

A STUDY OF PRESSURES AND INFLUENCES ON  
SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM: THE VIRGINIA  
UNIT FOR TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM, 1959-1964

by

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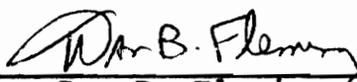
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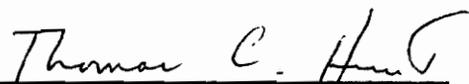
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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother and father,  
Minnie H. Peters and Gorla W. Peters.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A number of persons assisted in the preparation of this manuscript. A special debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. Dan B. Fleming who provided the guidance and encouragement necessary for such a project. Dr. Robert W. Morrill, Dr. Robert C. Small, Jr., and Dr. Thomas C. Hunt reviewed the study step by step and offered suggestions for improvement. Dr. Richard G. Salmon served on the committee and offered valuable assistance. Mr. Robert H. Brill read the manuscript and made recommendations for improvement in punctuation, writing style, and word usage. Mrs. Helen G. Kerby typed the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions.

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## PREFACE

The social studies curriculum of the 1960's and 1970's includes a variety of new courses and units on contemporary topics. Often of undetermined origin, these additions raise some significant questions. What role does the professional educator play in effecting curriculum change? What groups and individuals outside the ranks of professional educators influence curriculum? How does the anxiety of the public in times of national and international crisis affect social studies curriculum? The study of the circumstances surrounding the development of the communism unit for use in Virginia schools in the 1960's offers an opportunity to investigate these questions.

The present study examines the communism unit as a part of a major Virginia State Department of Education curriculum project which produced three instructional guides for use in twelfth-grade government classes. The 1964 guide, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government, gives a detailed guide for the course, including a recommended plan for seven weeks of instruction about communism. This guide represents the culmination of a project which began in 1959 as an attempt to provide more instruction about the free enterprise system. The study of the evolution of this project and its shift in emphasis to include instruction about communism furnishes insight into social studies curriculum change and

the related pressures and influences.

The choice of this topic for study is the result of several factors. The most influential is the writer's use of the 1964 instructional guide as a basis for instruction about communism in the government classes at Northside High School in Roanoke County, Virginia. Both the emphasis that the State Department of Education placed on teaching about communism and the almost universal acceptance which local schools gave to state recommendations warrant a study of the precipitating factors of this curriculum change.

Another factor affecting the choice is an awareness that individuals and groups other than professional educators were involved in efforts to influence the schools to provide instruction about communism. An example of this commitment is the funding of teacher workshops and institutes by members of the business community.

The third factor which influenced the choice of this topic for study is that the pressures on the curriculum continue and educators seek appropriate responses. Textbook controversies, "back-to-basics" movements, and demands for more public involvement in curriculum decision-making are indicative of a continuing controversy.

By providing an historical analysis of pressures and responses in the development of the communism unit designed in the 1960's for use in Virginia schools, this study offers background for the examination of curriculum change in light of the influences exerted on it.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Social studies curriculum in recent years has expanded to include many new courses and topical units. In the curriculum of the 1970's, such social and political topics as minority studies, environmental studies, women in American society, law-related education, and career education have become commonplace. A 1976 survey conducted by the Virginia State Department of Education indicated that many states either had added study in these areas or were considering curriculum revision that would include them.<sup>1</sup> Social studies educators have exhibited a willingness to embrace a seemingly endless parade of additions to the curriculum with little concern for their origin.

Often the new courses and units have come at the suggestion of individuals and groups outside the ranks of professional educators. Educators have found themselves in the position of trying to appease immediate demands of pressure groups rather than engaging in curriculum planning based solely on attempts to meet the long-range needs of students. Public pressure resulting in curriculum change has become a

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<sup>1</sup>"Social Studies Education, Kindergarten-Grade 12," Second Edition (Richmond, Virginia: State Department of Education, 1976), pp. 66-81. (Mimeographed.)

recurring theme in the history of American education. A phenomenon that has been referred to as "creeping curriculum" has resulted from the proliferation of courses to satisfy the desires of various groups and individuals who think that the schools should reflect their particular political, economic, or moral philosophy.<sup>2</sup> The citizenship goals and the emphasis placed on moral education traditionally present in this subject area have made the social studies particularly vulnerable to these pressures and influences.<sup>3</sup>

Public pressure and involvement in determining what is taught in the public schools has tended to be more severe in times of national and international crisis.<sup>4</sup> The crises of the 1950's and early 1960's provoked public involvement and concern which resulted in changes in the curriculum. Segments of a citizenry that was frightened, puzzled, frustrated, and confused took a special interest in the education of the young.<sup>5</sup> These anxieties led to pressures for stronger citizenship education and for a curriculum which included "pro-Americanism" and "anti-communism" courses.

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<sup>2</sup>Richard I. Miller, Teaching About Communism (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Eugene McCreary, "The Crisis Threatening American Education," Social Education, XXVI (April 1962), p. 177.

<sup>4</sup>Daniel Selakovich, The Schools and American Society, Second Edition (Lexington, Massachusetts: Xerox College Printing, 1973), p. 122.

<sup>5</sup>McCreary, p. 178.

## POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

In the early 1960's, most states adopted provisions requiring or recommending the inclusion of instruction about communism in the secondary school curriculum. In a 1964 survey, forty-one states responded that they had provisions for this instruction.<sup>6</sup> The rationale given for many of the courses was simply that the times demanded it. The political and intellectual climate of the 1960's resembled that of the previous decade.

In the 1950's, the cold war was an overpowering influence on American thought and life. American newspapers printed daily accounts of the hostilities that existed between the United States and the Soviet Union. Public awareness of Soviet technological progress and claims of military supremacy created anxiety and frustration.<sup>7</sup> President John F. Kennedy described the challenges of the cold war in the early sixties when he observed that:

Each day the crises multiply. Each day their solution grows more difficult. Each day we draw nearer the hour of maximum danger, as weapons spread and hostile forces grow stronger.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Roland F. Gray, "Teaching About Communism: A Survey of Objectives," Social Education, XXVIII (February 1964), p. 71.

<sup>7</sup>Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, Third Edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 755.

<sup>8</sup>U. S. President, 1961-1963 (Kennedy), State of the Union Address, 87th Cong., 1st Sess., House, Document No. 73 ([Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961]), p. 5.

The communist nations spoke openly of goals for world domination. American leaders warned that neither the Soviet Union nor China had given up their ambitions for world-wide communism.<sup>9</sup> All of these problems were heightened by the realization that the arms race had given man the capability to destroy civilization.

Other aspects of foreign policy prompted intense Americanism and fear of communist subversion. World War II had not accomplished the triumph of capitalistic democracy as Americans had expected. Instead, World War II released strong revolutionary, threatening forces. Foreigners looked at the United States much more critically than in any time Americans could remember. Debates occurred concerning foreign policy. Isolationists criticized American leadership of the non-communist countries. Liberals blamed American foreign policy for fostering the cold war.<sup>10</sup>

The experience of confronting the communists on the Korean battlefields contributed to American fear and frustration. The term "brainwashing" became a household word in the 1950's and brought attacks on American education. American soldiers who as prisoners of war chose communism were used as evidence of an ideological laxness which had developed in

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<sup>9</sup>Rodger Swearingen, "Teaching About Communism in the American Schools," Social Education, XXVIII (February 1964), p. 68.

<sup>10</sup>Curti, p. 756.

American society and in American schools.<sup>11</sup> Army psychiatrist Major William E. Mayer suggested in a 1956 interview that brainwashing raised serious questions about "American character and about the education of Americans."<sup>12</sup> Ortho Bell, one of the twenty-one American soldiers who chose communism at Panmunjom in 1953, indicated on his return that his choice might have been different if he "had been better educated before [he] left this country and had known what communism was."<sup>13</sup>

Some educators attempted to respond to the challenge. As early as 1951, the National Education Association's representative assembly adopted a proposal suggesting that schools teach about communism.<sup>14</sup> In 1954, the American Association of School Administrators, a department of the National Education Association, published a yearbook on citizenship education. This guide exhorted the schools to prepare students for the challenges of communism and facism. It begged educators to let no child leave school "who is ignorant of

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<sup>11</sup>Selakovich, p. 110.

<sup>12</sup>"Why Did Many G. I. Captives Cave In?," Interview with Major William E. Mayer, U. S. Army Expert, U. S. News and World Report, XL (February 24, 1956), p. 56.

<sup>13</sup>Calvin H. Reed and Evelyn Caha, "Teaching About Communism in Nebraska's Junior High Schools," Social Education, XXII (April 1958), p. 178.

<sup>14</sup>Annette Zelman, Teaching 'About Communism' in American Public Schools (New York: Humanities Press), p. 2.

the aims and methods of tyranny."<sup>15</sup> Neither of these National Education Association proposals brought any significant results.

Representative of the calls for mobilization of the classroom and teachers was a statement which appeared in a state education journal in 1953:

These are perilous days where faith in the dignity and unquenchable spirit of the free man is in jeopardy at home and abroad. Never was there greater need for the devoted teacher who will storm the ramparts of ignorance and propaganda, who will carry the banner of brotherhood and freedom, undaunted and unafraid.<sup>16</sup>

Merle Curti, in The Growth of American Thought, suggested that out of the frustrations of this time period not only came the impetus to promote the virtues of "Americanism" but also developed a desire to strike out against people and actions that seemed to be "un-American."<sup>17</sup> Domestic communism and the loyalty and patriotism of Americans became an issue.

The intellectual and political climate of the cold war added the term McCarthyism to the American vocabulary. McCarthyism became a synonym for extremism in the form of sensationalism, unfounded accusation, and inquisitorial investigative techniques. McCarthyites accused the government

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<sup>15</sup>American Association of School Administrators, Educating for American Citizenship (Washington, 1954), p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>AASA, p. 385, citing New York State Education, 40 (January 1953), p. 283.

<sup>17</sup>Curti, pp. 755-757.

of protecting and harboring communists. It implicated education, religion, and the press by claiming that these institutions conspired to indoctrinate loyal Americans so they could not resist communism.<sup>18</sup>

Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, central figure in this uproar over communism, began by attacking the State Department. His charges of known communists in the department were believable in light of the espionage activities that highlighted the daily news. The confession of a British physicist early in 1950 led to the arrests and subsequent convictions of Harry Gold, David Greenglass, Morton Sobel, Julius Rosenberg, and Ethel Rosenberg on charges of stealing atomic secrets.<sup>19</sup> The Supreme Court upheld the convictions of eleven top Communist Party members under the Smith Act. Other events of 1950 that deepened public concern included charges against individuals for removing classified documents from the State Department and a five year sentence for Alger Hiss for perjury connected with alleged espionage activities in the State Department. Questioning the loyalty of citizens became a national pastime.

McCarthy's now famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech not only marked the beginning of McCarthyism but also repre-

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<sup>18</sup>Richard Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), pp. 25-26.

<sup>19</sup>Earl Latham, The Meaning of McCarthyism (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1965), p. iv.

sented the flavor of it. In Wheeling, he proclaimed:

While I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring, I have here in my hand a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who, nevertheless, are still working and shaping the policy in the State Department.<sup>20</sup>

In other speeches, the number changed, and McCarthy referred to the accused as spies, security risks, communists and on occasion "card-carrying" communists. The tenor of the speeches was always the same.

By 1953, McCarthyism was at its peak. McCarthy was chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee. He turned committee meetings into courtrooms and subpoenaed hundreds of witnesses to testify concerning alleged communist involvement.<sup>21</sup> Many people agreed with McCarthy, but not with his methods. Others viewed what McCarthy was doing as an important and patriotic job.<sup>22</sup>

The last of the McCarthy investigations was the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954. After thirty-five days on television before 20,000,000 Americans, the hearings ended, and an investigation of McCarthy's methods began. The Senate voted

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<sup>20</sup>Latham, pp. 4-5.

<sup>21</sup>D. Duane Cummins, Consensus and Turmoil: The 1950's and 1960's (New York: Benziger, 1972), p. 112.

<sup>22</sup>Cummins, p. 113.

76 to 22 to condemn him for his behavior.<sup>23</sup> The effect of the censure was not to end McCarthyism but to remove its central figure. McCarthy was not the creator of the era of hysteria but was an instrument of it.<sup>24</sup>

The search for communists, traitors, and those who would overthrow the government led many McCarthyites to be suspicious of anyone who had an inquiring and critical mind. Anti-intellectualism became a theme of the 1950's and the distrust of intellectuals was expressed by the term "egghead."<sup>25</sup> Merle Curti suggested that many of the rank and file McCarthyites thought they were fighting communism, but in reality they were fighting the intellectual establishment.<sup>26</sup> Attempts to promote patriotism and the democratic ideals often took the form of censoring books and attacking scholars.<sup>27</sup>

According to Richard Hofstadter, the political activity of this period exemplified a paranoid style. The practice of politics included "heated exaggeration, suspi-

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<sup>23</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970 (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 236.

<sup>24</sup>Lipset and Raab, p. 220.

<sup>25</sup>Richard Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 3.

<sup>26</sup>Curti, p. 760.

<sup>27</sup>Curti, p. 762.

sciousness, and conspiratorial fantasy."<sup>28</sup> Communism, although a very real threat, gave opportunity for the practice of this "paranoia" to be applied to anything that seemed to be against traditional values. Often socialism and communism were considered the same. Hostility toward the remnants of the New Deal led to placing a communist brand on any kind of government involvement in the private sector. The distinction between liberals and communists was not clear among the anti-New Dealers.<sup>29</sup>

The cold war, McCarthyism, and anti-intellectualism created the political-intellectual climate of the 1950's. This atmosphere influenced instruction about communism in the schools in two ways. First, many teachers in the 1950's exercised a self-imposed silence about communism. Second, courses introduced in the early 1960's were often "hate communism" courses with little objectivity attempted.

The self-imposed silence seemed necessary to most teachers in light of McCarthyism. Frequently, schools were accused of promoting socialism and being "soft" on communism.<sup>30</sup> The National Education Association Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom indicated that a voluntary censor-

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<sup>28</sup>Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup>Latham, p. v.

<sup>30</sup>V. T. Thayer and Martin Levit, The Role of the School in American Society (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1969), pp. 373-374.

ship existed among teachers. In a 1951 report, the committee warned against the censorship that was taking place to avoid confrontation with partisan groups.<sup>31</sup> An article in The New York Times in 1961 stated that prior to that time a course on communism would not have been acceptable. The article indicated that schools across the nation were quietly adopting courses about communism.<sup>32</sup> Some teachers expressed concern that their loyalty would be questioned.<sup>33</sup>

The silence of the 1950's gave way to the vocal 1960's. The period between 1958 and 1962 saw Americans become very interested in learning about communism. In an article published in 1968, Alan F. Westin suggested that this was due to a realization that communism was very much a part of the international scene and a force to be reckoned with for generations to come.<sup>34</sup> Some of this realization could be attributed to the lack of decisive victories on the battlefields, and some could be attributed to Sputnik, the symbol of Soviet technological progress.

The 1957 launching of the satellite had revolutionary implications for education. Although much of the thrust of

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<sup>31</sup>Thayer and Levit, p. 375.

<sup>32</sup>The New York Times, September 9, 1961, p. 21, col. 4.

<sup>33</sup>William G. Carleton, "Courses on Communism: The Urgency of History," Teachers College Record, 65 (January 1964), p. 347.

<sup>34</sup>Alan F. Westin, "Anti-Communism and the Corporations," Commentary, 36 (December 1963), p. 479.

the reforms introduced in the wake of Sputnik were in the area of improving instruction in science and mathematics, social studies also was affected. The Soviet space achievements aroused interest in having the curriculum include teaching about communism.<sup>35</sup> Sputnik served to remind Americans of the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and of the often-stated communist goal of world domination.

#### NATIONAL TRENDS

In band-wagon proportions in the early 1960's, schools adopted measures for teaching about communism. The question was no longer whether or not communism should be included in the curriculum. The question at that time was should the courses be anti-communist propaganda or a factual study of the nature of communist theory and practice.<sup>36</sup>

In an article in the Teachers College Record in 1963, Melvin Rader warned that the effect of the campaign to teach about communism "in the present climate of opinion" would instill "fear and indoctrination" in the schools.<sup>37</sup> His concern was not unfounded. In surveying materials used in

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<sup>35</sup> Alfred J. Rieber, "Teaching About Communism in U. S. High Schools," Teachers College Record, 65 (April 1964), p. 604.

<sup>36</sup> Swearingen, p. 68.

<sup>37</sup> Melvin Rader, "Teaching About Communism," Teachers College Record, 64 (April 1963), p. 577.

these courses in 1964, Roland Gray found they fell into two categories. First, some state curriculum guides expressed in very clear terms that communism would be taught as a total evil and a menace to civilization. Second, some state guides expressed concern over being sure that they were "objective and scholarly" while assuring that the student would reach the "correct conclusion." Gray found very few guides that indicated willingness to permit an unbiased analysis of the subject. The guides used such highly emotional and inflammatory words and phrases as deadly threat, mortal enemies, dishonest, deceitful, alluring promise, and enslaving practice.<sup>38</sup>

Gray identified other recurring biases. The guides often assumed communism to be completely evil. In sweeping generalities, they often pictured communism as being in direct opposition to all democratic principles. Concentrating on the fallacies and failures of communism, the guides contrasted the worst aspects of Soviet communism with the most noble ideals of American democracy. They depicted communism as monolithic in structure. The guides seldom considered different viewpoints among scholars on the nature of communism, and very few provided a review of communist works. Democracy was usually equated with capitalism.<sup>39</sup> Many of the

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<sup>38</sup>Gray, pp. 72, 80.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

titles reflected the bias of the courses. For example, the course adopted in Dallas, Texas was entitled "The Principles of American Freedom in Contrast to the Tyranny of Communism."

#### PRESSURES

The outside pressures on the schools came from a variety of sources. State legislatures passed laws requiring courses on communism. The comprehensive Florida bill of 1961 served as a model for other states. It required that thirty hours be spent on a course called "Americanism versus Communism" and listed topics to be emphasized.<sup>40</sup>

Both the American Bar Association and the American Legion had national programs which promoted the adoption of courses about communism. The American Bar Association approved a resolution in 1961 to support the teaching of courses about communism in the high schools and colleges. This was a reversal of a previous negative decision in 1954. In presenting the resolution, the committee stated that communism was so "inherently bad that a study of its history and methods would expose the dangers it [posed] to democratic justice in the Western World."<sup>41</sup> The American Legion support was in the tradition of its "Americanism" and "defense of

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<sup>40</sup>The New York Times, September 9, 1961, p. 21, col. 4.

<sup>41</sup>The New York Times, February 17, 1961, p. 15, col. 1.

the Constitution" goals.<sup>42</sup> Both of these groups provided materials used in many of the courses offered in the public schools.

In the early sixties, hundreds of companies engaged in programs to "educate" Americans about the nature of communism. Although much of their effort was directed at employees, many provided financing for seminars for teachers and materials for classroom use.<sup>43</sup> A program published by the United States Chamber of Commerce was one of the most widely used by the business community.

Groups such as the John Birch Society, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, the Institute for American Strategy, and the National Education Program at Harding College in Searcy, Arkansas, made attempts to control and influence what was taught in the courses established in the schools.

#### VIRGINIA POLITICAL SETTING

In addition to the national problems associated with the cold war and the Soviet threat, Virginians faced severe educational crises in the 1950's and early 1960's. The crises which focused the most attention on the public schools resulted from inadequate financing and massive resistance to racial integration. These problems exemplified the political

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<sup>42</sup>J. Minor Gwynn and John B. Chase, Jr., Curriculum Principles and Social Trends, Fourth Edition (New York: The Macmillian Co., 1969), p. 318.

<sup>43</sup>Westin, p. 479.

nature of Virginia's educational problems in the 1950's and 1960's.

The dominant figure in Virginia politics during this period was United States Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr. The political power base was alternately referred to as "the organization" or "the machine." In his study of Southern politics in 1949, V. O. Key, Jr. referred to Virginia's government as an oligarchy and suggested that the government of the Commonwealth had characteristics more like England before the 1832 Reform Bill than like any other state.<sup>44</sup> The government he described in 1949 as a "political museum piece"<sup>45</sup> remained for the most part unchanged in the 1950's.

Observers generally agreed that Virginia schools in the 1950's and early 1960's were financially substandard. M. W. Fishwick, writing in 1959, observed that Virginia's schools were among the poorest in the nation. Public school salaries in 1957 were one thousand dollars below the national average.<sup>46</sup> In national studies conducted by the National Education Association concerning the amount of money spent in relation to personal income, Virginia ranked thirty-fourth in 1950-1951 and thirty-eighth in 1953-1954. A survey conducted

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<sup>44</sup>V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Vintage, 1949), p. 19.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Marshall W. Fishwick, Virginia: A New Look At the Old Dominion (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 252.

by the National Education Association in 1963 indicated that Virginia's position had not improved. In his study of the Byrd years in Virginia politics, J. Harvie Wilkinson III observed that the funds provided for education by the Byrd organization were "dismally low."<sup>47</sup> When analysing the legacy left to education by Harry Byrd, an article in The New Republic in 1965 noted that "his machine let Virginia's educational system deteriorate into one of the nation's worst."<sup>48</sup> Finally, in 1966 the General Assembly made more funds available for education through the adoption of a sales tax.<sup>49</sup>

Massive resistance, the crisis in education in Virginia which created the most furor, occurred between 1954 and 1960. What has been called "Virginia's issue of the century"<sup>50</sup> was the attempt to circumvent the Supreme Court decisions which called for desegregation of the schools. The term "massive resistance" originated with a statement issued by Senator Byrd in February of 1956. Senator Byrd declared:

If we can organize the Southern states for massive resistance to this order [Supreme Court integration orders], I think that in time the

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<sup>47</sup>J. Harvie Wilkinson III, Harry Byrd and the Changing Face of Virginia Politics (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), pp. 42-44.

<sup>48</sup>"Primogeniture," The New Republic, 153 (November 27, 1965), p. 9.

<sup>49</sup>Wilkinson, pp. 300-301.

<sup>50</sup>Wilkinson, p. 113.

rest of the country will realize that racial integration is not going to be accepted in the South.<sup>51</sup>

Massive resistance became the battle cry for those who were determined to fight the Supreme Court edicts to end racial segregation.

Rebuking moderate plans and local option plans, the General Assembly adopted extreme measures in special session in 1956. The laws passed by the Assembly required the governor to close schools that were under court order to integrate.<sup>52</sup> Virginia experienced numbers of school closings, the most notable being Prince Edward County. The Prince Edward County Schools were closed for four years, and Black children in the county were without schools during that period.

Finally, in 1959 Governor J. Lindsay Almond reversed his position of "dedication to preserve segregation in the schools" and called on the General Assembly to end massive resistance. He presented his plan only one week after his famous "I will not yield" speech in which he promised continued opposition to the Supreme Court. The Assembly, after much debate and political maneuvering, adopted what amounted to a local option integration plan.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, February 2, 1956, Sec. A, p. 1, cols. 1-3.

<sup>52</sup>Wilkinson, pp. 130-132.

<sup>53</sup>Wilkinson, pp. 147-150.

## SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM CONTROVERSY

Massive resistance and the issue of finances for the schools were not the only educational issues of the 1950's. A curriculum crisis erupted in 1955 when Governor Thomas B. Stanley ordered the State Department of Education to recall a curriculum guide which had been used in Virginia's elementary schools since 1934. The guide offered a core curriculum which was organized around social studies concepts. The governor referred to the guide, Course of Study for Virginia's Elementary Schools, as containing "un-American philosophy."<sup>54</sup> His objections were that the guide was critical of the free enterprise system and represented a socialistic trend.<sup>55</sup>

Among the objectionable parts of the guide were objectives calling for development of understanding that "mass production increases the wealth of the few" and that "regulation is necessary to protect society from the unequal distribution of social income."<sup>56</sup> One of the objections offered by an editorial in The Richmond News Leader was that it suggested that children "respect all kinds of labor and the people who carry on the work" without mentioning that

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<sup>54</sup>The Richmond News Leader, March 10, 1955, p. 1, col. 6.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Editorial, The Richmond News Leader, March 10, 1955, p. 10, cols. 1-2.

employers and investors should also be respected.<sup>57</sup>

The concern of the Virginia business and political community about the nature of instruction about the free enterprise system did not end with recalling the guide. The addition of units on economics and communism and a reorganization of the curriculum for the twelfth-grade government classes by the State Department of Education in the early 1960's were results of the continued interest of the business and political community.

