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## Teaching International Communism

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RICHMOND PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

January 18, 1961

Instruction On International Communism

The purpose of this memorandum is to present an analysis of what is presently (1960-61) being taught in the Richmond Public School System on International Communism. The analysis will be confined to the secondary grades, which in Richmond consist of five years of instruction from the eighth through the twelfth grades.

There has never been a specific course in Richmond on International Communism. The courses in history and government, discussed below, contain some limited discussion of Imperial Russia or the Soviet Union or both, and there is some sketchy - almost incidental - treatment of International Communism and the problems created by it.

As the result of a study initiated in the spring of 1960, it was concluded that the available instruction is inadequate to meet the imperative needs of our time. Inquiry through professional channels indicated that there is no recognized text book on this subject for secondary school use, and that there appear to be relatively few secondary schools

in the United States which undertake much more than incidental instruction in this area.

The Richmond Public School System is moving to meet this need in the following manner. Preliminary units, based upon outlines developed by faculty committees, will be presented during the second semester of 1960-61 in several history and government classes in all senior high schools. During the summer of 1961, a committee of teachers will review the experience with the preliminary units and, with the assistance of some recognized authority, prepare units of instruction for use in all senior government classes during the 1961-62 session. It is hoped that by the session of 1962-63 approved text books will be available. In any event, it is planned that the program will be expanded by 1962-63 to constitute an important part of the senior government courses.

#### The Present Courses Of Instruction

The courses of instruction presently being offered in history and government and the years in which they are taught are as follows:

<u>Grade</u>	<u>Course</u>	<u>Units (years)</u>
8th	United States History and Geography	One (required)



9th	World History and Geography	One (required)
10th	None*	None
11th	United States and Virginia History	One (required)
12th	United States and Virginia Government	One (required)
	Economics or United States Problems	One-half (elective)

The Richmond curriculum requires somewhat greater exposure in these subjects than is generally required in Virginia's secondary public school system. Four units of instruction in the foregoing subjects are required in Richmond, as compared with three under the State requirements. In addition, Richmond requires both world history and geography in the ninth grade, while the State requirement in that grade is limited to either world history or geography. If the student receives the geography course, he may never be exposed to a world history course in his secondary education.

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\* Commencing with the 1961-62 session, an elective course will be offered on "The World in the Twentieth Century," which will include a study of the causes and results of the wars during this period, the efforts to preserve peace, the presence of conflicting ideologies, the economic problems and technological advances of our times, the existing global tensions and the domestic problems created by the international picture. No suitable text has yet been found for use in this course. This course will be coordinated with the instruction on communism.

The Richmond system is large enough to permit a division of classes into those with above average and average ability. These classifications are designated as "X" and "Y" classes, respectively, and will be referred to as such in discussing below the texts presently used in the Richmond secondary grades.

### Summary Analysis Of The Texts

Different texts are normally used in the "X" and "Y" classes. Each of these texts, designated by year and course of instruction, is separately outlined and discussed in the Appendix with respect to the material they contain on the Soviet Union and International Communism.

The texts vary considerably in the quality and extent of their coverage of these subjects. Some contain passages so cursory as to be virtually worthless. For instance, This is America's Story, the eighth grade "X" class text, devotes less than 4 of its 701 pages to the Soviet Union and International Communism. What is presented is not only brief, but misleading. The entire discussion devoted to the Russian revolutions of 1917 is limited to less than four sentences, as follows:

"... the Russians revolted against their government. They overthrew their ruler, called the Czar (zahr). Then they set up a government in which the country was controlled by the members of one party, called the Communist Party. This party still holds the reins of power in Russia."



This passage, without attempting to describe the nature of, or the forces behind, the separate revolutions of 1917 implies that the Russian populace en masse overthrew their Czar and contemporaneously placed in power the Communist Party. Neither Marx nor Lenin is mentioned.

Some texts in their zeal to denounce communism overdraw (as well as greatly oversimplify) the contrast between the United States and the Soviet Union. For example, in The People Govern, the twelfth grade "Y" class text, under a passage entitled "Private enterprise versus government-planned economy," the following discussion appears:

"In the United States there is a relatively free market for goods and services. Prices are determined between sellers and buyers mostly on the basis of supply and demand. Within the limits of his income and intelligence, the American consumer is free to choose what he wants from an abundant economy. He can heat his home with wood, coal, gas, oil, or electricity. He can buy his vegetables fresh, canned, or frozen. He can drink milk, tea, beer, or coffee. He can live in a city apartment or a suburban ranch house. His wife can choose between a record player in the living room or a dishwashing machine in the kitchen.

"There is no such freedom of choice in the planned economy of the U.S.S.R. All business must conform to the overall planning of the government, which in turn is controlled by the Communist Party. The Gosplan is the political agency which fixes the goals and determines the plans by which the economic system serves the state. Thus the government decides that the emphasis in production will be on heavy machinery

or armaments instead of consumers' goods like dresses, shoes, and soap. The government decides how much a factory ought to produce. A factory manager who fails to meet the quota is not simply inefficient; he is treasonable, since he is obstructing the goals of the state. Politics covers the entire economic order and it is the politics of dictatorship. No one in the U.S.S.R. is free to buy or sell as he pleases but only as the government plans for all."

This passage may leave the reader with a bad taste for communism, but it is likely also to mislead him into a serious under-estimation of the extent to which the communist system can and does compete economically and ideologically with the free world.

One or two texts do attempt to present a historical treatment of the Soviet Union. Our World Through the Ages, the ninth grade "X" class text, is the best in this respect. In 9 pages it presents the only real endeavor by any of the texts to trace the historical development of the Soviet Union from 1917 to 1939. Its failing, however, is that in this ambitious undertaking it attempts too much in too limited a space. Its range of topics, as can be seen in the Appendix, is so vast that only limited treatment is accorded each topic. Noticeable omissions also occur. For instance, it fails to mention the purges of the late twenties and thirties which so decisively shaped the course of communism during the period prior to World War II.



