

BUILDING COLD WAR WARRIORS: SOCIALIZATION OF THE FINAL COLD WAR  
GENERATION

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## ABSTRACT

Andrew Schocket, Advisor

This dissertation examines the experiences of the final Cold War generation. I define this cohort as a subset of Generation X born between 1965 and 1971. The primary focus of this dissertation is to study the ways this cohort interacted with the three messages found embedded within the Cold War *us vs. them* binary. These messages included an emphasis on American exceptionalism, a manufactured and heightened fear of World War III, as well as the *othering* of the Soviet Union and its people. I begin the dissertation in the 1970s, - during the period of détente- where I examine the cohort's experiences in elementary school. There they learned who was important within the American mythos and the rituals associated with being an American. This is followed by an examination of 1976's bicentennial celebration, which focuses on not only the planning for the celebration but also specific events designed to fulfill the two prime directives of the celebration. As the 1980s came around not only did the Cold War change but also the cohort entered high school. Within this stage of this cohorts education, where I focus on the textbooks used by the cohort and the ways these textbooks reinforced notions of patriotism and being an American citizen. The dissertation ends with a textual analysis of the various popular television, film and music that reinforce the three messages found within the *us vs. them* binary, and the ways these texts served to continue this cohort's socialization.

Dedicated with all my love

To Jeny, Alexandria, and Anthony, it has not always been easy but we did it,  
and to Samuel A. Glasford who not only indulged my curiosity growing up but also instilled in  
me the desire to always keep learning

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## INTRODUCTION: THE FINAL COLD WAR GENERATION

In 1982, a freshman sitting in an introductory High School German class, in a Chicago suburb, naively asked “Wouldn’t it be cool if the two Germanys were reunited?” The teacher responded, “It will never happen in our lifetime.”<sup>1</sup> The teacher’s response mirrored the belief of most of the American population who thought that the Cold War would continue well into the next millennium. Less than a decade later the teacher was proven wrong, and Germany was a unified country again. The freshman and the teacher would have to learn how to deal with the fact there was no longer an East vs West binary. As such, they would have to learn how to navigate through the new reality of a post-Cold War world. The freshman as a member of the final Cold War generation, along with the other members of the cohort, whose identities had been shaped through various socialization methods, had more to adapt to than the teacher and in a different way. The effort to turn this cohort into Cold War warriors in the fight between East and West meant that they needed to overcome a large amount of dissonance to reconcile this change. How then did they get to that point?

My interest in learning about this group began in an undergraduate classroom on the “History of the Vietnam War” in the fall of 2007. During a class break, a twenty-something undergraduate asked the professor, “What is the Cold War?” The instructor, momentarily taken aback, proceeded to explain what the Cold War was.<sup>2</sup> As I sat there and listened to the explanation, it occurred to me that there was now an entire generation that did not know about a divided Germany, or that the country referred to as Russia had been known as the Soviet Union, which no longer existed. During research for a comparison of 1950s and 1980s Cold War media, I

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<sup>1</sup> “German 1” class, Fall 1982, Lake Park High School, East Campus, Roselle IL.

<sup>2</sup> “History of Vietnam War,” History 510, Fall, 2007, “University of Kansas, Lawrence KS.



noticed there seemed to be many subtle and not so subtle Cold War messages in the latter. This led me to ask myself, who was the primary target demographic of this media and its messages? In considering the answer to this question, I realized several things about this group. Not only were its members growing up during the increasingly hostile rhetoric of Reagan's Cold War, but also that they were still young adults when the Cold War ended. Because the end of the Cold War required a major shift in ideological beliefs, the members of this group would have to undergo a fundamental shift in their thinking. Once I started to consider this generation's experience at the end of the Cold War, I started to think about its experiences prior to that end. In considering this, I realized the members of this group had a connection to the U.S. bicentennial, and the increased patriotic sentiment associated with that event. This event, coupled with the rise in anti-Soviet sentiment after the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency, meant this group was in a unique position when the Cold War ended. Once I made that connection, I had a desire to understand how this group was socialized into American society amid the increasingly hostile Cold War rhetoric.

This dissertation performs a longitudinal examination how the final Cold War generation was socialized into the rhetoric of the *us vs. them* binary of the late Cold War period. It argues that through a specific combination of three messages designed to reinforce the idea of the *us vs. them* binary socialized the final Cold War generation.<sup>3</sup> These messages included an emphasis on American exceptionalism, a manufactured and heightened fear of World War III, and othering of the Soviet Union and its people. This dissertation answers the following questions: How did collective memory and American civil religion help to socialize the final Cold War generation and make it unique from other Cold War cohorts? Were specific messages transmitted more

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to understand the evolution of how a national identity was formed since it was an important component of the *us vs. them* fight. Without a national identity there is no *us* to face off and fight the *them*.

frequently over certain types of media? How did the messages change over time as the cohort aged? What events during the formative years of this cohort contributed to these messages? The answers to these questions increase our understanding of how these messages added to the dissonance felt by this cohort at the end of the Cold War.

This dissertation answers the question of how the final Cold War generation was socialized by connecting the theoretical frameworks of Antonio Gramsci's cultural hegemony, Louis Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), Robert Bellah's model of American civil religion, the idea of collective memory, and Sam Keen's example of creating an Other. By examining the various messages, the cohort encountered this dissertation seeks to demonstrate how the various forces combined during the formative years of this group to create a unique generational subset.

This study is in conversation with two different yet connected research trends. The first is that this dissertation builds on and reinforces the work done by Benedict Anderson. At the heart of both works is the idea that nationality and unity are manufactured through the use of cultural artifacts. For Anderson cultural artifacts reinforce a sense of commonality that link a diverse and divided group of people, which ultimately create a common national identity. Whereas Anderson looks at the historical root of its creation, in this dissertation I advance Anderson's ideas and examine how these artifacts work within the framework of an established common national identity, and how the cultural artifacts are important in furthering the Cold War's ideological fight found in the latter half of the twentieth century.

The second topic this dissertation is in conversation with is the study of media. This dissertation builds on of Michael Real's idea of super media. Real states that "super media cannot be separated from culture, as they convey popular and mass cultural products for various

levels of public taste.”<sup>4</sup> Later on Real wrote, “one task of cultural studies is to search out in media the predominant underlying meaning that operates beneath the level of overt primary messages.”<sup>5</sup> This dissertation accepts Real’s challenge and works to do that. In examining the underlying messages of the *us vs. them* binary the evidence provided by this dissertation demonstrates that there were larger messages buried within the media of the time. This also shows that the culture and the mediums that transmit culture are inseparable. In this case because the Cold War was an important part of American society its ideals were transmitted through the media of the time, and in doing so it worked to introduce a new generational cohort to these messages.

The research also contributes to the ongoing discussion about the role of mass media during the Cold War period. The majority of the research produced on the Cold War, and its importance tends to focus on either the origins of the Cold War, or what contributed to its end, where the focus of the discussions tends to be on American foreign policy. Even when cultural artifacts are used to discuss the Cold War those artifacts tend to be limited to the early Cold War period. By focusing on cultural artifacts of the late Cold War period this dissertation provides a new way to examine how media contributed to the ideological fight. Since the early days of the Cold War media has been important in helping to fight the Cold War. The three messages found in the *us vs. them* binary have always been embedded within media but what the messages are and how they are portrayed has changed over time. Most Cold War media studies tend to focus on one type of media and how it behaved during the early Cold War period. These studies examine how the Cold War tended to manifest within a very specific medium and within a specific time period.

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<sup>4</sup> Michael R. Real, *Super Media: A cultural Studies Approach*, (Newbury Park CA: Sage Publication, 1989), 37.

<sup>5</sup> Michael R. Real, *Super Media: A cultural Studies Approach*, (Newbury Park CA: Sage Publication, 1989), 165.

Michael Curtin, Michael Kackman and Thomas Doherty discuss how the Cold War influenced television. Thomas Doherty, in *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture*, has his research situated squarely within the period of McCarthyism. Doherty acknowledged that there is a lot of Cold War scholarship about this time and as such, he believed that by focusing on television he could provide new insight into this much examined time period.<sup>6</sup> He does however note several important things to remember. First, he explained that viewing the actual network offering of the time is almost impossible, as much of the programming has been lost to history.<sup>7</sup> A second caveat offered by Doherty is that television was an evolving medium and that the McCarthy era coincided with television's infancy.<sup>8</sup> In *Cold War, Cool Medium* Doherty's main premise is that even in a time where fear of communist takeover was very strong, television helped to make America a more tolerant place. His research also shows that there is a connection between the Cold War and television that borders on "codependency."<sup>9</sup>

While Doherty is more focused on the medium of television and its importance to America's Cold War culture Michael Curtin, examines how a specific genre of the medium became important in helping to shape the public's view favorably towards Cold War foreign policy.<sup>10</sup> Curtin began his research intending to examine the "golden age of the documentary."<sup>11</sup> The documentary of this period is very different from the modern documentary and is very much

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<sup>6</sup> Thomas Doherty, *Cold War Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), vii.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Doherty, *Cold War Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), vii.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Doherty, *Cold War Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), viii, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Doherty, *Cold War Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 2.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Curtin, *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>11</sup> Michael Curtin, *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 3.

connected to the ideological messages of the time.<sup>12</sup> Curtin maintains that the documentary genre of this time was a product of its era, as the convergence of various societal factors made the documentary genre a perfect way to shape public opinion.<sup>13</sup> Curtin points to the work of Anderson and it is Curtin's contention that "national identities must constantly be nurtured and reinforced."<sup>14</sup> Television became a way to win the hearts and minds of the viewers, not only in the United States but also around the world.

Like Curtin, Michael Kackman also examines a specific genre of television. However, unlike Curtin, Kackman focus on a fictional genre. In *Citizen Spy: Television, Espionage, and Cold War Culture*, Kackman argues that "Our ability to recognize citizens and national subjects hinges on our mobilization of history— on articulation of values, ideologies, and identities that together cohere around the idea of America."<sup>15</sup> Kackman takes a microhistorical approach utilizing case studies of the espionage genre in an effort to prove his larger argument that there is continuity between the genre and the concept of national identity.<sup>16</sup> According to Kackman these shows "were about more than nationalism in an abstracted, general sense; these programs offer[ed] "explicit mediations on the challenge, possibilities and limitations of dominant conceptions of U.S. citizenship." He argued that the shows become a model for idyllic behavior.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Michael Curtin, *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Curtin, *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 7.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Curtin, *Redeeming the Wasteland: Television Documentary and Cold War Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 8.

<sup>15</sup> Michael Kackman, *Citizen Spy: Television, Espionage, and Cold War Culture* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), ix.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Kackman, *Citizen Spy: Television, Espionage, and Cold War Culture* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xi-xii.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Kackman, *Citizen Spy: Television, Espionage, and Cold War Culture* (Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xix.

As a whole Cold War media, scholars tend to focus on a specific medium and typically do not move past 1964. One exception to this trend is Tony Shaw's longitudinal study of Hollywood films. He thinks that those scholars who focused on the cultural Cold War spent too much time focusing on the period from 1945 to 1965. Whereas other research looks at a snapshot in time Shaw examines change over time. He traces how film reflected the animosity between the Soviet Union and the United States from the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution until the fall of the Berlin Wall.<sup>18</sup> Shaw believes that the connection between Hollywood and the United States government was much stronger than typically understood. Shaw believes that film "told the 'story' of the Cold War," the war of words and images became a surrogate for and way to avoid physical war.<sup>19</sup> He also believes that film demonstrated the tension "as a conflict between people as much as much as government," a point he contends is supported by the fact that Hollywood demonized communism from almost the very inception of the Soviet Union.<sup>20</sup>

This dissertation deviates from Shaw and the other's methods in that this study does not limit itself to only one form of media but rather examines how these messages play out through multiple types of media. It is in this deviation where this dissertation contributes to a new understanding of Cold War media. Where Curtin's, Kackman's, or Doherty's research display the importance of specific forms of media to the Cold War and Shaw's research reveals its importance because it demonstrates change over time, this study is important because it shows how three messages were consistently portrayed irrespective of the medium. By examining multiple forms of media this dissertation shows that there was a consistency to the messages, an

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<sup>18</sup> Tony Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War: Culture, Politics, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 6.

<sup>19</sup> Tony Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War: Culture, Politics, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 2-3.

<sup>20</sup> Tony Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold War: Culture, Politics, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 2.

idea which is missing from other studies due to their narrow focus. Because this research focuses on the end of the Cold War rather than the start it also demonstrates how these messages continued after the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

This dissertation is limited in that its focus is on the messages that the cohort encountered through its interaction with of cultural artifacts. Because these cultural artifacts were created with a specific demographic in mind, this dissertation reflects that focus. As such, it is situated within the experiences of the majority rather than minority groups. Because the targeted demographic for these media offerings are white males these are the individuals that represent the hegemonic majority within American society and it is within the experiences of these individuals that this dissertation is situated. It does not claim that the examination conducted is representative of the experiences of all members of the cohort, but rather recognizes that because each individual interaction with the three messages would be unique to the person the dissertation talks about these ideas in more generalized terms.

If the Cold War ran from 1945 to 1991, any person who was born between those dates can be seen as being part of the Cold War generation whether Baby Boomers, Generation X, or even the beginning of the Millennial generation.<sup>21</sup> This classification is not representational of a true generational subset, as it spans multiple generations, rather the term acts as a unifier given that the Cold War was active during some part of this demographics life. Some scholars believe any

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<sup>21</sup> The members of the Baby Boom generation are generally thought of as being born between 1946 and 1964. The members of Generation X are not as clear-cut with the generally accepted start of the generation beginning in 1965 although some researchers have it begin as early as 1961. Pinpointing the end of this particular generation is just as difficult as the dates have been attributed to 1976, 1978, 1981, and even as late as 1993. Though there is even less consensus than with the start date the majority of society seem to accept either 1978 or 1981 date. The Millennials or Generation Y start depending on when one believes Generation X ends and runs to the mid-1990s, though like Generation X this cohort has society members who do not agree with the generally accepted end period and state it does not end until 2001. If one ascribes to the 1993 end date at which point this group is split between Generation X and those who some scholars are calling the iGeneration, whose births occur after the turn of the century.

person born in the United States between 1945 and 1991 can be categorized as a member of the Cold War generation. This could be true depending on how one defines a generation.<sup>22</sup> However, being a member of a generation is more than simply being born during the time period. To be a member of a generation means that all members experience similar events and experience similar types of socializations.<sup>23</sup> These instill one with a feeling of what the culture of the time, in this case Cold War culture, was like. In the span of the Cold War there are generational subsets that had their own unique experiences that helped to shape its members into a recognizable group, and in some cases the Cold War was an integral part of their life. This was especially true for the part of Generation X that I categorize as the “final Cold War generation.” If anyone born between 1945 and 1991 can arguably be considered part of the Cold War generation, and there are cohorts of American citizens born after this group, why then do I define this cohort as the final Cold War generation? What excludes other generational subsets from this designation?

It takes more than just being born during a specific time period to create a generational identity. “A generation can be defined as those persons who have been socialized in a similar fashion because of their exposures to the same prevailing events.”<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, that definition does not necessarily equate to a common identity. Sociologists Howard Corning and Amy Schuman believed that while a common timeframe was an important component in creating a definition of a generation, it was the experiences of that cohort that helped to form a collective

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<sup>22</sup> The generally accepted definition of generation and the one that matches many dictionary definitions is the idea of a cohort of people who share a common timeframe and experience a common set of events. This definition allows many to lump those born between 1945 and 1991 into an all-inclusive grouping called the “Cold War generation.” The term “generation” in this case is acting as a replacement for the term “Birth cohort.” While birth cohorts are typically small-time periods this one is incredibly large. For a more in-depth discussion of birth cohorts see Norman B. Ryder, “The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change,” *American Sociological Review* 30, no.6, (December 1965): 843-861.

<sup>23</sup> Neal E. Cutler, “General Approaches to Political Socialization,” *Youth & Society* 8, no. 2, (December 1976): 176.

<sup>24</sup> William R. Klecka, “Applying Political Generations to the Study of Political Behavior: A Cohort Analysis,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 35, no. 3, (Autumn 1971): 358.



memory, which was important in forming a generational cohort identity.<sup>25</sup> A subset of Generation X, born between 1965 and 1971 fits that definition. While this group and later cohorts share a similar time frame, the common experiences of this demographic weld this cohort into a cohesive identifiable body. Because this is the case, what I define as the final Cold War generation -the focus of this project- can be identified as the cohort of individuals born between 1965 and 1971. This generational subset was in a unique position in that its members not only experienced reignited tensions as the Cold War heated back up, but also part of their formative years included the post-Cold War years.<sup>26</sup>

Those American citizens born between 1965 and 1971 would become the final Cold War generation for several reasons. First, the re-ignition of tensions between the United States and Soviet Union that occurred during this cohort's formative years meant that there was a strong connection between this group's identity and the Cold War, in that its relationship to the Cold War consisted of a combination of messages supporting the *us vs. them* binary that were different from earlier cohorts. A second reason for this designation is this was the last cohort of American citizens that had the Cold War as a major part of their formative years and the Soviet Union as a clear and definable enemy. Finally, they were old enough to understand what the Cold War was, how it affected their lives, and what the end of the Cold War signified. Rather than the chronological placement of their birth, these connections made the members of this generational subset the final Cold War generation.

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<sup>25</sup> Amy Corning and Howard Schuman, *Generations and Collective Memory* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2015), 15-6.

<sup>26</sup> Corning's and Schuman's research found those events that were most likely to be remembered by the members of a cohort, were those events that occurred when the generation was between the ages of ten and thirty, a significant portion of which are considered a person's formative years. (Amy Corning and Howard Schuman, *Generations and Collective Memory* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2015), 101)

Why then is this generational subset limited to a relatively small number of years? While there are other members of Generation X who were born during the late Cold War period, and its increasingly hostile rhetoric, the limitation has to do with this cohort's positionality to both the re-ignition of Cold War tensions and the end of the Cold War itself. While this dissertation only looks at the Cold War period to understand the cohort under consideration we have to look at what makes it a unique grouping of individuals, which includes looking at the time period after the end of the Cold War for this and other generational subsets. For example, while those members of American society born before 1965 would have some of the same experiences as the final Cold War generation, in that their formative years occurred during the Cold War, the reason for exclusion is that their age allowed them to experience dissonance created by the post-Cold War era differently. This is mainly because the pre-1965 group's formative years occurred during the period of détente that preceded the re-ignition of tensions that constituted the late Cold War period. Because of their experiences during the periods of détente and increased tensions, there was a different dynamic for their understanding of U.S.-Soviet relations. Subsequently their understanding was different and their steps for dealing with the collapse of the Soviet Union were different. As a result of this difference these members of the American population cannot be considered part of the final Cold War generation.

Members of Generation X born after 1978 were not old enough to understand the ramifications of the events of 9 November 1989, when the Berlin Wall came down signifying that the closing act of the Cold War had begun.<sup>27</sup> Because the members of this group were just

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<sup>27</sup> The Berlin Wall while geographically distant from the United States, it had become the symbol for the divided world. For the members of this cohort the Berlin Wall had always been a part of a divided Germany and it was thought that the wall and the division would be there well into their children's and even their grandchildren's lifetimes. The fall of the Wall then became a significant event even though it did not personally effect the majority of the cohort.

beginning to form their identities when the Soviet Union collapsed, and they had limited exposure to the more hostile Cold War rhetoric, the Cold War did not have a prominent place in their identities. Another factor that separates this cohort from the final Cold War generation is that during their formative years there was not a strong *us vs. them* binary with a definable enemy. For these reasons, they are excluded from consideration as part of the final Cold War generation. In fact, this cohort could be categorized as one of the modern interwar generations.<sup>28</sup>

For those members of Generation X born between 1972 and 1977, the beginning of their formative years occurred after the increase of tension had already started, and for them the major shift of their formative years was that the rhetoric was less vitriolic as tensions between the two countries lessened as the end of the Cold War approached. This meant that a larger portion of their identity formation occurred in the post-Cold War era. Like those born after 1978, this cohort does not have as strong of a connection to Cold War culture as earlier cohorts did, because the Cold War was not a major part of its societal identity, and as such the member of this cohort can be considered part of the modern interwar generation. Arguably, this cohort can be considered the beginning cohort of this new generational subset.

The majority of the final Cold War generation's formative period occurred during heightened tensions between the United States and Soviet Union. As such this tension helped mold the cohort into what it would become, because as Gosta Carrlsson and Katarina Karrlsson argue, "in its later life each birth cohort reflects... largely the conditions prevailing during its formative years."<sup>29</sup> This means that the increasingly heated Cold War rhetoric of the Reagan

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<sup>28</sup> The Modern interwar year is a concept discussed in detail by Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier in their book *America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11: The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror* where they discuss the time frame between the two Bush presidencies. Because these individuals would come of age during this time they do not have the connection to Cold War culture that those born between 1965-1971.

<sup>29</sup> Gosta Carrlsson and Katarina Karrlsson. "Age, Cohorts and the Generation of Generations," *American Sociology Review* 35, no. 4 (August 1970): 710-1.

Administration would be internalized, making the Cold War part of this generation's identity.<sup>30</sup> While the three messages of the *us vs. them* binary were present throughout the entirety of the Cold War it was the way the three interacted during this time period that made the cohort's experiences different from other Cold War cohorts. Due to the increased tensions and the increased likelihood of global destruction each of the three messages was different than it had been in the past, in that there seemed to be a greater urgency that the United States win the ideological fight. In each case the three messages of the *us vs. them* binary found as the final Cold War generation was growing up were different and as such the messages placed different emphasis and spoke to the changing fears of society. For example early on in the Cold War the fear of World War III was very different than it was in the 1980s. Even during the Cuban missile crisis the fear felt by American society was that of the placement of the missiles in Cuba enabled an attack to reach easily into the heart of the country. By the time the 1980s rolled around the ability of Soviet missiles launched from the Soviet Union to reach any part of the country was a forgone conclusion. Society's concern now was the number of missiles launched and the amount of time from the launch to impact. The reason for the last part was a fear that the United States would be unable to launch a counter strike if there was not enough time between the two. This change was a result of the proliferation of nuclear arms and the rise of the Mutually Assured Destruction doctrine.<sup>31</sup> While the Soviet Union was always seen as different, the level of

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<sup>30</sup> While an examination of the cohort's identity formation is outside the scope of this dissertation it is important to know that the Cold War was a big part of how this group saw itself even if it was not done consciously. In interacting with members of this cohort as various events occur such as; increased tensions with Russia, involvement in third world countries, rising nuclear tensions, or other similar global events, often times the members of the cohort frame their responses in such a way that it is obvious they are pulling from their Cold War experiences of the 1980s.

<sup>31</sup> Mutually Assured Destruction doctrine was an idea based on deterrence. Because each super power had enough missiles to completely destroy the other side and be obliterated in a counter attack neither side would want to launch a nuclear strike. It argued that by having enough weapons one country kept the other from using their weapons.

Othering displayed during the 1980s was a result of the almost thirty plus years of animosity as American society became even better at learning how portray the enemy as decivilized. The idea of American exceptionalism has been around arguably before there was even a United States.<sup>32</sup> The events of the 1960s and 1970s shook society's belief in America's exceptional nature. While this weakened the idea of America as an exceptional nation it also created a desire by those in power, such as Ronald Reagan, to return America to its place of prominence. This desire changed the way that the idea of American exceptionalism was introduced to the succeeding generation, which changed the intensity of the message from that of previous generations. Because these messages had changed and intensified, they combined in such a way that they formed a unique force that exerted pressure on the cohort that contributed to the formation of a generational identity.

As the members of this generational subset made the transition to the post-Cold War era they experienced a different form of dissonance from other cohorts, due to the new world order. One of the reasons this dissonance was so strong in the final Cold War generation was because this generation experienced the intensified *us vs. them* binary that was a result of a greater need to win the ideological struggle. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War, this group had to undergo a fundamental transformation of its understanding of the geopolitical makeup of the world. As the post-Cold War world order reshaped to match a new reality, a reality that now included the messages that Russia was no longer synonymous with the Soviet

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<sup>32</sup> The puritans had the idea that their colonies would be a beacon on the hill to light the way for the rest of the world. This idea became one of the foundational components for American exceptionalism. For a more complete explanation see Richard M. Gamble *In Search of the City on the Hill: The Making and Unmaking of an American Myth*, London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2012. This idea around since the founding of Plymouth colony means that the idea predates the United States by almost a century and a half.

Union and that Russia was now America's friend, the members of this cohort had to reevaluate their position in this new world order.<sup>33</sup>

Throughout American history, the youth of America have been called upon to defend America's way of life. Why then would there be any doubt that the final Cold War generation would not follow in the footsteps of preceding generations? Was there something about the time period that would lead the adults to question the commitment of American youths to supporting American ideals? With the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis on 28 October 1962 and the realization by those in power that the world had been on the brink of nuclear annihilation, the Cold War began to thaw, eventually reaching a period of *détente*. The final Cold War generation was born during this period of lessening tensions. The post-Cuban missile crisis reduction in tensions reduced the perception of the threat the Soviet Union seemed to pose to the United States and as such this lack of a dangerous enemy with which to draw the attention of the American population meant Americans could focus on domestic issues. The final Cold War generation had the honor and dubious distinction of being born and growing up in what has arguably been called one of the most tumultuous times in the twentieth century. Scholars labeled the mid-sixties and early seventies as some of the most turbulent times in American society

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<sup>33</sup> In this dissertation, the terms USSR, Russia, and Soviet Union are used interchangeably to reflect the thinking of the time.

during the twentieth century.<sup>34</sup> Even President Gerald Ford recognized this when he told Congress “The State of our union is not good.”<sup>35</sup>

The civil rights movement, the counterculture revolution, America’s loss in Vietnam, assassinations of public figures, and a worsening economic outlook all contributed to the splintering of American society. This chaotic time helped to shape Generation X, of which the final Cold War generation formed the core. The illusion that the United States was united had been shattered; generational disputes, race relations, and class warfare occurring in a relatively short period of time, all put strains on American society. If the events of the 1960s and 1970s had fractured the idea of national unity, how then could the torn fabric of American society be mended? It would require a large swath of the American population to be able to identify with one another and re-forge the idea of a common American identity.

With the re-emergence of an external threat to American society, those in power needed a way to reform a splintered population into a cohesive whole, able to withstand the dangers posed by a new and stronger Soviet menace.<sup>36</sup> Events of the late Sixties and early Seventies had

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<sup>34</sup> President Gerald Ford in his State of the Union address summed up this idea on January 15, 1975. Scholars such as Daniel T. Rodgers, in *The Age of Fracture*, (Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Age of Fracture* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press Harvard University Press, 2011) and Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone* (Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000)) both examined the causes of this fracturing. Other scholars such as Edward Berkowitz, (Edward Berkowitz, *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006)) Jefferson Cowie, (Jefferson Cowie, *Staying Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: The New Press, 2010)), Peter Carroll, (Peter Carroll, *It Seemed like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970's* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990)) and Bruce J. Schulman, (Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001)) to name but a few, examine this turbulent time each examining different causes of societal discontent.

<sup>35</sup> Gerald R Ford, State of the Union Address, January 15, 1975, The American Presidency Project, Accessed October 15, 2012. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=4938#axzz2fZbSjWa2>.

<sup>36</sup> Early on in the Cold War the danger that the Soviet Union posed was from subversion rather than wholesale destruction of American society. Even after the Soviet Union acquired nuclear capabilities in the 1950s they were limited and behind the United States capabilities. One of the claims made as the Cold War started to heat back up was that the Soviet Union had used the period of Détente to increase their nuclear arsenal and in an era of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) the new danger was from a stronger and more capable Soviet military. This provided justification for the creation of a strong American military thereby creating a need for more soldiers and a larger defense budget.

marked the “Baby Boomers” and the “Greatest Generation,” but what would become of the final Cold War generation, that portion of the American population that was the beginning of Generation X? It was an unformed lump of metal, but one that could still be forged into a unified citizenry, a bright and shining shield to protect the ideals of American democracy. How then to do this? According to John Marciano “Whether the goal [was] to get beyond the dissent and disruption of the 1960s, or to deal with the demographic changes in the nation...there is a desire on the part of political officials and educators to create a ‘unifying socialization’ for our youth.”<sup>37</sup> In the event the Cold War turned hot, the final Cold War generation would become the portion of the American population that would most likely have to face this new and growing threat across the battle lines. As such the members of this generation needed to know not only what they would be fighting for, but also why they would need to fight. They would need to understand that Cold War rhetoric equated to not only the need for America to beat the Soviet Union, but that the American way of life, and America’s form of government was superior to any other country’s.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines “socialization” as “the process of forming associations with others; [specifically] the process by which a person learns to function within a particular society or group by internalizing its values and norms.”<sup>38</sup> This definition is very different from the initial concept of socialization, which had to do with personal development.<sup>39</sup> One of the ways socialization contributed to the internalization of ideological messages was to

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<sup>37</sup> John Marciano, *Civic Illiteracy and Education: The Battle for the Hearts and Minds of American Youth* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1997), 9.

<sup>38</sup> “Socialization, n.” OED Online. March 2016. Oxford University Press, accessed March 16, 2016. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/183747?redirectedFrom=socialization+>; John A Clausen ed. *Socialization and Society* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1968), 21.

<sup>39</sup> Initially at the end of the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth century, socialization theory had more to do with the personal development of the person being socialized. By the end of World War I, the singular idea of socialization started to fade, and by the 1940s the way the term was used had changed. The term became more interdisciplinary, and also began to resemble the current dictionary definition.



take those objects that have become important to American society, and introduce new generations to what these symbols represent. These important ideas become icons in the American mythos and these icons are what then make up American civil religion.

Socialization occurs in two ways. The first is direct or explicit socialization. This is the process in which some group or person attempts to sway the thinking of another group to the first group's way of thinking. One example of this occurred during the American Revolution bicentennial celebration when the mission of its overseeing body was to promote patriotism and help to unify American society. The one that is harder to pinpoint but is the more pervasive type of socialization is implicit. This type of socialization is reflected in the popular definition of socialization. This occurs by various societal institutions reinforcing larger society's beliefs and values. The family, the school, and even media contribute to this type of socialization. Even if there is not direct intention to socialize a person the nature of these institutions do work to help create the idea of the good citizen.

The family is the first institution that instills societal values. Due to the power inherent in the family structure, it is according to Norman Ryder, "the principle socialization agency in every society," in that it is "an omnipresent authoritarian component of the child's environment, a primary group satisfying virtually the entire range of needs."<sup>40</sup> Neal Cutler agreed with Ryder on how important the family initially is to the socialization of a child, arguing, "the family was seen to be of greatest importance" to the socialization process since it has "a virtual monopoly of the child during the first three to five years of life."<sup>41</sup> After this monopoly runs out school becomes the next important means of "formal socialization" while the peer group functions on "the

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<sup>40</sup> Norman B. Ryder, "The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change," *American Sociological Review* 30, No.6 (December 1965): 852-3.

<sup>41</sup> Neal E. Cutler, "Generational Approaches to Political Socialization" *Youth and Society* 8, no.2, (December 1976): 181.

informal level.” The education system accomplishes this by developing “a commitment to the implementation of societal values, teaches the skills needed to preform adult tasks and contributes to manpower allocation. As the content of education evolves, it differentiates the knowledge of parent and child ... To the extent that school instruction differs from what is learned at home, it provokes independent thought.”<sup>42</sup> One reason that the school system takes over from the family is due to the amount of time spent at school verses the amount of time spent at home. The value in the school system becoming the primary way that children are socialized is in the number of children socialized and consistency of that socialization.

As American society becomes increasingly media-centric, mass media takes over some of the socialization role from both the family and the schools. In each of these instances there is no one cabal of people sitting in a dark room consciously planning to socialize young people in a given way, but the institutions themselves as functional parts of society reflect the values of society as they spread their messages. Because older generations control the educational system and mass media and the creation of content societal beliefs are imbedded within both. This means the consumers of this content inadvertently learn the values and norms of larger society.

One theory that partially explains the creation of a common American identity is American civil religion. It is this identification as an American and what it means to be an American that the concept of American civil religion builds on and reinforces. The various societal channels used to socialize a population creates a connection to certain people, places, and things. These people, places, and things gain meaning through their repeated use, thereby giving them prominence in the eyes of the population. This repetition imparts greater worth to these people, places, and things, and because they are seen as significant and are usually prominently

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<sup>42</sup> Norman B. Ryder, “The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change,” *American Sociological Review* 30, No.6 (December 1965): 854.

displayed, they become meaningful to a large portion of the population. Throughout the twentieth century, and arguably since the founding of the country, American civil religion and patriotism have been used as a way of building a common identity.<sup>43</sup> This became especially important in the latter part of the twentieth century in the aftermath of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and as the Cold War reignited.

Scholars have explored the concept of civil religion for a long time.<sup>44</sup> Although the term “civil religion” is generally accepted, the precise meaning of civil religion has been a matter of debate. In the stormy decade of the 1960s Robert Bellah reintroduced the idea of civil religion to academia. In 1967, he synthesized a new definition for the concept using Rousseau and Durkheim among others. Bellah wrote that American civil religion was “complex” and “institutionalized” arguing it was not the deification of America but rather grounding in the “American Experience.”<sup>45</sup> American civil religion is the great unifier in that it crosses denominational and religious barriers.<sup>46</sup>

With civil religion’s reintroduction to academia, scholars, particularly sociologists, began to debate the concept, a debate that lasted from 1967 to 1981. This new focus on American civil religion ran parallel with the cohort’s educational experiences and is one of the reasons this cohort is unique. Like the topic itself, the debate over American civil religion was complex, as it

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<sup>43</sup> Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press), 28

<sup>44</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau first put the idea of civil religion forward in 1762 in his essay *The Social Contract*. (Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* trans. by Charles Frankel (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1947), 115, 123; Ronald Beiner, “Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau on Civil Religion.” *The Review of Politics* 55, no. 4 (Autumn 1993): 617) Emile Durkheim brought the idea of public religion back into the public conscious at the beginning of the twentieth century. Writing in France during the unrest of World War I, he recognized both the good and evil that strong nationalism could wrought. (Ruth A. Wallace, “Emile Durkheim and the Civil Religion Concept.” *Review of Religious Research* 18, no. 3 (Spring, 1977): 287-8, 288)

<sup>45</sup> Bellah states that what American society has “is a collection of beliefs, symbols, and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized in a collectivity.” (Robert N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America.” *Daedalus* 117, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 97).

<sup>46</sup> Robert N. Bellah, “Civil Religion in America.” *Daedalus* 117, no. 3 (Summer 1988): 97,115.

was not only limited to those who believed American civil religion existed, and those who did not but there was also a debate as to what exactly the term meant.<sup>47</sup> This argument over the definition of the term led to a fracturing of its meaning. By 1974 the dispute over American civil religion was in full swing, and by 1976 had reached its peak. The discussion ebbed during the rest of the decade, and by 1981 Sociologist Gail Gehrig's work cataloged the various definitions of what American civil religion was.<sup>48</sup>

Gehrig's work synthesized the various definitions and was able to codify five distinct but sometimes overlapping definitions. According to Gehrig, the first way American civil religion was defined was that of a "folk religion – a civil religion, emerging from the daily life experience and expression of the American people." The second type was as a "transcendental universal religion of a nation ...[which] portrays American civil religion as a set of transcendent ideals by which society is both integrated and judged," this is the definition closest to Bellah's interpretation. The third definition was that of "religious nationalism ... [this definition] represents a worldview in which the nation itself is glorified and adored becoming self-transcendent." The fourth definition was that of "democratic faith ... [where the idea was] represented in the writings of philosophers and theologians who have attempted to construct a humanistic philosophy based on the American ideals of justice, liberty and equality." The final definition according to Gehrig was "Protestant civic piety ... [American civil religion] can be found in the fusion of the American and Protestant historical traditions." It contained a belief in

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<sup>47</sup> One of the main debates found during 1967 to 1981 was whether American civil religion was even a religion. Some like Michael Maddigan argued that even though American civil religion is called a religion, it could have just as easily been called "civil mythology." (Michael M. Maddigan, "The Establishment Clause, Civil Religion, and the Public Church." *California Law Review* 81, no. 1 (January 1993): 317, 337)

<sup>48</sup> Gail Gehrig, *American Civil Religion: An Assessment*. (Storrs, CN: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1981); Gail Gehrig, "The American Civil Religion Debate: A Source for Theory Construction." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 20, no. 1 (March 1981):51-63.

a supreme being, legitimization of Protestant values, and integration of Protestants as Americans.<sup>49</sup>

At the time Gehrig wrote that the second definition was the most comprehensive and had received the most attention. It was her contention that these five definitions were the primary way American civil religion operated throughout American history. One reason for the decline over the American civil religion debate was that by the time Reagan rose to power American civil religion was believed to have outlived its usefulness. However, Raymond Haberski argued that American civil religion continued to survive because the population needed something to believe in that was “worthy of the sacrifices ... made in the name of war.”<sup>50</sup> American civil religion became the ideals that those who fought and died, sacrificed for. It also provided a rallying point for the members of the population to recognize that they had more in common with each other than they believed. Walter McDougall also believed that American civil religion was a constant in American society and believed that it was connected to foreign policy in three distinct eras.<sup>51</sup> He further believed that American civil religion of the 1960s, part of the second era, was actually preparing the country for American civil religion in the global economy of the twenty-first century, the third era.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Gehrig’s historiography of the debate is the last major piece of work for almost three decades. (Gail Gehrig, *American Civil Religion: An Assessment* (Storrs, CN: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1981), 2-3 ,17-8) This is where the concept of American civil religion idled, until in a post-9/11 world the idea received a second look as a new wave of scholars began to reexamine the theory of American civil religion. The scholars Raymond Haberski and Jeremy Gunn start to reexamine the concept. Gunn’s scholarship in *Spiritual Weapons: The Cold War and the Forging of an American National Religion*, tends to reflect Gehrig’s fifth definition of American civil religion. While Haberski’s *God and War: American Civil Religion since 1945* looked at how American civil religion was used after 1945. Although this new research is grounded in a post-9/11 context it is still primarily focused on the early part of the Cold War.

<sup>50</sup> Raymond Haberski, *God and War: American Civil Religion since 1945* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 254.

<sup>51</sup> Walter McDougall, *The Tragedy of U.S. Foreign Policy: How America’s Civil Religion Betrayed the National Interest* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 32.

<sup>52</sup> Walter McDougall, *The Tragedy of U.S. Foreign Policy: How America’s Civil Religion Betrayed the National Interest* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 292-6.

For the purpose of this dissertation I will combine and simplify Gehrig's definition. This dissertation defines American civil religion to be the underlying principle that helps to unify and identify a population with a national identity through the use of common stories, creation of common ideals, and the belief that the nation is exceptional in its formation and position in the world. It accomplishes this by creating a common canon of important people, places, and things, and by creating and reinforcing rituals that emphasize the importance of that canon.<sup>53</sup> In other words, American civil religion works to socialize a population with a national identity and promote a sense of nationalism. If this is the case, then how is American civil religion different from regular nationalism? American civil religion is an evolution of nationalism. While both create a common canon of important people, places, and things, because not all symbols become American civil religious icons those that do receive a greater level of veneration than those that remain national icons. American civil religion is similar to a theological religion, because its icons can be classified into categories comparable to those found in more conventional religions. Typically, conventional religions contain eight discreet groupings for classification of important symbols. These categories are People, Places, Sacred documents, Religious Symbols, Holidays, Rituals, Obligations, and Pilgrimage sites. Those icons that end up in these categories become the "holy" icons for American civil religion.<sup>54</sup> American civil religious icons are typically located

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<sup>53</sup> The concept is arguably more about "national self-identity" rather than ceremonial deism. It is the creation of a unifying national identity that would allow some anthropologists to classify American civil religion as a religion. The OED defines religion as "An action or conduct indicating belief in, obedience to, and reverence for a god, gods, or similar superhuman power; the performance of religious rites or observances. It also defines it as a particular system of faith and worship. and finally as a belief in or acknowledgement of some superhuman power or powers (esp. a god or gods) which is typically manifested in obedience, reverence, and worship; such a belief as part of a system defining a code of living, esp. as a means of achieving spiritual or material improvement." ("Religion, n.". OED Online. March 2016. Oxford University Press, accessed March 16, 2016. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/161944?redirectedFrom=religion> ) However this definition is different from the anthropological one, which defines religious beliefs as ideas, "Shared by a group sometimes by millions of people and are passed on through the generations." (Barbara Miller, *Cultural Anthropology in a Globalizing World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Saddle River NJ: Prentice Hall, 2010), 213)

<sup>54</sup> Kraybill offers a list comparing American civil religion representations to Christian representations that fall into various categories.; Donald Kraybill, *Our Star Spangled Faith* (Harrisonburg VA: Herald Press, 1976), 25.

within one of seven classifications, and while the eighth classification, obligations does have an association with American civil religion these obligations do not reach iconic status like those in the other seven categories.<sup>55</sup>

About the time the debate over American civil religion was winding down the introduction of memory studies as an academic field began in earnest. Like the debate over American civil religion, exploration into memory studies began before it became a field of study. One concept that is important in memory studies is the idea of collective memory. Initially the term was defined as the ways in which memory of individuals shape society and how these memories are transmitted to others.<sup>56</sup> Collective memory became the foundational concept on which scholars engaged in memory studies build. This dissertation applies Astrid Erll's definition of collective memory, which she defines as "the symbols, media, social institutions and practices which are used construct, maintain, and represent versions of a shared past."<sup>57</sup>

Like the debate over American civil religion the debate over memory studies added to the existing memory scholarship, not only building a more nuanced definition of what collective memory was, but also expanding our understanding about how societal memory functions. Sociologist Howard Schuman along with Amy Corning examined the intersection of collective memory and how generational cohorts remember. Corning and Schuman contend that collective memory is what allows group cohesiveness while at the same time the group perpetuates collective memory.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> American civil religion obligations are taxes, which equate to an offertory. Other obligations are registering for the draft and jury duty, which are analogous to service.

<sup>56</sup> Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2011), 14-5.

<sup>57</sup> Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2011), 98.

<sup>58</sup> Amy Corning and Howard Schuman, *Generations and Collective Memory*. (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2015), 1.

One way collective memory works to create a sense of cultural identity was by transmitting traditions, and beliefs to new generations. These beliefs are transferred between generations in two main ways, through stories (myths) and direct statements (doctrine) about the beliefs. Myth is a powerful catalyst for transferring information between generations. Roland Barthes believed that myth was successful because it seemed natural and yet it was impartial. For Barthes, myth had the “task of giving an historical intention a natural justification,” which becomes the purpose of myth and why it is important.<sup>59</sup> Because myths make ideas seem natural it is easier for those learning these new ideals to learn the lesson and internalize the message that is conveyed by myth. It is in the transmission of these myths and doctrine that collective memory comes into play and establishes itself as a building block of American civil religion.

A culture’s traditions and myths are integral to the idea of identity through the notion of patriotism.<sup>60</sup> Because the ideas that are part of collective memory are placed there by the tacit agreement of a society’s population, collective memory thereby determines whether something reaches iconic status or is relegated to the dustbin of history, where the general population forgets about it. Once these representations take on a life of their own they become symbols in their own right and become useful within the framework of American civil religion, by becoming American civil religious icons. Because the idea of American civil religion builds off of collective memory it too reflects the thought and values of society’s population. Through its use American civil religion utilizes those iconic people, places, events, and symbols to socialize the population. It is in the formation of a national identity that the study of American civil religion and memory studies intersect. It is within this intersection that we find these socialization

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<sup>59</sup> Roland, Barthes, *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang 1972), 129-30.

<sup>60</sup> Michael G Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 1st edition (New York: Knopf, 1991), 4-5.



techniques put into practice with the final Cold War generation. Collective memory is what unites the concepts of American civil religion and memory studies, both of which are important for the formation of a unique cohort identity.

Examining the messages that contribute to socialization is important because that is how each succeeding generation is introduced to the dominant ideology. Each generation determines what it finds important from its upbringing and then imparts that information to the next, which then repeats the cycle. Because this is the case each group's understanding is colored by the experiences and fears of the previous generation. Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony defines this transmission of both ideology and other ideals that society deems important. Gramsci theorized that dominant members of society, those that are in positions of power, represent the idea of the State, and thereby enforce their will on the rest of society.<sup>61</sup> While those that are governed give their consent to be governed, there is resistance to the dominant group's control, which means hegemony's hold on society is not complete.<sup>62</sup> Gramsci wrote that if the state had complete control then the state would be "inert," which he argued was not the case.<sup>63</sup> Even though those who represent hegemony lack complete control, they do adapt in an effort to maintain their control. If the protests of the 1960s and 1970s can be seen as pushback against the hegemonic control of society by non-hegemonic groups, then the socialization of the final Cold War generation can be seen as the State's bid to adapt to this incomplete hegemonic control. In times of war there is a need by those in power for a sense of unity and focus towards the enemy. This need can be found during conventional wars but also in ideological wars as well. The re-

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<sup>61</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Edited and Translated by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 12.

<sup>62</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Edited and Translated by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 12, 229-30.

<sup>63</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Edited and Translated by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 232.

ignition of East-West tension was one such time. As such, those in power needed to adapt the structure of society in order to reinforce the idea of unity and focus all facets of the American populations towards a common enemy.

Gramsci contended that education is how the masses learn what is important in society.<sup>64</sup> Not only does education show what is important but also it was a way that the State maintained its control of society: Gramsci also believed that it was how the State manufactured the consent of the governed.<sup>65</sup> Education could occur through traditional means but could also be transmitted through the media. These were two important ways that the State could demonstrate what was important to society and bring new American citizens around to the “correct” way of thinking the way that each of these societal institutions, as Gramsci describes them, function as an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). ISA’s are designed to blunt the need for a more repressive means of controlling society. Louis Althusser built off of Gramsci’s work in his examination of how the state maintains control, through both ideological and repressive means. Althusser believed that ISA’s could be divided into eight discrete categories.<sup>66</sup> Like Gramsci, Althusser recognized how important media and education are to socializing a group to larger societal ideals. It is through the various ISA’s that the symbols promoted through collective memory and American civil religion are not only transmitted to the population, but also through their repeated exposure, how they are reinforced.

The idea of semiotics is an important link between the concepts of hegemony and ISA’s. The symbols and signs are what is transmitted through the ISA’s, which reinforce the hegemonic

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<sup>64</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Edited and Translated by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 258-9.

<sup>65</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, Edited and Translated by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 259.

<sup>66</sup> Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays by Louis Althusser*. Translated by Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 143

messages of those in power. Due to the polysomic nature of symbols not only can certain images reinforce hegemonic ideas but it also means these symbols can be attached to new meanings.<sup>67</sup> Because American civil religious icons become representative of the United States, when these icons are put in jeopardy the implication is there is a danger to society as a whole. The creation of icons that stand for American society means these symbols embody the creation of an *us* from the *us vs. them* binary. The polysemic nature of symbols accomplishes this because while one group might interpret the sign a particular way, another group might have a slight different interpretation. Both groups, however, still identify with the symbols as being representative of their beliefs.

At the heart of the *us vs. them* binary is the idea of “othering.” The concept of semiotics is also useful in analyzing the creation of this Other by interpreting symbols that reinforce the otherness of an enemy or become representative of the *them*. Society can create an Other that is different enough from the *us* that we fear them and do not feel guilty about destroying them. This also allows a society to create broad generalizations about the enemy making it easier to categorize whole groups of people, in essence stereotyping the group, as a *them*. Sam Keen explored the idea of othering, identifying thirteen different strategies for othering enemies.<sup>68</sup> Placing the enemy into one or more of these thirteen categories not only provides proof of its depravity but provides the *us* side of dichotomy with proof of its superiority. As Cold War tensions started to build again, according to Keen, “decivilizing” language began to appear. Not only was it present in the speeches of Ronald Reagan, but also similar language appeared in

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<sup>67</sup> Jonathan Bignell, *Media Semiotics: An Introduction* (Oxford: Manchester University Press, 1997), 50-1, 54, 205-6.

<sup>68</sup> Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986).

mainstream news magazines reinforcing the *us vs. them* binary that was the mainstay of Cold War America.<sup>69</sup>

Throughout their formative years the members of the final Cold War generation experienced this socialization, which helped to shape their relationship and attitudes towards the Cold War, the Soviet Union, and what it meant to be an American. Chapter One takes place during the period of détente and begins with an examination of this cohort's experience in elementary school. By teaching this cohort what it meant to be an American, the elementary school system was an important component of socialization. Elementary school was where this cohort was introduced to the founding myths indelibly linked to the founding of the United States and the men and women who helped to create the nation. Elementary school also performed another important role as it introduced the members of this cohort to important rituals that not only taught them what it meant to be an American citizen, but also reinforced the importance of certain American civil religious icons. A textual analysis of the textbooks used by the cohort during its time in elementary school and an examination of educational rituals provide insight into how its members learned they were part of larger American society there by creating a common foundation for identifying with the *us*.

