 Iranian militants
- President Carter
- President Reagan
- Chief Justice Warren E. Burger
- Presidents' wives (2)
- Narrator(s)
- Ted Koppel
- Richard Queen

Narration

NARRATOR: It is Sunday, November 4, 1979, a cool, fall morning. In Tehran, Iran, the U.S. Embassy complex, nicknamed “Fort Apache,” because of its fortress-like appearance, is a lonely American outpost 7,000 miles from home. Relations with Iran have soured lately and demonstrations by Iranian students are common, especially with the hardline revolutionaries.

(Start action here) . . . At about 9:30 a.m., Americans inside the Embassy compound hear chanting which soon increases in intensity and volume. A marine guard runs into the hallway of the Embassy and yells **“They’ve penetrated the motor pool gate!”** Over closed-circuit TV monitors Iranian students are seen scaling the Embassy gates and cutting chain locks with bolt cutters. Hordes of Iranians flood into the compound. Most wear cloth bibs with black and white stenciled silhouettes of the ayatollah covering their chests. Some wear military field jackets and carry concealed weapons.

With no substantial guard to protect the Americans, fear spreads in the Embassy building. Another marine runs into the room and screams: **“They’re inside the chancellery building.”** Disbelief and terror are on all the faces as they wait for some kind of Iranian security force to stop the attack. It will never come. From out of the second story window, one American sees the excited Iranians. The American says, **“Get out of here, you raspberries!”** The TV monitors show some Embassy personnel being taken hostage, blindfolded, and with their hands tied behind their backs. Surprisingly, some of the militants are women who wear the black chador (a cape that covers the body from head to toe), or a gray babushka (bandanna).

One of the officials tries to phone the nearby ambassador’s house, but an Iranian answers the phone. Realizing the gravity of the situation, some Americans start to destroy sensitive papers. Others now become hysterical. One American hostage is now outside the steel door which bars entry to the second floor to which most of the Americans have fled. He says unconvincingly: **“These militants only want to stage a sit-in; they will not harm any of us.”** Considering surrender, they see smoke under the door. Without an order, the door is unlocked and angry militants burst through, grab the Americans, blindfold them, and tie them up. *(Pause)* The Iranian leader says: **“Where are the guns? We know you have guns. Give them to us, or you will be killed!”** A marine officer is on a phone which is snatched away by an Iranian who asks: **“Who are you talking to?”** The officer humorously answers: **“I was talking to the ayatollah, and he said to let us go right away.”** The militant backhands the marine across the face and says: **“You are a CIA spy and you were sent here to destroy the Iranian revolution and put the shah back in power. You will not speak! You are under arrest!”**

Now all the Americans are plunged into a world of personal darkness as blindfolds of heavy muslin are tightly knotted around their heads. With their noses and eyes completely covered, it



is difficult for them to breathe. As the Americans leave the building under gun, one soft spoken militant, almost apologetically, says: **“Do not worry; we will not hurt you. We only want the shah for trial and execution. Please believe me.”** (Pause until militants and hostages walk out the door.)

TED KOPPEL: I’m Ted Koppel and this is . . .

Nightline. (Play theme of Nightline.) It is now day 161 of America held hostage. Five and a half months ago, on November 4, 1979, sixty-six Americans were taken hostage from the U.S. Embassy by Iranian militants. President Jimmy Carter and his



advisors remain as frustrated and angry as they were last November. Just before Thanksgiving eight black men and five women were released. (Iran stated that women are special in Islamic religion and the blacks were already captives in their own country.) Another positive gesture: American clergy were allowed to celebrate this American holiday with the hostages. Other than these two events, the relationship between Iran and United States has remained strained. The president froze Iranian assets in the United States on November 14. A month later, Iranian diplomats were expelled from our country. Just last week the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Iran and imposed economic sanctions. (Pause) As for the hostages themselves, wherever in Iran they are, one wonders how they are holding up in captivity.

NARRATOR: Nothing gets Americans angrier than watching a familiar scene on TV almost nightly. Countless times, the American hostages are paraded on the streets of Tehran, still blindfolded and tied. Banners and placards held high repeat the chants. It is a humiliating sight and the United States is helpless to aid them. (Pause until action scene 3 is up.)