In several of the texts brief passages are excellent as far as they go. The most noteworthy is found in Magruder's American Government, the twelfth grade "X" class text. This passage presents the fullest discussion of the communist ideology found in any of the texts and, for that reason, it is quoted in full in the Appendix. Its "Evaluation of Communism" fails, however, to challenge directly the basic tenants of communism it has just presented.

#### General Observations On The Problem

##### 1. Quantative Deficiency

None of the texts is intended to afford any substantial instruction on the Soviet Union and International Communism or the resulting problems which confront America and the free world. The quantative treatment of these subjects is nevertheless disturbingly inadequate.

A sheer page examination shows that in five years of high school, a student undertaking every required "X" class in history and government is exposed to only 48 pages of textual discussion on the Soviet Union and communism out of a total of 3592 pages in these required courses. The student taking the "Y" classes of instruction has only 43 pages of text on



the Soviet Union and communism out of a total of 3046 pages in these same courses. Much of the material devoted to the Soviet Union or communism in each of these texts is merely repetitious of earlier texts.

## 2. Lack of Depth

The discussion presented in these texts is so condensed and unsophisticated as to afford little, if any, academic challenge to the mind of the average high school student. Such statements as found in A History of the World, the ninth grade "Y" class text, that in the Russian revolution "the party was well organized, well disciplined and knew what they wanted and how to get it" without explaining precisely "what they wanted" and "how they got it," is indicative of the caliber of discussion found in many of the texts. Other examples of such overly simplified treatment are quoted in the Appendix.

There is also an absence of any attempt to familiarize or even acquaint the student with the special and deceptive terminology of communism. There are few, if any, references to such terms as "dialectical materialism," "capitalist encirclement," "deviationism," or "peaceful coexistence." Little attempt is made to distinguish and define the semantic difference

between East and West over such terms as "peace," "democracy," "liberation," "freedom" and "the rights of the people."

### 3. Fallacies of Marx Not Presented

None of the texts contains a thorough study or analysis of Marxian principles, nor any presentation indicating how the advent of automation, labor unions, the welfare state and the decline of colonialism have drastically altered the conditions prevalent during the mid-nineteenth century. Such an undertaking, giving an objective presentation of the economic evils Karl Marx sought to correct or to predict, would show how more recent events have either eroded or proven fallacious most, if not all, of the basic tenants of Marxian communism.

Such a presentation should lead to a showing of the startling distinction between the theory of Marxian communism and the practice today of Russian communism. On this last point the texts entirely fail. For example, in The People Govern, the twelfth grade "Y" class text, it is mentioned that Marx thought that communism would first develop in countries where the workers were most highly organized. Then the text states:

"Curiously, by a combination of circumstances, communism has come to power in the most backward countries."



Little explanation is given as to what was "the combination of circumstances," nor do any of the texts mention that no communist nation existing today came into being in the manner predicted by Marx.

#### 4. Inadequate Treatment Of Post-War Developments

The post-war period of Soviet expansion and the menacing threat of communism to the free world are accorded a purely historical treatment with little attempt to evaluate either the accomplishments or failures of communism. There are sketchy descriptions of the overt aggressive acts of the Soviet Union, such as the seizure of Eastern Europe, without attempting to evaluate whether or not communism has succeeded in its aims and, if so, at what price. No endeavor is made to part the Iron or Bamboo Curtain to observe how the people have fared under communist rule. Nor is there any attempt to examine why the communist parties in Western Europe, operating within a free society and without the aid of the Red Army, have failed to win popular support for their programs in the very area of Europe where Marx predicted communism would both commence and thrive.

#### 5. Techniques of Communist Expansion Ignored

There is virtually no effective treatment of the methods

(subversion, espionage, infiltration, propaganda, economic penetration, incitement to revolution, etc.) employed to expand International Communism. No American should fail to understand thoroughly these relatively new and highly effective techniques, and the shocking magnitude to which they are employed on a world-wide basis.

#### 6. Appeal Of Communism To Backward Peoples

Likewise, these texts are quite superficial in presenting one of the most perplexing challenges to the free world, namely, the distinct appeal of communism to backward peoples. The extent of the discussion on this important point is illustrated by the following passage appearing under the title of "The Strength of Communism" in The History of a Free People, the eleventh grade "Y" class text:

"Communism is far more dangerous than Naziism because its expressed ideals are higher. The Communists promise to provide work and a decent living for all - many millions in the world are unemployed and most of the world's population lives in poverty. The Communists say that all men (at least all who work) are brothers - many millions of people suffer discrimination because of race or religion. The Communists call on all men and women of good will to join in a crusade against poverty and oppression - and many people want to dedicate themselves to a cause. The Communists pretend to admire democracy, and call the governments they establish 'people's democracies.' Far from



publicly glorifying war, they talk constantly of peace. It is often only after the Communists have taken over a country that its people learn the bitter lesson that they have become subject to a ruthless tyranny, and that the bright promises of communism are false.

"The strength of communism rests not only on Russian armies and attractions of Communist propaganda, but also on Communist agents all over the world. Unquestioning party members are found everywhere. Everywhere they are willing to engage in spying, sabotage, and the promotion of unrest on orders from Moscow."

This is a good statement, but instead of a mere two paragraphs there should be at least a chapter on one of the most difficult problems of our time.

#### 7. Piecemeal Approach Inadequate

The instruction on the Soviet Union and International Communism is taught piecemeal out of various texts and throughout a five year period. As a result, even the material which may be fairly good is lost in the mass of other material presented to a student throughout the years of high school.

The fragmentary or piecemeal approach not only characterizes the five year high school period but also applies to each particular course. For instance, the ninth grade "X" class text devoted to world history contains by far the best material on the Soviet Union and communism. But the effectiveness of instruction from this text is necessarily diluted when presented

as but a fleeting vignette of the story of man from the Old Stone Age through the Twentieth Century.