Because of its experiences in elementary school the cohort grew to understand the importance of the American Revolution and the founding generation to the American creation myth. One way that the final Cold War generation was able to connect to the founding of the country was by celebrating the two-hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Chapter Two examines how the American Revolution bicentennial celebration connected contemporary Americans with the founding period. Not only did the celebration

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<sup>69</sup> Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 45-6.

provide a connection to the past, but also it was another way this cohort could be socialized into what it meant to be part of the *us*. The celebration provided a common framework that could be used to rebuild a common, unified identity, an important piece in helping to socialize the final Cold War generation. This chapter looks at both the planning for the celebration and specific events that were designed to fulfill the two prime directives of the celebration.

Chapter Three's examination takes place as both this cohort and the Cold War are undergoing a change. By August 1979, the first members of this cohort were entering high school. Not only was the cohort entering a new phase of its life but also the Cold War itself was entering a new and arguably more dangerous phase. As the final Cold War generation reached high school, the main educational institution at the secondary level, there was a shift away from the rituals and simplistic adoration of certain American civil religious icons found at the elementary levels. With the move from elementary school to high school there was an associated change in subject matter as well. Social studies was gone, and instead classes focused on specific disciplines. American history became the primary vehicle for exploring the United States. Textbooks, particularly history textbooks, became the main way this cohort was socialized into who and what was important to American society. This chapter relies on a textual analysis of high school history textbooks to see how the idea of *us* was reinforced to the cohort.

As this cohort aged and its school experiences changed so too did the way the members consumed media. They were no longer only relegated to their homes for their entertainment. Even though television continued to play a significant role in their lives, as this cohort entered its teenage years, movies became an important form of media for it. While movies and television were the primary way the final Cold War generation was socialized, music was another important form of media that shaped this generation. While the cohort's earlier experiences

focused on building the *us* side of the *us vs. them* binary through the message of how exceptional the United States was, the cohort's later experiences with media reinforced the other two messages of the *us vs. them* binary. Chapter Four examines the fear of World War III. This message incorporates both sides of the *us vs. them* binary as it examined either the physical or ideological destruction of the *us* by the *them*. This chapter is situated within the early part of the 1980s when this fear was especially prominent due to the increasingly hostile and vitriolic rhetoric at the highest levels of American society. In this chapter I perform a textual analysis of the various television, film and musical offerings that spoke to this message, and how it worked to socialize the cohort. Chapter Five moves to the latter part of the decade as the fear of World War III started to wane and focuses on the how media worked to differentiate and strengthen the concept of a *them*. Utilizing the same type of media analyzed in Chapter Four, Chapter Five examines how these forms of media not only showed how the cohort was to behave but also created a comparison between American and Soviet citizens that played up the strangeness of the Soviets thereby creating an Other. Both Chapters Four and Five contain textual analysis of media from the time period. The primary media under consideration in these two chapters were popular during the period, and a majority of the cohort interacted with these offerings.

As a member of this cohort I have a connection to the chronology that allows me greater context of the various sources. My research follows in the tradition of Raymond Williams who wrote "it is only in our own time and place that we can know, in any substantial way, the general organization [of culture]," he further argued that when we study historical events we can recover the framework of the event but are unable to incorporate what the experience was like during that time.<sup>70</sup> This missing context of experience is what makes up the cultural feel of the period.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 48.

<sup>71</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 48.

Because I have both the historical framework and the cultural context, I am able to provide a more complete picture of the time in question and can speak to the experiences of this cohort.<sup>72</sup>

On 6 August 1945, the world changed in a flash of light. While technically allies, by this time the Soviet Union and United States were taking the first steps of their journey in the ideological struggle known as the Cold War. In Moscow, on the night of 25 December 1991, the world changed again. As the Soviet flag that flew atop the Kremlin was lowered, its descent signaled the demise of the Soviet Union, ending almost 50 years of tension between the United States and the American-led West and the Soviet Union and the Soviet-led East. While historians cannot agree on the exact length of this struggle, they do agree that the Cold War had profound effects not merely in the Soviet Union and United States but around the globe as well.<sup>73</sup>

The demise of the Soviet Union was a pivotal moment, not only in world history but also in American history. The Cold War had been such an important part of America's social fabric that its end required a systemic shift in how Americans viewed the world. No longer was the world divided between *us* or *them*; this binary that had divided the world into first and second world countries, who were fighting over the ideological underpinnings of third world nations was over. America was the only super power left in existence. This shift in thinking was especially

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<sup>72</sup> As a white male, and as a close representation of society's hegemonic ideal, I acknowledge that my experiences are not representative of all members of this cohort; however, this classification means I was a member of the primary targeted audience of this socialization.

<sup>73</sup> For as long as the Cold War ran there is some dissention as to the start and end dates of the Cold War. Many historians believe that the Cold War did not officially start until 1947 when both superpowers had solidified their hold on their allies. I however agree with those who believe it started earlier than this and that the burgeoning divide was starting to be seen before World War II ended in 1945. This same debate occurs as to when the Cold War ends. Typically, one of three dates is picked for the end; 9 November 1989 when the physical symbol of the Cold War, the Berlin Wall is said to have fallen, 3 December 1989 the day that President George H.W. Bush and Soviet Premiere Mikhail Gorbachev declared the Cold War over at the Malta Summit, and 25 December 1991 the day that the Soviet Union ceased to exist. For this dissertation, the Cold War is said to run from 1945 to 1991

poignant for certain parts of the American population, such as the final Cold War generation, a group that had grown up during the increasingly hostile rhetoric of the Reagan era.



## CHAPTER 1: BUILDING A FOUNDATION

Every morning across the nation, shortly after school bells ring to start the day, voices rise in volume to recite, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Each morning elementary students recite the Pledge of Allegiance, a ritual repeated across schools, districts, cities, states, and the nation.<sup>1</sup> In those beginning moments of the day students of the school come together as one united body, reaffirming their American-ness. Even today the pledge is a daily ritual, and while participation is no longer automatically expected, the powerful nature of unification that occurs when it is recited makes the Pledge not only a powerful symbolic ritual, but also a powerful socializing agent.<sup>2</sup> One reason the Pledge of Allegiance is an important ritual is because "the United States is a social construction, evolving not from common inherited features but from shared adherence to the democratic ideology embedded in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution."<sup>3</sup> This means that the United States operates as an "imagined community," as conceived by Benedict Anderson, even more than other

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<sup>1</sup> The saying of the Pledge of Allegiance was observed at Woodlawn elementary school in Lawrence, Kansas May 9, 2013. The whole school gathers in a group every morning to, hear announcements and say the pledge before the teachers take their respective classes to their rooms. In an informal inquiry of a teacher currently employed by the school to see if the practice still continues, the teacher shared that it was and that that all students were made to stand whether they were reciting the pledge or not. This type of ritual goes on in classrooms throughout various districts across the country. In a separate informal discussion with another elementary teacher in Ohio, the teacher told how when she started the 2016-2017 school year, her classroom did not have an actual flag, but instead had a picture that the students stood and faced as the whole school recited the pledge.

<sup>2</sup> Students are no longer forced to say the pledge and have not for some time; however, a respectful reverence is still expected from those who do not say the pledge. Because a majority of students say the pledge there is a strong pressure for those students who might refuse to conform to the behaviors of their classmates. In 2016, the importance of respecting the flag was reinforced when Colin Kaepernick, a quarterback for the San Francisco 49ers, elected to not stand for the national anthem. This act created a nationwide controversy that created rifts in communities across America. The resulting controversy reinforced how important American society views rituals surrounding the flag.; Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 235-6.

<sup>3</sup> Ravitch, Diane, "Celebrating America" in *Pledging Allegiance: the Politics of Patriotism in American Schools*, ed. Joel Westheimer (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 91-94, 92.

countries.<sup>4</sup> Rather than having “ties of blood or religion” as other countries do, a shared set of beliefs and rituals is what binds the citizens of the United States together.<sup>5</sup> According to Walter C. Parker the Pledge of Allegiance is the “core civic ritual...because it extracts a personal promise.”<sup>6</sup> Because there are certain proscribed actions in citing the Pledge of Allegiance that personal promise gains prominence, and also forms a bond between the members involved. By facing the flag, putting hand over heart, and saying the words of the pledge, individuals become part of a group. As Howard Zinn stated, many American recited the Pledge of Allegiance “even before we knew what the words meant, we were reciting [them] in unison.”<sup>7</sup> The recitation becomes more than the words and the meaning behind them, it is the performance of the ritual as a whole that gives meaning to it and unifies the various members.<sup>8</sup>

Throughout American history, the youth of America have been called upon to defend America’s way of life. Why then would there be any doubt that the final Cold War generation would not follow in the footsteps of preceding generations? Was there a concern that the younger generations were pulling away from American values? If this was the case, how could these generational cohorts be brought back in line to promote American values deemed important by older generations? One way was through the education of these cohorts. As the members of the

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<sup>4</sup> According to Anderson nations are imagined communities because it is impossible for the members of the nation to know most other members of the nation, in fact they will only be able to know members from their local community. As such, the sense of nationhood is constructed within its borders through a series of alliances and agreements that the citizens are all members. (Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, London: Verso, 2006. 5-7.)

<sup>5</sup> Ravitch, Diane, “Celebrating America” in *Pledging Allegiance: the Politics of Patriotism in American Schools*, ed. Joel Westheimer (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 91-94, 92.

<sup>6</sup> Walter C. Parker, “Pledging Allegiance,” *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 87, no. 8 (April 2006): 613; Walter C. Parker, “Pledging Allegiance,” in *Pledging Allegiance: the Politics of Patriotism in American Schools*, ed. Joel Westheimer (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 71.

<sup>7</sup> Howard Zinn, “Introduction,” in *Pledging Allegiance: the Politics of Patriotism in American Schools*, ed. Joel Westheimer (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), xi-xvi, xi.

<sup>8</sup> One criticism that Parker has is that “While many people have recited and memorized the pledge, few have interpreted it.” (Walter C. Parker, “Pledging Allegiance,” *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 87, no. 8 (April 2006): 613; Walter C. Parker, “Pledging Allegiance,” in *Pledging Allegiance: the Politics of Patriotism in American Schools*, ed. Joel Westheimer (New York: Teachers College Press, 2007), 71.)

final Cold War generation cohort entered the educational system they were taught what it meant to be Americans and what was important to American society. The educational system thus became important for building the foundation of these beliefs. This was done as a way to reinforce the *us vs. them* binary. By creating a common framework of what it meant to be an American and learn what was important to American society, the cohort was taught what it meant to be part of the *us* identity. The school system created the idea of *us* when it reinforced the importance of certain people, places, and things within the American mythos, such as the Founding Fathers, Historic Sites, and important documents. These not only helped show the members of this cohort what was significant within the larger societal identity and allowed them to form a connection to this identity through the creation of a shared history, but it also helped differentiate between the good and evil of the Cold War rhetoric. Additionally the educational system allowed the transmission of these core beliefs to pass from one generation to another.

Some have called the mid to late 1960s and early 1970s, one of most turbulent times in American society within the twentieth century. While there were other periods of strife that contended for the distinction of the most turbulent, the strife generated within this period was wholly internal. It was a time when internal problems outweighed external problem. The lessening of Cold War tensions between the Soviet Union and United States, as the Cold War entered a period of *détente*, meant that internal tensions usually kept in check by the population's focus outward, were no longer contained. The civil rights movement, the counterculture revolution, America's loss in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, and a worsening economic outlook were just some of the factors that contributed to a fracturing of a unified American society.

Historically when the United States was threatened its citizens pull together and present a united front. They create a unified *us* against a different *them*. The American population did it for World War II and again for the Cold War, however as the Cold War evolved and the forces that drew American society together weakened, the cracks within society started to show. Historians point to 1968 as the year that broke America. Citing events such as January's Tet offensive, which gave the lie to the fact that the United States was winning the war in Vietnam and that victory was close at hand, the assassination of Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the riots in Chicago at the Democratic National convention, showed that all was not right in the nation and strained American society to the breaking point.<sup>9</sup>

While many historians disagree about the causes of this division there was a general consensus that the country was no longer ideologically unified. Daniel Rodgers believed that while "the social structures still persisted" the underlying beliefs changed and were no longer capable of unifying the American population.<sup>10</sup> America's loss in Vietnam and The Watergate scandal meant that many Americans were questioning core beliefs about American infallibility and the exceptional nature of the country. Robert Putnam argued that those social organizations that fostered a sense of commonality started to lose their power and that this was what led to the breakdown of cohesiveness.<sup>11</sup> The Civil rights movement and the worsening economic outlook demonstrated that those social organization that were seen as bringing society together only catered to certain segments of society. By 1974 American society was no longer that bright and

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<sup>9</sup> Edward Berkowitz, *Something Happened; A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York; Columbia University Press, 2006); Peter Carroll, *It Seemed like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970's* (New Brunswick NJ; Rutgers University Press, 1990); Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies* (New York: The Free Press, 2001); These books examine this turbulent times each examining different facets of the period.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Age of Fracture* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press Harvard University Press, 2011), 6.

<sup>11</sup> Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 15-8.

shiny beacon on a hill, instead it became tarnished, and large swathes of the population had lost faith in the concept of America and the values the nation purported to support. Leading historian Jefferson Cowie, who wrote about the time period to state “the nation’s soul had bottomed out.”<sup>12</sup> This loss of faith was so prevalent that in his State of the Union address on 15 January 1975, President Ford stated that “The State of our union is not good,”<sup>13</sup> It was into this period that this cohort was born and entered the school system.

Across the nation, the educational system is divided into two distinct periods, the primary and secondary level.<sup>14</sup> The primary level usually ends around the time a student is between the ages of eleven and thirteen, which depending on the district could be fifth or sixth grade. That meant this cohorts elementary experience was approximately within the time frame of 1975 to 1981. This division between types of education meant there was a shift in how students were socialized. At the elementary level students were taught the rituals of what it meant to be an American citizen, which means they were introduced to certain icons and the rituals associated with them. It was during this phase of education that the foundational knowledge of American civil religion was created, and an understanding of the concept of *us* began. Because of its nature, schools act as one of the most powerful socializing agents during a person’s formative years. “Most Children over the age of 6 spend a minimum of 108 days each year in formal education settings.”<sup>15</sup> This means five days a week, nine months of the year children between the

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<sup>12</sup> Jefferson Cowie, *Staying Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 208-9.

<sup>13</sup> Gerald R Ford, “State of the Union Address”(speech, Washington, DC, January 15, 1975), The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=4938#axzz2fZbSjWa2> (Accessed October 15, 2012); Christopher Capozzola, “It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country” in *America in the 70s*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber, (Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 29.

<sup>14</sup> There is a third level called tertiary or post-secondary and starts once a person graduates from high school.

<sup>15</sup> Kathryn R. Wentzel and Lisa Looney, “Socialization in School Settings” in *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, ed. Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), 382.

ages of five to eighteen find themselves relegated to a classroom, learning what the generation before them had deemed important for them to know.<sup>16</sup>

How are these ideas transmitted from one generation to another? Throughout society there are institutions that reinforce what society deems important. These societal institutions transmit the myths and doctrines that shape society. According to Louis Althusser, there were eight Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) that worked to reinforce the hegemonic beliefs of society.<sup>17</sup> Of these, the two most powerful were mass media and the education system.<sup>18</sup> Family, friends, religion, and the school system all exerted pressure over individuals and were important in socializing the members of this cohort as a way of establishing core values and helping them to form their identity as Americans, thereby reinforcing a sense of belonging.<sup>19</sup>

The elementary school system was an important component of teaching this cohort what it meant to be an American. Althusser alleged that embedded throughout the school curriculum was the ideology of the ruling elite. This, coupled with the captivity and impressionable age of the audience, was what made the educational system such a powerful socializing force.<sup>20</sup> “Industrialization weakened ties within extended families, and schools, in turn, became critical institutions for transmitting both useful knowledge and social values across generations.”<sup>21</sup> It was the purpose of education to teach students to operate within a society. Emile Durkheim

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<sup>16</sup> Kathryn R. Wentzel and Lisa Looney, “Socialization in School Settings” in *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, ed. Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), 382.

<sup>17</sup> Althusser identified family, religion, the legal system, the political system, the educational system, mass media, (which he identified as communications,) culture, and trade unions as the way the state preserved its control over the population.

<sup>18</sup> Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays by Louis Althusser*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 137.

<sup>19</sup> Ralph E. Hanson, *Mass Media: Living in a Media World* (New York: McGraw Hill 2005), 28; John A. Clausen “Perspectives in Childhood Socialization” in *Socialization and Society*, ed. John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 156.

<sup>20</sup> Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays by Louis Althusser*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 147-8.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 19.

along with Kathryn R. Wentzel and Lisa Looney argued that the classroom was a miniature society that more closely resembled larger society, rather than the smaller family society.<sup>22</sup> The classroom, and by association the larger educational system, became an environment that taught students how to navigate through the larger society by making them productive members of that society.

Throughout history and across disciplines the power of the educational system to socialize has been recognized. Antonio Gramsci, writing in his *Prison Notebook*, stated that education was one of the two most important ways the State upheld its power and reinforced its interest. Gramsci saw education as performing in a positive manner. As opposed to the court system which performed in a repressive way.<sup>23</sup> The educational system was where the State manufactured the consent of the governed.<sup>24</sup> For Gramsci the education system then became the first place where the young of a society learned what it meant to be members of the society, and how good that society was. Gramsci was not alone in his belief. French sociologist Emile Durkheim believed that the educational system exerted an “irresistible influence on individuals” and that the education system was a reflection of the generations that came before.<sup>25</sup> It was his belief that both of these reasons contributed to the fact that the education system promoted a

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<sup>22</sup> Emile Durkheim, “Moral Education” in *Schools and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*, ed. Jeanne H. Ballantine and Joan Z. Spade (Belmont CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning 2001), 36; Kathryn R. Wentzel and Lisa Looney, “Socialization in School Settings” in *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, ed. Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), 382.

<sup>23</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 258.

<sup>24</sup> Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, Quintin Hoare (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), 259.

<sup>25</sup> Emile Durkheim, “the Nature of Education,” in *Schooling the Symbolic Animal: Social and Cultural Dimensions of Education*, ed. Barry A.U. Levinson (Lanham MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Inc., 2000), 58, 59.

“homogeneity” within society.<sup>26</sup> Though Durkheim did not explicitly mention the idea of socialization the creation of homogenous thought was a result of socialization.

While there were always outliers, this homogenization occurred to a very specific demographic of the population at very specific times. Within the school system children were placed into smaller age related cohorts. Which means these cohorts tended to receive the same messages at the same time in their lives.<sup>27</sup> Because the members of these cohorts were receiving the same messages at the same time, and because developmentally they were at the same general level of cognitive thinking, the members of the group internalized the messages similarly, which meant they were predisposed to act in a similar manner in certain circumstances as the group aged. Michael W. Apple, an educational theorist, explored, and built on Gramsci’s hegemonic theory, as it functioned within the American education system. Apple assumed that education “was not neutral” and in fact was political in nature.<sup>28</sup> While he examined Gramsci’s work, his underlying argument incorporated some of Durkheim’s thinking, as well as Raymond Williams’ work on culture. Apple understood that it was not just the curriculum (the state) that influenced children, but that teachers (previous generations), along with the specific forms of knowledge that worked to shape students.<sup>29</sup> He further argued that the school system worked as a

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<sup>26</sup> Emile Durkheim, “the Nature of Education,” in *Schooling the Symbolic Animal: Social and Cultural Dimensions of Education*, ed. Barry A.U. Levinson (Lanham MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Inc., 2000), 61.

<sup>27</sup> Even though curriculum is set at the local level there is remarkable similarities between what and when children learn material. Some of this is due to federal guidelines that suggest when districts should teach which topics. (James L. Barth, *Elementary and Middle School: Social Studies Curriculum Program, Activities, and Materials* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979)) However, the most prevalent reason is because of textbooks. In a time when printing cost prohibited numerous region specific textbooks, because Texas was the largest market most textbook publishers created texts that would be usable in that market thereby creating a standardization for most districts. Another reason is that for the most part there is a consistency in textbooks as to what each grade level focuses on. McGraw-Hill’s “Our Nation, Our World” series focuses on: first grade- Meeting People, second grade- Going Places , third grade- Communities, fourth grade- Earth Regions, fifth grade- United States Our nation and its Neighbors, sixth grade- the World. Most other series follow a similar progression and while there are a few that shift these topics down this is usually done to accommodate a year, usually fourth, where the students focus on North American Geography and the states.

<sup>28</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 1.

<sup>29</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 3.



distribution system for both high and low culture.<sup>30</sup> This transmission of culture, Apple argued, was the main way that schools “[were] used for hegemonic purposes.”<sup>31</sup> It was his contention that while it occurred historically this process continued into contemporary times.<sup>32</sup>

One aspect of teaching the members of this cohort what it meant to become a good American citizen, was to teach them to be productive members of society. Sociologist Talcott Parson believed that socialization was the primary function of the education system. The school was to teach the students how to operate once the students became adults and entered into larger society.<sup>33</sup> It did this by teaching the values of society, and how to function within society itself.<sup>34</sup> One way it accomplished this was by passing cultural beliefs from one generation to another. According to anthropologists, cultural beliefs were “Shared by a group sometimes by millions of people and are passed on through the generations.” Beliefs were transferred between generations in two main ways; through stories (myths), and direct statements (doctrine) about the beliefs. It was in the transmission of these myths and doctrine that collective memory came into play and established itself as a building block of American civil religion.<sup>35</sup> Roland Barthes believed that myth was successful because it seemed natural and yet it was impartial. Furthermore, he believed “myth [was] speech justified *in excess*.” [Italics original] For Barthes myth had the “task of giving an historical intention a natural justification.” Which became the purpose of myth and

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<sup>30</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 25.

<sup>31</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 59.

<sup>32</sup> Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 164-5.

<sup>33</sup> Talcott Parsons, “The School Class as a Social System,” in *Schools and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*, ed. Jeanne H Ballantine and Joan Z. Spade (Belmont CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning 2001), 38-9.

<sup>34</sup> Talcott Parsons, “The School Class as a Social System,” in *Schools and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*, ed. Jeanne H Ballantine and Joan Z. Spade (Belmont CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning 2001)38-9; John A. Clausen “Perspectives in Childhood Socialization” in *Socialization and Society*, ed. John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), 153.

<sup>35</sup> Barbara Miller, *Cultural Anthropology in a Globalizing World*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, (Saddle River NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008), 213.

why it was important.<sup>36</sup> Because myths make ideas seem natural it was easier for those learning these new ideals to learn the lesson and internalize the message that was conveyed by myth. Because myths were already in a form that were easy to retell, passing the myths on to the next generation was easier, which allowed one generation to educate the next generation. Like previous generations the final Cold War generation also experienced this passing down of American myths. These myths usually took the form of American civil religious icons, specifically those from the founding period. Because these myths were shared they also created a common history.

Political commentator Walter Lippmann maintained that whenever competing societal factions argued, the educational system was always one of the main institutions over which the factions fought. Lippmann alleged that each group recognized how powerful schooling was in helping to preserve traditions. He further posited that depending on the school's message children became more or less patriotic.<sup>37</sup> While Lippmann's original example of conflict centered on religion in societies other than the United States he ultimately explored how the battle over the school system in American society was between those promoting patriotism and those who deemphasize it.<sup>38</sup> Lippmann's argument demonstrated that there was an inherent understanding by the members of a society of the power the school system holds as an agent of socialization.

The roles of schools in the shaping of future generations has always been recognized as important. However, the power the system holds in shaping future generations has at times created concerns for the older generations of society. This was especially true during the Cold

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<sup>36</sup> Roland, Barthes. *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 129-30.

<sup>37</sup> Walter Lippmann, *American Inquisitor* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 22-3.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Lippmann, *American Inquisitor* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 25-6.

War. The school system was such a powerful socializer early in the Cold War there was a fear by the right that communist would infiltrate the system and not only have access to America's children but would be able turn them against the American way of life. This fear led to the requirement that educators take an oath of loyalty, and was so great that by 1950, thirty-three states had legislation which made disloyalty grounds for termination and twenty-six states required signed proof of loyalty. It was so important that some states went so far as to require that teachers "promote patriotism."<sup>39</sup> This overreaction to the subversion of American youth was relatively short-lived, not lasting much beyond the McCarthy era.<sup>40</sup> However, some of the effects from that time period, especially the drive for increased patriotism, were seen in the classrooms of the late Cold War period. These beliefs are even seen in the classrooms of the twenty-first century's War on Terror.<sup>41</sup>

As an agent of socialization, the school system was consistently criticized.<sup>42</sup> The administrations of Ford, Carter, and Reagan each found fault with the education system. Ford speaking to a group of high school principals said "In the past decade, as educational problems of national scope have been identified."<sup>43</sup> Although Ford did not explain what these problems with the educational system were, he told the audience that his administration created programs

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<sup>39</sup> Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 93.

<sup>40</sup> Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 109 – 111.

<sup>41</sup> While outside the chronological scope of this dissertation The War on Terror shares some similarities with the Cold War. While the type of enemy was different, after the events of 9/11 there was an increase in patriotic rhetoric and the display of patriotic symbols, that one often finds after the United States finds itself at war. Because the War on Terror was not a typical ground war like those fought earlier in the twentieth century, it more closely resembles the ideological battle found during the Cold War.

<sup>42</sup> Of the critical books written about the school system, Ravitch describes several types of authors. Each has their own unique take but most were some type educators. While Teacher experiences were by far the most numerous categories, the experiences of principles were another one. These two groups were joined by what Ravitch identifies as other educators and journalists.

<sup>43</sup> Gerald R. Ford, "Text of remarks by the president to be delivered to the National Association of Secondary School Principals" February 16, 1976, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum, <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0248/whpr19760216-010.pdf>, (Accessed December 9, 2017).

and would continue to work towards addressing these problems. While speaking to the principles he charged them with reversing an “alarming trend” of “too many Americans [seeing] the law as a threat, rather than as a protection.” Stating that it was the “new challenge to education.” and “This [was] the new challenge to [the principles].”<sup>44</sup>

Even though Carter’s administration was not as alarmist as Ford it was just as worried about the education system of the United States. Carter worked to create the Department of Education, a cabinet level administration position. During the signing of the law that created the Department of Education Carter stated.

“At no time in our history has our Nation's commitment to education been more justified. At no time in our history has it been more obvious that our Nation's great educational challenges cannot be met with increased resources alone...The time has passed when the Federal Government can afford to give second-level, part-time attention to its responsibilities in American education. If our Nation is to meet the great challenges of the 1980's, we need a full-time commitment to education at every level of government—Federal, State, and local.”<sup>45</sup>

Like Ford Carter did not believe that simply throwing money at the problem would solve the issues facing education. Instead the Department was designed as a way of “streamlining, coordinating and consolidating existing programs.” The Department was also “working to make education a national priority to restore what appeared to be a growing malaise among schools and teachers.”<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Gerald R. Ford, “Text of remarks by the president to be delivered to the National Association of Secondary School Principals” February 16, 1976, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum, <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0248/whpr19760216-010.pdf>, (Accessed December 9, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Jimmy Carter, “Department of Education Organization Act Statement on Signing S. 210 Into Law.” October 17, 1979, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=31543>, (Accessed December 23, 2017).

<sup>46</sup> Gerald L. Gutek, *American Education 1945-2000: A History and Commentary* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press Inc., 2000), 267.

Reagan while not a fan of the Department of Education, did believe that education was important for the success of the United States. Reagan commissioned a group to study America's education system. In speaking of the Commission's findings Reagan wrote "the commission's report titled *A Nation at Risk*, shocked the country by giving America's school system failing grades."<sup>47</sup> Reagan like the previous two administration believed that "American schools don't need vast new sums of money, as much as they need a few fundamental reforms."<sup>48</sup>

It was not only those in the hall of power that complained about the system. Critics from all walks of life in American society had problems with the American education system. "As the school became the focus of criticism for everyone who found fault with American society or the American character, a consensus developed among education policy makers in government and foundations."<sup>49</sup> These critics claimed the system enforced a rigidity, which coupled with charges of grade inflation and dumbing down of the curriculum, gave rise to the idea that the educational system either turned out "rebellious misfits or conforming cogs."<sup>50</sup> Even in the face of those criticisms, Diane Ravitch, a historian of education thought the educational system was ultimately successful, citing the increased access to institutions of higher learning as proof of its success, though she acknowledged that there were problems with the system.<sup>51</sup>

The socialization offered by the school system allowed a new generation to be introduced to "existing collective sentiments."<sup>52</sup> It was the systemic rather than random socialization that

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<sup>47</sup> Ronald Reagan, "Excellence and Opportunity: A program of Support for American Education," *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 66, no.1, (September 1984): 14.

<sup>48</sup> Ronald Reagan, "Excellence and Opportunity: A program of Support for American Education," *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 66, no.1, (September 1984): 14.

<sup>49</sup> Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 237.

<sup>50</sup> Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 237.

<sup>51</sup> Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 323, 326.

<sup>52</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 26.

allowed these ideals to be learned.<sup>53</sup> One way this systemic socialization occurred was through the introduction of American civil religious icons. Those people, places, things, and events that had made their way in to society's awareness. What causes a day, location, or event to become indelibly etched into American consciousness? As stated in the introduction it was a combination of collective memory and American civil religion.<sup>54</sup> The transmission of these larger cultural beliefs, located within collective memory, was what American civil religion did. It transmitted these values as American civil religious icons. It accomplished this by culling collective memory and finding who and what was important to society. It was society's collective memory that built these important icons, by deciding what society remembered and forgot.<sup>55</sup> Without collective memory those icons associated with American civil religion had no meaning. American civil religious icons thereby reinforce what was important about being American. Because these icons came to mean the same thing for large swaths of the population they in effect were the building blocks for the foundation of a national identity.

No period became as important to American society and what it means to be an American as the founding era. The people, places, and events associated with this period became mythic in nature. The elementary experience was where this cohort was introduced to the founding myths, those that were indelibly linked to the founding of the United States and the men who helped to create the nation. These founding fathers were introduced predominantly during the early stages of this generation's life.<sup>56</sup> This was done as a way of creating a foundation for later socialization.

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<sup>53</sup> Corwin Smidt, "Civil Religious Orientations among Elementary School Children." *Sociological Analysis* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 26, 32.

<sup>54</sup> By its very nature, collective memory implies a group consciousness. It is the memory of the *us*.

<sup>55</sup> David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory." *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 11.

<sup>56</sup> Recent scholarship examines how the term "founding fathers" is used. Andrew Schocket argues that in the twenty-first century the term becomes a proxy "for America's contemporary ideological divide," and that the memory of the American Revolution can be divided into what Schocket called "essentialism" and "organicist." (Andrew M. Schocket, *Fighting Over the Founders: How We Remember the American Revolution* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 4-5.) While we can appreciate the critical distinction between how the term is

Another benefit of deifying these founding fathers early on was that when their human foibles were eventually introduced the mythology surrounding these people helped to create a buffer around them, thereby allowing these figures to retain a positive image, even if it became slightly tarnished. Society's need for heroes was not a new concept, the American Revolution and the founding fathers as a unifying framework occurred before. As early as the first post-American Revolution generation, myth-building about the American Revolution could be found.<sup>57</sup> Then as in the Cold War, the use of these myths worked not only to create a common foundation, a shared background and set of stories, but myths also provided examples of ideal behavior and gave those learning about these important figures something to strive for, and furthermore these individuals could be held up as proof that adversity could be overcome.

How do we know that the introduction of these icons had an influence on the American population much less this cohort? Sociologist Corwin Smidt conducted research that demonstrated how this socialization occurred. He performed an empirical analysis of how civil religious elementary students were. Not only did Smidt's research results provide evidence of the increased patriotic nature in schools in the later part of the Cold War that directly influenced the

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used, this dissertation takes on a more essentialist view of the term, what Schocket defines as relying on "the assumption that there was one American Revolution led by demigods, resulting in inspired governmental structure and leaving a legacy from which straying would be treason and result in the nations ruin." (Andrew M. Schocket, *Fighting Over the Founders: How We Remember the American Revolution* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 4.) The reason for this interpretation is that it more closely resembles the way the term was used during the time period under examination. While there was a growing movement towards an examination of multicultural America the majority of primary sources follow the master narrative of those who represent the hegemonic norm. One reason for this was, as Catherine Albanese writing during the time period believed, that "the American Revolution was *in itself* a religious experience." [emphasis original] (Catherine L. Albanese, *Sons of the Father: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 1976), 6.) This belief fed into the idea of American exceptionalism and painted those associated with the founding in a more glowing light. This led to the founding period to fall within the essentialist view as espoused by Schocket. Additionally, as we will see throughout this dissertation this is in keeping with the tone of the sources from the time period to which the great men, and in the rare instances when they are acknowledged, the marginalized groups of society, could do no wrong.

<sup>57</sup> Michael G. Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1991), 65.

cohort under examination, but also members of this cohort made up the majority of the study's participants.<sup>58</sup> The study was conducted on 825 elementary students in fourth thru seventh grade.<sup>59</sup> Smidt utilized four questions to measure how effective the socialization into American civil religion was. The four questions were variations of the idea of American exceptionalism. Smidt ascertained around 85 percent of those students surveyed had some positive leanings towards American civil religion. He also discerned as children aged and were subjected to more American civil religious ideas they in turn were more civil religious. Meaning, "civil religion scores gradually rose with each increase in the grade level of the children," however he did suggest this increase had an upper limit on how civil religious students became.<sup>60</sup>

One-way American civil religious icons manifested within the elementary education experience was through the introduction of iconic people. This category tends to contain those people who had taken on mythic proportions in the American narrative; these individuals become the shared ancestors for the nation and its population. The likes of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and Lincoln, three of whom were important to the founding era, were

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<sup>58</sup> Corwin Smidt, "Civil Religious Orientation Among Elementary School Children," *Sociological Analysis* 41 no. 1 (Spring 1980): 27.

<sup>59</sup> Corwin Smidt, "Civil Religious Orientation Among Elementary School Children," *Sociological Analysis* 41 no. 1 (Spring 1980): 27.

<sup>60</sup> Corwin Smidt, "Civil Religious Orientation Among Elementary School Children," *Sociological Analysis* 41 no. 1 (Spring 1980): 27 – 29; While Smidt's study was not conclusive, and in fact Smidt himself acknowledged that the study did not answer all questions, his study had some other limitations that anyone utilizing his research and data had to consider. One limitation to consider with the study was the sample size. However, Smidt addressed this concern and claimed that his findings mirrored a similar study's findings and as such his sample size was more than adequate to prove his argument. (Corwin Smidt, "Civil Religious Orientation Among Elementary School Children," *Sociological Analysis* 41 no. 1 (Spring 1980): 28) A larger issue with Smidt's findings was that his research was conducted during October 1976, at the end of the Bicentennial celebration, and while Smidt's study showed there was a positive correlation with the school system he did failed to take the celebration into account and factor in the contribution the Bicentennial celebration made. Because the Bicentennial was raising public awareness of the American mythos, one has to wonder if the celebration helped to prime this cohort possibly skewing Smidt's research. While some considerations needed to be given to Smidt's research, it did demonstrate that those members of the final Cold War generation that were in school at the time were becoming more conversant in American civil religion. This also meant the cohort was also being socialized to the vocabulary of Cold War rhetoric through the school systems use of American civil religious icons.



intertwined throughout the school curriculum.<sup>61</sup> Of all the figures positioned within American civil religion these four tend to rank the highest among this cohort.<sup>62</sup> Within American civil religion there is a hierarchy to iconic people, this category could be further subdivided into three subcategories. These subcategories were the divine, martyrs, and the mundane.<sup>63</sup> Most of the founding fathers fall into the divine category. They were elevated to this level due to the remarkable nature of the United States creation story. The divine subcategory was further subdivided into the Saints, those who had been deified, and the prophets. While most of the founding fathers were considered prophets, some rose to the level of an American deity.

Donald Kraybill, while warning of the dangers revealed in the rise of American civil religion during the American Bicentennial celebration, touched upon this hierarchy. Kraybill made interesting observations between American civil religion and what he would term “true religions.” While his observations examined how American civil religion compared to traditional

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<sup>61</sup> Within the context of this document the identity of those names is clear, however due to the prominence of the men with in American history when taken out of a historical context they still become the default when these four names were typically spoken. This means that it was only when it was not one of these men that the surnames need to be qualified by a first name.

<sup>62</sup> The importance of Washington and other American icons to this cohort was demonstrated by Michael Frisch who discovered that by surveying students in his U.S. history class for over a decade he could quantify the importance of various historic figures. (Michael Frisch, “American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography.” *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (Mar., 1989): 1136) This research not only provided insight into what the final Cold War generation believed was important, when asked who were the important people in American History through the Civil War period. It also demonstrated that the foundations that were built during their elementary schooling were still strongly entrenched much later in life. Four of the classes that Frisch surveyed contained this cohort as freshman in college. These surveys provided empirical evidence as to who this cohort identified as important, and their position in the American civil religion hierarchy; Positions they enjoyed due the socialization that occurred in their earlier educational experience. The answers of the survey showed almost no movement in the top four spots from survey to survey. This cohort consistently ranked Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Franklin in the top spots and only in one survey did Franklin drop to the number five position as Adams took the fourth spot that year. A fifth survey conducted, a year earlier, when the oldest of this cohort were seniors in high school shows consistent results with the other four surveys performed. These surveys demonstrated that there was a consistent importance placed on certain founding fathers, which led to various members of this cohort ranking these individuals similarly.

<sup>63</sup> Those who were considered divine were considered holy. This was the highest level one could achieve. Those who were martyred gave their lives for the cause and as such they were seen as having qualities not in the general population. Those who were considered mundane were still elevated over the general population they have just not ascended to the higher levels that make them truly unique.

religion.<sup>64</sup> He noted “this national faith as a complete religion, includes its own package of belief about God and country — ideas which most Americans take for granted.”<sup>65</sup> At points Kraybill overstated his comparisons between American civil religion and traditional religions. One example that touched on the idea of this hierarchy was when he compared the position of the president to Christ.<sup>66</sup> While the president was an important position in both the federal government and the concept of American civil religion, of the 44 men sworn into the office as president by 2016 only Lincoln and Washington reached a Christ-like level of veneration. Some of the other 42 fall into the saint subcategory, and a few fall into the martyr category.<sup>67</sup> The remainder of these men would need to be classified in the mundane category, because they had not made the transition to prophets, much less the divine, these men were in effect the high priests of American civil religion. This was because few of the 44 men who became president had stories that resonate with the majority of the American population; they were not able to move into the higher classifications where they became truly mythic figures. However, those whose stories rose to the highest level were thoroughly ingrained in American society.

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln became important to the American Mythos, two of them due to their connection to the founding of the United States.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Donald Kraybill, *Our Star Spangled Faith* (Harrisonburg VA: Herald Press, 1976), 25, 19-20.

<sup>65</sup> Donald Kraybill, *Our Star Spangled Faith* (Harrisonburg VA: Herald Press, 1976), 20.

<sup>66</sup> Donald Kraybill, *Our Star Spangled Faith* (Harrisonburg VA: Herald Press, 1976), 25.

<sup>67</sup> Of those who fall in to the prophet category almost all had a connection to the founding of the United States. Of those who fall into the martyr category by losing their lives while in office Kennedy and Lincoln were the most prominent and only Lincoln became deified.

<sup>68</sup> A look at Frisch’s table of most popular names, demonstrated which names became an integral part of American society. Ten names were on the list every year indicating that they had reached some level of socially significant status. While these ten names were consistent, the majority of each list was made up of people from the founding period. (Michael Frisch, “American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography.” *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (March 1989): 1136) Frisch’s research also showed other interesting trends. In all but one of the surveys, founding fathers held three of the four top spots. He also discovered that one of three people, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, always held the top three spots. George Washington was the one individual whose position never changed from year to year. His position in the number one spot marked him as the most socially significant individual on the list. Either Thomas Jefferson or Abraham Lincoln were in the number two or three

Not only do we memorialize these iconic figures in stories and legends, but we also enshrine them in the nation's capital on the National Mall.<sup>69</sup> They were also prominently displayed on what some call "the shrine of democracy," an "icon of icons" Mt. Rushmore.<sup>70</sup> Many of the founding fathers within American civil religion's hierarchy could equate their standing to not only their working during the founding period of the country but also that many became some of the country's first presidents. Of those that were highly placed within the hierarchy, no non-presidential founder was as highly placed as Benjamin Franklin. Franklin was another mythic figure who resonated with this cohort.<sup>71</sup> Although Franklin never became president his service to the growing country helped to keep him in the public mind.

Of the two men whose stories became an integral part of the American narrative, and considered to have reached the status of an American deity, one continues to outshine the other. Since the beginning of the United States one man has always been in the heart of the American population, arguably a man who could have become king if he had wanted to, and was the only president to ever be elected unanimously by the Electoral College. Even before the biography by Parson Weems, George Washington was synonymous with all that was right with America, and as time advanced Washington's star burned even brighter.<sup>72</sup> "If there was a messiah figure in

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spot depending on the year. Michael Frisch, "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (March 1989): 1136.) While Frisch noticed that Jefferson and Lincoln vied for the second and third spot in the American civil religion hierarchy, the third president tended to lose to the sixteenth, due to Lincoln's martyrdom.

<sup>69</sup> All three have some type of "shrine" on the national mall, in Washington D.C. Lincoln's and Jefferson's each on a terminal axis while the Washington monument is on the central axis. Additionally all three presidents can also be seen on U.S. currency both coins and bills. Washington on the one-dollar bill and the quarter. Lincoln on the five-dollar bill and the penny. Jefferson on the two-dollar bill and the nickel. It is the testament of the importance of these three presidents that they were consistently given prominence in the sacred places of the country.

<sup>70</sup> Dennis R. Hall and Susan Grove Hall, ed. *American Icons*, vol. 2 (Westport CN: Greenwood Press, 2006), 493.

<sup>71</sup> In Frisch's surveys, Franklin ranked higher than some presidential founders, and was one of the ten individuals identified as appearing in all of Frisch's surveys. Franklin appears in the number four spot in six out of the eight surveys, which demonstrated that the students thought well of Franklin.

<sup>72</sup> Janice Hume, *Popular Media and the American Revolution: Shaping Collective Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 33.

American civil religion one need look no further than George Washington. Washington's rise to prominence and his deification occurred because he brought the nation through a period of great trial; the American Revolution. Washington was in a dominant position and as such was credited with bringing the nation through the crisis stronger than when the trial began. This course of leadership seems divinely inspired since with one mistake the nation could have ceased to exist. Washington seemed to have gained an almost omnipotent knowledge of what was needed to save the nation. François Furstenberg believed that Washington and the United States were always linked together. He stated that around the time of Washington's death fears about the nation's future were addressed "by creating an image of Washington that could oppose change."<sup>73</sup> This meant that if Washington reputation lasted so to would the country that he helped to build. Thereby rendering Washington "immortal."<sup>74</sup>

The introduction to Washington's greatness started at an early age. Furstenberg stated, "Civic texts would respond to fears about the nation's future by reaching out to children."<sup>75</sup> Just like the books of the eighteenth century, books in the twentieth century "sought to create bonds between ... generations."<sup>76</sup> In the "Beginning Readers" book *Meet George Washington* readers were told, "Many people think [George Washington] was the greatest American who ever lived."<sup>77</sup> After recounting the major events of Washington's life, the book ends with the reminder that Washington

"Was more than a good man. He was a great man and a brave man.  
All his life he did what he knew he must. It often seemed as if he could

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<sup>73</sup> François Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 34.

<sup>74</sup> François Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 35.

<sup>75</sup> François Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 34.

<sup>76</sup> François Furstenberg, *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2006), 34.

<sup>77</sup> Joan Helbronner, *Meet George Washington* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1964), 2.

not win. But he never gave up. George Washington led his people in their war for independence. And he united them under one strong government. That is why George Washington is called 'The Father of His Country.'"<sup>78</sup>

With praise like that it was hard for anyone to match Washington's prominence much less take his place within the American civil religion hierarchy.

Books had an inherent level of authority associated with them, there were other ways this cohort was introduced to George Washington that promoted him as larger than life. The story of George Washington and the cherry tree was one example. The myth, which first appeared in the fifth edition of Mason Locke (Parson) Weem's *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington*, became one of the most well-known George Washington stories.<sup>79</sup> George Washington and the cherry tree myth served two functions. First, it introduced George Washington to children, and second it showed that not only was telling the truth important, but that even someone who had missteps could become president of the country. This last part was important because the idea about hard work equaling success reinforced another American myth that any person in American society could make something of themselves. Washington thus became someone children could identify with and someone they could aspire to be like. Myths, such as the one about George Washington, and traditions form an important part of socialization. In that the myths allowed the cohort to learn the cultural beliefs of the larger society. Beliefs such as that honesty was the best policy, an important consideration considering the post-Watergate era that this cohort grew up in.

In addition to Weem's fictionalized story about the cherry tree, Washington's legend grew through iconic portrayals of revolutionary events. Two important events were Washington

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<sup>78</sup> Joan Helbroner, *Meet George Washington* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1964), 86.

<sup>79</sup> Edward G. Lengel *Inventing George Washington: America's founder in Myth and Memory* (New York: Harper Collins, 2011), 19; "Cherry Tree Myth George" Mount Vernon Society, [www.mountvernon.org](http://www.mountvernon.org), Accessed April 16, 2016. <http://www.mountvernon.org/digital-encyclopedia/article/cherry-tree-myth/>

crossing the Delaware and his winter at Valley Forge. Unlike the cherry tree incident, both of these events happened. Both of these events were often highlighted in elementary textbooks and other children's books. These events became two of the mythic events associated with the American Revolution and Washington, helping to deify him. These events were important enough that each received its own chapter in the beginning readers book *Meet George Washington*.<sup>80</sup> The crossing was further immortalized in American legend with the now iconic painting by Emanuel Gottlieb Leutze.<sup>81</sup> Part of this iconic painting was depicted in "Meeting People" the first grade book of McGraw-Hill's *Our Nation, Our World* social studies series.<sup>82</sup> The reproduction of the painting was bound with in a special feature that was called "People to Remember" that looked at George Washington. Washington prestige was highlighted because more information was shared about Washington than anyone else. In a section titled "Our Country Has Special Days" even before the "People to Remember" section the students were told Washington was our first president and that the country celebrated his birthday.<sup>83</sup> On the next page opposite the "People to Remember" highlight, Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King Jr. had to share a page. The body text underneath the pictures stated that we honor them, "They were great Americans." and "We celebrate their birthdays, too."<sup>84</sup> Out of three pages, two

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<sup>80</sup> Joan Helbroner, *Meet George Washington* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1964), 57-61; 62-65.

<sup>81</sup> A picture of the painting can be located at [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f7/Emanuel\\_Leutze\\_%28American%2C\\_Schw%C3%A4bisch\\_Gm%C3%BCnd\\_1816%E2%80%93931868\\_Washington%2C\\_D.C.%29\\_-\\_Washington\\_Crossing\\_the\\_Delaware\\_-\\_Google\\_Art\\_Project.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f7/Emanuel_Leutze_%28American%2C_Schw%C3%A4bisch_Gm%C3%BCnd_1816%E2%80%93931868_Washington%2C_D.C.%29_-_Washington_Crossing_the_Delaware_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg) (Accessed April 16, 2016).

<sup>82</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, "Meeting People," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 115.

<sup>83</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, "Meeting People," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 113.

<sup>84</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, "Meeting People," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 114.

were dedicated to George Washington, and both display images that could be considered iconic, that the students would come across again during their education.<sup>85</sup>

The painting showed up in other textbooks as well. Although the first grade book only displayed part of the picture and did not give context, it was the starting point for Washington's greatness that later lessons would build off of. In the fifth grade editions of Heath Social Studies *the United States: Past to Present*, and Holt Social Studies *America and its Neighbors*, the iconic painting was highlighted.<sup>86</sup> In a chapter titled "Defending the Nation" taking up approximately one quarter to one third of the page was a reproduction of the painting.<sup>87</sup> The picture was placed in the center of the page with only a paragraph between the title and the picture. When first looking at the page the two things that stood out were the title and picture. This made it seem like Washington was the one who defended the nation.<sup>88</sup> While there was a subtitle on the page, titled "Washington Retreats" the text was in orange and it visually blended into the colors of the painting that was directly above it.<sup>89</sup> Although this section began on a negative note by the end of the paragraph directly under the subtitle the reader was told, "George Washington had proven that his men could defeat a well-trained army"<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, "Meeting People," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 113-5.