Most of the time, the hostages are kept in separate cells all over the Iranian capital. Physical and emotional exhaustion have indeed taken a tremendous toll. Looking at a few hostages during this time can illuminate how they are treated. Blindfolded constantly, most are tied to chairs or stools (wrists and ankles) for hours at a time. They are slapped, prodded with sticks, denied fresh air, exercise, toilet and shower visits, and kept in cold, lightless cells. Some have been subjected for nearly the entire fourteen and a half months to silence, Russian Roulette torture, mock executions, and solitary confinement. When the hostages are fed, it is usually bread, weak tea, and soup, with occasional servings of cold spaghetti. One hostage while given food says: **“This is not a meal. We wouldn’t feed this to a pig in America. Starving us will not bring back the shah.”** Angered, a guard slaps the hostage and replies, **“You are a hostage. You have no rights. You Americans eat too much. All you want to do is eat and sleep.”** Needless to say, all hostages lose weight, some up to thirty-five pounds.

Throughout their imprisonment, hostages are interrogated with a relentless barrage of repetitive questions and usually slaps to the face, especially if the hostage, on occasion, is defiant and not cooperative.

These “cold storage” interrogations, causing unbelievable mental strain, are common in the first months of captivity, especially in the middle of the night when sleep is light and difficult.

(This next segment is a fictional interview with Richard Queen, a hostage who was released early. See handout **Koppel-Queen Interview**. Note: Koppel walks to another part of the room to conduct the interview. See **Schematic**.)

KOPPEL: I'm Ted Koppel and this is *Nightline*. It is day 370 of America held hostage. It has been just over a year since the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was invaded and hostages taken. Since our last report, much has happened. In late April, President Carter authorized an air rescue of the fifty-two hostages, but it failed and the crash of two U.S. helicopters in the Iranian desert cost eight American lives and serves as a metaphor for the whole frustrating experience.

To find out more, let's chat with President Carter: *(Pause)* Mr. President, was the rescue mission really a good idea?

CARTER: Mr. Koppel, we all had doubts that it would be successful, but we had to do something. There were risks at every point in the mission—arriving undetected, getting into Tehran, scaling the compound's wall, freeing the hostages, and then getting them out of the country. And if successful, would the Iranians take more hostages in retaliation? Would the Soviets respond negatively? We tried to see all contingencies.

KOPPEL: Why did it fail, sir?

CARTER: We planned the action down to the detail but with little rehearsal and coordination. In the end, two of the eight helicopters went down because of mechanical problems. Ironical, since this is usually what America is supposed to do best, mechanical things. After this disaster we aborted the whole Delta Force mission to rescue the hostages, but at least our government tried something.

KOPPEL: Thank you, Mr. President. *(Pause)* Continuing on with our update, in July the shah died in Cairo. In September, Iran went to war with neighboring Iraq. And just two days ago Ronald Reagan defeated a weary Jimmy Carter to win the presidency. Reagan promises no deals with the Iranians. *(Pause)*

NARRATOR: Today, January 20, 1982, is turning out to be very eventful indeed, as millions watch Ronald Reagan being sworn in as the 40th president of the United States.

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT AND RONALD REAGAN: Repeat after me: "I, Ronald Reagan *(pause after each line for Ronald Reagan's repetition)* do solemnly swear/ that I will faithfully execute/ the office of president of the United States/, and will to the best of my ability/, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States/ so help me God."

NARRATOR: As the new president is sworn in, his predecessor boards Air Force One and then a presidential helicopter to fly home to Plains, Georgia. It has been an unbelievably difficult 444 days for both the hostages and Jimmy Carter, who, along with diplomats, finally struck off a deal to return Iranian assets in the United States for the hostages. After leaving the chopper, former Chief Executive Carter and wife Rosalynn approach a microphone.

CARTER: Just a few minutes ago on Air Force One, I received word officially for the first time that the aircraft carrying the fifty-two American hostages has cleared Iranian airspace. Every one of the fifty-two hostages is alive, well, and . . . free!

NARRATOR: The hostage crisis is over.

Koppel-Queen Interview

KOPPEL: I'm Ted Koppel and this is *Nightline*. It is now day 275 of America held hostage. Tonight, we are fortunate to have on our program Richard Queen, one of the fourteen hostages who has been released from Iranian captivity. Mr. Queen, thanks for being here tonight.