In short, the principles of concentration and instruction in depth are conspicuously ignored.

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Caveat: The foregoing discussion does not take into account factors beyond the textual material offered the student. There are, of course, many teachers who present substantial supplementary material which goes well beyond the text books. Several teachers in Richmond have developed excellent supplementation dealing specifically with communism. On the other hand, these survey courses in history and government are already over-loaded with material, and often the most recent developments (especially in history courses) are treated hurriedly or never reached at all before the course ends.



APPENDIX

EIGHTH GRADE: "X" CLASS TEXT

This is America's Story, Howard B. Wilder, Robert P. Ludlum and Harriett McCune Brown, (1954) 701 pages.

General Description: American history, giving briefly the European background leading up to Age of Exploration.

Imperial Russia:

1. Oregon claims - (three sentences, pp. 352-353)
2. Immigrants to U. S. - (three sentences, pp. 498-499)
3. Purchase of Alaska - (one paragraph, pp. 539-540)
4. Rights to Port Arthur - (one sentence, p. 587)
5. War with Japan (1905) - (two paragraphs, p. 589)
6. Participation in World War I - (four sentences, pp. 592 and 598)

Soviet Union:

1. Communist Theory and the 1917 Revolution - (less than a page, p. 606)

Note: Here in three paragraphs, under a chapter subhead pertaining to the formation of new governments in Russia, Germany, and Italy, is the book's only discussion of the political and economic nature of communism.

The first paragraph describes how the Communist Party seized power, stating in part:



" . . . the Russians revolted against their government. They overthrew their ruler, called the Czar (zähr). Then they set up a government in which the country was controlled by the members of one party, called the Communist Party. This party still holds the reins of power in Russia." (The names of Marx or Lenin do not appear anywhere in this text.)

The second and third paragraphs compare the economic systems of capitalism and communism, stating in respect to communism:

"The Russians changed the system of private ownership. In their country the government owns and operates the factories and the farms, the railroads and the mines, the stores and the newspapers and the hospitals. The people work for the government. This system is called Communism, because supposedly all the factories and businesses and property are owned in common by all the people. But as it has worked out, everything in Soviet Russia is controlled by a small group who are the leaders of the Communist Party." (Italics in original.)

The discussion closes with a few brief sentences describing the denial of individual freedoms in a country which calls itself a democracy but which is truly not.

2. Participation in World War II -- (five scattered sentences referring to Russia's participation comprising less than a page, pp. 612, 615, 617 and 621)

3. The Cold War and Communist Expansion - (less than two combined pages scattered through the chapters dealing with the post-war period, pp. 622, 624, 625, 626, 627, 654, 655 and 661)

Note: The brevity of the treatment accorded the Soviet Union's post-war activity is illustrated by the entire discussion devoted to the Communist control of Eastern Europe:

"Meanwhile, Russia took full control of the European countries east of the line to which its armies had advanced. At that point it dropped an 'iron curtain.' This phrase described Russia's refusal to release information about her activities and to deal openly with other countries. Behind the Iron Curtain the people lost their freedom and the right to govern themselves." (No mention is made of the specific countries involved nor was there any earlier reference to the 1939 annexation of the Baltic countries.)



EIGHTH GRADE: "Y" CLASS TEXT

Your Country's Story, Margaret G. Mackey, (1953)

534 pages.

General Description: American history commencing with the Age of Exploration.

Imperial Russia:

1. North American claims and Alaska - (less than a combined page scattered throughout text, pp. 78, 131, 201, 202, 349 and 351)
2. Holy Alliance - (one paragraph, p. 201)
3. Monroe Doctrine and Russian California claims - (one sentence, p. 201)
4. Participation in World War I - (less than a page, pp. 402, 403 and 409)

Soviet Union:

1. Communist Theory and the 1917 Revolution - (one page, pp. 439-440)

Note: Combined with a discussion of the rise of Fascism and Nazism is the following entire discussion devoted to the ideology of Communism:

"The Communist government came into power in Russia in 1917. The person who did the most to spread the idea of communism was a German named Karl Marx. In the middle 1800's Marx began to teach that workers, or those who depended only on their own labor, should overthrow by force all those who own businesses which produce goods and offer services. Then

the government would take over all businesses and run them for the workers. Marx believed that workers all over the world should unite in order to do this.

"This idea caught the fancy of many people, among them a group of Russians. In 1917 Germany was defeating the Russian army. In that year many of the Russians revolted against the cruel government of the Czar and set up a new government. The Communists saw their chance. They took, by force, this weak new government. They killed the Czar and his family. Then they made a separate peace with Germany. After that they spent a number of years bringing the rest of Russia under their control. They took over the ownership of all land, and they killed or put into prison camps all who opposed them or who they thought might oppose them. They did not allow freedom of speech, the press, assembly, or religion. The Communists did not represent all the Russian people, nor do they today. Communism, as practiced in Russia, is a dictatorship of a small political party. This political party is itself controlled by its leader.

"Communism does not permit private ownership of property, except 'for the satisfaction of one's personal needs.' What one's personal needs are is determined by the leaders of the Communist party. Members of the party believe that control by the workers can be won only by seizing property from those who own it. This means carrying on a war against those who own property. The Communists have never believed that the war between workers and property-owners should be kept within Russia. They follow Marx in his belief that this war should be fought in all countries. To bring this war about, the Communists developed an international organization. This was called the Comintern. Later it became known as the Cominform.

"When Stalin came into power, he followed a policy of making Russia herself strong. He therefore entered into treaties with other



countries. In these treaties he promised not to attack them if they would not attack him. The Comintern, however, continued to do its work. Gradually people in freedom-loving countries grew suspicious of the Communists, who were using crafty ways to overthrow the governments of other peoples."