Out of the crisis situation of the 1950's on both a national and state level came the impetus to provide curriculum guides for the required government course offered in Virginia's secondary schools. The national crises of the cold war, threats of communist subversion, and technological competition with the Soviet Union influenced this project. While looking to the schools to solve these national problems, Virginians faced unprecedented crises in education within the state. Massive resistance, inadequate funding for education, and curriculum controversy focused public attention on the schools.

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

## Chapter II

### INFLUENCES AND PRESSURES ON SECONDARY SOCIAL STUDIES IN VIRGINIA (1959-1960)

In 1959 and 1960, social studies educators in Virginia responded to influences and pressures from a variety of sources. In what can be called a national era of educational reappraisal, Virginians examined the curriculum of the public schools. The pressures and influences on the social studies curriculum during this period reflected the general public concern for improving education in the Commonwealth. Those who found deficiencies in public education often used the term "quality education" to justify diverse proposals for change. The proponents of quality education frequently called for curriculum change; and, in the social studies, their proposals included more instruction about the free enterprise system, constitutional government, and communism.

#### DEMANDS FOR QUALITY EDUCATION IN THE AFTERMATH OF SPUTNIK

Petitions for upgrading the social studies curriculum came as a part of the demand for educational change which followed the 1957 launching of Sputnik, the Soviet Union's first space satellite. The Soviet success in space produced national anxiety which focused attention on American schools. The desire to compete technologically with the Soviet Union led many Americans to conclude that the quality of American

education should be improved. In Virginia, calls for quality education came from professional educators, the business community, the state legislature, and the public at large. Although these groups agreed neither on a definition of quality education nor on a program to achieve it, they expressed desires to see changes in education in Virginia.

Among educators, quality education became the topic for speeches, the theme for conferences, the subject of articles in professional journals, and the basis of appeals for more finances for public education. Educators heard challenges which placed the fate of the free world in the hands of American teachers.<sup>1</sup> Speakers exhorted teachers and administrators to accept the challenge of improving the quality of education as a way of protecting American democracy.<sup>2</sup> The 1958 Virginia Education Association convention theme, "Quality Education," attempted to provide answers for what the program of action of the association called the "Soviet challenge."<sup>3</sup>

Teachers and administrators often defined quality education in economic terms. They pleaded for the financing they believed necessary to improve education. Educators

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis F. Powell, Jr., "Quality in Education--A National Necessity" (Speech prepared for Delivery to Richmond, Virginia Public School Teachers, February 1958).

<sup>2</sup>M. Harold Bell, "Quality Education," Virginia Journal of Education, LII (December 1958), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

warned that quality education would not come without paying higher salaries. Local school officials begged for more state finances to assist localities in attracting and retaining quality teachers.<sup>4</sup> The Program of Action adopted by the 1958 Delegate Assembly of the Virginia Education Association listed ten points "toward the provision of quality education for Virginia."<sup>5</sup> Seven of the ten points were dependent on increased finances. Educators were not alone in looking at quality education as it related to economics. While teachers and school administrators looked at quality education as a goal that could only be obtained by increased finances, members of the business community saw it as a means of improving Virginia's economic standing.

Representatives of business and industry took an active interest in public education in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The Report of the Commission to Study Industrial Development in Virginia concluded in 1957 that education was the most important factor to be considered in promoting industrial development in the state.<sup>6</sup> The report suggested that increases in per capita income were directly tied to

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<sup>4</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 15, 1960, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup>"Program of Action, Virginia Education Association, 1959-1960," Virginia Journal of Education, LII (December 1958), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Senate Document No. 10, Report of the Commission to Study Industrial Development in Virginia (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1957), p. 59.

increased emphasis on manufacturing and that manufacturing was dependent upon an educated labor force.<sup>7</sup> A Virginia State Chamber of Commerce study, Needs for the Improvement of Virginia Education, concluded in 1959 that a direct causal link existed between educational attainment and individual income in all of the counties and most of the cities of Virginia.<sup>8</sup> The State Chamber of Commerce report called for a better environment for industrial growth and suggested that this could only be accomplished by offering programs to meet educational needs of all the citizens.<sup>9</sup> In an editorial in the Virginia Journal of Education, the executive secretary of the Virginia Education Association concluded that "good schools attract good industry."<sup>10</sup>

Statistics compiled in 1958-1959 indicated that although Virginians had spent more money than ever before on education, the state's rank on a national level had not changed appreciably in twenty years. Virginia's ranking thirty-seven among the states in average salary per instructional staff member and forty-one in current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance led a legislative commission

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<sup>7</sup>Senate Document No. 10, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>C. Jackson Salisbury, Needs for the Improvement of Virginia Education (Richmond: State Chamber of Commerce, 1959), p. 11.

<sup>9</sup>Salisbury, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup>Robert F. Williams, "On Adequacy and Quality of Schools," Virginia Journal of Education, LII (December 1958), p. 9.

to conclude that "greater effort in the field of education should be exerted if the Commonwealth is to be developed to the desired economic level."<sup>11</sup>

Quality education became a concern of the General Assembly in its 1958 session. Reflecting a national reaction to the October, 1957, launching of Sputnik, members of the legislature called for an appraisal of the status of education in Virginia. Sputnik, called a "symbol of competition, of challenge, of threat, and a source of wounded pride,"<sup>12</sup> contributed to the atmosphere in the legislature which resulted in the creation of the Commission on Public Education. This commission, later known as the Spong Commission, attributed its origin to "widespread reports that many schools throughout the nation, including most of those in Virginia have not been providing the quality of education demanded in these times of rapid scientific advancement and critical international tensions."<sup>13</sup>

The eleven-member commission consisted of five members of the General Assembly and six members from the state at large. The chairman was Senator William B. Spong, Jr., of Portsmouth. Charged with the responsibility of

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<sup>11</sup>Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age--An Evaluation of the Curriculum, Teacher Training and Certification, and Related Matters, Report of the Commission on Public Education (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1960), p. 14.

<sup>12</sup>Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age, p. 7.

thorough study of the public school system, including the curriculum, the Spong Commission began its work in June of 1959 and in January, 1960, made its first report, entitled Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age--An Evaluation of the Curriculum, Teacher Training and Certification, and Related Matters. At the time of the first report, the legislature directed the Spong Commission to continue evaluation of public education, including "consideration of the curriculum in the schools, instructional methods, and the quality of instruction."<sup>14</sup> In December of 1961, the Spong Commission made a second report, Virginia in the Space Age--A Continued Evaluation of the Curriculum, Teacher Training, and Related Matters.

Although the resolution which called for the creation of the Spong Commission specifically referred to deficiencies in science instruction, the study included all curricular areas. The sponsor of the resolution, Delegate Fitzgerald Bemis of Richmond, indicated that he was not only concerned for the improvement of technical and scientific training but also was interested in the development of greater proficiency in the "cultural subjects required for a well-balanced education"<sup>15</sup> and the preservation of liberty.

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<sup>14</sup>Virginia Schools in the Space Age--A Continued Evaluation of the Curriculum, Teacher Training and Related Matters, Report of the Commission on Public Education (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1961), pp. 5-6.

<sup>15</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 23, 1958, p. 12, cols. 1-2.

In November, 1960, the Spong Commission conducted a series of ten public hearings which gave citizens the opportunity to express their opinions about the needs of public education. Although commission members solicited testimony about such topics as merit pay for teachers, adequacy of the school day, and teaching loads, the testimony often related quality education to curriculum and teacher preparation. For example, parents in Richmond told the Spong Commission that what was needed in the schools was better quality teaching and a curriculum that would provide greater intellectual stimulation of students.<sup>16</sup> Some citizens offered specific criticisms of the curriculum and instruction in the social studies. In Petersburg, a professor from Virginia State College expressed concern over the lack of social studies knowledge exhibited by college freshmen.<sup>17</sup> In Norfolk, a representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called for more instruction in the meaning of democracy;<sup>18</sup> and, in Richmond, the executive secretary of the Virginia Education Association told the Spong Commission of almost three hundred Virginia social studies teachers who had insufficient college credits in

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<sup>16</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 19, 1960, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

<sup>17</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 18, 1960, p. 4, cols. 1-3.

<sup>18</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 23, 1960, p. 4, cols. 7-8.

their teaching area.<sup>19</sup> In later hearings, members of the Virginia Social Science Association appealed to the commission concerning the inability of graduates of Virginia schools to think critically and independently. They blamed this failure on shortcomings in social science instruction in Virginia schools.<sup>20</sup>

Demands for educational changes that promised a higher quality of education characterized the post-Sputnik era. The competitive educational climate created by Sputnik brought pressures for changing curriculum in Virginia's public schools. In the social studies, pressures came to improve instruction about the American economic and governmental systems and to provide study of contrasting systems.

#### DEMANDS FOR MORE TEACHING ABOUT THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

Critics of the social studies curriculum in 1959 and 1960 frequently asked for more instruction about the free enterprise system. This interest in economic education was not an entirely new phenomenon. Throughout the fifties, representatives of education and business worked cooperatively to promote economic education in Virginia schools. Through

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<sup>19</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 19, 1960, p. 2, cols. 3-4.

<sup>20</sup>Papers of Virginia Commission on Public Education (Commonwealth of Virginia, Bureau of Legislative Services, Richmond, Virginia), Statement of the Virginia Social Science Association, February 10, 1961. Hereafter this collection is cited as CPE.

such activities as conferences, speeches, and articles, they attempted to call attention to the need for more economic education. For example, the theme of the 1952 Delegate Assembly of the Virginia Education Association was "Educating for Economic Understanding."<sup>21</sup> Titles of the speeches clearly illustrated the wide spectrum of interest in the topic. A representative of a national labor union spoke about "The Interest of Labor in Economic Education," an official of Standard Oil of New York discussed "The Interest of Business in Economic Education," and the Australian ambassador to the United States lectured on "International Economic Understanding."<sup>22</sup>

In the summer of 1952, the Virginia Education Association sponsored another conference with the same theme, "Educating for Economic Understanding." The third biennial conference on "The Public and the Public Schools in Virginia" involved 350 delegates representing twenty-seven state-wide organizations of lay and professional people. The sessions were on such topics as "The School's Responsibility for Economic Education " and "What Is a Free Enterprise Economy and How Does It Function?" Members of the State Department of Education presented evidence of courses on all levels that

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<sup>21</sup>Editorial, Virginia Journal of Education, October 1952, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup>"Education for Economic Understanding," Virginia Journal of Education, XLVI (October 1952), pp. 28-29.

offered help in developing economic understanding.<sup>23</sup> After concluding that developing economic understanding was an important part of the curricula, the conference recommended that the Virginia Education Association assume leadership in improving and enlarging the economic education program offered in the schools.<sup>24</sup>

Although expanded during the fifties, economics education remained fragmented because schools offered a variety of programs. Some schools offered elective economics courses,<sup>25</sup> some integrated instruction about free enterprise into required courses,<sup>26</sup> and others offered no formal instruction in economics. Not until 1959 was a substantial effort made to provide a unit on economics to be used on a state-wide basis. Much of the impetus for this effort came from the business community. Many of the requests for more instruction about the free enterprise system came from members of the business community who used reports of citizen economic illiteracy as evidence of a weakness in the social studies curriculum.

National surveys conducted by Opinion Research Corpo-

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<sup>23</sup>Editorial, Virginia Journal of Education, October 1952, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup>"On Economic Education," Virginia Journal of Education, October 1952, p. 9.

<sup>25</sup>Statement by Ralph Racer, teacher, personal interview, March 2, 1976.

<sup>26</sup>Statement by Cecil Doss, former teacher, personal interview, February 26, 1976.

ration in the 1950's indicated that few high school students or adults understood and supported the principles of free enterprise.<sup>27</sup> The results of the national survey of twelfth-grade students included 61 percent seeing no need for profits, 83 percent estimating industrial profits as high as 50 percent, 62 percent advocating that workers produce below capacity, and 53 percent voting for government ownership of banks, railroads, and steel companies. Virginia businessmen used the results of this national survey to substantiate the need for required instruction about free enterprise in the social studies curriculum.<sup>28</sup> In 1959, the executive secretary of the Virginia Farm Bureau used the survey in a presentation made to the Spong Commission.<sup>29</sup> The same year two representatives of industries in Roanoke utilized the survey as a basis for making recommendations to the State Department of Education.

Paul Thomson, Manager of Employee and Community Relations at General Electric's Roanoke County plant, and South Dunn of Appalachian Electric Power Company in Roanoke expressed their concern about the status of instruction about free enterprise in Virginia schools. Using data that Thomson

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<sup>27</sup>Maury A. Hubbard, copy of statement to the Virginia Commission on Public Education (Files of the History, Government, and Geography Service of the Virginia State Department of Education, Richmond, Virginia), October 5, 1959. Hereafter these files are cited as HGGS.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

obtained from a survey he conducted among twelfth-grade students in Roanoke County and Roanoke City schools, Thomson and Dunn approached Leonard G. Muse, a member of the State Board of Education. Thomson's questionnaire included questions used in the national Opinion Research Survey in addition to some of his own composition. After receiving permission to survey the students in the two school systems, Thomson collected the data, computerized it at General Electric, and analysed the results.<sup>30</sup> He found that attitudes of Roanoke Valley students were similar to those of students in the national survey. Thomson indicated surprise that the results of the survey of Virginia students did not reflect more conservative economic attitudes.<sup>31</sup>

Thomson recalled his own surprise when he learned that approximately 80 percent of the students thought that it was more desirable to have security than opportunity. The question which caused the greatest concern was one which was designed to test student knowledge of basic communist economics. Thomson recalled that over 60 percent of the students he surveyed agreed with the following question:<sup>32</sup>

Some people have said that the best economic system is one that "takes from each

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<sup>30</sup>Statement by Paul Thomson, former businessman, personal interview, March 1, 1976.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

according to his ability and gives to each according to his needs." Do you agree?<sup>33</sup>

After Thomson and Dunn met informally with Muse, he arranged for them to make presentations to other members of the State Board of Education and officials of the State Department of Education. An article in the Roanoke Times a year later cited Muse as the person who launched the preliminary work for a unit of instruction on economics. Muse gave credit to Thomson and Dunn for first calling to his attention the need for such instruction.<sup>34</sup>

The Spong Commission noted the interest in economic education expressed by businessmen, educators, and concerned citizens. In its 1960 report, the commission stated that "high school students [should] be taught elementary economics with emphasis on the workings of the free enterprise system in the United States"<sup>35</sup> and recommended that economics be a required course or integrated into the required social studies courses.

#### DEMANDS FOR MORE TEACHING ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

In 1958 and 1959, a legislatively created commission, the Commission on Constitutional Government, became interested in social studies curriculum in Virginia's public schools.

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<sup>33</sup>"Economic Opinions Questionnaire" (Personal files of Frank O. Smith, Roanoke, Va.), p. 5. (mimeographed.)

<sup>34</sup>The Roanoke Times, August 4, 1960, p. 9. cols. 7-8.

<sup>35</sup>Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age, p. 39.

This commission came into existence as a result of the controversy that raged in Virginia following the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision of the United States Supreme Court.

When Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., came to office in January, 1958, he inherited the massive resistance laws which had been passed in the previous General Assembly. These laws required that schools be closed rather than racially integrated.<sup>36</sup> As a part of his program to reinforce Virginia's stand against the federal court, Almond proposed that the General Assembly create a commission to "conduct an educational crusade"<sup>37</sup> to promote states' rights both in Virginia and nationwide. Following the governor's suggestion, the General Assembly created the Commission on Constitutional Government to "develop and promulgate information concerning the dual system of government, federal and state" and provided that "the expenses incurred incident to the operation of this act [would] be paid from funds appropriated by law."<sup>38</sup> The legislation charged the commission with assembling "facts concerning the relationship between the states and the United States" and publishing information deemed "appropriate in

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<sup>36</sup>Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), pp. 44-45.

<sup>37</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 23, 1958, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

<sup>38</sup>Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia, Chapter 223, approved March 7, 1958.

order to acquaint the general public both in this state and elsewhere, with the nature of the relationship between individual states and the United States and the freedoms reserved to the states and their individual citizens under the Constitution of the United States."<sup>39</sup>

Throughout the ten years of its existence, the commission averaged spending between \$70,000 and \$100,000<sup>40</sup> a year to protect the rights of the states against what Governor Almond sarcastically called the tendency to "centralize all of the functions of government in the hands of our mighty and great government in Washington."<sup>41</sup> In its later years, the commission became controversial. In 1968, the General Assembly terminated the Commission on Constitutional Government after strong accusations that it was a propaganda arm of the conservative viewpoint.<sup>42</sup>

As early as November of 1958, the Commission on Constitutional Government approached the State Department of Education concerning the status of teaching constitutional government in Virginia's public schools. Dr. Davis Y.

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Editorial, The Roanoke Times, January 21, 1966, p. 6, cols. 1-2.

<sup>41</sup>Papers of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government (Virginia State Library Archives, Richmond), Remarks of Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., July 21, 1958. Hereafter this collection is cited as CCG.

<sup>42</sup>The Washington Post, October 29, 1967, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

Paschall, Superintendent of Public Instruction, responded to a letter from a member of the commission and indicated that Virginia students had ample instruction about government on all levels. Dr. Paschall suggested that the Commission on Constitutional Government focus its efforts on college and university level instruction.<sup>43</sup> Even after being assured that constitutional government was being taught in the schools, the commission continued its investigation of the extent to which "the subject of the commission's interest"<sup>44</sup> could be taught at the high school level.

After reviewing textbooks and conducting lengthy discussions about the social studies curriculum, the commission again offered its services to the State Department of Education for the preparation of an addendum to the textbooks used in civics and government classes. They proposed the preparation of a summary on constitutional law to be placed in the hands of all the teachers of government and civics.<sup>45</sup> Before this project was realized, the commission became involved in assisting the State Department of Education in preparation of a unit for teaching about communism.

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<sup>43</sup>Davis Y. Paschall to Colgate Darden and David Mays, November 28, 1958, CCG.

<sup>44</sup>Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes (December 11, 1958), CCG, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup>Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes (December 10, 1959), CCG, p. 4.

## DEMANDS FOR MORE TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

In the early 1960's, schools throughout the nation added instruction about communism to the social studies curriculum. Some of the additions were suggested by individuals who were not professional educators. In Virginia, the State Department of Education received requests for schools to place more emphasis on the contrast between various aspects of American and Soviet life. Offers came from members of the business and professional community to provide books for classroom use<sup>46</sup> and to supply films for distribution to the school libraries.<sup>47</sup> Citizen testimony in the public hearings of the Spong Commission suggested that the schools recognize the importance of providing instruction about communism, and the report of that commission in 1960 expressed the desire to see Virginia's youth have the opportunity to study comparative ideologies.<sup>48</sup>

Among the most active proponents of instruction about communism was Lewis F. Powell, Jr., a prominent Virginia lawyer and chairman of the Richmond school board. An editorial in the Richmond Times-Dispatch indicated that following his visit to the Soviet Union in 1958, Powell began a crusade to arouse the public and educators to the "menace of inter-

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<sup>46</sup>Lewis F. Powell, Jr. to Davis Y. Paschall, April 5, 1960, HGGS.

<sup>47</sup>T. Coleman Andrews to Woodrow W. Wilkerson, November 14, 1961, HGGS.

<sup>48</sup>Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age, p. 25.

national communism."<sup>49</sup>

In March 1960, Powell expressed his interest in instruction about communism to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Davis Y. Paschall. Powell and a Richmond businessman, J. Harvie Wilkinson, Jr., offered to purchase copies of a book by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet entitled, What Everyone Should Know About Communism, for distribution to all teachers of government and history in the state. In making the offer, Powell indicated that he and Wilkinson felt that "it would be a fine thing if our teachers of history and government had the benefit of the thorough indoctrination into the philosophy and techniques of communism which [could] be obtained from reading this book."<sup>50</sup> Noting that communism was a very "delicate area of instruction," Dr. Paschall accepted copies of the book for review.<sup>51</sup>

In October, 1960, Powell again approached the State Department of Education about communism instruction. He wrote to Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, the new Superintendent of Public Instruction, and expressed his interest in having emphasis placed on teaching the facts about international communism.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 2, 1961, p. 12, cols. 1-2.

<sup>50</sup>Lewis F. Powell to Davis Y. Paschall, April 5, 1960, HGGS.

<sup>51</sup>Davis Y. Paschall to Lewis F. Powell, Jr., copy, April 29, 1960, HGGS.

<sup>52</sup>Woodrow W. Wilkerson to Lewis F. Powell, Jr., copy, October 19, 1960, HGGS.

Dr. Wilkerson's response was to send Powell a copy of the government guide developed by the State Department of Education and to indicate that the department planned to request materials on communism from the Virginia Bar Association.<sup>53</sup>

After concluding that a lack of urgency existed among educators for the subject of instruction about communism,<sup>54</sup> Powell made an appeal to the Spong Commission in December, 1960. He testified in one of the public hearings of the commission and requested that a semester course on communism be added to the curriculum. Powell asked the Spong Commission to make recommendations to correct "a serious lack of depth, emphasis, and concentration on the history, objectives and techniques of this new force in the world which is determined to destroy western civilization."<sup>55</sup>

Although Lewis Powell was the most persistent spokesman for including instruction about communism in the curriculum, other citizens also expressed concern. Maury A. Hubbard, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Farm Bureau, approached the Spong Commission in 1959 to recommend instruction about communism in Virginia's public schools. Hubbard spoke of the "world-wide struggle for the minds of men" and indicated that

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 2, 1961, p. 12, cols. 1-2.

<sup>55</sup>CPE, Statement of Lewis Powell, December 13, 1960.

the United States was "losing the battle by default."<sup>56</sup> He pleaded for instruction in the essential differences between the American and Soviet systems of government in order to enable American youth to compete successfully with the Soviets whom he referred to as "those who have been taught, drilled, and indoctrinated from childhood in just how to furnish pat and persuasive answers to all questions."<sup>57</sup>

Hubbard indicated how imperative he considered the instruction about communism when he proclaimed

Surely if we try, we should be able to convince our own people and people throughout the world, who have even partially open minds that the combination of freedom, justice, honesty, human decency and T-bone steak is infinitely to be preferred to that unholy combination of atheism, mass poverty, police oppression, slave camps, torture chambers, black bread and thin soup which are the products of the Soviet system!

Our schools should be the source--the wellsprings from which our young people would gain a true insight into the advantages, the disadvantages, the promises and the end products of the two dominant political and economic systems--our own and that of Soviet Russia.<sup>58</sup>

Hubbard sent a copy of his testimony to Dr. Paschall with the exhortation that "something must be done" to reverse the trend which could lead to Khrushchev winning "the battle without firing a shot."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>CPE, Statement of Maury A. Hubbard, October 5, 1959.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Maury A. Hubbard to Davis Y. Paschall, October 5, 1959, HGGS.

On at least two occasions, the Spong Commission heard testimony which was critical of textbooks used in social studies classes. Citizens accused textbooks of presenting a Marxian view of history, conditioning the youth to accept the socialistic and totalitarian way of life,<sup>60</sup> and including "anti-American, pro-socialist, pro-one world government propaganda."<sup>61</sup> In his testimony, Maury Hubbard advised the commission of the findings of E. Merrill Root in his 1958 study of collectivism in American history textbooks. After examining eleven standard textbooks, Root concluded that the books contributed to brainwashing American youth to accept socialistic and communistic ideas. Among those denounced were books by Lewis Paul Todd, Merle Curti, Fremont P. Wirth, David Saville Muzzey, Avery Craven, Walter Johnson, and Edgar B. Wesley.<sup>62</sup> Citizens in Virginia also attacked government textbooks for having socialistic leanings.<sup>63</sup>

In its first report in 1960, the Spong Commission noted that an understanding of the history and government of the United States was essential to national survival. The report observed that medical experts strongly suggested that

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<sup>60</sup>CPE, Statement by Maury A. Hubbard, October 5, 1959.

<sup>61</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 10, 1960, p. 8, cols. 2-4.

<sup>62</sup>E. Merrill Root, Brainwashing in the High Schools (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1959), pp. 15-16, 26-27.

<sup>63</sup>Statement by A. D. Hurt, former social studies supervisor, personal interview, August 18, 1976.

the communist brainwashing of American soldiers in Korea was possible because of their lack of knowledge of basic principles of democracy.<sup>64</sup> To contribute to the understanding of democracy, the Spong Commission noted the importance of students being able to compare the American system of government and economics with foreign ideologies and warned that the schools should take special care to describe American life accurately.<sup>65</sup>

During 1959 and 1960, requests for inclusion of study of communism in the Virginia high school curriculum came from members of the business and professional community, a legislative commission, and from the public at large. People who considered this instruction a necessity for national survival made their views known to the State Department of Education. Both the frequency of the requests and the variety of the sources from which they came, contributed to consideration being given to including more emphasis on communism in the social studies curriculum.

