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ABSTRACT

The course outlined in this guide offers an in-depth look at the political left and right, including characteristics held by the extreme left and right, related social and economic theories, and the differences between theory and practice. The students will read and discuss viewpoints illustrative of a cross section of ideological positions and examine past and present mass movements having an ideological basis. At all points, the students are encouraged to redefine and crystallize their own political philosophies. The course is designed for grades 10 through 12, and intended to fit into a quinmester program. Among the course goals are that students will: 1) distinguish among positions along the political spectrum; 2) identify common characteristics shared by the extreme left and right; 3) critically examine the traditional use of terminology, labeling, and categorizing associated with contemporary ideological thought; 4) make the following generalization--that the American political system tolerates the examination of a wide range of viewpoints; and, 5) develop their own political philosophies and recognize the consequences of the implementation of those philosophies. A wide variety of learning activities and materials are utilized. The materials section of the guide includes several resources for the teacher. (Author/JLB)

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AUTHORIZED COURSE OF INSTRUCTION FOR THE

QUINMASTER PROGRAM DADE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS



SOCIAL STUDIES

Political Theory: Left To Right

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DIVISION OF INSTRUCTION • 1971

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Written by

Jean Heggy  
for the

Division of Instruction  
Dade County Public Schools  
Miami, Florida  
1971

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## INTRODUCTION

This course of study was written as part of a total effort to revise curriculum to fit the quintessential administrative organization of schools. The materials and information in this guide are meant to be neither all-inclusive nor prescriptive; but rather, an aide to teachers as they plan instructional programs, taking into account student needs and characteristics, available resources, and other factors.

The major intent of this publication is to provide a broad framework of goals and objectives, content, teaching strategies, class activities, and materials all related to a described course of study. Teachers may then accept the model framework in total or draw ideas from it to incorporate into their lessons.

The guide is divided into 1) a broad goals section, 2) a content outline, 3) objectives and learning activities, and 4) materials. The first section provides descriptive and goal-oriented information for the teacher; "indicators of success" refers to suggested prerequisite or corequisite experiences. The content outline illustrates, in general terms, the scope and major subdivisions of the course. The objectives and learning activities section, hopefully, provides a total picture of the concept or main idea and specific behavioral objectives for a set of given learning activities. The materials section of the guide lists resources in four categories: essential textural or other material; alternate classroom materials to use in place of or in addition to the aforementioned; supplementary teacher resources; and supplementary student resources. The appendix may include other material appropriate for a specific course: e.g., pretests, readings, vocabulary, etc.

Anyone having recommendations relating to this publication is urged to write them down and send to: Social Studies Office, Room 306, Lindsey Hopkins, A-1.

James A. Fleming  
Social Studies Consultant

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:** AN IN-DEPTH LOOK AT THE POLITICAL LEFT AND RIGHT, INCLUDING CHARACTERISTICS HELD BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT, RELATED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL THEORIES, AND THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE. THE STUDENTS WILL READ AND DISCUSS VIEWPOINTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF A CROSS SECTION OF IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS AND EXAMINE PAST AND PRESENT MASS MOVEMENTS HAVING AN IDEOLOGICAL BASIS. AT ALL POINTS, THE STUDENTS ARE ENCOURAGED TO REDEFINE AND CRYSTALLIZE THEIR OWN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES.

**CLUSTER:** Political and Economic Studies  
**GRADE LEVEL:** 10-12  
**COURSE STATUS:** Elective  
**INDICATORS OF SUCCESS:** Reading proficiency should be at 10th grade level and above.

**CR COURSE RATIONALE:** Students and teachers often endeavor to fit given political theories and the corresponding political behavior into neat and consistent categories. In actuality, this comfortable situation does not prevail. This course should emphasize the complex and sometimes erratic nature of man's philosophical orientation to his society, the persistence of convenient political myths, and the differences between theory and practice. In addition to focusing on general theories and their impact on society, we should assist the student in sorting out elements of his own political philosophy and recognizing the consequences of the implementation of that philosophy.

**COURSE GOALS:**

1. THE STUDENTS WILL DISTINGUISH AMONG POSITIONS ALONG THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.
2. THE STUDENTS WILL IDENTIFY COMMON CHARACTERISTICS SHARED BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT.
3. THE STUDENTS WILL CRITICALLY EXAMINE THE TRADITIONAL USE OF TERMINOLOGY, LABELING, AND CATEGORIZING ASSOCIATED WITH CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.
4. THE STUDENTS WILL INVESTIGATE WELL-KNOWN PERSONS, LITERATURE, AND CONFLICTING VIEWPOINTS AND PLACE THEM ON A QUALIFIED IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM.
5. EACH STUDENT WILL MAKE THE FOLLOWING GENERALIZATION: THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM TOLERATES THE EXAMINATION OF A WIDE RANGE OF VIEWPOINTS.
6. THE STUDENTS WILL INVESTIGATE SELECTED IDEOLOGICAL AND EXTREMIST MOVEMENTS AND PROPOSE REASONS WHY INTENT, APPEAL, AND SUBSEQUENT PRACTICE ARE OFTEN INCONSISTENT.
7. THE STUDENTS WILL DEVELOP THEIR OWN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES AND RECOGNIZE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PHILOSOPHIES.

COURSE CONTENT OUTLINE:

I. The Left and Right - differences.

- A. Students begin self-examination.
- B. Definition of positions along spectrum.
- C. Means of classifying positions along spectrum.

II. The Left and Right - common characteristics of extremes.

- A. Examples of common characteristics.
- B. Reasons for common characteristics.

IV. Viewpoints along the spectrums.

- A. Selected illustrative readings.
- B. Placement of viewpoints under A on an ideological spectrum.

V. The American Political System.

- A. Implications of the right to examine various ideological viewpoints.

VI. The contributions of all viewpoints and activities to American political life.

V . Ideology - Theory and Practice

- A. Philosophical bases for the major world ideologies.
  - 1. Communism
  - 2. Fascism
  - 3. Democratic-Capitalism
- B. Reasons for formulation of these theories.
- C. Differences between theory and practice in major world ideologies.
- D. Current extremist groups.
  - 1. Philosophies
  - 2. Programs
  - 3. Appeals
  - 4. Activities
  - 5. Membership
- E. Differences based on time, place, and circumstances.

COURSE CONTENT OUTLINE (cont.)

- E. psychological attractions of mass movements.
- VII. Importance of study to the student.
  - A. Self-portrait.
  - B. Analysis of views of others.