QUEEN: Thanks for having me, Mr. Koppel.

KOPPEL: Mr. Queen was serving as Vice Counsel at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran until his capture. But a progressively deteriorating illness forced him to be released as a "humanitarian" gesture by his captors after 250 days. Sir, what was your initial reaction to your capture?

QUEEN: That we had been taken hostage by a bunch of kids, bouncing around and defying authority. From the start, we were all sure an American plane was on its way over. When it didn't come, we became worried.

KOPPEL: Indeed. As a hostage, what kinds of topics did you talk about with your captors?

QUEEN: Lots of things, but over and over they came back to the idea that the shah had ruined their country and, because America was responsible for the shah, every evil that had befallen Iran was America's fault.

KOPPEL: Did you personally experience any ill-treatment or torture?

QUEEN: Because I was ill most of the time, I was mostly kept separated from the others. But one early experience with the Iranians illustrated the kind of terror and barbaric treatment we were subjected to.

KOPPEL: This would be the mock execution.

QUEEN: Yes. On the night of February 5, 1980—the most terrifying night of all—we awoke to cries of "Savak." "Savak!" "Everybody up and out!" "Now!" "Hurry!" We were all led to a cold, empty warehouse and ordered to strip to our underwear. It was so cold. As we stood there in a line, they checked to see if we had anything in our underwear. I thought, "Why are they doing this?" The guards were yelling at us the whole time.

KOPPEL: What happened next?

QUEEN: To a man, we thought we would be shot—executed. I recited the Lord's Prayer as others prayed, too. All of us were numb and full of fear. Then the Iranians screamed, "Arms against the wall!" "Spread your legs!" "Don't drop your arms . . . as you will die."

KOPPEL: So you all were prepared to be executed.

QUEEN: We were. And each man hoped for a quick death. "So this is it," I thought.

KOPPEL: But those shots never came.

QUEEN: No. A long moment passed. Then another moment. One American said, "I'm tired of this. If you're going to shoot me, just shoot me." Suddenly the guards cocked their weapons, ready to fire. Just as sudden, one guard told us to pull up our underwear. That was it. We stood shaking as we had been prepared to die. All of us were taken back to our cubicles and rooms, which had been ransacked and were in disarray.

KOPPEL: How barbaric, humiliating, and terrifying. Thank you for being on our program tonight, Mr. Richard Queen.

NARRATOR: Richard Queen was safe in America, but his fellow captives remained to be subjected to a long brutal confinement with hours of late night interrogations, beatings, vicious slaps, and waiting forlornly for rescue.

Postscript

As expected, the return of the hostages was a glorious event. The deal was made with Iran to release the captive Americans the day before they actually flew to safety. The fifty-two U.S. citizens boarded an Algerian jet and left Iranian airspace just minutes after President Carter left office. From Tehran, the plane flew to Wiesbaden, West Germany, where on January 21, they were greeted, awkwardly at first, by former President Carter, given physicals to determine the state of their health, and fed food they had not tasted for well over a year.

When the hostages finally did touch American soil, it ignited massive celebrations of pride, patriotism, unity, and yellow ribbons, the latter a reference to a popular song, “Tie a Yellow Ribbon Round the Ole Oak Tree.” Afterward, the ex-hostages returned to their lives as best they could, happy to be alive.

Ironically, the man who seemingly caused it all, the deposed and exiled shah of Iran, died in Cairo, Egypt, in July 1980, six months before the dilemma was solved. Most world leaders shunned the shah’s funeral. At the same time, Iran officially announced that his death would have no effect on the fate of the Americans held captive.

Jimmy Carter, defeated decisively in his reelection bid by Ronald Reagan, left office knowing that he had done everything he could to bring the hostages home alive. The return of all of them safely was his accomplishment, but it came far too late to help him politically. In retirement Carter became the “best former president we’ve ever had.” His work to secure voting and human rights in third-world countries, his peace missions in the mid-1990s, and his contributions to low-cost housing in poorer parts of the United States and Latin America have earned him high marks as historians continue to assess his place in history.