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<sup>64</sup>Virginia Schools in the Atomic Age, pp. 24-25.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

## Chapter III

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE FIRST GOVERNMENT GUIDE

The unit of instruction about communism adopted by most Virginia schools in the 1960's was a part of a major curriculum project of the State Department of Education. This project resulted in the production of three instructional guides for the required twelfth-grade course, Virginia and United States Government. Developed in 1959 and 1960, the first guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government," was a content outline for the entire government course.<sup>1</sup> Although its major focus was on economics, the outline listed communism as a topic for study in a section on comparative government. The inclusion of the communism topic marked the first official action made by the State Department of Education to promote the study of communism in Virginia schools.

### STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION MANDATE

In the summer of 1959, two Roanoke businessmen met informally with Leonard G. Muse, member of the State Board of Education; Dr. Davis Y. Paschall, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Director of Secondary Education for the State Department of Education.

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<sup>1</sup>Woodrow W. Wilkerson, A. Gordon Brooks, and Franklin A. Cain, Jr. to Division Superintendents, Superintendent's Memorandum, number 3881, September 16, 1960.

The businessmen, South Dunn and Paul Thomson, expressed interest in economic education and presented evidence of what they considered alarming economic illiteracy among Virginia high school students. Following this meeting, Dr. Paschall requested Dr. Wilkerson to prepare a report assessing current instruction about free enterprise and making recommendations for improvement.<sup>2</sup>

In August of 1959, Wilkerson presented the report, "Improving Instruction Involving the Free Enterprise System," to the State Board of Education.<sup>3</sup> The report indicated that aspects of the free enterprise system were being taught in several curricular areas.<sup>4</sup> Wilkerson noted that secondary social studies curriculum included instruction about free enterprise in history, government, and economics and that business, mathematics, agriculture, home economics and distributive education classes included similar study. Because of the widespread but fragmented treatment of the subject, Wilkerson concluded that a need for improvement existed, and the State Board of Education concurred.<sup>5</sup>

The major recommendation in Wilkerson's report was

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<sup>2</sup>Statement of Woodrow W. Wilkerson, former State Superintendent of Public Instruction, personal interview, March 12, 1976.

<sup>3</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXX (August 13-15, 1959), p. 67-68.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

that a committee be appointed to work with the staff of the State Department of Education to determine an appropriate place in the curriculum for a unit "on our free enterprise system and the mutual relationship of our form of government."<sup>6</sup> The board adopted the report and charged the committee with the responsibility of developing a unit of materials and procedures to aid teachers in successful presentation of the unit. In addition, the board requested that the committee formulate suggestions to assist teacher training institutions in better preparing prospective teachers.<sup>7</sup>

The timetable adopted by the board reflected the importance and urgency attached to the project. The board requested a progress report by January, 1960, and a final report early enough to be approved, printed, and mailed to local school divisions for use in September, 1960.<sup>8</sup> These time limits allowed one year for the planning, development, approval, and state-wide dissemination of the unit.

#### STAFF

The work on the project began immediately following the August board meeting, and Franklin A. Cain, Jr. was the staff member who assumed the leadership responsibility. Cain, a former social studies teacher and department chairman at

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

Richmond's John Marshall High School, came to the department in July, 1959.<sup>9</sup> In his position as an Assistant Supervisor of Secondary Education, Cain was one of several persons appointed to work in specific subject areas. His assignment to history, government, and geography marked the first time the social studies had a full time supervisor.<sup>10</sup> Assigning the development of the free enterprise unit to Cain was tantamount to placing the unit in the social studies curriculum.

Cain was directly under the supervision of Woodrow Wilkerson, and from the beginning both Wilkerson and Davis Paschall worked closely with the project. Paschall later spoke of the "sense of conviction"<sup>11</sup> that he had for strengthening the required government course by adding what he called "a special unit on the fundamental principles underlying our form of government and our economic way of life."<sup>12</sup> Paschall appointed members of a committee of teachers to work with the State Department of Education in developing the instructional guide and a committee of business and professional people to

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<sup>9</sup>"Of Persons and Events," Virginia Journal of Education, LVIII (March 1960), pp. 38-39.

<sup>10</sup>Statement of Franklin A. Cain, Jr., former State Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, personal interview, February 17, 1976.

<sup>11</sup>Davis Y. Paschall, "Education for Citizenship," address to Virginia Manufacturers Association, October 14, 1960, personal files of Davis Y. Paschall.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

serve as a review committee.<sup>13</sup>

#### TEACHER COMMITTEE

The Teacher Committee, appointed in 1959, consisted of six teachers and one director of instruction of a school division. The membership of the committee provided limited geographic representation. No members represented the southwestern section of the state, and none came from the heavily populated areas of northern and eastern Virginia. The members included Mary Mowbray Branch, government teacher in King William County; Zada D. Carver, government teacher in Richmond; Cecil W. Doss, economics teacher in Franklin County; Ralph A. Racer, economics teacher in Lynchburg; Frank O. Smith, government teacher in Roanoke; Martin A. Tarter, Jr., government teacher in Roanoke County; and Elizabeth Ellmore, Director of Instruction in Dinwiddie County. Added to the original committee in 1962-1963 were Patsy Jane Clement, government teacher in Pittsylvania County; Elizabeth Denny, government teacher in Warren County; and Thomas P. Burke, Jr., who succeeded Elizabeth Ellmore as Director of Instruction in Dinwiddie County.<sup>14</sup> Three of the members of the Teacher

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<sup>13</sup>Statement of Davis Y. Paschall, former State Superintendent of Public Instruction, personal interview, May 26, 1976.

<sup>14</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course" (Files of the History, Government, and Geography Service of the Virginia State Department of Education, Richmond Virginia), p. 3. Hereafter these files are cited as HGGs.

Committee, Burke, Ellmore, and Tarter, later became supervisors with the State Department of Education. In their supervisory positions in the History, Government, and Geography Service of the State Department of Education, Tarter and Burke continued to be involved with the government project.

Early in its work, the Teacher Committee decided that the economics unit should be a part of the required twelfth-grade government course in order to assure that all prospective graduates be exposed to this instruction immediately before they undertook "the major responsibilities of citizenship."<sup>15</sup> The committee's decision to place the unit in government was not surprising since a majority of those appointed to the committee were government teachers.

At its initial meeting on December 11 and 12, 1959, the Teacher Committee decided not only to develop an economics unit for use in government but also to devise an outline for the complete course.<sup>16</sup> Providing this outline enabled the committee to show how the unit could be implemented within the framework of the course.

Although the project was a cooperative effort between the committee and the staff of the State Department of Education, the sequence of events indicated extensive staff participation in developing the outline. The Teacher Committee

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<sup>15</sup>Paschall, address.

<sup>16</sup>Wilkerson, interview.

met only once while the outline was being developed. In less than three weeks after this orientation meeting, Dr. Paschall disclosed that work had been completed on a tentative guide for the government course.<sup>17</sup> This short time period, which included the Christmas holidays, gave limited opportunity for involvement of the members of the Teacher Committee. The brevity of the time allocated to the development of the guide also accounted for its lack of thoroughness.

Wilkerson presented the outline with suggestions from another committee to the State Board of Education at its meeting in January of 1960. After receiving the board's commendation for the outline, Wilkerson reconvened the Teacher Committee. Much of the committee's work in subsequent months was reviewing materials for use in the economics and communism units of the outline.<sup>18</sup>

#### REVIEW COMMITTEE

In January, 1960, Paschall appointed another committee to assist the department with the government project. Referring to the committee as a "representative group of lay citizens and educators,"<sup>19</sup> Paschall requested that they review the work of the Teacher Committee before submitting it to the

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<sup>17</sup>Davis Y. Paschall to C. H. Taylor, copy, December 31, 1959, HGGS.

<sup>18</sup>Franklin A. Cain, Jr. to Ralph Racer, January 29, 1960, in possession of Ralph Racer, Lynchburg, VA.

<sup>19</sup>Davis Y. Paschall to C. H. Taylor, copy, December 31, 1959, HGGS.

State Board of Education. Known as the Review Committee, this group consisted of thirteen representatives of business, industry, law, and government; six superintendents of school divisions; three members of the Virginia School Boards Association; two members of the Teacher Committee; and one college professor.<sup>20</sup>

Seven of the thirteen members of the Review Committee not directly connected to education were associated with business and industry. The industrial representatives included Charles Taylor, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Manufacturers Association; James L. Camp, Jr., Vice-Chairman of the Board of Union Bag-Camp Paper Corporation; and Paul Thomson, Manager of Employee and Community Relations at General Electric's Roanoke County plant.<sup>21</sup> Both Taylor and Thomson expressed interest in the project prior to appointment to the Review Committee. Taylor wrote to Paschall in August of 1959 expressing his pleasure with the announced plans for developing a unit on free enterprise and offering the full cooperation and support of the Virginia Manufacturers Association. Being first to call the state board's attention to the lack of economic understanding among high school students, Paul Thomson was a logical choice for the Review Committee.

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<sup>20</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," pp. 1-2.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

Both Thomson and Taylor were active members of the committee,<sup>22</sup> and both later served on a State Department of Education advisory committee on economic education.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Thomson served as chairman of the Education Committee of the State Chamber of Commerce.<sup>24</sup> Camp did not serve on the committee and appointed his firm's legal counsel, John C. Parker, as his replacement.

The Review Committee also included Verbon E. Kemp, Executive Secretary of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce; W. Brooks George, Executive Vice-President of Larus and Brother Company, Incorporated; D. Tennant Bryan, Publisher of Richmond Newspapers, Incorporated; and T. Coleman Andrews, President of American Fidelity and Casualty Corporation.<sup>25</sup> In his position with the State Chamber of Commerce, Kemp reflected business and industry views and was a spokesman for the chamber's programs, including those promoting economic education in the schools. The appointment of George, Bryan, and Andrews reflected an attempt to give the committee the benefit of business viewpoints. Bryan did not attend the initial meeting of the committee, and neither he nor George

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<sup>22</sup>Cain, interview.

<sup>23</sup>"Advisory Council Is Appointed For Economic Education Program," Public Education in Virginia, (Summer 1965), p. 12.

<sup>24</sup>Statement of Paul Thomson, former businessman, personal interview, March 1, 1976.

<sup>25</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," pp. 1-2.

were active members of the Review Committee. In addition to his business affiliation, Andrews was a former United States Commissioner of Revenue, the presidential nominee of the Independent Conservative Party in 1956, and one of the founders of the John Birch Society.<sup>26</sup> An outspoken opponent of socialistic trends in the American economy,<sup>27</sup> Andrews became an active member of the Review Committee.<sup>28</sup> He expressed the opinion that the United States was committing economic suicide<sup>29</sup> and warned that the nation had been turned toward socialism and dictatorship. Although he had been the Commissioner of Revenue during the first Eisenhower administration, Andrews denounced income tax as an "instrument of vengeance" which played into the "hands of the communists."<sup>30</sup>

Two members of the Review Committee represented the rural segment of Virginia's population. Maury Hubbard, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Farm Bureau, previously had made his views known about the necessity for improvement in instruction about free enterprise and communism to both

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<sup>26</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 1, 1961, p. 17, cols. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>27</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, October 16, 1956, p. 1, col. 5.

<sup>28</sup>Statement by Ralph Racer, teacher, personal interview, March 2, 1976.

<sup>29</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 3, 1958, sec. D, p. 3, cols. 1-6.

<sup>30</sup>The New York Times, October 16, 1956, p. 26, cols. 3, 4.

the Spong Commission and the State Department of Education.<sup>31</sup> Howard Gordon, General Manager of the Southern States Cooperative, expressed his interest in the project when it was first announced. In a letter to Paschall, he pointed to the important role of farm cooperatives in the free enterprise system and requested a meeting to discuss what would be included in the proposed course.<sup>32</sup>

David Mays, Chairman of the Commission on Constitutional Government, and Edmond M. Boggs, Commissioner of the Virginia Department of Labor and Industry, were the representatives of government on the committee.<sup>33</sup> Prior to his appointment, Mays made several inquiries and requests to the State Department of Education about the status of government instruction in Virginia schools.<sup>34</sup> Mays, a Pulitzer Prize winner for a biography of Edmund Randolph and a noted Constitutional lawyer, became one of the most active members of the Review Committee. His interest in the work of the Review Committee led to the involvement of the Commission on Constitutional Government in the project. Boggs was not an

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<sup>31</sup>Maury A. Hubbard to Davis Y. Paschall, October 5, 1959, HGGS.

<sup>32</sup>Howard Gordon to Davis Y. Paschall, September 3, 1959, HGGS.

<sup>33</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," p. 1.

<sup>34</sup>Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes (December 11, 1958), p. 2.

active participant in the work of the Review Committee.<sup>35</sup>

Included on the Review Committee were William T. Muse, Secretary-Treasurer of the Virginia State Bar Association, and Rawley F. Daniel, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Bankers Association.<sup>36</sup> Muse worked closely with the State Department of Education as the project continued.

The professional educators on the Review Committee included six school division superintendents, two teachers, and a college professor. The superintendents were Dr. H. I. Willett, Richmond City; W. A. Scarborough, Dinwiddie County; Dr. Herman L. Horn, Roanoke County; Raymond W. Snead, King William-King and Queen Counties; Dr. E. W. Rushton, Roanoke City; and Dr. H. W. Ramsey, Franklin County. Each of the superintendents was from a division which had a representative on the Teacher Committee. The two high school teachers, Ralph A. Racer and Zada Carver, served on both committees. The college representative was Dr. Harry M. Love, Chairman of the Department of Agriculture, Economics, and Rural Sociology at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.<sup>37</sup>

The Review Committee included three members of the Virginia School Boards Association. They were Dr. W. T. Martin, former chairman of the Bristol City School Board;

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<sup>35</sup>Cain, interview.

<sup>36</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," p. 2.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

Bess Willis Shrader, former president of the Virginia School Boards Association; and Dr. George W. Holmes, Executive Secretary of the Virginia School Boards Association.<sup>38</sup>

The appointment of representatives of business, industry, law, and government to the Review Committee provided the State Department of Education with the means of involving some critics of social studies education in a curriculum project. Paschall appointed Mays, Hubbard, and Thomson to serve on the Review Committee after each of them made requests for social studies curriculum changes. The membership also included representatives of state-wide organizations that expressed interest in economic education. Although he indicated that the Review Committee members did not reflect "vested interests,"<sup>39</sup> Paschall appointed Taylor after he offered the assistance of the Virginia Manufacturers Association, and appointed Gordon after he requested that the proposed unit give consideration to the role of farm cooperatives in the free enterprise system. Two members of the Review Committee, Kemp and Thomson, were leaders in the State Chamber of Commerce, an organization which actively sought to bring about more economic instruction in the public schools. The involvement of these and others whose political and economic views were well known allowed the State Department

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Paschall, interview.

of Education to receive suggestions from potential critics before the project was completed. The staff of the State Department of Education considered these members of the Review Committee to be a sounding board for potentially controversial issues.<sup>40</sup> The representatives of business, industry, law, and government held positions of leadership and influence, and their approval of the project assured widespread acceptance.

In making the appointments to the Review Committee, Paschall indicated that he tried to involve people who represented a "wide spectrum" of the economic life of Virginia.<sup>41</sup> The members who were not educators were heavily big-business oriented. By background, they did not represent all segments of the population of Virginia. No members came from the ranks of organized labor or small business. No professional economists, political scientists, nor curriculum specialists were members of the committee. Only one college representative served on the committee. Since the two public school teachers on the Review Committee were also members of the Teacher Committee, they were in the unusual position of reviewing their own work. The committee did not include representatives who expressed the views of consumers or lower income groups. None of the twenty-five committee members were Black, and only two were women. The composition of the

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<sup>40</sup>Cain, interview.

<sup>41</sup>Paschall, interview.

committee left large segments of Virginia's population unrepresented.

Although not reflective of all viewpoints, the Review Committee did offer an opportunity for public participation in curriculum development. The Teacher Committee submitted its work to the Review Committee for approval and for suggestions. When referring to the Review Committee, Paschall indicated that the task of this "special committee" was to "advise and project plans" for "a special unit on the fundamental principles underlying our form of government and our way of life."<sup>42</sup> Although originally invited to review the economics unit, the Review Committee expanded its function to include evaluation of the total outline. Reflecting on the role the Review Committee played in the curriculum project, Paschall recalled that "this group weighed the delicacy of the problem and the issues involved, and initiated certain developments which culminated in a very warm support by the General Assembly of Virginia."<sup>43</sup>

At its first meeting in January, 1960, the Review Committee studied and endorsed the proposed outline developed for use in government classes. Wilkerson presented the outline and some suggestions from the Review Committee to the State Board of Education at its January, 1960 meeting. The Review Committee recommended that the outline with slight

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<sup>42</sup>Paschall, address.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

modification be used by at least two hundred teachers in a pilot study in the school year 1960-1961 and that publicly financed institutes be conducted to prepare teachers to use the outline.<sup>44</sup> The report asked for an evaluation to show achievement of students involved in the pilot study<sup>45</sup> and recommended that consideration be given to including similar material in social studies courses offered at lower grade levels. A final suggestion of the Review Committee was that a supplemental brochure on socialism and communism be prepared by some authoritative source, such as the Virginia Bar Association.

Wilkerson told the State Board of Education of plans to have the Teacher committee reconvened to review and suggest materials to be used in implementation of the outline.<sup>46</sup> He noted plans to involve the Review Committee in evaluation of the materials after they were recommended by the Teacher Committee. The State Board of Education approved Wilkerson's report and commended the work done by the two committees.

Both of the committees continued working with the staff of the State Department of Education. Their next task was the evaluation of materials on economics and communism to

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<sup>44</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXI (January 28, 1960), p. 13.

<sup>45</sup>Records of the State Department of Education do not indicate that such an evaluation was conducted.

<sup>46</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXI (January 28, 1960), p. 13.

be used with the outline. Paschall emphasized the importance of this task when he reminded the Review Committee members that caution should be exercised in approving materials to be used in "connection with this very delicate matter."<sup>47</sup> The staff and the committees encountered difficulty in finding appropriate materials,<sup>48</sup> and the final outline distributed to teachers did not include a list of recommended sources.

#### SUMMER INSTITUTES FOR TEACHERS

At its March, 1960 meeting, the State Board of Education authorized the State Department of Education to proceed with plans to conduct teacher institutes. The Textbook and Curriculum Committee of the State Board of Education endorsed the recommendation made by the Review Committee and asked the Board for the institutes as a way of preparing government teachers to use the new instructional guide.<sup>49</sup>

In the summer of 1960, the State Department of Education sponsored two one-week institutes for teachers of government. The racially segregated institutes provided sessions for White teachers at the College of William and Mary and for Black teachers at Virginia State College. Nominated by the

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<sup>47</sup>Davis Y. Paschall to Rawley F. Daniel, March 14, 1960, copy, HGGS.

<sup>48</sup>Statement of Leonard G. Muse, former Chairman of the Virginia State Board of Education, personal interview, March 17, 1976.

<sup>49</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXI (March 24, 1960), p. 2.

local school division superintendents, the teachers participated at the invitation and expense of the State Department of Education.<sup>50</sup>

The funds for the institutes came primarily through the efforts of David Mays.<sup>51</sup> A member of the Review Committee and Chairman of the Commission on Constitutional Government, Mays appeared with Paschall and Senator William B. Spong, Jr. before a General Assembly appropriations committee and requested funds for the government project. In order to assist in what it considered one of its most important programs, the Commission on Constitutional Government voluntarily gave up a part of its appropriation to the Department of Education to be used for "establishing a sound course on the basic concepts of constitutional government."<sup>52</sup> From these funds, the department received \$10,000 for each year of the 1960-1962 biennium to conduct teacher institutes.<sup>53</sup>

Participants on the program of the institutes held in the summer of 1960 included members of the Review Committee and the Teacher Committee. Three businessmen from the Review

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<sup>50</sup>Report of Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, A Summary of Activities from August 1958 through December 1961 (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1962), p. 8.

<sup>51</sup>Wilkerson, interview.

<sup>52</sup>Report of Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government.

<sup>53</sup>Davis Y. Paschall to Lewis F. Powell, Jr., May 13, 1960, copy, HGGGS.

Committee were members of a panel, and five members of the Teacher Committee conducted small group sessions on aspects of the government outline. David Mays, who characterized the institutes as seminars "indoctrinating teachers for the new class in civics and economics,"<sup>54</sup> addressed the participants on the topic, "The Constitution of the United States--Should We Observe It?" In addition to Mays, other members of the Commission on Constitutional Government participated in the institutes.<sup>55</sup>

Although communism was an insignificant part of the outline, both of the institutes included sessions devoted to the topic. These sessions were of special interest to the teachers.<sup>56</sup> One of the sessions at the William and Mary Institute was a speech by Charles T. Vetter of the United States Information Agency. Vetter, who had trained guides for a United States exhibit in Moscow, conducted a session in which he assumed the role of a communist and answered questions from the teachers. Later Vetter addressed civic groups in the state and spoke in at least one school assembly program.<sup>57</sup> At both institutes, representatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation called the attention of the teachers

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<sup>54</sup>Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes (June 9, 1960), p. 1.

<sup>55</sup>"Program," Institute on Government and Economics, The College of William and Mary, July 25-29, 1960.

<sup>56</sup>Racer, interview.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

to communist activities in the United States, and participants viewed films about communism.<sup>58</sup> These sessions about communism represented the beginning of a shift in emphasis in the government project. In the months following the institutes, communism replaced economics as the major focus of the project.

Since the outline was not mandatory, the staff of the State Department of Education encouraged teachers to develop their own plans for teaching the government course. They offered the outline as a guide and solicited suggestions from the teachers attending the institutes. When Wilkerson presented the outline in its final form to the State Board of Education, he indicated that the teachers at the institutes approve the outline and made only minor suggestions.<sup>59</sup>

In the summer of 1961, the State Department of Education again sponsored institutes for teachers of government and economics. The emphasis the second summer was on American government, economics, and the nature of communism. The institutes conducted in the two summers involved approximately one hundred thirty of about six hundred fifty teachers of government in the state.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>"Program," Institute on Government and Economics.

<sup>59</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXI (August 1-3, 1960), p. 2.

<sup>60</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 13, 1962, p. 6, cols. 1, 2, 3.

## THE FIRST GUIDE

The State Department of Education distributed the outline, "Virginia and U. S. Government," to local school divisions in September, 1960. The superintendent's memorandum which accompanied the outline reviewed its development and noted that the project began after the realization that all "boys and girls should have...instruction in the principles underlying the interrelationship of our government and economic way of life."<sup>61</sup> This memorandum to division superintendents, offered what was called a "tentative" outline as a guide for government teachers and invited suggestions for further development and refinement.<sup>62</sup>

The nine-page outline included five major parts. The first two parts contained topics traditional to the government course. Part I, "Origins and Development of Our Government," provided a brief outline of events in the historical development of representative government both in the old world and in early America. Part II furnished an outline of the structure of American government on national, state, and local levels.<sup>63</sup>

Part III and Part IV fulfilled the original objective of the project by presenting topics on economics. Although

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<sup>61</sup>Superintendent's Memo., number 3881.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>"Virginia and U. S. Government," Virginia State Department of Education, HGGS. p. 1-9. (Mimeographed)

entitled, "Basic Principles and Beliefs Underlying the Inter-relationship of Our Governmental Structure and Our Economic Way of Life," Part III dealt almost exclusively with economic topics. Part IV provided topics related to the implementation of the basic principles and beliefs identified in Part III. Together parts III and IV encompassed one-half of the outline.

Part V, "World Affairs and Our Government," included a section on comparative government and listed communism as a topic for study.<sup>64</sup> Later the State Department of Education expanded this suggestion in two other guides, and a comprehensive instructional unit for teaching about communism resulted.