**GOAL: THE STUDENTS WILL DISTINGUISH AMONG POSITIONS ALONG THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM.**

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
WHAT ARE THE LEFT AND RIGHT?	<p>A. The students will begin to examine their own positions on the ideological spectrum.</p> <p><u>Note to teacher:</u> It is not possible to accomplish all the activities suggested in this outline during a nine weeks period. Please be selective within each objective, but retain all objectives. Most concepts in this course are built on the mastery of previous objectives.</p>	<p>1. First day activity: ask students to copy the practice of the French Assembly of sitting left to right according to political ideology. At this point, it is preferable to let the students make mistakes and learn by them rather than to explain the proper place for each student to sit. If the class is cooperative, the seating arrangement can be altered occasionally to conform to expanding knowledge of the subject and their resultant changing interpretation of political labels.</p> <p>2. Assign Exercise #9, P. 65, <u>The Radical Left and the Far Right</u>, Critical Issues Series, Vol. 1. This should be done in class so that students can immediately discuss and defend their answers.</p> <p>3. Have students write positions on current topics which would identify them with well-known positions on the Left and Right. Or select a few students who are willing to disclose their opinions on various topics to the class. Suggested areas of questioning:</p> <p>a. Political - inevitability of war, threat of world communism, rights of alleged criminals, need for voting restrictions (ex. literacy tests), the draft.</p> <p>b. Economic - welfare as a right or privilege, socialized medicine, government regulation of hiring practices, the graduated income tax, college (or other forms of higher education) as a right or privilege.</p> <p>c. Social - degree of authority desirable in home or school, prayer in public schools, public profanity and free speech, roles of husband and wife in marriage, communal living, deference to the aged.</p> <p>Ask students if these positions are illustrative of the Left, Right, or Center. They should give reasons for their categorizations.</p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
B. The students will define widely accepted positions along the political spectrum.	1. The students should read in class pp. 1-9 in <u>The Radical Left and the Far Right</u> for an introduction to terminology.	<p>a. Some students may object to the appellation of "left-wing" to liberal thinking. Note that this is a hand-me-down from the 1930's. Begin discussion here of confusing nature of terms.</p> <p>b. Ask students if they agree with the definitions given for "readiness to change" on pp. 1-2. Students may wish to revise definitions. Emphasize the need for common ground for discussion, but also the necessity to understand how others use and misuse terms.</p> <p>c. Quote (on board) Tugwell's distinction between conservatives and reactionaries on the same issue. Ask students where they stand on the issue mentioned and why. Or have four students represent the four points of view on this topic (or one of their own choosing).</p> <p>d. On p. 2 the author states that all four viewpoints are helpful to society. Ask students if they agree. Note general breakdown of class opinion for reference later (identical activity under objective concerning the American political system).</p> <p>e. Reactionary politics may be quite unpopular with the class. A suggested question (in order to develop a fair hearing for all philosophies):</p> <p>(1) Don't certain anti-pollution measures fall into the "reactionary approach to change" category giving up autos and other modern conveniences to return to a less ecologically damaging life-styles? or</p> <p>(2) Doesn't the return-to-nature, do-it-yourself, of some communes, (including no medical assistance at births, etc.) sound like a reactionary approach to life?</p> <p>f. Evaluate student's ability to utilize basic terminology.</p> <p>Sample questions:</p> <p>(1) Place all four viewpoints on a blank continuum according to basic willingness to change. <u>A    B    C    D</u></p> <p style="text-align: right;">(example of simple recall)</p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
	<p>(2) State issue(s). Ask students to relate how Radicals, Liberals, Conservatives, and Reactionaries would react to this issue(s). Students should explain answers.</p> <p>Suggested issues: construction of Youth Center at Greynolds or Bayfront Park or elimination of Electoral College in favor of direct election of president.</p> <p>(Example of <u>Application</u> level question)</p> <p>C. The students will identify basic differences between positions along the political spectrum.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ask students to give examples of how both philosophical viewpoints (liberal and conservative) have been incorporated into our political, economic, and social systems.</li> <li>2. (Alternate or supplement to #1). The teacher can pose existing examples of both philosophies and ask students to relate each example to the philosophy supporting it. Students should defend reasons for answers. Suggested examples for each philosophical difference:           <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Nature of Man:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Note: to clarify the concept of "original sin" in this context, ask the students why Judeao-Christian societies often possess a strong undercurrent of conservatism.</li> <li>(2) Mass education (the comprehensive high school, high minimum drop-out age, etc.) vs. elite education (college prep curriculum, the Rickover proposals, etc.)</li> </ol> </li> <li>b. Tradition and Reform:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) The church as a social force vs. the church as a saver of souls.</li> <li>(2) The teaching of conventional, structured sources (ex. American History) vs. interdisciplinary studies (Ex. Black Culture).</li> </ol> </li> <li>c. Authority and individual freedom:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Obscenity rulings - past and present.</li> <li>(2) Coed Dorms.</li> <li>(3) Dr. Spock vs. the authoritarian parent approach.</li> </ol> </li> </ol> </li> </ol>	

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
D: The students will relate the views of the extreme Left and Right to their philosophical origins.		<p>At any point, ask the students to review their original self-labeling. Have they changed their minds? Were their labels correct? Does their placement on the ideological spectrum change with the issue (a preparation for next focus)?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Have students reread pp. 6-9 in <u>The Radical Left and Far Right</u>. Pose the following question to begin an in-depth discussion of the philosophical bases of extremism: How do the characteristics of the Radical Left and the Far Right conform to the philosophical bases of liberalism and conservatism? You can, to get the discussion moving, read the first characteristic of the Far Right and ask: Which conservative philosophy can you relate this to? etc.</li> <li>2. Question for discussion: Who was V.P. Agnew referring to when he used the term "radlib"? What are the philosophical bases for the beliefs of a "Radlib"?</li> <li>3. Question for discussion: What are the philosophical bases for the beliefs of a "rah rah right-wing reactionary?"</li> </ol>

**GOAL: THE STUDENTS WILL IDENTIFY AND RATIONALIZE THE COMMON CHARACTERISTICS HELD BY THE EXTREME LEFT AND RIGHT**

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
	The students will identify and rationalize the common characteristics of the extreme Left and Right.	<p>1. Based on introduction on p. 6 in <u>The Radical Left and Far Right</u>, ask the class to list examples of <u>characteristics held in common by extreme Left and Right</u>.</p> <p>2. Discussion question sequence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Is there any area of life where you feel that you are absolutely right?</li> <li>b. Do you then feel that those who disagree with you are absolutely wrong?</li> <li>c. Would you be willing to compromise with those (under B) you disagree with in order to "keep peace?"</li> <li>d. Could you despise those who oppose you on this issue? Could you actively work to destroy them or their power?</li> <li>e. How far would you go to see that your cause prevailed - a persuasive, logical argument? a court order? a threat? a punch in the mouth? a group of followers ready to use violently coercive measures?</li> </ul> <p>Discuss student answers to this question sequence. Do any of the answers illustrate the behavior given in the examples on p. 6?</p> <p>3. Discussion question: Can we have extremist viewpoints without extremist activity?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. If yes: Doesn't that negate the only real impact that an extremist can have on a society of moderates?</li> <li>b. If no: Is extremist activity healthy for any society?</li> <li>c. Would our society be any different without any extremist viewpoints or activity? How?</li> </ul>

**GOAL: THE STUDENTS WILL CRITICALLY EXAMINE THE TRADITIONAL USE OF TERMINOLOGY, LABELING, AND CATEGORIZING ASSOCIATED WITH CONTEMPORARY IDEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.**

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
EXPLODING THE MYTHS	A. The students will critically examine the traditional terms, labels, and categories associated with political theory.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Administer Exercise #10 on p. 71 in <u>The Radical Left and Far Right</u>, substituting the individual students for Question 1 and current, relevant topics for Question 2. Base Question 4 on previous discussion of characteristics held in common by extreme Left and Right. Now proceed to a critical examination of the categories in this exercise.             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Draw a <u>spectrum</u> and a <u>circle</u> on the board and ask students to defend the use of each when distinguishing between ideological extremes.</li> <li>b. Or, a few students could do activity A as planned debate, based on issues of their own choice.</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. Show films entitled <u>Stalin</u> and <u>Hitler</u> and ask: What did these two men have in common? How did they differ? Which would better illustrate the relationship between their actions - the spectrum approach or the circle approach? Defend your answer. Do you think the same approach should be used to illustrate the relationship between their beliefs? (Note: Students have not yet been introduced to the ideologies of Communism and Fascism, so this last question is speculative for them, but it does provide a point of reference when introducing these ideologies later on.)</li> <li>3. Individual students can do reports about the use of the spectrum vs. the circle approach. Suggested topics:             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. If activity #2 is not done: Was Stalin a Fascist in Red Cloth?</li> <li>b. The Minutemen and the Weathermen - are they "birds of a feather?"</li> <li>c. Is there any political truth to the old French proverb, "The more things change, the more they remain the same"?</li> </ol> </li> <li>4. Students can write essay: Which is the more meaningful way to discriminate among viewpoints - the goals toward which a group is working or the means they will use to get there?</li> </ol>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
	<p>5. Administer the "Liberal-Conservative, Tough-Tender test (see Appendix A). Some Pointers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Scoring and explanations on p.1 should not appear on the students' test forms. These should be explained after completion.</li> <li>b. The test is very useful because it provides a basis for discussion of:           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) The problems of labeling and categorizing.</li> <li>(2) The students' own political philosophy.</li> <li>(3) The difficulty of measuring personal philosophies because of varied interpretation of questions (select a few as examples).</li> <li>(4) The relationship of personality factors to ideological orientation (an introduction to a later unit on psychological appeals of ideological movements).</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>6. Have students view the television program, "All in the Family", and identify members of the family on the political spectrum. Discuss problems of stereotyping.</p> <p>7. Suggested individual projects: students can study examples of stereotyping (ethnic; regional, racial, religious, etc.) to determine:       <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Origin of stereotyping of the group studied.</li> <li>b. Degree of truth behind the stereotyping.</li> <li>c. Reasons for persistent use of stereotyping.</li> <li>d. Implications (of stereotyping) for our political system.</li> </ul> </p> <p>B. The students will distinguish between the political, economic, and social Left and Right.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Administer the opinion test on pp. 19-20 in <u>The Study of Totalitarianism</u>, basic text for the quin, "Totalitarianism in the 20th Century." Note that the test contains questions of a political, economic, and social nature. Ask the students to place the situations on a line graph (suggested procedures on pp. 21-23). Use outcomes as a basis for a discussion of the differences in an individual's political, economic, and social views, rather than emphasizing degrees of totalitarianism.</li> <li>2. Ask students to construct a political, economic, and social</li> </ol>	15