2. Participation in World War II - (less than a page, Pp. 443, 444, 447, 451 and 452.
3. Communist Expansion and the Cold War
  - a. Fairly adequate historical presentation of Communist expansion, covering Eastern Europe, China, the Cominform, plus reference again to dictatorial nature of Communism - (seven pages, pp. 465-471)
  - b. Limited reference with respect to necessity for U. S. post-war alliances under chapter heading of "The United States and World Peace" - (less than 4 combined pages of scattered material within pp. 472-488)

NINTH GRADE: "X" CLASS TEXT

Our World Through the Ages, Nathaniel Platt and Muriel Jean Drummond (2d Ed. 1959), 705 pages (text).

General Description: Survey of world history from the Old Stone Age to the present (1958). Aside from cursory and scattered references, the following are the portions of the text which discuss either Imperial Russia or the Soviet Union at any length:

Imperial Russia:

1. Russian history through Catherine the Great and the 18th Century - pp. 275-81 (7 pages).
2. Russian history in the 19th and 20th Century through Nicholas II (1917) - pp. 482-485 (4 pages)

Soviet Union:

1. Marxian Socialism explained - pp. 430-31 (1 combined page).

Note: This discussion, appearing under a chapter devoted to the effects of the industrial revolution, states the following:

"When Europe was torn by the revolutions of 1848, a revolutionary pamphlet, the Communist Manifesto, was published by two exiled Germans, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This pamphlet urged the workers of the world to unite and overthrow capitalism. Marx's principles - so-called scientific socialism - are expressed not only in the simple pamphlet, Communist Manifesto, but in a complex three-volume work, Das Kapital.



Marx wrote that practically everything man does is determined by the conditions under which he makes a living, and that in every age the wealthy have determined the form of government, education, and culture. In short, he believed in an economic interpretation of history. But many historians feel that Marx distorted history in his overemphasis on economic influences. They point, for example, to the powerful influences of nationalism and religion, two forces which Marx attacked. Marx asserted that all wealth is produced by laborers. He maintained that the laborer under the capitalist system received only enough to keep him alive. Marx failed to appreciate the many risks which capitalists take to set up the businesses which produce goods and provide employment. And he did not live to see the many workers who have automobiles, radios, and their own homes.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," wrote Marx. He called the struggles between plebeians and patricians in ancient Rome, between serfs and lords in medieval Europe, and between bourgeoisie and nobility in early modern times examples of the class struggle. The Industrial Revolution had, he believed, sharpened the class struggle between labor and capital. He declared that socialism would inevitably succeed capitalism. He predicted that this would happen thus: (1) An increasing number of industries would come under the control of fewer men. (2) The middle class would gradually be forced to become part of the laboring class. (3) Finally, according to Marx, the vast majority of the people would become so poor that they would revolt and seize the industries. Marx's emphasis on the class struggle has stirred up vicious hatreds. Many thinking people have pointed out that it is ridiculous to divide society into two conflicting classes when there are so many classes whose interests overlap. Furthermore, in many countries, the middle class is growing stronger rather than weaker. Critics of socialism also point

out that under socialism the government would be all-powerful and that various groups would be constantly struggling for control.

"Influenced by Marxian principles, socialists have set up various international organizations. One of these, the Second International, formed at Paris in 1889, collapsed because socialist workers in World War I were more loyal to their nations than to socialist internationalism. The Third International, called the Comintern, born at Moscow in 1919, was completely controlled by the Communists of Russia. In 1947, another International, the Cominform, also under Russian domination, was created."

2. "A Communist Dictatorship Replaces Romanoff Autocracy in Russia" - pp. 555-563 (9 pages including a full page map)

Note: This discussion appears under a chapter titled "The Major Dictatorships Between Two Wars," and devotes an equal 9 pages to Facism and Nazism.

It is fair to say that what is presented in this treatment is good but, considering the period covered (1917-1939) and the range of topics discussed, too limited. A partial list of the topics treated includes the following: a resume of the historical background leading up to the March Revolution; the reasons for and the events of the October Revolution; the internal conflict between Red and White armies (1917-1920); the initial failure of communism and the advent of NEP (1917-1928); Lenin's succession by Stalin; the estab-



lishment of the various republics into the U.S.S.R.; the inauguration, accomplishments and failures of the early Five-Year Plans (1928-1939); the structure of the Soviet government and its constitution; the organizational structure of the Communist Party; Soviet foreign policy (1917-1939); and education, religion and the status of women in the U.S.S.R. To illustrate the brevity accorded these subjects, appearing immediately after three paragraphs devoted to "The Government of the U.S.S.R.: On Paper and in Practice" (one paragraph discussing the governmental structure, two the constitutional rights), is the following entire discussion in the text devoted to the organizational structure, activities and role of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R.:

"Judging the Russian government without studying the Communist party would be like judging a house entirely by its outside paint job. The Communist party is the only party permitted. Practically every important Russian official and most of the lesser officials belong to the party. Actually, Russia is a dictatorship of the Communist party. Yet only three per cent out of a population of over 215,000,000 have been permitted to become members of the party. It is difficult to get into the party and easy to be put out. Children are trained

for membership in special youth organizations and the strictest investigation of a candidate is made. Members have been expelled for disobeying even minor party rules and executed for challenging party principles. Each member is a kind of watchdog who acts as the eyes and ears of the party, dedicated to preserving communism in Russia. Once party policies have been decided upon, each member must follow them. He is also expected to propagandize the people for communism and for the party's decisions. Delegates are elected to a Communist convention which is controlled by a small group called the Presidium. And it was Joseph Stalin, member of the Presidium, who controlled it, the party, and Russia. By 1956 Khrushchev seemed to be Russia's Number One man."

3. Acquisition of the Baltic States and the Polish Partition (1939) - pp. 609-10 (less than 1 page).
4. Participation in World War II - pp. 613-14, 618-19, 634-36 (7 pages).
5. Cold War Developments and Communist Expansion - pp. 644-53, 662-65, 668-69 (16 pages).