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

## Chapter IV

### THE SECOND GUIDE, COMMUNISM IN CONTRAST WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

In the fall of 1960, teachers throughout Virginia began using the outline, "Virginia and U. S. Government." This content outline was the first of three guides developed by the State Department of Education for use in the twelfth-grade government course. From its inception, the government project stressed economics, and the first guide devoted one-half of its nine pages to economic topics. Following the development and distribution of the first guide, the emphasis shifted from economics to communism. The first guide listed communism as a topic for study under comparative government but offered neither an explanation of how the topic should be developed nor a list of resources that could be used. In an attempt to expand and supplement the first guide, the State Department of Education began work on a guide to assist teachers in developing instructional units contrasting communism with "the American system of freedom under law."<sup>1</sup>

#### DEVELOPMENT OF A UNIT FOR TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM IN THE RICHMOND CITY SCHOOLS

During the time the first state guide was being imple-

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<sup>1</sup>Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom (Richmond, Virginia: State Board of Education, 1962), p. iv.

mented, and a second one was being considered, some local school divisions recognized a need for developing their own units about communism. One of these was the Richmond City Schools where the chairman of the school board, Lewis F. Powell, Jr., suggested the development of a unit about international communism. Powell, who later became a United States Supreme Court Justice, was a member of what Time magazine called "Virginia's biggest and most powerful"<sup>2</sup> law firm, Hunton, Williams, Gay, Powell and Gibson. After his 1958 visit to the Soviet Union, Powell suggested that a course about international communism be offered in the Richmond schools. As a member of an American Bar Association group studying the Soviet legal system, Powell also had the opportunity to observe the Soviet educational system. He visited classes and had an extensive interview with the minister of education in Leningrad. He came away with strong feelings about Soviet education and the amount of anti-American propaganda present in Soviet schools.<sup>3</sup>

When he returned to Richmond, Powell reviewed the social studies textbooks used in the public schools and concluded that the treatment of the communist movement was "sketchy and haphazard."<sup>4</sup> He expressed his concern to the

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<sup>2</sup>"The President's Two Nominees," Time, 98 (November 1, 1971), p. 18.

<sup>3</sup>Statement of Lewis F. Powell, Jr., former Chairman of State Board of Education, personal interview, July 20, 1976.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

Richmond School Board, and as a result of his suggestion, the board decided to develop an instructional unit about communism. Powell's recommendation had the full backing of Dr. H. I. Willett, Superintendent of Schools, and the other members of the board. Willett referred to Powell as the "chief motivating force behind the Richmond unit,"<sup>5</sup> and an article in The New York Times in March of 1961 indicated that Powell had been urging such instruction for over a year.<sup>6</sup>

In the spring of 1961, individual teachers in the history departments of the Richmond high schools developed their own units on international communism. These individually developed units provided six weeks of instruction about communism for approximately four hundred Richmond students.<sup>7</sup> Although several Virginia localities developed communism units, Dr. Willett asserted that Richmond was the first school division in Virginia to provide in-depth instruction about communism.<sup>8</sup> The Richmond program, among the first in the nation, received national recognition in April of 1961 when a network television news program, "The Dave Garroway Show," featured films of Richmond high school students receiving

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<sup>5</sup>Statement of H. I. Willett, former Superintendent of Schools, personal interview, March 10, 1976.

<sup>6</sup>The New York Times, March 19, 1961, p. 81, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Willett, interview.

instruction about communism.<sup>9</sup> A few weeks earlier, an article about the Richmond program appeared in a Sunday edition of The New York Times.<sup>10</sup>

Following their use of the individual units, teachers submitted their outlines along with observations and suggestions to a curriculum committee on the district level. Using the experiences of these teachers, the committee developed a composite outline for use on a district-wide basis in the 1961-1962 school year.<sup>11</sup> The guide, entitled "Tentative Unit Outline About International Communism," was a twenty-page content outline and bibliography for teachers of the twelfth-grade government course.

One of the problems associated with beginning the instructional unit about communism was public apprehension that the unit would teach communism rather than teach about communism.<sup>12</sup> Fearing that people would conclude that Richmond students were being taught to be communists, the teachers and school officials attempted to show that the unit was designed to enhance the students' commitment to democracy.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Papers of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government (Virginia State Library Archives, Richmond), Mrs. John J. Zimmerman, Sr. to The Commission on Constitutional Government, April 3, 1961. Hereafter this collection is cited as CCG.

<sup>10</sup>The New York Times, March 19, 1961, p. 81, col. 1.

<sup>11</sup>"Tentative Unit Outline About International Communism," Richmond Public Schools, 1961. (mimeographed)

<sup>12</sup>The Richmond News Leader, March 29, 1962.

<sup>13</sup>Willett, interview.

The objectives in the guide reflected their concern. The first objective claimed that students would develop understanding and appreciation of democracy as well as greater loyalty to its principles by studying the contrasting principles of communism. The second objective offered the study as a way of building "a greater confidence in and respect for the best in American political, social, and economic institutions" in order "to inspire students to a higher sense of responsibility."<sup>14</sup> A third objective of the unit was to define freedom of the individual as it existed in theory and practice in individual governments throughout the world.<sup>15</sup>

The descriptive terms used in the objectives left no doubt that the unit was designed to promote the principles of the American governmental system. The outline referred to the "deadly threat"<sup>16</sup> of communism to American institutions and expressed the desire to assist students to distinguish between the "alluring promises and enslaving practices"<sup>17</sup> of communism. Dr. H. I. Willett, Superintendent of Schools in Richmond, used similar terms in expressing the rationale for the unit. An article in The New York Times quoted Willett as saying the purpose of the new course was "to teach the facts about communism and its insidious methods and to deepen the

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<sup>14</sup>"Tentative Unit Outline," pp. 2-3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

convictions of students about their own government and ideals."<sup>18</sup>

Although the major emphasis of the unit was on international communism, the first five pages provided historical background which included "a perspective of European or world history" and a "strong foundation in the American system of government."<sup>19</sup> The first section, "Phases of American Culture," listed topics ranging from "Respect for Law" and "Basic Liberties" to "Good Sportsmanship." The historical sections included "Philosophers and Theories of Society Preceding Marxism," "History and Origin of Communism," and sections presenting an outline of the history of the Soviet Union from the Revolution of 1917 to the 1950's.<sup>20</sup>

In the part of the outline which dealt specifically with contemporary communism, the first section was "International Communism" and provided an outline for studying "Red" China, the Middle East, Asian "Neutralists," Africa, and Latin America. The other sections included "The Communist Party in the United States," "International Communist Party," and "Some Methods Proposed to Obtain the Offensive." The last of the methods proposed for gaining the offensive was a "vigorous education of all Americans for that 'eternal vigilance' which

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<sup>18</sup>The New York Times, March 19, 1961, p. 81, col. 1.

<sup>19</sup>"Tentative Unit Outline," pp. 2-3.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

is 'the price of liberty.'"<sup>21</sup> In the spirit of providing this "vigorous education," the Richmond School Board approved the "Tentative Unit Outline About International Communism."

Although designed for use only in the Richmond City Schools, the Richmond project was an influence outside the city on instruction about communism. The Richmond unit served as a prototype for localities wishing to develop their own units and for the State Department of Education in the development of its second government guide, Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom. The State Department of Education used the Richmond unit as a model and a resource guide.<sup>22</sup> Another advantage given the State Department of Education by the Richmond experience was the favorable publicity afforded the Richmond unit. This publicity, some in the national media, served to gain acceptance for a potentially controversial subject. In addition, personnel from the Richmond schools served on committees used in the development of the second state guide. Dr. H. I. Willett, Superintendent of Schools in Richmond, was a member of the Review Committee which worked with the State Department of Education throughout the government project. Zada Carver, a teacher in the Richmond school system, was a member of the Teacher Committee which assisted the State Department of Education with the

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<sup>21</sup>"Tentative Unit Outline," p. 15.

<sup>22</sup>"A World of New Possibilities," NEA Journal, 54 (January 1965), p. 28.

development of three government guides. The major connecting link, however, between the Richmond unit and the second government guide developed by the State Department of Education was Richmond school board member, Lewis F. Powell, Jr.

Powell's suggestion to the Richmond school board that more instruction about communism was needed resulted in the development of the guide and the six weeks' unit being placed in all Richmond high schools. Convinced that the curriculum should focus attention on communism, Powell became an active proponent of instruction about communism in all Virginia schools, and later, as a member of the State Board of Education, advocated the development of a unit for state-wide use. Powell's commitment to instruction about communism in the public schools was not confined to Richmond nor to Virginia. In 1960, he became involved in a national project to promote teaching about communism in the nation's schools.

#### LEWIS POWELL'S ACTIVITY ON NATIONAL LEVEL

In August of 1960, Lewis Powell introduced a resolution to the Board of Governors of the American Bar Association calling for more instruction about communism in American Schools. The Board of Governors referred the resolution to a committee for study and appointed Powell to the committee. After conducting a "careful preliminary study" and consulting "eminent educational authorities,"<sup>23</sup> the committee recommended

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<sup>23</sup>Instruction on Communism and Its Contrast With Liberty Under Law (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1962), p. 1.

the adoption of Powell's resolution. The educational authorities were not identified in American Bar Association publications.

Among those who enthusiastically endorsed the resolution was Allen W. Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Dulles, a proponent of education about communism, met with the committee and a group of educators in what The New York Times called a "secret meeting."<sup>24</sup> Dulles assured the members of the committee that they should not fear study about communism in the schools because objective study would provide an indictment of communism.<sup>25</sup>

In February of 1961, the Board of Governors endorsed the committee's recommendation and drafted resolutions to be considered by the American Bar Association's House of Delegates. At the assembly of the House of Delegates a few weeks later, the resolutions passed unanimously. The resolutions requested bar association members to

...encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction in the history, doctrines, objectives and techniques of Communism, thereby helping to instill a greater appreciation of democracy and freedom under law and the will to preserve that freedom.<sup>26</sup>

The resolution called for the implementation of the program through a special seven-member committee called

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<sup>24</sup>The New York Times, February 17, 1961, p. 15, col. 1.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Instruction on Communism, p. 1.

"Special Committee on Education in the Contrast between Liberty under Law and Communism," and Lewis F. Powell was chairman of the committee.<sup>27</sup>

A major part of the committee's work was the publication of a guide, entitled Instruction on Communism and Its Contrast with Liberty Under Law. Lewis Powell wrote this twenty-four page handbook for state and local bar associations.<sup>28</sup> The guide examined the need for teaching about communism, provided an evaluation of how the need was being met, and offered ways the bar associations could "assist educational authorities in providing appropriate courses or units on the subject."<sup>29</sup>

The program of action outline for local bar associations included the appointment of a special committee in each locality to promote teaching about communism. The guide admonished the local committee to determine to what extent units and courses were being taught and to "establish [a] friendly, cooperative relationship with school authorities."<sup>30</sup> In addition, the program of action underlined the importance of developing public acceptance by testifying before local and state boards of education, speaking before civic groups and enlisting the cooperation of the press. The publication

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>Powell, interview.

<sup>29</sup>Instruction on Communism, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup>Instruction on Communism, pp. 15-16.

suggested that local bar associations make materials available to local schools and assist with inservice training of teachers if requested. The program of action concluded with a warning that the "ultimate responsibility must rest with educational authorities"<sup>31</sup> and that the function of local bar associations was to "stimulate, assist, and cooperate."<sup>32</sup>

Lewis Powell's involvement in the American Bar Association's project was an expression of his personal commitment and dedication to promotion of study about communism in the schools. Powell indicated that the bar association's publication was a statement of his personal philosophy.<sup>33</sup> Although no evidence has been found to indicate that the Virginia State Bar Association played a leading role in curriculum development, its president, William T. Muse, served on the Review Committee which assisted the State Department of Education with the development of three government guides, and local bar associations received copies of the guides prepared by the American Bar Association. During the time of his involvement in the American Bar Association project, Powell campaigned for more instruction about communism in Virginia schools and sought ways of influencing educational authorities to develop a program to assist teachers.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Powell, interview.

POWELL'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE INSTRUCTION ABOUT  
COMMUNISM ON THE STATE LEVEL

Powell's efforts to have communism included as a topic for study in all Virginia high schools began in the fall of 1960. In October, 1960, Powell appealed to Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, who became Superintendent of Public Instruction when Davis Paschall resigned in August of 1960. Powell requested that more emphasis be placed on the teaching of the facts about international communism.<sup>34</sup> In response to his request, Powell received a copy of the first government guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government," and Wilkerson's assurance that instruction about communism was an integral part of the twelfth-grade government course.<sup>35</sup> The guide, which only listed communism as a subtopic without explanation, did not substantiate Wilkerson's claim.

Lewis Powell expressed concern about the ineffectiveness of the first guide in bringing about instruction about communism. Powell, who had predicted that it would not produce the desired results, referred to the outline as providing "back-of-the-hand"<sup>36</sup> treatment of the study of communism. He saw it as an attempt to "patch up" the curriculum by merely

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<sup>34</sup>Woodrow W. Wilkerson to Lewis F. Powell, Jr., (Files of History, Government, and Geography Service of the Virginia State Department of Education), October 19, 1960. Hereafter this collection is cited as HGGS.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, December 14, 1960, p. 1, cols. 3-4.

"lengthening paragraphs and chapters."<sup>37</sup> Powell's statement seemed to be a contradiction since the guide was only an outline which provided no paragraphs related to the topic nor suggested chapters in supplemental books. Woodrow Wilkerson publicly disagreed with Powell's criticism of the first guide and asserted that one of the purposes of the outline was to compare democracy with communism.<sup>38</sup> Wilkerson later acknowledged a need for more emphasis on communism in the government course.<sup>39</sup>

After his unsuccessful attempt to enlist the State Department of Education in providing more instruction about communism, Powell appeared before the Commission on Public Education. Known as the Spong Commission, the Commission on Public Education conducted hearings as a part of its study of the status of public education in Virginia. In testimony before the Spong Commission in December of 1960, Powell outlined his program for meeting what he considered a "serious lack of depth, emphasis and concentration on the history, objectives and techniques of this new force in the world which

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<sup>37</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, December 15, 1960, p. 9, cols. 5-8.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Statement of Woodrow W. Wilkerson, former State Superintendent of Public Instruction, personal interview, March 12, 1976.

is determined to destroy western civilization."<sup>40</sup> Asserting that the study of communism did not fit into the conventional curriculum pattern, Powell requested that a semester course devoted specifically to an in-depth study of communism be added to the curriculum, and that the course maintain "academic standards of accuracy, thoroughness, and scholarship."<sup>41</sup> Recognizing the lack of teacher preparation for this instruction about communism, Powell asked for appropriate in-service training for experienced teachers and new standards in the training and certification of new teachers.

An important step leading to more State Department of Education activity to assist teachers in instruction about communism was the appointment of Lewis Powell to the State Board of Education in January of 1961.<sup>42</sup> Powell, who came to office in March of 1961, brought to the board his interest in the study of communism as well as his experience in the development of both the communism unit used in Richmond and the American Bar Association guide for teaching about communism.

Immediately after his appointment to the State Board of Education, Powell began pursuing his interest in having the

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<sup>40</sup>Papers of Virginia Commission on Public Education (Commonwealth of Virginia, Bureau of Legislative Services, Richmond), Statement of Lewis F. Powell, Jr., December 13, 1960.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 1, 1961, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

State Department of Education place instruction about communism in the curriculum. He suggested that the State Department of Education develop a unit to assist teachers in instruction about communism and his suggestion met with the approval of the Textbook and Curriculum Committee of the State Board of Education. At its April, 1961, meeting, the State Board of Education approved the recommendation of the Textbook and Curriculum Committee "that the Department of Education develop a unit on communism for suggested use under Part V-A (Comparative Government) of the outline for the Virginia and U. S. Government course."<sup>43</sup>

Powell's activities on the state level included meetings with staff members of the State Department of Education. At the time of the approval by the State Board of Education in April of 1961, Powell met at Longwood College with Franklin Cain, Jr., Supervisor of History, Government and Geography, and Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, to discuss the status of teaching about communism in Virginia's schools. The discussion included plans for the development of a resource guide for use in the study of communism.<sup>44</sup> Powell later acknowledged that he suggested the development of a unit for teaching about communism but did not

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<sup>43</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXII, April, 1961.

<sup>44</sup>Statement of Franklin A. Cain, Jr., former State Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, personal interview, August 22, 1975.

recall any opposition to his suggestion.<sup>45</sup> Woodrow Wilkerson indicated that the State Department of Education was moving in the direction of expanding the study of both political and economic principles before Powell's appointment to the board. With no evidence being available that the State Department of Education had done any more than review materials, Wilkerson conceded that Powell, a keen student of the concepts of totalitarianism, gave the department an "impetus to move to the logical expansion of the government guide."<sup>46</sup>

EFFORTS OF THE COMMISSION ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE MATERIALS ABOUT COMMUNISM FOR USE  
IN VIRGINIA SCHOOLS

During the time Lewis Powell was campaigning for more instruction about communism in Virginia schools, the State Department of Education received assistance from a commission established by the General Assembly. The first government guide had listed communism as a topic for study without offering any bibliographic sources for student or teacher use. Because of the difficulty encountered in finding appropriate materials, the staff of the State Department of Education attempted to assist teachers by collecting and evaluating materials available for use in teaching about communism. Staff members reviewed materials developed by other states,

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<sup>45</sup>Powell, interview.

<sup>46</sup>Wilkerson, interview.

government agencies, and commercial publishers.<sup>47</sup> A statement of materials collected by the State Department of Education prior to April, 1961, listed a bibliography of books about communism prepared by the United States Information Agency, a list of states to contact about instruction about communism prepared by the United States Office of Education, a pamphlet prepared by the American Bar Association on Marxism-Leninism, outlines from the State Department of Education in Pennsylvania and Louisiana, some general citizenship education materials, and copies of the outline prepared by the Richmond City Schools.<sup>48</sup> After reviewing the limited materials available, the staff of the State Department of Education concluded that a nationwide problem existed in obtaining adequate factual materials suitable for use on the secondary school level. Although not identifying the persons responsible, a statement prepared by Hugh V. White, Jr., Executive Director of the Commission on Constitutional Government, noted that members of the State Department of Education brought this problem to the attention of the commission; and the commission, through its Education Committee, offered its services in preparing "authoritative, factual matter"<sup>49</sup> that could be used in

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<sup>47</sup>"Major Steps in Preparation of Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," HGGS.

<sup>48</sup>"Steps and Plans for the Development of Teaching Materials About Communism--A Progress Report," HGGS, April 28, 1961.

<sup>49</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, March 9, 1961, CCG.

instructing high school students about communism. Neither Franklin Cain, Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, nor Woodrow Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, recalled any request being made.<sup>50</sup> Wilkerson suggested that the involvement of the Commission on Constitutional Government came through the interest of David Mays, chairman of the commission and member of the Review Committee which was selected to assist the State Department of Education with the government project.<sup>51</sup>

Created in 1958 by the General Assembly, the Commission on Constitutional Government actively sought ways of promoting study of constitutional government. Coming into existence as a part of Virginia's reaction against the racial desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court in the 1950's, the commission conducted a crusade to promote states' rights. The efforts of the commission included publishing and distributing publications and furnishing speakers on topics related to federalism. The problem encountered by the State Department of Education in securing materials for use in the communism unit provided the commission with the opportunity to become an active participant in social studies curriculum development. Because earlier offers of assistance in promoting constitutional government were not accepted by the State Department of Education, the commission welcomed the opportunity to aid the

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<sup>50</sup>Wilkerson, interview; Cain, interview.

<sup>51</sup>Wilkerson, interview.

department in locating materials about communism. An editorial in The Richmond News Leader in October, 1960, indicated that David Mays, chairman of the Commission on Constitutional Government and noted Constitutional lawyer, had worked quietly with the Superintendent of Public Instruction to combine the commission's interest in promoting study of constitutional government with Lewis Powell's proposal for teaching about international communism.<sup>52</sup>

Because they recognized the limited treatment of communism in standard textbooks and believed "it to be of the utmost importance that the evils and dangers of communism be fully exposed,"<sup>53</sup> members of the commission expressed enthusiasm for their involvement in the project. Although most often seen as a way of promoting the study of constitutional government, some members expressed the desire to use the project as a means of promoting a political ideology. For example, W. Roy Smith, chairman of the Education Committee and member of the General Assembly, viewed it as a way of getting to the "young minds" and exposing them to the "conservative viewpoint."<sup>54</sup> David Mays indicated that just attacking communism was not enough but that the commission must "sell" the

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<sup>52</sup>The Richmond News Leader, October 3, 1960, p. 10, cols. 1-2.

<sup>53</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, March 9, 1961, CCG.

<sup>54</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, December 8, 1960, CCG.

positive aspects of American government to students.<sup>55</sup> Mays also expressed the opinion that as a result of the commission's involvement in the project, the schools would be open to speakers from the Commission on Constitutional Government.<sup>56</sup>

The commission's role in the project included an attempt to prepare a pamphlet about communism for student use, and in January, 1961, the commission began the preparation of a booklet which was to be used with the comparative government unit suggested in the first guide. If the sequence recommended in the first guide was followed, the comparative government unit which included communism, would come in the spring. The early deadline and tight schedule made it necessary to employ a researcher to prepare the manuscript. After several unsuccessful attempts to find a person to assist with the project, the commission employed Dr. Francis X. Gannon of Belmont, Massachusetts.<sup>57</sup> Clarence Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School and well-known political analyst, recommended Gannon. Manion, a frequent critic of the Federal government, was a member of the council of the John Birch Society, and Gannon was a researcher for the society's publication, American Opinion Magazine.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, December 14, 1961, CCG.

<sup>56</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, September 8, 1960, p. 1, CCG.

<sup>57</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, March 9, 1961, pp. 1-2, CCG.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

In January, 1961, Gannon met with members of the Education Committee of the Commission on Constitutional Government and staff members of the State Department of Education concerning the proposed content and format of the guide. He brought copies of articles he had written and suggested that the guide consist of excerpts from government documents and transcripts of Congressional investigating committees. At this meeting, the committee and Gannon agreed that the materials should be presented in a 120-140 page booklet suitable for study in fifteen class periods,<sup>59</sup> and the Commission on Constitutional Government employed Gannon to develop the booklet. The records of the State Department of Education and the State Board of Education did not reflect any official approval of the project although records of the commission indicated that "conferences and meetings" had been held with "Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and others."<sup>60</sup> On one occasion, W. Roy Smith, Chairman of the Commission's Education Committee, indicated that Wilkerson was "very mindful"<sup>61</sup> of trying to do what the Commission recommended. Franklin Cain, Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, recalled that both he and William T. Muse, president of the Virginia State Bar Association and

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, March 9, 1961, p. 1, CCG.

<sup>61</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, December 14, 1961, p. 5.

member of the Commission on Constitutional Government, were apprehensive about the project from the beginning.<sup>62</sup>

In March of 1961, Gannon presented the Commission with the galley proofs of a student manual, entitled "Communist Conspiracy." David Mays distributed copies for review to members of the Commission on Constitutional Government and William Muse sent copies to the Executive Committee of the Virginia State Bar Association.<sup>63</sup> Some of the reviewers expressed disappointment with the content and format of the manuscript. Hugh V. White, Jr., Executive Director of the Commission on Constitutional Government, considered it to be too long, involved, and technical for student use.<sup>64</sup> Both William T. Muse and David J. Mays referred to the inappropriate form of the materials for textbook use.<sup>65</sup>

The most serious objections to the manuscript, however, were not related to the form and content but came as a result of Gannon's affiliation with the John Birch Society. Founded in 1958 as an anti-communist political organization, the John

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<sup>62</sup>Cain, interview.

<sup>63</sup>William T. Muse to Members of Executive Committee, Virginia State Bar Association, March 24, 1961, CCG; David J. Mays to Members of the Commission on Constitutional Government, March 23, 1961, CCG.

<sup>64</sup>Hugh V. White, Jr. to W. C. Daniel, copy, November 22, 1961, CCG.

<sup>65</sup>William T. Muse to Members of Executive Committee, Virginia State Bar Association, March 24, 1961, CCG; David J. Mays to Members of the Commission on Constitutional Government, March 23, 1961, CCG.

Birch Society sought to halt and reverse what it considered to be "disastrous and communistically manipulated economic and political trends."<sup>66</sup> The John Birch Society came to national prominence and controversy in 1961 when it became known that its founder, Robert Welch, had charged that former presidents Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt were conscious agents of communist conspiracy.<sup>67</sup> As its controversial nature emerged, criticism increased with the society often being characterized as "right wing" and "radical right."<sup>68</sup> Because the name of the John Birch Society appeared on the front page of Gannon's manuscript along with his name, members of the Commission on Constitutional Government and the Virginia State Bar Association feared that the manual would be controversial. William T. Muse called it an unfortunate incident but noted that the "society had no connection with the preparation of the material."<sup>69</sup> Muse suggested that Gannon was trying to get some credit for the John Birch Society. Garnett S. Moore, who was a state legislator and member of the Education Committee of the Commission on Constitutional Government, expressed concern that a person from the John Birch Society had assembled

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<sup>66</sup>J. Allen Broyles, The John Birch Society, Anatomy of A Protest (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), p. 7.