Carter’s successor, Ronald Reagan, faced similar hostage crises of his own during the 1980s. The Middle East proved to be a thorn in Reagan’s side as events in that region played out. Terrorism and the taking of American hostages continued during his presidency, leaving the 40th president angry and exasperated trying to solve crises in Lebanon in 1983 (241 U.S. Marines died in an explosion) and in Beirut again in 1986 (school teacher Frank Reed and others were similarly abducted and held in secret prisons).

Reagan, like Carter, had few solutions to the problem of terrorism in the Middle East and North Africa. In the late 1980s, the Iran-Contra scandal tarnished his presidency when Reagan finally admitted he had authorized an illegal deal with Iran, exchanging arms for hostages. The scandal later expanded, with the testimony of Marine Colonel Oliver North, to include the diversion of money from Iran’s secret arms purchases to “freedom fighters” battling communism in Nicaragua. Reagan’s failure to deal with terrorism and hostages was further complicated in the early 1990s when charges were leveled by credible officials that some of his zealous campaign people deliberately stalled negotiations for the return of the hostages prior to November, 1980, to ensure that President Carter wouldn’t pull off an “October surprise” and reverse his sure defeat by Reagan. At this writing, no conclusive evidence has validated or proved the allegations. Yet, few would disagree that the Iran-Contra scandal, whatever the truth, tarnished the two-term presidency of Ronald Reagan.

The Middle East continues to be a “hot” spot and its importance in world affairs has not diminished. Its crossroads location, vast oil deposits, and its claim to be the birthplace of three of the world’s great religions has given it a spotlight had by few regions on the planet. Most events involving the Middle East create explosive headlines in the world’s news media outlets. The Persian Gulf War (Desert Shield and Desert Storm), the 9/11 attack, and wars involving U.S. troops fighting in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria, all have forced the United States to adjust its foreign policy to deal with—if not resolve—continuing issues that cannot be ignored.

Likewise, the growth of radical Islamic fundamentalism during this time has left the West wondering if indeed there is any way to minimize or defeat a new twenty-first century enemy intent on sacrificing its zealous warriors in terrorist acts around the world. Whatever name these radical jihadist groups go by—ISIS/ISIL, Hezbollah, Al Qaeda, or Hamas—they remain a challenge to the United States and its allies.



Historical Investigation Activity

Iranian Hostage Crisis (1979–1981)

Focus Question

Ronald Reagan: Did his personal traits/attributes further damage President Jimmy Carter's reelection bid and result in a Reagan landslide in 1980?

Materials Needed for This Historical Investigation

- **Documents A–H**—*class set*
- **Points to Ponder Response Sheet**—*class set*

Lesson Plan

1. Getting Started

- Ask students, "What can you tell me about the Election of 1980, when an incumbent president, Democrat Jimmy Carter, ran against Republican Ronald Reagan, former governor of California?" Discuss by writing responses on a board as spokes emanating from a hub/circle. Then ask, "What was the big event that lasted 444 days and took place at the same time as the campaign and election, that involved the Middle Eastern country of Iran?" (It is not assumed here that students participated in the Activator.) Discuss responses in the same way, perhaps as one major spoke out from the original hub/circle. As a final question, ask, "Do you think television in 1980 played a huge role in the outcome of the election?"
- Pass out the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** and have students write their views on the possible impact of TV on the outcome of the 1980 election.
- Allow 3–5 minutes for students to reflect and write on TV's impact. Then discuss their responses.
- Say, "Before we look at the document package about television's impact on this election, let's get some background, to the documents' **Focus Question.**"

2. Backstory to Use as Instruction

- Someone once said: "The world is watching America and America is watching . . . TV!" We are indeed a nation of TV watchers, many habitually, hooked on sports, comedies, melodramas, reality programs, and news shows. In the last category, there are news junkies and couch potatoes who have been obsessive watchers since the 1970s.