Note: The foregoing page references appear in a chapter entitled "A Cold War Develops in Time of Peace." Most of the material treats the Free World's reaction to communist expansion. For instance, within the material appearing on pages 644 through 653, in addition to the discussion of Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe (2 pages) a great deal of space is devoted to the effect of the Cold War upon the U.N., Germany and



Austria, as well as a discussion of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and Point Four.

The establishment of Communist China and the Korean conflict are discussed on pages 662-65, while in two pages (668-69), the Soviet renunciation of Stalinist tactics, the Polish and Hungarian uprising, cooperation in the International Geophysical Year, and the rise of "peaceful coexistence" (though never mentioned by name) are presented under the subhead "The Soviet Union Adopts a New Look in the Cold War."

6. "Communist China Adopts and Adapts Russian Methods" - pp. 683-84 (2 pages).
7. "Russian Influence in the Middle East" - pp. 695-96 (1 combined page).

NINTH GRADE: "Y" CLASS TEXT

A History of the World, Alice Magenis and John Conrad Appel (1955) 561 pages (text).

General Description: Survey of world history from the Old Stone Age to the present (1954).

Other than for extremely brief historical references, the following are the portions of the text which discuss at any length either Imperial Russia or the Soviet Union:

Imperial Russia:

1. Russia in the Middle Ages - pp. 166-68 (less than two combined pages).
2. Russian history through Catherine the Great - pp. 294-98 (5 pages).
3. Russian history through Alexander III and the 19th Century - pp. 413-15 (less than two combined pages).

Soviet Union:

1. Marxian Socialism discussed - p. 369 (1 page).

Note: Under a subhead entitled "The Rise of Socialism," the text's only attempt to examine the communist ideology is presented as follows:

"It was in 1848 also that two leading German Socialists, Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels, published a pamphlet called the Communist Manifesto. In this they gave their view as to why workers were downtrodden and what hope they had to improve their condition. At that time, very



little was heard of the Communist Manifesto.

"In 1867, Marx and Engels published the first of three volumes entitled Das Kapital. In great detail they explained in these books their theories, which were known as Marxian Socialism, or Communism. Das Kapital was based on the idea that all people belong to one of two classes: capitalists or workers. Marx and Engels said the workers were the source of all wealth, and that in order to get their share, the workers must organize and use revolution, if necessary."

After discussing in three short paragraphs the First and Second International and the growth of socialism in the world at the turn of the century, the text then states:

"Since 1910, Communists have claimed to foresee the time when war would so weaken the capitalistic countries that the Communists could overthrow their governments and seize control. Many of the efforts of the Communists were and are directed toward the undermining of governments in free countries. Lenin and other Communists claimed that a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' would give the workers control of government and wealth. We now know that 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' is a false and vicious idea. As practiced in Russia, Lenin's beliefs have deprived the workers of freedom, religion, and a decent standard of living. Communism has also denied to the people the privilege of free elections and of course the right to criticize their officials. The world is now paying a tragic price because Communists had an opportunity to put their theories into effect in Russia not many years after the advent of Bolshevism."

2. The 1917 Revolution and earlier Soviet history (1917-1939) - pp. 467-70 (4 pages).

Note: This discussion appears under a chapter entitled

"Autocracy Arises Under a New Name" and treats Fascism, Nazism, Japanese Imperialism and other dictatorships as well, devoting 11 pages to these other subjects.

The treatment accorded this period of Soviet history is wholly inadequate. By way of illustration, approximately one-sixth of the textual material discusses the establishment of communist control - commencing with the reign of Nicholas II - in the following manner:

"The discontent grew with the list of war casualties and hunger at home until, in 1917, a revolution occurred that the Tsar, Nicholas II, could not survive. He abdicated on March 15, 1917. And that was the end of the Romanovs.

"The liberal government that was then set up was not strong enough nor radical enough to get the support of the dissatisfied workers, and a second revolution occurred in November, 1917. This brought into power Nicholas Lenin (len in), the leader of the Bolsheviks, whom he called Communists and the party the Communist party. He and several of his supporters had been in exile but returned to Russia after the March Revolution. Among his supporters was Leon Trotsky, who organized the Bolshevik, or Red, Army. Only a small part of the Russian people were of his party, but the party was well organized, well disciplined, and knew what they wanted and how to get it. Those who resisted the plans and methods of the new government were subjected to severe punishments. Thousands lost their lives and many fled from the country."

This is the extent of coverage on the revolutionary period. The names of Petrograd or Kerenski are never



mentioned, as are neither the Constituent Assembly, the Civil War nor the Allied intervention.

3. Participation in World War II - pp. 517-18, 520, 522 (less than 1 combined page).
4. The Cold War and Communist Domination of Eastern Europe - 535-540 (6 pages).

Note: Three of these pages discuss primarily United States post-war opposition to communist expansion - Point Four, the Marshall Plan and NATO. The remaining three pages cover the raising of the Iron Curtain and the Cold War, presenting as illustrative cases Czechoslovakia and Germany. As for the actual character and effect of the Cold War, the following single paragraph appears:

"It became clear to the Western Allies even before the end of the war that one very serious post-war problem would be communism. Although Soviet Russia had received much material aid from both Great Britain and the United States, she held close to her political theory of taking advantage of suffering and poverty to win nations over to communism. Most of the nations of the world took sides behind the two leaders in this war of ideas, this 'cold war.' Those leaders were the United States and Soviet Russia. At times the accusations between them grew so sharp that the small countries feared open warfare would result."

5. The Rise of Communist China and the Korean Conflict - pp. 542-43, 556-57 (less than 2 combined pages).

ELEVENTH GRADE: "X" CLASS TEXT

The Making of Modern America, Leon H. Canfield  
and Howard B. Wilder (1954 ed.) 784 pages (text).