<sup>67</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, March 1, 1961, p. 17, cols. 1-3.

<sup>68</sup>Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, Third Edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 763.

<sup>69</sup>William T. Muse to Members of Executive Committee, Virginia State Bar Association, March 24, 1961, CCG.

and edited the material. Moore feared that the program would be subject to criticism if it could be connected with the John Birch Society because of what he called a "controversy that [was] raging in the newspapers and in Congress"<sup>70</sup> about the society.

A feature article about the controversial nature of the John Birch Society appeared in an issue of a popular news magazine during the time Gannon's manuscript was being reviewed. Franklin Cain, Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, recalled that prior to that time, those involved in the project knew little about the John Birch Society. The article's appearance at that time and Gannon's affiliation with the John Birch Society contributed to the abandonment of the effort to produce a student booklet about communism.<sup>71</sup> In March, 1961, Mays and Muse requested that all manuscripts be returned in sealed envelopes,<sup>72</sup> and the commission abruptly terminated the "ill-fated attempt"<sup>73</sup> to compile supplemental materials for the communism unit. The commission did not publish the manuscript, and no copy was kept with the papers of the commission at the time of its dissolution in 1968. The

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<sup>70</sup>Garnett S. Moore to W. Roy Smith, April 6, 1961, CCG.

<sup>71</sup>Cain, interview.

<sup>72</sup>William T. Muse to Members of Executive Committee, Virginia State Bar Association, March 24, 1961, CCG; David J. Mays to Members of the Commission on Constitutional Government, March 23, 1961, CCG.

<sup>73</sup>W. Roy Smith to David J. Mays, June 7, 1961, CCG.

ending of this project coincided with the approval of the State Board of Education of Lewis Powell's suggestion to develop an outline to aid teachers in teaching about communism. These two events, although a part of parallel efforts to promote instruction about communism in Virginia schools, were not directly related. Powell's efforts to bring about the action of the State Board of Education preceded the termination of the project of the Commission on Constitutional Government.

Although abandoning their effort to produce a student book about communism, the Commission on Constitutional Government continued working to secure appropriate materials. Commission members requested information from other states and reviewed current publications. Members of the Education Committee read and made written evaluations of books about communism suggested for student use. The Education Committee recommended four books for classroom use, and the Commission on Constitutional Government offered to purchase copies for all government teachers in the state.<sup>74</sup> The books recommended were: Kenneth Colegrove and Hall Bartlett, The Menace of Communism; J. Edgar Hoover, Masters of Deceit; Alan Moorehead, The Russian Revolution; and John Gunther, Inside Russia Today. Noting that all four were suitable, the recommendation listed The Menace of Communism as the best for student use and

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<sup>74</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, March 15, 1962, CCG.

Inside Russia Today as the least desirable. At a cost of over \$3,500, the Commission on Constitutional Government purchased 600 copies each of Masters of Deceit, The Menace of Communism, and The Russian Revolution, and gave them to the State Department of Education for distribution to all government teachers in Virginia.<sup>75</sup> When J. Edgar Hoover's second book, A Study of Communism, was published in 1962, the Commission authorized another \$3,000 for purchase of copies for each government teacher in the state.<sup>76</sup> The State Department of Education provided none of the funds for these books.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECOND GUIDE

In April of 1971, staff members of the State Department of Education began work on the development of the second government guide. At its April meeting, the State Board of Education passed a recommendation of its Textbook and Curriculum Committee which required that "the Department of Education develop a unit on communism"<sup>77</sup> to be used in conjunction with the first outline guide developed in 1959 and 1960. Following the board meeting, the staff of the State Department of Education prepared a brief two-page assessment, entitled "Steps and Plans for the Development of Teaching Materials About

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<sup>75</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, June 21, 1962, CCG.

<sup>76</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes, December 13, 1962.

<sup>77</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXII, April, 1961, p. 34.

Communism--A Progress Report." The report included a list of steps taken by the staff to obtain suitable materials for teaching about communism and concluded that a nationwide problem existed in obtaining factual materials. The assessment acknowledged "much scholarly writing" in the field but pointed to a "lag in the preparation of materials which would clearly present for the secondary school student the nature of communism and its threat to the basic principles upon which our nation [was] founded."<sup>78</sup> The report indicated that the staff would study materials for the purpose of developing a "useful unit" designed to be a part of the Virginia and United States Government course.<sup>79</sup>

The State Department of Education solicited the help of the two committees which had been involved in developing the first outline guide. Both the Teacher Committee, consisting of government and economics teacher, and the Review Committee, consisting of representatives of business, industry, law, government, and education, assisted the staff of the State Department of Education in developing the second guide. The Teacher Committee had remained active after the work on the first guide was completed. Members of that committee served as resource persons for the State Department of Education, assisted the department in implementing the

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<sup>78</sup>"Steps and Plans for the Development of Teaching Materials," p. 1-2.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

first guide, and discussed the government project with citizen groups.<sup>80</sup> In May of 1961, Dr. Wilkerson reconvened the Review Committee for the purpose of acquainting members with plans for the "preparation of materials regarding communism."<sup>81</sup> At subsequent Review Committee meetings in 1961 and 1962, members had the opportunity of reviewing both materials and a content outline for teaching about communism.

The addition in 1961 of two new Assistant Supervisors of History, Government, and Geography to the staff of the State Department of Education made it possible to have extensive staff involvement in writing and organizing the unit. Martin A. Tarter, Jr., and Emmett G. Shufflebarger joined the department soon after the decision was made to develop the unit. Tarter, a government and economics teacher in Roanoke County, was a member of the Teacher Committee; and Shufflebarger, an assistant principal in Martinsville, had teaching experience in the social studies. The addition of these staff members came as a result of a recommendation of the Spong Commission Report and action of the General Assembly in 1960.<sup>82</sup> Tarter and Shufflebarger worked under the direction of Franklin Cain, who had been with the State Department of

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<sup>80</sup>Cecil Doss, former teacher, personal interview, February 26, 1976.

<sup>81</sup>Woodrow W. Wilkerson to H. I. Willett, May 18, 1961, HGGS.

<sup>82</sup>"Of Persons and Events," Virginia Journal of Education, LV (March 1962), p. 35.

Education since 1959 and was the staff member responsible for the first guide.

The procedure followed in developing the second outline was similar to the one used in preparation of the first guide. The function of the Teacher Committee was to make suggestions to staff members involved in the project. The teachers sent their suggestions to the State Department of Education, and staff members organized and expanded them. Staff members did the actual writing of the outline guide and kept no records indicating which parts had been suggested by the teachers. The staff submitted the draft of the completed guide for approval of the members of the Teacher Committee.<sup>83</sup>

The next step was the submission of the guide to the Review Committee. This committee, consisting of representatives of business, industry, law, government, and education, did not participate in the actual writing and development of the guide but reviewed the work of the staff and the Teacher Committee. The purpose of the Review Committee was to provide reactions to the content in the guide, and approval by the committee implied widespread acceptance for the project.<sup>84</sup>

Although the Review Committee reviewed some of the materials being considered for inclusion in the bibliography, the group most involved in the evaluation of the books to be used with the unit was the Commission on Constitutional

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<sup>83</sup>Doss, interview.

<sup>84</sup>Cain, interview.

Government. The activity of the Education Committee of the commission in reviewing, recommending, and purchasing books usurped and overshadowed the work of the Review Committee. The Education Committee members read and submitted written reviews of seven books about communism. The three books recommended by the Education Committee were the same three books which constituted the complete bibliography for the second guide, Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom. The commission's involvement in selecting books to be recommended for use with the unit was tantamount to providing the department with an endorsement of the unit and led to the commission's financing of the purchase of books for classroom use. At the time of the presentation of the completed guide to the State Board of Education, Louise Galleher, chairperson of the board's Textbook and Curriculum Committee, urged the board's acceptance of the commission's recommended list of books for the bibliography of the second guide and reminded the board that the "commission's endorsement would mean a great deal in gaining acceptance"<sup>85</sup> for the program. Some members of the commission claimed more extensive involvement in the development of the second guide than was substantiated in the records. For example, Roy Smith, chairman of the Education Committee of the Commission on Constitutional Government, claimed that the communism unit "was

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<sup>85</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 1, 1962, p. 2, cols. 4-6.

initiated through the effort of the commission."<sup>86</sup> Later when the Commission on Constitutional Government came under attack and was threatened with dissolution, an editorial in The Richmond News Leader defended the commission's existence by indicating that it had "contributed materially to the creation of a high school course."<sup>87</sup>

A full year elapsed between the request of the State Board of Education that a guide for teaching about communism be developed and the completion of the second outline guide. The State Department of Education submitted the outline guide, entitled Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom, to the Textbook and Curriculum Committee of the State Board of Education, and at the April, 1962, board meeting, the Committee recommended its adoption for use in the required government course.<sup>88</sup> A thorough discussion followed the report, and some board members voiced criticism of the proposed guide. Three board members expressed reservations because the bibliography only listed three books. Lewis Powell referred to the bibliography as "much too limited"<sup>89</sup> and suggested that the committees had been too cautious.

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<sup>86</sup>Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, Minutes of Executive Committee, December 13, 1962.

<sup>87</sup>The Richmond News Leader, January 26, 1966, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

<sup>88</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes Vol. XXXIII, April 27, 1962.

<sup>89</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 1, 1962, p. 2, col. 4.

Powell asked why What We Must Know About Communism by Harry and Bonaro Overstreet was not listed, and Colgate Darden, a former Virginia governor and member of the board, called the Overstreets' book the best thing written on the subject. Another board member, C. Stuart Wheatley, objected to the format of the books listed in the bibliography and expressed the opinion that they were neither concise nor "punchy" enough.<sup>90</sup>

In response to the criticism of the bibliography, Louise Galleher, chairperson of the Textbook and Curriculum Committee, defended the limited bibliography by suggesting that any questionable materials would weaken the whole program. She noted that the introduction to the outline suggested that the bibliography would "be open for extension as other authoritative works [were] approved for inclusion."<sup>91</sup> Galleher reported that the Commission on Constitutional Government had reviewed seven books and noted that the commission had reservations about four books including the Overstreets' book.<sup>92</sup>

Colgate Darden objected to the guide because of its detail and suggested that trying to cover the outline in six weeks would cause students "just unbelievable indigestion."<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

Because of this concern, the State Board of Education requested that the introduction include a statement indicating that teachers should condense the outline and use it as a guide in preparing their own units.

In April, 1962, the State Board of Education approved the guide, and in May of 1962, the State Department of Education printed it with the addition concerning the introduction which had been suggested by the board. The board made no changes in the outline nor in the bibliography. The local school divisions received copies for use in the 1962-1963 school year.<sup>94</sup>

Anticipating that parents would object to the unit, Woodrow Wilkerson, speaking before a group of leaders of education, business, and industry in Roanoke County, asserted that "the instruction [would] be preceded by a thorough indoctrination of the student in American democratic principles."<sup>95</sup> Wilkerson promised parents that an inculcation of the basic principles of American government would begin as early as the eleventh grade to prepare students for the twelfth-grade unit. In July of 1962, The New York Times carried an article on instruction about communism and quoted some unidentified Virginia educators who objected to the unit. One northern Virginia teacher told a reporter that the objective of the

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<sup>94</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 13, 1962, p. 8.

<sup>95</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, April 13, 1961, p. 4, cols. 4-5.

guide was "propaganda for the free enterprise system"<sup>96</sup> rather than an objective study of communism.

OVERVIEW OF THE SECOND GUIDE, COMMUNISM  
IN CONTRAST WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

In May of 1962, the State Board of Education issued the guide, Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom. This ten-page content outline about communism included the recommendation that the section on comparative government in the twelfth-grade government course "include four to six weeks of instruction devoted to Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom."<sup>97</sup> The introduction to the guide indicated that the outline was not prescriptive in nature but designed to serve as a guide for teachers preparing their own instructional units. The introduction also noted that the purpose of the guide was in keeping with "the objective of inculcating in youth a firm commitment to our national heritage."<sup>98</sup> The second guide provided a brief summary of the units suggested in the first guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government," and noted that teachers should review and reinforce the major concepts of American government presented in the first guide before initiating the study of communism.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>The New York Times, July 3, 1962, p. 21, cols. 2-8.

<sup>97</sup>Communism in Contrast, p. iii.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom outlined content suggested for study under six major topics. Each topic began with a brief introductory statement which expressed the rationale for inclusion of that topic. Although not listing specific objectives, the statements provided generalizations of the reasons for studying the topic. The guide presented the content in the form of a skeletal outline with most of the topics and subtopics consisting of short phrases and single word entries. For example, the topic, "Basic Goal--Spread of Communism for World Control," included as subtopic A, "Techniques of International Expansion." Listed under techniques were such phrases as "Infiltration and usurpation," "Propaganda and indoctrination," and "Espionage and sabotage," and under these phrases were terms such as "objectives," "tactics," and "approaches."

To compensate for the brevity of the outline of content, the guide coordinated the outline with the books listed in the bibliography. In a column to the right of the outline, the guide listed specific chapters and pages in these books which related to the topics and subtopics in the outline. The books listed in the bibliography were The Menace of Communism by Colegrove and Bartlett, Masters of Deceit by Hoover, and The Russian Revolution by Moorehead. These were the same three books recommended by the Education Committee of the Commission on Constitutional Government and purchased by the commission for government teachers throughout the state.

Topic I of the outline, "The Origin and Development

of Marxism," suggested a study of the political and socialist movements of nineteenth century Europe in addition to an analysis of Karl Marx's life, writings, and doctrine. The outline equated Marxian doctrine with dialectical materialism and listed theory of history, labor or surplus theory of value, role of the state, and dictatorship of the proletariat as components of dialectical materialism. Neither the listing of the topics nor the suggested readings provided teachers with information necessary for understanding the Marxian concepts of class struggle, capitalist exploitation of the masses, and an economic view of history. The introductory statement for Topic I suggested that the study of Marxian doctrine include the presentation of contrasting viewpoints. Neither the outline nor the suggested chapters in the recommended books actually drew these contrasts. Both presented Marxian doctrine but left the development of contrasting viewpoints to individual teacher discretion.

Topic II, "Russia--The Communist Revolution and Rule," presented what the guide called a "resume of the major events relating to the Bolshevik take over in Russia."<sup>100</sup> Dealing mainly with the two revolutions of 1917, the guide also suggested that students review topics related to the autocratic government under the czars. Topic II provided a limited overview of historical events in Russia prior to and during the communist take over. The subtopics were general in nature and

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<sup>100</sup>Communism in Contrast, p. 2.

tended to oversimplify very complex situations. For example, subtopic one under "Rule of the Czars" was "Complete autocracy--before 1860," and subtopic two was "Modified autocracy--after 1860." By offering no other details related to these subtopics, the outline reduced all the history of czarist Russia to two characteristics, complete or modified autocracy. Another subtopic listed under the "Second Revolution" was simply the "Role of Lenin and others." The outline indicated nothing related to the number, importance, nor identity of the "others."

Topic III, "Basic Goal--Spread of Communism for World Control," listed eight techniques of international communist expansion. These were: "infiltration and usurpation;" "propaganda and indoctrination;" "espionage and sabotage;" "civil strife and war;" "direct aggression and pressure;" "international crises and dilemmas;" "economic and technical agreements and aid;" and "adaptable or flexible exploitation." In addition to this list of techniques, Topic III also included a section called "Machinery for Implementing the International Expansion Techniques." This "machinery" included "foreign policy," "international fronts," "controlled satellites," and "disciplined international party organization." The majority of the subtopics in Topic III dealt with the organization and characteristics of the communist party and used the Communist Party of the United States as an example. Topic III also listed three world areas controlled by communism. This list was the only part of the entire

outline devoted to communism outside the Soviet Union and the United States. The three areas listed without explanation or subtopics were the Soviet Union and Eastern European Countries; Asian countries including China, Outer Mongolia, Tibet, North Vietnam and North Korea; and Cuba.<sup>101</sup>

Topic IV, "USSR in Contrast with the U.S.A.," considered "the effects of Marxist doctrine upon individuals and institutions in society,"<sup>102</sup> and encompassed almost four of the outline's ten pages. Although the title indicated that life in the Soviet Union should be contrasted with life in the United States, the outline only provided characteristics of Soviet life. The references listed for this section were all from The Menace of Communism and did not provide comparisons except by inference. The first subtopic, "People of USSR--Servants of the Government," provided a detailed outline of the organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the operation of the government. Other topics related more to the people of the Soviet Union. These included "Government Monopoly Over Property," "Restrictions on Individual Choice," "Government Control Replaces Competition and Individual Initiative," and "Subordination of Individuals and Social Institutions."<sup>103</sup>

Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American

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<sup>101</sup>Communism in Contrast, p. 3-6.

<sup>102</sup>Communism in Contrast, p. 6.

<sup>103</sup>Communism in Contrast, p. 6-8

Freedom neglected some areas and gave minimal attention to others. It offered no topics related to elections in communist countries and provided no opportunity for study of law enforcement procedures. With the exception of topics dealing with the American Communist Party and a brief listing of communist countries, the outline focused no attention on communism outside of the Soviet Union. The extensive use of the Soviet Union as a model left the assumption that communism was monolithic in nature. The guide provided a detailed outline of Soviet institutions and government but failed to enumerate any of the accomplishments of the Soviet Union. Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom offered no topics related to Soviet technological advancements, and Sputnik, the space satellite which sparked interest in studying about communism in the United States, was not a part of the outline. The guide was a content outline only and offered no suggested activities nor recommended methods of presentation of the material. The limited bibliography consisted of only three books, and some sections of the outline listed no references.

Even with its limitations, the outline provided teachers with direction in developing units about communism. By expanding the scope of the first government guide, the ten-page outline focused further attention on instruction about communism in the Virginia and United States Government course offered in all Virginia secondary schools.

## Chapter V

### THE THIRD GUIDE, AN INSTRUCTIONAL GUIDE FOR VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

In November of 1964, the State Department of Education published the third government guide, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government. Consisting of 177 pages, the guide was the final product of the government curriculum project which began in 1959 as an attempt to place more emphasis on economic education in the social studies curriculum. The preface noted that the third guide "gradually evolved"<sup>1</sup> from an outline distributed in 1960. The first outline guide, described in chapter three of this study, provided only a brief content outline for the required twelfth-grade government course. The first outline guide listed communism as a topic for study but offered no recommendations for content to be considered nor suggestions of sources for use in developing the study. In 1962, the second outline guide, Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom, supplemented and expanded the first guide. This outline, described in chapter four of this study, provided a content outline and suggested sources for an in-depth study of communism in the government course. These two outlines provided

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<sup>1</sup>An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government (Richmond, Virginia: State Board of Education, November 1964), p. i.

the basis for the development of the third comprehensive guide, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE THIRD GUIDE

In the spring of 1963, staff members of the State Department of Education and a committee composed of teachers and a director of instruction for a school division began work on the final product of the government curriculum project. The initiation of development of the third guide came one year after the publication of the second outline guide, Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom. The sequence of events did not allow time for evaluation of the second guide before its expansion as a part of the third guide. Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom, which became available to schools in May of 1962, was not used widely until the 1962-1963 school year.<sup>2</sup> Because of the guide's recommendation that the communism unit be taught in the latter part of the twelfth-grade government course, schools began using the guide in the spring of 1963 at approximately the same time the work began on the third guide.

The development of the comprehensive instructional guide in 1963 and 1964 represented a continuation of the government project. Neither of the previously developed outlines claimed to be the final product of the curriculum project.

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<sup>2</sup>Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 13, 1962, p. 8.

Although not disclosing any definite plans for the future of the project, the memorandum which accompanied the distribution of the first outline guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government," referred to it as a "tentative outline" and alluded to its "further development and refinement."<sup>3</sup> The first attempt to provide this "further development" resulted in the publication of the communism outline guide in May of 1962. This guide, Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom, provided a content outline to be used in expanding the comparative government section of the first guide and its introduction indicated that the second guide was also "subject to revision."<sup>4</sup> The only revision of the guide was the addition to the bibliography in 1962 of A Study of Communism by J. Edgar Hoover.<sup>5</sup> This addition resulted from the concern expressed by members of the State Board of Education regarding the limited bibliography in the second guide. At the time of their approval of the second outline guide in April, 1962, the State Board of Education instructed the staff to continue reviewing materials for use in the unit on communism.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Woodrow W. Wilkerson, A. Gordon Brooks, and Franklin A. Cain, Jr. to Division Superintendents, Superintendent's Memorandum, number 3881, September 16, 1960.

<sup>4</sup> Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom (Richmond, Virginia: State Board of Education, May 1962), p. iv.

<sup>5</sup> Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXII (December 7, 1962), p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> Richmond Times-Dispatch, May 1, 1961, p. 2, cols. 4-6.

The need for what the superintendent's annual report in 1963 called a "more complete guide"<sup>7</sup> was not substantiated by survey, teacher requests, nor public outcry. Martin A. Tarter, Jr., a member of the staff of the State Department of Education at the time of the development of the third guide, indicated that there was a "feeling" that more than an outline was needed and that the department encountered "some demand for more" than had been provided.<sup>8</sup> Harry L. Smith, Director of Information and Publications for the State Department of Education, referred to the "problem" of depth in the first two guides.<sup>9</sup>

The method established for developing guide three resembled the one used in preparing the two previous outline guides. The three components were a committee composed of teachers and a director of instruction for a school division; staff members of the History, Government, and Geography Service of the State Department of Education; and a Review Committee consisting of representatives of business, industry, law, and education.

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<sup>7</sup>Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia, 1963-1964, Vol. 47  
(Richmond, Virginia: State Board of Education, September 1964)  
p. 56.

<sup>8</sup>Statement of Martin A. Tarter, Jr., former Assistant Supervisor, State Department of Education, personal interview, February 11, 1976.

<sup>9</sup>Statement of Harry L. Smith, Director of Information and Publications, Virginia State Department of Education, personal interview, December 16, 1976.

In May of 1963, members of the Teacher Committee which developed the two previous guides received notification that the committee was being reactivated. Gerald L. Quirk, who was serving as Director of Secondary Education at the State Department of Education, invited the original members of the committee to begin "revising and developing the tentative outline for government including Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom."<sup>10</sup> The members of the original committee who agreed to serve in the development of the third guide were Mary Mobray Branch, government teacher in King William County; Zada D. Carver, teacher of government in Richmond; Cecil Doss, teacher of economics in Franklin County; Ralph Racer, teacher of economics in Lynchburg; and Frank O. Smith, government teacher in Roanoke.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Quirk added four new members to the committee. They were Thomas P. Burke, Jr., Director of Instruction in Dinwiddie County; Patsy Jane Clement, government teacher in Pittsylvania County; Elizabeth Denny, government teacher in Warren County; and France Brinkley, government teacher in Richmond.<sup>12</sup> Two members of the original teacher committee, Martin A. Tarter,

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<sup>10</sup>G. L. Quirk to Mary Branch, copy, May 5, 1963 (Files of History, Government, and Geography Service of the Virginia State Department of Education). Hereafter these files are cited as HGGS.

<sup>11</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," HGGS, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup>G. L. Quirk to France M. Brinkley, copy, May 2, 1963, HGGS.

Jr. and Elizabeth Ellmore, were assistant supervisors with the State Department of Education by the time the work began on the third guide. Tarter was Assistant Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography in the Division of Secondary Education, and Ellmore was Assistant Supervisor of Elementary Education.<sup>13</sup> Both continued their involvement in the government curriculum project.

The members of the staff of the History, Government, and Geography Service assumed the leadership roles in the development of the guide. Working under the direction of Franklin A. Cain, Jr., Supervisor of History, Government and Geography and director of the government project from its inception, were three assistant supervisors. They were Martin A. Tarter, Jr., Emmett G. Shufflebarger, and Elizabeth Jordan.<sup>14</sup> Thomas P. Burke, Jr., member of the Teacher Committee and former Director of Instruction in Dinwiddie County, became an assistant supervisor in February of 1964, and in September of 1964, succeeded Franklin Cain as Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography.<sup>15</sup>

Cain divided the staff members and the Teacher Committee members into small groups to work on the development of

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<sup>13</sup>"Instructional Materials for Use in Senior Government Course," p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Statement by Emmett G. Shufflebarger, former Assistant Supervisor, State Department of Education, personal interview, January 14, 1977.