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE
	<p>continuum, placing representative viewpoints along the continuum for perspective. Teacher should refer to Appendix B. to provide proper assistance for this student activity. Suggested activity sequence:</p> <p>a. The students should place themselves along each continuum.</p> <p>Review results of Exercise 10 on p. 71 in <u>The Radical Left and Far Right</u> for this activity.</p> <p>b. This is a good place to stop and have students once again review their original and revised self-labeling. Do they see the need for further revision?</p> <p>c. Ask students to place friends in class along each continuum. Does this placement correlate with self-placement? Suggest reasons why friends might misunderstand your viewpoints, or are friends rather than self, better judges of an individual's philosophical orientation?</p> <p>d. Students can place nations on the three continuums for individual reports. Encourage them to introduce the differences between ideology and practice at this point.</p> <p>e. Examine a recent poll to isolate what types of viewpoints are really being measured. Discuss whether this is what the poll purports to be measuring.</p> <p>3. Show films, <u>The Rise of English Socialism</u>, Pts. 1 and 2, and discuss:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Where is the position of the socialist theory on the economic spectrum?</li> <li>b. What is the position of the British on the Economic Spectrum?</li> <li>c. Where would you find the British political system on the political spectrum?</li> <li>d. Are all these positions the same?</li> </ul> <p>4. Students can do culminating essay: is it possible to be a Leftist, Moderate, and Rightist simultaneously? Explain your answer. (You may wish to substitute "liberal" and "conservative" for "leftist" and "rightist")</p> <p>C. Compare and contrast the Old Left and the New Left.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The class should reread pp. 7-9 in <u>The Radical Left and Far Right</u>.</li> <li>2. Since both the Old and New Left have their foundations in certain aspects of scientific socialism, a synopsis of this concept is in order. Use excerpts from the <u>Communist</u></li> </ol>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
		<p><u>Manifesto</u> or the chapter on theory from an AVC text. Take care to excerpt economic theory only because Marxist political thought has fewer adherents in the Old as well as the New Left.</p> <p>3. Suggested topics for oral or written reports:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The Rise and Fall of the U.S. Communists' Party</li> <li>b. The Democratic Party - the real loser in the Old-New transition.</li> <li>c. Unions - Old Left only need apply.</li> <li>d. Joe - a hardhat looks at the New Left (based on film).</li> <li>e. Why "growing pains" for the Left?</li> <li>f. Anatomy of a split</li> <li>(1) SDS and the Weathermen</li> <li>(2) <u>The Guardian</u> vs. <u>The Liberated Guardian</u> (newspaper of the New Left)</li> <li>g. Two Profiles from the Left (ex. Old - Norman Thomas and New - Abie Hoffman)</li> <li>h. The Culture of the New Left - What's the Message?</li> </ul> <p>(Choose one) Suggestions offered to stimulate ideas, not as an inclusive list.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Art - op, freak, etc. vs. Picasso</li> <li>(2) Movies and heroes - <u>Easy Rider</u>, Peter Fonda, Jane Fonda.</li> <li>(3) Poetry - cummings and Ferlinghetti as presagers.</li> <li>(4) Music - acid rock, musicians as quintessence of life-style, the lyrics of extremism.</li> <li>(5) Literature - underground newspapers, Abie Hoffman's <u>Steal This Book</u>.</li> <li>(6) Theater - Hair, participatory theater, playwright LeRoi Jones (may be too crude)</li> <li>(7) Clothing and Appearance - purpose of drabness and grubbiness, use of symbols in jewelry and clothing.</li> <li>(8) Drugs - drop-out, freak-out vs. the Old Left intellectual activism.</li> <li>(9) Religion - resurgence of Christ (without church).</li> </ul> <p>i. Why Mao rather than Moscow?</p> <p>j. The heroes of the New Left - why them? (Mao, Ho, Che)</p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
D.	<p>The students will analyze the relationship of time, place, and circumstance to the meaning of a given ideological viewpoint.</p> <p>4. Suggested individual project: An investigation of New Right Libertarianism. Why is it "new"? Why is it "right"? In what ways does it resemble the "left"? This investigation would be excellent for an oral report because so little is known about this movement.</p> <p>1. The students can read excerpts from a U.S. History text on the sentiment regarding U.S. entrance into World War II. Discuss the changes in attitude toward war from 1940-1970 on the Left and Right.</p> <p>2. Premise for discussion: the Democratic Party is normally regarded as being "left" of the Republican Party. Contrast the Jeffersonian (symbolic founder of Democratic Party) view of the role of the central government with that of the present-day national Democratic Party.</p> <p>3. Question for discussion: George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Patrick Henry are all solid American heroes. How did they appear to the British in 1776?</p> <p>4. Question for discussion: The presence of a monarchy and nobility is accepted by most British citizens. How would most Americans view the introduction of a constitutional monarchy and nobility here?</p> <p>5. Topic for an individual report: Who were the "radicals" and who were the reactionaries in Russia in 1917? 1920? 1936? 1959? 1971? Defend your labeling.</p>	<p>Students can do the following essay as culminating activity: Your teacher has just labeled someone (unknown to you) as a "leftist." In order to be able to discuss this person's philosophy and political activity intelligently, what questions would you ask about him?</p> <p>Structure the questions for evaluative purposes (ex. 5 discriminating questions =D, 7=G, etc.</p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
<p>6. Assign an oral report based on the class copy of <u>The Meaning of McCarthyism</u>. The report should stress the different theories about the McCarthy Era as well as providing an in-depth look at "McCarthy the Man". Many schools possess a phonograph record entitled "McCarthy," a collection of excerpts from his hearings, speeches, etc. This would be an ideal supplement for this report.</p> <p>7. Role-playing: Ask five or six students to assume the following identities: ages - 30's and 40's; all have children, some teenagers; all are high school graduates, some having technical education beyond; all males employed, working hard, getting overtime whenever possible; all upward-mobility homeowners; all wish to provide a stable family and neighborhood life for their children; all wish to provide their children with more educational advantages than they had; all live in the same neighborhood.</p> <p><u>Situation:</u> The federal government proposes a low-in one, federally subsidized housing project in this neighborhood. Neighborhood home owners hold a meeting to discuss this. Students react in roles.</p> <p><u>Outcome:</u> Discuss viewpoints presented, relating them to the objectives in this unit.</p> <p>*Students can also play roles of those in Washington, D.C., who formulated this housing project or those who will have an opportunity to improve their housing situation by living there.</p>		

**GOAL: THE STUDENTS WILL INVESTIGATE WELL-KNOWN PERSONS, LITERATURE, AND CONFLICTING VIEWPOINTS AND PLACE THEM ON A QUALIFIED IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM.**  
**LEARNING ACTIVITIES**