<sup>86</sup> This was due to the focus of American history in the fifth grade social studies curriculum at the time. (James L. Barth, *Elementary and Middle School: Social Studies Curriculum Program, Activities, and Materials* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979), 125) Barth wrote that fifth grade was "intended to provide the first chronological survey of American history" and that one of the main focus during this introduction was the American Revolution (James L. Barth, *Elementary and Middle School: Social Studies Curriculum Program, Activities, and Materials* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979), 126).

<sup>87</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 118.

<sup>88</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 118.

<sup>89</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 118.

<sup>90</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 118.

In Heath Social Studies *the United States: Past to Present*, the painting covered the top third of the textbook.<sup>91</sup> The caption tells the reader that the image was a “famous painting.”<sup>92</sup> A closer examination of the painting shows that all walks of American life were presented as riding in the boat, including African-Americans and women, implying that these minorities were considered equals in helping Washington fight for American independence. This interpretation also contributed to the larger societal idea that everyone was equal and had equal part in contributing to the success of the nation. A point that small children would not question due to their limited analytical skills and that they were unlikely to understand the racial tensions within the country at the time. While the members of this cohort was born during the turbulent time of the 1960s and 1970s, by the time they were old enough to recognize and think about the inequity in society the worst of the civil strife encountered in the late 1960s and early 1970s was in the past and the new message was that race no longer mattered and the Civil Rights movement had truly made everyone equal. By playing up this type of equality the painting provided evidence that American society was unique, that all people were created equal, and that everyone could do something to help society as a whole.

The crossing of the Delaware’s position as a turning point in the American Revolutionary War was just one of the events that contributed to the deification of Washington. As such the event would be acknowledged in textbooks geared for older children. When students reached fifth grade if they were in a school that was still using the *Our Nation, Our World* series they

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<sup>91</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5, (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 189; Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Annotated Teachers Edition, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 189.

<sup>92</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5, (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 189; Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Annotated Teachers Edition, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 189.



were again introduced to George Washington in a “People to Remember” section. Here there was a description of the event with the authors writing, “At last Americans had cause for hope.”<sup>93</sup> Even if students were not using that particular series other series talked about or referenced the event. Both fifth grade editions of *Follet Social Studies Exploring Our World*, and *Windows on Our World*, had something about the crossing. The *Windows on Our World* let the reader know that it was different from the battles that came before it.<sup>94</sup> That it was a turning point for the American Revolution. The *Follet Social Studies Exploring Our World* series spends even more time examining the event; it tells its readers “Washington’s army had won a complete victory.” The book then follows up Washington’s first victory with his second a few days later when as he slipped away from Cornwallis and disrupted British supply routes and headed to Princeton.<sup>95</sup>

The second event that help to reinforce Washington’s reputation was Valley Forge. Numerous textbooks refer to the winter of 1777-78 and the problems that Washington faced. Citing that the winter “Almost broke up the [continental] army,” Scott Foresman’s *Social Studies* book identified that winter as the number one problem Washington faced even over short enlistment periods and lack of money.<sup>96</sup> By overcoming what Jack Allen called “Perhaps the most bitter struggle of the American Army.”<sup>97</sup> Even though, as Herbert Gross et al wrote, “many soldiers lost hope and went home. But others stayed. George Washington, too, must have

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<sup>93</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, “Teachers Edition, The United States,” *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 143.

<sup>94</sup> David C. King, and Charlotte C. Anderson. “The United States,” *Windows on Our World*, Grade 5 (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), 258-9.

<sup>95</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Ben F. Ahlschwede. “The Americas,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 5 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 188.

<sup>96</sup> Roger M. Berg, *Social Studies*, Grade 5 (Glenview IL: Scott Foresman, 1979), 140.

<sup>97</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 170.

been discouraged at times. But he never gave up.”<sup>98</sup> As each quote shows each textbook that addressed the winter at Valley Forge did it in a slightly different way, but each helped to credit the army’s survival to Washington.

Both *the United States: Past to Present*, and *America and its Neighbors*, demonstrated the importance of Valley Forge. In *America and its Neighbors*, Valley Forge was one of the three sections in “Defending the Nation” and the reproduction of William B.T. Trego’s *March to Valley Forge*, took up the bottom third of the page.<sup>99</sup> The section described how “hard times had returned for the Americans,” even so the soldiers stayed because independence was that important.<sup>100</sup> By prominently displaying the two paintings *America and its Neighbors*, dedicated approximately one page of the two-page spread to images of George Washington.<sup>101</sup> Even if a student did not read the text this type of foregrounding was going to subconsciously tell the student that George Washington was important and the paintings coupled with the title helped to build Washington’s status and reinforce his position within the American mythos.

*The United States: Past to Present*, spends more time on the continental army’s time at Valley Forge. Not only describing the terrain around the camp, but also how the people in the surrounding area felt, and the condition for the continental soldiers.<sup>102</sup> *The United States: Past to Present*, like *America and its Neighbors*, utilized *March to Valley Forge*, for a graphic in this

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<sup>98</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Ben F. Ahlschwede. “The Americas,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 5 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 190.

<sup>99</sup> A picture of the painting can be located at [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/90/The\\_March\\_to\\_Valley\\_Forge\\_William\\_Trego.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/90/The_March_to_Valley_Forge_William_Trego.png) (Accessed April 16, 2016); JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 119.

<sup>100</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 119-20.

<sup>101</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 118-9.

<sup>102</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 190-1.

section.<sup>103</sup> The picture covers just under half of the page, while the text told the reader that after their experience in Valley Forge “the ragged American Army was becoming a hard-hitting fighting force.”<sup>104</sup> A force that had been held together by Washington.<sup>105</sup> The teacher’s edition of *The United States: Past to Present* encouraged teachers to build an activity around the painting, by asking their students “to describe what it was like for Patriot soldiers at Valley Forge Pennsylvania.”<sup>106</sup> The members of the class were supposed to analyze the picture in order to form their answers. This activity was another way that the cohort was focused on the importance of Washington.

These two events, the crossing of the Delaware River and the winter spent at Valley Forge, enhanced the Washington myth, by showing that even in the worst conditions Washington displayed the never-give-up attitude considered an integral part of the American spirit. Washington determination to win the war and his never give attitude was the reason that the United States was able to win the war and became the country the students knew. Washington’s reputation at the time was that he was a great man. Even during the American Bicentennial when *Playboy* produced cartoons of the first president his reputation was untarnished. The cartoons satirize Washington’s prominent role in society, looking at America’s concern of where he slept, and his connection to Betsy Ross and the creation of the American Flag.<sup>107</sup> Though the cartoon hinted that Washington was human with human failings, Washington was not shown as crossing

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<sup>103</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 191.

<sup>104</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 191.

<sup>105</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 191.

<sup>106</sup> Karen McAuley, and Richard Hall Wilson, *The United States Past to Present*, Annotated Teachers Edition, Heath Social Studies, Grade 5 (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath Company, 1987), 190.

<sup>107</sup> “Cartoon -No Title--‘George Washington Slept Here’,” *Playboy*, July 1976, 100; “Cartoon- No Title--‘George Washington and Betsy Ross’,” *Playboy*, July 1976, 121.

that moral line and giving in to desire, allowing Washington to remain the paragon of virtue that American society had built him into.<sup>108</sup> While the members of this cohort were not Playboy's target audience, the magazine's treatment of Washington showed the level of veneration that Washington received at the time they were growing up. In essence Washington's "I cannot tell a lie" became "I can do no wrong," a message transmitted to this cohort whenever Washington was introduced to them.<sup>109</sup>

Lincoln also received similar treatment, which helped to place him highly in the American civil religious hierarchy. Lincoln, like Washington, became an iconic president. There were similarities between the two presidents, which helped to deify them. Both Washington and Lincoln brought the nation through periods of trial, the American Revolution and the Civil War, respectively.<sup>110</sup> Both men were in prominent positions of power in their respective times and were credited with bringing the nation thru their respective crises stronger than when the trial began. This course of leadership seems divinely inspired since with one mistake the nation as we know it could have ceased to exist. Both Lincoln and Washington seemed to have gained an almost omnipotent knowledge of what was needed to save the nation. The trial by fire that each man experienced tempered his reputation into the bright and shiny demagogues that we know today. Each was held up as an idealized member of American society who brought the nation

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<sup>108</sup> Steven Bellavia, "Fanning the Flames of Patriotism: The American Bicentennial Celebration," (master's thesis, Emporia State University, 2014), <https://esirc.emporia.edu/bitstream/handle/123456789/3293/bellavia%20thesis.pdf?sequence=1>, (Accessed April 17, 2016), 95-6.

<sup>109</sup> Though in the 21<sup>st</sup> century this do no wrong image is not as true as it was during the 1970s and 1980s. Washington's image within media portrayals has seen a reduction in the "can do no wrong" attitude. In the 2015 season of the American Revolution spy piece *Turn: Washington's Spies*, in one episode Washington was shown as having a crisis of confidence in one scene and beating and trying to strangle his slave in another. Both scenes show a darker aspect to Washington's nature. ; *Turn: Washington's Spies*, "Valley Forge," Season 2 episode 7 directed by Kimberly Peirce, Originally aired May 18, 2015, Troy MI: Anchor Bay Entertainment, DVD, 2016.

<sup>110</sup> Robert N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditionalist World* (Berkley CA: University of California Press, 1991), 183; Richard J Neuhaus, "The War, the Churches, and Civil Religion." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 387, (January 1970): 139.

through the fires of crisis and like the men themselves, it too emerge tempered, both brighter and stronger than it was before the crisis began.

In the “Beginning Reading” series in a book about Lincoln, the author wrote that

“Abraham Lincoln has been dead for 100 years. Yet each year, on February 12, Americans remember his birthday. He was one of the great Presidents of the United States. Americans still remember what he said. They still read what he wrote. They remember the things he did as President. They say that if he had not lived the United States might be two countries today instead of one.”<sup>111</sup>

With that opening the book’s author reminded the reader why Lincoln was important, and that he was important enough that society as a whole both remembered and celebrated who he was.

While the book did not reach the level of veneration in Washington’s book, the members of this cohort reading this book would not doubt that Lincoln was still important to the United States.

Unlike Washington who reached iconic status while still alive Lincoln only received iconic status after his death. The nature of Lincoln’s death meant he became a martyr within the American civil religious hierarchy.<sup>112</sup> It was this sacrifice that catapulted him to the level of iconic president.<sup>113</sup> For Bellah, Lincoln was the personification of the Civil War. While the death of the common soldier in the Civil War would seem enough to fulfill the ritual required for a successful blood sacrifice, Lincoln’s death as leader of the nation gave greater weight to the sacrifice that was required to redeem the union. In both cases the bloody sacrifice was required

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<sup>111</sup> Barbra Cary, *Meet Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Random House, 1965), 3.

<sup>112</sup> Robert N. Bellah, *Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditionalist World* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1991), 177.

<sup>113</sup> In the modern time, death has a way of removing human foibles and placing a shine on one’s reputation. John F. Kennedy is another president who has enjoyed a reputational boost due to his sudden death. Due to his death Martin Luther King Jr., while not a president, became an important member of American civil religion. Both men have reached the martyr classification within the American civil religion hierarchy. Of course Lincoln as the martyr also resonates with another religious martyr. The comparison between Lincoln and Christ was inevitable, as both gave their blood to wash away the sins of man.

to re-sanctify the national identity.<sup>114</sup> In *Meet Abraham Lincoln*, the book closed with the author reminding the readers that

“[American citizens] could not believe their good and kind President was dead. They knew he had loved them. and that he had loved his country, too. To keep his country united he had taken it through a long and horrible war. And because of that war it had become a country where all men were free. Today Americans still honor and love Abraham Lincoln for what he did 100 years ago.”<sup>115</sup>

With this closing passage the author connects Lincoln’s sacrifice to the founding principle that all men were created equal, and because he was willing to guide the nation through that difficult period this principle could still be found.

Only one other presidential founding father approached the popularity of George Washington, and that was Thomas Jefferson. Though Jefferson was not deified like Washington and Lincoln, he was the closest president to ascending to that next level. Jefferson’s high ranking was connected not only to his time as president, and his role in expanding the size of the United States, but also with his involvement in the creation of the Declaration of Independence. One of the triumvirate of American sacred documents, and Jefferson’s role in creating it, catapults him over the other founding fathers.<sup>116</sup> Even though Jefferson rose high in the ranks his problematic connection to the racial divide in the United States kept him from joining Washington and Lincoln as an American demi-god. One advantage of reaching the level of an American demi-god was that one’s reputation was considered sacrosanct. Though both Washington and Lincoln were products of their time, they were portrayed as having risen above the racist thinking of their

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<sup>114</sup> Marvin, Carolyn, and David W. Ingle. “Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion.” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 64, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 774.

<sup>115</sup> Barbra Cary, *Meet Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Random House, 1965), 86.

<sup>116</sup> The other two sides of the triumvirate were the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These were the “three great” documents, according to the American Revolution Bicentennial Board in their pamphlet Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial were the foundation of the countries greatness. ; American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC; Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

respective time. Washington and Lincoln's reputations for the longest time have been considered untouchable. Where Jefferson's connection to Sally Hemings and slavery was always part of his story, Washington as a slave owner was long been glossed over.<sup>117</sup> In *Meet George Washington*, there was only one mention of slaves and it was Washington's father that owns them not Washington himself.<sup>118</sup> The complicated nature of Jefferson's relationship to Hemings was skipped at the elementary level and Jefferson's positive impact on the nation was the focus of his story. In the children's book *Meet Thomas Jefferson*, there was an acknowledgment that Jefferson had slaves.<sup>119</sup> While there was this acknowledgment there were only three place where slaves were discussed in the entire book and in the two that were explicitly tied to Jefferson, the slaves were portrayed as helpful and happy.<sup>120</sup> Early in the book there was a discussion of slavery. While this discussion told the reader that slavery was bad and that "the slaves were bought and sold like animals" and that "some owners were cruel."<sup>121</sup> The slaves that lead to this discussion were not Jefferson's and the book made sure to tell the reader that "Slavery was one thing Tom Jefferson never liked."<sup>122</sup> The time period under discussion was when Jefferson was a small child during his time at Tuckahoe, however by framing the discussion in this way and during this period the author implied that Jefferson always recognized that slavery was morally wrong and even though he had slaves, his slaves were much better off than others.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Dorothy Twohig, "That Species of Property: Washington's Role in the Controversy over Slavery," in *George Washington Reconsidered*, ed. Don Higginbotham (Charlottesville VA: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 114.

<sup>118</sup> Joan Helbroner, *Meet George Washington* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1964), 5.

<sup>119</sup> Marvin Barrett, *Meet Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Random House Inc., 1967), image on page 58, 59, image on page 72, 73.

<sup>120</sup> Marvin Barrett, *Meet Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Random House Inc., 1967), image on page 58, 59, image on page 72, 73.

<sup>121</sup> Marvin Barrett, *Meet Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Random House Inc., 1967), 8.

<sup>122</sup> Marvin Barrett, *Meet Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Random House Inc., 1967), 8.

Marvin Barrett, *Meet Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Random House Inc., 1967), 8, image on page 58, 59, image on page 72, 73.

Many of the founding fathers discussed in the school system and who enjoyed high positions within American civil religion's hierarchy could equate their standing to not only their work during the founding period of the country, but also to the fact that many became some of the first presidents, or had important roles in the emerging government of the country. Of those that were highly placed within the hierarchy no non-presidential founder was as highly placed as Benjamin Franklin. The children's book *Meet Benjamin Franklin* told readers "He had been the most brilliant and best-loved American of his time."<sup>124</sup> For sheer notoriety Franklin was more famous than some presidential founders. Although Franklin never became president his service to the growing country helped to keep him in the public mind.

However, the most famous Franklin story, that of the kite experiment, has nothing to do with the founding of the United States however it reinforced the idea that Franklin was a learned man and that he was always searching for answers to important questions. In a special feature called "People to Remember," that the textbook publisher states highlights people "who contributed to the development of our nation or our world [who] serve as positive role models for citizenship and achievement."<sup>125</sup> The fifth grade textbook "The United States" part of the *Our Nation Our World* series plays up the importance of Franklin and highlights his kite experiment, the aside states "Franklin was interested in science...he proved lighting is electricity... lightning hit the kite and produced a spark on the wire."<sup>126</sup> The picture that accompanied the text was a reproduction of a painting of Franklin performing his kite experiment, which meant that even if the student did not read the text about Franklin just the headline with his name and the picture

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<sup>124</sup> Maggi Scarf, *Meet Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1968), 60.

<sup>125</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, "Teachers Edition, The United States," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), v.

<sup>126</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, "Teachers Edition, The United States," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 128.



were enough to imprint the experiment as an important contribution by Franklin.<sup>127</sup> “The Americas” part of the *Follet Social Studies Exploring Our World* series also mentions the Kite experiment in a sidebar but as part of a list of his inventions.<sup>128</sup> Even the *Windows on Our World* series hints at the experiment when it talks about his experiments.<sup>129</sup> While not explicitly mentioning the experiment the teacher’s edition encourages the teacher to “discuss with children the many accomplishments of Benjamin Franklin.”<sup>130</sup> Including many “tools and institutions that we today would find it very hard to get along without.”<sup>131</sup> Like Washington and Lincoln Franklin also had a beginning reader book, one chapter in the book titled “Franklin Tames Lightning” was dedicated to his famous experiment.<sup>132</sup> While the book spent some time talking about the his actual experiment and did say that Franklin was lucky his kite was not hit by a massive bolt of lightning The book plays up his greatness when it tells its readers that his invention of the lighting rod saved “many lives” that “Franklin had made another great discovery.”<sup>133</sup>

This quest for knowledge complements his reputation for wisdom, enhanced by his role in the production of *Poor Richard's Almanack*. Some credit his production of the *Almanack* as doing more for building support of the United States than the writings of leading philosophers of the time.<sup>134</sup> All three of the series *Our Nation*, *Our World*, *Follet Social Studies Exploring Our*

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<sup>127</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, “Teachers Edition, The United States,” *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 128.

<sup>128</sup> Gross, Herbert H., Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Ben F. Ahlschwede. “The Americas,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 5 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 153.

<sup>129</sup> King, David C. and Charlotte C. Anderson. “The United States,” *Windows on Our World*, Grade 5 (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), 238.

<sup>130</sup> King, David C. and Charlotte C. Anderson. “Annotated Teachers Edition The United States,” *Windows on Our World*, Grade 5 (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), T280.

<sup>131</sup> King, David C. and Charlotte C. Anderson. “Annotated Teachers Edition The United States,” *Windows on Our World*, Grade 5 (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), T280.

<sup>132</sup> Maggi Scarf, *Meet Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1968), 34-9.

<sup>133</sup> Maggi Scarf, *Meet Benjamin Franklin*, (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1968), 37

<sup>134</sup> Marshall W. Fishwick, *American Heroes: Myth and Reality* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1954), 144.

*World*, and *Windows on Our World* all mention his connection to *Poor Richard's Almanack*. The *American Books Social Studies* series begins its chapter “Creating an American Way of Life,” with quotes from almanac.<sup>135</sup> Like other series the teacher’s edition of *American Books Social Studies* encourages the teacher to discuss Franklin in their class. In this case the publisher tells the teacher that Franklin’s words could “be used to create the mood for this lesson.”<sup>136</sup> In the accompanying workbook students were supposed to fill in the Almanac with information from the textbook, and then create a new version of *Poor Richard's Almanack* named after themselves place in twenty-first century. The assignment was supposed to help the students “draw inferences” and use “one’s imagination.”<sup>137</sup> Here and in other series Franklin’s wisdom was played up and his contribution to the founding of the United States was alluded to. His wisdom was seen as important to his role in the creation of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, both of which helped to ensure he was seen as an important member of the founding period. Additionally Franklin was portrayed as a self-made man which supported the larger societal myth that if one works hard enough and perseveres one will succeed.<sup>138</sup> The children’s book *Meet Benjamin Franklin*, reinforced these same messages. While glossing over some of the more salacious events in Franklins life the book focused on his contributions to both the creation of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. When discussing the Constitution the book made it seem like that Franklin was the only reason it was ratified. “There were arguments. Each man had different ideas. But Franklin was good at making people work

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<sup>135</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 133.

<sup>136</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 134.

<sup>137</sup> Munyan, George T. ““Workbook Level E, Teachers Annotated Edition, Americans,” *American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 32.

<sup>138</sup> Marshall W. Fishwick, *American Heroes: Myth and Reality* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1954), 144.

together. The men listened to him. At last the Constitution was signed by everyone.”<sup>139</sup> While there were other founding fathers whose importance to the formation of the United States cannot be questioned, none were as well thought of as Franklin, as students were told “Franklin is one of the most famous Americans of that time.”<sup>140</sup>

When a person becomes an American civil religious icon, their stories can become more fictionalized than truthful. Stories such as Washington’s cherry tree myth was an example of an iconic legend about a real person that had been fabricated. Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Franklin were all real people, whose stories though mythologized maintain a majority of factual information. However this was not true for all American icons, sometimes these stories served a higher purpose or focused on the contributions of marginalized groups. Two women, whose stories were part of the American mythology that fulfilled this roll were Molly Pitcher and Betsy Ross. In both cases the stories had a basis in real people, but it was in the retelling of their stories that fiction deviated from truth. Like Washington’s cherry tree myth they too provide lessons for the cohort, and in each case what the tales conveyed was more important than the truth about the characters in the story. Even though the women were the center of the myths men still figure prominently in their stories, and in both cases George Washington was a prominent figure.

Molly Pitcher was believed to be the story of one of two women who were at the battle of Monmouth New Jersey who received pensions from the federal government. While one of the women was generally accepted as the basis for the legend there was no definitive proof that it was her rather than the other woman. Whoever the story was about, the legend goes that Molly was delivering water to the artillery unit her husband was attached to during the battle. When her

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<sup>139</sup> Maggi Scarf, *Meet Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Random House Step-up Books, 1968), 59-60.

<sup>140</sup> King, David C. and Charlotte C. Anderson. “The United States,” *Windows on Our World*, Grade 5 (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1976), 238.

husband collapsed, either due to heat or being wounded, she stepped up and manned the gun so that it could continue to fire.

Like Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and Franklin, Molly Pitcher also showed up in textbooks. Some had a very little information about Picher. The *American Books Social Studies* was one such example. In a highlighted section on the “Women of the Revolution” whose main focus was on Abigale Adams across the top of other page was a black and white reproduction of *Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth* by Dennis Malone Carte. The caption under the image states “a number of women fought in the American Revolution. One was Molly Pitcher, shown at the battle of Mammoth in 1778. When her soldier husband collapsed from the heat, she took his place at the cannon.”<sup>141</sup>

The *Our Nation, Our World* series spends a bit more time examining women who fought in the American Revolution. Like the *American Books Social Studies* offering *Our Nation, Our World* includes a picture of Pitcher. However unlike *American Books Social Studies* the image was one of three on the facing page though it was one of two color reproductions on the page.<sup>142</sup> *Our Nation, Our World* chose *Color Engraving of Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth* that it obtained from the Bettmann archive.<sup>143</sup> While the picture was smaller the amount of space devoted to fighting women was more. The book discusses three women who were in battle. Including the story of Margret Corbin and Mary Ludwig Hayes the two women who stories form the Molly Pitcher myth.<sup>144</sup> Of the textbooks examined *America and its Neighbors* was the one

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<sup>141</sup> Allen, Jack. “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 173.

<sup>142</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, “Teachers Edition, The United States,” *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 144.

<sup>143</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, “Teachers Edition, The United States,” *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 511.

<sup>144</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Grahm, George Vuicich, Cleo Cherryholmes, and Gary Manson, “Teachers Edition, The United States,” *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 5 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 145.

that promoted Molly Pitcher the most. Under the title “Everyone Helps” and the section titled “Women Help” was a write up about Pitchers’ contribution to the war effort. Joining this write up taking up over a third of the page was a black and white picture of Pitcher performing her heroic duty.<sup>145</sup> While the textbook said Pitcher was an exception and that “many more women stayed home.”<sup>146</sup> The way that the textbook created the layout meant that in effect Pitcher had an entire page dedicated to her, something that only a very few important people had happen. Whether the reader actively picked up on this or not, subconsciously it would give more prestige to Pitcher and her story.

Like other important people of the founding period Pitcher also had a children’s book written about her, *Molly Pitcher: Girl Patriot*.<sup>147</sup> The book opens with “The Pretty little girl’s name was Mary but everyone called her Molly. ...She was lively and she should have a lively name.”<sup>148</sup> The story opens in this way to show that even from a young age Molly was someone who did not conform to expectations. While most of the book focused on the young life of Pitcher and her experiences during the growing discontent that preceded the American Revolution, it was only in the last chapter after a twelve year jump that the book starts to explore her famous story. The book ends with Pitcher meeting Washington, her field promotion to sergeant and with

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<sup>145</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 122.

<sup>146</sup> JoAnn Cangemi, ed. *America and its Neighbors*, Holt Social Studies, Grade 5 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1986), 122.

<sup>147</sup> Augusta Stevenson, *Molly Pitcher: Girl Patriot*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1952); Augusta Stevenson, *Molly Pitcher: Young Patriot*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986). Other than a change in the subtitle and changes in the art work the two edition were very similar even the page numbers of the text were very close. There were at least two other editions of this book one from 1960 and one from 1983 and the subtitled changed some time after the 1960 edition as it was printed with the girl patriot subtitle.

<sup>148</sup> Augusta Stevenson, *Molly Pitcher: Girl Patriot*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1952), 9; Augusta Stevenson, *Molly Pitcher: Young Patriot*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986), 11.

Washington telling her “without your help we might not have succeeded.”<sup>149</sup> The same scene was depicted in “Molly Pitcher Meets the General” in *Patriotic and Historical plays for Young People*.<sup>150</sup> One difference between the play and the storybook was that the play had Pitcher meeting Washington before the battle though he learns her name as Mary Ludwig Hayes though she told him she was called Molly.<sup>151</sup> Though Washington was confused when he meets Pitcher at the end of the play as to how she received the new name, having interacted with her he really was not surprised that she did what was needed.<sup>152</sup>

The Molly Pitcher myth conveys to the listener that true Americans were willing to step up and do what was needed to win. An important message embedded within the entirety of the Cold War, and especially important to remember in the unsettled; post-Vietnam, post-Watergate, post-Civil Rights, time period this cohort grew up and entered the school system in. Within Pitcher’s story there was an inherent recognition of the importance, the exceptional nature of what the United States would become. This message of American greatness demonstrated that while America was down it was not out and just like before the problems of the 1970s would not diminish the light that was the United States for long. This also served to show the importance of being willing to sacrifice yourself for the larger cause. “*Bodily* sacrifice was the core of American nationalism. [Italics original]”<sup>153</sup> By being willing to sacrifice herself in a time of war Pitcher became a rallying point for the nascent nation and for later generations that might be

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<sup>149</sup> Augusta Stevenson, *Molly Pitcher: Girl Patriot*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (Indianapolis IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1952), 190; Augusta Stevenson, *Molly Pitcher: Young Patriot*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986), 190-1.

<sup>150</sup> Marjory Hall, “Molly Pitcher Meets the General: Two Patriots of the American Revolution,” in *Patriotic and Historical Plays for Young People*, ed Sylvia E. Kamerman (Boston MA: Plays Inc. 1975), 118-28.

<sup>151</sup> Marjory Hall, “Molly Pitcher Meets the General: Two Patriots of the American Revolution,” in *Patriotic and Historical Plays for Young People*, ed Sylvia E. Kamerman (Boston MA: Plays Inc. 1975), 124.

<sup>152</sup> Marjory Hall, “Molly Pitcher Meets the General: Two Patriots of the American Revolution,” in *Patriotic and Historical Plays for Young People*, ed Sylvia E. Kamerman (Boston MA: Plays Inc. 1975), 127.

<sup>153</sup> Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4.

required to make the same sacrifice, another important concept for this cohort to understand. Especially considering that a cohort proceeding the final Cold War generation had already been asked to do this in Vietnam and public opinion had swung away from being willing to make this type of sacrifice.

Like the story of Molly Pitcher, the Betsy Ross tale revolves around a real woman, however the historical accuracy of her story was in question.<sup>154</sup> Betsy Ross was introduced to this cohort in *Our Nation, Our World* as part of the section of women in the American Revolution. Ross joins Pitcher, Corbin, Hayes, and Deborah Sampson who contributed to the American Revolution. *Our Nation, Our World* stated that “Betsy Ross has gone down as the maker of the First American Flag with stars and stripes. She created the flag, the story goes, at the request of George Washington.”<sup>155</sup> The book perpetuated the Betty Ross myth. It contains only a small ambiguous statement that could easily be missed or misinterpreted, that the Ross story might not be the truth.

As a person who was important to the American Mythos, Betsy Ross like Molly Pitcher had her own children’s book and a play about the creation of the flag. Like the Pitcher book it was not till the end of the story and a time jump that the reader finds out about the creation of the flag. The book, *Betsy Ross: Designer of Our Flag*, ended in the modern day with a couple sightseeing in Philadelphia.<sup>156</sup> This couple made their way to the Betsy Ross house. Once the

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<sup>154</sup> Historians Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and David Hackett Fischer independently examine the legend of Betsy Ross and the creation of the union flag. Both reach the conclusion that the accepted myth was inaccurate with Fischer positing that what Ross created was actually a regimental standard for Washington’s headquarters. David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 158-61; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "How Betsy Ross Became Famous Oral tradition, nationalism, and the invention of history" [www.common-place.org](http://www.common-place.org), Accessed April 17, 2016. <http://www.common-place-archives.org/vol-08/no-01/ulrich/>.

<sup>155</sup> Allen, Jack. “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 145.

<sup>156</sup> Ann Weil, *Betsy Ross: Designer of Our Flag*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986), 183.

couple arrived they were told some of the events that the reader had just read about. After the couple was at the house for a bit they were joined by Miss Edna Randolph Worrell Betsy Ross' "great-great-grandniece" who told the couple the story her grandmother used to tell about the creation of the American flag.<sup>157</sup> The book closes with the couple leaving the house and thinking "They weren't saying good-by [sic] to Betsy Ross when they left. They would think of her whenever they saw their country's flag."<sup>158</sup> Implied by this closing line was that the reader should think about that connection as well, and considering the targets of the book that would be every school day if not more often.

The children's play "*Woof for the Red, White and Blue*," was a different take on the creation of the flag, though Ross was still involved. Where *Betsy Ross: Designer of Our Flag*, had the design coming from George Washington the play had Washington sending the material for the flag but not the design.<sup>159</sup> In the play Ross was expecting Washington to send the pattern but the design was lost and Ross and two girls, who were playing outside her house, tried to figure out what to do about the missing pattern the messenger who delivered the material arrived again and told Ross that Washington will be at her house at sunrise to pick up the flag.<sup>160</sup> Ross then went into her house to get started on the flag. The dogs that the audience heard but never saw were busy while Ross was talking to the girls. The dogs "ripped up the flag material!" "They chewed it to shreds!" This seemed to be the end of Ross' ability to make the flag. However Ross and the girls use American ingenuity and salvage the situation by using the scraps and cobbled together

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<sup>157</sup> Ann Weil, *Betsy Ross: Designer of Our Flag*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986), 187-8.

<sup>158</sup> Ann Weil, *Betsy Ross: Designer of Our Flag*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986), 192.

<sup>159</sup> Ann Weil, *Betsy Ross: Designer of Our Flag*, Childhood of Famous Americans series (New York: Aladdin Paperback, 1986), 189; Dorothy Brandt Marra, "'Woof' for the Red, White, and Blue," in *Patriotic and Historical Plays for Young People*, ed. Sylvia E. Kamerman (Boston MA: Plays Inc. 1975), 163.

<sup>160</sup> Dorothy Brandt Marra, "'Woof' for the Red, White, and Blue," in *Patriotic and Historical Plays for Young People*, ed. Sylvia E. Kamerman (Boston MA: Plays Inc. 1975), 165-6.



the flag.<sup>161</sup> The unspoken message of the play was that when times were tough true Americans do not give up, but would come up with ways to succeed, a very important message considering the mood of the country when the play was written and published.

Part of the appeal of the Ross myth was that it became the creation story for the American flag, itself an American civil religious icon that has taken on mythic properties.<sup>162</sup> The flag was a symbol synonymous with the United States, and its creation. The flag helped reinforce that those people living on the North American continent were indeed different and unique from those living in England. It was a symbol of liberty and freedom, two ideals important in American society. As Ross was the creator of the flag and the symbolic connection between the flag's creation and the creation of the United States meant Ross was connected to the creation of the country. Where Washington was seen as the father of our country Ross by giving birth to the flag, then became the surrogate mother. The symbol that she was credited with creating was the most important symbol for the nation and its exceptional nature, a symbol that "binds American citizens" to one another.<sup>163</sup> Ross's storied contribution helped to bring together the various facets of the flag's creation into one unified story, which in turn created an easier way for the nation to connect with the birth of the flag and the nation it represented.<sup>164</sup> Coincidentally, Ross' connection to this unified story propels her into the limelight while keeping her high in American civil religion's hierarchy.

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<sup>161</sup> Dorothy Brandt Marra, "'Woof' for the Red, White, and Blue," in *Patriotic and Historical Plays for Young People*, ed. Sylvia E. Kamerman (Boston MA: Plays Inc. 1975), 166-7.

<sup>162</sup> While Ross only appeared in five out of eight of Frisch's surveys, and although she never broke into the top ten, the fact that she showed up at all demonstrated that she was an important part of this cohort's understanding of the United States' creation myth.

<sup>163</sup> Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

<sup>164</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 166, 163.

By introducing this cohort to American civil religious icons the school system performed two tasks. First it created a foundation with which to build upon as this cohort moved through the educational system. Second it created a common framework that allowed the various members of this cohort to connect with one another through shared experiences. The elementary school experience was responsible for not only exposing this cohort to the various American civil religious icons, but also helped to indoctrinate them into the rituals and ceremonies of American society. Sociologist Adam Gamoran argued that schools were the “most important agent” in the transmission of socially acceptable ideals.<sup>165</sup> The school system was able to accomplish this through the use of “systematized rituals.”<sup>166</sup> This occurred because most of the ritualization happened at the elementary school level and, this was where the cohort first learned what was expected of them, and how to perform the rituals. Some of these rituals were done daily, others were more spread out yet still consistent, while others were sporadic.

Rituals in the education system took different forms. Some, like the Pledge of Allegiance, occurred daily, others, such as graduation might, only occur once but indicated a significant change within the education system. These rituals take place within all levels of the school system, from classroom rituals, to whole school rituals, even including those within the extended school community.<sup>167</sup> These rituals performed a variety of functions be it reinforcing the ideas of patriotism or extolling the virtues of living within the bounds of good behavior.<sup>168</sup> Rituals and ceremonies that Americans understood as important were around since the founding of the

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<sup>165</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 236

<sup>166</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 237 – 51.

<sup>167</sup> P.W. Jackson, R.E. Boostrom, and D.T. Hansen, “The Moral Life of Schools,” *Schools and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*, ed. Jeanne H. Ballantine and John Z. Spade (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 2001), 151.

<sup>168</sup> P.W. Jackson, R.E. Boostrom, and D.T. Hansen, “The Moral Life of Schools,” *Schools and Society: A Sociological Approach to Education*, ed. Jeanne H. Ballantine and John Z. Spade (Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 2001), 151.

country.<sup>169</sup> Because they were around since the founding of the country they were an integral part of understanding of what it meant to be an American. Many scholars recognized this importance, Ray Browne believed that “rituals and ceremonies were codifications and statements of attitudes.”<sup>170</sup> Fredrick Bird also recognized the importance of rituals, comparing them to “cultural phenomena.”<sup>171</sup> Browne’s ideas of rituals and ceremonies connect to the understanding of traditional religions. While he argued that rituals were religious in nature due to religion’s prominent place in society, he acknowledged religion’s decline had led to rituals becoming more secularized.<sup>172</sup> While he did not make the connection to a secularized religion such as American civil religion, the underlying connection between it and his description of the continued importance of rituals and ceremonies could be observed.<sup>173</sup> Rituals were important to society in that “they provide[d] continuity...commonality and solidarity...” and provided both pomp and faith.<sup>174</sup> In essence rituals provided “order” and a link to society’s “collective experience.”<sup>175</sup>

By the beginning of the 1980s the number of traditional ceremonies and rituals were on the decline.<sup>176</sup> Joseph W. Bastien and David G. Bromley indicated that “in the 1960s and early 1970s

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<sup>169</sup> Ray B. Browne, “Ritual One” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 1.

<sup>170</sup> Ray B. Browne, “Ritual One” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 1.

<sup>171</sup> Fredrick Bird, “The Contemporary Ritual Milieu,” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 19.

<sup>172</sup> Ray B. Browne, “Ritual One” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 1.

<sup>173</sup> Joseph W. Bastien and David G. Bromley, “Metaphor in the Rituals of Restorative and Transformative Groups,” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 48.

<sup>174</sup> Joseph W. Bastien and David G. Bromley, “Metaphor in the Rituals of Restorative and Transformative Groups,” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 49.

<sup>175</sup> Joseph W. Bastien and David G. Bromley, “Metaphor in the Rituals of Restorative and Transformative Groups,” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 49.

<sup>176</sup> Joseph W. Bastien and David G. Bromley, “Metaphor in the Rituals of Restorative and Transformative Groups,” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 48; Bastien and Bromley give College graduations, weddings, Sunday church services

participation in ceremonies... seemed to have reached a periodic nadir. ...over the long course of American history, the amount of ritual and ceremony shared by the entire society has gradually but continually declined.”<sup>177</sup> This decline was the result of the fracturing of American society and was at the root of what Putnam examined. Their observation spoke to both the importance of the remaining rituals that the final Cold War generation cohort was exposed to, and helps to describe the larger cultural context that the cohort grew up in. Because of this decline, the rituals this cohort was introduced to in the school system, became more important as there were fewer rituals performing the functions associated with ritualistic behavior.

One of the most common school rituals this cohort participated in was the daily recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance.<sup>178</sup> It was this ritual that sociologist Adam Gamoran examined in his quest to understand how American civil religion was demonstrated in the school system.<sup>179</sup> He pointed to the daily use of the pledge as an American civil religious icon that socialized and indoctrinated the younger generation into the common social framework. Like Smidt’s research Gamoran believed that the educational system was where children first learned the importance of these rituals. Even though Gamoran acknowledged that not all classes recite the pledge, he argued that it occurred in a majority of schools. In the example that Gamoran gave of a typical classroom saying the pledge, there was an obviousness to the expectation of student participation.<sup>180</sup> The group mindset coupled with the unlikely nature of the student body to

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in addition to holidays that commemorate an event such as Memorial day and the Fourth of July as examples of rituals and ceremonies that were in decline.

<sup>177</sup> Joseph W. Bastien and David G. Bromley, “Metaphor in the Rituals of Restorative and Transformative Groups,” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 48; Ray B. Browne, “Ritual One” in *Rituals and Ceremonies in Popular Culture*, ed. Ray B. Browne (Bowling Green OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1980), 1-3, 7.

<sup>178</sup> As the introduction to this chapter and Footnote 1 demonstrated, this ritual has maintained its position. It is one that is still consistently practiced today.

<sup>179</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 235–56.

<sup>180</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 238–9.

challenge the ritual creates a mob mentality that leads those who fail to conform to the ritual to be labeled as outsiders. A designation that most elementary age children do not want.<sup>181</sup>

The importance of the pledge was not only demonstrated by the daily recitation but textbooks also played up that it was an important part of American society.<sup>182</sup> In the fourth grade textbook “Regions” in the *Follett Social Studies Exploring Our World*, series students were introduced to the pledge in the section “Karen Learns About Our Nation.”<sup>183</sup> After providing the pledge the book describe the classroom as a way to connect the ritual it was describing to the students reading the book. Once the book set this up the students in the lesson examined what the words of the pledge meant. The students reading the lesson learn that as well as that the pledge represented the nation, and its ideals. Ideas such as “Freedom” and Independence which were important to the students’ heritage.<sup>184</sup> The lesson finished up reminding the reader through the teacher in the lesson that allegiance meant loyalty and that when the students said the pledge they “promise[ed] to be loyal to our country. [and they would] always do what is best for our nation.”<sup>185</sup>

Not only was the pledge an American civil religion ritual, but the Pledge of Allegiance was an example of a ritual tied to an American civil religion icon, in this case the flag. The saying of the pledge not only reinforced the student’s connection to others in the school but due to the

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<sup>181</sup> For a more detailed example of this phenomenon see footnote 1 at the beginning of this chapter. Since that example occurs in front of the whole school and the entire building staff was there, this can create an added pressure for the students to conform to their peers. Because it occurs at an elementary school, which at the time of the observation included grades K-6 meant that by the time the students reached the higher grades when they might start to question the ritual they had, been doing it for conceivably seven years, making it unlikely that they would voluntarily make themselves outsiders.

<sup>182</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Wedel D. Nilsen. “Regions,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 4 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 279.

<sup>183</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Wedel D. Nilsen. “Regions,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 4 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 279.

<sup>184</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Wedel D. Nilsen. “Regions,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 4 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 280.

<sup>185</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Wedel D. Nilsen. “Regions,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 4 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 281.

ubiquity of saying the pledge across the nation meant that these students were connected to the larger identity of being Americans. This was the underlying idea behind the “Karen Learns About Our Nation” section. In the discussion that went on during the lesson the students read about the final item put on the board for the students to talk about was “The people of a nation have the same heritage.”<sup>186</sup> The teacher of the lesson was not talking about ethnic heritage but rather the shared historical heritage that the founding fathers represent. When the teacher stated “Our forefathers won this great land... George Washington and the other founders of our nation had great hopes for our country... Our country, our freedoms and our hopes and dreams for the future are all part of the heritage that belongs to every American. Each of you can be thankful that you live in nation with such a rich heritage from the past.”<sup>187</sup> For the teacher and for the students reading the lesson, the message was that every student had a common heritage that made every United States citizen connected. While unspoken one of the things that the students reading the lesson could infer connected everyone was the Pledge of Allegiance.

While the pledge was a daily ritual that connected to an American civil religious icon the school calendar was another way to introduce this cohort to rituals and ceremonies in American society. From its beginning the Cold War was an important force for shaping society. The early “Cold War encouraged efforts to patriotize the American calendar.”<sup>188</sup> A trend that continued during the late Cold War period. The ceremonial calendar became a way of unifying and socializing each new generation. One reason for this was that these holidays had some common traits, as “they all have to do with our country and its traditions. Each holiday celebrated

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<sup>186</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Wedel D. Nilsen. “Regions,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 4 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 280.

<sup>187</sup> Herbert H. Gross, Dwight W. Follett, Robert E Gabler, William L Burton, and Wedel D. Nilsen. “Regions,” *Exploring our World Follett Social Studies*, Grade 4 (Chicago IL: Follett Publishing Company, 1980), 280-1.

<sup>188</sup> Richard Fried, *The Russians are Coming! The Russians are Coming! Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold-War America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc., 1998), 87.

America's past, present and future."<sup>189</sup> In the first grade book of McGraw-Hill's *Our Nation, Our World* social studies series in addition to showing the reader that the nation celebrated the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King Jr. and George Washington, the students reading the book learn that as a country we celebrate "July 4<sup>th</sup>" and "Columbus Day" and that these days along with the aforementioned birthday were "special days" for the country.<sup>190</sup> The children's book *Our National Holiday*, looked at holidays that were "distinctly American."<sup>191</sup> In an effort to make it easier for the reader to understand what the various holidays represented the book divided celebrations into five categories.<sup>192</sup> *Our National Holiday* had a more detailed description of the history of the holidays than McGraw-Hill's *Our Nation, Our World* did. Not only did *Our Nation* examine the same holidays *Our Nation, Our World*, but it added new holidays that the students would be familiar with.

While textbooks for older students might not specifically talk about the holidays like the first grade edition of *Our Nation, Our World* did, holidays still played a role within the narrative. The Scott Foresman's *Social Studies* book begins unit one "One Nation Many People" with a two page pictorial spread highlighting Bicentennial parades celebrating the many different nationalities that make up the United States.<sup>193</sup> These pictures would resonate with the students since they would have been old enough to take part in the celebration. The *American Books Social Studies* series also highlighted holidays. In a unit on culture the textbook gave the students a list of national holidays and a list of traditional celebrations.<sup>194</sup> It did this to remind students

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<sup>189</sup> Karen Spies, *Our National Holidays* (Brookfield, CN: The Millerbrook Press, 1992), 6.

<sup>190</sup> Leonard Martelli, Alma Graham, "Meeting People," *Our Nation, Our World*, Level 1 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1986), 112.

<sup>191</sup> Karen Spies, *Our National Holidays* (Brookfield, CN: The Millerbrook Press, 1992), back cover.

<sup>192</sup> Karen Spies, *Our National Holidays* (Brookfield, CN: The Millerbrook Press, 1992), 6.

<sup>193</sup> Roger M. Berg, *Social Studies*, Grade 5 (Glenview IL: Scott Foresman, 1979), 2-3.

<sup>194</sup> Jack Allen, "Americans," *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 63.

these days were part of a shared culture. The authors of the book wrote “You wear the same kinds of clothes and live in similar kinds of houses. You watch the same television shows and play the same games. You salute the same flag. You celebrate the same national holidays.”<sup>195</sup> Like the other books that talk about holidays this one played up the unifying nature of holidays. According to the teacher’s guide lesson forty-six titled “the United States as a World Power” was supposed to take 3-5 days to teach.<sup>196</sup> This was the longest lesson in chapter thirteen which looked at the second half of the twentieth century and included sections on “The Great Depression,” World War II, and “The Space Age.”<sup>197</sup> This lesson had a very strong theme of getting the students to connect with American History. Underlying this was the implied goal of getting them to connect their identity to American society at large. At the end of the lesson the teacher was supposed to lead students in discussions of historic monuments, the American presidents, and a two page pictorial spread focusing on the bicentennial celebration. About the celebration the authors tell the teachers to remind the students “it was like a giant, national birthday party that lasted for a year”<sup>198</sup> The book encouraged teachers to ask their students “Why do you suppose this was such an important event to Americans? Why might they have felt they had cause to celebrate? What feelings might they have had during this event?”<sup>199</sup> This reinforced the importance of the Fourth of July as a holiday but also reminded the students that many of the holidays we celebrated were tied to important moments from American history. By seeing

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<sup>195</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 62.

<sup>196</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 320.

<sup>197</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 308-31.

<sup>198</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 326.

<sup>199</sup> Jack Allen, “Americans,” *Teachers edition American Book Social Studies*, Grade 5 (New York: American Book Company, 1979), 326.



certain holidays in a book these holidays gain prominence in a readers mind. The authority of seeing something in writing lent an importance to these holidays, and while young readers themselves might not have recognized the importance of the selection or the descriptions that were contained in the book, however the readers could recognize the fact that these holidays were shown in a book, which meant the holidays must be important. Especially if the holidays in question were shown in multiple books and one of those books was a textbook. Because of this the readers would unconsciously give these holidays a higher level of prestige than other holidays.

The holiday calendar was always evolving; its celebration by the school system was one of the primary ways that society was introduced to the ever changing calendar, as well as what these holidays meant. “Merely by referring to these holidays so frequently, the elementary school undoubtedly plays a role in transmitting American civil religion. The constant reminder served to prime students for the arrival of the festive occasions, informing them of the cycle of holidays.”<sup>200</sup> Additionally the school system helped to reinforce the holiday’s importance because in the days leading up to a major holiday the curriculum focused on that holiday through the use of decorations and assignments.<sup>201</sup> Holidays had a complex relationship with the school systems, in that that school was not only for learning how to celebrate the holidays but also the cultural significance of the holidays. Holidays such as Presidents Day, Martian Luther King Jr. Day, Columbus Day, Labor Day, Independence Day, Memorial Day, and Thanksgiving all had cultural importance at one time to American society. The purpose of these holidays was the same. It was to commemorate an event and bring the community together. In other words, it was

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<sup>200</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 242.

<sup>201</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 241.

a way of creating a common framework that would stick with someone even if that person was no longer associated with the community or the celebration.