<sup>15</sup>"From the Three Corners of the Old Dominion," Virginia Journal of Education, LVIII (May 1965), p. 52-55.

specific units. The members of the Teacher Committee submitted their ideas and recommendations to the staff member assigned to the units they were to develop, and the staff members did the actual writing of the units. Although the guide did not acknowledge its authorship, most of the writing was done by Franklin Cain and Martin Tarter.<sup>16</sup>

The first meeting of the Teacher Committee to plan the development of the third guide was May 17 and 18, 1963.<sup>17</sup> Although no minutes were kept, committee members recalled meeting as a group with the staff on several occasions; and all the members of the committee had the opportunity of reviewing the complete work. Cain assigned Zada Carver, Frank Smith, Thomas Burke, Mary Branch, France Brinkley, and Elizabeth Ellmore to work on the units that were considered to be traditional government units. These dealt with the development of the United States government, the structure of government on all three levels, and the United States in relation to world affairs.<sup>18</sup> The two economics teachers on the committee, Cecil Doss and Ralph Racer, worked on the economics units,<sup>19</sup> and Patsy Clement and Elizabeth Denny worked

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<sup>16</sup>Statement of Thomas P. Burke, Jr., former Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, State Department of Education, personal interview, February 10, 1976; Shufflebarger, interview.

<sup>17</sup>G. L. Quirk to Elizabeth Denny, copy, May 2, 1963, HGGS.

<sup>18</sup>Shufflebarger, interview.

<sup>19</sup>Statement of Cecil Doss, former teacher, personal interview, February 26, 1976.

on the communism unit.<sup>20</sup>

Since the communism unit traditionally was not included as a unit of study in the government course, extreme care was given to its development. In addition to being government teachers, both Denny and Clement had special training in teaching about communism. In the summer of 1962, Clement had attended an intensive teacher institute on the nature of communism at Vanderbilt University, and the same year, Denny had attended a similar institute at the University of South Carolina. Denny and Clement worked with Tarter, who directed the work on the unit on communism and did the actual writing.<sup>21</sup> Using the second outline guide, Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom, as background for their work, the teachers developed topics for inclusion and submitted them to Tarter.

The State Department of Education submitted the guide to the same Review Committee which worked with the department in the development of the first two guides. This committee, which was described in chapter three of this study, consisted of twenty-five representatives of business, industry, government, law, and education. Members of the Review Committee examined the work of the staff and the Teacher Committee before its submission to the Textbook and Curriculum Committee of the

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<sup>20</sup>Statement of Patsy J. Clement, teacher, personal interview, October 15, 1975.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

State Board of Education. The State Department of Education kept no minutes of meetings of the Review Committee and no records which reflected suggestions made by the committee. The Review Committee did not participate in the research or writing of the guide but served as a sounding board for the work of the Teacher Committee and the staff of the State Department of Education. The Review Committee's endorsement of the project did much to assure its acceptance throughout the state.<sup>22</sup>

Following approval by the Review Committee, the State Department of Education submitted the guide to the State Board of Education for approval. The committees and the staff completed their work in the summer of 1964, approximately fifteen months after work began on the third guide and five years after the initiation of the government curriculum project.

#### STATE BOARD APPROVAL OF THE THIRD GUIDE

Meeting in Hot Springs on August 24 through August 26, 1964, the State Board of Education approved the expanded government curriculum guide. Anne Dobie Peebles, member of the board and chairperson of the board's Textbook and Curriculum Committee, reviewed the instructional guide and recommended its approval.<sup>23</sup> Members of the board suggested some minor changes

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<sup>22</sup>Statement of Franklin A. Cain, Jr., former Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, State Department of Education, personal interview, February 17, 1976.

<sup>23</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (August 24-26, 1964), p. 78.

in the guide. Lewis Powell, a board member who had been active in promoting the development of the unit on communism, suggested that the table of contents include more subtopics, and the board concurred. In addition, Powell suggested that the board consider preparing a separate bibliography on reports prepared by the House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security.<sup>24</sup> Powell did not insist on his proposal, and the board took no action on it at the August meeting. Powell's proposal was reminiscent of the earlier unsuccessful attempt by the Commission on Constitutional Government to prepare a student manual consisting of excerpts from the papers of these two committees. The commission abandoned this effort after it became known that the researcher who was preparing the manual was a member of the John Birch Society. At the September meeting, the State Board of Education did consider adding to the bibliography but decided that "further expansion seemed to be unnecessary because of the guide's comprehensiveness."<sup>25</sup>

Other suggestions included making the publication "highly attractive" and giving it a "title having more attention getting potential"<sup>26</sup> than the recommended title, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (September 25, 1964), p. 85.

<sup>26</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (August 24-26, 1964), p. 78.

At the September meeting of the State Board of Education, Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, reported that "an attractive cover" had been designed "showing the Capitol of the United States and the Capitol of Virginia."<sup>27</sup> Instead of changing the title as suggested by a member of the board, Wilkerson reported that the descriptive phrase, "Principles of American Political and Economic Freedom," had been added.<sup>28</sup>

#### REACTION TO THE THIRD GUIDE

Wilkerson reported to the board at its September, 1964, meeting concerning the reception given to the guide by publishers and editors of Virginia newspapers. He indicated widespread approval and enthusiasm for the product of what an editorial in The Richmond News Leader called "five years of dedicated labor of the State Department of Education."<sup>29</sup> The editorial referred to the instructional guide as a "genuinely thrilling volume" and called it a "boldly revolutionary venture."<sup>30</sup> Noting that nothing like this guide existed in the nation, the editorial denounced what it called "professional educationists" who for twenty-five years had downgraded the

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<sup>27</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (September 25, 1964), p. 85.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>The Richmond News Leader, September 2, 1964, p. 10, cols. 1-2.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

Constitution, left economics to the colleges, and had shunned any "partisan position on communism."<sup>31</sup> The editorial commended the Virginia guide for "combining a study of American political and economic institutions and affirmatively educating students in the values of a free society."<sup>32</sup> The concluding statement was that the "pale pink educationist, reading this heretical course guide [was] likely to turn red with fury."<sup>33</sup> Not only was this editorial reprinted in other Virginia newspapers, but James J. Kilpatrick, editor of The Richmond News Leader, also reviewed the guide in his syndicated column. Other papers in the state carried articles about the guide, and the Danville Register devoted front page coverage to the new publication.<sup>34</sup> At the September meeting of the State Board of Education, Wilkerson reported to the board that newspaper coverage had resulted in over fifty requests for copies of the guide in a time period of three weeks.<sup>35</sup> An article in Public Education in Virginia in the Spring of 1965 noted that requests for copies of the guide came from over thirty states. Responses received by the State Department of Education included such favorable comments as "a superb

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (September 25, 1964), p. 85.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

scholarly work" and "a practical and useful booklet which should eventually do much to improve the teaching of government."<sup>36</sup> The State Department of Education characterized the overall reaction to the guide as "an enthusiastic reception by laymen and educators."<sup>37</sup>

School divisions received copies of the guide in November of 1964 with the admonition that it be used as a resource for "teachers of Virginia and United States Government as they plan for instruction, and [for] supervisors, teachers, and others as they develop curricular materials on the local level."<sup>38</sup> Although not mandating use of the guide, the State Department of Education made copies available to all teachers of government and recommended its use. Members of the staff conducted workshops to acquaint teachers with the guide, and beginning in the 1964-1965 school year, the guide received widespread usage.<sup>39</sup>

In 1967, the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge awarded its George Washington Honor Medal to the State Department of Education in recognition of An Instructional Guide for

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<sup>36</sup>"New Government Guide Termed 'Scholarly,' 'Thrilling Volume,'" Public Education in Virginia, I (Spring 1965), p. 12.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. i.

<sup>39</sup>Shufflebarger, interview; Tarter, interview.

Virginia and United States Government.<sup>40</sup> The Freedoms Foundation charter described the purpose of the organization as creating and building "an understanding of the spirit and philosophy of the Constitution and Bill of Rights and our indivisible bundle of political and economic rights inherent in them."<sup>41</sup> Since 1949, the foundation has recognized individuals and groups whose activities "contribute to responsible citizenship and inspire love of country."<sup>42</sup> Wilkerson accepted the award, which was a part of the foundation's governmental unit activities category, and noted that the medal was given in recognition of the guide and its unique features in "emphasizing the basic principles of the American economic system" as well as contrasting the "American system of freedom under law with communism and other totalitarian systems."<sup>43</sup>

#### DISTRIBUTION OF THE THIRD GUIDE

Several aspects of the process of distribution of the guide for review suggested the board's concern for some of the potentially controversial elements. This concern focused on

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<sup>40</sup>"Freedoms Foundation Award Given Department," Public Education in Virginia, 3 (Fall 1967), p. 18.

<sup>41</sup>"Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, 1776-1976," Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, 1976, p. 5.

<sup>42</sup>"Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge, 1776-1976," p. 6.

<sup>43</sup>"Freedoms Foundation Award Given Department."

what Wilkerson called the guide's "unique"<sup>44</sup> features, the units on communism and economics. Neither of these units was a traditional part of the government curriculum. Both the concern that these topics would be controversial and the fact that the department had received requests and suggestions concerning their inclusion in the social studies curriculum led the board to solicit prior approval for the guide from persons and groups outside of education. The State Board of Education requested that pre-publication copies of the guide be sent to "appropriate school personnel, local governing bodies, editors of newspapers, and national columnists in order to get reactions prior to wide dissemination of the guide."<sup>45</sup> This was an unusual request since curriculum materials traditionally were not sent to newspapers and columnists for review. The action indicated the board's interest in avoiding criticism that could have resulted from the controversial elements in the guide. Wilkerson reported at the September, 1964, board meeting that he had personally contacted publishers and editors throughout the state and had sent copies of the guide to governmental officials on both the state and local levels. Another group to receive copies of the guide were those referred to by the State Department of Education as "various

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<sup>44</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. i.

<sup>45</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (August 24-26, 1964), p. 78.

business and civic organizations."<sup>46</sup> Sending copies to members of the business community was not surprising in light of the prominent role played by this group in initiating the whole government project through expression of their concern for the status of economic education. The State Board of Education and the Department of Education exhibited cautiousness in seeking the endorsement of the press, government officials, and representatives of business after the guide had already been approved by the Review Committee consisting of representatives of business, industry, law, and education.

Although some superintendents of schools received advance copies of the guide, the State Board of Education proposed no vehicle of communication with the teachers before distribution of the guide. Neither the board nor the Department of Education sought endorsements from organized teacher groups such as the Virginia Education Association and the Virginia Council for the Social Studies. They proposed no pilot program for field testing the guide and offered no plan for gaining reactions of teachers or students. The board requested no reviews from curriculum experts, political scientists, nor from scholarly journals in the fields of education and political science. The board's concern was clearly for good reviews in the newspapers and for acceptance of the guide by leaders of business, industry, and government rather than for approval by those who would ultimately use the guide.

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

## SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

Over a decade after the publication of the third guide, the State Department of Education continued to distribute it. In 1975, Geralene M. Sutton, Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, acknowledged that the department still received requests for the guide and that they had made two unsuccessful attempts to revise it.<sup>47</sup> Lack of funds prohibited the revisions.

Pressures for curriculum changes did not end with the implementation of the third guide. The government project began in 1959 with accusations of economic illiteracy among high school students, and economic education continued to be an area of emphasis and concern. In April, 1965, the Superintendent of Public Instruction appointed a thirty-three member committee to advise the State Department of Education relative to an economic education program. The program included the development of guides for the required Virginia and United States History course and Civics, offered as an elective in grades eight and nine. In addition, the economics program resulted in the production of an economics guide for use in the elementary curriculum and the revision of teacher certification requirements to provide a stronger background in economics. The Advisory Council on Economic Education consisted of persons prominent in the fields of law, government,

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<sup>47</sup>Statement of Geralene M. Sutton, Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, State Department of Education, personal interview, August 6, 1975.

education, commerce, and production. Seven of the members of this council also served on the Review Committee for the government project.<sup>48</sup>

In 1973, the State Board of Education adopted a policy which required that

The course in Virginia and United States Government which is required for graduation from a Virginia public high school shall include, beginning September 1, 1973, a unit of instruction on the free enterprise system.<sup>49</sup>

To implement this edict, the State Department of Education reprinted the economic units from An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government and distributed them to schools under the title, The American Free Enterprise System. The necessity to reprint a part of the 1964 guide seemed to indicate that by 1973 it was no longer in wide usage. By that time the threat of communism, which had focused attention on the guide, was no longer the emotional issue that it had been in the late fifties and early sixties.

ORGANIZATION AND FORMAT OF THE THIRD GUIDE,  
AN INSTRUCTIONAL GUIDE FOR  
VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The introduction to An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government suggested that the purpose of the

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<sup>48</sup>"Advisory Council Is Appointed for Economic Education Program," Public Education in Virginia, Vol. 1 (Summer 1965), p. 12.

<sup>49</sup>The American Free Enterprise System, Virginia State Department of Education, March 1974, p. iii.

guide was to give "a sense of direction"<sup>50</sup> and to provide practical suggestions for teachers of the Virginia and United States Government course. Woodrow Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, suggested that the guide be used as a resource for local development of curricular materials, and the introduction referred to it as a "teaching tool."<sup>51</sup>

The guide included six units of study in what was referred to as a "developmental approach to the study of government."<sup>52</sup> The suggested sequence began with a unit on the historical development of the United States government. The second unit provided for study of the structure of government on all three levels with major emphasis being placed on national government. Although the course was officially known as "Virginia and United States Government," the content provided in the instructional guide indicated primarily a study of the government on the national level. Unit two devoted less than two of its seventeen pages to the analysis of state government. Unit three was a study of the "Basic Principles and Institutions Underlying the Organization of Our Economic System," and unit four presented the operation of the government and the economy. The rationale given for studying these four topics at the beginning of the course was to give students a basic understanding of the American governmental

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<sup>50</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 1.

<sup>51</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 1-2.

and economic systems and to provide a frame of reference for studying unit five, "Totalitarianism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom," and unit six, "The United States and World Affairs."<sup>53</sup>

The State Department of Education did not require the use of the instructional guide but the introduction left no doubt that its intent was "to modify and broaden the scope of the government course."<sup>54</sup> Referring to four units as traditional, the guide labeled the third unit, "Basic Principles and Institutions Underlying the Organization of Our Economic System," and the fifth unit, "Totalitarianism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom," as "major departures"<sup>55</sup> from the usual content of the government course. These two units comprised 115 of the 177 pages of the guide. The in-depth coverage of these topics was not surprising since communism and economics were the major areas of emphasis throughout the process of developing the three government guides.

Each of the six units of An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government included a content outline and an introduction which explained the nature of the unit and its objectives. Following the introduction, the guide listed each topic of the outline with related comments. In each unit, the "Related Comments" section provided the

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

teacher with a detailed content analysis of each topic.

The introduction to the guide admitted that no attempt was made to provide "day-by-day instructions for teaching the course."<sup>56</sup> The guide left to teachers the task of adapting the material to their particular needs and situations. The guide provided no suggested teaching procedures, offered no recommended student activities, and proposed no methods for promoting student involvement and participation.

Some of the units included a list of sources at the end of the unit while others referred to resource material in the text of the "Related Comments" section. The recommended sources did not include audio-visual materials. The guide provided a bibliography consisting of eighty-five entries and assigned a code to each entry to distinguish those recommended for student use from those suggested for teacher use. The overwhelming majority of the entries related to communism. Fifty-three of the eighty-five bibliographic entries concerned communism, ten were general histories that included information about communism, and four related to the study of totalitarianism in general.

OVERVIEW OF UNITS RELATING TO GOVERNMENT,  
(UNITS I, II, AND VI)

Unit I, "Origin and Development of United States Government," provided a seven-page outline of the history of American legal, political, and Constitutional principles. In

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

very straightforward and direct manner, Unit I provided outlines and examples to facilitate an understanding of nine basic concepts which "students might be expected to develop."<sup>57</sup> These basic principles included the concept that the "American self-government had its roots in the Old World and evolved through the contributions of many people over a long period of time."<sup>58</sup> The guide suggested that students study Greek, Roman, and British contributions to self-government as well as the American colonial experience and the influence of the ideas of the European philosophers on American governmental thought.<sup>59</sup> The guide recommended that two weeks be devoted to the first unit.<sup>60</sup>

Unit II, "Structure of Government," provided content which formerly would have constituted most of the government course. The guide emphasized the necessity of restricting the study and limiting the time given to content related to structure in order to have time for the units on communism and economics. Unit II provided for the study of basic concepts underlying the American political system and the organization and operation of government on local, state, and national levels.<sup>61</sup> Recommending eleven weeks study, this unit

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<sup>57</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 8.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 14-15.

attempted to acquaint students with the ideas and processes of government rather than conducting a detailed study of the agencies and bureaus of government. The use of a topical approach involved relating such concepts as popular sovereignty to corresponding sections of the Constitution.

Unit VI, "The United States and World Affairs," was a seven-page unit recommended for three weeks study. Presenting an overview of American foreign policy, the unit listed eleven basic understandings that students should develop from the study. Recommending that these not be given to the student in advance, the guide implied that students should embrace these concepts but did not need to know the objectives of their study. The basic understandings included such non-judgmental statements as, "The Congress, especially the Senate, has a voice in making and conducting foreign policy," and "The conduct of foreign affairs has been historically and legally a responsibility of the executive branch of government with the greatest responsibility in the Presidency."<sup>62</sup> The list also included subjective statements. For example, a statement related to the communism topic developed in Unit V suggested that combating the spread of communist ideas and power was "a major challenge of the American policy."<sup>63</sup>

The style of the writing used in Units I, II, and VI was clear and concise. These three units offered teachers an

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<sup>62</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 168.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

organizational tool for developing their government units, and most of the content was traditional to the government course. The major topics developed in Units I, II, and VI were similar to topics in "Virginia and U. S. Government," the first guide developed by the State Department of Education in 1959 and 1960. The main headings of the outline of Unit I of the third guide corresponded very closely to the first topic in the first outline guide. Unit II of the third guide incorporated most of the topics included under "Structure of Government" in the first outline guide but organized them in a different manner and included some additional topics. One of the third guide's major topics, "Basic Concepts and Institutions Underlying Our Political System," was not a part of the first guide.

The topics included in "The United States and World Affairs," Unit VI of guide three, were similar to a section in the first guide referred to as "World Affairs and Our Government." Both called for the study of the United States foreign policy and current relationship between the United States and foreign countries. One basic difference in the two guides was that the first guide contained a topic on comparative government which listed as topics for study democracy, socialism, communism, fascism, and monarchy. These topics were not a part of the foreign affairs unit of the third guide, but a separate unit, Unit V of guide three, presented an in-depth treatment of communism. Although the third guide, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government,

contained many of the same topics as the first guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government," the first guide was a skeletal outline while guide three was a comprehensive instructional guide.

OVERVIEW OF UNITS RELATING TO ECONOMICS  
(UNIT III AND UNIT IV)

Units III and IV provided fifty pages to assist teachers in developing topics related to economics. The introduction to Unit III, "The Basic Principles and Beliefs Underlying the Organization of Our Economic System," characterized this unit as a "major modification in the usual approach to the teaching of Virginia and United States Government."<sup>64</sup> The course, as traditionally taught, provided for little more than a study of national, state, and local governmental structure, and Unit III departed from this by presenting the "nature of institutions and beliefs which constitute and make possible the functioning"<sup>65</sup> of the American economic system.

Topic A of Unit III, "Why Economic Systems Exist," provided information for teachers to use in exploring the nature of basic economic problems and dealing with basic economic questions. Topic B of Unit III, "Basic Principles and Institutions of Our Economic System," outlined and explained four major principles. These included private property rights and responsibilities, the market mechanism, freedom of

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<sup>64</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 37.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

economic choice, and government the servant of the people. The guide devoted thirteen pages to an analysis of what was identified as the market mechanism and gave a detailed account of the operation of supply and demand, profit motive, price system, and competition. The unit provided an example of what was called a "specific market in operation,"<sup>66</sup> using as examples, "Party A" who had the idea and ability to produce a product, and "Party B" who was a potential consumer. The unit cited no examples of real people in relation to real situations.

The unit tended to oversimplify some complex topics. For example, the unit suggested that the two ways of coordinating the economic activities of millions of people were coercion such as that used in totalitarian states and voluntary cooperation of individuals. The guide acknowledged neither the role of government regulation nor the example of economies that contain both voluntary cooperation and coercion. Another example of oversimplification related to a statement that the law of supply and demand determined wages in a free economy.<sup>67</sup> The unit completely ignored the role of minimum wage laws and the influence of labor unions in determining wages.

Unit IV, "Relation of Our Government, Economy, and the Public," provided assistance for teachers in developing four topics. These were "Business, Labor, and Government;" "Agriculture and Government;" "Government Finance and Our

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<sup>66</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 59.

<sup>67</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 70.

Monetary System;" and "Conservation and Other Public Services." The unit included only ten pages but recommended seven weeks of study. The purpose was "to consider what government is attempting to do and to investigate such polemics as what action government should pursue and how...those which are undertaken [could] be accomplished more effectively while at the same time preserving such values as individual liberty."<sup>68</sup> The topics included in Unit IV were traditional to the government course although the organization differed from the presentation made in the first outline guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government." The first guide took an economic approach by analyzing government finances and services while Unit IV of the third guide placed emphasis on the relationship between the economic and political sectors.

The guide recommended that eleven weeks of the government class be devoted to the study of the two economic units, Unit III and Unit IV. Devoting almost one third of the year to topics related to economics affirmed the strong commitment to the economic education which had been apparent since the government project began in 1959.

ANALYSIS OF UNIT V,  
TOTALITARIANISM IN CONTRAST WITH THE PRINCIPLES  
OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

In the preface to An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government, Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Super-

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<sup>68</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 81.

intendent of Public Instruction called the publication "unique"<sup>69</sup> because of the inclusion of Unit III on economics and Unit V on communism. Although both units represented an addition to the usual content of the government course, unit five, "Totalitarianism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom," became the focal point of the instructional guide. Some teachers who used the guide referred to the whole guide as the communism unit. Even though its title implied a general study of totalitarianism, Unit V dealt exclusively with communism. Neither the outline nor the "Related Comments" section contained references to any totalitarian system other than communism. The introduction indicated the intent of the unit was to "provide students with the opportunity to investigate formally the nature of totalitarian systems."<sup>70</sup> Naming communism and fascism as examples of totalitarian systems, the introduction offered three reasons for studying only communism. First, the guide contended that the similarity of totalitarian consequences made it unnecessary to study both communism and fascism. The second reason was the belief that communism represented a greater threat to contemporary American society than fascism. Third, the guide indicated that fascism was much easier to understand than communism and, therefore, did not need to be included. The guide admonished teachers to point out the similarities between communism and fascism but offered no

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<sup>69</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. i.

<sup>70</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 95.

assistance in doing this with the exception of listing six books related to fascism.

The writing style employed in unit five resembled a formal research paper more than a conventional curriculum guide. Although its expressed purpose was to provide teachers and students with an understanding of Marxism, use of the guide required an understanding of Marxian terminology. In attempting to provide teachers and students with a basic understanding of Marxist principles, the unit used such phrases as "dialectical consequences,"<sup>71</sup> "materialist interpretation of history,"<sup>72</sup> "economic determinism,"<sup>73</sup> "elusive bolshevik axioms,"<sup>74</sup> and "delineated ideology."<sup>75</sup>

The frequent use of quotations from secondary sources added to the authoritativeness of the unit, but these quotations also employed technical and scholarly terminology. An example of the type of quotations used was the following excerpt from R. N. Carew's, The Theory and Practice of Communism. Carew, describing the shortcomings of Marx's theory of class struggle, suggested that:

Marx's thesis that all conflict among men arises from the class struggle, albeit of undoubted tactical value as calculated to

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<sup>71</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 117.

<sup>72</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 115.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 112.

<sup>75</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 106.

convince the masses that their misfortunes are attributable to the capitalist system and will disappear with the victory of the proletariat is none the less fallacious. For the supreme source of conflict in life is the inevitable opposition between the claims of the individual and those of society--a conflict which is not resolved (even were it desirable that it should be) because it is a part of the unchanging human situation.<sup>76</sup>

The terminology used in unit five in both the quotations and the text material required that teachers with limited knowledge of communism engage in intensive study.

Unit five, "Totalitarianism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom," included three major topics. Topic A was the "Origin and Development of Marxism." Topic B provided for study of the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Contrast With the United States of America," and Topic C was "Basic Goal--Spread of Communism for World Control."