- One program these junkies—and others, if we believe the ratings—watched live, or watched on videotape after recording on their VCRs, was *Nightline*, a news program hosted by Ted Koppel. It was on ABC every weeknight to help Americans stay updated daily on the ongoing Iranian hostage crisis from November 4, 1979 through the next 444 days, until the hostages' release on January 20, 1981.
 - *Nightline* and similar shows gave the hostage event “legs,” that is the broadcasts kept the story alive from beginning to end. Television news programs, but especially *Nightline*, made the hostage crisis the biggest and most dramatic story of all and for those who watched it, images of blindfolded Americans and an angry Ayatollah Khomeini were seared into their memories. As the program unfolded nightly, Americans became convinced that Carter was weak and ineffective in dealing with the crisis. Television's incredible impact on our lives was evident once more.
 - Since 1960, when it began to grow up, television was a medium we couldn't ignore. In that year—1960—an important presidential campaign and election was covered in great detail. The two candidates, John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon, held three debates, all televised live across the nation, to air out differences on vital issues so voters could decide for whom to cast their ballots.
 - Many would agree that Kennedy, arguably our first telegenic president, beat Nixon because the former looked better on TV than Vice-President Nixon. It was clearly a matter of style over substance and JFK's New England accent, suave style, and handsome image, bested Nixon's bland personality and five o'clock shadow.
 - TV's impact on our lives continues to be enormous during presidential elections. In this case, did television, and the one debate the candidates had on October 28, 1980, have an impact on who won that year? Did TV and the candidates' personalities and television appearance or how they responded to questions matter the most to the voters who had to choose between the incumbent president, Carter, and the challenger, Reagan? And especially did it matter a week later when Americans voted? Did TV's coverage of the campaign and debate, in short, create a Reagan presidency? Did Ronald Reagan's personal attributes further damage President Jimmy Carter's reelection bid and help lead to a Reagan landslide in 1980?
3. Say, “From our earlier discussions based on what you wrote and the backstory, our working hypothesis appears to be: Television and personality did/did not play an important role in the election of 1980. Will the documents support our hypothesis or not? What will we conclude after our thoughtful analysis?”



4. Pass out the package of **Documents A–H** and explain exactly what students are to do.
5. Allow 35–40 minutes for students (perhaps in pairs or trios) to read and analyze the document package. Perhaps you or a student should read aloud the first one or two documents and discuss the gist of each. Remind students that they should analyze the documents carefully.
6. Afterward, discuss with students the conclusions they have drawn from the package and have a few students read their answers to the **Focus Question**.

An Option

If you ...

- Have students whose abilities may make it difficult to analyze all the documents in this package ...

Or

- Have limited time in class to implement the full package of documents ...

Consider carefully pulling out 2–3 documents from the HIA to use that will still help students think like historians. Using this strategy would mean selecting only those tasks and questions on the **Points to Ponder Response Sheet** which directly apply to the documents you have chosen to use. Whatever the case, these investigations, even in an abbreviated format, can still be effective and fulfill your objectives.

Name _____ Date: _____

Points to Ponder Response Sheet

Focus Question: Ronald Reagan: Did his personal attributes further damage President Jimmy Carter's reelection bid and result in a Reagan landslide in 1980?

1. I think television in 1980 did/did not play a huge role in the election between Carter and Reagan for these reasons:

- _____
- _____
- _____

2. **Documents A and B**

Speaker	Words/Phrases Used to Convey His Points	Describe Overall Mood/Tone of Speech

Why would Carter (**Document A**) come down hard almost three years into his presidency and one year before his reelection campaign?

3. **Document C:** What particular assets from his acting career did Reagan bring to his candidacy, according to biographer Lou Cannon?

4. **Document D:** Leslie Stahl of CBS was perhaps not a fan of Reagan as a candidate or president, yet she calls him “The Great Communicator.” What words in her account, published as a tribute after Reagan’s death in 2004, expose Reagan as a skilled politician?

5. **Document E:** Some have said Reagan won the next week’s election with this closing statement. What particular words validate this claim, in your opinion?

What does Carter emphasize in his closing statement?

6. **Document F:** What words stand out in Carter’s own reaction to the October 28, 1980 presidential debate?

7. **Document G:** What folksy four words, in Reagan’s own reaction to the debate, not only won the debate but perhaps also helped secure his election? What made these four words so powerful, in your opinion?

8. **Document H:** What points does the author make to defend his take on the role of television in a presidential election? Do you agree with him? Why or why not?

9. Based on the documents you analyzed, write a long paragraph answering the **Focus Question** at the top of this sheet. Make at least three major points to substantiate your position. Use evidence to support your claim.