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE
VIEWPOINTS ALONG THE SPECTRUM	<p>A. The students will examine diverse viewpoints on controversial issues and place them along a qualified ideological spectrum.</p> <p>a. <u>Book 1</u></p> <p>1. The teacher should elicit the assistance of the class in choosing the topics from the texts, <u>From Left to Right</u>, Books 1 and 2. Final selection should take into account: (a) current events (b) class interests (c) time factor, and (d) variety of subjects. Some recommendations for your final choices:</p> <p>(1) The first set of readings on Black Power is recommended because most schools have A-V aids and supplementary materials used in Black Culture classes. Also, <u>The Radical Left and the Far Right</u> contains numerous readings and exercises on this subject.</p> <p>(2) (1971 only) If you wish to consider the Vietnam issue, do these readings before the situation changes too drastically. Henceforth, these readings can provide no more than an historical approach.</p> <p>(3) Select at least one school-related topic (2,3,or7) because of the obvious relevance. Also, the following activities can be included:</p> <p>(a) Students can ask their parents (or other adults) to read selections and give their reactions. (This is also a good technique for the selections on teacher strikes.)</p> <p>(b) Students can construct a poll based on the points of view presented in the articles to determine the breakdown of school or class opinion on this subject.</p> <p>(c) The students can use their own school or the Dade County system as a point of departure in discussions.</p> <p>(4) The foreign policy readings can be introduced by the following films:</p> <p>(a) <u>The Growth of American Foreign Policy</u></p> <p>(b) <u>Planning Our Foreign Policy</u></p> <p>(c) A number of Screen News Digest films depict international occurrences in the post war years - your choice.</p> <p>B. <u>Book 2</u></p> <p>(1) A number of films could be used in conjunction with the topic of China:</p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
		<p>(a) <u>Communist China</u>      (b) <u>Inside Red China</u>, Pts. 1 and 2      (c) <u>Mao Tse Tung</u>      (d) <u>Screen News Digest</u>, Vol. 8, Is. 8      (e) <u>Screen News Digest</u>, Vol. 9, Is. 10</p> <p>c. In addition to discussing the questions at the end of the readings, the students should:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Define the ideological relationship between the four viewpoints (use previous classwork as a working base for this exercise).</li> <li>(2) Pinpoint the views closest to their own opinions, noting their (possibly varying) positions on the ideological spectrum. Again, these readings provide the students with multiple opportunities to reassess their personal philosophies in the light of increasing knowledge.</li> </ol> <p>2. Suggestions for projects: The students can collect the most recent viewpoints on any issue discussed (cutting out articles, condensing TV interviews or newscasts, etc.), differentiate between these viewpoints, place them on the ideological spectrum; or cite evidence for their lack of a firm philosophical base, analyze them for inconsistencies, etc.</p>

GOAL: EACH STUDENT WILL MAKE THE FOLLOWING GENERALIZATION: THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM TOLERATES THE EXAMINATION OF A WIDE RANGE OF VIEWPOINTS.

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
THE ROLE OF DIVERSE VIEWPOINTS IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM.	A. Each student will make the following generalization for himself: The American political system tolerates the examination of a wide range of viewpoints.	<p>1. Suggested sequence of questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Repeat the question asked at the beginning of the course: Are all four viewpoints (radical, liberal, conservative, and reactionary) helpful to society?</li> <li>b. How would the discussions in the previous unit have differed if we had considered only one or two similar readings?</li> <li>c. Are such groupings of resource material (including what the class has collected for projects) conducive to the formation of extreme viewpoints? Explain your answer.</li> <li>d. Did any selections cause you to change your mind on the subject? be more tolerant? be more knowledgeable?</li> <li>e. Does the opportunity to read varying viewpoints on a single subject tell you anything about your rights in the American political system? How far (in terms of political beliefs and activity) do these rights extend?</li> <li>f. Contrast the position of your own political system on the political spectrum with that of a nation which permits the publication of only one viewpoint.</li> </ul> <p>2. Students can debate the following topic: "Compromise or Polarize" - should our two-party system be restructured along liberal and conservative lines?</p> <p>3. Suggestions for written or oral reports:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What have third parties contributed to American political life?</li> <li>b. What's right with being a moderate?</li> <li>c. A critical analysis of Agnew's "silent majority."</li> </ul> <p>4. Invite a speaker from the New Party (or have students collect its literature and display it to class).</p>

**GOAL: THE STUDENTS WILL INVESTIGATE SELECTED IDEOLOGICAL AND EXTREMIST MOVEMENTS AND PROPOSE REASONS WHY INTENT, APPEAL, AND SUBSEQUENT PRACTICE ARE OFTEN INCONSISTENT.**

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
IDEOLOGY - THEORY AND PRACTICE	A. The students will examine the bases for three major world ideologies.	<p>1. The students should read or view selected materials about Communism, Fascism, and Democratic Capitalism. The material may be divided among small groups, who will share their investigations with the class. Source recommendations are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <u>Communism</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Excerpts from the <u>Communist Manifesto</u> or from the works of Lenin.</li> <li>(2) Statement by Mao Tse Tung on p. 16 of <u>A Study of Totalitarianism</u>.</li> <li>(3) Film, <u>Who Goes There</u>, Pt. 1</li> </ul> </li> <li>b. <u>Fascism</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Excerpts from <u>Mein Kampf</u>.</li> <li>(2) Statements by Hitler and Mussolini on pp. 13-14 in <u>A Study of Totalitarianism</u>.</li> <li>(3) Excerpts from <u>Plato's Republic</u>, Rousseau's "The Social Contract," or Hobbes' <u>Leviathan</u>.</li> <li>(4) Selections on Nazi theory in Chapter 15, <u>The Shaping of Western Society</u> (selections by Marx, Lenin, Rousseau, Locke all found in this book.)</li> <li>(5) Appendix C - quotes from Hitler.</li> </ul> </li> <li>c. <u>Democratic Capitalism</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Excerpts from John Locke's "Of Civil Government."</li> <li>(2) Excerpts from the Declaration of Independence.</li> <li>(3) Excerpts from the Federalist Papers.</li> <li>(4) The Bill of Rights (U.S. Constitution.)</li> <li>(5) Excerpts from Adam Smith's <u>Wealth of Nations</u></li> <li>(6) Excerpts from <u>Horatio Alger</u>.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>B. The students will suggest reasons for the construction of these theories.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Discussion question sequence:       <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. What kinds of political, economic, and social worlds do these three theories envision?</li> <li>b. Are the authors' intentions humanistic? Whom do they benefit? Can you detect any underlying motives for propounding these theories?</li> <li>c. Which <u>Propose Utopias</u> and which do not? Explain. Which <u>Ruotopia</u> would you prefer to live in and why?</li> </ol> </li> </ol>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
	<p>C. The students will investigate examples of the implementation of the above theories.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Ask the students to pinpoint each theory on the political, economic, and social spectrums.</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The students should read and view selected materials about Communism, Fascism, and Democratic Capitalism in practice. Again, the material may be divided among small groups, who will share their findings with the class. Source recommendations are as follows:</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. <u>Communism</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Show any films in the materials section dealing with the USSR, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.</li> <li>(2) Students read excerpts from Khrushchev's report to the 20th Party Congress on the crimes of Stalin in <u>The Human Adventure: Readings In World History</u> (recommended for teacher use in quin 6448.19)</li> <li>(3) Students read Stalin's statement on p. 15 in <u>A Study of Totalitarianism</u>.</li> <li>(4) A few students could read and report on <u>One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich</u> (easy reading) by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Also, a student could look up his statements concerning his decision not to go to Sweden to accept the Nobel prize. Another student could research the same situation regarding Boris Pasternak.</li> <li>(5) Students read selections from <u>Comparative Political Systems</u> on modern Soviet life.</li> <li>(6) One student can do a report on Lysenko, the geneticist favored by Stalin.</li> <li>(7) Show filmstrips:           <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) <u>The Rise of Communism</u>. Pts. 1 and 2</li> <li>(b) <u>The Soviet Union</u></li> </ol> </li> <li>(8) Students examine articles from <u>Soviet Life</u>.</li> <li>(9) Examine recent news articles about economic growth in a communist nation.</li> </ol> </li> <li>b. <u>Fascism</u> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Show any of the following films not already viewed by the class:</li> </ol> </li> </ol>	