General Description: United States history from the colonial  
period to the present (1953).

Pertaining as it does to United States history,  
this text only touches upon Imperial Russia or the Soviet  
Union as that country came in contact with this country in  
its historical development. The references are usually  
extremely brief, never exceeding a paragraph. (Examples:  
Russian exploration on Pacific coast, p. 190; participation  
in World War II: Stalingrad, p. 707.) Two passages, discussed  
below, are exceptions to this rule.

The Soviet Revolution and Early History (1917-1939)

This entire period of Soviet history is discussed in  
slightly more than a single page (p. 689-90), about one-half  
of which pertains to the United States' policy of non-recognition.

Friction Grows Between Soviet Russia and the West

Under this sub-title a historical presentation of  
the events of the Cold War is given in less than six pages  
(pp. 717-23), focusing its attention almost exclusively upon  
the activities of the West to combat communism. (For



example, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, the Organization of American States, NATO, etc.) The single paragraph presenting the causes of the Cold War appears under the caption "Russian actions create fear and suspicion," stating:

"The deadlock in the Council of Foreign Ministers over the German and Austrian treaties was just one indication of the growing rift between Soviet Russia and the countries of the West. During the war close co-operation between Soviet and Allied leaders had led to the hope that friendly relations would continue after the war. It soon became evident, however, that Russia had other plans in mind. Although the new governments of the countries in eastern Europe (Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Hungary) were supposed to be democratic and representative of all political parties, communist-led groups seized control of the governments and made them satellites of Soviet Russia. Wherever Communists came into power, they killed or imprisoned those who were friendly to the West and began destroying freedom of speech and the press. Thus an 'iron curtain' of secrecy was lowered over Russia and the Russian-controlled states of eastern Europe. As a result, the cordial feeling that the United States had developed toward Soviet Russia was gradually replaced by fear and suspicion that Russia was once more bent on a program of world revolution."

ELEVENTH GRADE: "Y" CLASS TEXT

The History of a Free People, Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen (1954) 704 pages (text).

General Description: United States history from the colonial period to the present (1953).

As this text is devoted to American history, except for the particular passages cited below, any mention of Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union is only by oblique references. (For example, the communist revolution is only mentioned in connection with events of World War I: "In March, 1917, the Russians overthrew the czarist government; in the ensuing period of confusion, their military effort weakened. After the Bolsheviks seized power in November, 1917, Russia withdrew from the war entirely, releasing German armies for service in the West." p. 512)

Marxian Socialism:

The origin and nature of Marxian socialism is presented in two paragraphs in a chapter entitled "Protest Movements," and it appears under a sub-title dealing with Socialism. This passage states:

"There are many types of socialism, but those with the most impact on the modern world stem from the writings of Karl Marx, especially The Communist Manifesto (1845), and Capital (1867-1895).



Marx, who wrote with force and buttressed his opinions with great learning, predicted that capitalism was doomed. Fewer and fewer businessmen, he said, would monopolize all wealth, while the mass of the people would be pushed into the ranks of the proletariat (people without property). Eventually the proletarians, preferring the risk of death at the barricades in violent revolution to slow starvation in factories and slums, would rise and overthrow their masters. History, said Marx, had seen continuous class struggles, but that between industrial workers and capitalists would be the last. When the workers won, they would establish a classless society which would continue happily ever after. Marx called on proletarians everywhere to join his crusade: 'Workingmen of all countries, unite!'

"Marxian socialism enlisted millions of workers in the industrial countries of Europe. In this country, however, it gained only a small following, mostly among immigrant groups in big cities. Although these people talked about 'the revolution' as though it were just around the corner, and published violent little newspapers with titles such as The Volcano, they were not much of a threat to American society. Marxian socialism had widespread appeal to people who despaired of rising from the ranks of the poor by any other means. In America there was always hope of improving one's economic position, and, except during severe depressions, this hope was based on fact." (pp. 412-13)

#### The Cold War:

Aside from devoting two pages to the emergence of Communist China and the Korean War (pp. 662-63), there are only two other references of any length to either communism or the

Soviet Union. The first, appearing under the sub-title "A Divided World," in two very short paragraphs describes Soviet post-war expansion (without mentioning by name any eastern European countries) and in two additional paragraphs discusses "The Strength of Communism" in the following manner:

"Communism is far more dangerous than Naziism because its expressed ideals are higher. The Communists promise to provide work and a decent living for all—many millions in the world are unemployed and most of the world's population lives in poverty. The Communists say that all men (at least all who work) are brothers — many millions of people suffer discrimination because of race or religion. The Communists call on all men and women of good will to join in a crusade against poverty and oppression — and many people want to dedicate themselves to a cause. The Communists pretend to admire democracy, and call the governments they establish 'people's democracies.' Far from publicly glorifying war, they talk constantly of peace. It is often only after the Communists have taken over a country that its people learn the bitter lesson that they have become subject to a ruthless tyranny, and that the bright promises of communism are false.

"The strength of communism rests not only on Russian armies and the attractions of Communist propaganda, but also on Communist agents all over the world. Unquestioning party members are found everywhere. Everywhere they are willing to engage in spying, sabotage, and the promotion of unrest on orders from Moscow." (pp. 654-55)



The remaining passage discussing communism deals in less than a page with the threat of communism in America upon our civil liberties, mentioning certain Supreme Court cases affecting these rights. (p. 667)

In sum, less than 7 pages of any extended coverage are devoted to Russian history or communism.

TWELFTH GRADE: "X" CLASS TEXT

Magruder's American Government, revised by William A. McClenaghan (1958 ed.) 743 pages (text).

General Description: A study of American government, described by the revisor as continuing "the practice of reporting on up-to-the-minute events while maintaining its primary emphasis on the basic structure of American Government."