Document A

Carter Delivers His “Malaise” Speech to the Nation

President Carter spoke on television on July 15, 1979 at a time when the nation and he seemed at a low point. Inflation, gasoline shortages, energy problems, and a “crisis of confidence” gripped the country.

[A]s I was preparing to speak, I began to ask myself the same question that I now know has been troubling many of you. Why have we not been able to get together as a nation to resolve our serious energy problem?

It's clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines or energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help. So, I decided to reach out and listen to the voices of America. . . .

. . . But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America. So, I want to speak to you first tonight about a subject even more serious than energy or inflation. I want to talk to you right now about a fundamental threat to American democracy. . . .

The threat is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation.

The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America. . . .

Our people are losing . . . faith, not only in government itself but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy. . . .

In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities, and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of this crisis of the American spirit are all around us. . . .

As you know, there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning. . . .

Often you see paralysis and stagnation and drift. You don't like it, and neither do I. What can we do? . . .

We know the strength of America. We are strong. We can regain our unity. We can regain our confidence. . . .

We ourselves are the same Americans who just ten years ago put a man on the Moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality. And we are the generation that will win the war on the energy problem and in that process rebuild the unity and confidence of America.

Source: Jimmy Carter, from *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter, 1979. Vol. 2* (Washington, D.C. National Archives and Records Service, 1980).

**Malaise—illness or depression*

Document B

Reagan's Vision for America

Ronald Reagan was a two-term governor of California before his selection as the Republican nominee for president in 1980. The words below were part of his acceptance speech at his party's convention on July 17, 1980. The "they" in the speech refers to Carter and his supporters.

They tell us they have done the most that humanly could be done. They say that the United States has had its day in the sun; that our nation has passed its zenith. They expect you to tell your children that the American people no longer have the will to cope with their problems; that the future will be one of sacrifice and few opportunities.

My fellow citizens, I utterly reject that view. The American people, the most generous on earth, who created the highest standard of living, are not going to accept the notion that we can only make a better world for others by moving backward ourselves. Those who believe we can have no business leading the nation. I will not stand by and watch this great country destroy itself under mediocre leadership that drifts from one crisis to the next, eroding our national will and purpose. We have come together here because the American people deserve better from those to whom they entrust our nation's highest offices, and we stand united in our resolve to do something about it. . . .

Together, let us make this a new beginning. Let us make a commitment to care for the needy; to teach our children the values and the virtues handed down to us by our families; to have the courage to defend those values and the willingness to sacrifice for them. . . .

. . . I ask you to trust that American spirit which knows no ethnic, religious, social, political, regional, or economic boundaries; the spirit that burned with zeal in the hearts of millions of immigrants from every corner of the earth who came here in search of freedom.

Some say that spirit no longer exists. But I have seen it—I have felt it—all across this land; in the big cities, the small towns and rural America. The American spirit is still there, ready to blaze into life if you and I are willing to do what has to be done; the practical, down-to-earth things that will stimulate our economy, increase productivity and put America back to work. . . .

The time is now, my fellow Americans, to recapture our destiny, to take it into our own hands. But to do this will take many of us, working together. I ask you tonight to volunteer your help in this cause, so we can carry our message throughout the land. . . .

I'll confess that I've been a little afraid to suggest what I'm going to suggest—I'm more afraid not to: that we begin our crusade joined together in a moment of silent prayer.

God bless America.

Source: Ronald Reagan's acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, Detroit, Michigan, July 17, 1980, from *Vital Speeches of the Day*, August 15, 1980.

Document C

The Actor Becomes a Politician

Journalist Lou Cannon followed Reagan as Reagan campaigned for and served as governor of California, as a presidential candidate, and as president.

On screen and in person Reagan came across as virile and Midwestern, expressing patriotic certitudes and old-fashioned values that were somehow softened by his smile. He was tall and handsome, with a commanding bearing, but his manner was self-deprecating and lacking in conceit. He seemed immensely comfortable with being Ronald Reagan, and he had a knack of converting others to his optimism, almost as if he drew upon some private reservoir of self-esteem. People who listened to Reagan tended to feel good about him and better about themselves. His optimism had a special resonance in California. . . .