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
		<p>(a) <u>Hitler, Adolf, Pts. 1 and 2</u></p> <p>(b) <u>Mussolini, Benito</u></p> <p>(c) <u>Peron, Eva</u></p> <p>(d) <u>The Road to World War II</u></p> <p>(e) <u>Screen News Digest, Vol. 11, Is. 5 (on Spain)</u></p> <p>(2) Ask students to report on evidence presented at the Nuremberg Trials.</p> <p>(3) Have students read and discuss selections from Chapter 15 on Nazism in practice in <u>The Shaping of Western Society</u>.</p> <p>(4) Prepare handout on "Fascism in Action" by Gaetano Salvemini in <u>The Human Adventure: Readings in World History</u>.</p> <p>c. <u>Democratic Capitalism</u></p> <p>(1) Ask students to bring newspaper and magazine articles concerning controversy in American life (a Supreme Court decision, a congressional debate, a Dade County problem, etc.)</p> <p>(2) Ask students to list all protest movements taking place in the United States in the last decade. Then list the accomplishments of the protestors.</p> <p>(3) Have some students report on the current state of legislation on health, safety, or welfare (ex. automobile safety features.)</p> <p>(4) Have some students attend and report on a rally or meeting where divergent points of view or protest is expressed.</p> <p>(5) Show any filmstrip on contemporary American life which illustrates both American problems and accomplishments.</p> <p>(6) Show any of the following films:</p> <p>(a) <u>Civil Rights Movement</u> (5 films)</p> <p>(b) <u>History of the Negro in America : 1877-Today</u></p> <p>(c) <u>Freedom to Speak: People of New York vs. Irving Feiner</u></p> <p>(d) <u>Justice Under Law: The Gideon Case</u></p> <p>(e) <u>Red, White, and Blue</u></p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
	D. The students will cite evidence for the statement that theory and practice can be highly divergent and propose reasons why this is true.	<p>1. Have individual students report on the role of the following in the above examples studied:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. The church (or religion)</li> <li>b. Family</li> <li>c. Art</li> <li>d. Music</li> <li>e. Science</li> <li>f. Education</li> <li>g. Your organizations</li> <li>h. Uses of leisure time</li> </ul> <p>2. Discussion question sequence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Can you detect evidence of differences between theory and practice in different societies? What is this evidence?</li> <li>b. Why do you think these differences exist? Do you think that the authors of that theory intended things to happen this way?</li> <li>c. Did the theory appeal to those whom the theory would benefit the most? If not, why not?</li> <li>d. Why it is that societies seem to have difficulty in operating according to their theoretical ideals?</li> </ul> <p>3. Have the students pinpoint the practices of the societies considered on the political, economic, and social spectrums. This could also be a small group project to include the pin-pointing of the theories as well. Compare the difference among positions.</p> <p>4. Students can write essay:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Which nations or societies studied conform in practice closest to their ideological rationale. Cite evidence for your answer.</li> <li>b. Is a deviation from theory automatically a "sell-out"? Defend your answer.</li> </ul>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
E.	The students will examine current extremist groups and analyze their role in the American political scene.	<p>1. The students should select groups for study from pp. 72-74 on <u>The Radical Left and Far Right</u> or others of their own choice. These studies can be done by individuals or groups. Prepare an outline of information to be sought. For instance:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. beliefs of group (ideology) - indicate why this group is considered Left or Right.</li> <li>b. proposed programs - as stated in their Constitution or other literature.</li> <li>c. activities - both legal and illegal.</li> <li>d. appeals - both obvious and underlying</li> <li>e. membership - leaders and followers.</li> </ul> <p>In a class discussion, the students should compare their findings, including similarities and differences between the current extreme Left and Right, relationship between theory and practice, the intended results and the actual consequences of their activities, etc.</p> <p>2. Discussion question: If any of these groups obtained a large measure of power, influence, or greatly expanded membership, would it be more difficult to maintain its extremist position. Explain your answer.</p> <p>3. Debate: Current American extremism is a symptom not a cause of current American problems, or extremism in America is a product of idleness and affluence, not grievances and desperation.</p>
F.	The students will classify types of persons associated with extremist or mass movements and propose reasons for this association.	<p>1. Ask students to organize and discuss the founders, leaders, and followers of the extremist groups studied in terms of socio-logical and psychological factors. Since this topic is complex the teacher may wish to assign it for independent study to be given orally to the class. Some factors to be considered: family background, socio-economic background success in school</p>

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
	or job, success in interpersonal relations; style of extremist activity personality characteristics. Then ask students:	<p>a. Are there any similarities between the founders or "idea men" in the movements of both the extreme Left and Right? (ask the same questions about the leaders and followers)</p> <p>b. If similarities are discovered as : Why do you think these similarities exist?</p> <p>c. Are there certain characteristics that separate the leaders of all extremist movements from the followers in all extremist movements? (This question permits substitution of "founders" for "leaders," etc.)</p> <p>d. Does this discussion help explain the reasons for some of the "far-out" activities of extremist groups?</p> <p>e. Based on this discussion, what type of person would be least likely to follow an extremist movement? What type of person would be most likely?</p> <p>f. What does the term "emotional politics" mean to you? Can you apply it to this discussion?</p>

- Selected students can read Eric Hoffer's True Believer and report on his theories. This can be incorporated with activity #1.
- Prepare a handout excerpting from Gabriel Almond's The Appeals of Communism. (His studies support the theory that deviant movements attract like types.) Discuss Almonds views and ask: "Do the times change our concept of deviancy." (Refer to final objective under Goal #3.)
- Certain students can construct a poll based on conclusions reached in this unit (ex. to determine the extent of "emotional politics" among their peers).

**GOAL: THE STUDENTS WILL DEVELOP THEIR OWN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES AND RECOGNIZE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THAT PHILOSOPHY.**

FOCUS	OBJECTIVE	LEARNING ACTIVITIES
<b>WHAT THIS STUDY MEANS TO THE STUDENT.</b>  Note to teacher: This is a culminating goal; activities throughout the course should be aimed at its achievement.	The students will propose reasons why the study of political theory is important to them.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Students can write a self-portrait, describing his political, economic, and social views and suggesting how they should be implemented. It is suggested that students omit writing their names on their papers; rather they can substitute a number with the teacher matching names and numbers on a master list. Each student's paper could be examined by a number of the other students who would attach comments on the following: Left-right orientation, extremist tendencies degree of logic (from views to implementation), consequences of proposed implementation, etc.</li> <li>2. A few students could volunteer to be orally questioned by the class on the topics suggested under #1.</li> <li>3. Ask students to list someone on the contemporary political scene (or recently deceased) whom they greatly admire. Then ask them to list that person's beliefs, goals, and proposed mode of accomplishment. From this activity, students should infer the need to know about the basic beliefs of those they admire and are willing to support.</li> </ol>

RECOMMENDED TEXT: Robb, Herbert E. and Sobel, Raymond, ed. From Left to Right: Readings on the Socio-Political Spectrum, Volumes 1 and 2. New York: Benziger Inc., 1969. (State adopted)

RECOMMENDED CLASS SET: McCuen, Gary E. and Bender, David L., ed. The Radical Left and the Far Right. Anoka, Minnesota: Greenhaven Press, 1970

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS:

<u>Films</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. <u>Civil Rights Movement</u> (5 films) - see "Instructional Materials Catalog Supplement"	22'	1-31534
2. <u>Communist China</u> .....	26'	1-31557
3. <u>Castro, Fidel</u> .....	25'	1-31579
4. <u>Freedom to Speak: N.Y. vs. Feiner</u> .....	19'	1-13328
5. <u>Growth of American Foreign Policy</u> .....	.....	.....
6. <u>History of the Negro in America - 1877-</u> <u>Today</u> .....	20'	1-13524
7. <u>Hitler, Adolf</u> pt. 1 .....	26'	1-13571
8. <u>Hitler, Adolf</u> pt. 2 .....	26'	1-13572
9. <u>Inside Red China</u> pt. 1 .....	30'	1-31527
10. <u>Inside Red China</u> pt. 2 .....	21'	1-31529
11. <u>Justice Under Law: Gideon</u> .....	23'	1-31578
12. <u>Khrushchev and Berlin</u> pt. 1 .....	27'	1-31495
13. <u>Khrushchev and Berlin</u> pt. 2 .....	27'	1-31497
14. <u>Lenin and Trotsky</u> .....	27'	1-31465
15. <u>Mao Tse Tung</u> .....	26'	1-31554
16. <u>Mussolini, Benito</u> .....	26'	1-31573
17. <u>Nightmare in Red</u> pt. 1 (USSR) .....	27'	1-31062
18. <u>Nightmare in Red</u> pt. 2 (USSR) .....	27'	1-31063
19. <u>Peron, Eva</u> .....	26'	1-31558
20. <u>Planning Our Foreign Policy</u> .....	21'	1-10163
21. <u>Red, White, and Blue</u> .....	27'	1-31478
22. <u>Rise of Khrushchev</u> pt. 1 .....	27'	1-31499
23. <u>Rise of Khrushchev</u> pt. 2 .....	27'	1-31501
24. <u>Rise of English Socialism</u> pt. 1 .....	28'	1-31483
25. <u>Rise of English Socialism</u> pt. 2 .....	28'	1-31485
26. <u>Road to World War II</u> .....	18'	1-13291
27. <u>SND</u> Vol. 8 Is. 5 (Cuba) .....	14'	1-12719