As stated earlier the ceremonial calendar continues to evolve and even when there was a diminishing importance of specific holidays to the educational system as a whole, it was the similarity in the observation of major holidays by schools, not specific holiday rituals, that was required to prove their importance to education.<sup>202</sup> This was demonstrated by the fact that not every district celebrated every holiday, and some districts celebrated holidays that were about local personas. Another problem was that the acceptance of the idea of “political correctness” which lessened the cultural significance of such holidays as Thanksgiving, Halloween, Christmas, Easter and Columbus Day within the social framework of most public schools. Some schools for example no longer have Christmas vacation but rather have a “winter break” as the dividing line between semesters. Others still have “Christmas parties.” No matter whether Christmas vacation or winter break the time period at the end of December and the beginning of January were still unifying, in that children around the country were receiving time off, even if the meaning was different. There was consistency within the break, in that during this time period a majority of children who were in school, were out of school for an extended period of time.<sup>203</sup> It was Gamoran’s contention that the similarity between how schools celebrated various holidays that was important to remember rather than the specific holiday itself.<sup>204</sup> What he was

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<sup>202</sup> What I mean by diminishing importance of specific holidays to the educational system as a whole is that not every school has the same calendar and promotes the same holidays. Therefore, some holidays have lost the level of prestige they previously held.

<sup>203</sup> While you should never assume absolute compliance, I would argue that almost all, probably less than one percent of the total number of school districts in the nation, were off during this period. While a massive and probably an impossible undertaking, it would be interesting to see a comparison of all school calendars to see where they match and the local adaptations to the calendars.

<sup>204</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 242-3.

saying in effect was the importance of these days was less in what they represented rather than as milestones in marking annual progress.

This helps us to understand why some holidays that fall outside of the school year were also seen as important. These holidays were sometimes used to bracket the academic year. Jack Santino points out that summer seems to be defined by holidays, and by civic ones at that. Rather than being a folk or religious celebration, these holidays were mainly “political and institutional in nature.”<sup>205</sup> One interesting thing to consider was the patriotic nature of these holidays. Flag Day and Independence Day typically fall outside the academic year with Memorial Day and Labor Day often used by many districts to either herald the start or end of the school year.<sup>206</sup>

The idea behind holiday celebrations was to create a sense of commonality. Holidays were designed to allow individuals to “experience something larger than themselves.”<sup>207</sup> This “something larger” was the “collective community in a disguised form.”<sup>208</sup> This idea of “collective community” enabled the participants’ sense of identity to connect with the larger societal identity.<sup>209</sup> By teaching both individual rituals and promoting the ceremonial calendar

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<sup>205</sup> Jack Santino, *All Around the Year: Holidays and Celebrations in American Life* (Urbana IL: University Illinois Press, 1994), 124: Santino stated that some holidays have taken on “some of the trappings of more traditional folk holidays” but the only summer holidays in the *Folklore of American Holidays* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition were the larger well known holidays such as Memorial day, Labor Day and of course the Fourth of July. *Folklore of American Holidays* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. Hennig Cohen and Tristen Potter Coffin (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1991).

<sup>206</sup> What was interesting to consider about these holidays was that with the exception of the Fourth of July, the other holidays were less well known. While the names and possibly the dates of the holiday might be known what they represent was less ingrained with the American public. Their removal from within the educational system means that the American population needs to learn about their importance from other sources. While Labor Day and Memorial Day might fall during the school year their location at either the beginning or the end of the year meant that there were other factors that eclipse learning about these holidays. In the case of Labor Day if the school year has already started it has only been for a relatively short period of time and the focus was establishing the larger structure of the year. For Memorial Day, if it was in a school districts academic year, it was as the year was quickly approaching an end and the focus was finishing up and completing those tasks that need to be completed. Independence Day is the exception to this rule in that it is the one summer holiday that has a significant recognition factor.

<sup>207</sup> Emile Durkheim quoted in Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspective and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 24.

<sup>208</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspective and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 24.

<sup>209</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspective and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 24; Gamoran discovered in his research that those subgroups of society who were unable to participate fully in the holiday

the school system taught the members of this cohort what was expected as they became full productive members of American society.

The elementary school system was an important socializing agent in that it introduced the members of this cohort to important individuals and rituals that supported their identification with the American identity. These two types of knowledge formed the foundation of the elementary school education received by this cohort. Because children in the elementary school system were at an impressionable age coupled with the nature of the education system, meant there was a shared set of beliefs that were created, and helped to create a commonality between the members of this cohort. This experience also helped to educate them into what it meant to be an American. The foundation built by their elementary education would be reinforced when the cohort experienced the nation's celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the Signing of the Declaration of Independence. The American Revolution Bicentennial celebration was another way to socialize the final Cold War generation. The Bicentennial built off of the foundation the members of this cohort were given during their early school years and would expand their knowledge especially in regards to American civil religious icons and rituals that were tied to the American Revolution.

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celebrations were more likely to feel disconnected from the school community. Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 238.

## CHAPTER 2: CELEBRATING AMERICA'S BIRTHDAY

As decades go the 1970s are the unappreciated child that does all the work but does not get any of the credit. It was an era that gets lost between the 1960s and 1980s, it was a decade that was not a full decade. Many argue that the 1960s did not end until 1973, though some push the date to 1974. Andreas Killen wrote that 1973 “marked the true end, too, of one of the most turbulent decades in American History, the Sixties.”<sup>1</sup> Edward Berkowitz argued that the formal decade of the 1970s “began during 1973.”<sup>2</sup> Some historians believed that the 1980s began as early as 1978 while others write that the decade started in 1979. According to Robert Collins “the era of the 1980s began on or about July 1979.”<sup>3</sup> With these calculations the 1970's became a decade that chronologically lasts at best six-years long and at worst four. The reason for this division, according to Dominic Sandbrook, was that “parceling up history into ten-year chunks [was a] journalistic trick” which “obscures as much as it illuminates the past.”<sup>4</sup> He further claimed that there “was more continuity between the 1960s and the 1970s, or the 1970s and the 1980s than we often remember.”<sup>5</sup> It was this continuity that allowed parts of the decade to be associated with the decades that bracketed it on either side.

However long the 1970s lasted, many were glad to see the decade end. “*New West* magazine in 1979 [urged] that the decade be ended right then- ‘one year early and not a moment too soon.’

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<sup>1</sup> Andreas Killen, *1973 Nervous Breakdown: Watergate, Warhol and the Birth of Post Sixties America* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Berkowitz, *Something Happened; A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Robert M. Collins, *Transforming America: Politics and Culture in the Reagan Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 21.

<sup>4</sup> Dominic Sandbrook, *Mad as Hell: The Crisis of the 1970s and the Rise of the Populist Right* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), xi.

<sup>5</sup> Dominic Sandbrook, *Mad as Hell: The Crisis of the 1970s and the Rise of the Populist Right* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), xi

‘Nobody’ agreed *Time*, ‘[was] apt to look back on the 1970s as the good old days.’”<sup>6</sup> By the 1990s the 1970s were seen as a “dismal mirror image of the” 1960s.<sup>7</sup> David Frum disagrees with that assessment. Not that the 1970s were problematic for American Society, but rather that the 1970s would better be forgotten and that they were unimportant to the shaping of the modern United States. Whatever chronological dates you attribute to the “decade” of the 1970s they were a period of change. The post-Watergate, post- Vietnam War, post- Kent State was a time of: disillusionment, uncertainty, distrust, and to quote Dominic Sandbrook, when the American population was *Mad as Hell*. The 1970s became, more than other periods in American history, an *Age of Fracture*.<sup>8</sup> This point in time was where Historian Daniel T. Rodgers and Political Scientist Robert Putnam saw American society pulling apart into its constituent components, no longer were external centripetal forces enough to contain the internal pressure found within society. The idea of individuality, the stress caused by a poor economic outlook, Watergate, America’s loss in Vietnam, and a string of political assassinations just before the decade, acted as centrifuge driving the various parts of society apart, as surely as a wedge will split a log.

Even as American society divided, certain aspects of culture contributed to a sense of uniformity. Television and the advent of the blockbuster meant that at least in popular culture American society was consuming the same media offerings. The mid-1970s also saw American society drawn together as the United States prepared to celebrate the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the its founding. The American Bicentennial occurred at a fortuitous time. In an age where a cohesive American identity was starting to fray, the Bicentennial provided a common framework that

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<sup>6</sup> Peter Carroll, *It Seemed like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970's* (New Brunswick NJ; Rutgers University Press, 1990), xiii.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Carroll, *It Seemed like Nothing Happened: America in the 1970's* (New Brunswick NJ; Rutgers University Press, 1990), ix.

<sup>8</sup> That is the title of Daniel T. Rodgers book. (Daniel T. Rodgers, *The Age of Fracture* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press Harvard University Press, 2011).)

could be used to rebuild a common, unified identity. “The approach of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution provoked grandiose schemes and frenetic activity designed to celebrate this singular event in the life of the nation.”<sup>9</sup> The Bicentennial celebration was an example of what Barry Schwartz meant when he said, “Cris[es] provide nations with strong incentives for invoking the past.”<sup>10</sup> Not only did the celebration provide a connection to the past, it was also another way this cohort could be socialized into what it meant to be American. According to historian John Bodnar the celebration was a way of marking the “end to a period of social unrest and dissent and a renewal of American consensus and patriotism.”<sup>11</sup>

The final Cold War generation grew up understanding the importance of the American Revolution and the founding generation. Whether hearing about the mythic nature of the founders or having their significance reinforced by the education system, this cohort was socialized to the important ideas associated with what it meant to be American by repeated exposure to American civil religious icons. An additional way the cohort was able to connect to the founding of the country was by celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. If the “The Fourth of July was the greatest patriotic holiday of the American Year,”<sup>12</sup> then the two hundredth anniversary was the perfect way to not only remind the cohort of how exceptional the United States was, but also reinforced the idea of a unified and cohesive *us*. In the *us vs. them* binary a strong and united *us* was needed to fight and hold off the *them*. The Bicentennial thus became a way of introducing the final Cold War

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<sup>9</sup> George G. Suggs Jr. ed., *Perspectives on the American Revolution: A Bicentennial Contribution*, published for Southeast Missouri State University (Carbondale IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), ix.

<sup>10</sup> Barry Schwartz, “Memory as a Cultural System: Abraham Lincoln in World War II,” *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (October, 1996): 908,

<sup>11</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 227

<sup>12</sup> Robert J. Myers with the editors of Hallmark Cards, *Celebration: A Complete Book of American Holidays* (Garden City NY: Doubleday & Company, 1972), 188.

generation cohort to the rhetoric of the *us vs. them* binary, by playing up the *us* side of the equation.

The Bicentennial was not just a way to socialize the cohort but rather the entirety of the American population. A society divided by internal strife lacked the strength to fend off the threat posed by an outside enemy. One way the celebration worked to promote the *us* part of the equation, and create a cohesiveness of fending off threats, was by playing up the exceptional nature of the country's founding. The Bicentennial accomplished this in three ways, the celebration itself, through individual events, and through commercial endeavors associated with the celebration. The celebration as a whole would achieve this by "solemnize[ing] loyalty" to the idea of the American way of life, an idea supported at the highest levels of government.<sup>13</sup> One of the underlying subtexts of the celebration was that only by working together were Americans able to defeat a common enemy. Even before the celebration began the American population was told it needed to come together, in a radio address to the American people President Nixon told listeners "The Bicentennial offers us a unique opportunity ... A chance to rekindle the spirit that in 200 years built 13 small dependent colonies into the strongest nation in the world." Nixon finished his speech on the Bicentennial reminding listeners "We can build a future in which a hundred years from now another generation of Americans ... can look back with pride on a time when our generation insured for them a world of peace, a nation healthy and free, and a national heritage which will be a sound foundation for even greater progress."<sup>14</sup> This message from the president of the United States was designed to encourage Americans to support the idea that the divisiveness of the 1960s was over and it was time to work together to unify the country.

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<sup>13</sup> John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 227

<sup>14</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 4. (Washington D.C : American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 25,31



Unspoken in this message was the idea that only by the American population coming together could the country continue to maintain its dominant position in the global hierarchy. According to the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration's final report the "most important Bicentennial undertaking" was to "bring dissidents, as well as neighbors and friends together in common purpose."<sup>15</sup> This meant the various events designed to celebrate the Bicentennial should be planned to create an environment that would not only encourage unity, patriotism, and a link to the founding period but would also promote an association with the American way of life. Nixon pointed to Dorset, Vermont a town of 300 people and the city of Detroit as two examples of communities that would "make our 200<sup>th</sup> birthday as a Nation the most moving, most representative and most enjoyable celebration in American history."<sup>16</sup> These two were examples of how dissimilar areas, representative of dissimilar population segments, could overcome their differences and make a better celebration, and thereby a better stronger America.

As early as 1957 plans were being made in some cities about how to celebrate this auspicious anniversary.<sup>17</sup> However it was not until almost a decade later that the federal government would sanction the creation of a committee to plan the celebration. On July 4, 1966 President Johnson signed legislation that created the American Revolution Bicentennial commission (ARBC) whose prime directive was to create a national celebration.<sup>18</sup> The ARBC would be the driving force behind the celebration until 1973, when it was dissolved and replaced by the American

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<sup>15</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 11.

<sup>16</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 4. (Washington D.C : American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 31

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Capozzola, "It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country," in *America in the 70s*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber, (Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 31.

<sup>18</sup> Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, Public Law 491, 89<sup>th</sup> Cong. (July 4, 1966); American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 58.

Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA).<sup>19</sup> Like other early 1970s institutions the ARBC was the target of public mistrust, either due to the failure of the country to reach its “revolutionary potential,” or that the planned celebration reinforced the status quo.<sup>20</sup> In response to criticisms that the ARBC was bloated, ineffective and unresponsive, Congress created the ARBA. This new entity was overseen by an Administrator and Deputy Administrator both appointed by the President.<sup>21</sup> The man chosen to lead the ARBA was John W. Warner.<sup>22</sup>

From the very outset of his tenure Warner recognized the importance of the sacred documents to the country these documents not only reinforced belief in the country but because

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<sup>19</sup> Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 698 ; For a more detailed history of why the ARBC was replaced see Chapter 1 “It’s a Party” in *Fanning the Flames of Patriotism: The American Bicentennial Celebration* ; Steven Bellavia, “Fanning the Flames of Patriotism: The American Bicentennial Celebration,” (master’s thesis, Emporia State University, 2014), <https://esirc.emporia.edu/bitstream/handle/123456789/3293/bellavia%20thesis.pdf?sequence=1>, (Accessed April 17, 2016), 7-12.

<sup>20</sup> Tammy Gordon, *The Spirit of 1976: Commerce, Community and the Politics of Commemoration* (Amherst MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 2.

<sup>21</sup> Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 698; Helping these two individuals was a twenty-five-member American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Council (ARBAC) also appointed by the President. The unpaid position would meet at minimum once every two months, to “render advice to the administrator on all matters relating to” the creation of a Bicentennial celebration. ( Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 699) The American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Council included such notable people as Maya Angelou, James Michener, and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. (American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Speakers’ Manual*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 46) The law creating the ARBA also established The American Revolution Bicentennial Board (ARBB), which consisted of eleven members: two Senators, two members of the House of Representatives, the administrator of the ARBA, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the American Revolution Bicentennial Council, the Secretary of the Interior, and three members from state Bicentennial commissions. (Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 702; American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Speakers’ Manual*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 3, 46) The American Revolution Bicentennial Board was the governing body of the ARBA. Its purpose was to “establish and review basic policy and guidelines with advice and information received from Council and Administrator,” to “review and approve budgets,” “give final approval for grants,” and to “submit the final report,” among other tasks. (American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Speakers’ Manual*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 3)

<sup>22</sup> Warner was the Secretary of the Navy. Warner was sworn in as Administrator on April 11, 1974 after being appointed by the President and “confirmed unanimously by the Senate.” Warner’s resume made him the perfect man for the job. Serving in both the Navy and Marine Corps before going on to a distinguished career as both the Under Secretary and Secretary of the Navy. While working for the Navy Secretariat Warner was involved multiple diplomatic discussions which earned him the Department of Defense’s Distinguished Public Service Medal. Warner also held a law degree from the University of Virginia. (American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Speakers’ Manual*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 14)

of the importance most Americans placed on them, they could form a way to connect the various segments of society together. From the very beginning Warner espoused what became the guiding principles of the ARBA.

“This country is cradled by three great instruments — the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights — and I perceive from every corner of our Nation a longing by our citizens to rediscover, reassert, and rally to the great beliefs, traditions, and ideals of our American democracy, embraced within these instruments.”<sup>23</sup>

These remarks, made by Warner at his swearing in ceremony, demonstrated where Warner believed the celebration needed to go. As he continued his speech he stated that he believed that for the celebration to be a success it need to include a “large number of participants”<sup>24</sup> Because of this belief Warner and the ARBA, the guiding influence behind the celebration, saw the celebration to its completion, but it was very different from the celebration planned by the ARBC.<sup>25</sup> Gone was the large centralized celebration the ARBC had envisioned, instead the ARBA, under the direction of John W. Warner, planned to distribute the celebration “as evenly as possible across the 50 states, territories, the commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia.”<sup>26</sup> The changes in how the Bicentennial was celebrated resulted in an event that was better able to socialize a larger portion of the American public. Although the idea of a diverse

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<sup>23</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Speakers' Manual* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 14-5.

<sup>24</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Speakers' Manual* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 15.

<sup>25</sup> The first change was the duration of the celebration. Under the new guidelines creating the ARBA the celebration was now planned to end on December 31, 1976, with a final report to congress required by June 30, 1977. (Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 701) Removing six and a half years from the mandate of the ARBC.( Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, Public Law 491, 89<sup>th</sup> Cong. (July 4, 1966); Although the President could transfer to the Secretary of the Interior “such powers and functions deemed necessary for the continuation of appropriate commemoration of events relating to the American Revolution until December 31, 1983.” Allowing for the celebration to continue even if it was a more muted celebration. Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 701.)

<sup>26</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 5. (Washington D.C : American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 33, 37

celebration that celebrated individuality seemed at odds to creating unity, especially when compared to a large centralized celebration, this was not true. The idea of individuality was a fundamental belief in American society. Since the inception of the country, when thirteen individual colonies joined together to defeat the militarily superior British Empire, Americans had a sense of commonality in each pursuing their rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as they understood it. From the beginning of the country the *us* was stronger as a whole because each individual supported the country in their own unique way, an idea reinforced by the Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, “Uniqueness is a key characteristic of our democracy. From its inception to present day, America has been unique because of its assimilation of diversity in unity.”<sup>27</sup> This celebration of diversity was what the ARBA was trying to do with its version of the Bicentennial celebration. The importance of this concept to the Bicentennial celebration was reinforced when the head of the ARBA, John Warner, stated, “Our Country is richly diverse... Each Bicentennial activity is growing out of its own soil and the hearts and minds of its own people.”<sup>28</sup> Warner’s statement reinforced a point previously made by President Nixon when he said, “Each group, each community [was] free to set and achieve its own goals, ranging from the most serious and enduring to the most lighthearted and temporary.”<sup>29</sup> These statements spoke to the ARBA’s belief that each individual event was connected to each other and built off the others to create a common framework that supported patriotism and belief in the country. The ARBA was trying to tap into the idea that if each individual community planned a celebration that was good for them, then the entire celebration

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<sup>27</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 11.

<sup>28</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

<sup>29</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 4 (Washington D.C: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 31.

would be a success.<sup>30</sup> The national celebration would be greater than the sum of its parts. It was Warner's contention in his welcome on the ARBA's pamphlet *Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial*, that "to be fully participatory, the Bicentennial must be national. It [was] thousands of projects, programs and events from one end of the nation to the other."<sup>31</sup> With the message's inclusion in official Bicentennial material the belief that each state, town or municipality knew better what its citizens needed became doctrine. The success of the celebration meant that even if someone only attended events that were local to them, they could recognize that they were part of the United States and part of the larger *us*, which was crucial for the success of the Cold War fight.

One way to reinforce this common framework was demonstrated by utilizing common themes in the various events, programs, and projects. Even though the style of celebration was different, Warner and the ARBA were mandated by the public law that created the ARBA to utilize the foundation the ARBC had created.<sup>32</sup> The celebration would consist of three themes, initially developed by the ARBC, and to which the local celebrations would tie to. The ARBC and later ARBA utilized the "themes of 'Heritage 76', 'Festival USA', and 'Horizons '76'," as a way of creating consistency between each community's celebrations.<sup>33</sup> Each of these themes also worked in its own way to reinforce the *us* portion of the *us vs. them* binary through either playing

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<sup>30</sup> The idea of, a celebration by the people and for the people, became the driving force behind the ARBA's celebration, and was often espoused by Warner when talking to American citizens. Even going so far as to state "the Bicentennial celebration truly belongs to the people, not his Washington-based administration, or proponents of huge, highly commercialized fairs or expos." (Michael Seiler, "Bicentennial by the People, For the People" *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1974.)

<sup>31</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, "Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial," (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

<sup>32</sup> Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 700.

<sup>33</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, "Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial," (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

up the idea of American exceptionalism or by demonstrating that the various facets of American society had more in common with each other than they thought.

Of the three themes promoted throughout the celebration “Heritage 76” was the one that was designed to connect the participants to the founding period, playing up the idea of a shared history, and worked the best to socialize the population to the idea of American exceptionalism. This was considered by many people the most important of the three themes. “The recollection of our heritage is an appropriate and necessary aspect of the commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.”<sup>34</sup> This quote was part of a sourcebook distributed to Ohio teachers “designed to build motivation of our two hundredth anniversary as a free nation.”<sup>35</sup> In effect the teachers of Ohio were to use the buildup to the celebration to create better and more patriotic citizens of their students, an idea that tied nicely to the stated goals of the “Heritage 76” theme. The goal of this theme was “to remember our form of Government, our founding fathers, our forgotten people, the places and things of our past, the events of our past and most important, our freedoms.”<sup>36</sup> In essence the idea was to create a common understanding of what it meant to be an American. “Heritage 76” was the most prominent of the themes and the one that was seen throughout all aspects of the celebration. Images of the founding fathers and other iconic founding events were centerpieces of local Bicentennial celebrations. As such the “Heritage 76” theme was the one that fostered a sense of unity throughout the population and the cohort. One way “Heritage 76” accomplished this was through the promotion of certain iconic American civil religious icons. These iconic images were found on promotional materials at both the state and

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<sup>34</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), Forward.

<sup>36</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

federal level which reinforced the connection to the “Heritage 76” theme. The state of Ohio utilized “one of fourteen versions” of Archibald Willard’s “Spirit of ’76,” for the cover of the *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook for Ohio Schools*.<sup>37</sup> The sourcebook as discussed earlier, gave teachers suggestions on how to promote the Bicentennial themes and “reach new heights of citizen attainments.”<sup>38</sup> The brochure for the traveling exhibit, *The World of Franklin and Jefferson*, was an example of a federally supported event, the front page contained images of these two important founding fathers.<sup>39</sup> These men’s importance was reinforced on the back of the brochure where it was written “Franklin and Jefferson more than any others helped to transform their world... between them they provided the model and impetus, for much that was attempted in the next hundred years.”<sup>40</sup> Even so the brochure made sure to point out that neither Franklin nor Jefferson was “an isolated hero. Both were part of a network of energetic, informed and versatile people, who acted on the assumption that society was what they made of it.”<sup>41</sup> The message was clear, that even the great men of history had to be part of a likeminded group, the underlying message was that by pulling together this group was able to overcome adversity and defeat its enemies.

A second way the “Heritage 76” theme worked to reinforce American unity was to bring the American population together and to make America’s third century better.<sup>42</sup> In the introduction

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<sup>37</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), Front cover, Acknowledgements.

<sup>38</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), Foreword.

<sup>39</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “*The World of Franklin and Jefferson*,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), Front cover.

<sup>40</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “*The World of Franklin and Jefferson*,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), Back cover.

<sup>41</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “*The World of Franklin and Jefferson*,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, n.d.), n.p.

<sup>42</sup> At the state level, the “Heritage 76” theme was demonstrated in many ways and took various forms. The ARBA identified thirty-one different methods of presentation. According to ARBA records there were 1334 Projects and 338 events under the “Heritage 76” theme. (American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints,

of *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook for Ohio Schools*, Ohio teachers were reminded that “the American Revolution [was] fought by patriots to assure that people are masters of their own destinies.”<sup>43</sup> This statement highlighted individual pursuits over the group, however the unspoken idea behind the statement was that the United States was better for this individuality, each individual formed a pillar that would support the ideals of the United States. The *Sourcebook* goes on to say that “Heritage 76” was “a summons to learn what made our nation great and stimulate pride in the development and achievements of the country’s first 200 years.”<sup>44</sup> Here the book reminded the reader of the importance of a shared history, an important foundation for the creation and acceptance of a common identity. After giving a brief historical narrative the book reminds the reader “patriotism is an essential ingredient of our heritage. The meaning of patriotism was manifest in the lives of the founders of the nation.”<sup>45</sup> The idea behind this was to instruct the students, in this case the members of the final Cold War generation, about how important belief in the country and the founding fathers was; an important part of socializing the cohort. By playing up the sense of nationalistic pride it also created another way of connecting people to one another, it didn’t matter if the person hearing this was from the east or west side of Ohio, or even the East or West coast, they could identify with one another as Americans.

No country exists without experiencing pushback against the government and those that rule the nation. The United States was no exception, as demonstrated by the turbulence of the 1960s

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*Bicentennial Times*, vol. 2 no. 2 (Washington D.C: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 112.)

<sup>43</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), Introduction.

<sup>44</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), Introduction.

<sup>45</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 4.



and early 1970s, one program that was officially sanctioned by the ARBA, and was part of the Heritage 76 theme was the “*American Issues Forum*.”<sup>46</sup> The goal of this program was to arrange for the “entire population of the country [engaged] in a serious exploration of some of the issues that were fundamental to our American people.”<sup>47</sup> The issues discussed in these forums were ones “that [had] affected American life from the beginning, that affect it today, and will surely affect it for generations to come.”<sup>48</sup> The idea behind this project was that even though there was division between segments of the population, by bringing the various parts together in conversation the forum would build a bridge that allowed participants to “find the continuity of [their] experience, a sense of [their] tradition[s], to affirm and renew” a sense of what it meant to be Americans.<sup>49</sup> Because of the nature of the project, the cover for the program material stayed away from iconic representations of people and places, but instead utilized the colors of the flag.<sup>50</sup> The forum was composed of “nine separate issues for discussion, subdivided into 36 weekly topics, [which] were assigned to a calendar running from September, 1975 through May, 1976.”<sup>51</sup> The front cover of the calendar reminds the reader of what the Bicentennial was trying to do with the headline, “Our 200 years: tradition and renewal.”<sup>52</sup> Additionally the program made a connection between the American populations of the twentieth century and the founding

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<sup>46</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 8.

<sup>47</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “American Issues Forum: A National Bicentennial Project,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), Inside Front cover.

<sup>48</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “American Issues Forum: A National Bicentennial Project,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), inside Front cover.

<sup>49</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *American Issues Forum: A National Bicentennial Project* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

<sup>50</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *American Issues Forum: A National Bicentennial Project*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), front cover.

<sup>51</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 8; American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *American Issues Forum: A National Bicentennial Project*, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975, n.p.

<sup>52</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “American Issues Forum: A National Bicentennial Project,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), Front cover.

period, which reinforced the idea that as Americans there was not only a common history, but even if there were problems the various segments of the population were also kindred spirits. Projects under the “Heritage 76” theme worked to reconnect the American population, and the members of the final Cold War generation to the founding period and to each other through a shared sense of history, traditions, and icons. It was the most pervasive of the three themes that made up the Bicentennial celebration and was the most explicit in its purpose to bring the citizens of the United States together in common cause.

The second theme the ARBC planned for the celebration was originally known as “Open House USA”<sup>53</sup> and would later be utilized by the ARBA as “Festival USA.” Of the three themes “Festival USA” was the one that came the closest to the original celebration envisioned by the ARBC. The ARBA stated the idea behind this theme was to celebrate the “diverse background and cultures, the dynamic energy of our performing and visual arts, and the vital character of our many landscapes.”<sup>54</sup> Promotional material put it in terms that the average American citizen could understand. “Through ‘Festival USA’ we celebrate the richness of our diversity, the vitality of our culture, our hospitality, the American scene and the traditions of our people.”<sup>55</sup> While this theme mainly focused on “events and programs in the dance, drama, music and arts,”<sup>56</sup> it could also include “parades, athletic events and a renewed spirit of hospitality to both domestic and international travelers.”<sup>57</sup> *The American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook for Ohio Schools*

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<sup>53</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 146.

<sup>54</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 10.

<sup>55</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

<sup>56</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

<sup>57</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

simplified it even further as its description of the theme was “A program to encourage planned events...so that citizens will expand their knowledge and appreciation of their country.”<sup>58</sup> The theme was meant to be broad to allow the inclusion of numerous types of celebrations and to allow American citizens to reconnect with their personal roots.<sup>59</sup>

Unlike the “Heritage 76” theme which promoted a common background, “Festival USA” promoted the differences that made American society stronger. The idea behind “Festival USA” was to teach the population, and the cohort, that the United States was a place where various cultures came together and that these differences did not weaken society, but rather made it stronger. It was the Bicentennial manifestation of the melting pot myth. Because there were numerous unique cultures found within American society they contributed to the stability of society. This meant that each of these cultures formed an anchor point that supported the foundation of what it meant to be an American. Since there were numerous points of connection, stress was distributed over the whole, rather than at one or two points because no one point had too much stress placed on it the overall structure was considered more stable and less likely to fail. In essence all those unique cultures came together and made the United States a better place, essentially the nation was better than the sum of its parts, because of the diversity within the population.

While other themes were seen as happening at the local level, this theme was seen as primarily occurring at the national level.<sup>60</sup> The reason for this interpretation was due to the

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<sup>58</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), Introduction.

<sup>59</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 146.

<sup>60</sup> The “Festival of American Folklife” which was made possible by “grants to the Smithsonian Institution” was one of the “major” events in this theme. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 10) The Washington D.C. event would consist of “performing artists and craftsmen from more than 30 countries.” Located on the Mall, the participants would be part of the “Old Ways in the New World” exhibit. Other

theme's focus on *us* as a whole. Where "Heritage 76" looked at the micro level, the individual's connection to the concept of *us*, "Festival USA" looked at the macro level and examined *us* as a whole unit. One result of this macro level examination was that the *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook for Ohio Schools* section on this theme was the shortest of the three, and focused on six national events under the heading "Festival USA"<sup>61</sup> Even the "Festival Ohio" section was short in that it consisted of only three brief paragraphs and did not list any specific events.<sup>62</sup> One reason for this was that since Ohio was not one of the thirteen original colonies "Not many Buckeyes [could] trace their lineage back to the Ohio country 200 years ago."<sup>63</sup> Even so, a later portion of the brochure "indicate[d] [a] wealth of learning material in our state's past."<sup>64</sup> Ohio students would learn that even though they were not part of the county on that fateful July day, their history and the contributions of other Ohioans helped shape the idea of

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performers who would go on to travel around the country would join the initial 30 participants.<sup>60</sup> The ARBA reported to congress "36 international groups [would] tour approximately 90 cities in more than 40 states." (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, "Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179" vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 11) Another event that fell under the auspices of "Festival USA" was the *Bicentennial Parade of American Music*. The event was at "the John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts" and featured "performing groups from every state in the nation" (American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 151) The 52 performances would occur during the approximately eighteen-month period from May 7, 1975 to December 31, 1976. Each state performance would occur in the order that the state entered the union. (National Music Council (U.S.), and National Federation of Music Clubs, *The Bicentennial Parade of American Music: May 7, 1975-December 31, 1976*, (New York: The Council, 1977), n.d., n.p.; Donald Sanders, "50 States will Stage Concert Series," *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 1975.) While this was the primary goal of the *Parade*, it also aimed to record and broadcast a series of performances by other composers in each state to increase the exposure to their music, and to commemorate with bronze plaques sites of "historical significance to our musical heritage." The *Parade* was promoted as a celebration of the "progress made by the nation in the cultural arts during the last 200 years... and the patriotic recognition of this fact." (National Music Council (U.S.), and National Federation of Music Clubs, *The Bicentennial Parade of American Music: May 7, 1975-December 31, 1976*, (New York: The Council, 1977), n.d., n.p)

<sup>61</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 10.

<sup>62</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 10.

<sup>63</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 10.

<sup>64</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 10.

what it meant to be an American.<sup>65</sup> They too were an integral part of the *us*, which made up American society, and helped protect the world for democracy. “Festival USA” played up the differences found in American society, but rather than seeing this diversity as a weakness it became a point of strength. Because the United States had this cultural diversity and celebrated it, the nation was unique. It was not a nation made up of faceless, interchangeable citizens, but rather it was a nation that took the best of what each supporting culture had to offer and improved society as a whole. The ability to recognize this and continue to do this as America entered its third century of existence demonstrated the exceptional nature of the country, to constantly adapt and improve on what came before.

The final theme of the celebration was “Horizons ’76.” Of the three themes this was the most forward looking. “Horizons ’76” was “the future oriented theme. ... It provide[d] an opportunity for Americans to celebrate the past by looking to and planning for America’s third century”<sup>66</sup> Making “Horizons ’76” the opposite of the backward looking “Heritage 76,” yet “Horizons ’76” was still seen as connected to the American way of life.<sup>67</sup> “Horizons ’76” was also different from “Festival USA” where the latter was seen by some as a national program, “Horizons ’76”

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<sup>65</sup> Even though the Ohio board of education did not consider “Festival USA” a local theme others around the country did and the theme played out in events such as the annual “*Tournament of Roses Parade*, which had a Bicentennial theme.” The parade was a “two hour floral extravaganza saluting the nation’s 200<sup>th</sup> birthday... Highlighting the parade was a special Bicentennial ‘prologue’ including colonial color guard and a Revolutionary War fife and drum corp.” (American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 165)

<sup>66</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 12.

<sup>67</sup> The ARBA connected this forward-looking theme to the past by connecting it to the frontiersmen alive during the time of manifest destiny. It was their contention that because the frontiersman worked the land and improved it they “came to love the land because something of themselves had gone into it, and made it better.” They saw the commitment of the frontiersmen to improve the nation as comparable to the signers of the Declaration of Independence stating “personal commitment of 56 incredibly brave men who two centuries ago risked” everything to establish *this great* [italics added] nation. (Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 11.)

was seen as more of a state or local program. While there was federal oversight and support for “Horizons ‘76” projects, the driving force behind this theme was to bring the citizens of the local community together to solve local problems. Of the projects and events identified by the *Bicentennial Times* none were on a national scale, and few had national relevance.<sup>68</sup> Of the three themes “Horizons ‘76” was the one that implied the most active participation of the celebrants. What was meant by this was that participants in this theme were expected to be active participants in solving problems. Because there was an expectation that the American public would be active participants, there were more brochures printed dealing with this theme. According to the *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People*, this theme was a result of a challenge by the Mayor of Salina Kansas who said “come up with a program that somebody will give a damn about in 50 years.”<sup>69</sup> Of the three themes “Horizons ‘76” was the one that connected to the *us vs. them* binary mentality the least explicitly. “The theme encourages citizen to improve the quality of life by planning and participating in the projects which address the ten Horizons action areas.”<sup>70</sup> While not directly connected to the creation of an *us*, the unspoken idea behind “Horizons ‘76” was that by participating in this theme and making society better, the United States would be stronger and thus better able to continue the Cold War fight. “Horizons ‘76” had ten action areas for citizen involvement that worked to improve and strengthen the country.<sup>71</sup> Problem solving was at the heart of the “Horizons ‘76” theme. By

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<sup>68</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 3, February 1976 (Washington, DC: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 242, 252.

<sup>69</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 170.

<sup>70</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 12.

<sup>71</sup> The action areas were “Citizen Involvement, Communications, Community Development, Economic Development, Environment, Health, Human Values and Understanding, Learning, Leisure, and Transportation.” (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 12)

identifying the problem and how the needs of a section of the community were under served those projects that addressed these issues fulfilled the mandate of the “Horizons ‘76” theme.<sup>72</sup> The ARBA “regard[ed] Horizon ’76 as a nationwide challenge to every American, acting individually or with others to undertake at least one principle project which manifests the pride, the priorities and hopes of the community.”<sup>73</sup> Which hopefully meant the resultant projects would satisfy the Salina Mayor and cause someone to give a damn at some future date. The ARBA believed that overall the American people were supportive of “Horizons ‘76” and what it was trying to accomplish, stating that the population’s response was “positive and sustained.”<sup>74</sup> It was the belief of the ARBA representatives that the high number of projects, an increase in conversation among the general population as well as scholars, and more active citizen involvement in the affairs of community and government,” demonstrated public support for the theme.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> How to meet this challenge was conveyed in a series of brochures that corresponded to each of the action areas. A series of papers titled *Challenge/Response Part of the Continuing American Revolution*, examined all ten action areas, the papers were sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). In the challenge part of the papers, the authors explored how problems in modern society that corresponded to the topic under discussion manifested. The authors of the pamphlets did not just list the woes of society but in the response sections addressed the concerns raised in the first by demonstrating various communities that had overcome the problems listed in the challenge section. All of the papers concluded by giving a summary of the topic that was worded similarly in each of the papers, followed by a list of questions for the community to ask itself. These questions were usually phrased in such a way to identify if the needs of its members were being addressed, or if there was a section of the population that was being underserved. (Department of Housing and Urban Development, “Leisure” *Challenge/Response Part of the Continuing American Revolution*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, September 1976), 21-2.) The challenge response series played up the idea that revolutionary thinking was what created the country and it was what was needed to get the country through the rough period it was experiencing.

<sup>73</sup> Ohio Division of Educational Redesign and Renewal, *American Revolution Bicentennial Sourcebook of Ohio Schools*, (Columbus OH: Ohio Department of Education, 1975), 11.

<sup>74</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 12.

<sup>75</sup> The *Second Report to Congress* pointed out that “approximately 33%” of the 230 recognized projects fell under the “Horizons ‘76” theme. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 13.) They also pointed to a high demand for the *Horizon ’76 Ideabook*, a demand that was so high it required a second printing, after its initial 13,000 copy first run was exhausted. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 13.) According to Warner’s welcome in the book the theme allowed “for all citizens to participate and to interject their own ideas in shaping the future of their community and nation.” (American Bicentennial

Warner and the ARBA believed the Bicentennial could bring the nation together, that the three themes: “Heritage 76”, “Festival USA”, and “Horizons ‘76” could heal the wounds of the mid to late 1960s and early 1970s. A belief that was borne out when one Peorian said, it (the Bicentennial celebration) made “you want to believe in the country.”<sup>76</sup> This belief was a benefit of the celebration, its themes, and the publications promoting it. An additional benefit, was that these things had a socializing effect on the population at large. Since the members of the final Cold War generation were between the ages of six and eleven the pomp surrounding the celebration helped to prime this cohort to look more favorably on the country, and what it meant to be an American. Because of their ages the members of the cohort were also socialized in the importance of the Bicentennial celebration through school, which had the cumulative effect of giving the actual celebration even more power to socialize the cohort.<sup>77</sup>

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Revolution Administration, “Horizons ’76 Ideabook,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), n.p.) It was designed to not only motivate people to start on their own projects, but was important for reinforcing the American ideal of individuality as communities refined these starting points to better fit their community’s need. The *Ideabook* consisted of 24 “Horizons ‘76” projects that could be examples to other communities. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Horizons ’76 Ideabook,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 4-19.) The book also provided contact information to twenty-two programs that were officially recognized as “Horizons ‘76” projects. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Horizons ’76 Ideabook,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 20-3.) ; While the ARBA told Congress that “background papers on each of the ten Horizon ’76 action areas” were created to help the popular discussion. Scholarly discussions were also occurring in various disciplines and across higher education campuses. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 14); American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 15.

<sup>76</sup> Christopher Capozzola, “It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country,” in *America in the 70s*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber, (Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 30.

<sup>77</sup> Those involved in the education of this cohort and the younger American generations, explored the Bicentennial in two ways. The first was an examination of how to teach the American Revolution. “The Bicentennial year should be especially exciting for social studies education,”<sup>77</sup> according to James P. Shaver, President of the National Council for the Social Studies. Shaver believed that the exposure by mass media and even the commercialism associated with the celebration “should help generate student interest in American history.” (Carl Ubbelohde and Jack R. Fraenkel eds., *Values of the American Heritage: Challenges, Case Studies, and Teaching Strategies*, Arlington VA: National Council for the Social Studies, 1976, vi) If Shaver’s enthusiasm was not enough the introduction of *Values of the American Heritage: Challenges, Case Studies, and Teaching Strategies*, stated, “It is an appropriate enterprise in the Bicentennial year for those whose professional responsibility include instruction about American society to explore the concepts and assumptions of the Revolutionary generation.” (Carl Ubbelohde and Jack R. Fraenkel eds., *Values of the American Heritage: Challenges, Case Studies, and Teaching Strategies*, Arlington VA: National Council for the Social Studies, 1976, 2.) The second way those in



While the celebration itself was designed to socialize every member of society by making them more patriotic and supportive of the country, certain events and projects, worked to socialize the viewers more than others. While some Bicentennial offerings were aimed at the country as a whole others were geared towards specific population demographics. The members of the final Cold War generation cohort, were children during the Bicentennial, and as such they were exposed to the idea of the *us vs. them* binary through both the celebration itself and specific events. Accompanying Warner's early call for individualized programs was his belief that businessmen and corporations should step up and take part in helping the nation to celebrate, thereby offsetting the cost to the public by footing some the bill for the celebration.<sup>78</sup> Warner's believed that "The private sector [had] not only a responsibility but an obligation to take part in the national observance to show respect and appreciation for what has happened in our country over the last 200 years."<sup>79</sup> Warner's plan would eventually work. According to the ARBA's, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People*, \$38.9 million was contributed by 241 companies in support of its official programs.<sup>80</sup> These events created multiple ways for the attendees to create a sense of unity. The first way was by creating a connection with those in attendance at the event. By attending an event a sense of commonality was created and provided a framework with which to create an in-group; in essence a mini *us* group.

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the discipline of education explored the Bicentennial was an examination of their profession. One examination was *The American Teacher 1776-1976*, whose introduction stated simply, "In this year of the bicentennial it is particularly appropriate for teachers to reacquaint themselves with their historical colleagues." (Johanna Lemlech and Merle B. Marks, *The American Teacher 1776-1976* (Bloomington IN: The Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976), 7.)

<sup>78</sup> Michael Seiler, "Bicentennial by the People, For the People" *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1974.

<sup>79</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 7 (Washington D.C: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 49.

<sup>80</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Bicentennial of the United States: A Final Report to the People* vol. 1 (Washington D.C: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 253; Capozzola, "It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country," 33.

This was the case for the attendees of Disney's "America on Parade."<sup>81</sup> Disney's production was an example of a localized event that had national appeal. While the target demographic was the younger portion of the American population, including the final Cold War generation, it also spoke to the young at heart. "America on Parade" was "a celebration – a grand pageant honoring the United States of America."<sup>82</sup> Historian Mike Wallace said "it is possible that Walt Disney has taught people more History, in a more memorable way, than they ever learned in school."<sup>83</sup> Wallace was referring to the concept of "Edu-tainment" which he believed was what occurred when "entertainment [was] defined not merely as providing amusement, but generating absorbing interest."<sup>84</sup> Wallace built off of Cindy S. Aron's work when she stated "education and entertainment are not necessarily in conflict, but rather the two lie along a continuum. The challenge, those who hold this opinion maintain, rests in finding ways to make the process of entertaining, and the process of educating reciprocal and mutually reinforcing."<sup>85</sup> It was Wallace's contention that Disney's parks did this because, "At Disneyland in California and Disney World in Florida, the past [was] powerfully evoked for visitors."<sup>86</sup> Disney's bicentennial

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<sup>81</sup> The pageant ran for fifteen months from "June 1975 and September 1976," identical parades would be run at both parks, and were scheduled to have more than 1,200 separate performances. (David Jacobs, *Disney's America on Parade: A History of the U.S.A. in Dazzling Fun Filled Pageant*, New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1975, 7; James T. Wooten "Disney Will Join in Bicentennial," *The New York Times*, February 19, 1975) The approximately thirty-minute parade ran down Main Street and into Frontierland. Beginning on July 4, 1976 and running for the next year the parade would feature a band from one of the states, Puerto Rico, or Washington, DC. The parade began with Washington D.C. and then played in the order the states were admitted to the union. (Jay Clarke, "New Disney World Parade," *Chicago Tribune*, June 8, 1975)

<sup>82</sup> David Jacobs, *Disney's America on Parade: A History of the U.S.A. in Dazzling Fun Filled Pageant* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1975), 7.

<sup>83</sup> Mike Wallace, "Mickey Mouse History: Portraying the Past at Disney World" *Radical History Review* 32, (1985): 33.

<sup>84</sup> Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press, 1996), 169-70

<sup>85</sup> Cindy S. Aron, "The Education-Entertainment Continuum: A Historical Perspective," Viewpoints, *Perspective on History: The Newsmagazine of the American Historical Association*, vol. 33. No. 3 March 1995, accessed July 14, 2017. <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/march-1995/the-education-entertainment-continuum-a-historical-perspective>.

<sup>86</sup> Mike Wallace, "Mickey Mouse History: Portraying the Past at Disney World" *Radical History Review*, vol. 32 (1985): 33.

plan would follow the ARAB's plan and promote America. According to a Disney spokesman "We want to show America at its best."<sup>87</sup> This desire to gloss over the rough patches was termed "Disney Realism" which according to a Disney imaginer was "sort of Utopian in nature, where we carefully program out all the negative, unwanted elements and program positive elements."<sup>88</sup> While this "vacuum-cleaning of the past," was what led to some criticisms of the parade.<sup>89</sup> It was also a way of ensuring that viewers had a past they could feel good about. Disney's participation was considered a win for the ARAB, it was seen as "a major breakthrough in its struggle to persuade private corporations to participate on a large scale in the bicentennial."<sup>90</sup> This was not multiple corporate sponsors contributing to one bicentennial event it was "a larger than life toast to our country's 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary," put on by one company.<sup>91</sup> In speaking about the parade Warner stated that "millions of people are going to see this," his enthusiasm for the

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<sup>87</sup> Cilla Brown, "2 Disney Amusement Parks Plan Bicentennial Shows," *Los Angeles Times*, February 19, 1975.

<sup>88</sup> Mike Wallace, "Mickey Mouse History: Portraying the Past at Disney World" *Radical History Review*, vol. 32 (1985): 35.

<sup>89</sup> Mike Wallace, "Mickey Mouse History: Portraying the Past at Disney World" *Radical History Review*, vol. 32 (1985): 35-6; One criticism raised was that "The Disney version of 'America on Parade' omits any portrait of the country's rather violent evolution." This led to a decided lack of diversity, "In a cast of more than 200 characters, for instance, a pair of Indians in the Thanksgiving scene represent the entire portrait of the aboriginal influence and impact. In much the same way, there is a total absence of blacks." (James T. Wooten "Disney Will Join in Bicentennial," *The New York Times*, February 19, 1975.) While the small number of Native characters was correct sprinkled throughout the parade were African-American characters. Wooten misses the mark with claim that there were no African-American characters. In video footage of the parade African-Americans could be seen in various places. Such as trailing the Liberty Bell float and acting like he was ringing the bell. A woman along with a couple of men could also be seen in the mix of dancers in the riverboat float. A couple of children were in the mix of the following the one room schoolhouse float this was immediately followed by an African-American football player sitting on a megaphone with the word State spelled out. While the characters were predominantly white these were some of the instances caught on a YouTube video of the parade.; Chris Knittle, "Filmscore Fantastic Presents: Walt Disney's America on Parade," Youtube.com, accessed July 13, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5PWYrLsIVE&t=111s> ; There is also a possibility that one of the revolutionary soldiers in another video was a minority character though the resolution of the video made it hard to tell with certainty. Though it did back up the other video and shows an African-American suffragette marching with the other women. ; otownguy79, "America On Parade," Youtube.com, accessed July 13, 2017 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHj0y5KxL2M> ; A video with better resolution that shows the African-American colonial soldier can be found here; Hbvideos, "America on Parade Walt Disney World 1976 Promo Souvenir film Hbvideos Cooldisneylandvideos," YouTube.com, accessed July 13, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hxqt1vNtxLU>.

<sup>90</sup> James T. Wooten "Disney Will Join in Bicentennial," *The New York Times*, February 19, 1975.