Communism:

Except for one passage, the Soviet Union or communism are scarcely alluded to in this text. This single passage, appearing under the sub-title "Capitalism versus Socialism and Communism," is quoted herein in full because, though it covers only two and one-half pages in the text (pp. 26-28), it is the fullest discussion of the communist ideology found in any of the texts examined. It states:

"Communism. Communism is both an economic and a political doctrine. As we know it today, communism was born in 1848 with the publication of the Communist Manifesto. This brief document was written by the founder of modern communism, Karl Marx, with the aid of his friend Friedrich Engels.

"In the Manifesto, Marx and Engels laid down the cardinal premises of what they called 'scientific socialism,' or communism. Since then, these theories have been interpreted and expanded by Marx's followers. The



most important of these 'high priests of communism' have been V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin.

"The four central features of communist theory are: (1) the communist theory of history, (2) the labor theory of value, (3) the communist theory of the nature of the state, and (4) the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"(1) The Communist Theory of History. According to Marx, all of the history of mankind has been a story of 'class struggle.' The communists say that there have always been two opposing classes in society — one an oppressor (dominating) class and the other an oppressed (dominated) class. In feudal times the two classes were the noblemen and the serfs. Today, say the communists, the capitalists (the bourgeoisie) and the workers (the Proletariat) are the contending classes. Workers in capitalistic countries are described by the communists as 'wage-slaves' who are paid barely enough to permit them to eke out a starvation living. The communists claim that this alleged situation must be changed by a mass revolt of the workers and the 'liquidation' of the capitalists.

"(2) The Labor Theory of Value. According to communist theory, the value of any commodity is determined by the amount of labor necessary to produce that commodity, in other words, a pair of shoes is worth so much because it takes so much labor to produce the shoes. Because the laborer produced the shoes and thus created their value, the communists claim that he should receive that value in full. They maintain that all income should come from work. They are violently opposed to the free enterprise profit system and condemn profits as 'surplus value.' They claim that this 'surplus value' should go to the worker.



"(3) The Communist Theory of the Nature of the State. To the communists the state is the instrument or 'tool' of the dominant class — a tool with which the bourgeoisie keeps the proletariat in bondage. Because the capitalists are so firmly entrenched and control the power of the state, said Lenin, it is only through 'a violent and bloody revolution' that the situation can be altered. (The communists claim that other institutions are also used as 'tools.' Marx described religion as 'the opiate of the people' — a drug fed to the proletariat as a hoax through which the people are led to tolerate their supposed harsh lot in this life in order to gain a 'fictional' afterlife.)

"The 'violent and bloody revolution' envisioned by Lenin would wipe out the capitalist class and place its holdings in the hands of the state.

"(4) The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The communists do not see a proletariat able to govern themselves after a revolution. They would need 'guidance' and 'education' from the communist party. So communist dogma calls for a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' to accomplish this. The dictatorship would 'educate' the people to the place where each individual would work not for himself but for society. Then the state would 'wither away' and the communist goal of a 'free classless society' would be realized. In this society the cardinal principle would be: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.'

"Evaluation of Communism. The Soviet Union presents the outstanding example of communism in action. Strictly speaking, the Russians do not have pure communism today, but a peculiar type of socialism. After the 1917 Revolution Lenin attempted to establish communism, but it failed. The inefficient and the lazy were paid as much as the efficient and the industrious. The lazy became indifferent and the industrious disgruntled.



Workers and peasants refused to work to support the ne'er-do-wells, and the government executed many for disobedience. Finally the Soviet leaders turned to socialism and now claim that they are working toward communism.

"Communism destroys the individual's incentive to produce. He knows that he will get only so much no matter how hard or how little he works. If the state owns everything, there is no opportunity for the inventive and the enterprising to strike out on their own to create new and better things.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, the stage of communist development Russia is now in, denies to its subjects the benefits of a free and democratic life. Freedom of speech and press, for example, cannot be tolerated by the dictatorship, lest the people examine and question the policies of the rulers. And what guarantee is there that the dictatorship will ever end? With all power gathered in the hands of a few at the top, what is to prevent the few from perpetuating their rule?

"The class struggle theory of communism is disproven many times over by the American way of life. One of the basic differences between our system and theirs is that while we strive to promote equality of opportunity, the communists argue for equality of condition.

"We are an individualistic people. We do not have sharp division of classes, and our standard of living is the highest the world has ever seen. In effect, the American way of life has made socialism obsolete and has shown communism to be a stagnant pool of violence and reaction.

"Man is independent and creative by nature. By suppressing these traits, communism is surely signing its own death warrant."

"Resisting Communist Aggression":

Under this sub-title, the expansion of communism is discussed (pp. 209-13). However, the bulk of the material has to do with the economic and military alliances created by the United States, not with the manner or nature of communist expansion.



TWELFTH GRADE: "Y" CLASS TEXT

The People Govern, Laurence C. Paquin and Marin D. Irish (1954) 583 pages (text).

General Description: Described by the authors as "a text designed to provide young Americans with a Primer of Democracy — a book which can lead to a better understanding and appreciation of the American political system." (p. v)

The Soviet Union and Communism:

Infrequent and brief references to the Soviet Union occur throughout the text. At two points, however, some rather limited discussion appears.

First, in a chapter devoted to "Democracy versus Totalitarianism" is a two and one-half page selection entitled "For Self-Protection Americans Should Know the Meaning of Communism" (pp. 81-83). In a rather cursory fashion the following topics are discussed: "The class struggle," "Dictatorship of the proletariat," "Role of the Communist Party," "Opposition to religion," "International communism," and "Russian imperialism and international communism." The longest of these discussions is the one devoted to "International Communism," consisting of two paragraphs. To illustrate the overall brevity of the entire selection, the first of the two paragraphs under

this topic (the second traces historically the Cominform) states the following:

"Communism is international in its aspirations. Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto of 1848 was addressed to the workers of the world. They had expected that communism would develop first in the countries of western Europe where the workers were most highly organized. Curiously, by a combination of circumstances, communism has come to power in the most backward industrial countries. A Russian named Lenin was determined to make Moscow the capital of world-wide communism. Lenin thought that the proletariat would never get beyond the labor union movement without active urging by the Communist Party. He described the Party as 'the revolutionary vanguard' of the proletariat. Thus it was a professional band of revolutionaries under Lenin's direction who engineered the Russian Revolution of 1917."