Note - Screen  
news Digest =  
ND

28.	SND	Vol. 8, 1s. 8 (Mao) .....	16'	1-12722
29.	SND	Vol. 9, 1s. 10 (Mao) .....	16'	1-12734
30.	SND	Vol. 10, 1s. 4 (USSR) .....	16'	1-13235
31.	SND	Vol. 11, 1s. 1 (Czech.) .....	16'	1-13434
32.	SND	Vol. 11, 1s. 5 (Spain) .....	16'	1-13573
33.	<u>Soviet Russia: From Revolution to Empire:</u>		15'	1-13326
34.	<u>Stalin, Josef</u> .....		26'	1-31574
35.	<u>Who Goes There</u> pt. 1 (USSR) .....		27'	1-31471
36.	<u>Who Goes There</u> pt. 2 (USSR) .....		27'	1-31473
37.	<u>Yugoslavia</u> .....		27'	1-31066

Filmstrips

1. The Rise of Communism, pts. 1 and 2 .....
  2. The Soviet Union Today, pts. 1 and 2 .....
- 335.4 Guidance Assoc., Harcourt Brace & World, Inc.  
947.085 Guidance Assoc. Harcourt, Brace & World  
Inc.

Records

1. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy .....
- 973.92 Broadside Records, N.Y.

SUPPLEMENTAL PUPIL RESOURCES

Books

1. Any American history text
2. Ebenstein, William, Today's Isms. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.
3. Hoffer, Eric, The True Believer. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
4. Marx, Karl, The Communist Manifesto (found in many texts and books of readings)
5. The Meaning of McCarthyism: Problems in American Civilization. Social Studies Department: Division of Instruction - Dade County Public Schools
6. Solzhenitsyn, Alexander, One Day in the Life Of Ivan Denisovich. New York: Signet, 1963.

Magazines (recommended that a representative sampling be kept in the classroom)

1. Conservative to Far Right magazines: for example: American Opinion, Inform, and National Review.
2. Liberal to Far Left magazines: for example, Nation, Ramparts, or underground papers.
3. Soviet Life

TEACHER REFERENCE MATERIAL

Sources for suggested handouts

1. Almond, Gabriel A., The Appeals of Communism. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.
2. Eisen, Sidney and Filler, Maurice, ed., The Human Adventure: Readings in World History. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.
3. Fenton, Edwin, ed., Comparative Political Systems. New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1967.
4. Fenton, Edwin, ed., The Shaping of Western Society. New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1968.
5. Nehlinger, Howard D., A Study of Totalitarianism. Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1965.

Content Aids - books

1. Buckley, William F., Jr., ed., Did You Ever See A Dream Walking? American Conservative Thought in the 20th Century. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1970.
2. Forster, Arnold and Epstein, Benjamin R., Danger on the Right. New York: Random House, 1966.
3. Goldwin, Robert, ed., Left, Right and Center. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965.
4. Keniston, Kenneth, The Young Radicals. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968.
5. Klein, Alexander, ed., Natural Enemies? Youth and the Clash of Generations. Philadelphia: L.B. Lippencott, 1969.
6. Lasch, C., The Agony of the American Left. New York: Random House.
7. Libarle, Marc and Seligson, Tom. The High School Revolutionaries. New York: Random House, 1970.
8. Long, P. ed., The New Left: A Collection of Essays. Boston: Sargent Porter, Inc., 1969.
9. Lynd, Staughton, The Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism. New York: Random House.
10. Meyer, Frank S., The Conservative Mainstream. New Rochelle: New Rochelle, 1969.
11. Meyer, Frank S., ed., What is Conservatism? New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1964.
12. Oglesby, Carl, ed., The New Left Reader. New York: Grove Press, 1969.
13. Rossiter, Clinton, Conservatism in America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968.
14. Teodori, M., ed., The New Left: A Documentary History. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc.
15. U.S. News and World Report, Communism and the New Left. Washington, D.C.: U.S. News and World Report, Inc., 1970.

Content aids - articles

1. Boorstein, Daniel J., "The New Barbarians," Esquire. October, 1968, p. 159.
2. Fackre, Gabriel, "The Blue Collar White and the Far Right," The Christian Century. 96.645, May 7, 1969.

3. Glazer, Nathan, "On Being Deradicalized," Commentary. Vol. 5, No. 4, October, 1970
4. "Goal of the 'New Left' - Down With Everything," U.S. News and World Report. 66:65-7, January 20, 1969.
5. Jencks, Christopher, "Limits of the New Left," New Republic. 157:19, October 21, 1967.
6. Kateb, George, "The Political Thought of Herbert Marcuse," Commentary. Vol. 49, No. 1, January, 1970.
7. Kemble, Penn, "Rediscovering American Labor," Commentary. Vol. 5; No. 4, April, 1971.
8. Koeppen, Sheilah R., "The Republican Radical Right," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. 382:73, March, 1969.
9. Lehr, Stan and Rossetto, Louis, Jr., "The New Right Credo - Libertarianism," The New York Times Magazine, January 10, 1971, p. 24.
10. Milstein, Tom, "A Perspective on the Panthers," Commentary. Vol. 50, No. 3, September 1970.
11. Schrag, Peter, "America's Other Radicals," Harper's. 241: 35, August, 1970.