<sup>91</sup> "Disneyland Plans a New Bicentennial Salute," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 1975

project was well-founded as projections had the parade reaching more than “25 million people.” A number which was a little more than ten percent of the American population at the time.<sup>92</sup> If attendance projections were correct that meant that ten percent of the American population would be able to connect with one another over the parade. While this connection contributed minimally to the creation of an *us* the parade itself helped to ensure that viewers had a sense of what it meant to be American. It accomplished this through the use of American civil religious icons. Important iconic figures and symbols were displayed throughout the parade. The parade led off with Disney’s representation of the Spirit of ’76 where Mickey, Goofy, and Donald took the place of flag bearer, drummer, and fife player respectively connecting these Disney characters to the iconic painting.<sup>93</sup> Benjamin Franklin, and Betsy Ross, appeared in the parade with their mythic personas intact. Franklin was performing his kite experiment, while Ross was sewing the “first flag.”<sup>94</sup> Between these two iconic figures parade goers would see the Liberty Bell and hear “let freedom be heard and the Liberty Bell ring out across the land.”<sup>95</sup> The parade closed with a float that contained the Statue of Liberty, and Uncle Sam.<sup>96</sup> The placement of these characterizations implied importance to the viewer and primed the younger viewers to give them prominence in the American civil religious hierarchy. By highlighting the importance of these symbols Disney and the parade reinforced in viewers the ideals that these symbols represented;

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<sup>92</sup> James T. Wooten “Disney Will Join in Bicentennial,” *The New York Times*, February 19, 1975.

<sup>93</sup> David Jacobs, *Disney’s America on Parade: A History of the U.S.A. in Dazzling Fun Filled Pageant* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1975), 13, foldout 33.

<sup>94</sup> David Jacobs, *Disney’s America on Parade: A History of the U.S.A. in Dazzling Fun Filled Pageant* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1975), foldout 73, 47, 49; The voice over in the video even ties Ross creation to June 1776 at the behest of Washington in Philadelphia; Hbvideos, “America on Parade Walt Disney World 1976 Promo Souvenir film Hbvideos Cooldisneylandvideos,” YouTube.com, accessed July 13, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hxqt1vNtxLU>.

<sup>95</sup> Hbvideos, “America on Parade Walt Disney World 1976 Promo Souvenir film Hbvideos Cooldisneylandvideos,” YouTube.com, accessed July 13, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hxqt1vNtxLU>.

<sup>96</sup> David Jacobs, *Disney’s America on Parade: A History of the U.S.A. in Dazzling Fun Filled Pageant* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1975), foldout 73; Hbvideos, “America on Parade Walt Disney World 1976 Promo Souvenir film Hbvideos Cooldisneylandvideos,” YouTube.com, accessed July 13, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hxqt1vNtxLU>.

ideals that the cohort learned meant how truly exceptional the United States was and that as American citizens they were expected to uphold this reputation. Disney's "America on Parade" was a good way to combine patriotism with Disney's legendary showmanship. Because of the importance given to these icons, the celebration had strong ties to the "Heritage '76" theme but by its very nature fit within the "Festival USA" theme making "America on Parade" an exemplary Bicentennial project put on by the private sector, that had a strong socializing component.

A second way Bicentennial events could create a sense of unity was by being viewed by a large swath of the American public. Disney's "America on Parade" accomplished this in a limited way. While a portion of the American population was able to take advantage of the event it had a relatively limited geographic scope. In that it required those who viewed the event to travel to either California or Florida. To reach a much broader swath of the American population the event would need to go to the people. The American Freedom Train was a Bicentennial event that did this. The American Freedom Train was a nationwide event that touted the idea of American exceptionalism and was designed to socialize the American population with the idea of American greatness.<sup>97</sup> Rather than waiting for the population to show up and be introduced to

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<sup>97</sup> The American Freedom Train was the idea of Ross E. Rowland, Jr. a commodities broker who hailed from New York. Rowland was an avid fan of the railroad and had founded the "High Iron Company" which had run the "Golden Spike Limited," a train celebrating "the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the linking of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads." (American Freedom Train Foundation, *All aboard: America the American Freedom Train* (Washington, DC: American Freedom Train Foundation, 1976), 4.) The American Freedom Train was a combination of Rowland's love of the railroad and the United States. (Bob Wiedrich, "The Man behind Freedom Train" *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1975) When Warner called for American business to step up and fund the Bicentennial celebration, Rowland answered Warner's call. Warner in a letter to John O. Marsh Jr. dated December 4, 1974 stated, "This project [the American Freedom Train] is a superb example of the initiative and support that the Bicentennial is daily gaining from the Private sector." (John Marsh files, "American Freedom Train (1)," Box 64, Folder 1, Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library, <https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0067/1563256.pdf> (accessed June 27, 2017), 58.) The American Freedom Train was a wholly private venture, or as Chicago tribune columnist Bob Wiedrich wrote, "Uncle Sam does not have one penny invested. It is strictly a Bicentennial project organized by private citizens and private or corporate gifts." (Bob Wiedrich, "The Man behind Freedom Train" *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1975)

how they were American, the American Freedom Train brought the concept to the American public one community at a time. The American Freedom Train was a moving event that traveled over 17,000 miles, in the forty-eight contiguous states. The train visited communities of all sizes, its stops were “within one hour’s drive time of 90 percent of the country’s population, affording maximum opportunity” for everyone to see it.<sup>98</sup>

The train was made up of twenty-six separate cars, however only twelve were for the public exhibit, the rest were used for the support of the traveling exhibit. Of the twelve public cars two were display cars with the remaining ten being exhibit cars. The ten exhibit cars were designed to introduce the viewing public to what it meant to be an American. This was especially true for car number 1 “The Beginning,” this car contained numerous artifacts pertaining to the American Revolution, and also contained links to the founding documents such as “one of the 13 known copies of the first printed Declaration of Independence, George Washington’s personal copy of the Constitution” The car even had “Ben Franklin’s handwritten draft of the Articles of Confederation.”<sup>99</sup> By having the Declaration of Independence and Constitution, visitors, specifically the younger generation, could gain a sense of the importance these documents represented especially when they were the personal copies of great men like Franklin and Washington. The exhibits in this car reminded visitors that no matter when or how one’s ancestors came to America there were certain things that were important to Americans. Here the train exhibit created a common ground to establish that all attendees were connected to the country and what it represented. The other exhibit cars demonstrated themes important throughout American history and reinforced the idea that American society was the preeminent

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<sup>98</sup> Bob Wiedrich, “A ticket to history and Bicentennial,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1975

<sup>99</sup> American Freedom Train Foundation, *All aboard: America the American Freedom Train*, (Washington, DC: American Freedom Train Foundation, 1976), 7; “Display Ad 128--No Title,” Advertising Supplement, *The Washington Post*, September 24, 1976.

world society and because of that greatness the viewers should consider themselves lucky to be a part it. The two display cars, sometimes referred to as showcase cars, housed those items that were too big to fit in the exhibit cars.<sup>100</sup> Unlike the exhibit cars the display cars were lighted to allow for “night viewing” and did not require a ticket to view. These displays were also visible as the train moved from city to city which meant trackside visitors hoping to catch a glimpse of the train could see these displays as well. This visibility added another “40 to 50 million people” to the number of citizens who experienced the American Freedom Train.<sup>101</sup> While the display car did not play up the connectedness of the population like the exhibit cars, they did provide another avenue for the viewing public to create connections across the nation. The American Freedom Train had the ability to bring people together, the connections that formed were both local and national. A person viewing in Maine knew that citizens just like them saw the same exhibit when it was in California, Washington D.C. North Dakota, or Ohio. Locally those towns that were stops on the train’s route saw an influx of people from the surrounding community. One such example was the tiny town of Archbold Ohio, where “thronges of people – perhaps as many as 100,000 – visited the little town ... to see the American Freedom Train, the most popular and perhaps most successful Bicentennial project.”<sup>102</sup> While this estimate was exaggerated by about three times, the actual numbers were no less impressive. Archbold was the

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<sup>100</sup> The number of cars varies in different media sources with a large number citing twenty-two cars though some have the count as high as twenty-seven. The number twenty-six was chosen and is used because *All Aboard America*, the book published by the American Freedom Train foundation about the train states that the train length was twenty-six cars. The discrepancies in the count could be attributed to the number of cars that were seen by the reporter, utilizing information from before the American Freedom Train left on its journey, while the configuration was still being finalized, or repeating widely held beliefs about the train.; American Freedom Train Foundation, *All aboard: America the American Freedom Train*, (Washington, DC: American Freedom Train Foundation, 1976), 3.

<sup>101</sup> Bob Wiedrich, “A ticket to history and Bicentennial,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1975.

<sup>102</sup> James T .Wooten, Special to The New York Times. "Bicentennial Plans Meeting Setbacks," *New York Times*, July 5, 1975.

smallest town on the train's route.<sup>103</sup> "The local Bicentennial Committee sold over 35,000 tickets for the Freedom Train to residents in a 14-county area."<sup>104</sup> While the train's two and a half day layover in the town helped contribute to the number of visitors, it was not the only reason for the size of the crowd flowing into this small town. Not only were the visitors connected through their patriotic fervor, but they also had to face and overcome adverse weather conditions. "Tornado Warnings had been out for hours. The sky was ablaze with streaks of lighting. Cracks of thunder bombarded the crowds, one lightning flash startled people as it struck a utility pole not far from the train. But people kept coming, lining up in the downpour."<sup>105</sup> This kind of environment welds those who experience it together. Those experiences became one more connecting point in the creation of an in-group.

For a town with a "population 3,200" to draw a crowd the size Archbold did, demonstrated that the American Freedom Train, and the message it delivered, spoke to the American public. Because of the number of Americans that saw the American Freedom Train, not only did it help create a common framework as people all over the country knew they were seeing the same exhibits. The train also reinforced the idea of what it meant to be an American, and in doing so created a distinction between those that were American and those that were not. Whether they were in Archbold, Los Angeles, Peoria, or Miami all had seen the same displays, heard the same sounds, and experienced the same closeness to America's important memorabilia. Each visitor was also socialized into what it meant to be an American and introduced to these important

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<sup>103</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 2, July 1975 (Washington D.C: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 156.

<sup>104</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 2, July 1975 (Washington D.C: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 156.

<sup>105</sup> Charles Hillinger, "900,000 View Freedom Train," *Los Angeles Times*, June 26, 1975.



pieces of American history; at least according to Rowland and the American Freedom Train foundation.

While Disney's "America on Parade," and the American Freedom Train were of interest to the youth of America and this cohort, they were not the target demographic for these events. Even so this group was targeted for inclusion in the messages of the *us vs. them* binary found during the Bicentennial. These messages used various methods to reinforce the idea that the members of the cohort were Americans too. For this demographic of Americans their interaction with this message came in one of two forms; either through commercial products or popular culture. *Schoolhouse Rock* provided the cohort a way to learn about important American civil religious icons and what it meant to be an American. Starting in 1973, *Schoolhouse Rock* was a mini-cartoon segment inserted between regularly-scheduled Saturday morning programming. According to Tom Yohe and George Newall two of the creators of *Schoolhouse Rock*, the goal of the shorts was to educate children.<sup>106</sup> Each short consisted of a cartoon and a catchy song that helped to enhance the viewers recall of the material. In 1975, in conjunction with the American Bicentennial, *Schoolhouse Rock* created America Rocks. These new segments introduced various events in American history and familiarized the cohort with the workings of American government. These shorts worked to create a common understanding within the viewers, and this cohort, of what it meant to be an American. If school was an important socializing institution due to the amount of time that children spent in its walls, then media, specifically television was also important due to the amount consumed by the average child. "There are strong age-related viewing trends," peaking during the preadolescent years.<sup>107</sup> Cartoons were the primary way

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<sup>106</sup> Tom Yohe and George Newall, *Schoolhouse Rock: The Official Guide* (New York: Hyperion Books, 1996), xi.

<sup>107</sup> Eric F. Dubow, L. Rowell Huesmann and Dera Greenwood, "Media and Youth Socialization: Underlying Processes and Moderators of Effect," in *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, ed. Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), 405.

children interacted with television. By the mid-1980s “television provide[d] important experiences for children growing up.” It offered a way for children to understand the world around them.<sup>108</sup> By the time this cohort was born almost all children’s programing was relegated to the Saturday morning cartoon block.<sup>109</sup> If “the most important learning usually occur[ed] during childhood, [and] [t]his [was] the time when individuals learn[ed] what must be known if they [were] to function in their culture,”<sup>110</sup> and if television was the primary way for children to learn about the world around them, then cartoons were where this occurred. By consuming these shorts, the cohort was being socialized into what it meant to be an American, and what was important to the American mythos.<sup>111</sup>

The idea of freedom was also important to America’s exceptional nature as it was often pointed out that no other country enjoyed as many or as much freedom as the citizens of the United States. Because the ideas of freedom and liberty were intrinsically tied to American identity, *Schoolhouse Rock* demonstrated these concepts and implied that the United States brand of freedom was unlike any other in the world, which reinforced the idea of American exceptionalism. *Schoolhouse Rock* had “billions of ‘TV impression’ between 1973 and 1985,”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Aimée Dorr, *Television and Children: A Special Medium for a Special Audience* (Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications, 1986), 7.

<sup>109</sup> Timothy Burke and Kevin Burke, *Saturday Morning Fever: Growing up with Cartoon Culture* (New York: St. Martin’s Griffin, 1999), 15, 17.

<sup>110</sup> Aimée Dorr, *Television and Children: A Special Medium for a Special Audience* (Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications, 1986), 13.

<sup>111</sup> This occurred through two processes the observational learning process and the didactic learning process. The observational learning process works by encoding lasting “behavioral scripts.” “The more the observed scripts are rewarded and portrayed as appropriate the more firmly the scripts extracted and encoded.” The didactic learning process “apply to persuasive communications but they represent a more general theoretical position that attitudes and beliefs can be changed by what the child observes through relatively ‘automatic’ cognitive processes of which the child may be unaware of” ; Eric F. Dubow, L. Rowell Huesmann and Dera Greenwood, “Media and Youth Socialization: Underlying Processes and Moderators of Effect,” in *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research*, ed. Joan E. Grusec and Paul D. Hastings (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), 411-3.

<sup>112</sup> According to Tom Yohe and George Newall, *Schoolhouse Rock: The Official Guide*, a TV impression was defined as “one show, seen by one viewer, one time.” ix; Tom Yohe and George Newall, *Schoolhouse Rock: The Official Guide* (New York: Hyperion Books, 1996), ix.

which meant an entire generation of children learned what it meant to be an American from *Schoolhouse Rock*. The purpose of the video *Fireworks* was to celebrate the signing of the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July. “The birthday of any nation should be the proudest holiday of that nation! No country in history had more reason to be proud of its beginning than our own.”<sup>113</sup> The quote demonstrates the belief in the prominent role of the United States within the larger global community.<sup>114</sup> *Fireworks* reinforced the creation story of the United States and helped to provide a consistent narrative for each new generation that watched it.<sup>115</sup> Throughout the video were numerous American civil religious icons including Molly Pitcher, The Spirit of '76, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, even the iconic painting by John Trumbull of the signing of the Declaration of Independence made an appearance.

*Fireworks*, also incorporated the ideas of freedom and liberty. While it did not explain how they were significant it demonstrated that these idea were essential to the American way of life. The video was the one episode that demonstrated the importance of these concepts in an explicit manner and as part of the main message. In the video the song stated, “The Continental Congress said that we were free (We're free!); Said we had the right of life and liberty, ...And the pursuit of happiness!”<sup>116</sup> While the main chorus of the song was playing there were also vocals that compete with the main lyrics. In one scene, a cartoon version of John Trumbull's painting *Declaration of Independence*, the signers yell out “(We're free!)” while a speech bubble stating the same thing takes up the free space above the delegates heads. After about three seconds of

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<sup>113</sup> Elizabeth Hough Sechrist, *Red Letter Days: A Book of Holiday Customs* (Philadelphia PA: Macrae-Smith Company, 1940), 159.

<sup>114</sup> What makes this quote interesting was that it was uttered before the United States became a world power in the aftermath of World War II, the quote shows that the idea of American exceptionalism was interwoven thought our history as one of the basic belief of American society.

<sup>115</sup> School house Rock – “Fireworks,” (America Rock), 1976, Youtube.com, Accessed April 24, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZTY0V8GaeFI>.

<sup>116</sup> Walt Disney Company, “Fireworks,” *School House Rock! 30th Anniversary Edition* (Burbank, CA: Disney DVD 2002), DVD.

this being the main focus of the shot this speech bubble was followed by one proclaiming Life and then one proclaiming Liberty. These two bubbles were the focus of the scene as the song pauses before it adds “And the pursuit of happiness!” which did not get its own speech bubble but rather an image of a man chasing a woman. While the approximately ten seconds that the images were on screen may not seem like a lot, the fact that this specific scene was repeated a second time means that about a tenth of the three minutes long video was focused on this scene and ideals. The percentage of time focused on these concepts increased when one considered that at the end of the video there was a recitation of the beginning of the Declaration of Independence using similar terms. This along with the fact the same couple displayed in the signing scene closed the video created another connection to the earlier scene. While the young viewer might not know what these concepts meant they would certainly pick up on the idea they were important and that the Declaration of Independence was important in creating these ideals. The video, released in 1976, also reinforced to the cohort why the Bicentennial celebration was such a big deal, and that the country was celebrating these ideals.

*The Preamble* was another video the cohort grew up watching. This video focused on the preamble of the U.S. Constitution and its connection to the ideas of freedom and liberty. According to the song, the Constitution was a written down list of principles that were there to ensure the American people were free to enjoy the “blessing of liberty.”<sup>117</sup> The video did not explain to the viewer what the ideas of freedom and liberty were, but did a good job of connecting the Constitution to them, and in doing so demonstrated that these ideals were crucial to American society. In the episodes *Fireworks*, and *The Preamble*, the idea of freedom and liberty were the main subjects, but they were tied to two of the foundational documents, the

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<sup>117</sup> Walt Disney Company, “The Preamble,” *School House Rock! 30th Anniversary Edition* (Burbank, CA: Disney DVD 2002), DVD.

Declaration of Independence and the Constitution respectively. Because of the age of the target audience these concepts were portrayed in simplistic terms. There was no underlying explanation of what these concepts meant, just that as Americans we had them and that they were an important part of American society. Depending on the age of the child watching, these videos would resonate with some more than others, particularly older children, however even if young children were not entirely sure why these were important, as they aged and were reintroduced to the two primary documents of American life their understanding would be shaped by the foundation tied to their understanding as shown by the video.

Other videos in the series introduced other important concepts of what it meant to be an American. Two of these videos were *The Great American Melting Pot* which explored the idea of America as a melting pot, and *Elbow Room* which examined the concept of Manifest Destiny. These two videos were important in helping the cohort to understand what it meant to be an American citizen. *The Great American Melting Pot* video was important in that it showed that Americans had a diverse background. This was important because it not only showed that hard work led to success, but also that because the United States integrated various ethnicities and made something wholly unique with them, the country was able to succeed. It was the video's contention that this was a good thing, that each particular culture that became part of American society added something. The video suitably reinforced the idea that being an American was what everyone aspired to, which supports the idea of the United States being the best country in the world. It accomplished this by portraying the American way of life as the best and that American society was perfect. Within this message was the idea that viewers should also want to be part of this group as well. Of the *Schoolhouse Rock* videos this was the one that was tied to the creation of an *us* the most explicitly.

While *The Great American Melting Pot* was tied to the concept of American identity, *Elbow Room* showed how the United States came to be the modern country the cohort knew. *Elbow Room* also tied into the Cold War mentality and the important role the United States played around the world. While *Elbow Room* explicitly addressed how the United States expanded within its own borders, the video implied that the American way of life should be spread beyond its borders. While the video explicitly stated “But if there should ever come a time, -When we're crowded up together, I'm, - Sure we'll find some elbow room [pause] up on the moon!”<sup>118</sup> What was implied was because of its exceptional nature the United States was destined to grow and expand its uniquely formed brand of democracy, not only from the Atlantic to the Pacific but around the world, and if necessary to the stars as well. This tied into the Cold War idea that America should spread democracy around the world to stop the spread of Communism. By its very nature *Schoolhouse Rock* was an important way the cohort learned about what it meant to be an American. Looking back at the series many members of the cohort recall the series with a strong sense of nostalgia some even go so far as to credit *The Preamble* video as the reason they were able to learn the beginning of the Constitution which became important in their later academic years.<sup>119</sup>

As *Schoolhouse Rock* showed, not all learning occurs in the classroom. Another way children of the time period learned was through magazines that were meant for them. *Highlights* was one magazine aimed at “helping children [to] grow: in basic skills and knowledge” to grow “in [the]

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<sup>118</sup> Walt Disney Company. “Elbow Room,” *School House Rock! 30th Anniversary Edition* (Burbank, CA: Disney DVD 2002), DVD.

<sup>119</sup> While attending High School in Illinois my classmates and I were required to learn about and pass a test about both the federal and state constitutions. Many people said that they knew the preamble because of the *Schoolhouse Rock* video. This was not just a local phenomenon as this idea was reinforced in many informal conversations with other members from this cohort from various states. In fact, the only *Schoolhouse Rock* video that seems to have more recognition is the *Conjunction Junction What's your Function* video.

ability to think and reason.”<sup>120</sup> *Highlights* was another example of a product targeted towards a specific demographic while having a national reach.

The 1976 June-July issue of *Highlights* was a double celebration issue, because in addition to celebrating the Bicentennial, the magazine was also celebrating its thirtieth anniversary. However, this anniversary took a backseat to the Bicentennial, since the Bicentennial anniversary was promoted on the front cover while the magazine’s anniversary was relegated to the back cover.<sup>121</sup> This demonstrated to the readers what the more important celebration was. The issue also reinforced the need for unity and reminded its readers that they were part of a great country. In a discussion about the formation of the country editors of the magazine reminded the reader that it was only by coming together that the first states were able to form a strong country and that “we *have* [italics original] operated for two hundred years under these rules.”<sup>122</sup> This served two purposes, first it reminded readers that they were part of the country. Throughout the piece the editors used words like we, our, or us to remind the readers they too had a stake in the country and that this was their history as well. Secondly, it reinforced the exceptional nature of the United States when it added that it was “the longest ‘experiment’ in the world of this kind, [which spoke] for [the Founding Fathers] wisdom.”<sup>123</sup> The magazine also reminded readers that they had a duty to revere the symbols of the nation and that they should be happy to do that. Though never explicitly stated, that idea was the subtext of a story titled “the Big Celebration” written by Robin Wallace. The story centers around Janie who was going to be a clown in the Fourth of July parade, unfortunately for Janie the flag bearer gets sick and she was tasked with

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<sup>120</sup> Caroline Clark Myers ed., *Highlights* 31, no. 6. (Columbus OH: Highlights for Children Inc., June-July 1976), 2.

<sup>121</sup> Caroline Clark Myers ed., *Highlights* 31, no. 6. (Columbus OH: Highlights for Children Inc., June-July 1976), Front cover, Back cover.

<sup>122</sup> Caroline Clark Myers ed., *Highlights* 31, no. 6. (Columbus OH: Highlights for Children Inc., June-July 1976), 5.

<sup>123</sup> Caroline Clark Myers ed., *Highlights* 31, no. 6. (Columbus OH: Highlights for Children Inc., June-July 1976), 5.

carrying the flag something she did not want to do. Eventually, after her father told her that “a flag bearer has a more important position,” and that “bearing the flag means you’re proud of our country and thankful for the freedoms we enjoy,” she relented.<sup>124</sup> Once Janie arrives at the parade and is handed the flag she realized how “beautiful” the flag was and that “she proudly bore the flag in reverence to her Country.”<sup>125</sup> What is important to note about the story was that Wallace was 12 at the time. The story demonstrated that even though children might not explicitly know why they needed to behave in a certain way or why certain symbols were important, there was an understanding that they were part of something larger than themselves and symbols such as the flag were representative of the larger ideals.

While popular culture was one way the members of the cohort were reminded they were Americans, and part of an exceptional nation. This idea was also reinforced through commercial endeavors as well. One complaint leveled against the Bicentennial celebration was that it was too commercial, with some people labeling it a “Buy-centennial.”<sup>126</sup> Some of this was due to Warner’s and the ARBA’s desire to get businesses involved with the celebration, though it was more than having businesses sponsor events. To truly be a commemorative event there needed to be a way of not only celebrating the event but also a way to remember the event after it was over. Souvenirs were one way to remind participants of the celebration and what it meant. Of course the danger was that poorly made or frivolous souvenirs would lessen the grandeur and prestige of

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<sup>124</sup> Caroline Clark Myers ed., *Highlights* 31, no. 6. (Columbus OH: Highlights for Children Inc., June-July 1976), 30.

<sup>125</sup> Caroline Clark Myers ed., *Highlights* 31, no. 6. (Columbus OH: Highlights for Children Inc., June-July 1976), 30.

<sup>126</sup> Is it a Bicentennial or a Buy-Centennial,” *Wall Street Journal*, April 15, 1975; Laura A. Dobbs, “Letters to the Editor,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1975; Laura A. Dobbs, “Letters to the Editor,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 18, 1975; Howard Serbin, Letters to the Times, *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 1975; Eugene L. Meyer, “Red, White, Blue – Green” *Washington Post, Times Herald*, August 15, 1972; “Buy-Centennial Blues,” *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1976



the celebration.<sup>127</sup> One way to ensure the celebration maintained its standing as a way to bring the population together was to sanction those souvenirs that upheld the ideals of the celebration. With this in mind the ARBA created a symbol it could trademark and that businesses could license in order to show their support of the celebration.<sup>128</sup> The symbol was also created “to protect the buying public.” All items were “clearly identified ...by the ARBA license number.”<sup>129</sup> These official products were to be manufactured in the United States and be “commemorative or educational in nature.”<sup>130</sup> Additionally the license fee would help support “Bicentennial activities.”<sup>131</sup> In addition to providing revenue the Bicentennial Symbol was meant to instill a sense of patriotism in the American population. Promotional material stated, “The Symbol was contemporary in design in keeping with the forward-looking goals of the Bicentennial celebration to forge a new national commitment, a new spirit of ’76, a spirit which will unite the nation in purpose and dedication to the advancement of human welfare.”<sup>132</sup> The

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<sup>127</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 12 (Washington, DC: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 93

<sup>128</sup> The term bicentennial could not be trademarked, the symbol could and meant unauthorized use could lead to “\$250 in fines or jail sentences of up to six months.” (American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 12, (Washington, DC: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 97; Creation of American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and for other purposes, Public Law 93-179, 93<sup>rd</sup> Cong. (December 11, 1973), 699) The ARBA even had customs officials working to keep unauthorized merchandise from entering the United States. (American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 12, (Washington, DC: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 99) The ARBA received “Between four and 15% of the sales of licensed products.” (Christopher Capozzola, “It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country,” in *America in the 70s*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber (Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 33) In its *Second Report to Congress* the ARBA stated, “the typical licensing royalty was 5% of the wholesale price.” Which was expected to generate approximately two million by the time the licenses expired. (American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Second Report to Congress Pursuant to Public Law 93-179” vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976), 27)

<sup>129</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Master Register of Bicentennial Projects* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February, 1976), 1—184

<sup>130</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Commemorative Reprints, *Bicentennial Times*, vol. 1 no. 12 (Washington, DC: American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, 1977), 93, 99

<sup>131</sup> American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, *Master Register of Bicentennial Projects* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, February, 1976), 1—184.

<sup>132</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

symbol derived its color scheme from the flag. The symbol contained a white, five-pointed star like the ones on the flag, and was surrounded by a second made of red, white, and blue stripes.

“This double star is symbolic of the two centuries which [had] passed since the American Revolution.”<sup>133</sup> The features meant that a quick glance at the symbol would remind the viewer of the American Flag and tap into the pride the viewer felt for the flag and for being an American. The symbol also functioned as a way of keying the public to the celebration and as a way of unifying a community, as the symbol was provided a high level of respect and was displayed on the National Bicentennial Flag.<sup>134</sup> The ability to fly this flag was one of the rights earned by those communities that received the designation of a Bicentennial community.<sup>135</sup> The idea was to get the people of the community to not only buy into the community celebration but to bring all members of the community together.<sup>136</sup> Warner was quoted as saying he hoped the “diverse factions of a community having come together to work in harmony will remain as a lasting memory of the event.”<sup>137</sup> The flag and symbol became a sign of this new found unity.

While the symbol was keyed to officially sanctioned projects, it was not the only way the cohort saw commercialization supporting the idea of a unified *us*. Both products and advertising utilized American civil religious icons as a way of connecting the cohort to the revolutionary period and the founding of the United States. One way the members of the cohort was introduced

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<sup>133</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.; American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “American Revolution Bicentennial Symbol: Guidelines for Authorized Use” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 8.

<sup>134</sup> The Bicentennial flag was designated a national flag and as such it was to be flown just below the American Flag. This put the Bicentennial symbol, which was the main focus on the flag in a position of prominence wherever the flag was flown. Additionally, the Bicentennial Flag flown beneath the American Flag visually reinforced the connection between the two flags.

<sup>135</sup> To earn this right the community in question had to complete four steps to be recognized and receive an official certificate and the right to fly the flag.

<sup>136</sup> American Bicentennial Revolution Administration, “Questions and Answers about the Bicentennial,” (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1975), n.p.

<sup>137</sup> Quoted in John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 227.

to this was as they prepared for school. While not receiving official sanctions, numerous products tied into the founding period and reminded students of their shared heritage. The manufactures often used images that were iconic in American society or representations of these scenes. One advertisement with the headline “Things to make school work fun... almost,” highlighted these types of items.<sup>138</sup> For seventy-nine cents, a student could purchase what was called a “Revolutionary Pencil Pak.” The pack contained “twenty-one #2 lead pencils painted red, white and blue” while the box containing the pencils “depict[ed] scenes from American History.”<sup>139</sup> For only one dollar and ninety-nine cents, students could choose from “assorted historical themes depicting [their] national heritage,” on a “Bicentennial Binder.”<sup>140</sup> The images selected for use in the advertisement showed a representation of the “Spirit of ‘76” on the pencil box, and George Washington at Valley Forge.<sup>141</sup> Lunchboxes, long a bastion of what was popular in society and with school children, were another way this connection was made. One such lunchbox contained a cartoon version of the Spirit of ‘76 on the front and back and was decorated with the red white and blue color scheme around the sides.<sup>142</sup> By utilizing these images manufactures reinforced their importance and also created a connection between students that chose similar school materials. This provided yet another avenue to expose this cohort to imagery that worked to instill what it meant to be an American, both historically and ideologically.

It was not just on manufactured products one could find these representations of American independence and the idea of a unified population, this also occurred in various advertisements.

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<sup>138</sup> “Display Ad 111 – No Title,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1975.

<sup>139</sup> “Display Ad 111 – No Title,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1975.

<sup>140</sup> “Display Ad 111 – No Title,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1975.

<sup>141</sup> “Display Ad 111 – No Title,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1975.

<sup>142</sup> “Spirit of ‘76 Lunch Box,” from author’s private collection January 28, 2013). [Steven Bellavia photographer photograph Lawrence KS]; In addition to the lunchbox described, other examples can be located by doing a Google search for Bicentennial lunch boxes

Television was an important part of this cohort's life. This cohort was the first where television was considered a common household appliance, making it a ubiquitous part of the cohort's life. By the early 1970s television had come into its own and became a commonplace appliance within the household. Even though the three major networks provided limited content aimed at this age group, television still became one of the main ways this cohort was mediated.

"Television provide[d] important experiences for children growing up." It offered a way for children to understand the world around them.<sup>143</sup> Television commonly gave this cohort a glimpse not only into what society valued, but also provided visual and auditory clues about a unified society. Sometimes commercials did this through the use of American civil religious icons, such as in a 7up commercial where the announcer stated "In commemoration of this, the 200th year anniversary celebration of our country" and explained how 7up was releasing a collectible bottle, while images of Ben Franklin, George Washington, the Constitution, Washington Crossing the Delaware, The Spirit of '76, and Paul Revere, all bombard the viewer during the thirty second spot.<sup>144</sup> Here important icons reminded the viewers about these important figures in the American mythos and by showing them the commercial caused the viewer to key into what each of them represented. While the 7up commercial was short, and therefore limited in what messages could be transmitted, another soft drink manufacture was not as limited. Coca-Cola had a television commercial with a run time of a minute and a half, so it was not as intense as the 7up commercial. The Coca-Cola commercial showed a small town getting ready for a traditional Fourth of July parade. While the Coke commercial include iconic representations of Uncle Sam, Paul Revere, the Statue of Liberty, the Spirit of '76, and Betsy

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<sup>143</sup> Aimée Dorr, *Television and Children: A Special Medium for a Special Audience* (Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications, 1986), 7.

<sup>144</sup> RetroGoop, "7UP Bicentennial tv commercial 1976, YouTube.com, accessed, July 4, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j0jmsZ46jGE>.

Ross sitting on a front porch sewing a flag, the more important message of the commercial was that of belonging to a community. This showed with the parade itself as the community was depicted as coming together to not only put the parade on but also to watch the parade. The commercial also highlighted the sense of belonging to a community in the end of the commercial where the townsfolk came together to for a community picnic and firework show. The commercial concluded with the tagline “Coke Adds Life” in red, white, and blue words that were supposed to represent fireworks. While this final reminder connects to the colors of the flag, the tagline had been the main theme of the song in the commercial and was repeated throughout the entire minute and half.<sup>145</sup> The line hinted that life needed to include a community and that Coke helped create this important sense of unity. Because the commercial presented small town America as the typical American experience, it demonstrated how this typical American town was celebrating and showed the community putting aside its differences and coming together to celebrate the founding of the nation.

Kellogg cereal produced a commercial for its Cornflakes brand which played up the idea of community as well, but rather than focusing on a physical community like the Coca-Cola commercial did, the Kellogg commercial focused on American society as a community. The commercial placed an emphasis on the idea of American exceptionalism and the “can-do” attitude that made America great.<sup>146</sup> This bicentennial commercial covered more than just the founding period. It showed various American inventors which demonstrated that some beliefs

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<sup>145</sup> American Throwback, “1976 Coca-Cola Commercial “Bicentennial,” YouTube.com, accessed, July 4, 2017.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lWk8e0xUu7w>.

<sup>146</sup> The Museum of Classic Chicago Television, “*The Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Show - Kellogg's Cereals – ‘Yes We Can!’ (Commercial Break, 1976)*,” YouTube.com, Accessed April 24, 2016.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Do0tQkdjo2g>.

ran throughout the entirety of American history.<sup>147</sup> The underlying message of the commercial was that there were certain characteristics that made up the American spirit. The commercial introduced the viewer to those Americans who exhibited this special quality and told viewers that we as Americans had it as well.<sup>148</sup>

By 1976 the nation was in need of a pep talk as a way to overcome the turbulence of the last decade. The tragic events of 1968, the loss in Vietnam, and the Watergate scandal, had all shaken the nation's confidence. The Bicentennial was a way to not only reaffirm the belief in the greatness of the country, but it was also a way to unify the fracturing American population. In 1976 people all over the country were saying The Bicentennial "just makes you want to believe in the country."<sup>149</sup> The American Revolution Bicentennial celebration, specific events, and commercial endeavors tied to the celebration worked to reinforce the idea that the United States was an exceptional nation, and that its people had numerous ties connecting them together. While the celebration succeeded for a short time, once the celebration ended, the divisiveness within society was just too much to overcome and shortly after the celebration was over the nation experienced a "crisis of confidence" as the nation sunk back into its "National Malaise."<sup>150</sup> As the decade ended Ronald Reagan was elected president and other methods of socialization would be added to the idea of American exceptionalism. This renewed need to

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<sup>147</sup> The Museum of Classic Chicago Television, "*The Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Show - Kellogg's Cereals - 'Yes We Can!'* (Commercial Break, 1976)," YouTube.com, Accessed April 24, 2016.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Do0tQkdjo2g>.

<sup>148</sup> The Museum of Classic Chicago Television, "*The Bugs Bunny/Road Runner Show - Kellogg's Cereals - 'Yes We Can!'* (Commercial Break, 1976)," YouTube.com, Accessed April 24, 2016.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Do0tQkdjo2g>.

<sup>149</sup> Christopher Capozzola, "It Makes You Want to Believe in the Country," in *America in the 70s*, ed. Beth Bailey and David Farber, (Lawrence KS: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 30.

<sup>150</sup> James Earl Carter, "Crisis of Confidence Speech," July 15, 1979. Both written and audio transcript of speech, and video of speech, can be located at <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/july-15-1979-crisis-confidence-speech>, (accessed July 13, 2017).

unify the thinking of the country was required as it prepared to reenter the ideological fight against the Soviet Union as the Cold War heated back up.

### CHAPTER 3: IN THE PAGES OF HISTORY

The 1980s was a very different decade from the 1970s. It was a time when the funk the America had suffered through in the 1970s began to lift. Like the 1970s the decade has its supporters and detractors Gill Troy and Vincent Cannato write that some people described the decade as “a ‘Golden Age’... [that] revived America’s economy, reoriented American politics, reformed American society, and restored Americans faith in their country and in themselves.”<sup>1</sup> Yet they say for others who examine the period, the 1980s represented “a ‘Gilded Age’ an era that was selfish, superficial, divisive, and destructive.”<sup>2</sup> No matter the side one chooses there was no doubt that the 1980s had a profound influence on the final Cold War generation as it learned to navigate the halls of high schools around the country and American society as a whole. No one person represents the decade as much as President Ronald Reagan does. Reagan’s rise to power and the re-ignition of the Cold War tensions were intrinsically linked. While tensions started to escalate before Reagan became President they rose exponentially once he was established in the Oval Office.

A new decade saw the members of the final Cold War generation entering a new phase of their life. As the decade dawned the cohort entered high school and this change in setting meant new ways to be introduced to the concepts of *us*. Building off the foundation that the American Bicentennial and their early schooling created high school worked to reinforce a sense of *us* as well. One way it did this was by playing up the cohorts shared history and promoting a sense of patriotism. In high school the history book became the main way of doing this. This chapter begins with an examination of the 1980s as a way of establishing what larger issues were facing

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<sup>1</sup> Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannato, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannato, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 3.



American society. The end of détente and the increase in tensions between the two superpowers helped to make the late Cold War period what it was. This examination will set the tone for this and the remaining chapter. After setting up the time period the remainder of the chapter examines textbooks that would have been used by the cohort. While this is not an exhaustive sampling as that would not be feasible or possible, a sampling of twenty-five textbooks of which there are nineteen unique titles. The remainder of the sources are different editions, teachers' manuals, and student workbooks. This sampling includes a wide enough cross section to provide sufficient information for analysis of the textbooks the cohort would have used. These books helped to build on the foundation created by elementary textbooks as to who was important within the American mythos expanding their stories reminding the readers of the exceptional nature of the United States while in physical world the Cold War tensions started to build again.

By August 1979 the first members of this cohort were entering high school. Not only were the members of the cohort entering a new phase of their life but the Cold War itself was also entering a new and arguably more dangerous phase. On 24 December 1979 seventeen years of détente between the Soviet Union and United States ended with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to replace the already existing Soviet friendly government with one that had stronger ties to the Soviet Union.<sup>3</sup> In an effort to prop up a failing communist government the Soviet Union began what would be an almost decade long involvement in Afghanistan.

President Jimmy Carter denounced the invasion. Carter stated that the Soviet Union was “using its great military power against a relatively defenseless nation.” For Carter, this meant the

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<sup>3</sup> ABC NEWS, Nightly news report, Dec. 27, 1979: Soviets Invade Afghanistan, Accessed December 2, 2017. <http://abcnews.go.com/Archives/video/dec-27-1979-soviets-invade-afghanistan-12443325>.

invasion was probably “the most serious threat to peace since the Second World War.”<sup>4</sup> In an effort to encourage the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan Carter leveled numerous sanctions against them.

One of Carter’s sanctions against the Soviet invasion included one of his most controversial decisions, which involved the American Olympic team and the 1980 Olympic Games. While the Cold War was fought on numerous proxy battlefields around the world, the opening salvo of the reignited Cold War was on an often overlooked battlefield. This occurred on the field of honor that was associated with the prestige of winning more medals in the Olympic game than the other Superpower.<sup>5</sup> The 1980 Olympic Games were unique in that one half of the games were held by each of the superpowers.<sup>6</sup> The winter games were held in Lake Placid, New York, and the summer games would be held in Moscow.<sup>7</sup> This was not the only interesting thing about these games. In response to the Soviet invasion Carter in his State of the Union address stated that “[He had] notified the Olympic Committee that with the Soviet invading force in Afghanistan, neither the American people nor I will support sending an Olympic team to Moscow.”<sup>8</sup> Almost a month later a prime example that supported the idea of American exceptionalism occurred, what

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<sup>4</sup> James Earl Carter, “State of the Union Address” (speech, Washington, DC, January 23, 1980), The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 29, 2017.

<https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml>.

<sup>5</sup> For those Olympic games that I remember during the Cold War period, I remember there was a lot of importance placed on not only how many medals we won but in which sports and how the Soviets were doing in the competition.

<sup>6</sup> There is a competition to see which country is able to host a portion of the games. Not only is there prestige associated with hosting a successful games but there is also economic factors that contribute to the desire to host. In an effort to create a truly spectacular Bicentennial celebration, the United States worked to get both the summer and winter games for the 1976 Olympiad to be held in the United States. It was an uphill battle that the United States eventually lost especially since no country had hosted both sets of games since the 1936 Olympics in Germany.

<sup>7</sup> This was the first time the games were to be held in the Soviet Union or Soviet controlled territory. Although a case could be made that the 1952 Helsinki games fell under their preview. Because this was the first game to be held in communist territory there was a lot of world prestige on the line for the Soviet Union.

<sup>8</sup> James Earl Carter, “State of the Union Address” (speech, Washington, DC, January 23, 1980), The Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum, accessed November 29, 2017.

<https://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/assets/documents/speeches/su80jec.phtml>.

became known as the “Miracle on Ice,” the event referred to when the 1980 USA hockey team, a group of young amateur players beat the Soviet team to win the gold medal.<sup>9</sup> While the win was an impressive show of athleticism what was even more important was what it did for the country.<sup>10</sup> According to a U.S. Amateur Hockey Association official “It was what America needed in [these] troubled times.”<sup>11</sup> This win would heighten the controversy surrounding Carter’s decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics.<sup>12</sup>

The Olympic boycott was only one of the problems facing Carter’s administration as the 1980 election cycle heated up, increased tension with the Soviets, a poor economy, and the Iranian hostage crisis, contributed to Carter’s defeat.<sup>13</sup> These events indicated that America faced a new reality that its prominence and prestige on the world stage had eroded. With this new reality America need a Cold War warrior who could stand toe to toe with the Soviet Union and return America to its prominent position. The electorate realized that in the form of Ronald Reagan. After years of tribulation America was ready for a change. Reagan, more so than Carter, was true believer in the ideals of democracy and a staunch opponent communism.<sup>14</sup> According to

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<sup>9</sup> The United States team was mostly made up of college students and “fourteen were under twenty-two years-old or younger.”(Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 2) Compared to the Soviet team who had won the gold medal in the last four Olympic Games with a “goal differential of 175-44.” (Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011),1)

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1.)

<sup>12</sup> For more on the controversy surrounding this decision see Nicholas Evan Sarantakes, *Dropping the Torch: Jimmy Carter, the Olympic Boycott, and the Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

<sup>13</sup> Michael Schaller, *Reckoning with Reagan: America and its President in the 1980s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 4.

<sup>14</sup> Stephen J Whitfield. *Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 142; Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert “Introduction,” in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, ed. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 4; Jane Sherron De Hart, “Gender, Sexuality, Identity” in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, ed. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 140.

Historian Bruce Schulman, Regan pledged “that the United States would stand tall again; the nation would reclaim its stature as the dominant power on the globe and win the fight against communism.”<sup>15</sup>

Reagan’s fight against communism began in the 1940s and his involvement with the Screen Actors Guild during which time he also worked with the FBI.<sup>16</sup> Reagan’s five terms as president of the Guild “convinced him that Communists would use any tactic they felt necessary to advance the cause of Soviet expansion.”<sup>17</sup> His experiences during this time helped him to form the opinion “that the theory of ‘détente’ which was our formal policy response to the Soviet Union during the 1970s was ineffective and self-defeating.”<sup>18</sup> But Reagan’s animosity towards the policy went even further than that, “Reagan hated détente. He believed it immoral to negotiate with the Soviets and thought that trade agreements only propped up the communist’s regime.”<sup>19</sup>

Three decades later Reagan was in position to take the fight to the Soviets. Once he took office “Reagan initiated a new strategy for dealing with worldwide Marxism.”<sup>20</sup> Reagan’s plan for dealing with the new more aggressive Soviet Union involved three parts commonly known as the “Reagan Doctrine”<sup>21</sup> Of the three parts the one that influenced the public the most was

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<sup>15</sup> Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 221.

<sup>16</sup> Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannto, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29; John Ehrman, *The Eighties: America in the Age of Reagan* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 13. ; Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (Norwalk CT: Easton Press, 1992), 111.

<sup>17</sup> John Ehrman, *The Eighties: America in the age of Reagan* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 13; Ronald Reagan, *An American Life* (Norwalk CT: Easton Press, 1992), 107-10.

<sup>18</sup> Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannto, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29.

<sup>19</sup> Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 225-6.

<sup>20</sup> Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannto, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29.

<sup>21</sup> The second and third parts of the Regan Doctrine was reminiscent of the Truman Doctrine. These two plans focused on containing Soviet expansion and giving aid to those fighting to stop communism spread.; Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannto, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29.

Reagan's refusal "to accept the so-called moral equivalence theory between the communist regimes and the democratic government of the free people"<sup>22</sup>

In his Inaugural Address Reagan set the tone for the re-ignited Cold War. In the speech Reagan reminded listeners of the exceptional nature of the United States, and that even if America had stumbled, it would be seen as an "exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who [did] not have freedom"<sup>23</sup> Reagan believed that part of America's exceptional nature was displayed in America's loyalty to its friends and its resolve to face its enemies.<sup>24</sup> To the enemies of the United States Reagan reminded them that America's desire for peace should not be mistaken for weakness and that the greatest weapon America had was the will and resolve of its citizens to preserve the American way of life.<sup>25</sup> Later in the speech Reagan reminded the listener that being a beacon of freedom had not come without cost, and while he stated that the crisis America was facing at the time did not require a bodily sacrifice, the subtext of the story he told was that Americans were willing to pay that price and that often it was the young men of society who were called on to make it.<sup>26</sup>

While the language in his inaugural address promoting the *us vs. them* binary was subtle, that consideration did not last long. By May of 1982, Reagan was no longer being diplomatic in regards to his thoughts about communism. In his commencement address at Eureka College,

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<sup>22</sup> Gil Troy and Vincent J. Cannto, *Living in the Eighties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 29.

<sup>23</sup> Ronald Reagan, "Inaugural Address," (Speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1981), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1981/12081a.htm>.

<sup>24</sup> Ronald Reagan, "Inaugural Address," (Speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1981), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1981/12081a.htm>.

<sup>25</sup> Ronald Reagan, "Inaugural Address," (Speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1981), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1981/12081a.htm>.

<sup>26</sup> Ronald Reagan, "Inaugural Address," (Speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1981), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1981/12081a.htm>.

Reagan talked about the repressive nature of the Soviet system and how harsh it was for Soviet citizens under the oppressive regime. Underlying his words was the idea that the Soviets were not to be trusted, a theme he would convey throughout much of his presidency. It was in this speech that the subtlety of his speech given a year and a half ago started to disappear. Gone were the nameless enemies of America of his first speech, rather he pointed to specific actions taken by the Soviet Union. Reagan told the audience there was “conclusive evidence the Soviet Union has provided toxins to the Laotians and Vietnamese for use against defenseless villagers in Southeast Asia” and that “for some time suspicions have grown that the Soviet Union has not been living up to its obligations under existing arms control treaties.”<sup>27</sup> Both of these statements were more direct examples of how the Soviet Union was not to be trusted.

A month later as part of a tour visiting American allies abroad, Reagan spoke to the British Parliament. Reagan’s disdain for the Soviet government began to mirror the rhetoric of the early Cold War period. Reagan called the Berlin Wall “that dreadful gray gash across the city.” He also utilized lines very similar to Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech. Finally in a throwback to Khrushchev’s “We Will Bury You” tirade of the early Cold War, Reagan proclaimed that “the march of freedom and democracy will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history,” the line that became the colloquial title for this address.<sup>28</sup>

While the Commencement address took a hardline towards the Soviets, it lack the harsh language of the speech to Parliament. The latter was not the time where Reagan aimed his caustic rhetoric against the Soviets. In what became one of his more famous presidential

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<sup>27</sup> Ronald Reagan, “Address at Commencement Exercises at Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois,” (speech, Eureka, Illinois, May 9, 1982), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1982/50982a.htm>.