Topic A provided the historical background for the development of Marxism and justified this approach by suggesting that it was "impossible to understand Communist activity without a knowledge of the system upon which it [rested]."<sup>77</sup> Beginning with a topic on conditions affecting the radical movements of the Nineteenth Century, Topic A included information about the impact of the Industrial Revolution on traditional life, offered a description of the economic and

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<sup>76</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 117-118, citing Carew Hunt, The Theory and Practice of Communism (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 43.

<sup>77</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 100.

political diversity in Europe in the Nineteenth Century, and summarized the major ideas of the Utopian socialist thinkers.

The second part of Topic A, entitled "Advent of dialectical materialism (communism)," included subtopics on Marx and Engels, Marx's dialectical theory, historical materialism, and surplus theory of value. In dealing with these topics, the writer of unit five employed a variety of tactics. Some paragraphs were lengthy descriptions and interpretations of information about communism while others surveyed basic content related to particular subtopics.

In addition to citing sources for additional information, the unit referred to interpretations of Marxian ideas made by contemporary writers. The guide also made suggestions concerning desired student outcomes. For example, the unit summarized what was called "pertinent points"<sup>78</sup> about the French socialist movement and then suggested that by knowing these characteristics, students "should be able to see better how Marx borrowed from and was influenced by the French socialists."<sup>79</sup>

Topic A of Unit V of the third guide, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government, paralleled very closely the first topic of the second outline guide, Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom.

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<sup>78</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 102.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

The basic difference was that the second guide provided only a content outline consisting of ten pages, while the third guide included twenty-four pages of "Related Comments" in addition to the outline. The two guides differed in the emphasis placed on certain topics. For example, guide three placed more emphasis on the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the rise of socialist thought in the Nineteenth Century by including it as a separate topic with related comments. Guide two listed Industrial Revolution as a subtopic and without explanation.

Topic B. "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Contrast with the United States of America," included two major subtopics. The first was "People of the Soviet Socialist Republic--Servants of the Government," and the second subtopic was "Consequences of Russian Communism upon the Institutions of Liberty and Individual Freedom." Although the title of Topic B indicated contrast between the United States and the Soviet Union, most of the material in the outline and the "Related Comments" section dealt directly with Soviet institutions and the relationship of Soviet citizens to their government. The only attempt to draw direct contrasts was a list of seventeen briefly stated items comparing the two systems. The guide claimed that information about the American system was not necessary because the students should be able to make comparisons based on what they already knew about the American system. The seventeen comparative items tended to oversimplify or exaggerate differences between the two systems

and often compared the worst features of the Soviet system with the ideals of the American system. For example, one comparison held that "the Communist Party does not allow the people to amend or alter the existing government," while in the United States, "free men are allowed to amend or alter their government."<sup>80</sup> Although a true statement of philosophy of American government, the simplicity of the statement implied that the United States government could be changed at will, and it provided no explanation of process of change or limitations placed on change. Another comparison was in the area of informing the public of government activities. The guide made the claim that in the Soviet Union, the state seldom gave "true figures or facts"<sup>81</sup> and slanted the news to suit the best interest of the Communist Party. In contrast, the guide indicated that the United States passed legislation in open sessions and the free press kept people informed. Not only was this a comparison of two dissimilar items, but no mention was made of American legislative procedure, not all of which should be classified as open, nor of slanted news stories and the possibility of misrepresentation of the news by public officials. After stating that the Soviet government slanted the news and indicating that officials silenced

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<sup>80</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 126-127.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

criticism by "terror, force, and intimidation,"<sup>82</sup> the guide listed six common criticisms of the Soviet economy and used the Soviet press as the source for the criticisms. These examples seemed to negate the guide's contention that all the news was slanted and that all opposition was silenced.

The outline for Topic B included the basic organization of the Soviet government and the Communist Party but the "Related Comments" section dealt in generalities about the totalitarian nature of government. Most of the related comments specifically dealt with the consequences of "Russian Communism and the institutions of liberty and individual freedom."<sup>83</sup> Topics discussed included the Soviet government monopoly over property; government control over the market, competition, and individual initiative and choice; restrictions on freedom of choice; and subordination of the individual and social institutions. The subtopic, "Subordination of the individual and social institutions" was in more detail than the others and described Soviet control over individual rights, the administration of totalitarian law and terror, the family under communism, religion under communism, educational control, and regulation of entertainment and the arts. In all of these areas the guide cited examples to show conformity, regimentation, and oppression in the Soviet life style. For example, when describing the family under communism, the guide

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

<sup>83</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 124-125.

summarized Lenin's attempt to "split the family asunder"<sup>84</sup> by encouraging children to report on anti-communist teachings of their parents, reducing disciplinary authority, eliminating all but health restrictions on marriage, and doing away with divorce restraints. Citing only secondary sources, the guide gave no indication of the success of Lenin's plan, and the reader could easily assume that no family ties remained. Using generalizations from How the Soviet System Works by Raymond Bauer, Alex Inkeles, and Clyde Kluckhohn, the guide listed sources of frustration in Soviet family life as being conflicts between parents and children over political issues, the lack of privacy afforded by inadequate housing, the irritability of family members because of their poor conditions and anxiety over conditions outside the family, and a lack of time to spend together because of the demands of jobs and responsibilities.<sup>85</sup> Although these were cited as evidence of devastation of the family in the Soviet Union, most of these observations could be considered characteristic of family life in non-communist as well as communist nations. In addition, inadequate housing, anxiety over conditions outside of the family, and poor conditions were concerns of Russians before the Communist takeover in 1917.

Topic B of An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government corresponded with Topic IV of the

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<sup>84</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 139.

<sup>85</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 139-140.

second outline guide, Communism in Contrast with the Principles of American Freedom. These two sections followed basically the same outline, but some reorganization occurred in coverage given the Soviet economy. Guide three concentrated more on aspects of central planning while guide two placed emphasis on the effect of the economy on the individual. The section on subordination of the individual represented a major part of both guides. Twenty pages of related comments enabled guide three to expand the treatment of the relationship of people and institutions to the government of the Soviet Union.

Topic C, "Basic Goal--Spread of Communism for World Control," provided an "opportunity for students to develop an understanding of the strategy, organization, and methods employed by the Communist movement to...accomplish their goal of world control."<sup>86</sup> The three subtopics for Topic C provided information relative to the three goals expressed in this statement of rationale.

The first of the subtopics was strategy, and the related comments section devoted four pages to information about communist design for international expansion. The subtopic on strategy consisted almost entirely of quotations. The quotations came from a variety of authoritative sources but none came from communist works. Many of the quotations dealt with Lenin's contributions to communist strategy, but Lenin, a prolific writer, was not quoted. Some of the secondary sources

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<sup>86</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 147.

quoted in the guide used complex terminology to explain simple concepts. For example, a quotation used to summarize Lenin's role in fashioning communist strategy referred to it as a "masterpiece of dialectical legerdemain and political improvisation."<sup>87</sup>

The second part of Topic C provided a sketch of what it called "machinery" used in implementing the philosophy of world control. Devoting only three pages to this discussion, the guide admonished students and teachers to study the Communist Party of the United States as an example of the extension of Soviet influence to other countries and listed resources to use in the study.

The third part of Topic C devoted ten pages to "specific techniques employed to facilitate the communist policy of international control."<sup>88</sup> The tactics discussed included infiltration and usurpation; propaganda, deception and agitation; espionage and sabotage; civil war and strife; direct aggression and pressure; international crises and dilemmas; and economic and technical agreements and aid. The unit utilized some historical examples to substantiate these tactics, but most of the explanatory information was in the form of generalizations. For example, in describing communist attempts to exploit the American desire for peace, the guide indicated that "not only has this means of deceit been used in

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<sup>87</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 149.

<sup>88</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 155-164.

propaganda and by organized fronts," but also "in negotiations and in treaties such as Yalta."<sup>89</sup> The guide offered no explanation of the activities surrounding the agreements at Yalta.

Topic C of Unit V of An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government included the major items listed in Topic II and Topic III in the second outline guide. The major difference was the organization of the content in the two guides. The second outline guide provided a separate historical topic dealing with the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the preceding events while Topic C of the third guide integrated information about the revolution into the topical study. The third guide used the Russian revolution as an example when discussing such topics as infiltration and usurpation; propaganda, deception and agitation; and civil strife and war. Another change in the third guide was the addition of examples of communist activities in the United States under these same topics. Guide three included no information relative to Russian history prior to the communist takeover in 1917 and made no distinction between the two revolutions which occurred in that year. Guide two offered a sketchy overview of Russian history and included both revolutions. Using the topical rather than chronological approach, Topic C did not provide the basis for development of an historical perspective for Soviet communism.

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<sup>89</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 164.

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNIT V OF AN INSTRUCTIONAL  
GUIDE FOR VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AS  
CONTRASTED WITH OTHER GUIDES

In 1963, Roland F. Gray conducted a nation-wide survey and study of curriculum guides for teaching about communism, and an article in the February, 1964, issue of Social Education summarized his findings. After studying guides and guidelines from twenty-five states, Gray concluded that many of them had common characteristics. Gray identified eight areas of similarity among the guides and some of these were also characteristic of the communism unit in An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government.

The first of Gray's observations was that the communism guides often assumed that communism was a total evil and in complete opposition to all democratic principles. Topic B of the totalitarianism unit of An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government pointed out areas of conflict between communism and democratic principles. Although not identifying communism as totally evil or in opposition to all democratic principles, the presentation of the comparisons would leave the teacher or student with this impression.

Second, Gray suggested that there was "a marked tendency to contrast the darkest realities of communism in the Soviet Union with the noblest ideals of American democracy."<sup>90</sup> The list of seventeen comparisons between the Soviet Union and

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<sup>90</sup>Roland F. Gray, "Teaching About Communism: A Survey of Objectives," Social Education, XXVIII (February 1964), pp. 71-72, 80.

the United States in Topic B of the totalitarianism unit included some items that exemplified this characteristic. For example, one comparison indicated that in the Soviet Union, there was "no free exercise of opinion on matters of government policy" while in the United States "free people shaped government policies."<sup>91</sup> Although expressing an ideal of American governmental procedure, this comparison ignored the role of influences from special interest groups in effecting change in government policy and the difficulty that citizens encounter in bringing about governmental change.

Third, Gray concluded that most of the guides had a tendency to "use broad sweeping generalizations composed of emotionally loaded words."<sup>92</sup> The Virginia guide used generalizations but emotionally charged words were not characteristic of the guide. Although not using such terms as deceitful, enslaving, and menace, the instructional guide used some words to describe democracy that implied approval and some to describe communism that implied disapproval. For example, an objective for studying Marxism referred to Marxian principles as "dogma" and democratic principles as "fundamental beliefs of the free world."<sup>93</sup> Unit five included some generalizations, but for most of them the documentation was extensive.

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<sup>91</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 126-127.

<sup>92</sup>Gray, p. 72.

<sup>93</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 100.

According to Gray, the fourth characteristic of the curriculum guides of the early 1960's was that they presented a picture of an "unswerving monolithic world communist power dominated by the Soviet Union."<sup>94</sup> An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government did not make a direct claim that communism was a monolithic force but made very few references to communism outside the Soviet Union. Topic C of Unit V devoted nineteen pages to the spread of communism for world control. The guide's emphasis on the Soviet Union, its analysis of the techniques of world domination, and its failure to deal with differences in philosophy among communist nations created the impression that world communism was a monolithic force. In addition to assuming a similarity among communist nations, the guide also supposed a degree of sameness among non-communist countries which were often referred to as "the free world."<sup>95</sup>

The fifth characteristic identified by Gray was that the guides about communism neglected to consider different views among scholars on the nature of communism. The communism unit of An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government provided an extensive bibliography and thorough documentation. The variety of sources included works by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and Frank Meyer, a strongly anti-communist writer who was a

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<sup>94</sup>Gray, p. 72.

<sup>95</sup>An Instructional Guide, p. 100.

former member of the American Communist Party, as well as such scholars as Sidney Hook, Merle Fainsod, Gerhart Niemeyer, and Clinton Rossiter. In addition to the more scholarly works, the unit recommended some books on a reading level for high school students. Among these books were The Menace of Communism by Kenneth Colegrove and Hall Bartlett and Communism: What It Is and How It Works by Ina Schlesinger and Jonah Blustain. The diversity of the bibliography tended to be in types of books included rather than the political ideology of the books.

Gray's sixth characteristic of communism guides was that they did not include references to works by communists. The Virginia unit made reference to only one communist work, Karl Marx's, The Communist Manifesto. The guide outlined the major points of this work but included only one brief quotation from it. All of the other references to communist theory and practice were from secondary sources.

The seventh characteristic was that the guides concentrated on fallacies and failures and completely neglected to mention any strengths and successes. The Virginia guide was clearly within this tradition. The guide failed to mention any of the Soviet technological accomplishments and did not include any discussion of Soviet successes in space exploration. In pointing out weaknesses and problems of the Soviet Union, the guide also neglected to mention that some of these same problems existed in other countries including the United States.

The final characteristic identified in Gray's study was that many guides equated democracy with American capital-

ism. Although the terms "capitalism" and "democracy" were not used interchangeably, the economics units and the totalitarianism units tended to merge political and economic topics. For example, an economic topic in Unit III, entitled "Basic Principles and Institutions of Our Economic System," included a political topic, entitled "Government--Servant of the People."

Undergirding these eight characteristics of the communism guides of the early 1960's was the basic question of whether or not objectivity could be attained in dealing with the subject of communism. Richard Miller, in an article in Saturday Review in 1963, suggested that complete objectivity was a myth and that the developers of communism units should strive for intellectual honesty rather than complete detachment.<sup>96</sup> The Virginia guide did not exemplify complete detachment or complete objectivity but neither did it contain the flagrant attempts to indoctrinate that were characteristic of some of the guides developed in the 1960's. For example, the resource guide developed for Louisiana public schools suggested that students should "realize that Russian propaganda techniques are the most evil and insidious kind of warfare the world has ever known...Russia is at war with America...America must establish final and complete victory

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<sup>96</sup>Richard I. Miller, "Teaching About Communism," Saturday Review (March 23, 1963), pp. 56-58, 70-71.

over Communism as its primary goal for the future."<sup>97</sup> The Florida guide, entitled Americanism vs. Communism, justified study about communism as a means of giving high school youth "an intensive study of the communist conspiracy in order to thwart the Party's plan 'to win youth for communism' and to strengthen the cause of freedom."<sup>98</sup> An objective of the Florida guide was "to achieve a thorough understanding of the nature and evils of communism...and to become aware of the grounds on which free people...have condemned [it]."<sup>99</sup> Other guides were more subtle in expressing biases but most of them reflected the highly emotional climate of opinion surrounding teaching about communism in the early 1960's.

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<sup>97</sup>Gray, p. 72, citing Americanism versus Communism, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: State Department of Education, 1961).

<sup>98</sup>Americanism Vs. Communism (Tallahassee, Florida: State Department of Education, 1962), p. 16.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

## Chapter VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### SUMMARY

The communism unit recommended to Virginia school divisions in 1964 was a part of a major curriculum project sponsored by the State Department of Education and developed over a five-year period of time. In addition to advocating the seven-week unit of study about communism, the government project focused attention on the free enterprise system and modified the traditional structure of the government course. Between 1959 and 1964, the Virginia State Department of Education produced two outline guides and a comprehensive instructional guide to assist teachers in the reorganization of the course.

The government project officially began in the summer of 1959 when the State Board of Education requested the State Department of Education to develop an instructional unit on the free enterprise system. Davis Y. Paschall, Superintendent of Public Instruction, appointed a committee, consisting of a local school district director of instruction and secondary teachers of government and economics, to work with the staff of the State Department of Education in developing the unit. The committee, known as the Teacher Committee, decided that the unit should be included in the twelfth-grade government

course and that an outline for the entire course should be prepared. Paschall also appointed a committee, consisting of representatives of business, industry, law, government, and education, to review the work of the staff and the Teacher Committee. The staff, with the assistance of these two committees, developed the outline guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government." The State Board of Education distributed the guide to schools in September, 1960, approximately one year after the initial request had been made concerning economic education.

The second phase of the government project began in April, 1961, when the State Board of Education directed the State Department of Education to develop an instructional unit to assist teachers in developing units about communism. The department had received requests for the curriculum to include more instruction about communism, and the first guide had placed little emphasis on it.

Both of the committees involved in developing the first outline guide assisted the staff of the department with the second guide. In May, 1961, the State Department of Education issued the second guide, Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom, to be used in conjunction with the first guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government."

During the time of the development of the first two guides, the Commission on Constitutional Government assisted the State Department of Education in the government project. The commission, created by the General Assembly to promote states' rights, offered its assistance to the State Department

of Education in promoting the study of constitutional government. As a result of this offer, the department involved the commission in the government project. In the summers of 1960 and 1961, the commission funded the teacher institutes offered by the department to acquaint teachers with the guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government." In 1961, the Commission on Constitutional Government unsuccessfully attempted to produce a manual about communism for student use. When this project was terminated, the commission continued assisting the department by reviewing, recommending, and purchasing books to be used with the second outline guide, Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom.

Beginning in the spring of 1963, staff members of the State Department of Education, assisted by an expanded Teacher Committee and the Review Committee, began work on the final product of the government curriculum project. The third guide, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government, was a comprehensive instructional guide and an expansion of the two earlier guides. The first two guides provided only brief content outlines while the third guide included an outline for the course, an analysis of recommended content, and an extensive bibliography. A major focus of the third guide was Unit V, "Totalitarianism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom," which provided content for an in-depth study of communism. The guide also provided for detailed study of the American economic system.

In November, 1964, the State Board of Education

published the third guide and distributed it to local school divisions. Teachers began using the guide in the 1964-1965 school year, five years after the initiation of the government project.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The study of the development of the communism unit used in Virginia high schools in the sixties provided an opportunity for examination of the nature and origin of curriculum change in the social studies. Four basic conclusions emerged from the investigation of the circumstances surrounding the development of the government project which included the unit about communism. First, the addition of the seven-week unit about communism and the change in structure of the required twelfth-grade government course reflected suggestions and pressures from sources other than professional educators. Second, the role of the State Department of Education was one of response to pressures rather than one of exhibiting leadership in effecting curriculum change. Third, teachers played a very limited role in the initiation of curriculum change. Fourth, the instructional guide produced by the State Department of Education was not an effective tool for classroom use, and the lack of an evaluation made it impossible to assess its impact on actual classroom procedure.

Among those who approached the State Department of Education and the State Board of Education concerning desired curriculum changes were representatives of business and

industry who wished to see more emphasis placed upon instruction about the free enterprise system. In 1959, the State Department of Education initiated the government project as a response to the allegations of two businessmen that Virginia high school students lacked an understanding of the free enterprise system. The businessmen made their concerns known to a member of the State Board of Education who arranged for them to make presentations to the entire board and to staff members of the State Department of Education. These presentations resulted in a report being made which concluded that a need for more instruction about the free enterprise system existed. The staff of the department and the committee appointed to assist the department not only developed the requested economics unit but also devised a content outline for the entire government course. The State Department of Education made this outline guide, "Virginia and U. S. Government," available to local schools in the fall of 1960. Throughout the several stages of the government project, members of the business community continued to exert pressure on the State Department of Education to include more instruction about free enterprise in the curriculum.

In 1961 and 1962, the emphasis in the government project shifted from economics to communism as a result of the efforts of Lewis F. Powell, Jr., a prominent Richmond lawyer and chairman of the Richmond school board. Powell appealed to the State Department of Education for more instruction

about communism, and Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, attempted to appease him by sending him a copy of the first outline guide and asserting that one of the purposes of the guide was to compare democracy with communism. The guide did not substantiate this claim, and Powell publicly expressed his displeasure with it. When Powell was appointed to the State Board of Education in 1961, he was in a better position to pursue his interest in promoting instruction about communism in Virginia's schools. Only one month after Powell became a member of the State Board of Education, the board requested the State Department of Education to prepare an instructional unit about communism. Powell personally met with the members of the staff who were responsible for developing the unit, and both Wilkerson and Powell acknowledged that the unit came as a result of Powell's suggestion. In this incident, the influence of a single person caused the State Department of Education to develop a new unit and to restructure the curriculum of a required course.

The powerful Commission on Constitutional Government also sought to bring about curriculum change. The commission's interest was in promoting the study of constitutional government with emphasis on states' rights. Because of repeated inquiries and offers of assistance, the Commission on Constitutional Government became an active participant in the government curriculum project.

Between 1959 and 1964, a variety of individuals and

groups sought changes in the social studies curriculum of Virginia's secondary schools, and the State Department of Education responded by attempting to incorporate their concerns into the curriculum of the required twelfth-grade government course. In addition to responding to suggestions from outside sources, the State Department of Education also attempted to avoid criticism by involving potential critics in curriculum development. The department engaged in what Martin Tarter, a former Assistant Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, called "response to anticipated demands."<sup>1</sup> An example of this kind of response occurred when the State Department of Education sought approval for the government project from a group of influential citizens known as the Review Committee. Some members of the committee previously had expressed interest in assisting the department in curriculum development, some had made specific recommendations for change, and others were connected with prestigious civic and business organizations. The Review Committee did not participate in the actual writing of the guides but approved them before their submission to the State Board of Education. Placing the Review Committee in the development process indicated the department's concern that the guides be

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<sup>1</sup>Statement by Martin A. Tarter, Jr., former Assistant Supervisor of History, Government, and Geography, State Department of Education, personal interview, August 6, 1975.

accepted and also acknowledged the controversial nature of the project. The Teacher Committee and the staff of the State Department of Education were aware of the political and economic philosophies represented on the Review Committee, and the committee's presence in the final stage of the development process implied an indirect influence on the writing and the content of the guides.

The involvement of the Commission on Constitutional Government in the government project was an example of the department's attempts to placate those who made suggestions and offered assistance in curriculum development. This involvement allowed the department to appease the commission's pressures to have the curriculum include more instruction about constitutional government by allowing their participation in a related area. As a result of the commission's participation in the government project, the department received financial assistance for the project and the approval of this influential group whose membership included members of the General Assembly. The commission's attempt to prepare a student manual about communism was completely outside the supervision of the State Department of Education and was a reflection of the department's willingness to allow a legislative commission to produce curriculum materials.

None of the evidence examined in this study suggested that teachers played a leading role in bringing about curriculum change. Teachers did not initiate any of the changes,

and the State Department of Education did not solicit their approval for the project. The Teacher Committee worked with the staff of the State Department of Education in developing the guides but was not a part of the decision-making process. The involvement of the Teacher Committee came only after the major decisions had been made.

An indication of the disregard for teacher opinion came at the time of the publication of the final guide in 1964. The board requested that pre-publication copies be sent to "appropriate school personnel, local governing bodies, editors of newspapers, and national columnists in order to get reactions prior to wide dissemination of the guide."<sup>2</sup> The only "appropriate school personnel" to receive copies of the guide were division superintendents. Neither the board nor the department sought endorsements from classroom teachers, curriculum experts, college personnel in the field, or organized teacher groups such as the Virginia Education Association and the Virginia Council for the Social Studies. The board did not call for field testing of any of the guides and made no attempt to gain reactions of students and teachers.

The final product of the five-year curriculum project, An Instructional Guide for Virginia and United States Government, provided topics and content recommended for the twelfth-grade government course but offered no suggested activities

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<sup>2</sup>Virginia State Board of Education, Minutes, Vol. XXXV (August 24-26, 1964), p. 78.

and proposed no instructional methods. Unit V of the third guide provided a detailed and technical treatment of content related to communism. Although the unit served to focus teacher attention on communism, the scholarly and complex terminology used in the unit hampered its effectiveness for use in developing instructional units. The guide seemed to be directed toward an audience consisting of representatives of business, industry, government, law, and the media rather than the classroom teachers who were expected to use it as an instructional tool. Schools throughout Virginia offered units about communism, but the lack of an evaluation made it impossible to determine the impact of the instructional guide. The State Department of Education and local officials urged teachers to use the guide but did not provide the follow-up activities necessary to determine the extent of its use. Individuals and groups outside of education influenced curriculum development at the state level, and the State Department of Education urged the local schools to implement the resulting changes. Since the desired changes were recommended and not required, local compliance was difficult to determine.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

This study provided the opportunity for examination of pressures and influences on social studies curriculum between 1959 and 1964. These pressures and the responses made by professional educators could serve as a basis for studying about continued involvement of persons and groups outside of

education in curriculum change in the social studies.