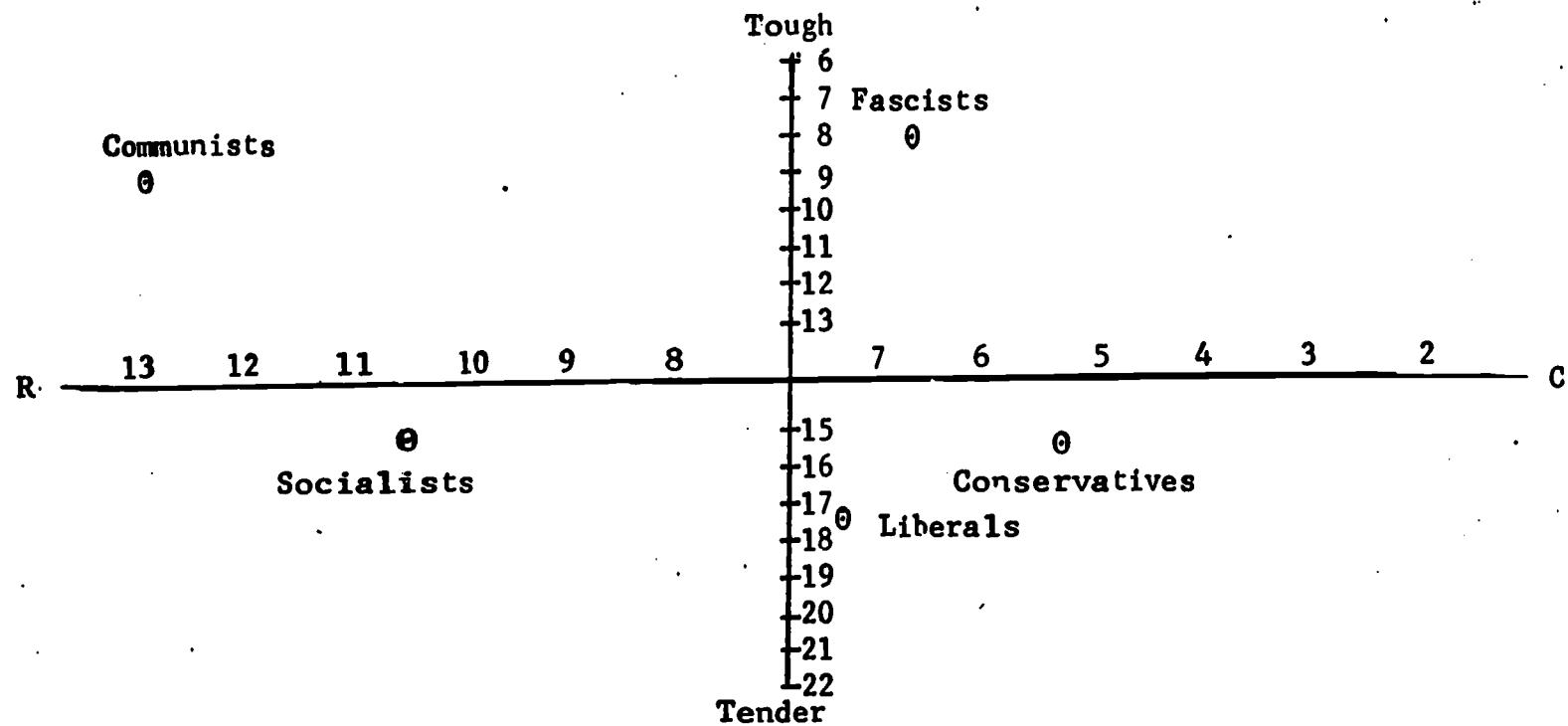
## Appendix A

### KEY TO SOCIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

There are sixteen items for the measurement of R and thirty-two items for the measurement of T; some items are used for measuring both dimensions. Some items in the scale are 'filler' items and are not scored at all. As regards scoring, the R scale is always scored in the radical direction. For items marked R+ in the key, agreement (+ or ++) is scored 1, and any other response 0. The T scale is always scored in the tenderminded direction. For items marked T+, agreement (+ or++) is scored 1, and any other response 0. For items marked T-, disagreement (- or--) is scored 1 and any other response 0. The range of scores in the T scale is from 0 to 32; the range of scores in the R scale is from 0 to 16.

### SCORING TO SOCIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

1. -	26. T-	51. T-
2. -	27. R+ T-	52. R+ T+
3. -	28. -	53. T+
4. R+	29. R-	54. -
5. -	30. T-	55. -
6. -	31. T-	56. T+
7. R-	32. -	57. T+
8. T-	33. T+	58. T-
9. T-	34. -	59. -
10. R- T-	35. -	60. -
11. R-	36. T-	(many answers are not scored. This
12. T- R+	37. R- T+	is to insure test validity.)
13. R-	38. T-	T.C.I.
14. T-	39. -	
15. -	40. R+	
16. -	41. T-	
17. T-	42. R-	
18. R+ T+	43. T-	
19. T-	44. -	
20. T+	45. -	
21. T+	46. T+	
22. T-	47. R+ T+	
23. -	48. T+	
24. R+	49. T-	
25. R-	50. -	



**Figure 10: Empirically determined positions of Communists, Socialists, Liberals, Conservatives, and Fascists on two main dimensions.**

In comparing these scores with those of members of various political groups, the reader will find Figure 10 useful. In this are shown the actual mean scores of Communists, Fascists, Socialists, Liberals, and Conservatives on the R and T scales. By entering his own score on this table, the reader will be able to see how he stands with respect to the major political organizations in this country.

Below are given sixty statements which represent widely-held opinions on various social questions, selected from speeches, books, newspapers, and other sources. They were chosen in such a way that most people are likely to agree with some, and to disagree with others.

After each statement, you are requested to record your personal opinion regarding it. You should use the following system of marking:

- ++ if you strongly agree with the statement
- + if you agree on the whole
- 0 if you can't decide for or against, or if you think the question is worded in such a way that you can't give an answer.
- if you disagree on the whole
- if you strongly disagree

Please answer frankly. Remember this is not a test; there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. The answer required is your own personal opinion. Be sure not to omit any questions. The questionnaire is anonymous, so please do not sign your name. Do not consult any other person while you are giving your answers.

**Opinion Statements**

**Your Opinion**

1. The nation exists for the benefit of the individuals composing it, not the individuals for the benefit of the nation.
2. Colored people are innately inferior to white people.

Opinion Statements cont'd

Your Opinion

3. War is inherent in human nature.
4. Ultimately, private property should be abolished and complete Socialism introduced.
5. Persons with serious hereditary defects and diseases should be compulsorily sterilized.
6. In the interests of peace, we must give up part of our national sovereignty.
7. Production and trade should be free from government interference.
8. Divorce laws should be altered to make divorce easier.
9. The so-called underdog deserves little sympathy or help from successful people.
10. Crimes of violence should be punished by flogging.
11. The nationalization of the great industries is likely to lead to inefficiency, bureaucracy and stagnation.
12. Men and women have the right to find out whether they are sexually suited before marriage (e.g., by trial marriage).
13. 'My country right or wrong' is a saying which expresses a fundamentally desirable attitude.
14. The average man can live a good enough life without religion.
15. It would be a mistake to have colored people as foremen over whites.
16. People should realize that their greatest obligation is to their family.
17. There is no survival of any kind after death.
18. The death penalty is barbaric, and should be abolished.
19. There may be a few exceptions, but in general, Jews are pretty much alike.
20. The dropping of the first atom bomb on a Japanese city, killing thousands of innocent women and children, was morally wrong and incompatible with our kind of civilization.
21. Birth control, except when recommended by a doctor, should be made illegal.
22. People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put to death painlessly.
23. Sunday-observance is old-fashioned, and should cease to govern our behavior.
24. Capitalism is immoral because it exploits the worker by failing to give him full value for his productive labor.
25. We should believe without question all that we are taught by the Church.
26. A person should be free to take his own life, if he wishes to do so, without any interference from society.
27. Free love between men and women should be encouraged as a means towards mental and physical health.
28. Compulsory military training in peace-time is essential for the survival of this country.
29. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be flogged or worse.
30. A white lie is often a good thing.

Opinion Statements cont'd

Your Opinion

31. The idea of God is an invention of the human mind.
32. It is wrong that men should be permitted greater sexual freedom than women by society.
33. The Church should attempt to increase its influence on the life of the nation.
34. Conscientious objectors are traitors to their country and should be treated accordingly.
35. The laws against abortion should be abolished.
36. Most religious people are hypocrites.
37. Sex relations except in marriage are always wrong.
38. European refugees should be left to fend for themselves.
39. Only by going back to religion can civilization hope to survive.
40. It is wrong to punish a man if he helps another country because he prefers it to his own.
41. It is just as well that the struggle of life tends to weed out those who cannot stand the pace.
42. In taking part in any form of world organization, this country should make certain that none of its independence and power is lost.
43. Nowadays, more and more people are prying into matters which do not concern them.
44. All forms of discrimination against the colored races, the Jews, etc., should be made illegal, and subject to heavy penalties.
45. It is right and proper that religious education in schools should be compulsory.
46. Jews are as valuable citizens as any other group.
47. Our treatment of criminals is too harsh; we should try to cure them, not punish them.
48. The Church is the main bulwark opposing the evil trends in modern society.
49. There is no harm in traveling occasionally without a ticket, if you can get away with it.
50. The Japanese are by nature a cruel people.
51. Life is so short that a man is justified in enjoying himself as much as he can.
52. An occupation by a foreign power is better than war.
53. Christ was divine, wholly or partly in a sense different from other men.
54. It would be best to keep colored people in their own districts and schools, in order to prevent too much contact with whites..
55. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals, and ought to be severely punished.
56. The universe was created by God.
57. Blood sports-like fox-hunting, for instance - are vicious and cruel, and should be forbidden.
58. The maintenance of internal order within the nation is more important than ensuring that there is complete freedom for all.
59. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decision he obeys without question.
60. The practical man is of more use to society than the thinker.

APPENDIX B

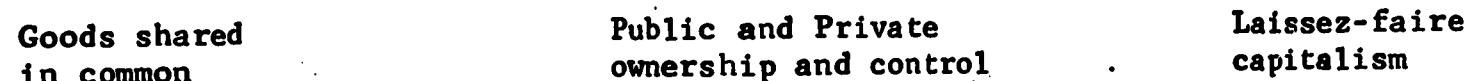
The Political Spectrum

How is society organized to make and enforce rules?