<sup>28</sup> Ronald Reagan, “Address to Members of the British Parliament,” (speech, London, England, June 8, 1982), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1982/60882a.htm>.

addresses, at the annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals, in March of 1983, Reagan gave what became known as his “Evil Empire” speech.<sup>29</sup> In his talk Reagan consistently connected the Soviet Union to evil. Playing up the notion of godless communists, he reduced the Cold War fight to “the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil.”<sup>30</sup> There was no doubt as to which side of the balance the United States was on and which side the Soviet Union was on. The speech received its name from Reagan’s line “aggressive impulses of an evil empire,” which not only alluded to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, but also connected the Soviet Union to the villain in the popular *Star Wars* saga.<sup>31</sup>

While these were major moments in Reagan’s rhetorical attacks against the Soviet Union even when he started to soften his stance towards the Soviet Union he occasionally made comments that showed his long-held mistrust of it. Even as Reagan was reaching out in an effort to improve relations with the Soviet Union he could not help himself from taking shots at the Soviet Union, on 11 August 1984, only seven months after he addressed the nation, when he told the American population the United States and Soviet Union needed to “establish a better working relationship with each other, one marked by greater cooperation and understanding.”<sup>32</sup> During a mike check for his weekly radio address Reagan told those listening, “My fellow Americans. I’m pleased to tell you today that I’ve signed legislation that would outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing

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<sup>29</sup> Ronald Reagan, “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida,” (speech, Orlando Florida, March 8, 1983), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1983/30883b.htm>.

<sup>30</sup> Ronald Reagan, “Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida,” (speech, Orlando Florida, March 8, 1983), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1983/30883b.htm>.

<sup>31</sup> Whether it was Reagan’s intention or not by connecting the two Reagan brought the Cold War fight into the realm of those who might not have paid attention to the struggle. The Cold War was again connected to the popular film when the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) became commonly known as *Star Wars*.

<sup>32</sup> Ronald Reagan, “Address to the Nation and Other Countries on United States-Soviet Relations,” (speech, January 16, 1984), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017. <https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1984/11684a.htm>.

in five minutes.”<sup>33</sup> Reagan’s statement launched a wave of criticism from both Walter Mondale, his opponent in the upcoming election, and the Soviets themselves.<sup>34</sup> The problem with Reagan’s comment was that even though he was seeking cooperation between the two super powers many people felt the statement reflected Reagan’s true thoughts about the Soviet Union and communism.<sup>35</sup>

Even after Reagan had met several times with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev to discuss disarmament he would still push the Soviets and place the burden of creating peace squarely in their camp, in 1987 as Reagan was in Berlin to celebrate the 750<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the city, standing in front of the Berlin Wall with the Brandenburg Gate framed in the background, Reagan acknowledged that the Soviet Union had made strides “...and now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness.”<sup>36</sup> However, that was not enough for Reagan. The Soviets needed to prove their desire to change, by providing a bigger gesture. “There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come

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<sup>33</sup> Sean Wilentz, *Age of Reagan: A History 1974-2008* (New York: Harper, 2008), 249; “Just Kidding The problem is not that the President Reagan likes to kid around, which is usually an appealing trait. It’s his Choice of subjects,” *New York Time*, August 14, 1984; “Reagan slips on ‘bombing’ but avoids fallout” *London Financial Times*, August 14, 1984.

<sup>34</sup> Fay S. Joyce “Mondale chides Reagan on Soviet-Bombing Joke,” *New York Times*, August 14, 1984; “Reagan’s joking falls flat with Soviet commentator,” *The Globe and Mail*, August 15, 1984; “Kremlin Steps up attack on Reagan’s bomb joke” *The Globe and Mail*, August 16, 1984.

<sup>35</sup> “Kremlin Steps up attack on Reagan’s bomb joke” *The Globe and Mail*, August 16, 1984; “Soviet envoy comments on Reagan ‘bombing’ remarks,” *United Press International*, August 16, 1984; “Text of Soviet statement on Reagan Remark,” *the Associated Press*, August 15, 1984.

<sup>36</sup> Reagan, Ronald. “Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin,” (speech, West Berlin, Germany, June 12, 1987), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017.  
<https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1987/061287d.htm>.



here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!”<sup>37</sup> While this address was less anti-Soviet than earlier speeches it still showed Reagan’s underlying distrust towards the Soviets.<sup>38</sup> While the vitriol of the President’s anti-Soviet messages ebbed and flowed throughout his presidency, there was a consistency in Reagan’s message that the no matter what politically was going on the American people should follow his lead and maintain a healthy dose of skepticism about the Soviet Union.

Reagan was the president for the majority of the final Cold War generation’s teenage years. For all members of the cohort some part their high school experience overlapped with Reagan’s presidency, and for many of them Reagan’s two terms completely encompassed their high school experience. Except for the oldest members of the cohort, the election to find Reagan’s replacement was the first election they could vote in. They could if they so chose take a hand in either approving or repudiating Reagan’s administration.

Because the members of this cohort were now older the simplistic ideas of America they were exposed to in the 1970s would have to adapt to reflect their new level of understanding. As such this cohort’s understanding of the Cold War, what it meant to be an American, and American society as whole evolved to reflect the more complex stage of life the cohort was entering. Because the members of the cohort had aged they were now better able to understand that not everything they had been taught during elementary school was as cut and dried as they

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<sup>37</sup> Reagan, Ronald. "Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin," (speech, West Berlin, Germany, June 12, 1987), *The Public Papers of President Ronald W. Reagan*, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, accessed August 18, 2017.  
<https://www.reaganlibrary.archives.gov/archives/speeches/1987/061287d.htm>.

<sup>38</sup> According to James Mann in fact several key, Reagan administration officials worried an early draft of the speech “seemed to be full of Cold War rhetoric, a return to the past, at just the time when the situation seemed to be changing in the Soviet Union.”(James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: a history of the End of the Cold War* (New York: Viking, 2009), 164-6, 168-9, 177-81.) The controversy surrounding those lines was still being debated even as Reagan left for his trip. (James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: a history of the End of the Cold War* (New York: Viking, 2009), 182.)

had been led to believe. As discussed in Chapter 1, the importance of the education system to socialization was recognized by researchers across disciplines. According to sociologist Corwin Smidt the socialization offered by the school system allowed for a new generation to be introduced to “existing collective sentiments.”<sup>39</sup> While Smidt’s research looked at the elementary phase of education, not all placed the same significance on elementary education that Smidt did. Adam Gamoran did believe elementary schooling contributed to bringing future generations into the enfolding embrace of American society it was however not the primary agent of socialization. Gamoran’s research built on Smidt’s work of a decade earlier, where Smidt’s work focused on elementary schooling, Gamoran’s research differed in that in addition to looking at the elementary level, he included secondary level in his research. While Gamoran believed that the elementary schools played an important role in the socialization of America’s young population, Gamoran assumed that high school was where the true connection to American civil religion came from. Gamoran believed that high school was the place where the full immersion into American civil religion occurred.<sup>40</sup> This was due to high school student’s access to America’s sacred documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address. He also pointed to the fact that high school students got more grounding in the American mythos than in earlier grades.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Corwin Smidt, “Civil Religious Orientations among Elementary School Children.” *Sociological Analysis* 41, no. 1, (Spring 1980): 26.

<sup>40</sup> Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 246.

<sup>41</sup> One problem with Gamoran’s research is that he neglected to link both elementary and high school experiences into one contiguous experience. This failure could be due to Gamoran’s research having been conducted over a span of time with each session in a different context. However, this fragmentation of time meant that Gamoran did not realize that one possible reason that the high school students were such fertile grounds for the growth of American civil religion was due to the exposure that began at a younger age. This is problematic in that the research ignores that the elementary school experience was important to priming the older students to be more receptive to American civil religion and its importance in Cold War rhetoric. The only connection between the two levels that he addresses is that it was only in high school that those beliefs that were taken as unalterable fact in the lower grades are even questioned. (Adam Gamoran, “Civil Religion in American Schools” *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 248.)

Gamoran's work examined public schools and identified a total of fifteen American civil religious; beliefs, symbols, and rituals that the public-school system reinforced.<sup>42</sup> Gamoran acknowledged that American civil religion cannot provide "full scale societal integration," however it did allow a majority of the population to form a common identity.<sup>43</sup> More importantly though, Gamoran's primary group of study was the final Cold War generation, and like Smidt's analysis of elementary students, the value was in the participants rather than just the finding, as Gamoran's research provided both insight into the thinking of the cohort, the formation of a common identity, and the focus of the preceding generations.<sup>44</sup> Additionally when it came time for the members of the cohort to impart their knowledge to the succeeding generations they had a foundation to explain how America was an exceptional country and why these icons and ideals were important to society.

As the final Cold War generation reached high school, the main educational institution at the secondary level, there was a shift away from the rituals of the elementary levels. With the shift from elementary school to high school there was an associated shift in subject matter as well. Social studies was gone. Instead there was a shift to classes that focused on specific disciplines. At the elementary level, social studies tended to combine history, political science, and geography into one subject that looked at the United States as a whole. In high school American History became the primary vehicle for exploring the United States. While history classes

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<sup>42</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 247.

<sup>43</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 236 – 237; Even so, he did point out that some demographics of the student population might feel alienated. This alienation was primarily centered around the Christian nature of some holidays which according to Gamoran, caused dissonance within other religious subgroups. Even with the creation of this dissonance the school system was a great way to ensure that what the societal collective memory deemed as important American civil religious icons were passed on, and in such a way that new generations could learn what was important. (Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 237, 251 )

<sup>44</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, no. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 237 – 238.

touched on these other disciplines they tended to be addressed within a historical context.<sup>45</sup>

Within the secondary education system textbooks, particularly history textbooks, became the main way this cohort was socialized into who and what was important to American society.

Both a criticism of history textbooks and a way to sell them, was that these textbooks were designed in such a way to promote patriotism in young readers. The need to promote and instill patriotism in the younger generations was not a new mandate. Since the early days of the republic there was a recognition as to the power of textbooks.<sup>46</sup> Joseph Moreau asserted that it was after the defeat of the Confederacy that society as a whole began to believe that “history curriculum and textbooks should reflect and promote national cohesion.”<sup>47</sup> As American society moved into the twentieth century, the power of textbooks to shape young children was widely accepted by society. History textbooks were seen by the public as so influential, in 1927 the superintendent of Chicago schools was put on trial by the Mayor for “treason” because the superintendent was trying “to destroy American patriotism and ‘de-nationalize’ students.” The charge of “treason” was due to the districts “alleged” use of “pro-British textbooks.”<sup>48</sup> James

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<sup>45</sup> Political science in the form of American government was touched upon when history classes examined the creation of the United States during the American Revolution and the subsequent ratification of the Constitution. In the 1980s the state of Illinois required its students to pass a unit on both the U.S. Constitution and the state constitution. Typically, this was studied during junior year as part of the required American History class. This unit tended to fall within the first part of the first U.S. history course, after the class learned about the American Revolution. The state still had this requirement for graduation though when the test is given is now different. The discipline of Geography was also be found within the history class but it is primarily in the discussion of manifest destiny and the admittance of states to the union within the larger historical narrative. This use of geography tended to rely on the fact that the students had already learned about the states during their elementary school years, in social studies.

<sup>46</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*. 2nd edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 179.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 19.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 175.

Loewen wrote about how in 1925 the American Legion “declaimed that the ideal textbook ‘must inspire the children with patriotism’”<sup>49</sup>

While there was approximately half a century between The American Legion’s declaration and the final Cold War generation cohort entering high school, the Cold War did nothing to dampen this idea, and the sentiment was still one of the founding principles of textbook publishers.<sup>50</sup> This idea that textbooks would support national ideals was written about by William Griffin and John Marciano. Because they wrote during the late 1970s a time when the cohort’s textbooks were being published, Griffin and Marciano’s observation that “textbooks...rarely raise disloyal and controversial questions,” speaks to the type of material used by the group.<sup>51</sup> Griffin and Marciano further claim textbooks “rationalize and affirm the official U.S. view,” and that “textbooks offer an obvious means of realizing hegemony in education... through their suppression of data and alternative views.”<sup>52</sup> It is this sanitizing of history that keeps textbooks and their publisher from alienating those who approve the books purchase. Because most publishers do the same thing the unintended result is that there is not a lot variation in the events and how they are presented, this is one of the reasons that textbooks help form a common identity.

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<sup>49</sup> Additionally Loewen wrote that the American Legion claimed that textbooks should also “be careful to tell the truth...,” “must dwell on failure only for its moral lesson, must speak chiefly of success...”; James W. Loewen *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 265-6.

<sup>50</sup> After writing about a recommendation to change history texts in 1986, Loewen goes on to claim that the “today’s [1990s] textbooks hew closely to the American legion line.”; James W. Loewen *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 265-6.

<sup>51</sup> William L. Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War: A critical examination of School Texts and an Interpretive Comparative History Utilizing the Pentagon Papers and Other Documents* (Montclair NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Co Publishers Inc., 1979), 165.

<sup>52</sup> William L. Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War: A critical examination of School Texts and an Interpretive Comparative History Utilizing the Pentagon Papers and Other Documents* (Montclair NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Co Publishers Inc., 1979), 167; William L. Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War: A critical examination of School Texts and an Interpretive Comparative History Utilizing the Pentagon Papers and Other Documents* (Montclair NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Co Publishers Inc., 1979), 163.

James Loewen, while not directly citing Griffin and Marciano directly, claimed that the approach identified by the two was still around in the mid-1990s. His examination of the phenomenon formed the basis for his book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*.<sup>53</sup> The overblown sense of nationalism throughout history textbooks was one of the main critiques Loewen made towards modern textbooks.<sup>54</sup> Historian Joseph Moreau concurred with Loewen's assessment that the texts promoted patriotism and that it had not changed from past beliefs. Both Loewen and Moreau perform a historical analysis of textbook publishing. In his examination Moreau cited a letter written in 1964 from a manager of Houghton Mifflin where the manager wrote "that his company 'subscribes to the principle that textbooks play a unique role in helping to unify the nation.'"<sup>55</sup> In response to the memo and the confirmation provided by an industry insider, Moreau wrote "All major educational publishers shared that outlook, which had not changed since the mid-nineteenth century."<sup>56</sup> In essence Moreau is providing more evidence to support the arguments of Griffin and Marciano and of Loewen. As stated earlier because publishers want to avoid offending the committee members, choosing textbooks for their district and get their editions adopted, they work to ensure the book is seen as supporting the nation. An argument support by Loewen's research in his interview with publishing companies executives. These executives explained to Loewen that fear of alienating these adoption boards along with others

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<sup>53</sup> Loewen's examination while chronologically outside of the scope of this study used as his sources books that the cohort would have used so his arguments point to the underlying thought of the publishers of the textbooks during the period. His work also provides evidence that even though society changes some underlying principles continue.

<sup>54</sup> James W. Loewen *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 305.

<sup>56</sup> Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 305-6.

was the main reason that these texts were in such a state that Loewen could easily criticize them.<sup>57</sup>

The textbooks that the final Cold War generation read in the 1970s and 1980s tended to paint a broader picture of those iconic figures first introduced to this cohort through media representations or its earlier educational experience. They accomplished this by telling the icons' stories more completely than either experience could. In addition to teaching about important people, places, things and events, textbooks provide an education on which ideals were important to American society. Gamoran believed textbooks were the primary channels for these learned ideals. He demonstrated this when he examined the teacher's manual of a fourth-grade social studies textbook. The author of the book wrote that teachers were encouraged to ask, "Why we should respect our country" and to "talk about patriotism."<sup>58</sup> Schools, through the use of rituals, curriculum, and a communal calendar, "foster the socialization of American youth and bring them in to the collective society."<sup>59</sup>

High school textbooks played an important role in getting American civil religion's messages across. Loewen argued that multiple parts of the books helped to promote a patriotic sense of nationalism.<sup>60</sup> It was his contention that even the book covers helped to promote patriotism. He

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<sup>57</sup> James W. Loewen *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 276.

<sup>58</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 245

<sup>59</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 245; Loewen's and Moreau's belief that textbooks promoted patriotism and worked as a socializing agent were demonstrated as American society entered the twenty-first century. In Scott Foresman's *Social Studies Regions*, a fourth-grade textbook utilized by the Lawrence public school system (USD 497), a special section showcasing national symbols and the American Revolution was offered before the actual social studies units began. (Scott Foresman, *Social Studies Regions* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education 2005), E2 – E3, E16.) While a pale imitation on the prose of textbooks Gamoran examined, we can still see the socializing effects that schools have today and their importance in teaching the young of society what was deemed important. Because the target audience of these two textbooks just mentioned were elementary students, the books tend to promote and tie into the ritualization process discussed in chapter 1.

<sup>60</sup> Loewen utilized twelve different textbooks dating from 1974 to 1991 as the primary sources for his book. He lists full bibliographic information in an appendix of the book. James W. Loewen *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 365.

pointed out that the titles, along with their cover art, often made history books easily identifiable.<sup>61</sup> According to Frances FitzGerald, in her study of textbooks, in the twentieth century, the Statue of Liberty, Independence Hall and the American Flag all seem to hold a fascination with textbook publishers.<sup>62</sup>

An examination of history textbooks used by the final Cold War generation cohort supports Loewen's and FitzGerald's observations.<sup>63</sup> Joining the textbooks that Loewen utilized from the 1970s and 1980s such as *Life and Liberty*, *American Adventures*, *The Triumph of the American Nation*, *The Challenge of Freedom*, and *Land of Promise*, were other textbooks titled *Foundations of Freedom*, *The American Nation*, *History of a Free People*, *America's Heritage*, *Rise of the American Nation*, *Building the American Nation*, and *United States History Presidential Edition*. These books, by their very titles, reinforce the idea that America was a special place and that her people were exceptional. For example Harold Eibling's *Foundation of Freedom: United States History to 1877*, used American civil religion throughout. Even the title gave the history of the United States an almost mystical quality that we should respect. Without the freedom Americans enjoyed, society could be under a worse form of government and be virtual slaves to the government's desires. The covers of these additional books mirror the ones that Loewen examined. They too were covered with iconic representation designed to connect the reader to the symbols of American patriotism.

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<sup>61</sup> James W. Loewen *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>62</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979), 57.

<sup>63</sup> The author examined twenty-five texts associated with American history. The study consists of nineteen unique titles, which could have been used while the members of the cohort were taking an American History class. Within the study there was almost no overlap with the twelve textbooks that Loewen examined. Only James Davidson and Mark Lytle's *The United States: A History of the Republic* and Thomas A. Baley and David M. Kennedy's *The American Pageant*, were used by both studies.



As the national bird, eagles were a popular symbol for covers of history books, though not one identified by FitzGerald. On four of the textbooks examined eagles were prominently displayed. The 1983 edition of Ginn and Company's *A History of the United States* had an eagle similar to the one depicted on the Great Seal of the United States.<sup>64</sup> Half of the front cover of *Rise of the American Nation, Heritage Edition*, prominently displayed an American bald eagle framing the title.<sup>65</sup> Addison-Wesley's *United States History Presidential Edition* was more restrained than *Rise of the American Nation* in its display of the eagle, however it still figured prominently, especially when taken with the red, white and blue representation of the flag that was used for the background of the cover.<sup>66</sup> *History of a Free People's* black cover displayed a roman-stylized eagle. The text also played to an American theme as the title of the book was written in red, the authors name was in blue, and surrounding the text is a white box. On the teachers edition written in white across the top of the book is text that identifies itself as the teacher's annotated edition.<sup>67</sup> While this would not be an edition the children would use they would have still seen it as the teacher is working out of it and holding the book in class.

The inclusion of flags on the covers of American History textbooks was another way patriotic symbols were displayed. The publishers of 1992 edition *A History of the United States* replaced the eagle from the cover with a reproduction of Fredrick Childe Hassam's "Fourth of July, 1916," a painting depicting a turn-of-the-century flag-draped New York street that Hassam

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<sup>64</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), front cover.

<sup>65</sup> Lewis Paul Todd and Merle Curti, *Rise of the American Nation, Heritage edition* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), front cover.

<sup>66</sup> David C. King, Mariah Marvin, David Weitzman, and Toni Dwiggins, *United States History Presidential Edition*, (Menlo Park CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1986), front cover.

<sup>67</sup> Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, *History of a Free People*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1981), front cover.

saw during a preparedness parade.<sup>68</sup> While there was a shift in images, the textbook still portrayed images with strong symbolic connection to patriotism and nationalism. This idea was easily reinforced when students heard the name of the image and the circumstances surrounding its creation.

Sometimes textbooks utilized images of famous buildings or national monuments to grace their covers. For example in various editions of *The American Nation*, Paul Boyer utilized images of Abraham Lincoln from the Lincoln Memorial.<sup>69</sup> Lincoln's role in freeing the slaves and the image's inclusion created a strong yet subtle connection for the audience of the book to the idea of freedom. Another symbol that had strong nationalistic ties and was representative to the ideals of freedom was the Statue of Liberty. Although not displayed on as many covers, in the sample as images of flags or eagles, Prentice Hall's *The United States: A History of the Republic* displayed not only a flag but also included the Statue of Liberty.<sup>70</sup> The cover of the book foregrounded the Statue while a nearly transparent flag was shown behind the statue as these two images worked to frame the title.<sup>71</sup>

Sometimes depictions of patriotic themes were less obvious than the title or the covers. Chapter titles, table of contents images, chapter images, and even the formatting of the textbooks all played a part in subtly reinforcing those people, places, and things were a part of American civil religion. Both chapter titles and table of contents images, like covers, changed from edition to edition. Changes in textbooks reflect change in societal understanding and feelings.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *Annotated Teachers Edition, A History of the United States*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1992), iv.

<sup>69</sup> Paul Boyer, *The American Nation* (Austin TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1995), front cover, title page

<sup>70</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *Annotated Teachers Edition, The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition, (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), front cover.

<sup>71</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *Annotated Teachers Edition, The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), front cover.

<sup>72</sup> One example of this is after the Civil Rights movement there was a push for textbooks to move away from the master narrative and to be more inclusive and by the start of the 1990s textbooks were being promoted as

Changes between textbook editions demonstrated FitzGerald's contention that "children who belong to the same generation often get a very different impression of national identity."<sup>73</sup> What FitzGerald was alluding to was that even the same textbook might portray different ideals depending on the edition, and the shifting pressures created by society. It is thinking like FitzGerald's that demonstrate the idea that this cohort is unique in its experiences and that these experiences made it different from the rest of Generation X and other Cold War generations. As discussed above different editions tended to reflect the changing nature of society. While FitzGerald examined the change between textbooks throughout the twentieth century, textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s had a very different feel from one another and reflected the changes that occurred in American society during these two decades.<sup>74</sup> Through her research FitzGerald reached the conclusion that in a period of increased tensions, textbook publishers would assume a more optimistically nationalistic narrative.<sup>75</sup> This meant that increased tension in American society during the late Cold War period, necessitated that the of textbooks of the 1980s were more optimistic than the post-Watergate textbooks of the 1970s.

In addition to this shift in tone between the 1970s and 1980s there was also a discernable change in the format of the books. While format changes alone are not necessarily indicative of socialization, sometimes these changes did promote a sense of patriotism and connected to the

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multicultural (Daniel Boorstin, and Brooks Kelley *Annotated Teachers Edition, A History of the United States*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1992), T12-13.)

<sup>73</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979), 47.

<sup>74</sup> FitzGerald did not focus on the shifting Cold War periods as the primary driving force of the changes in textbooks, rather she focuses on the changes brought about by social upheavals such as the Civil Rights movements and women's movements of the late 1960s and Early 1970s. It is however my contention that the easing of tensions between the Soviet Union and United States allowed a shift in national focus that allowed the dissonance contained within American society during this time to finally have enough momentum to overwhelm the constraints placed on it.

<sup>75</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979), 117.

readers sense of American identity. FitzGerald contends that there was a shift in the format of the books with the addition of color pictures in the 1970s.<sup>76</sup> The changes that FitzGerald noticed did occur, however in the sample examined it was not until the 1980s that this really became widespread. Of the textbooks examined those in the 1970s contained less color than those from the 1980s. which shows the industry was in fact changing. One example of a textbook that the publishers used the addition of color to make the book seem more patriotic was *The American Pageant* published by D. C. Heath and Company. The fourth edition of the book published in 1971 had far less color than the eighth edition published in 1987.<sup>77</sup> It was not just the pictures that became more colorful it was also the chapter headings and quotes. The rectangular format of the eighth edition created enough space for significant change in the formatting of chapter introductions. Across the top of the page was a blue ribbon like banner that had a smaller white ribbon banner with red stars wrapped around the center of the larger ribbon. While not matching the exact color scheme of the flag the banner did prime the readers to think about the flag. An added bonus of including this banner, which ran to the end of the page, meant that when looking at the side of the closed book the readers could identify the chapter breaks, solving the problem of inattentive students not realizing there was a shift in material. The biggest change in formatting in this edition however was in the chapter headings. While the older edition had all caps and larger type for the chapter title the latter edition had the chapter title centered in the page and was not only bigger but identified by red type. This color type and the blue ribbon across the top and the white space surrounding this part of the page also subtly connected back to

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<sup>76</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979), 14-5.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971); Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1987).

the flag. It was not just the text that saw formatting changes that helped to promote patriotism and thereby increasing a sense of *us*.

The table of contents was another area within the textbook that could set the tone for the entire book. It was a place where the idea of patriotism and national identity could be promoted, or depending on the tone of the textbook muted. FitzGerald described how the glowing patriotic-sounding section and chapter titles of the 1950s became more muted in the 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>78</sup> However by the 1980s there was a shift back to the more positive and nationalistic titles, though this could depend on the ideological leanings of the publisher, or the targeted school district. Titles like “The Making of Americans,” “*E pluribus unum*: One made from many 1800-1840,” or “The rocky road to union 1860-1890” found in Ginn and Company’s *A History of the United States* all promote the idea of unity and the nation coming together.<sup>79</sup> These titles bypass the idea of American exceptionalism and instead promote in the readers the sense of a common *us*. This same idea happens with some of the unit titles in Coronado Publishers’ *Our Land, Our Time* the title “One land many people” while not as explicit as “One made from many” it still conveys a coming together in to a cohesive whole.<sup>80</sup> Like unit one, unit two “The making of a nation” and unit 4 “Division and reunion” also imply the chapters are about building a unified national identity, an identity that can be categorize as an American.<sup>81</sup>

Specialized textbooks took a more direct approach and explicitly connected sections titles to their ideology. While these textbooks did not have the same levels of distribution more mainstream titles had, they help prove that there was a pattern in how textbooks provided

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<sup>78</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1979), 18-9.

<sup>79</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), vii-viii.

<sup>80</sup> Conlin, Joseph R. *Our Land, Our Time* (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), vi-x.

<sup>81</sup> Conlin, Joseph R. *Our Land, Our Time* (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), vi-vii, x.

information to students that reinforced ideological beliefs. Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher's *United States History for Christian Schools* was one such example. The textbook used unit titles such as "The Nation Conceived," "The Nation Born," and "The Nation Restored," which when considering the intended audience could be framed as comparing the United States to Jesus.<sup>82</sup> While there is no direct comparison between the two, there were enough implied connections by the authors to the "divine" nature of the United States, within the textbook, to be able to make this association. For instance in the "To the Student" section of the book, the authors tell the readers that "The United States is a special nation. It was special not just because it is *our* [italics original] nation..., but also because it, more than any other nation in modern history, has been founded and built upon biblical principles."<sup>83</sup> This was not the only place where the book touted the exceptional nature of the United States, even before the chapters started the book did this. Starting with an excerpt from *America the Beautiful*, the next six pages illustrated in both words and pictures why America was so great.<sup>84</sup> After these pages the book presented why America was special and unique, but it also indicates how the idea of patriotism and love of God were intertwined.<sup>85</sup>

The Chambers and Fisher textbook, while mostly praising the greatness of the United States, did hint at problems within society. It builds off this idea with unit titles such as "The Nation Corrupted," and "The Nation Endangered" along with an epilogue, "The Nation's Decline" which shows that, at least in the authors' view, America had deviated from the city on the hill

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<sup>82</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), v-vii.

<sup>83</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 11.

<sup>84</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 1-7.

<sup>85</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 8.

that it was supposed to idealize.<sup>86</sup> What makes these titles even more interesting is that they follow one another and cover the twentieth century, indicating that the authors believe this was when America's downfall began. Before praising the nation in the "To the Student" section the authors reminded the students "Because this country, like every other country, is made up of fallen and imperfect men, it has not always been in the right."<sup>87</sup> The chapters in these sections blamed the growing importance of money in American society and America's involvement in other countries as contributing to its downfall, as the imperfect men who led the country steered it onto the rocks, a point reinforced in the epilogue when the authors state "Not all of the nation's changes, however, have been for the better. Especially in the twentieth century, American morals have rapidly and radically declined."<sup>88</sup> This coupled with a later statement where the authors wrote "Originally a small and struggling nation, it has become wealthy and powerful," implied the authors' believed that this was a bad thing and caused the country's downfall, changing what the authors saw as "three foundational institutions: the family, the church, and the civil government."<sup>89</sup> Because the three institutions were morally weakened, two by the decay of their power and the third by assuming the power of the other two, the nation as a whole was weakened and in "decline."<sup>90</sup>

Some textbooks present a more nuanced criticism of American society, couching societal difficulties in terms such as "Challenges for the New Nation" or "Challenge and Change" that

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<sup>86</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), vii-viii.

<sup>87</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 10.

<sup>88</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 605.

<sup>89</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 605.

<sup>90</sup> Glen Chambers and Gene Fisher, *United States History for Christen Schools* (Greenville SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1982), 605.

Margret Stimmann Branson used for her textbook.<sup>91</sup> Titles like “The Price of Power” that was used in the 1977 edition of *America! America!* or “An Age of Anxiety” used by Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen’s *History of a Free People* hint that all was not right within American society, but not nearly as explicitly as the Chambers and Fisher book.<sup>92</sup>

Different editions of the same textbook demonstrated the shift in tone with later ones presenting the country in a more positive light. In the second edition of Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley’s *A History of the United States*, published in 1983, a chapter that falls within the 1961-1974 time period is titled “Lyndon B. Johnson- from Success to Failure.”<sup>93</sup> By the time the fifth edition came out almost a decade later the title had been changed to “LBJ: From the Great Society to Vietnam.”<sup>94</sup> However the chapter subheadings stayed the same. This shift demonstrated the change to a more positive wording that FitzGerald identified. It also helped to reinforce the idea of America as an exceptional nation. It did this by changing the focus of the chapter title. The older version of the title conveys that American society was at a high point and that by the time the chapter was over it had fallen. The wording also seems to place this decline at the feet of President Johnson. The new version removes the stigma of failure from the title, it also tells the reader what part of American society the chapter is looking at. While the use of Vietnam in the title could still imply a negative connotation, especially for those reading the title who knew about the conflict, that interpretation is reliant on the reader’s understanding of the conflict. The new edition’s use of these two headings meant the chapter was framed more as a

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<sup>91</sup> Margret Stimmann Branson, *America’s Heritage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1986), “Table of Contents,” np.

<sup>92</sup> L. Joanne Bugey, Gerald A. Danzer, Charles L. Mitsakos, and C. Fredrick Risinger, *Teachers Annotated Edition, America! America!* (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977), “Contents,” np.; Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, *History of a Free People* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1981), viii.

<sup>93</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*. 2nd edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), x.

<sup>94</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *Annotated Teachers Edition, A History of the United States*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1992), xii.



discreet time period rather than as a cometary on society. This did not mean that *A History of the United States* glosses over the problems of the time period, in fact the chapter introductions were the same in both editions. Both editions told the students “This would be a time of triumph and troubles;” however, the change in the chapter title changed the tone of the chapter.<sup>95</sup> Rebecca Brooks Gruver’s *An American History* reinforced the idea that titles set the tone for the chapters. In her preface she stated that new chapter titles were one of the ways the newest edition “sharpened the focus of each chapter.”<sup>96</sup> With this statement, Gruver acknowledged the subtle power these design practices had on the reader. While this example was demonstrated a blatant change to a more positive outlook, many textbooks display similar positive messages via their chapter titles, and when the table of contents were examined an overall pattern emerged. Sometimes unit titles were neutral such as “Creating a Republic” or “An Era of Expansion” such as the ones in Davidson and Lytle’s *The United States: A History of the Republic*.<sup>97</sup> Titles such as “Colonial America” or “Conflict and Reunion” in Eibling’s *Foundations of Freedom* were also neutral sounding, but overall the 1980s saw a shift to more positive sounding chapter titles.<sup>98</sup> These more optimistic chapter titles subtly reinforce American greatness. With chapter titles like “A Free Country in a New World” in Bragdon and McCutchen’s *History of a Free People*, or “Making the Dream Work,” and “The Dream Expands” in Lew Smith’s *The American Dream*, gave the impression the United States was unique among the nations of the world. Paul Boyer’s

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<sup>95</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*. 2nd edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 660; Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *Annotated Teachers Edition, A History of the United States*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1992), 796.

<sup>96</sup> Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985), ix.

<sup>97</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *Annotated Teachers Edition, The United States: A History of the Republic*. 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), “Contents,” np

<sup>98</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom: United States History to 1877* (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), 5, 7.

*The American Nation* even touts the United States as “A World Power” a more positive way of presenting the United States in the time of imperialism.<sup>99</sup>

In addition to imparting general commentary about the state of American society, chapter titles also played up the importance of those mythic people, places, and things. One chapter in a unit on the period immediately after the Revolutionary War in Davidson and Lytle’s *The United States: A History of the Republic* was titled “A More Perfect Union,” which was preceded by a chapter titled “An Experimental Era.” These two chapter titles combined enabled the reader to form the conclusion that the Articles of Confederation were destined to fail and the only form of government that would stand the test of time was the Constitution. This was because the Constitution as the United States governing document could not be portrayed as anything less than flawless.<sup>100</sup> Since these two documents formed the foundation for American society if they were flawed then the implication was that what was built on that base was flawed as well, a conclusion that would not play well with the idea that as an exceptional nation, the United States and the ideals it represented, would endure forever.

It was not just the chapter titles that changed; towards the middle to late 1980s the table of contents themselves began to change. Gone were the straight list of unit and chapter titles. Some textbooks began to include images on the table of contents pages. The pictures become an additional source of understanding what the chapters are about. The inclusion of images was not necessarily a new thing. For example the 1977 edition of *America! America!* Included fourteen sepia toned photographs of relatively consistent sizes in the margins of the table of contents.

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<sup>99</sup> Henry W. Bragdon and Samuel P. McCutchen, *History of a Free People* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1981), v ; Lew Smith, *The American Dream*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), “contents,” np; Paul Boyer, *The American Nation* (Austin TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1995), x.

<sup>100</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *The United States: A History of the Republic*. 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 154, 138.

However, later textbooks moved full-color pictures into the columns to visually break up the text. Some, such as *Our Land, Our Time*, used just one image per page, but these images tended to larger in size, including some that took up the bottom third of the page. Even though *Our Time* had fewer pictures, only nine, the book does maintain a theme with the images. The pictures all tie back to the Revolutionary period, reminding the viewer of the Revolution's importance to all parts of American history.<sup>101</sup>

Even though the table of contents revealed how a textbook could to guide the reader to reach certain ideas it was a small part of the overall textbook. The wording of the text also contributes to reader's inclination to support or question the nation. In *A History of the United States*, second edition the authors writing about Lafayette's visit to America state "perhaps the chief symbol of the new American nationalism was the flag." The section continues with a discussion of why the American eagle was chosen as the national bird, even going so far as to proclaim "Although the nation was still young, it already had a history, with heroes and stirring mottos."<sup>102</sup> This one section not only reinforced important symbols but also explained to the reader why these things were important, and implied they should be revered as well. The book even tells how important education was and that there was a desire by early presidents to create a national university whose primary purpose was to "instill patriotism and prepare citizens to govern." The authors also write that there was a belief in the early days of the country that it was the duty of textbooks to impart a sense of national spirit.<sup>103</sup> The reason for this is the desire to create a unified American identity.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time*, 1985 (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), vi-xiii.

<sup>102</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 178.

<sup>103</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 179.

<sup>104</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 179.

Other books take a different approach. When beginning the unit on the expanding frontier, the authors of *The American Dream* wrote that “Americans of all background seem to share the view that the West was a special place.” This reinforces the book’s contention that even though there were problems in America’s past, the West was “unique because it seemed to be the place where dreams could be fulfilled.”<sup>105</sup> The American West then became a place where Americans could seek out the fulfillment of their dreams. The text describes how these dreams change between the various groups who went west and demonstrates how they changed over time. Yet the idea that their dreams could be realized remained the same. Since Smith’s *The American Dream*, second edition was published in 1980 his textbook showed a more realistic look at American society that FitzGerald pointed to as prevalent in late 1960s and 1970s, but because his book was printed in the transition period he was careful to balance the negatives with a positives.

In the narrative about America’s involvement in World War I, Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy wrote, “A new American giant had arisen in the West to replace the dying Russian titan in the East.”<sup>106</sup> Not only did the text construct the narrative in such a way that it was only America’s timely involvement as a newly formed world power that allowed the allies to defeat the central powers, but also the sentence also reinforced the idea that the United States was better than Russia, and because by the 1980s the terms Russia and the Soviet Union were used interchangeably this critique of imperial Russia became representative of the Soviet Union.<sup>107</sup> Even in a later chapter covering the time period of 1953-1960, the authors use positive sounding language to present a difficult period of history. When writing about *Brown v Board of*

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<sup>105</sup> Lew Smith, *The American Dream*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), 195, 9.

<sup>106</sup> Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1987), 684.

<sup>107</sup> Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1987), 683-5.

*Education*, the authors utilize such flowery language as “the learned justices” and “the uncompromising sweep of the decision” these lines imply a strong and decisive branch of government.<sup>108</sup> This was an important idea in the post-Watergate period of the 1980s, as faith in the Federal government had reached an all-time low in the mid to late 1970s. The authors closed the chapter with glowing praise of American society stating that “America was fabulously prosperous in the Eisenhower years.” Even though they do acknowledge that not everyone prospered, the authors made it seem like those people were few and far between. This was a very different description of the time period than in Rebecca Brooks Gruver’s *An American History*, fourth edition, where her description of the same era acknowledged “Almost Everyone was disturbed by the weakening economy.”<sup>109</sup> While this was a decidedly more negative outlook than the Bailey and Kennedy book it fit with Gruver’s contention that telling America’s story was “complex.”<sup>110</sup> It was Gruver’s belief that the book was still true to the enduring American ideals of “individual freedom, equality of opportunity” and a concern for the less well off.<sup>111</sup> Gruver acknowledges that there were problems with access to the ideal of opportunity, but she had faith that the American people throughout history had worked to rectify this inequality though she admitted that some points in history they were more successful than others.<sup>112</sup> While more muted in *An American History*, than in other textbooks of the time, the patriotic rhetoric was still there and Gruver still reinforced the idea that the American experience was unique and preferable.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1987), 844.

<sup>109</sup> Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985), 856.

<sup>110</sup> Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985), ix.

<sup>111</sup> Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985), ix.

<sup>112</sup> Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985), ix.

<sup>113</sup> For example in her introduction of the Industrial Age Gruver explains how industry became representative of American life. While acknowledging the rise of monopolies and the dangers they possessed she made it seem like it was only through the actions of a few greedy Americans as to why this became a problem.; Rebecca Brooks Gruver, *An American History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985), 484.

Sometimes the importance of the copy text was extremely subtle. While the meaning might be consciously missed, on a subconscious level it would still resonate and add to the weight of certain strongly held beliefs. For example, in *The American Nation*, by Garraty and McCaughey, their examination of President Eisenhower compared him to George Washington. This was an example where the copy implied more than what was actually written. The authors asserted that Eisenhower tried to emulate certain policies like Washington, and like Washington, Eisenhower did not always succeed.<sup>114</sup> The comparison was interesting in not so much what was said but by what was left unsaid. By making this comparison, Garraty and McCaughey were reinforcing the idea that Washington was the president that all others should desire to emulate. His deification showed him to be the pinnacle of the American presidency. By comparing Eisenhower to Washington the book in effect implied that Eisenhower was a good president because he chose to follow in Washington's footsteps.

Benjamin Franklin was another person from the founding period who received this subtle praise that increased his importance within the historical narrative. Colin's *Our Land, Our Time* praises Benjamin Franklin and his contribution to the colonies. The section starts with the heading "Ben Franklin Proposes Union."<sup>115</sup> While the section in question was about the time period immediately before the French and Indian War it is already laying the groundwork for setting up how important Franklin is in the American mythos. Colin's assertion that by "calling for union, Franklin was as usual ahead of his time," This implies that Franklin could already see where the colonies needed to end up, he was giving Franklin the credit for laying the ground work for the formation of the United States.<sup>116</sup> In this same section Colin continues to play up

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<sup>114</sup> John A. Garraty and Robert A. McCaughey, *The American Nation: A History of the United States*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1987), 842.

<sup>115</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time* (1985, San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 98.

<sup>116</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time* (1985, San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 98.

Franklin's importance to American society when he wrote, "Franklin was regarded as a wise man," and "Franklin was the best known American of his time."<sup>117</sup> This told the reader that Franklin was important and that if a man like this was involved in the creation of the United States then the reader could infer that his wisdom helped shape something truly special, and that without Franklin the United States as it was known would be a very different place.

Inline text was not the only way that final Cold War generation cohort learned about what was important to American society. American civil religious icons were sometimes prominently displayed in textboxes that were outside the traditional narrative structure of the text. These textboxes by being offset or placed in special positions increase the likelihood that they will be noticed by the reader. By highlighting these icons textbooks showed that they were important and that the reader should take notice of them. Sidebars about sacred sites, important people, even the holy triumvirate of documents: the Constitution, Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights, were located throughout various textbooks. In addition to these important American civil religious icons, other important and fundamental ideals were also shown in these sidebars. By placing these items outside of the main narrative, the authors not only gave these items greater importance than the items within the main part of the text, but these items were also harder to miss. This had the added benefit of making sure that if the reader missed the information in the main narrative they would see it in the highlighted section. Even if the student did not read the sidebar most contained pictures of the topic and a title that reinforced the importance of said items.

One example of highlighting an important icon occurs in Davidson and Lytle's *The United States: A History of the Republic* a sidebar on the creation of the national Capitol, a picture of the

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<sup>117</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time* (1985, San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 98.

partly finished Capitol building was surrounded by blocks of text with sentences like these two, “to help create a Capitol magnificent enough to grace a great nation” and “Washington D.C. soon became a symbol of American Independence and national unity.”<sup>118</sup> Because the authors were able to link a picture that was identifiable with the modern building, to sentences like that, the Capitol building was able to transcend the mundane. The textbook keys into the importance already placed on the capitol by sight and explains why it is an important building to the nation. This transforms it from being an ordinary office building where people worked, and instead becomes representative for American greatness, the ideals that America is supposed to stand for and according to the text it is one of many symbols that can represent what it means to be an American.<sup>119</sup> In later editions the idea of a grand capital became even more pronounced.<sup>120</sup> Davidson and Lytle’s textbook was not the only one to present American history in a format that gives prominence to historic buildings important in the creation of the United States. Harold Eibling’s *Foundation of Freedom* also highlighted American civil religious icons in sidebars to high school students. One such sidebar included Eibling’s treatment of Independence Hall. The sidebar takes up half of the page, and while there were no pictures in the sidebar itself, the opposite page sports two images -- a current photograph of Independence Hall and an engraving of the Hall as it was in 1780.<sup>121</sup> The caption of the images also explains that Independence Hall was home to another American civil religious icon -- the Liberty Bell.<sup>122</sup> However it was in the

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<sup>118</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 174.

<sup>119</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 174.

<sup>120</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *Annotated Teachers Edition, The United States: a History of the Republic*. 5th edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990)

<sup>121</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 218-19.

<sup>122</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 219.



sidebar where Eibling promoted how important Independence Hall is to American society. Eibling maintained “most of the important events connected with the founding of our country took place in one building.”<sup>123</sup> Eibling goes on to describe the Hall’s role in the Declaration of Independence, Washington taking command of the Continental Army and the creation of both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.<sup>124</sup> It was easy for the reader to see how Independence Hall could be considered a sacred site since so many important events occurred there. This was Eibling’s primary goal. In the comments section of the teacher’s edition he claimed that the purpose of this sidebar was to help “students understand why certain historical buildings are preserved as national monuments.”<sup>125</sup> This sentiment reinforced the sacred nature of not only Independence Hall but all national monuments thereby demonstrating their important to American society.

*Foundation of Freedom*, does not just highlight why certain buildings are notable in the American mythos but also why certain symbols are important and why the students should be familiar with these symbols. The main purpose of this side bar was to explain the significance of the Great Seal.<sup>126</sup> Eibling not only tells how the seal predates the adoption of the Constitution, but also that the symbols on the seal had significance. According to Eibling “the eagle holding the shield” represented self-reliance. The olive branch and arrows clutched in the eagle’s talons represents Congress’s power to declare war and make peace. The national motto “*E Pluribus*

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<sup>123</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 218

<sup>124</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 218.

<sup>125</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Annotated Teachers Edition, Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 1<sup>st</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), T49.

<sup>126</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Annotated Teachers Edition, Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 1<sup>st</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), T49.

*Unum* (one out of many) means one nation out of many states.”<sup>127</sup> Like the sidebar on Independence Hall, this one was also made up of two parts, the sidebar and a picture of the front of the Great Seal on the accompanying page, though the picture of the Great seal takes up less space than the Independence Hall spread.<sup>128</sup> Even though the sidebar describes the symbolism of the reverse side of the Seal, the image was not shown.<sup>129</sup> In its description of the reverse the text explains the fundamental belief of American exceptionalism. The sidebar states that “the two mottos and numerals, together signify that under the guidance of Providence, the Declaration of Independence introduced a new order for mankind.”<sup>130</sup> Phrasing like that induce in the reader beliefs that America by its exceptional nature was fated to be and was destined to become a world power whose actions shaped the globe around it. Which fit with the Cold War idea of the United States as a bastion in the fight against communism and a beacon of democracy for which other nations aspired.

Jerome Reich and Edward Biller also examined symbols of American freedoms in sidebars. One such sidebar in *Building the American Nation* was about the Liberty Bell.<sup>131</sup> According to Reich and Biller, the Bell, was used to the point of annoyance for those who lived nearby, but that all changed when the bell announced the newly independent United States. It became a symbol of American freedom. The words on the bell according to Reich and Biller “ring out

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<sup>127</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 180.

<sup>128</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 180-1.

<sup>129</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 180.

<sup>130</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 180.

<sup>131</sup> Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller, *Building the American Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1971), 179.

clearly to all Americans.”<sup>132</sup> The Bell became so important to the American people that when it was in danger of being captured it was taken down and hidden, rather than having it fall into the hands of the British army.<sup>133</sup> The symbolism of the British capturing the bell there by capturing American liberty was a strong motivator Early Americans, by being hidden rather than captured the idea that liberty can never be taken away as long as there are those who recognized and protected it resonated in a time when some within the American population felt like we were no longer diligently protecting our rights.

*Foundation of Freedom* also paid attention to mythic figures. One such figure that Eibling’s text focused on was George Washington. Eibling discussed how Washington was a paragon of virtue. While he did not examine the “cherry tree myth” a story often used anecdotally to play up Washington’s virtue, instead in the book he explained how Washington was able to resist the corrupting influence of power and retire from his prominent position when the job of fighting the British was done. Eibling believed George Washington was not merely an ordinary mortal, he was a “powerful example for all the people of the new nation.”<sup>134</sup> It was the author’s intention that students recognize Washington was someone to admire, because he put the needs of the American people ahead of his own needs, by not using his popularity for personal gain.<sup>135</sup> Washington was not the only founding father to receive hero worship.

Colin’s *Our Land, Our Time* not only praised Franklin in the narrative text but also had a sidebar that pointed out the importance of Franklin. Colin begins his side bar by stating that

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<sup>132</sup> Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller, *Building the American Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1971), 179.

<sup>133</sup> Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller, *Building the American Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1971), 179.

<sup>134</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 186.

<sup>135</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Annotated Teachers Edition, Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), T49.

Franklin had an “extraordinary life” unlike any other American citizen.<sup>136</sup> According to Colin, Franklin’s life “was rich and full.”<sup>137</sup> While this sidebar did not just look at Franklin’s contribution to American independence, there was little doubt that Franklin was an influential person both in the United States and in Europe. In fact in Colin’s description of Franklin, this influence was important for his mission to France as it allowed him to “single-handedly” obtain money and supplies that were necessary for the survival of the “fledgling country.”<sup>138</sup> Colin by framing Franklin’s success in this way has Franklin challenging Washington as the savior of the country, as the entry is written if Franklin had not secured the funding then the reader can infer that the United States would not have won and ceased to exist. Colin makes it possible for Franklin to challenge Washington and become a savior of the country in his own right, and the reverence that Washington typically engenders as important to the creation of the country, meant that those reading about Franklin will unconsciously understand how great Franklin truly was. Franklin also earned Eibling’s praise. In a sidebar titled “The Amazing Benjamin Franklin” Eibling stressed “of all who helped bind the thirteen colonies into a new nation, the United States of America, few contributed more than Benjamin Franklin.”<sup>139</sup> Like Colin, Eibling, accepted Franklin was important in the formation of the country, Eibling words demonstrate how instrumental he thought Franklin was in the founding of the country. The goal behind this particular sidebar was that while Franklin was one of the few iconic figures that was not president. The students were to understand how much Franklin contributed to the United States’ founding.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time*, 1985 (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 99.