The second selection according any extended treatment of communism appears in a chapter entitled "Capitalism and Its Rivals Today" under the subtitle of "Soviet Russia Has a Communist Economy" and covers six pages, about one-half of which are pictorial illustrations (pp. 378-84). The material itself is actually devoted to a comparison between the economic systems of the U.S.S.R. and the United States under the following topics: "Private versus government ownership of property," "Private enterprise versus government-planned economy," "Private profits versus public financing," "Labor unions versus political unions," "Homestead farming versus state farms and collectives," and "Transportation and communications: United States versus U.S.S.R." The treatment accorded each of these topics is extremely brief and



quite slanted, bordering upon error. For example, the entire discussion appearing under "Private enterprise versus government-planned economy" states:

"In the United States there is a relatively free market for goods and services. Prices are determined between sellers and buyers mostly on the basis of supply and demand. Within the limits of his income and intelligence, the American consumer is free to choose what he wants from an abundant economy. He can heat his home with wood, coal, gas, oil, or electricity. He can buy his vegetables fresh, canned, or frozen. He can drink milk, tea, beer, or coffee. He can live in a city apartment or a suburban ranch house. His wife can choose between a record player in the living room or a dishwashing machine in the kitchen.

"There is no such freedom of choice in the planned economy of the U.S.S.R. All business must conform to the overall planning of the government, which in turn is controlled by the Communist Party. The Gosplan is the political agency which fixes the goals and determines the plans by which the economic system serves the state. Thus the government decides that the emphasis in production will be on heavy machinery or armaments instead of consumers' goods like dresses, shoes, and soap. The government decides how much a factory ought to produce. A factory manager who fails to meet the quota is not simply inefficient; he is treasonable, since he is obstructing the goals of the state. Politics covers the entire economic order and it is the politics of dictatorship. No one in the U.S.S.R. is free to buy or sell as he pleases but only as the government plans for all."

ELEVENTH and TWELFTH GRADE:

"X" AND "Y" CLASS SUPPLEMENTARY TEXT

Cavalier Commonwealth, William E. Hemphill, Marvin W. Schlegel, and Sadie E. Engelberg, (1957) 659 pages (text).  
General Description: A study of the history and government of the State of Virginia from 1570 to the present.

The Soviet Union and Communism

There is no discussion of the Soviet Union or international communism.



TWELFTH GRADE: "X" CLASS TEXT (half-year elective)

Economics and You, Sol Holt, (1954) 529 pages (text).

General Description: Described in the Preface as a "teaching of an understanding and appreciation of our free enterprise system."

The Soviet Union and Communism

This text almost in its entirety is devoted to presenting an economic understanding of our capitalistic society. In an introductory chapter dealing with "Our Capitalistic Society" a brief three pages (pp. 11-14) describes the controlled economic systems of communism and facism as compared with the free enterprise system of capitalism. The following passage entitled "Communist versus Capitalist Earning Power" states:

"In addition to losing the basic economic rights of choosing your own job or business, joining a union or owning property, a worker in a Communist country must work far longer to earn the necessities and luxuries needed for decent living. In the matter of food, for example, a Soviet laborer must work sixteen minutes to earn enough to buy a pound of bread, whereas an average American worker earns enough in six minutes. To purchase a quart of milk, if and when available in Russia, it takes forty-seven minutes of labor for a Soviet worker, but only nine minutes for an American worker. The same variation in earning ability exists in the purchase of clothing. In terms of the average worker's earning power, a man's shirt in Moscow costs sixteen times more than it does in the United States; shoes, twenty times more. Such personal belongings as a wrist watch or radio can be purchased only at a great sacrifice by the average citizen of Soviet Russia.

"This tremendous difference in earning power between Russian Communist and American workers is based mainly on the efficiency of free labor over regimented labor. An average American worker produces seven times more coal, three times more steel, and four times more farm crops than a worker or farmer in the Soviet Union. Men who are free cannot be matched in their ability to produce because such men have the incentive of knowing that they will ultimately share in the increased productivity. Although the figures in the accompanying chart may vary a bit from year to year, what we may conclude from studying it does not change."

#### PURCHASING POWER OF WORKERS

To earn enough to buy these articles -----	A U.S. laborer must work	A Russian labor- er must work
Radio	21 hours	225 hours or 10 times longer
Bicycle	31 hours	467 hours or 15 times longer
Wrist watch	18 hours	338 hours or 18 times longer
Sewing machine	67 hours	375 hours or 5 times longer

Aside from the foregoing passage, the only remaining extended discussion of communism or the Soviet Union occurs on two pages (pp. 502-03) under the title "Meeting the Communist Threat." This passage merely summarises the historical expansion of the Soviet Union after World War II, leading thereafter into a discussion of our foreign economic programs, such as, Point Four and the Marshall Plan.



TWELFTH GRADE: "Y" CLASS TEXT (half-year)

American Problems Today, Robert Rienow, (1953) 670 pages (text).

General Description: Described by the author as dealing with "vital, live problems not with academic substitutes or a mere elaboration of high school civics," this text is largely devoted to domestic problems, such as, minority rights, education, housing, conservation of natural resources, lobbies and the relations of labor and industry. One unit of the book, covering about 120 pages, discusses world trade and the United Nations.

The Soviet Union and Communism

Ironically enough in a text bearing the title "American Problems Today," except for briefly mentioning the Soviet Union's presence in the United Nations and its attitude on disarmament, the Soviet Union and international communism are not discussed.