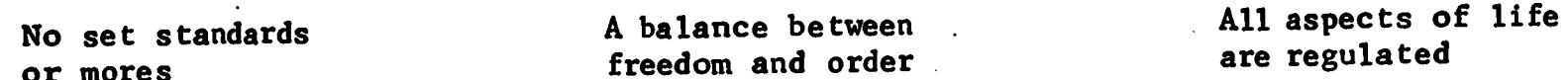
The Economic Spectrum

How are the society's resources divided?



The Social Spectrum

How do society's rules affect your daily life (family, church, school)?



## APPENDIX C

### HITLER'S THEORIES:

The nature and aims of Nazism can be found in the speeches of Adolf Hitler made long before he came to power. Those who treated him with disdain or indifference were soon shocked by the enthusiastic support he won for his cause. Hitler was a spellbinding orator and a masterly political organizer who combined socialism and nationalism in his appeal for mass support. The National Socialist German Workers Party vowed to avenge the humiliation of 1918 and restore Germany to prosperity and power.

At the center of Hitler's political creed was the pseudoscientific doctrine of the master race - the superior Germans needed room for expansion; the inferior Slavs would have to be exterminated or enslaved. Hitler fanned the German hatred of the Jews using them as a scapegoat for all the ills of Germany. He well realized that his utterances did not have to be true as much as they had to be emotionally appealing. What the German people needed and wanted he believed, was strength and leadership, not lengthy democratic discussions.

Hitler was able to win the support of many Germans, among whom were men of great power and wealth. During the economic depression and the political chaos of the early 1930's, millions flocked to his banner and looked to him for salvation. In 1932 he had the largest party in the German Reichstag (the lower house of the German legislature), though not a majority. His assumption of the Chancellorship in January 1933 was but a prelude to absolute dictatorship. Once in power, Hitler was as good as his word, and the brutality of his regime did not seem to detract from his support.

In the following selections Hitler's theories are presented in excerpts from his speeches.

#### Force and Struggle

In a speech delivered at Essen on November 22, 1926, Hitler said, "The fundamental motif through all the centuries has been the principle that force and power are the determining factors. All development is struggle. Only force rules. Force is the first law. A struggle has already taken place between original man and his primeval world. Only through struggle have states and the world become great. If one should ask whether this struggle is gruesome, then the only answer could be: For the weak, yes, for humanity as a whole, no..."

"Unfortunately, the contemporary world stresses internationalism instead of the innate values of race; democracy and the majority instead of the worth of the great leader. Instead of everlasting struggle the world preaches cowardly pacifism and everlasting peace. These three things; considered in the light of their ultimate consequences, are the causes of the downfall of all humanity. The practical result of conciliation among nations is the renunciation of a people's own strength and their voluntary enslavement..."

At Munich, March 15, 1929: "If men wish to live, then they are forced to kill others. The entire struggle for survival is a conquest of the means of existence, which in turn results in the elimination of others from the same sources of subsistence. As long as there are peoples on this earth, there will be nations against nations and they will be forced to protect their vital rights in the same way as the individual is forced to protect his rights.

"One is either the hammer or the anvil. We confess that it is our purpose to prepare the German people again for the role of the hammer. For ten years we have preached, and our deepest concern is: Now can we again achieve power? We admit freely and openly that if our movement is victorious, we will be concerned day and night with the question of how to produce the armed forces which are forbidden us by the peace treaty (Treaty of Versailles). We solemnly confess that we consider everyone a scoundrel who does not try day and night to figure out a way to violate this treaty, for we have never recognized this treaty...

"We will take every step which strengthens our arms, which augments the number of our forces, and which increases the strength of our people.

"We confess further that we will dash anyone to pieces who should dare to hinder us in this undertaking...Our rights will never be represented by others. Our rights will be protected only when the German Reich is again supported by the point of the German dagger."

### Leadership

At Nuremberg, September 14, 1935: "We will harden ourselves to such an extent that any storm will find us strong. We will never forget that the sum total of all virtues and all strength can be effective only when it is subservient to one will and to one command... Nothing is possible unless one will commands, a will which has to be obeyed by others, beginning at the top and ending only at the very bottom..."

"We must train our people so that whenever someone has been appointed to command, the others will recognize it as their duty to obey him, for it can happen that an hour later they will be called upon to command and they can do it then only if others in turn obey. This is the expression of an authoritarian state, not of a weak, babbling democracy; of an authoritarian state where everyone is proud to obey, because he knows: I will likewise be obeyed when I must take command."

### The Superiority of Aryans

At Munich, April 2, 1927: "We see before us the Aryan race which is...the bearer of all culture, the true representative of all humanity. All inventions in the field of transportation must be credited to the members of a particular race. Our entire industrial science is without exception the work of the Nordics. All great composers from Beethoven to Richard Wagner are Aryans, even though they

were born in Italy or France. Do not say that art is international. The tango, the shimmy, and the jazzband are international but they are not art. Man owes everything that is of any importance to the principle of struggle and to one race which has carried itself forward successfully. Take away the Nordic Germans and nothing remains..."

At Munich, November 21, 1927: "From all the innumerable creatures a complete species rises and becomes the master of the rest. Such a one is man - the most brutal, the most resolute creature on earth. He knows nothing but the extermination of his enemies in the world... This struggle, this battle, has not been carried on by all men in the same way. Certain species stand out, and at the top of the list is the Aryan. The Aryan has forged the weapons with which mankind has made itself master of the animal world. There is scarcely anything in existence which when traced back to its origin cannot claim an Aryan as its creator."

#### War and Expansion

At Munich, May 23, 1928: "We admit that for us the future of Germany does not lie in a mechanical revision of frontiers. In such a case we would again be forced to rely upon world trade, which in turn would make us competitors of four or five other states. That is no future. The National Socialist Movement extends far beyond the deceitful level of such a ... conception. It is the champion of that idea which claims that if we do not acquire more soil, then we shall some day perish. We pursue no policy which will not secure the existence of the people for all time... I believe that I have enough energy to lead our people to war, and not the revision of frontiers, but for the deliverance of our people in the most distant future, so that our people acquire so much soil and territory that the sacrifice in blood can be returned to posterity in four-fold measure."

#### Democracy

In a speech at Hamburg on August 17, 1934, Hitler said: "This parliamentary democracy of ruin has at all times destroyed peoples and states. It does not express the will of the people, it serves only the ambition and interests of conscienceless corrupters of the people, be they small or great.

"The effect of this kind of government in Germany was disastrous. From the time when this parliamentary democracy had finally and completely mastered the nation there began a downfall in every sphere; not only in politics, in culture, and in morals was Germany disintegrated and weakened, but even in the sphere of economics those conditions were destroyed under which alone, in the last resort, such an enormously complex and sensitive organism can flourish..."

"But it is clear that this political disintegration of the body of a people must necessarily mean the end of every authority. Without such an authority the economic life of a people cannot function healthily."

#### Culture

Hitler, in his conversation with Otto Strasser on May 21, 1930, is reported to have

said, "There is no such thing as a revolution in art: There is only one eternal art - the Greek-Nordic art, and all such terms as "Dutch art," Italian art," "German art," are merely misleading and just as foolish as it is to treat Gothic as an individual form of art - all that is simply Nordic-Greek, and anything which deserves the name of art can always only be Nordic-Greek... There is no such thing as Chinese or Egyptian art; the Chinese and Egyptian peoples were of mixed composition, and upon a Body belonging to a people of lower race there was set a Nordic head which alone created the masterpieces which today we admire as Chinese or Egyptian art."

#### Freedom and Peace

May Day Speech, 1939: "And with that I come to the problem of freedom in general. Freedom, yes! So far as the interest of the community of the people gives the individual freedom, it is given him. But at the point where his freedom harms the interests of the community, at that point the freedom of the individual ceases and the freedom of the people steps into its place. And besides, in no state is intellectual achievement more highly valued than with us. I believe that one can see that even in the leadership. We fancy that in Germany there are, after all, men at the head of the state who in intellect can stand comparison with the representatives of other states. But high above all the freedom of the individual there is the freedom of our Reich; and the security of the German Lebensraum (living space) is for us the supreme law. That we love peace I do not need to stress..."

"That I love peace appears perhaps most clearly from my work: in that lies the difference between me and these warmongers. What am I creating and what do these creatures do? I have here a great people, and for it I am responsible. I try to make this people great and happy."