<sup>137</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time*, 1985 (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 99.

<sup>138</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time*, 1985 (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 99.

<sup>139</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 220.

<sup>140</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Annotated Teachers Edition, Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), T49.

*Foundations of Freedom* foregrounds many fundamental American civil religious icons. The importance of American “holy texts” was another example highlighted by the book. In a sidebar Eibling wrote that visitors to Washington D.C. should not miss “the original documents on which our freedom [was] based...perhaps our most precious link with the past. These are the documents to which we owe our freedom.”<sup>141</sup> For Eibling the sacred nature of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and Declaration of Independence was obvious, but he wanted to make sure the students know how important these documents were. This was why, according to the teacher’s note, he explained the measures that the National Archive went to protect these documents. According to Eibling it was to “Enable the students to appreciate the special efforts taken to preserve the important documents.”<sup>142</sup> This however was not the only focus that Eibling gave to these documents. In a different style of sidebar, one labeled “Study in Depth,” Eibling encouraged students to pursue research about the Bill of Rights and to examine the importance of individual rights to American Society and to compare it, to other documents that guarantee individual rights.<sup>143</sup> This side bar was a little different than the others in the teacher’s guide. This one was designed not only to educate the students about the Bill of Rights but also to “increase the students’ awareness of their rights and responsibilities.”<sup>144</sup> This exercise was designed to socialize the students into what it means to be good American citizens.

The authors of *Building the American Nation* also pushed students to think about the freedoms of the United States. In a sidebar titled “Using American Freedoms Wisely,” Reich and

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<sup>141</sup> Harold H Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom: United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 205.

<sup>142</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Annotated Teachers Edition, Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), T49.

<sup>143</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1977), 178.

<sup>144</sup> Harold H. Eibling, Carlton Jackson, and Vito Perrone *Annotated Teachers Edition, Foundations of Freedom United States History to 1877*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition (River Forest IL: Laidlaw Brothers, 1971), T49.

Biller compare the freedoms of the American Revolution to the freedom of an allowance.<sup>145</sup>

They do this as a way of getting the students to identify that when a person had freedoms that person needed to use them wisely. They go on to write that those people who fought in the American Revolution “learned this lesson” and that modern American society was a result of their education. The authors also challenge students to use their freedoms as wisely as those from the Revolutionary period.<sup>146</sup>

Chapter images were by far the largest category textbook formatting to subtly reinforce what it meant to be an American, and what was important to American society. Davidson and Lytle included numerous images of the American creation myth in *The United States: A History of the Republic*. The legend of Molly Pitcher is one such image that prominently figures in the chapter on the “American Revolution.” A reproduction of a painting with Molly in front of the cannon that made her famous takes up one quarter of the page in this chapter. Lost in the background of the picture is a soldier holding an American flag however due to the perspective of the picture it is only after careful examination that readers realize that it was not Pitcher holding the flag but rather a ram for the cannon.<sup>147</sup> This type of visual occlusion makes it seem that not only did Pitcher step up and fire the cannon but that she was a flag waving patriot as well. Later in the same chapter a handbill was displayed calling for all “brave men to join General Washington while the caption talks about “how both British and colonist’s had trouble recruiting men.” Coupled with the handbill displaying American soldiers standing tall and ramrod straight while a

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<sup>145</sup> Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller, *Building the American Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1971), 191.

<sup>146</sup> Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller, *Building the American Nation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Orlando FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1971), 191.

<sup>147</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 126

smaller frame simultaneously showed the British were recruiting the dregs of society.<sup>148</sup> This reinforces the idea that there was something noble about those that supported the patriot cause that made them better soldiers.

Davidson and Lytle give American civil religion holy texts preferential treatment. Across the top of the page discussing the Virginia and New Jersey plan is a reproduction of a painting of the Constitutional Convention. The caption tells the reader about how the men who were there wrote a document that stood the test of time. The caption calls specific attention to George Washington a figure prominently displayed in the painting like a demigod overseeing the creation of this holy document. Along with George Washington, the painting also focused attention on Benjamin Franklin, thereby implying that wisdom was used in the creation of the Constitution. This helped to support Franklin's importance to American society.<sup>149</sup>

In the Davidson and Lytle unit titled "An Emerging Nation" almost half a page is dedicated to a reproduction of an unnamed painting that the authors said is by an "American artist," who "tried to find symbols for the patriotism of the new nation."<sup>150</sup> This reproduction contains various figures that are ubiquitous to the American identity: the American eagle, the flag, lady liberty, and a bust of George Washington.<sup>151</sup> The authors implied that the painting was done during the time of the John Adams presidency, as the nation was trying to find itself. Some of these representations became well known, while others faded away. The inclusion of an image that contained multiple well known figures could lead students to miss the important parts of the

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<sup>148</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 128.

<sup>149</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 156.

<sup>150</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 183.

<sup>151</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *The United States: A History of the Republic*, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 183.

image as they focused on icons they knew rather than looking for other symbolic meaning. The teacher's guide prompted the teacher to ask the students "Why is Miss Liberty shown with her foot on a crown?"<sup>152</sup> This prompt asks the teacher to draw attention to an image that might be lost in all of the other symbols contained in the painting and yet was important for the successful understanding of the image's meaning. Colin's *Our Land, Our Time*, had a different interpretation as the caption denoted the placement of a wreath on the bust of George Washington "indicated the reverence Americans had for their first president."<sup>153</sup>

Some images were important enough that they show up in multiple textbooks. One such figure was George Washington presiding over the constitutional convention, the "Signing of the Constitution" by Thomas P. Rossiter, painted almost 100 years after the event.<sup>154</sup> Rossiter's image was used in King's *United States History Presidential Edition*, Davidson and Lytle's *The United States: A History of the Republic*, and Buggy's *America! America!*, all use this picture, although the painting is backwards in the Buggy book.<sup>155</sup> King's *United States History Presidential Edition* suggests that Rossiter positioned "George Washington in a place of lone dignity."<sup>156</sup> However, Rossiter's work also reinforces Washington's divinity. Washington was seated above the rest of the Constitutional delegates. While the print contains two delegates who

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<sup>152</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *Annotated Teachers Edition, The United States: a History of the Republic*. 5th edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1990), 191.

<sup>153</sup> Joseph R. Colin, *Our Land, Our Time* (San Diego CA: Coronado Publishers, 1985), 192.

<sup>154</sup> David C. King, Mariah Marvin, David Weitzman, and Toni Duggins, *United States History Presidential Edition* (Menlo Park CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1986), 123; A Google search for the artist leads to the history and title of the painting. Gordon Lloyd, "The Constitutional Convention; Signing of the Constitution by Thomas P. Rossiter," TeachingAmericanHistory.org, <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/convention/rossiter/> [accessed May 21, 2017]

<sup>155</sup> David C. King, Mariah Marvin, David Weitzman, and Toni Duggins, *United States History Presidential Edition* (Menlo Park CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1986), 123; James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *The United States: A History of the Republic*. 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 156; L. Joanne Buggy, Gerald A. Danzer, Charles L. Mitsakos, and C. Fredrick Risinger, *Teachers Annotated Edition, America! America!*, 2nd edition (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), 184.

<sup>156</sup> David C. King, Mariah Marvin, David Weitzman, and Toni Duggins, *United States History Presidential Edition* (Menlo Park CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1986), 123.



are standing at Washington's level, Washington is closer to the front so he is portrayed as larger, and the heads of these other two figures are still below that of the seated Washington. Part of the piece which further reinforces the idea of Washington as blessed is a picture located behind Washington's head. The indistinct image was painted a light blue, with a golden yellow circle at the center of the painting with an even brighter yellow circle that forms a ring around Washington's head. This gives the viewer the perspective that Washington has a halo whose light washes over the background painting.<sup>157</sup>

Representations of George Washington and other iconic people abound in the pages of various textbooks. Whether it was George Washington riding out to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion, a portrait of Paul Revere, or images of Benjamin Franklin, one expected to find depictions of the founding fathers in the early chapters of textbooks, especially those that examined the creation of the United States.<sup>158</sup> Images of other American civil religious icons, specifically those tied to the founding period, were located in chapters that examined later periods of American history, as well. In King's *United States History Presidential Edition* a discussion on the presidencies of Grant, Hayes, and Garfield, the only graphic on the page is a painting of Independence Hall during the centennial celebration. The teacher's edition suggests that students work alone or in groups to "produce posters celebrating the centennial, showing American achievements over the century."<sup>159</sup> Highlighting American achievements was a

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<sup>157</sup> The image can be found at <http://teachingamericanhistory.org/wp-content/themes/tah-main/images/imported/convention/rossiter.jpg> [accessed May 21, 2017]

<sup>158</sup> James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle. *The United States: A History of the Republic*. 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 177; Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United State*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 48; Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), 128; The image of Franklin takes up almost the entire page The six lines of text above Franklin's head talked about the 1783 treaty of Paris and how it came into being but rather than displaying all three negotiator or John Jay who the text focused on Franklin as one of the negotiators was prominently displayed.

<sup>159</sup> David C. King, Mariah Marvin, David Weitzman, and Toni Dwiggins, *Annotated teachers edition, United States History Presidential Edition* (Menlo Park CA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1986), 325.

concept that was familiar to the members of this cohort, as they had experienced the bicentennial commemoration. As I discussed in chapter two, the Bicentennial was an important celebration that made an impression on this cohort. Because the members were familiar with celebrating the nation's founding, they were primed to identify with these types of images.

Similar to the picture of Independence Hall, other iconic buildings showed up as well. In Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelly's *A History of the United States*, in their discussion of the Teapot Dome Scandal the authors chose to include a cartoon from *Life Magazine* that displays the White House, the Washington monument, and a corner of the Capitol.<sup>160</sup> The use of this illustration performed two functions. First it demonstrates the concern of the time, that of people in government were making a profit by selling public property. Secondly and perhaps more importantly it demonstrates the value the nation placed on certain buildings. The cartoonist chose to draw these buildings being hauled off with sold signs on them, because they were important to American society and both the Capitol and White House were synonymous for their respective branches of government. Like the cartoonist choice of buildings, it was a conscientious decision to include the image into the Boorstin and Kelley's textbook. Even if these buildings were not the main focus of the drawing, their inclusion in the cartoon reinforce their importance in American society, especially when these buildings were seen over and over again. *The American Dream*, includes a photograph that the caption identified as "isolationist demonstrate against lend-lease bill February 1941."<sup>161</sup> While the main focus of the picture was the women kneeling in protest two other parts of the figure catches the reader's eye. The first is the small American flag held by one of the protesters. The second is the U.S. Capitol building which takes up most of

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<sup>160</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 477.

<sup>161</sup> Lew Smith, *The American Dream*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), 474.

the background, with the Dome centered in the frame. Though not the main focus of the photograph the inclusion of the flag demonstrates that even though the protesters disagree they still support America. The framing of the capitol in in such away shows the important of laws the nation while increasing the recognition factor of the Capitol building.

Using pictures that contained likeness of other American civil religious icons did not only happen with important buildings. A full-page photograph whose caption reads “Douglas Fairbanks, a popular actor, calls for the purchase of war bonds at a huge rally on Wall Street,” demonstrates the same thing.<sup>162</sup> The image is part of a three-page photo spread that shows “a vivid portrait of attitudes on the American home front during World War I.”<sup>163</sup> The illustration meant to draw the reader’s attention to Fairbanks and the war bond effort, but Fairbanks is speaking in front of a larger statue of George Washington. The statue of Washington dominates the visual space and the placement of the statue’s hand hovering over Fairbanks’s head as he speaks to the crowd allows the viewer to infer that Washington supported Fairbanks’ effort. Because of the mythic nature surrounding Washington he is often used as a comparison for other presidents. Boorstin and Kelley’s *A History of the United States* utilized a cartoon of Theodore Roosevelt defacing a portrait of George Washington by changing the title plate with spray paint.<sup>164</sup> The graphic implied that Roosevelt’s actions were done as way of challenging the presidential status quo. Boorstin and Kelley also included a visual of a “longshoreman’s membership card” bearing the picture of Washington.<sup>165</sup> In both of these examples the focus of the illustration was not Washington, but having Washington’s likeness there reinforces his

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<sup>162</sup> Lew Smith, *The American Dream*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), 370.

<sup>163</sup> Lew Smith, *The American Dream*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Glenview IL: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1980), 369.

<sup>164</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 437.

<sup>165</sup> Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 362.

importance to American society as those people who made these representations believed he was important enough to include. This also indicated that Boorstin and Kelley considered him significant enough to incorporate as well.

One of the most popular symbol of America displayed in textbooks was the image of Uncle Sam. Because Uncle Sam was an easy way to personify the United States, his likeness tends to show up in political cartoons. One illustration of Uncle Sam that showed up in multiple textbooks was the image known as “Declined with thanks” The cartoon, which depicted President McKinley as a tailor measuring a rotund Uncle Sam, showed Uncle Sam being accosted by three gentlemen holding bottles labeled “Anti- expansionist policy.”<sup>166</sup> The drawing was popular in chapters discussing American imperialism. While almost all textbooks had at least one representation of Uncle Sam, some had many more. Bailey and Kennedy’s *The American Pageant* was one such book. In the chapters that examine the time period around the turn of the twentieth century twenty-eight percent of the graphics had some representation of Uncle Sam. Even though these figures typically criticized the United States the repetition of Uncle Sam’s likenesses helped to ensure that he was seen as an important icon that was representative of American society.

By introducing the cohort to symbols of American greatness and highlighting the rhetoric of America’s need to win the Cold War, history texts could be the glue that would help repair the tear in American society by emphasizing the value of American civil religious icons. Textbooks “inspire one to think about the glorious traditions and lessons that should move youth.”<sup>167</sup> Due to

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<sup>166</sup> Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition (Lexington MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1987), 610; Daniel Boorstin and Brooks Kelley, *A History of the United States*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lexington MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 415; James West Davidson, and Mark H. Lytle, *The United States: A History of the Republic*. 3rd edition (Englewood Cliff NJ: Prentice Hall, 1986), 443.

<sup>167</sup> John Marciano, *Civic Illiteracy and Education: The Battle of the Hearts and Minds of American Youth* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1997), 1.

the nature of the educational system and the prominent role it played in children's lives, what was shown in schoolbooks assumed the status of privilege information. Since by their very nature textbooks were meant to shape the minds and direct the thinking of the students reading them, history texts increased the students' connection to American civil religion and collective memory icons. By emphasizing certain American civil religious icons and demonstrating how these icons represented certain American ideals, textbook publishers hoped to create a new generation of patriotic Americans. The bonus of a patriotic cohort meant when these icons were threatened by an enemy, those who had made a connection to them would want to fight to protect them or at least support those who chose to fight for America.

While the case was made for schools being the "most important agent" in the transmission of socially acceptable ideals however, mass media was another way that American civil religious icons and American ideals received the attention of the final Cold War generation cohort.<sup>168</sup> It was also a way to bring unity to the fracturing American society by reinforcing an *us vs. them* binary. While each generation wrote its own history, the media that each generation was exposed to shaped that history. Mass media therefore exerted pressures on the creation of that generation's sense of identity, how its members related to the American mythos, and how it dealt with American society and the world around them. If the education system was one of the most influential ideological state apparatus for establishing values and helping those forming their identity then mass media was a close second for the members of this cohort.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Adam Gamoran, "Civil Religion in American Schools" *Sociological Analysis* 51, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 236.

<sup>169</sup> Ralph E. Hanson, *Mass Media: Living in a media World* (New York: McGraw Hill 2005), 28.

## CHAPTER 4: WHAT IF THE COLD WAR TURNED HOT

By the time they were teenagers the members of the final Cold War generation spent more and more time with television, shaped their perceptions of the world.<sup>1</sup> However, as this cohort aged, the type of media it was exposed to changed. The members of the cohort were no longer relegated to the home for their entertainment. While television continued to play a significant role in their lives, movies and music also became important forms of media for the members of the group. Due to the increased prominence in the lives of the cohort members, media thus became the primary way this cohort was introduced to the *us vs. them* binary.<sup>2</sup>

The *us vs. them* binary consisted of three primary messages. The messages manifested as a de-civilized Soviet state, accomplished by othering citizens of the Soviet Union, fear of World War III either through fear of nuclear annihilation or an invasion, or finally playing up the notion of American exceptionalism. These were the messages the cohort experienced during its consumption of media. Of the three messages associated with the *us vs. them* binary the fear of World War III was the one that embodied the binary thinking of the time the best. War by its very nature tends to be a binary activity, this does not mean that there are only two combatants, but rather there are only two sides to the conflict, each made up of alliances of varying strength.

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<sup>1</sup> John E. Mack, “‘Amerika’—an Irresponsible TV Series,” *New York Times*, February 15, 1987.

<sup>2</sup> During the late Cold War period the members of the cohort were constantly surrounded by binary thinking, East vs. West, N.A.T.O vs. Warsaw Pact, first world battling the second world over the fate of the third world, even countries divided in half. As a species, humans seem to take comfort in binaries. Our DNA comes in binary pairs, our brain encodes memories through either on or off neurons. We as human beings categorize things in terms of binaries: male/female, good/evil, light/dark, insider/outsider, to name but a few. Of course this also applies to conflict and the making of an enemy. Sam Keen believes that this process transcends individuals and includes larger organizational units including units as large as nations. (Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 16) The divisions discussed above are either: physical locations on the globe or ideological descriptors; military alliances; battles for whose way of life would be dominant; and during the late Cold War period East/West Germany, North/South Korea, and until 1975 North/South Vietnam.

This binary thinking translated into the idea that where one attacks and the other defends an important part of the message that the cohort was introduced too. While the other messages tended to reflect one side of the other of the *us vs. them* binary, the fear of World War III tended to incorporate both sides of the equation. At its heart this message is about a threat to “our” society, the *us* side of the equation, created by an enemy the *them* side. How this plays out depends on the narrative of the message. While the attackers (*them*) are always portrayed as an Other and the instigators of the conflict, the threat to *us* varies. In the nuclear annihilation scenario, the underlying fear is the physical destruction of “our” society.<sup>3</sup> In the invasion narrative the fear is not physical destruction but rather ideological. This does not mean that narrative of one type cannot incorporate the underlying fear of the other just that the majority of the subtext is one or the other. This chapter will focus on the early to mid-1980s when the majority of the cohort’s members were in their teenage years. It will examine how various types of media worked as socializers and the various forms of media that the cohort interacted with, before examining specific offerings of mass media that contained the fear of World War III message.

Mass media was important as a socializer because it provided a consistent message to the audience. This meant the cohort received consistent representations of the *us vs. them* binary, and the messages embedded within it. The Cold War message was inextricably intertwined in mass media and the messages combined irrespective of the medium to become more than the sum of the individual parts, in essence a super media that was both “cause and effect of the Cold War.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Words such as *us*, *we*, or *our* that are used to represent the *us* side of the *us vs them* binary are found contained in quotes. Words such as *they*, or *their* that represent the *them* side of the equation are also enclosed by quotes. These words are not used to represent American society in the United States vs. the Soviet Union binary, but rather to represent the larger idea of an enemy that is different from the originating society.

<sup>4</sup> Michael R. Real, *Super Media A Cultural Studies Approach* (Newbury Park NY: Sage Publications, 1989), 165.

Allen Nadel claimed that Cold War television unintentionally became a way to brainwash the public by presenting a uniform message to the masses, “Seeming to unite without contradiction.”<sup>5</sup> Because of this uniformity, and in a time of limited television channel choices, it created a common reference point to consumers connecting them to other consumers of the same media. Mass media therefore shaped how one’s cultural identity was formed and created a sense of belonging to society at large.<sup>6</sup> One of the reasons television and film were important to the socialization of this cohort was these mediums provided access to what John Fiske terms ideological codes. These codes were those that reinforce the hegemonic ideals of a society and were often “deeply embedded” within the text.<sup>7</sup> If television was inherently linked to the Cold War then the Cold War *us vs. them* binary became embedded into the medium as one of these ideological codes. While film predated the Cold War, as a result of the Red Scare in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the film industry also became an ardent supporter of Cold War ideology.<sup>8</sup> Tony Shaw believed “in the battle for mass opinion in the Cold War, few weapons were more powerful than the cinema. ...What [movie attendees] saw and heard on the big screen [had] a profound influence on their comprehension of the Cold War.”<sup>9</sup> In the post-World War II era both television and film became the primary vehicle for distributing these messages. Another reason that an understanding of mass media is important is because it was an integral part of who this

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<sup>5</sup> Allen Nadel, “Television: Cold War Television and the Technology of Brainwashing,” In *American Cold War Culture*. ed. Douglas Field (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 146-7,154.

<sup>6</sup>Frith believed that it was “not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it produces them, how it creates and constructs an experience” that was important. (Simon Frith, "Music and Identity" in *Question of Cultural Identity* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (London: Sage Publication, 1996), 109) While Frith was focused on music this phenomenon could be seen in other forms of media, and was represented by what was commonly referred to as water cooler talk.

<sup>7</sup> John Fiske. *Television Culture* (London: Routledge, 1987), 5, 11-2.

<sup>8</sup> Larry May, “Movie Star Politics: The Screen Actors Guild, Cultural Conversion, and the Hollywood Red Scare,” in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*, ed. Larry May (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 148.

<sup>9</sup> Tony Shaw. *Hollywood’s Cold War: Culture, Politics, and the Cold War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 1.



cohort was. Because of when television became popular it was fundamentally linked to Generation X. Rob Owen believed “the two were made for one another.”<sup>10</sup> This was the first generation of American youth to have television as a ubiquitous part of its life.<sup>11</sup> With the introduction, and wide scale acceptance of the Video Cassette Recorder (VCR) the line between television and film blurred. The inundation of mass media within the life of the cohort and the generation as a whole, meant this cohort, as a subset of Generation X, became a mediated cohort, in that the cohort’s consumption of media was a fundamental part of its members identity. This is a refinement of Michael R. Real’s idea of mass mediated culture where he argued that “all culture when transmitted by mass media becomes in effect popular culture.”<sup>12</sup> Mass media thereby became the most important channel for promoting Culture and one’s cultural identity, of which television and film are two of the most powerful components for socializing the general public.

While movies and television were the main medium of how the final Cold War generation was socialized, music also played an important role in shaping this generation. Music has consistently been linked to the youth of America. British sociomusicologist and rock critic Simon Frith argued “that people’s heaviest personal investment in popular music is when they are teenagers and young adults.” He goes on to argue “that the most significant pop songs for all generations (not just for rock generations) are those heard as adolescents.”<sup>13</sup> Frith believed the formative years of a generation was the time period when the members were the most

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<sup>10</sup> Rob Owen. *Gen X TV: The Brady Bunch to Melrose Place* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), xi.

<sup>11</sup> In *Mass-Mediated Culture* (Michael R. Real, *Mass Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1977)) Michael Real stated “More than 95 percent of American homes had television sets- more than had Bath tubs- and the average home played the set more than six hours per day.” (Michael R. Real, *Mass Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1977), 12)

<sup>12</sup> Michael R. Real, *Mass Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 1977), 14.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 266-7.

impressionable and that what they heard over the radio informed and shaped their beliefs and understanding of the larger society. Music of the late Cold War period introduced the final Cold War generation to the *us vs. them* binary, while music like other forms of media at the time, portrayed Cold War rhetoric through one of these three messages.

Like television, music had a strong connection to Cold War America. According to Peter Schmelz, “nowhere were Cold War ideas and beliefs more common currency than in the arts, especially music.”<sup>14</sup> Music performed many functions besides just providing entertainment. It was “a valuable source about social history.”<sup>15</sup> Music became a way for society to comprehend its past and predict its future.<sup>16</sup> Radio, and the music it broadcasted, was an amalgamation of society’s hopes and fears. Sociologist George Lipsitz argued that for recording artists to be able to sell their music it must take the “memories, experiences, and aspirations” of their audience and synthesize them into something that the audience identified with and created an emotional investment in.<sup>17</sup> This meant that in order to invest the emotion there must be a foundation from which the audience could build. This foundation was built by the music itself as well as messages located in other ideological apparatuses.

Although popular songs “seem to have a short life” in that the music quickly rises in popularity and then just as quickly fades from the airwaves, it was music’s ability to influence

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<sup>14</sup>Peter Schmelz. “Introduction: Music in the Cold War” *Journal of Musicology* 26, no.1, (Winter 2009): 4; It was his contention that the connection between music and the Cold War was a long ignored aspect of Cold War cultural study that was a growing field in the 1990s and 2000s. Schmelz’s historiography of the state of Cold War musicology pointed to a growing body of scholarship on the topic of music’s importance to the Cold War, however like most scholars who examined the culture of the Cold War the focus of his research was the early Cold War period. While Schmelz focused on the early Cold War period, his work formed a framework with which to study of the late Cold War period. In fact, it is my contention that music became even more important in the latter period as a socialization method.

<sup>15</sup> George Lipsitz, *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xvii.

<sup>16</sup> George Lipsitz, *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xii.

<sup>17</sup> George Lipsitz, *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xi.

the listener long after the song had faded from popularity that made music such a potent socializer, in that each song the listener heard built off the work of previous songs.<sup>18</sup> Even if one song did not explicitly convey societal values it supported the message in those songs that did, and worked with other songs through the repetition of the implied message. The repetitive nature of how music was consumed meant that it had a cumulative effect on the listener, even if it did not explicitly broadcast societal beliefs.

Music and other forms of media performed four important social functions. It was the performance of these social functions that made mass media important in the socialization of this cohort. One import function performed by media was the creation of an identity. Simon Frith believed music helped one to find “a particular place in society.”<sup>19</sup> Although Frith’s use of identity was focused on self-identification and one’s position as a popular culture consumer, music in these instances also helped to create in the listener a subcultural identity.”<sup>20</sup> Media also instilled in the listener a sense of belonging to a larger community. Although other forms of media did it to a lesser degree music was one of the main ways groups acquired knowledge of themselves. Since music reflected widely held beliefs that “making music [was not] a way of expressing ideas; it [was] a way of living them,”<sup>21</sup> popular music and other forms of mass media became “an experience of identity.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> George Lipsitz, *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xxv.

<sup>19</sup> Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 264.

<sup>20</sup> This subcultural identity according to Frith was based on “their musical preferences. (Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 264).

<sup>21</sup> While focused on the micro level of identity, the description of identity formation mirrored Frith’s work of forming a subcultural identity. He focused on the difference between high cultural and low cultural identities, and it was his contention that while music might create different identities, the mechanics of how it formed each of these unique identities remained the same. (Simon Frith, "Music and Identity" in *Question of Cultural Identity* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (London: Sage Publication, 1996), 111-2).

<sup>22</sup> Simon Frith, "Music and Identity" in *Question of Cultural Identity* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (London: Sage Publication, 1996), 121.

Mass media was one way this cohort learned to navigate society as it aged. It was also a way this cohort internalized important societal messages. With music this occurred by “absorb[ing] songs into [the listeners] own lives and rhythm into [their] own bodies.”<sup>23</sup> The internalization of music’s messages demonstrated that individuals incorporated multiple parts of mass media into their being thus integrating the messages it carried into their psyche. Media producers recognized this. Bob Pittman, one of the important personalities associated with the early years of Music television (MTV), when discussing this cohort’s connection to music stated, “Music serves as something beyond entertainment. It’s really a peg [twelve- to thirty-year olds] use to identify themselves.”<sup>24</sup> Music and other forms of media were an external source that informed the creation of identity, creating a link between cultural identity and an individual identity.<sup>25</sup>

A second function of media was that it gave the listener “a way of managing the relationship between [their] public and private emotional lives.”<sup>26</sup> Music allowed for the expression of intense feeling at the micro level, usually love or hate towards a specific person. It also performed this function on the macro level. While music increased an individual’s connection to larger society, it could also be used as a way to sever ones connection to society as well, it could Other part of society or even a different society. The ability to influence the emotions one felt towards either a segment of society or another person’s society was another reason as to why music and other forms of media were powerful socializers.

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<sup>23</sup>Simon Frith, "Music and Identity" in *Question of Cultural Identity* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (London: Sage Publication, 1996), 121.

<sup>24</sup> Bob Pittman, quoted in R. Serge Denisoff, *Inside MTV* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 45; Simon Frith, "Music and Identity" in *Question of Cultural Identity* ed. Stuart Hall and Paul de Gay (London: Sage Publication, 1996), 122; 124.

<sup>26</sup>Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 265.

Mass media also shaped “popular memory,” because it shaped the consumers “sense of time.”<sup>27</sup> Music and other forms of media acted as a reference point to the past, thereby unlocking memories.<sup>28</sup> Because media messages were internalized and became integrated into the listener’s sense of self the messages had a profound influence on the consumer. Media thus became a piece of the listener’s own identity and built “into [their] sense of [self].”<sup>29</sup> By internalizing and making it part of one’s identity the listener incorporated and assimilated the messages embedded in media. This incorporation occurred when the same message was heard multiple times through several different songs, genres, or mediums; consequently the message became deeply ingrained in the listeners psyche. When the message needed to change dissonance was created until the newer message overlaid the older one. The more deeply entrenched the message was, the larger the dissonance when it was overwritten. This was the case for the cohort when the Cold War ended. Mass media of the 1980s and its Cold War messages were an integral part of this cohort’s individual identity.

Sometimes the *us vs. them* messages were combined into a hybrid format and transmitted to the cohort. One such example was how this cohort consumed music. This cohort was the first generation to be influenced by music videos, as well as traditional forms of music. Whereas previous generations of young Americans were only able to hear the music through the radio, playing records, or by attending a concert, this generation experienced the music in a whole new way. While there are other forms of media that let the media consumer experience the music not

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<sup>27</sup> Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 266.

<sup>28</sup> Frith believed that due to how music was organized and that the music of the twentieth century was built around a sense of nostalgia, it ensured the listener remembered the time fondly. (Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 266.

<sup>29</sup> This according to Frith was what led to the negative reactions critics get when they negatively review a musical work. (Simon Frith. "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music" in *Taking Popular Music Seriously* ed. Simon Frith (Hampshire England: Ashgate 2007), 267).

only aurally, but visually as well, music videos were different. One difference was that this format gave equal weight to both the audio and visual component, and where genres such as musicals combined the two it was weighted differently, in that in music video the combination of the two was the totality of the finished product. In other words these other forms of media could be described as X with Y, such as a movie with music. However, music videos can be described as X and Y (or XY), because both parts are equally important to remove one changes the final product. This connects to the second reason music videos were a new and different experience from the past music consumption. In other forms of visual media that contained music the music was not the focus, but rather worked to augment the plot. Music videos combined both sounds and images in such a way to reveal the underlying message, but sometime, when the lyrics were particularly ambiguous, the visual component conferred meaning to the music.<sup>30</sup> Because of this amalgamation, music videos combined the socialization methods of both television and music, and as such where they were shown became a powerful agent for socialization.<sup>31</sup> As discussed earlier, the 1980s saw American society fully embrace the video culture, and this informed how it consumed music as well. The proliferation of both television and video recording devices meant that for this cohort, television was the ubiquitous household appliance, in that almost every home had at least one television set.<sup>32</sup> Because of televisions popularity, Warner Communication and American Express launched Music Television (MTV) in 1981.<sup>33</sup> While originally designed as a vehicle for promoting Warner artists it became a way for artists to add a

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<sup>30</sup> Sometimes how someone is first introduced to a particular tune will shape their understanding of the piece. At some point in time those people who listen to music and watch music videos, especially when done in that order, will after watching the music video say “that was totally different than how I pictured it.

<sup>31</sup> Due to the format of music videos and high repetition rate even if a viewer does not absorb the message right away over time they will eventually incorporate its meaning.

<sup>32</sup> David Szatmary. *Rockin' in Time: A social History of Rock-and-Roll* (Upper Saddle River NJ: Pearson Education Inc., 2010), 260.

<sup>33</sup> Marks, Craig and Rob Tannenbaum. *I Want My MTV: The Uncensored Story of the Music Video Revolution* (New York: Dutton, 2011), 18-9.

visual component to augment the lyrics of their songs.<sup>34</sup> With the advent of MTV the cohort's connection to music and television strengthened as their access to both increased exponentially.

At 11:59 pm 31 July 1981, a video of the countdown of the 12 April 1981 of America's first Space Shuttle appears in limited television markets where only blank space had been. As the Shuttle countdown reaches zero the video transitions to the launch of a Saturn V rocket. Another transition and the video shows an astronaut touching down on the moon a voiceover replaces Neil Armstrong's famous lines with "Ladies and Gentlemen Rock and Roll."<sup>35</sup> As the clock struck midnight on 1 August 1981, The Buggles, *Video Killed the Radio Star*, was the first music video aired in the United States on what was to be a 24/7 music television station. After the video played viewers were told "This is it. Welcome to MTV, Music television, the world's first twenty-four-hour stereo video music channel. ... A new concept is born the best of TV, combined with the best of radio...starting right now you will never look at music the same way again."<sup>36</sup> Implying that the music video was vastly different from other forms of music that had a visual component.

MTV was the brainchild of John Lack, who believe that "teens were an untapped audience, an invisible power."<sup>37</sup> This meant that the target audience for MTV was "fourteen- to twenty-four- year olds."<sup>38</sup> Within three years of its initial launch, as MTV became a nationwide

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<sup>34</sup>David Szatmary. *Rockin' in Time: A social History of Rock-and-Roll* (Upper Saddle River NJ: Pearson Education Inc., 2010), 260.

<sup>35</sup> Rare Musical Stuff, "MTV's First 3 Hours, (unavailable on some devices)," YouTube.com, accessed January 19, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhmhE0-V8FE>.

<sup>36</sup> <sup>36</sup> Rare Musical Stuff, "MTV's First 3 Hours, (unavailable on some devices)," YouTube.com, accessed January 19, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhmhE0-V8FE>; This is from what was supposed to be the very first VJ (video jockey) segment. However the play order was messed up and what was supposed to air first end up the last of the five segments. (Jacob Hoyer, ed. *MTV Uncensored* (New York: Pocket Books, 2001), 44).

<sup>37</sup> Craig Marks, and Rob Tannenbaum, *I Want My MTV: The Uncensored Story of the Music Video Revolution* (New York: Dutton, 2011), 16; R. Serge Denisoff, *Inside MTV* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 29.

<sup>38</sup> Craig Marks, and Rob Tannenbaum, *I Want My MTV: The Uncensored Story of the Music Video Revolution* (New York: Dutton, 2011), 15.

phenomenon; the entire cohort would be inside its target demographic. According to Pat Benatar, bands noticed a change almost immediately. “Within a week we couldn’t go anywhere without being recognized. It changed everything in one week.”<sup>39</sup> Because record companies were initially reticent to be included when MTV launched, it only “had about a hundred” music videos “in inventory,” the majority of which came from “marginal or unpopular British and Australian bands.”<sup>40</sup> Because of this, produced videos on MTV were dominated by these artists rather than American artists, though MTV did showcase more famous bands, such as Styx, Reo Speedwagon, 38 Special, or The Cars. However, these tended to be videos shot when the band was performing in concert.<sup>41</sup> Record companies got on board once they realized that the videos were a good way to sell albums, as MTV offered “a means of immediate national exposure.”<sup>42</sup> Initially, often using an artist’s marketing budget to pay for the clips, videos became “not just a tool for selling records but also a means of making money out of musical properties directly.”<sup>43</sup> For videos and songs to become popular meant they had to connect with the population’s hopes and fears.<sup>44</sup> This meant that no matter the nationality of the artist or their intent, the audience

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<sup>39</sup> Benatar’s video *You Better Run* was the second video to play on the channel and her video *Turn it on Like I do* played later in the rotation. (Rare Musical Stuff, “MTV’s First 3 Hours, (unavailable on some devices),” YouTube.com, accessed January 19, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhmhE0-V8FE>.); Pat Benatar quoted in Craig Marks, and Rob Tannenbaum, *I Want My MTV: The Uncensored Story of the Music Video Revolution* (New York: Dutton, 2011), 27.

<sup>40</sup> Craig Marks, and Rob Tannenbaum, *I Want My MTV: The Uncensored Story of the Music Video Revolution* (New York: Dutton, 2011), 16.

<sup>41</sup> Of the big stars with videos played on the initial day, Rod Stewart had the most with five, followed by REO Speedwagon with four, and the pretenders had three. Although most of the videos in rotation were from British bands.; Rare Musical Stuff, “MTV’s First 3 Hours, (unavailable on some devices),” YouTube.com, accessed January 19, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZhmhE0-V8FE>.; Jacob Hoye, ed. *MTV Uncensored* (New York: Pocket Books, 2001), 45.

<sup>42</sup> Simon Frith, “Picking up the Pieces,” *Facing the Music: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture*, ed. Simon Frith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 95.

<sup>43</sup> Simon Frith, “Picking up the Pieces,” *Facing the Music: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture*, ed. Simon Frith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 94-96.

<sup>44</sup> George Lipsitz, *Footsteps in the Dark: The Hidden Histories of Popular Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), xi.



members inscribed meaning to the work, and they were the ones that would internalize that meaning.

How an audience member interpreted a piece of text depended on what was going on around them at the time. Real life events would prime them to be predisposed to a certain interpretation. These events also shaped what the producers of various types of media thought were relevant and what might resonate with the consumers. The problem was that all forms of media production experience a time lag between when a shift in public opinion occurred, and when this shift was reflected in various forms of mass media. While media might be produced outside of the United States, it was the audience and how it processed the messages that was important. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the end of *détente*, American attitudes towards the Soviet Union shifted. As the Cold War tensions reestablished themselves and the Soviet Union was designated as the “Evil Empire,” the *us vs. them* binary became more important in American society, and the fear of World War III became a dominant message within mass media. While the thinking of the time was that World War III would be a nuclear war, the numerous proxy wars of the post-World War II era showed that land wars were still being fought. One fear was that these small wars would escalate and turn into the world ending conflagration that World War III represented.

While the Cold War never turned hot and there was no need for American men to man the frontlines against the Soviet Union, television and film of the late Cold War period helped provide ideological support to ensure that had the United States been involved the final Cold War generation would know what it was fighting for.

One way the increasingly hostile rhetoric of the time contributed to society’s fear of World War III was through a growing concern that a nuclear war would occur. For adults of the

time this manifested in a form of understanding, as journalist Robert Manoff put it, that “Nuclear weapons have not and never will be an inert presence of American life. Merely by existing they have already set off chain reactions throughout American society and within every one of its institutions”<sup>45</sup> For members of the cohort, it manifested differently according to Steven Church in his book *The Day After the Day After*, “like most children growing up in the ’70s and ’80s America, I imagined we would all be dead in ten years.”<sup>46</sup> This pessimistic view was very common at the time. According to a special featurette on the twenty-fifth anniversary DVD of *Wargames*, it was a time when “The world was floating off the rails in this way that caused a lot of people to feel alarm. It didn’t feel that farfetched that someone could make a mistake and the whole world could blow up.”<sup>47</sup> While it was alarming to consider one of the superpowers starting a nuclear war, what was truly terrifying was the thought that World War III could start accidentally. This was the premise for the film *Wargames*. The movie starred Mathew Broderick as David Lightman, and Ally Sheedy as Jennifer Mack. Lightman, a budding hacker, tries to connect to a California video game company hoping to access videogames that had yet to be released, and inadvertently connects to a Department of Defense computer. What Lightman thinks is a prototype video game in actuality is a complex military simulation. When Lightman triggers the simulation, the military believes the Soviet Union was launching a first strike nuclear attack. Even when Lightman tells the military that the computer is running a simulation they fail to believe him. Instead they believe, even with mounting proof that there is no physical proof of Soviet involvement, that the Soviet Union was launching an attack. This demonstrated the

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<sup>45</sup> Robert Manoff quoted in Paul Boyer. *By the Bombs Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), xv.

<sup>46</sup> Steven Church, *The Day After The Day After: My Atomic Angst* (New York: Soft Skull Press, 2010), 15.

<sup>47</sup> *Wargames*, “Featurette,” 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

distrust associated with a *them*. During the time period it was easier and more believable that the Soviet Union was underhanded and dishonest, so that when the Soviet Union claims to have no knowledge of the imminent attack the military powers that be do not believe them.<sup>48</sup> Eventually the military is convinced the Soviet Union did not launch a missile strike, and although they are ready to stand down, the machine continues to play the game and in its attempt to win the game tries to launch America's missiles. According to producers there was originally a scene in the movie where World War III actually was portrayed, however that scene was deemed as too dark, and was not included in the final cut of the movie.<sup>49</sup>

*Wargames* was unique in that it represented a change in who movies were made for, according to Owen Gleiberman from *Entertainment Weekly*, "This was the era when Hollywood was really starting to target kids as a demographic."<sup>50</sup> Young adult and high school students were recognized by the media industry as important for both monetary and ideological reasons. In the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary DVD featurette, it was stated the film was "aimed at kids," which meant the preferred audience were the members of this cohort as they were the primary consumers of the film. Additionally, *Wargames* "was very novel" in that it had a young protagonist "and succeeded with its young audience," as well as older audience members.<sup>51</sup> By featuring a young protagonist the belief was that it would entice young viewers to see the film. Since it resonated well with younger Americans while speaking to older Americans as well, the film was able to

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<sup>48</sup> *Wargames*, 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

<sup>49</sup> *Wargames*, "Featurette," 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

<sup>50</sup> *Wargames*, "Featurette," 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

<sup>51</sup> *Wargames*, "Featurette," 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

bridge the gap between the two generations which helped make it a success.<sup>52</sup> The action and theme of the movie demonstrated that as tensions started to rise again the fear of nuclear Armageddon also rose. Because the film was successful with multiple generations demonstrated that concerns over the rise in tensions did not just occur with adults but within the cohort as well.

The characters of Lightman and Mack were important to this cohort for a couple of reasons. First the characters themselves were high school students and were members of the final Cold War generation.<sup>53</sup> By portraying the characters at this age it allowed members of the cohort to identify with them, thus creating a connection to the very real danger of a possible nuclear launch.<sup>54</sup> Second, as the possibility the event would escalate into war Lightman and Mack expressed their concerns in a way that was accessible to the cohort. The devastation was not the focus of the conversation between the two, but rather it was a conversation about lost opportunities and what was supposed to be the start of their respective futures ending before it should have. The underlying subtext of the conversation is that Lightman and Mack are not going to take their place as productive members of society. A society that represents the larger idea of *us*. Early on in the film when Lightman and Mack initially start the game there is a dialog between the two. Mack asks “What is all that stuff?” referencing the screen which showed multiple trajectories for missiles. Lightman replies “trajectory heading for multipcal [sic] impact vehicles.” Mack responds, “What the hell does that mean?” Lightman answers “I don’t know but

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<sup>52</sup> *Wargames*, “Featurette,” 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

<sup>53</sup> Towards the end of the movie Mack tells Lightman that she is seventeen. Though there is no direct conversation of their ages prior to this scene when Lightman changes their grades both World History and English had the designators 11B indicating that they were Juniors in high school the age and grade puts both characters as being members of the cohort.

<sup>54</sup> *Wargames*, “Commentary,” 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

it's great.”<sup>55</sup> This conversation revealed that even though Lightman and Mack have no idea about the mechanics of nuclear war, or the mass devastation associated with each missile launch, they do understand what would happen if World War III started. Even if they are unaware of how devastating the loss would be they know that an attack would result in the physical destruction of society. A point made as Lightman watches a news report about a military alert which leads him to make the connection between what he saw on his computer the night before and what the news was describing. Mack reinforces this observation when she calls asking if they “caused it.”<sup>56</sup> These two scenes explained that while there was a lack of knowledge about how a nuclear war would be carried out, the protagonists, and by association the audience members of a similar age, know the dangers presented if there was an attack. In a later scene the computer tells Lightman about casualty rates and the level of destruction to the infrastructure the attack will have on American society. It is here he is educated about the actual cost of a missile strike, and just how thoroughly society would be destroyed. However rather than looking at these individual parts and how completely destroyed it would be, Lightman, and later Mack focus on the larger concept of nuclear Armageddon as the physical destruction of the life they know.

While *Wargames* was concerned with the possible start of World War III, *The Day After* focuses on the actual attack and its aftermath. *The Day After* was a made for television movie that aired on ABC on 20 November 1983. This movie depicts the beginning of World War III by focusing on a nuclear missile detonation in Kansas City Missouri, its destruction, and the effect of the attack on Lawrence, Kansas, a university community approximately forty-five miles to the west. It became the second most watched television production, a position it still holds as of

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<sup>55</sup> *Wargames*, 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

<sup>56</sup> *Wargames*, 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary special edition, directed by John Badham (1983; Hollywood, CA: United Artists, 2008), DVD.

2016, only losing to another Cold War themed show, the *M.A.S.H.* series finale.<sup>57</sup> Because the movie was such a big event it became a defining moment for the cohort. “The film spoke to an entire generation of kids. It’s a movie that most people of a certain age remember quite vividly- even if they have trouble conjuring up specific scenes from the film, even if the truth of it was a bit elusive , or even if their only memory is of not being allowed to watch it.”<sup>58</sup> The film was a “way to educate the youth of America about the tremendous impact of nuclear war on the future of the world,” a euphemistic way of talking about the level of destruction a war would generate.<sup>59</sup>

Even though the film was a way of educating this cohort to the true danger of nuclear war, the physical destruction of America as the viewers knew it. The graphic nature of the film in its depiction of the obliteration of an American city and the surrounding area showed that in the event of a wide scale attack, America would cease to exist, and ensured that ABC would precede the show with a warning that the “film may not be suitable for young viewers.”<sup>60</sup> This warning led the National Education Associations (NEA) to issue its first parental advisory, and the Philadelphia Board of Education to ban the use of the show in “any of its classrooms.”<sup>61</sup> The physical annihilation of the United States was deemed too graphic for children to see. The realistic portrayal of the devastation visited on Kansas City and Lawrence created a national furor, and not just over children viewing the carnage depicted in show.<sup>62</sup> One of the

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<sup>57</sup> Robert D. McFadden, “Atomic War Film Spurs Nationwide Discussion,” *New York Times*, November 22, 1983; Kuznick, Peter J. and James Gilbert. “Introduction: U.S. Culture and the Cold War,” *Rethinking Cold War Culture*. ed. Peter J. Kuznick and James Gilbert (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 2-3.

<sup>58</sup> Church, Steven, *The Day After The Day After: My Atomic Angst* (New York: Soft Skull Press, 2010), 24.

<sup>59</sup> Glenn Collins, “The Impact on Children of ‘The Day After’,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1983.

<sup>60</sup> Glenn Collins, “The Impact on Children of ‘The Day After’,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1983.

<sup>61</sup> Priscilla Van Tassel, “Schools Respond to ‘Day After’ Caveats,” *New York Times*, November 20, 1983.

<sup>62</sup> Hedrick Smith “Shultz Reaffirms Atomic Arms View,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1983; Steven R. Weisman, “Administration Mounts Drive to Counter Atom War Film,” *New York Times*, November 19, 1983; “Kansans see Nuclear War Film,” *New York Times*, October 13, 1983; Stephen Farber, “How a Nuclear Holocaust was Staged for TV,” *New York Times*, November 13, 1983; Paul R Ehrlich, “See the Effects of

controversies was whether the destruction was too realistic or not realistic enough. Rolling text at the end of the movie stated

“The catastrophic events you have just witnessed are in all likelihood less severe than the destruction that would actually occur in the event of a full nuclear strike against the United States. It is hoped that the images of this film will inspire the nations of this earth, their peoples and their leaders, to find the means to avert the fateful day.”<sup>63</sup>

The sanitization of the bombs effect was a criticism of the movie. James Broad wrote in the *New York Times* that even a limited nuclear strike would “set in motion global changes far more hostile to life than previously anticipated.”<sup>64</sup> Here too was a politer way of saying that the destruction would end the idea of *us* as the viewer knew it, and American way of life.