. . . He said that being an actor had taught him to understand the feelings and motivations of others. He said being an actor had “the practical side” of preparing people to face batteries of cameras and questions from the press. . . .

. . . Most important, he said, actors find themselves being called upon to perform on the spot at public gatherings. Reagan, while often dependent on cue cards to discuss the most mundane of issues, was proud of his performances in such moments. He knew what to say when a microphone was thrust at him. . . . [H]is life as an actor had prepared him for new roles, new challenges, and new performances in the world outside Hollywood. “You can’t always dictate the stage of life upon which you will perform,” he said. But when the spotlight swung to him, Reagan was usually ready.

Source: Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York: Touchstone, 1992).

Document D

Lesley Stahl of CBS Calls Reagan “The Great Communicator”

Without once raising his voice, Ronald Reagan sold the country on his dreams and illusions, and he sold himself as a strong leader.

There was some secret alchemy when he spoke to the nation, with those sunny eyes and voice soft as cashmere. . . .

Being an actor was part of his secret. No president was ever that at ease before the cameras, and cowboys are always at ease. He came across on television as natural, easy in his laugh and his walk.

A big part of the secret was his disposition. Temperament is destiny. I always felt that his greatest strength was his innate sweetness. When Ronald Reagan was “communicating,” he oozed sunniness. . . .

I can tell you firsthand that his “likability” was a mighty force. It was a package—of geniality, politeness, open smiles—that was irresistible. There was hardly anyone he couldn’t disarm. . . .

. . . And no one could deliver the jokes better.

Or deliver a speech better. . . .

. . . He wasn’t just an actor who read his lines well; he wrote them, and sold us his pretty illusions. Lou Cannon, Reagan’s biographer, wrote that he made sense of the world narratively, through stories, which are not always logical.

Source: Lesley Stahl, “The Great Communicator,” in *Ronald Reagan Remembered: CBS News*, edited by Ian Jackson (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004).

Document E

Final Statements from the Debating Candidates, on October 28, 1980.

Some believe that much of what Americans remember from presidential debates might be in the candidates' last words. "Mr. Smith" was moderator Howard K. Smith of ABC News.

MR. SMITH: Gentlemen, each of you now has three minutes for a closing statement. President Carter, you're first. . . .

CARTER: I've been president now for almost four years. I've had to make thousands of decisions, and each one of those decisions has been a learning process. I've seen the strength of my nation, and I've seen the crises it approached in a tentative way. And I've had to deal with those crises as best I could.

As I've studied the record between myself and Governor Reagan, I've been impressed with the stark differences that exist between us. I think the results of this debate indicate that that fact is true. . . .

The American people now are facing, next Tuesday, a lonely decision. Those listening to my voice will have to make a judgment about the future of this country. And I think they ought to remember that one vote can make a lot of difference. If one vote per precinct had changed in 1960, John Kennedy would never have been president of this nation. . . .

There is a partnership involved. And our nation, to stay strong, to stay at peace, to raise high the banner of human rights, to set an example for the rest of the world, to let our deep beliefs and commitments be felt by others in all other nations, is my plan for the future. I ask the American people to join me in this partnership.

MR. SMITH: Governor Reagan?

REAGAN: Next Tuesday is Election Day. Next Tuesday all of you will go to the polls; you'll stand there in the polling place and make a decision. I think when you make that decision, it might be well if you would ask yourself, are you better off than you were four years ago? Is it easier for you to go and buy things in the stores than it was four years ago? Is there more or less unemployment in the country than there was four years ago? Is America as respected throughout the world as it was? Do you feel that our security is as safe, that we're as strong as we were four years ago? And if you answer all of those questions "yes," why then, I think your choice is very obvious as to whom you will vote for. If you don't agree, if you don't think that this course that we've been on for the last four years is what you would like to see us follow for the next four, then I could suggest another choice that you have. . . .

. . . All of this can be cured and all of it can be solved. . . .

. . . I would like to lead that crusade with your help. And it would be one to take government off the backs of the great people of this country, and turn you loose again to do those things that I know you can do so well, because you did them and made this country great. Thank you.

Source: Richard Harwood, editor, and the staff of *The Washington Post*, *The Pursuit of the Presidency 1980* (New York: Berkley Books, 1980).