Among the topics for possible future study would be the relationship between the business community and the activities of the State Department of Education and the State Board of Education in the years following the issuing of the 1964 government guide. These activities included reprinting the economics section of the government guide as a separate instructional guide, mandating a required unit on the free enterprise system, revising teacher certification requirements to include economics courses, providing funds for teacher training in economics, appointing an advisory council on economic education, and developing an elementary economics curriculum guide.

Another topic for future study could be an analysis of Lewis Powell's continued involvement in social studies curriculum after the conclusion of the government project. In 1968, the State Board of Education adopted Powell's plan for a citizenship education program and printed a pamphlet for teachers describing the rationale for the program. In 1970, the State Department of Education issued a bulletin to assist local schools in developing programs to promote responsible citizenship.

Future study could include investigation of the role of organizations of professional educators in relation to curriculum change. Since the professional organizations were not involved in the government project in Virginia, the

development of the Virginia guide could be compared with the development of guides in other states where teacher groups exerted more influence.

Another possible topic for study would be the influence of the Commission on Constitutional Government in areas other than the government project. The commission published pamphlets on government-related topics and distributed them without charge, furnished speakers for schools and civic groups, and became involved in state and national projects dedicated to protecting states' rights.

A seemingly endless parade of new emphases characterized the social studies curriculum of the sixties and seventies. The curriculum changes often reflected the influences and pressures of sources outside of education. The pressures continue, and social studies educators must recognize the sources from which the pressures come and seek appropriate responses.

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APPENDIX A

COMMUNISM IN CONTRAST WITH  
THE PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

INTRODUCTION

Pursuant to a request of the State Board of Education, the Department of Education, with the assistance of a committee of teachers of government and economics, prepared the following outline which is designed to serve as a guide for teachers of government in preparing their own instructional units. This material is not prescriptive in nature and is subject to revision.

In the senior government course, it is suggested that the section on Comparative Government include four to six weeks of instruction devoted to Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom.

Prior to beginning instruction about communism, it is suggested that the teacher spend time reviewing and reinforcing those important areas of our system which have been the major emphases of the Government outline. Through such review and reinforcement the student will have a firmer grasp and appreciation of our own system, and be able to understand better the nature of communism and its effect on the individual.

It may be recalled that the lead paragraph in the Statement of Policy for Public Schools in Virginia, recently adopted by the State Board of Education, reminds us that:

"The way of life cherished in the United States is unique in that it is founded on a great spiritual heritage, the ability of people to govern themselves through representative government, and a recognition of the dignity and integrity of the individual."

The objective of inculcating in youth a firm commitment to our national heritage permeates the instructional program in Virginia's public schools from the primary grades through the senior high school.

The Virginia and U. S. Government course outline, distributed in September, 1960, by the State Department of Education, develops important areas basic to the understanding of our American system. Assuming that the outline has been of value in organizing the senior government course, it will be helpful to summarize the instruction to this point in terms of the broad units presented.

For example, the unit on "Origin and Development of Our Form of Government" deals with the threads of freedom and responsibility that have come to us through our heritage, and it is meant to develop an understanding of the price paid by our forefathers for these freedoms and our responsibility for protecting them. Through instruction in Unit II, "Structure of Our Government", emphasis is placed on the principle that our nation is bounded by a framework of law under which government must operate. Unit III focuses attention on basic principles which undergird the interrelationship of our governmental structure and our economic way of life. These principles are the foundation of our competitive economy and its relationship to government. Unit IV deals with the functions of government and points out the role of the individual with his rights of suffrage and responsibilities for intelligent use thereof.

While such a review will be an important part of the course, the extensiveness of the review can best be determined by the teacher. The outline titled Communism in Contrast With the Principles of American Freedom, is designed to assist teachers to show this system of government in direct contrast to the American system of freedom under law.

In order to help the student to understand better the nature of communism, a selected amount of historical background is presented in Topics I and II of this outline. Due to the limited time available to cover the broad subject of communism, the main emphasis is given to the contemporary techniques, functions and organization, as well as the beliefs or tenets, of the movement.

There are abundant opportunities to illustrate the fact that the methods used by the Communists are determined by their ultimate goals with complete disregard for the individual. This is directly opposed to our free society where the methods and their effects on the individual are considered of primary importance. Through such a contrast of fundamental beliefs, students will be able to appreciate more fully their own system of government which guarantees to man freedom under law.

The outline is organized with references related to a given part of the content listed beside that part in an abbreviated form. For that reason it will be important to keep in mind the following abbreviations and their meanings when using the outline:

Menace - The Menace of Communism by Colegrove  
and Bartlett

M D - Masters of Deceit by Hoover  
R R - The Russian Revolution by Morehead

These abbreviations will be followed by chapter number(s) in Roman numerals and, where appropriate, page numbers (in parentheses). Therefore, a listing such as M D: X (95-97) would refer to Masters of Deceit, Chapter 10, pages 95-97.

Attention is called to the fact that there are no references listed for certain sections of the outline. Additional references will be supplied as appropriate materials become available and are approved.

It will be noted that an annotated bibliography appears at the end of the outline. It is suggested that before using the outline this bibliography be studied to obtain a better understanding of the contribution that each book can make. Each of these books is on the State list of supplementary materials.

## TOPIC I

## THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM

In order that the student might get a foundation for understanding the beginning of Marxism in relationship to the existing conditions during the mid-19th century, parts "A" and "B" are presented as a resume of a few of the pertinent historical topics. Part "C" is intended to focus attention on the personality of Marx and the major doctrines underlying his theory of Dialectical Materialism. These doctrines are listed as general topics and each has many ramifications. Not only may these doctrines be explained from Marx's viewpoint; each may be challenged from and contrasted with a non-Marxist viewpoint. The teacher may also use this section to emphasize the difference between the semantics of Marxism and the semantics of our system since many terms used by communists in their context have completely different meanings from our normally accepted usage.

## I. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM

## A. Conditions Affecting the Types of Political Movements in mid-19th Century Europe

1. Economic and social divisions
2. Political systems and the individual
3. Economic and social opportunities for individuals

Background material for this section may be obtained from State-adopted basal texts in World History.

Menace: II

## B. The Early Socialist Movement

## I. MARXISM (continued)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Role of the Industrial Revolution             |  |
| 2. Radical political ideas                       |  |
| <br>   |  |
| C. Advent of Dialectical Materialism (Communism) | For definition see M D: Glossary (320) |
| 1. Karl Marx (Life and Ideas)                    | M D: I, Appendix I (359)               |
| a. Biographical sketch                           | Bibliography (353)                     |
| b. Major writings                                |  |
| 2. Marxist doctrine (Dialectical Materialism)    | Menace: II                             |
| a. Theory of history                             | M D: I, Glossary (339)                 |
| b. Labor or surplus theory of value              | Menace: II                             |
| c. Role of the state                             | M D: I, Glossary (339)                 |
| d. Dictatorship of the proletariat               | Menace: II                             |

## TOPIC II

## RUSSIA - THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION AND RULE

This topic presents a resume of the major events relating to the Bolshevik takeover in Russia. It is intended to re-orient and emphasize the highlights of how the Communists established their center of operation for world conquest and control. Since it is assumed that much of this material will have been covered in previous courses, it is not envisioned that the items in this section will have to be treated in as much depth as in a regular history course. Thus this topic, along with Topic I, is designed to serve as a background summary for the two principal areas of emphasis, Topics III and IV.

II. RUSSIA - THE COMMUNIST  
REVOLUTION AND RULE

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>A. Rule of the Czars</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Complete autocracy - before 1860</li> <li>2. Modified autocracy - after 1860</li> <li>3. Nicholas II and the 1905 uprising</li> <li>4. Attempt at constitutional autocracy 1905-1914</li> <li>5. Socialist Party splits into factions</li> </ol> | <p>Menace: III, VI<br/>R R: II, IV, VI</p>                       |
| <p>B. Effects of World War I on Russia</p>   | <p>Menace: VI<br/>R R: VII</p>                                   |
| <p>C. First Revolution - March 1917</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Provisional government and the role of the Duma</li> <li>2. Abdication of Czar Nicholas</li> <li>3. Kerensky's revolutionary government</li> <li>4. Role of the Soviets and Lenin</li> </ol>   | <p>Menace: VI<br/>M D: II<br/>R R: III, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII</p> |
| <p>D. Second Revolution - November 1917 - "The October Revolution"</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Communist take-over and consolidation of power</li> <li>2. Role of Lenin and others</li> </ol>  | <p>Menace: VI<br/>M D: II<br/>R R: XIV, XV, XVI</p>              |

## TOPIC III

BASIC GOAL - SPREAD OF COMMUNISM  
FOR WORLD CONTROL

This topic is organized to give emphasis to the techniques and machinery employed in carrying out the communist objective of controlling the world. By using this approach, the general tactical manipulations are stressed instead of a detailed study of past events, which is possibly more suited to a history rather than a government course. This allows for flexibility in that the eight general classes of communist techniques of expansion may be studied as they apply to contemporary happenings and certain historical events. As the student becomes cognizant of these basic techniques (Part A), the other parts may be interwoven with these techniques or treated as an extension of this part, depending upon the teacher's preference.

III. BASIC GOAL - SPREAD  
OF COMMUNISM FOR  
WORLD CONTROLA. Techniques of  
International  
Expansion

- |                                     |                        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Infiltration<br>and usurpation   | Menace: VI, XI         |
| a. Objectives                       |                        |
| b. Tactics                          |                        |
| 2. Propaganda and<br>indoctrination | Menace: III, IV,<br>XI |
| a. Objectives                       |                        |
| b. Approaches                       |                        |
| c. Channels of<br>communication     |                        |
| 3. Espionage and<br>sabotage        | M D: XXI               |
| a. Types of infor-<br>mation sought |                        |

## III. BASIC GOAL (continued)

- b. Methods of acquiring information
      - c. Targets of sabotage
    - 4. Civil Strife and War Menace: VI, XI
      - a. Initiation of conflict
      - b. Exploitation of existing strife
    - 5. Direct aggression and pressure Menace: XI
      - a. Types
      - b. Aims
    - 6. International crises and dilemmas
      - a. Reasons
      - b. Methods
    - 7. Economic and technical agreements and aid
      - a. Types
      - b. Short-range objectives
    - 8. Adaptable or flexible exploitation Menace: I, XI
      - a. Ultimate goal remains constant
      - b. Manipulation of tactics and objectives in meeting new and developing situations
  - B. Machinery for Implementing the International Expansion Techniques
    - 1. Foreign policy and staff
    - 2. International fronts
    - 3. Controlled satellites Menace: XI

## III. BASIC GOAL (continued)

- 4. Disciplined international party organization
  - a. Control of communist parties in the world Menace: V, XI
  - b. Communist Party of the U. S. (an example)
    - (1) Brief history - from 1919 M D: IV, V, VI  
Menace: XII
    - (2) Objectives
      - (a) Long-range
      - (b) Short-range
    - (3) Characteristics
      - (a) Organization M D: X
      - (b) Disciplined world organization -Cominform -Comintern M D: V, XIII
      - (c) "Democratic Centralism"- Authority from above M D: X
      - (d) Exclusive nature of membership M D: VI, VIII, XI, XII
        - Recruiting
        - Hard core (open and underground members)
        - Sympathizers and dupes
        - Fellow travelers and opportunists

## III. BASIC GOAL (continued)

- (e) Profes-  
sional rev-  
olutionists
- (4) Activities M D: V, VII, XIV,  
(legal and XV, XVI,  
illegal) XVII, XX,  
(a) Infiltration XXI  
(b) Espionage  
(c) Propaganda  
(d) Mass agitation  
(e) Front  
activities
- (5) Prime targets M D: XVIII, XIX,  
(a) Workers XXII  
(b) Minority  
groups  
(c) Armed  
forces  
(d) Youth  
(e) Intellectuals  
(f) National  
organizations  
(g) Media of Mass  
communication

## C. Scope of Control Menace: I, III

1. Europe: USSR,  
Latvia, Estionia,  
Lithuania, Albania,  
Bulgaria, Czecho-  
slovakia, East  
Germany, Hungary,  
Poland, Rumania,  
Yugoslavia
2. Asia: China, Outer  
Mongolia, Tibet,  
North Vietnam,  
North Korea
3. Western Hemisphere:  
Cuba

## D. Prime World Targets of Communist Appeals Menace: I

1. Countries
  - a. Nations generally  
underdeveloped
  - b. Nations economically  
and socially unstable
  - c. Nations politically  
immature

## III. BASIC GOAL (continued)

2. People
  - a. Poorly educated
  - b. Highly educated
  - c. Dissatisfied
  - d. Idealistic

## TOPIC IV

## USSR IN CONTRAST WITH THE U.S.A.

The approach used in this topic is developed to facilitate the consideration and study of the effects of Marxist doctrine upon individuals and institutions in society. The organization allows a direct contrast between the application of these doctrines and the operations of the underlying principles of our American economic and political systems. The outline of the structure of the government and the Communist party (Part A) allows for contrasting them with our own governmental organization (Unit II of Government Outline) and the very different role played by our political parties (Unit IV of Government Outline). Although it is not envisioned that a great amount of detail will have to be given about Russia's vast bureaucratic organization, Part A does give the teacher the opportunity to contrast organizational features which make the individual the servant of the all-powerful state rather than the state as the servant of the people. The material in the last four parts (B, C, D, E) enables the teacher to contrast our basic economic principles (emphasized in Unit III of the government outline) with the effect of the Communist doctrine upon the individual.

IV. USSR IN CONTRAST WITH  
THE U.S.A.

A. People of USSR -  
Servants of the  
Government

1. The function and organization of the party
  - a. The relationship between party member and others
  - b. Sketch of the party structure
    - (1) Role of the Central Committee
    - (2) Role of the Presidium
    - (3) Role of the Secretary
    - (4) Recruitment of members
    - (5) Advancement to the top

Menace: V

2. The functions and organization of the state machinery
  - a. The relationship of state and party machinery
  - b. Sketch of the governmental structure
    - (1) Supreme Soviet
    - (2) Supreme Soviet presidium
    - (3) Council of Ministers
    - (4) Council of Ministers Presidium

Menace: VII

B. Government Monopoly  
Over Property

Menace: III, VIII

1. Government ownership of productive property

## IV. USSR IN CONTRAST (continued)

- a. Nationalized industry and business
  - b. Collective farms
  - c. Nationalized land and natural resources
  - 2. Degree of individually owned property (clothing, furniture, etc.)
  - 3. Government control of use of property
  - 4. Government control of wealth derived from property
- C. Restrictions on Individual Choice
- 1. Consumer goods - Government planners, not consumers, decide on the goods produced, and the consumer selects from these Menace: VIII
  - 2. Private operation of business generally prohibited
  - 3. Labor - Government owns all the people's labor Menace: IX
    - a. Government only employer
    - b. Production quotas
    - c. Government controlled unions
    - d. Strikes prohibited
    - e. Assigned job placement
    - f. Restricted job transfer
    - g. Wages and hours determined by decree
    - h. Slave labor of political prisoners

## IV. USSR IN CONTRAST (continued)

- D. Government Control  
Replaces Competition  
and Individual  
initiative Menace: IX
1. Government sets  
production goals  
(five-year plans)
  2. Government sets  
prices
  3. Government deter-  
mines quality  
standards
  4. Government dis-  
tributes pro-  
duction
  5. Government deter-  
mines incentives  
and punishment
  6. Government deter-  
mines methods of  
production
- E. Subordination of  
Individuals and  
Social Institutions
1. Individual - Con-  
formity demanded Menace: III, IV,  
X
    - a. Speech
    - b. Press
    - c. Religion
    - d. Ideas and  
opinions
  2. Justice
    - a. No guarantee  
from double  
jeopardy
    - b. No writ of  
habeas corpus
    - c. No indictment  
by grand jury
    - d. Lawyers and  
judges serve at  
pleasure of  
government
  3. Social institutions  
and activities
    - a. Family - Rural Menace: VIII, IX  
and urban  
(1) Standard of  
living

## IV. USSR IN CONTRAST (continued)

- (2) Family loyalty
- (3) Class distinction
  - (a) Bureaucrats
  - (b) Workers and soldiers
  - (c) Peasants
- b. Religion Menace: X
  - (1) Government view - "Opiate of the People"
  - (2) Religion discouraged but tolerated
  - (3) Property confiscated
  - (4) Anti-religious teaching in school
  - (5) Ridicule of churchgoers and leaders
  - (6) Infiltration of the church
  - (7) Use of religion for propaganda
- c. Education Menace: IV
  - (1) Indoctrinates
  - (2) Teaches conformity
  - (3) Restricts freedom of expression and inquiry
  - (4) Government determines and controls pupil's educational program
- d. Entertainment and the arts Menace: IV
  - (1) Social significance
  - (2) Follows party line

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Colegrove and Bartlett, The Menace of Communism, D. Van Nostrand Co., Princeton, 1962.

Written especially for use by high school pupils, this book contains material for use with many sections of the outline.

Hoover, J. E., Masters of Deceit, Holt, New York, 1958.

This text, written by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gives much information on the tactics and activities of Communists. It also gives a careful analysis of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Morehead, Alan, The Russian Revolution, Harper, New York, 1958.

This is a popularly written account of the events preceding and during the Revolution which ushered in Communist rule in Russia. The material contained in this text is particularly useful in developing Topic II.

APPENDIX B

OUTLINE OF  
TOTALITARIANISM IN CONTRAST  
WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF  
AMERICAN FREEDOM

- A. Origin and Development of Marxism
  - 1. Conditions affecting the radical movements in the 19th Century
    - a. The impact of the Industrial Revolution on traditional ways of life
    - b. The range of economic and political diversity in Europe
      - (1) Political and economic conditions in England and France (survey)
      - (2) Political and economic conditions in Germany (survey)
      - (3) Political and economic conditions in Russia (survey)
    - c. Utopian socialism resulting from the Industrial and French Revolutions
      - (1) The basic differences between the goals of the French and American Revolutions
      - (2) Early French socialist thinkers' role in the development of the socialist reaction
        - (a) Saint Simon-father of French socialism
        - (b) Fourier-communal socialist
        - (c) Blanqui-revolutionary socialist
        - (d) Proudhon-revolutionary socialist
  - 2. Advent of dialectical materialism (communism)
    - a. Marx and Engels
      - (1) Biographical sketch
      - (2) Nature of collaboration
      - (3) Major writings
    - b. Marx's dialectical theory (general)
      - (1) Meaning of dialectic
      - (2) Reversing Hegel's dialectic
      - (3) Validity of dialectical materialism
    - c. Historical materialism
      - (1) Its nature
      - (2) Criticisms
    - d. Surplus theory of value
      - (1) Its nature
      - (2) Criticisms
  - 3. Roles of state and revolution
    - (1) Marx's pronouncements
    - (2) Criticisms
- B. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Contrast with United States of America
  - 1. People of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics-servants of the government

- a. The function and organization of the party
    - (1) The relationship between party members and others
    - (2) Sketch of the party structure
      - (a) Role of the Central Committee
      - (b) Role of Presidium
      - (c) Role of the Secretary
      - (d) Recruitment of members
      - (e) Advancement to the top
  - b. The functions and organization of the state machinery
    - (1) The relationship of state and party machinery
    - (2) Sketch of the governmental structure
      - (a) Supreme Soviet
      - (b) Supreme Soviet Presidium
      - (c) Council of Ministers Presidium
2. Consequence of Russian communism upon the institutions of liberty and individual freedom
- a. Government monopoly over property
    - (1) Government ownership of productive property
      - (a) Nationalized industry and business
      - (b) Collective farms
      - (c) Nationalized land and natural resources
    - (2) Degree of individually-owned personal property
    - (3) Government control of use of property
    - (4) Government control of wealth derived from property
  - b. Government control replaces the market, competition and individual initiative and choice
    - (1) Nature of plans
    - (2) Nature of the controlling bureaucracy
    - (3) Methods of making the people conform to and meet the master plan of their rulers
    - (4) Methods of determining the type and amount of consumer goods
    - (5) Controlling the individual's labor
  - c. The subordination of individuals and social institutions
    - (1) Controls the individual's right of speech, press, ideas, and opinions
    - (2) Administration of totalitarian law and terror
    - (3) The family under communism
    - (4) Religion under communism
    - (5) The control of education
    - (6) Regulation of entertainment and the arts
- C. Basic Goal-Spread of Communism for World Control
- 1. General strategy for international expansion
    - a. General strategy behind international expansionism
      - (1) General beliefs and attitudes
        - (a) Ultimate goal remains constant

- (b) Manipulation of tactics and objectives in meeting new and developing situations
  - (2) Scope of control and prime world targets
- 2. Machinery for implementing their philosophy of world control
  - a. Lenin's influence upon its nature
  - b. Control of Communist parties of the world
    - (1) Comintern
    - (2) Cominform
  - c. Communist Party of the United States (an example)
    - (1) Brief history
    - (2) Characteristics (organization)
      - (a) Disciplined world organization
      - (b) "Democratic centralism"-authority from above
      - (c) Exclusive nature of membership
        - Recruiting
        - Hard core (open and underground members)
        - Sympathizers and dupes
        - Fellow travelers and opportunists
      - (d) Professional revolutionists
- 3. Specific techniques employed to facilitate the Communist policy of international control
  - a. Infiltration and usurpation
    - (1) The Russian Revolution as an example
    - (2) International examples
      - (a) Objectives
      - (b) Tactics
    - (3) Activities in the United States
      - (a) Targets
      - (b) Purposes
  - b. Propaganda, deception, and agitation
    - (1) The Russian Revolution as an example
    - (2) International examples
      - (a) Objectives
      - (b) Approaches
    - (3) Activities in the United States
      - (a) Targets
      - (b) Purposes
  - c. Espionage and sabotage
    - (1) Activities in the United States
      - (a) Types of information sought
      - (b) Methods of acquiring information
      - (c) Targets of sabotage
  - d. Civil strife and war
    - (1) Russian Revolution as an example
    - (2) International examples
      - (a) Initiation of conflict
      - (b) Exploitation of existing strife
    - (3) Activities in the United States
      - (a) Targets
      - (b) Purposes

- e. Direct aggression and pressure
  - (1) International examples
    - (a) Types
    - (b) Aims
- f. International crises and dilemmas
  - (1) Types
  - (2) Methods
- g. Economic and technical agreements and aid
  - (1) Types
  - (2) Short-range objectives

APPENDIX C

## Sample Selection from

AN INSTRUCTIONAL GUIDE FOR  
VIRGINIA AND UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT (PAGES 130-131)

## Government Monopoly Over Property

One of the first and most lasting steps in subordinating all free institutions and individuals to central control and direction is nationalization which eliminates the right of private productive property.

The Soviet state is, or strives to be, the exclusive owner of all economic resources and facilities in the country. Consequently, the private relations of employee and employer become the public relations of sovereign and subject. Business is regulated with the full force of an official public authority. Soviet law prohibits, under pain of heavy penalty, numerous activities considered unquestionably legitimate in non-Soviet states. These crimes, non-political in the technical sense, are, from the Communist point of view, dangerous to the socialist order.

The Soviet criminal code provides heavy penalties for the "manufacturing, storing, or purchasing for resale, as well as the sale itself" of goods in which the traffic is restricted. According to the latest interpretations, the code also prohibits the "buying up and reselling by private persons for the purpose of obtaining a profit," no matter how reasonable, of practically all kinds of goods.<sup>1</sup>

This creates, of course, a complete monopoly from which there is no escape. Students should be able to see that by this monopoly, rulers in the party are able to affect the actions of the people, for it can discipline them to conformity by controlling the use of property and determining the wealth

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<sup>1</sup>Vladimir Gsovski, "Principles of Law," Handbook of Communism, Joseph M. Bochenski and Gerhart Niemeyer, ed. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1962), pp. 308-309.

derived from it. Probably the best historical example of this is the consequence resulting from the establishment of state and collective farms. "The Party seems always to fear that private ownership may put the individual, or some private corner of his mind, beyond the reach of the 'collective.'"<sup>2</sup> When considering the restrictions on individual choice, students will have an opportunity to see additional effects upon individual freedom of property monopolization. Since the right to own and use private property (as students should recall from Unit III) is an important element contributing to one's human dignity, the effect its elimination has upon individual freedom is not surprising. From this it should be easy for students to see that "... all ownership of the means of production (and with it, the power to give or withhold employment) has been combined in one hand wielding political power—i.e., the power to set goals for the entire society and to punish all dissidents."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Overstreet, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup>Gerhart Niemeyer, "Communist Political Doctrine," Bochenski and Niemeyer, ed., p. 78.

using an evaluation of student needs as the determining factor in curriculum revision.