Document F

Carter's Reaction to the Presidential Debate with Reagan

Jimmy Carter, the 39th president, had been a one-term governor of Georgia when he beat incumbent Gerald Ford in 1976. Now the incumbent himself in 1980, Carter felt pressure to defend his record in a debate with Reagan, after which he commented in his diary. The middle paragraph are Carter's thoughts 30 years later.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27 We moved out to Cleveland to get ready for the debate. Rosalynn [Carter's wife] is campaigning in the Northeast and will join me tomorrow.

I had benefited greatly from the three debates with Gerald Ford in 1976, and we had originally wanted multiple debates with Reagan in different parts of the country. He had shrewdly decided, as the clear front-runner, to limit our joint appearance to this one event, where detailed knowledge of issues would be of little benefit compared to an overall image of us two candidates. As a professional actor, he felt that this would be to his advantage.

OCTOBER 28 In the debate itself it was hard to judge the general demeanor that was projected to the viewers. Reagan was "Aw, shucks . . . this and that . . . I'm a grandfather, and I would never get this nation in a war" . . . and "I love peace. . . ." He has his memorized tapes. He pushes a button, and they come out. He apparently made a better impression on the TV audience than I did, but I made all our points to the constituency groups—which we believe will become preeminent in the public's mind as they approach the point a week from now of actually going to the polls. Both sides felt good after the debate. We'll see whose basic strategy is best when the returns come in next Tuesday.

Source: Jimmy Carter, *White House Diary* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2010).

Document G

Reagan's Reaction to the Presidential Debate with Carter

After serving two terms as the 40th president, Reagan completed this autobiography, published in 1991, two years after he left office.

When Carter finally agreed to a debate, the date was set for October 28, one week before the election, and we were delighted. The debate went well for me and may have turned on only four little words.

They popped out of my mouth after Carter claimed that I had once opposed Medicare benefits for Social Security recipients.

It wasn't true and I said so:

"There you go again. . . ."

I think there was some pent-up anger in me over Carter's claims that I was a racist and warmonger. Just as he'd distorted my view on states' rights and arms control, he had distorted it regarding Medicare, and my response just burst out of me spontaneously.

The audience loved it and I think Carter added to the impact of the words by looking a little sheepish on the television screen.

To me, the finish of the debate was probably more significant: In my closing statement, I asked people if they thought they were better off now than they had been four years earlier. If they were, I said they should vote for my opponent; if not, I said I thought they'd agree with me that it was time for a change.

Source: Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991).

Document H

A Different View of Television's Impact in 1980

The network evening news broadcasts and prime-time television are the sources of information and escape for the American citizen. And in 1980, the competitive pressures of commercial television made prime-time a virtual wasteland of information. Except for the nominating conventions, two debates, and Election Night, the *only* prime-time information about the election came either through a handful of pieces on “60 Minutes” and “20/20” or through paid political advertising on behalf of the candidates. . . .

. . . [T]he thesis of this book is that *television and the media made almost no difference in the outcome of the 1980 Presidential campaign*. The victory of Ronald Reagan was a political victory, a party victory, a victory of more coherent—not necessarily correct, but more coherent—ideas, better expressed, more connected with the reality of their lives, as Americans saw it, than those of Reagan’s principal opponent, a victory vastly aided by a better-funded, better-organized, more confident and united party.

Allied with this thesis is a second basic notion: the failure of the mainstream press, and especially television, to recognize the nature of this campaign stemmed in large measure from the media’s fascination with itself as a political force, and from its fundamental view that politics is more image than substance; that ideas, policies, positions, and intentions are simply the wrappings in which a power struggle takes place. . . .

And 1980 was also the year when many of the most treasured myths about the all-encompassing power of the media were buried under an avalanche of reality. From the primary season through the general election, the political events of 1980 were powered by factors far more fundamental and far more consequential than the images and daily data of television and the political press.

Without in any way debating the clearly *consequential* nature of mass media—to deliver information, impressions, and images about candidates and the country—1980 demonstrated clearly and convincingly that the shaping influences of American political life are still embedded in political realities that media coverage affects only marginally, *if at all*.

Source: Jeff Greenfield, *The Real Campaign: How the Media Missed the Story of the 1980 Campaign* (New York: Summit, 1982).

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