Another criticism of the movie was that it was “a thinly veiled call for nuclear disarmament” even though “ABC insist[ed] that the film [was] not political.”<sup>65</sup> In fact, the producers took great pains to avoid pointing blame at who started the confrontation, yet in the background there are hints that the Soviet Union was the aggressor. Demonstrating the other side of the equation, that there needs to be a *them* trying to destroy the *us*. The opening scene of the movie is an Air Force plane sitting on a tarmac being fueled while text on screen tells the audience that the location was “SAC Airborne Command Post Omaha, Nebraska 194 Miles north of Kansas City, Missouri,” this was done to set the overall location for the movie.<sup>66</sup> As the crew prepares to take off an Air Force General receives a briefing and the Captain who gives the

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Nuclear War. Be Emotional,” *New York Times*, November 20, 1983; James Barron, “Millions of Americans Gather to View Nuclear War on TV,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1983; Robert D. McFadden, “Atomic War Film Spurs Nationwide Discussion,” *New York Times*, November 22, 1983; Garry J. Deloss, “Critics of ‘Amerika’ and of ‘The Day After,’” March 13, 1987

<sup>63</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.

<sup>64</sup> William J. Broad, “Scientists Say TV Film Understates Possible Devastation of Nuclear Attack,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1983.

<sup>65</sup> Priscilla Van Tassel, “Schools Respond to ‘Day After’ Caveats,” *New York Times*, November 20, 1983.

<sup>66</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.

briefing tells him he should “pay particular attention to the nuclear submarines off the East and West coast.”<sup>67</sup> By wording the briefing in this way the viewers are already being primed to think of the Soviet Union as making aggressive moves against the United States. The scene shifts to a new location, one that is closer to the specific geographical setting of the movie, the Kansas City Board of Trade. While the focus of the scene is the trade floor the important part of the scene is the narrative being discussed on a television in the background of the new scene. The television is showing a news broadcast, in which the news anchor states that “...it has not stopped Soviet military presence along the West German Frontier.” “With a massive buildup of infantry and armored divisions... [the American ambassador] ... called the action provocative.” The aggressive nature of the Soviets continues in another scene on a military helicopter with a headline “[Presi]dent Warns Soviets.”<sup>68</sup> By portraying the Soviets as aggressive the film, even if it does not explicitly say the Soviet start the violence, it implies that the United States is being reactive to increasing Soviet antagonism. At one point, as tensions are escalating, Helen Oaks, the wife of Jason Robards’ character Dr. Russel Oaks, one of the main characters of the film, says “it’s 1962 all over again. The Cuban missile crisis.”<sup>69</sup> This scene not only connects back to the time the world was on the brink of nuclear war but the event is also one that was portrayed in American society as being caused by Soviet aggression. Eventually nuclear missiles are detonated in several locations in Europe and the movie depicts U.S. forces scrambling to answer the threat culminating in the launch of American missiles, and at least 300 Soviet missiles inbound.

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<sup>67</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.

<sup>68</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.

<sup>69</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.



At the fifty-seven minute mark there is an atmospheric explosion that generates an Electromagnetic Pulse (EMP) killing all electronics and a minute later the first of the missiles strike, portrayed with a rising mushroom cloud, and for the next two minutes the film shows the destruction of Kansas City and the surrounding area.<sup>70</sup> It is here the show moves from looking at the *them*, and starts to examine the destruction of 1980s America, the *us* of the viewers. The remaining hour of the film is spent dealing with the aftermath of the bombing. “100 million Americans, more than half of the nation’s adult population, watched” *The Day After*.<sup>71</sup> Sitting with their parents getting a firsthand view of the devastation glossed over in *Wargames* were members of the final Cold War generation. In a period of five months the cohort, and the rest of the nation, was exposed to media offerings on the start of an accidental nuclear war, and an actual attack on the United States.<sup>72</sup> Even though these scenarios placed the American way of life in danger, and in the case of *The Day After* showed its annihilation the films needed to speak to the indomitable will of the American people and show that the ideals America stood for could never be truly extinguished, a key component found in the idea of American exceptionalism. This was demonstrated by the American President, in *The Day After*, during a radiobroadcast to the American people. In the broadcast he states there is a cease fire with the Soviet Union, and he wanted to assure the population,

“America has survived (voice chokes up) this terrible tribulation there has been no surrender, no retreat from the principles of liberty and democracy for which the free world looks to us for leadership we remain undaunted before all (fades out)

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<sup>70</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.

<sup>71</sup> Robert D. McFadden, “Atomic War Film Spurs Nationwide Discussion” *New York Times*, November 22, 1983.

<sup>72</sup> As the media portrayed these possible outcomes, the U.S. military and NATO forces were planning and participating in its annual nuclear preparedness drill. What was a routine preparedness to the West seemed like a prelude to attack to the East. Unbeknownst to the general public and much of the West the world stood on the brink of these two scenarios coming true. (Nate Jones, *Able Archer 83: The Secret History of the NATO Exercise that Almost Triggered Nuclear War* (New York: The New Press, 2016.)

almighty God (static) the government functioning under certain extraordinary emergency options...”<sup>73</sup>

While the speech is optimistic and plays up the idea that America will continue accompanying this voiceover are scenes depicting what the various main characters were experiencing. Even though these scenes were at odds with his words in that they showed that returning to the American way of life was going to be a long and difficult process. However, the subtext of the President’s words supported a message that even in the event of a disaster of this magnitude, the American spirit would not be beaten, which worked to remind the audience that the core ideals America fought for, such a freedom and democracy, would survive and eventually return to the prominence it enjoyed on the world’s stage.

While the nuclear annihilation narrative focused on the physical destruction of the American society, the invasion narrative focused on its ideological destruction usually through the curtailing of personal liberty. One idea that Americans have always treasured and felt was worth fighting for is the idea of freedom. According to Eric Foner “no idea was more fundamental to Americans’ sense of themselves as individuals and as a nation than freedom.”<sup>74</sup> This concept was also an important component in the belief of America’s exceptional nature.<sup>75</sup> Freedom has become a foundational idea within American society since it is identified within both the

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<sup>73</sup> *The Day After*, directed by Nicholas Meyer, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: Distributed by MGM Home Entertainment, 2004) DVD.

<sup>74</sup> Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), xiii.

<sup>75</sup> In media it is often pointed out erroneously that no other country enjoys as many or as much freedom as the citizens of the United States. The public’s belief in America’s abundance of freedoms was the premise of the opening scene in the pilot episode of HBO’s television show *Newsroom*. The scene opens with a group of panelists are asked by an audience member, “What makes America great?” One panelist responds, “Freedom and Freedom.” Will MacAvoy, played by Jeff Daniels, gets in trouble when he is pushed and begins a tirade against his co-panelists and the audience member. The problem was not that MacAvoy launched in to his tirade, but rather that he attacks the idea that America was exceptional. One of the ways he did this was by pointing out that the citizens in a majority of the countries of the world enjoy freedoms some at the same level we do (*Newsroom*, “We Just Decided To,” directed by Greg Mottola Newsroom, June 24, 2012, Streaming; Brian Powel, “The Newsroom - Opening Scene (Wow!),” Youtube.com, accessed January 15, 2017 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1zqOYBabXmA>.)

Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Because the ideas of freedom and liberty were intrinsically tied to American identity, and formed the core belief of, and the foundation for, nationalism and patriotism, they were important concepts used in the socialization of this cohort of what it meant to members of *us*.

Sometimes the media portrayed dangers to American society and these founding ideals. The invasion narrative, which placed these concepts in danger, was a way of showing the dangers of taking these ideals for granted. As this cohort entered its teenage years and the Cold War tensions increased, the cohort saw a rise in the Armageddon narrative, but there was also a rise in the media's portrayals of the invasion narrative. At the heart of this narrative was the belief that certain ideals American citizens held dear would be under attack, through the curtailing of freedom and the cessation of liberty. The attacks on these founding principles threatened to make the American way of life as extinct as if a nuclear bomb had been dropped. The invasion narrative, focused on when the United States was invaded by either the Soviet Union or its surrogates. The underlying subtext of this narrative was that if Americans were not willing to maintain a constant vigilance against attacks these rights would be lost. The loss of, and the fight to regain these freedoms were at the heart of films such as *Red Dawn*, and the miniseries *Amerika*.

The main theme within *Red Dawn* (1984) was the loss of the freedom and liberty that made America, America. The premise of the movie is the invasion of the American heartland by communist controlled forces. Through the limited use of nuclear weapons and underhanded tricks the Cubans and their Nicaraguan allies invade the United States, splitting the continental United States. The fight between the Soviet controlled forces and the American forces are pushed to the background of the story as the film focus on a group of children that become

freedom fighters, working to restore the American way of life to their small community.

Throughout the movie there are references to the idea of American superiority. When questioned about how he got shot down Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Tanner, played by Powers Booth, states “it was five to one, [he] got four [of them].”<sup>76</sup> Though this line is very quick, and is accompanied by the image that the United States is involved in a war, that from the perspective of the main cast, it is losing, this line supports the idea the United States was still in control, and better than the Soviet Union militarily. This theme of military superiority seems at odds with the fact that the United States was involved in a war on its own territory, but the movie explains how America came to be attacked.

As the movie starts the intro tells the viewers that the United States has been abandoned by her allies and that “the United States stands alone.”<sup>77</sup> This abandonment, coupled with the description in a later scene that Tanner gives about how the invasion occurs, implies that only through the less than honorable actions of others did America fall. In his portrayal of the invasion it is only through deception that the Soviet Union and its allies are able to attack. Tanner depicts sneak attacks, similar to the strategies used in the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan. These tactics include, limited nuclear strikes, taking out Kansas City, Omaha, and Washington D.C, and the infiltration of Strategic Air Command bases by “Cuban illegals.” The way Tanner talks about these tricks portrays them as underhanded tactics that contribute to the Soviet Union holding the American heartland from the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi River.<sup>78</sup> The underlying theme is that only through trickery and dishonesty was the United States invaded, that

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<sup>76</sup> *Red Dawn*, directed by John Milius, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment, 1998), DVD.

<sup>77</sup> *Red Dawn*, directed by John Milius, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment, 1998), DVD.

<sup>78</sup> *Red Dawn*, directed by John Milius, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment, 1998), DVD.

had it been a straightforward attack America would have stood firm.<sup>79</sup> Portraying the attack in this way serves two purposes. First it “others” the Soviet Union by depicting it as a vicious aggressor, a point hammered home as the invaders were shown killing high school students in the beginning of the movie. It also worked to show the Soviet Union as untrustworthy, in essence a classic black-hatted devious villain. The second reason to represent the invasion in this light was it demonstrates that it took extraordinary measures to bring a country as exceptional as the United States down.

These messages combined to give this cohort the understanding that it would be up to its members to ensure the nation would continue to exist. At the heart of the story is the idea that every citizen recognizes how special the United States was, and that there is an indomitable spirit, or spark that the American people possess that would not let America go quietly into the dark night of oblivion, but rather would continue to be a light guiding the way for others to follow. The idea of the extraordinary nature of the United States as a reason to fight for its preservation is addressed at the end of the movie as the closing monologue reads the monument description for “Partisan Rock.” The description and voiceover states “In the early days of World War III, guerillas, mostly children, placed the names of their lost, upon this rock. They fought here alone, and gave up their lives ‘So that this nation shall not perish from the earth.’”<sup>80</sup> This proves even young Americans could recognize how important America was, and that it truly is a bastion of democracy, a model for the rest of the world to follow. This idea was especially important when one considers that some of the actors in the movie were part of the final Cold

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<sup>79</sup> The underhanded nature of a sneak attack was often pointed to in discussion of the 9/11 attacks on the World trade center and pentagon. This rhetoric coupled with the statements that it an attack on the American Way of life, has undertones that those attacking were jealous of American Prosperity as a way of distracting from the real reasons the United States was attacked.

<sup>80</sup> *Red Dawn*, directed by John Milius, (1983; Santa Monica, CA: MGM Home Entertainment, 1998), DVD.

War generation, but even those who were not of this cohort play characters that were. Like the characters of Lightman and Mack in *Wargames*, this meant those members of the cohort who were the target audience for the film could identify not only with the heroic bravery exhibited by the band of freedom fighters, but also the ideals they were fighting for.

If *Red Dawn* was a preventative tale that exposed the need to fight for the perseverance of freedom and liberty, then *Amerika* was a cautionary tale that tells of the dangers facing the American people once they were lost. *Amerika* was a seven-part, fourteen-and-a-half-hour mini-series that aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1987.<sup>81</sup> According to Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC entertainment, “Amerika [was] a powerful program about freedom and responsibility and the American character.”<sup>82</sup> The series presented what life would be like ten years after a bloodless Soviet take-over. The series focuses on the events of the fictional town of Milford Nebraska and the breakup of the United States into smaller independent Soviet satellites.<sup>83</sup> Even before it aired on the fifteenth of February the series created a lot of controversy from both the left and right side of the political fence.<sup>84</sup> According to Benjamin Barber the real lesson of the mini-series was the danger of letting democracy disappear.<sup>85</sup> For Barber the loss of democracy was a symptom of a larger problem, the loss of what it meant to be American. The series conveyed that the loss of national spirit was what led to the Republic’s downfall and eventual takeover.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> *Amerika*, directed by Donald Wrye (1987; Burbank CA: ABC Circle Films Anchor Bay Entertainment 1995), VHS.

<sup>82</sup> Fred Rothenberg, “ABC Approves controversial ‘Amerika’ Series,” Gainesville Sun - January 23, 1986 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1320&dat=19860123&id=nsIRAAAAIBAJ&sjid=7ekDAAAAIBAJ&pg=6533,2170871&hl=en> (accessed February 22, 2017).

<sup>83</sup> *Amerika*, directed by Donald Wrye (1987; Burbank CA: ABC Circle Films Anchor Bay Entertainment 1995), VHS.

<sup>84</sup> John Corry, “Jumping the Gun on ‘Amerika’,” *New York Times*, January 25, 1987.

<sup>85</sup> Benjamin Barber. “the Real Lesson of ‘Amerika’,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1987.

<sup>86</sup> Benjamin Barber. “the Real Lesson of ‘Amerika’,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1987.

The danger of apathy towards freedom and liberty became the message transmitted to this cohort and the American population. Although Barber believed the message was buried, he did believe it was there, and pondered whether the ultimate goal was to make “a film about citizenship, apathy, and the imperatives of civic responsibility.”<sup>87</sup> In the special *Storm Over Amerika*, presented as a documentary, viewers were asked what would happen if that came to fruition.

“How would we react? Would we fight back, or pretend life would go on as before? Pretend we could remain the same people without... a jury of our peers..., the Bill of Rights. What would the loss of liberty do to that feisty, funny, self-reliant, spit in your eye, compassionate, and cantankerous thing we call the American character? To answer these questions and ask many more was the purpose of a new ABC miniseries called Amerika.”<sup>88</sup>

The “documentary” was ABC’s way to capitalize on the controversy over the miniseries.<sup>89</sup> In the documentary Donald Wrye, the writer, producer, and director of both the miniseries and *Storm Over Amerika*, states the aim of the series was to see whether “Americans can sustain our democracy, to sustain our freedoms.” He later states that the film was not about “the Soviet occupation of America” so much as “the nature of America today.” The invasion story then became the lens through which Wrye examines these concerns.<sup>90</sup> Unspoken, but implied, is that the danger facing American society was if it did not remain vigilant in protecting its rights, then it would lose them.

Where *Red Dawn* demonstrates the need to fight to protect these rights, *Amerika* shows the results of not fighting, which according to Brandon Stoddard meant “America would be [a] gray

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<sup>87</sup> Benjamin Barber. “the Real Lesson of ‘Amerika’,” *New York Times*, March 1, 1987.

<sup>88</sup> Donald R. Beck, *The Storm Over Amerika*, February 15, 1987 Los Angeles: April Films YouTube, accessed February 20, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=US-Kz26kyvQ>.

<sup>89</sup> Howard Rosenberg, “Abc Takes On ‘Amerika’ By Storm,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 03, 1986.

<sup>90</sup> Donald R. Beck, *The Storm Over Amerika*, February 15, 1987 Los Angeles: April Films YouTube, accessed February 20, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=US-Kz26kyvQ>.

and drab [place], [with] long food lines, despair, and [high percentage of] drug and alcohol abuse.”<sup>91</sup> The mini-series also presents high unemployment, homelessness, and of course problems long associated with farming.<sup>92</sup> It reveals the complete collapse of the American system, this systemic failure as implied by Wrye, was not coming from the Soviet occupation, but rather by the American people’s failure to fight for the freedom and liberty they as Americans enjoyed.<sup>93</sup> According to the documentary, the fight for freedom and liberty was an ongoing battle: “The questions raised by [the Documentary and the mini-series] will be continued to be asked as we [the American public of the time] constantly redefine what our freedom means to us, how best to protect that freedom, and what it means to be an American.”<sup>94</sup> This cohort would need to know that it was not enough to be vigilant: every member of American society needed to be ready to protect the hard won liberties that their forefathers fought for.

While television and film depicted the increased tensions of the time fear of nuclear annihilation and fear of an invasion, also made their way into the music this cohort listened to. 99 *Luftballoons*, by the German singer Nena, was an anti-war piece that brought to American audiences the possibility of an accidental nuclear war. The song’s international origin displayed that the fear of World War III was not only an American fear. However, its success on the American charts proved that it resonated with American audiences as well, by playing to their fears. The tune was distinctive in that two editions were released in the American market, the

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<sup>91</sup> Fred Rothenberg, “ABC Approves controversial ‘Amerika’ Series,” Gainesville Sun - January 23, 1986 <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1320&dat=19860123&id=nsIRAAAAIBAJ&sjid=7ekDAAAAIBAJ&pg=6533,2170871&hl=en> (accessed February 22, 2017); Peter J Boyer, “ABC Delays ‘Amerika’, Discloses Soviet Warning,” *New York Times*, January 9, 1986.

<sup>92</sup> John J, O’Conner, “‘Amerika’ — Slogging Through a Muddle,” *New York Times*. February 15, 1987.

<sup>93</sup> John J, O’Conner, “‘Amerika’ — Slogging Through a Muddle,” *New York Times*. February 15, 1987.

<sup>94</sup> Donald R. Beck, *The Storm Over Amerika*, February 15, 1987 Los Angeles: April Films YouTube, accessed February 20, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=US-Kz26kyvQ>.



original version in the band's native German, and a second version sung in English.<sup>95</sup> The German version reached the number two position and spent twenty-three weeks on the top 100 chart.<sup>96</sup> Although the two versions utilize the same musical score, there were some differences between the two. The first difference was in the title and refrain of the song. The German version translated to "99 Air Balloons" while the English version was "99 Red Balloons." In addition to the change in title and refrain, there were also changes in the lyrics. *99 Red Balloons* was not a direct translation of *99 Luftballons*.<sup>97</sup> Because the English version was not a direct translation of the original, the narrative was changed slightly with the German version describing a conventional war as opposed to a nuclear war. One example of this shift was a line from the end of the German version: "99 Jahre Krieg" translates into "99 year war," indicating that the war lasted for a long period of time. Images of a conventional war were strengthened by the music video, as there were explosions and smoke, but not a mushroom cloud or the wholesale destruction that nuclear Armageddon would wreak on the planet.<sup>98</sup> The English version on the other hand, had a decidedly nuclear war theme. Lines like, "In this dust that was a city" and the lyrical couplet, "panic bells, it's red alert" "There's something here from somewhere else" help build the impression that the war it is talking about was nuclear, an impression supported by the lyric couplet "If I could find a souvenir, Just to prove the world was here," hinting that the world

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<sup>95</sup>Nena. "99LuftBallons" *99LuftBalloons* CD New York: Epic records 1984; Nena. "99 Red Balloons" *Ultimate 80's* CD Montreal: Madacy Records 2006.

<sup>96</sup>Billboard.com, "Top 100 Billboard Chart history Nena" <http://www.billboard.com/artist/1493228/Nena/chart?f=379> [accessed April 2, 2016].

<sup>97</sup>A side-by-side comparison of the two versions was located at <http://www.inthe80s.com/redger3.shtml> [accessed March 26, 2016] though there were typographical errors in some places; the translation of the lyrics was pretty accurate.

<sup>98</sup>Youtube.com "99 Luftballons," Youtube.com, accessed March 26, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=La4Dcd1aUcE>; There is no official video released for the English version, however there is a video that claimed to be an official video but is in fact a promo piece for the song that had clips from the official music video and concert footage put to the English lyrics of the song.; Vimo.com "99 Red Balloons," accessed March 26, 2016. <https://vimeo.com/107731074>.

as the listeners knew it was gone. An idea tied into the common belief of the time that if World War III started, the world would be rendered uninhabitable and the human race would be the architects of its own extinction.<sup>99</sup> The song also preserved the paranoia of the time that the enemy would launch an unprovoked and surprise nuclear attack. Which intensified the very real fear that an innocently released balloon or some other similarly innocuous event would lead to World War III.<sup>100</sup>

By 1985 all three messages, that of a de-civilized Soviet state, fear of World War III, or the notion of American exceptionalism, were strongly entrenched within music, especially the fear of World War III. Because of the time lag between conception and final release of the piece, 1985 was the height of Cold War tensions within music as numerous songs or even whole albums reflected what seemed to be the ever increasing likelihood of war. A perception that seemed plausible due to the events of 1983 and 1984, which seemed to be pushing American society towards conflict with the Soviet Union. *Silent Running* was a song by the band Mike + The Mechanics on its debut self-titled album. It came out in 1985, peaked at number six on the top 100 chart, and also made it to the number one spot for five weeks on the Mainstream Rock Tracks chart.<sup>101</sup> The hit was an example of an invasion song. A Soviet invasion was one of the ways that fear of World War III manifested itself.<sup>102</sup> The track starts with the singer imploring the listener to “Take the children and yourself, And hide out in the cellar.”<sup>103</sup> This couplet sets

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<sup>99</sup> Nena, “99 Red Balloons,” *Ultimate 80's*, Madacy Records, 2006, CD.

<sup>100</sup> A scenario that was the premise of the 1983 movie *Wargames* starring Matthew Broderick and Ally Sheedy. Where Broderick’s character, who thought he was hacking into a computer game company, unknowingly hacked into NORAD and almost triggers World War III.

<sup>101</sup> Allmusic.com, “Mike + the Mechanics,” accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/mike-the-mechanics-mn0001373380/awards>; Billboard.com, “Mainstream Rock Songs chart,” accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/charts/hot-mainstream-rock-tracks/1986-01-25>.

<sup>102</sup> The invasion narrative was especially popular around this time with movies such as *Red Dawn* (1984) and *Invasion U.S.A.* (1985) to name two blockbusters during the period.

<sup>103</sup> Mike + The Mechanics, “Silent Running,” track 1 on *Mike + The Mechanics*, Atlantic Records, 1985, CD.

the stage for the listener to know that something bad is coming, an understanding sustained by the first line of the next couplet, a line that tells the listener, “By now the fighting will be close at hand.”<sup>104</sup> The imagery of an invasion continues with the second and third stanzas. The anxiety produced by the lyrics increases as the third stanza began. Here it tells the listener “swear allegiance to the flag, whatever flag they offer.” This couplet implies that the society under attack has lost and has been occupied.<sup>105</sup> The third stanza ends with the admonition that someday the next generation “will rise up and fight.”<sup>106</sup> This was a common theme in invasion narratives, especially in those with visual representation of the message. In those representations, along with this one, there was the implication, though sometimes it was explicitly stated, that the American way of life was worth fighting and dying for. This thought usually accompanies the notion that whichever generation was in power when the invasion took place did not fight hard enough to ensure society’s survival.<sup>107</sup> The last section of the final stanza communicates that it is the younger generation, the “sons and daughters” who need to “rise up and fight” because the older generation did nothing.”<sup>108</sup> Like other representations of this message the song supports the understanding that the only way America would be lost is if American citizens, did nothing to fight off the invaders.<sup>109</sup>

Although there is no mention of who the enemy is there are hints that it is the Soviet Union. The lyric, “Don't believe the church and state,” in the first stanza, was similar to Soviet propaganda depicted in other types of media.<sup>110</sup> The reference to the Church was a connection to

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<sup>104</sup> Mike + The Mechanics, "Silent Running," track 1 on *Mike + The Mechanics*, Atlantic Records, 1985, CD.

<sup>105</sup> Mike + The Mechanics, "Silent Running," track 1 on *Mike + The Mechanics*, Atlantic Records, 1985, CD.

<sup>106</sup> Mike + The Mechanics, "Silent Running," track 1 on *Mike + The Mechanics*, Atlantic Records, 1985, CD.

<sup>107</sup> This was a common theme of the invasion narrative. Media offerings such as *Red Dawn*, and *Amerika* to name two well know offerings of the time period.

<sup>108</sup> Mike + The Mechanics, "Silent Running," track 1 on *Mike + The Mechanics*, Atlantic Records, 1985, CD.

<sup>109</sup> Mike + The Mechanics, "Silent Running," track 1 on *Mike + The Mechanics*, Atlantic Records, 1985, CD.

<sup>110</sup> This was usually prominent in the invasion narratives where the Soviet Union had incomplete control of the country. The State was either the old democratic government of the United States or it was freedom fighters

the fact that the Soviet Union was an atheist country and the difference between it and the United States a Christian country was played up throughout the entirety of the Cold War.<sup>111</sup> The inclusion of the lines, “Better you should pray to God, The Father and the Spirit, Will guide you and protect from up here,” coupled with, “Never hint at what you really feel, Teach the children quietly,” augments this reading and implies that religion had to go underground, something that Americans saw depicted in other media when the Soviet Union took control of the country.<sup>112</sup>

While songs like *99 Red Balloons* or *Silent Running* expressed the fear of war, sometimes whole albums had an underlying martial theme that fit within the Cold War context. Albums with these themes revealed concern for World War III was never very far under the surface. *The Dream of the Blue Turtles* was one such example. In 1985, Sting, the former front man for the band *the Police*, released his first solo record. It was a success in that it rose to the second spot on billboard charts behind Bruce Springsteen’s *Born in the U. S. A.* Four singles were released in the United States that became Top 40 hits, with two other singles not only being released in the United Kingdom (U.K.) but also making it to the upper levels of the U.K. charts.<sup>113</sup> The four U.S. singles in order of their release were *If You Love Somebody Set Them Free*, *Love is the Seventh Wave*, *Fortress Around Your Heart*, and *Russians*, with *Moon over Bourbon Street*, and *We Work the Black Seam* being released in the U.K. According to billboard charts the album

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who were releasing information that were being supported by the government outside of the occupied territory. Such as Radio Free America that was broadcast in Europe during the Cold War.

<sup>111</sup> The addition of the line “under god” that was added to the Pledge of Allegiance in the 1954 as a way of Differentiating the United States from the “godless communists.”

<sup>112</sup> The connection to music and visuals in other media help to strengthen these ideals as it allowed the messages to reach a wider audience that might be missed if the message was transmitted through only one medium.

<sup>113</sup> “Why Sting Abandoned the Police at their Chart Peak to Start His Solo Career,” accessed February 13, 2016. <http://ultimateclassicrock.com/sting-dream-of-the-blue-turtles/>.

was the fiftieth most-popular album for the year 1985. However, it rose to the thirty-fifth position the following year.<sup>114</sup>

While *The Dream of the Blue Turtles* does not explicitly speak to the fear of World War III the idea was seen in the songs on it. This meant that the *us vs. them* binary was also present on the record. Demonstrating that the anxiety about World War III was never buried very far below the surface of late Cold War period society. Sometimes the tracks on the album explicitly addressed the fear of World War II and the *us vs. them* binary while other times they only do so implicitly. Three of the four released singles have symbolism that convey these concerns. In addition to those three songs, two others also possessed this type of imagery. This means that of the ten songs on the album five convey impressions of either conventional or nuclear war. Since one of the tracks on the record is an instrumental and is comprised of no lyrics, over half of the entries are made up of lyrics which reveal there was a concern about the hostilities between the Soviet Union and the United States, which created anxiety that went beyond the citizens of the two superpowers. Like the singer Nena, even though Sting was British and not an American citizen, though he did spend a significant amount of time in New York, the value of examining *The Dream of the Blue Turtles* is in how successful it was with American audiences rather than Sting's nationality. With strong ties to American society Sting would have been aware of not only of likes and dislikes of American youth, but also their hopes and fears.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Billboard.com, "Billboard 200 Albums," accessed February 13, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/1985/the-billboard-200> ; Billboard.com, "Billboard 200 Albums," accessed February 13, 2016 <http://www.billboard.com/charts/year-end/1986/the-billboard-200>.

<sup>115</sup> The success of the Police, his involvement in American movies and the fact that Sting lived in New York for a time just before he recorded the album means that the society he was immersed in would have influenced his thinking. In the Article "Sting's Russians was Inspired by Illegal Satellite Viewings," *The Daily Express*, July 15, 2010, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.express.co.uk/celebrity-news/187070/Sting-s-Russians-was-inspired-by-illegal-satellite-viewings>. Which corroborates a recording of Sting talking about how he wrote "Russians" located at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9VKBgxOY5g8> In the recording Sting talked about how he was living in New York at the time. As an outsider Sting might be considered impartial but as we will see later whenever there was a comparison between the Soviet Union and the United States, the United States is

The single, *Love is the Seventh Wave*, is about the power of love and how it is the last in a string (wave) of powerful forces. The verses of the song allude to powerful forces that surround the listener.<sup>116</sup> While Sting maintains throughout the song that love was the most powerful force, the track acknowledges there are other forces that are almost as strong and if the listeners are not careful will overpower love. It was in the third stanza where the comparisons of powerful forces leave a more natural setting and takes on a more militaristic view. The first line in the third verse “All the bloodshed, all the anger,” is followed by a reference to weapons which confirms Sting acknowledges war was one of the most powerful forces the citizens of the late Cold War period had to contend with.<sup>117</sup> Showing that the world was not at peace and was not in a place where love could exert its “power” If the first two lines of the verse are not enough to indicate that Sting thought about war, when he wrote the song, the final two lines of the stanza, when he references armies, missiles and “the symbols of that fear” certainly are.<sup>118</sup> These lines supplement the imagery of not only a conventional war, but also a nuclear one as well. The symbolism of armies and missiles in the song plays off of western images which portray the militaristic nature of the Soviet Union.<sup>119</sup> This portrayal reinforces the idea of the Soviet Union as a *them* looking to destroy the Western way of life.

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portrayed in a better light. His assignment through his lyrics of the United States to the *us* position and the Soviet Union to the *them* position demonstrates his western and pro-American (when compared to the East and Soviet Union) bias.

<sup>116</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave” track 8 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>117</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave” track 8 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>118</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave” track 8 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>119</sup> One image highlighted in western media that became representational of the Cold War struggle was that of Soviet soldiers marching by the Kremlin. Videos of these parades presented numerous large battalions marching in step. Between the formations of soldiers were usually trucks transporting nuclear missiles. These parades displayed the strength of the Soviet Union’s military, but also worked to demonstrate the superiority of the Soviet system.

An interpretation of the song as containing militaristic imagery is upheld when one examines the music video as well. The video begins with Sting in a classroom of small children.<sup>120</sup> After this initial encounter with reality, the video and Sting enters a world drawn by a child. When considered alongside the initial opening scene, the images the viewers see in this new reality are implied to come from the children in the class Sting is teaching.<sup>121</sup> Even before the song lyrics make it to the more martial third stanza, the video starts to showcase images of war. Initially, Sting marches with a representation of soldiers carrying guns, and even though Sting carries a guitar, the way he holds it and the visual difference between live action Sting and soldiers in the drawing make it hard to differentiate that fact. As Sting and the troops march, the video depicts a military helicopter and two planes engage in a dog fight.<sup>122</sup> As the group continues to march a missile on a truck bed enters the scene, as soon as the viewer is able to identify the missile the scene shifts to foreground Sting's head with the missile centered behind him.<sup>123</sup> As Sting sings and continues past the missile new images are introduced, a rolling tank, while overhead a missile flies by. The initial missile is immediately followed by another one that drops something on the ground that explodes.<sup>124</sup> There is a scene shift and then Sting is the driver of a tank, as a city in the background burns and a squadron of airplanes drops bombs on it. The last of these

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<sup>120</sup> The classroom could be attributed to Stings early career as a teacher and early Police videos that took place in classrooms., a connection that was made even stronger when the viewer returned to the classroom and as Sting sings a repeat of an earlier refrain he adds a the line "Every breath you take with me and after a self-satisfied smirk transitions into the lyrics of The Police song "Every Breath You Take." Sting, "Love is the Seventh Wave," Youtube.com, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>, [accessed January 3, 2018].

<sup>121</sup> Sting, "Love is the Seventh Wave," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>.

<sup>122</sup> Sting, "Love is the Seventh Wave," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>.

<sup>123</sup> Sting, "Love is the Seventh Wave," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>.

<sup>124</sup> Sting, "Love is the Seventh Wave," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>.

images coordinates with the final line of the stanza, “the symbols of that fear.”<sup>125</sup> The destruction of the city is the ultimate penalty, if love was not able to beat humans ability to cause war, or in other words if hate continues to dominate mankind’s thinking, destruction is inevitable.

After another chorus of the refrain Sting walks through a child’s rendition of a ruined city where Angels and Devils flew around the screen.<sup>126</sup> The final stanza of the song which these images were meant to convey, while not explicitly referencing either physical war or the Cold War, played into the very strong binary thinking of the time. The angels and the devils of the lyrics have multiple connotations especially when this verse is connected to the previous one, and when considered within the framework of the *us vs. them* mentality of the Cold War. These connotations depend on the interpretation of the line “at the still point of destruction” which begins the final stanza.<sup>127</sup> If the lyrics reference the idea of armies then the line refers to the East vs. West mentality, which would put the Western world as the angels and the Soviet led East as the devils, a chilling idea considering the devils outnumbered the angels by 3 to 1.<sup>128</sup> However, if the line refers to the missiles of the previous stanza, and when coupled with the line that immediately proceeded it where Sting sings “at the center of the fury,” then the meaning has a different connotation whereby a nuclear strike had been launched.<sup>129</sup> With this interpretation, the angels and devils refer to the citizens that died, or it could refer to the side that started the incident, the devils, and the side that was the target of the unprovoked attack, the angels.

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<sup>125</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave,” Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>; Sting, *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Saint Phillip Barbados: Blue Wave Studio 1985, CD.

<sup>126</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave,” Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>.

<sup>127</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave” track 8 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>128</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave,” Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXZistami3c>.

<sup>129</sup> Sting, “Love is the Seventh Wave” track 8 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.



For a three minute and thirty-eight second video almost a third of it has some sort of imagery connected to the military and war. What was of greater concern, was since the scenes of the video were supposedly drawn by children they represent the fact that even young children in the time period had to face the specter of World War III. While these interpretations benefit from the knowledge a quarter century of hindsight provided, in 1985 when the song was released, and even though explicit connection to the Cold War are not made within the song's lyrics, the fact that these symbols are included in a song and video about love prove how pervasive the idea of nuclear war was and the fear that current tensions would escalate.

*Fortress Around Your Heart* a single that is by and large accepted by the general public as being about Sting's divorce from his first wife, and as such had definitive symbolism that tied into the war motif.<sup>130</sup> The symbolic imagery of war runs throughout the narrative of the song, much like *Love is the Seventh Wave*. Even though this song was not intended to be a commentary on physical war or nuclear war, the undeniably strong imagery conjures up mental pictures of physical war, especially the battlefields of World War I.<sup>131</sup> This type of representation, embedded within the song's lyrics, helps supplement the argument that even though explicit

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<sup>130</sup> Several internet sources cite Sting's divorce from his first wife as the inspiration for the songs "Every Breath You Take," "King of Pain," and "Fortress Around your Heart" Sting has said that the song is one of appeasement implying that the war metaphors relates to the attacks ones hearts feels when a relationship breaks down.

<sup>131</sup> Throughout the song there was imagery that calls up World War I. With allusions to Barbed wire and trenches extremely powerful when one considered how World War I was fought and the price that Britain paid as it sent a generation off to fight in the trenches of France. After a stanza away from the front-line Sting returned to images of the battlefield deprivations. With Lyrics like "While the armies all are sleeping, beneath the tattered flag we'd made," further reinforced the connection to World War I. It accomplished this by conjuring up images of solders sleeping in foxholes with a tattered Union Jack and regimental flag flying over their positions, as German snipers take shots across the barbed wire, encrusted mine laden, no man's land. The final chorus alluded to the time after the war ended when things were returning to normal. "As the song closes one final connection to World War I was made the final with the lyrics "As I returned across the fields I'd known ... Had to stop in my tracks for fear of walking on the mines I'd laid." A reminder that the horrors of war were never really gone even if they disappear from sight they were constantly lurking below the surface a reminder that surfaces when farmers on the European continent turn up unexploded World War I ordinance in their fields, incidents of which continued to occur until late into the twentieth century; Sting, "Fortress around Your Heart" track 10 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

connections to Cold War tensions might not exist, the idea of the world at war was never very far under the surface during the late Cold War period.<sup>132</sup> Unlike in *Love is the Seventh Wave* where the connections are confined to the main stanzas of the song, in *Fortress Around Your Heart*, the war symbolism was also embedded in the refrain so that even as each chorus changes, the refrain not only reinforces the idea of war, but it strengthens each succeeding chorus' connection to war. Both the first and second choruses build the description of war. While the first chorus references tools of warfare and relies on depictions of the horrors experienced by those fighting a war, the second chorus alludes to how long war could go on, and that it never seems to end. It also reminds the listeners that war was felt by everyone, even those not on the frontlines.<sup>133</sup> Also unlike *Love is the Seventh Wave*, the video for *Fortress Around Your Heart* does not contain militaristic images to match the words. While the video was filmed in black and white to reinforce the somber tone of the song, most of the video focuses on Sting as he sings in a dark and damaged warehouse.<sup>134</sup>

*Russians* is the most explicit of all the tracks on the album in dealing with the idea of nuclear war and the destruction of the world, and the *us vs. them* binary. The song begins with a ticking clock, an auditory representation of the doomsday clock, a metaphor that signaled how close the world was to nuclear Armageddon.<sup>135</sup> The closer the clock is to midnight the closer it is to nuclear war. The ticking is subtly augmented with conversations in both Russian and English; however, these conversations are laid over each other making them impossible to understand, also indicating an adversarial nature to the competing sounds. The musical notes that underlie the

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<sup>132</sup> Even relationships take on the characteristics of warfare, with battles, alliances and treaties as the relationship waxes and wanes.

<sup>133</sup> Sting, "Fortress around Your Heart" track 10 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>134</sup> Sting, "Fortress Around Your Heart," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qcVtEy6G1Q>.

<sup>135</sup> Sting, "Russians" track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

ticking and conversations slowly builds to represent a growing sense of tension between the conflicting conversations.<sup>136</sup> A symbolic acknowledgement to the growing tension between the United States and Soviet Union in the early 1980s. The music video for the song starts with the same ticking clock. The hands of the clock are positioned five minutes from midnight.<sup>137</sup> One difference between the song and the music video is that initially in the video neither the ticking of the clock nor the conflicting voices are particularly strong and as the music begins both are easily drowned out.<sup>138</sup> In both, the song abruptly shifts to Sting claiming that “In Europe and America there's a growing feeling of hysteria,” lyrically referencing the growing tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States.<sup>139</sup>

Sting's identity as a British citizen offered him a unique vantage point to examine the Cold War rhetoric coming out of both the Soviet Union and the United States. Sting is considered an impartial observer in that he was a citizen of neither superpower. This permitted him to express concern for the world as a whole rather than only his native country. In the song Sting asks “How can I save my little boy, From Oppenheimer's deadly toy?”<sup>140</sup> This tells the audience he is concerned that growing tensions might continue to escalate until the doomsday clock strikes midnight and World War III begins. Sting appeals to both countries, reminding the listener that “We (human beings) share the same biology, Regardless of ideology” and that if we, as Cold War listeners, forgot that, and let ideology rule the day, the world and humanity was in

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<sup>136</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>137</sup> While the clock was analog and there was no indication that it was 11: 55 pm in fact the clock face was devoid of any numbers or other identifying markers other than the circles in the place of the numbers. However because the scene was dark and was supposed to represent night and because of the topic of the song it was easily inferred that the clock was representative of the doomsday clock with the twelve position representing midnight.; Sting, “Russians,” Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qcVtEy6G1Q>.

<sup>138</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD; Sting, “Russians,” Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qcVtEy6G1Q>.

<sup>139</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>140</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

trouble.<sup>141</sup> While one could claim that as a British citizen Sting was impartial, especially with lyrics such as, “There is no monopoly on common sense, On either side of the political fence,” where he implies that both the Soviet Union and the United States were to be blamed for the increasing tension. However, his western bias is displayed when his examination of the growing tension and rhetoric starts with a speech given by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1956.<sup>142</sup> In the speech, Khrushchev claimed “‘We (the Soviet Union) will bury you’ (the west, and by association capitalism).” Rather than looking at the more recent and vitriolic rhetoric of Reagan, Sting goes back to 1956, and the early part of the Cold War, and implies the blame for starting the escalation laid with the Soviet Union.

While Sting addresses Reagan’s contribution to the growing tension, particularly his push for the Strategic Defense Initiative known as SDI or colloquially as Star Wars, Sting does not debate or criticize Reagan’s rhetoric but rather believes Reagan was not being realistic. When “Mister Reagan says 'We (the United States) will protect you', I don't subscribe to this point of view.”<sup>143</sup> The first part of the song implies that the United States would be in a reactive role, that the Soviet Union would start the war with the first strike, and that the United States would continue its role as the world’s protector from the “Evil Empire” through the use of SDI.<sup>144</sup> The location of this couplet, immediately followed a couplet which repeats early Cold War propaganda, propaganda that promoted the fallacy a nuclear war would be a “winnable war.”<sup>145</sup> Sting’s response, “I don't subscribe to this point of view,” maintained the sense that Reagan was lying to the public. By framing the lyrics in which Reagan promises protection in this way Sting implies

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<sup>141</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>142</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>143</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>144</sup> This fits within Sam Keene’s argument of how “we” create an enemy *them* in the *us vs. them* binary. It is his contention that in creating an enemy that enemy was always portrayed as the aggressor and that “we” as a good and non-aggressive society only reacted to their actions.

<sup>145</sup> Sting, “Russians” track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

that Reagan's falsehood was not malicious, but rather misguided in that Reagan was mistaken in his belief that Star Wars would be capable of protecting the world when the missiles started to fly. This is a very different tone than the couplet where Sting sings about the concept of a "winnable war," where he immediately says, "It's a lie we (the listener) don't believe anymore." This is a much harsher and direct statement, when compared to "I don't subscribe to this point of view."<sup>146</sup> Because of this difference in tone Reagan's lie, about protecting the world, was softened which implies Reagan was not deliberately trying to mislead with his statements, but rather was just perpetuating the myth that was around since the advent of Nuclear weapons, the myth that America could win a nuclear war.

The western bias of the song is also in its refrain. The track is titled *Russians*, and throughout the refrain Sting hopes that the "Russians love their children too."<sup>147</sup> Sting even ends the song with the couplet "What might save us, me and you, Is if the Russians love their children too"<sup>148</sup> This phrasing places the obligation to stop World War III on the Soviet Union. Which reinforced the belief that the Soviet Union would start the war, and as such only *they* could prevent it. This couplet also places Sting within the in-group, the *us*, so that the cohort recognized that there was a difference between it and the Soviet Union. These ideas were presented to the cohort, as the single was played on radio stations. Due to the fact that *Russians* peaked at the number 15 position of the airplay charts in March of 1986, its climb and subsequent descent on the chart meant it was heard by a large number of impressionable youths.<sup>149</sup> This song and others like it would shape how the final Cold War generation viewed the Soviet Union. The single *Russians*

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<sup>146</sup> Sting, "Russians" track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>147</sup> Sting, "Russians" track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>148</sup> Sting, "Russians" track 3 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>149</sup> "Billboard's Hot sales and Air play" *Billboard* 96, no. 9 March 1, 1986, accessed February 13, 2016.  
<https://books.google.com/books?id=NCQEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PT68&dq=Sting%27s+Russians+chart+rankings&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiG9vTIwPbKAhWLWT4KHaAUCD0Q6AEIMjAD#v=onepage&q=Sting%27s%20Russians%20chart%20rankings&f=false>.

was the most explicit of the album's tracks that dealt with the *us vs. them* binary, and the dangers of war to the planet and humanity.

Even though the video does not provide images of the *us vs. them* binary, instead relying on the lyrics for the comparison, the visual of the music video does convey a Cold War feel. After the scene with the clock, the video switches to an old man sitting in a room with metal walls with what looks like a bomb shelter hatch opposite of him. As Sting starts to sing, the old man is looking at a scrapbook that contains pictures of young children while a younger man who seems to be a security guard looks on.<sup>150</sup> Throughout the video the viewer gets the feeling that the man represents someone high up in government and is sequestered for his protection from the results of a nuclear attack.<sup>151</sup> A scene in the video hints, while the man was safe in the shelter his son was not and is probably a casualty of the war. This is made clear later in the video when a picture of the boy is overlaid with snow or ash.<sup>152</sup> This material is shown again as the video closes and the camera once again focuses on the clock whose hands have moved well past the twelve o'clock position. That scene transitions to Sting standing in an overcast barren setting where the ash like material falls around him.<sup>153</sup> The video ends as the music slowly drops in volume with the scene fading to black, though the ash like material continues to fall.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Sting, "Russians," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHyIQRVN2Qs>.

<sup>151</sup> While there was no indication that the man was a Soviet other clues hint that he might be. The feel of the room was very spartan playing into the view of the Soviet Union as not having creature comforts only the bare necessities. Both the pictures and one other person who showed up on screen had connection to gymnastics. At the time the Soviet Union was seen as dominating the sport and it was Soviet gymnast who were held up as the ideal. By tying these images to the man there was an implied connection to the Soviet Union. Of course the biggest connection was the name of the song and the video seems to convey that the Russians failed to protect the children and this man had to live with the regret of that failure.

<sup>152</sup> Whatever the material was it had connection to a nuclear attack. If ash, it was from the debris resulting from the bombing and if it was snow it was a result of the nuclear winter from the material ejected into the air.; Sting, "Russians," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHyIQRVN2Qs>.

<sup>153</sup> Sting, "Russians," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHyIQRVN2Qs>.

<sup>154</sup> Sting, "Russians," Youtube.com, accessed January 3, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wHyIQRVN2Qs>.

Although *Children's Crusade* was not released as a single, and therefore did not have an accompanying music video, war symbolism was still portrayed in the song. As part of an album filled with war imagery, the lyrics to this song are further proof that concern about war was dominant during this time period. Because *Children's Crusade* spoke to World War I, and preceded *Fortress Around Your Heart*, it bolsters an understanding that *Fortress Around Your Heart* is linked to World War I, where *Fortress Around Your Heart* only implicitly conveys this connection to World War I, it was explicit in *Children's Crusade* because *Children's Crusade*, immediately followed *Russians* the explicit Cold War connections of *Russians* primes an understanding of *Children's Crusade* as a song about conventional war and the dangers of war, particularly World War I. While there is no connection to the Cold War in *Children's Crusade*, the song proves the idea war was always lurking just below the surface. It also demonstrates that the album *The Dream of the Blue Turtles* has a strong militaristic undertone whose message was to identify the horrors of war.

Although not released as a single in the United States, *We Work the Black Seam*, was the released in the U.K. in 1986. While American audiences did not hear the song on the radio, because the album made it to the number two spot on the music charts the song was owned by a lot of Americans. The song's connection to Cold War themes are subtle like *Love is the Seventh Wave*. While the general consensus was that the song focuses on the laments of miners as their livelihood was replace by the use of nuclear power this was not the only way to read the song.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> A "soundbite" in *the Dream of the Blue Turtle* discography section for the album on Sting.com from *Rolling Stone* magazine states, "He also comments on the British miners' strike ('We Work The Black Seam')." Tom Moon from the *Miami Herald* on the same page states "Unemployed coal miners mourn the onslaught of a sophisticated and frightening power supply" (Sting, "Soundbite," Discography *Dream of the Blue Turtles*, Sting.com, accessed February 20, 2018. <http://www.sting.com/discography/album/20/Albums>.) These are just two of numerous references, on this page alone, talk about how the song was about the strike and the dangers of nuclear energy. While there was strong evidence, as the examples above demonstrate, to make a case that the song looked at the dangers of nuclear energy as the line "bury the waste in a great big hole" seemed to imply. (Sting, "We Work the Black Seam" track 6 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.)

An examination of *We Work the Black Seam* within the larger context of the album, and its concern about war, an argument can be made that the lyrics also describe a nuclear missile strike. For example, in the second stanza of the song listeners are introduced to the refrain, “Deadly for twelve thousand years is carbon fourteen,” Sting later sings “They build machines that they can't control.” While the above preferred reading argues that Sting was explaining the problems of nuclear energy, as we will see in a bit, it also speaks to the dangers of a nuclear bomb detonation.<sup>156</sup>

Like *Love is the Seventh Wave*, *We Work the Black Seam* requires a deeper reading, and when examined through the context of the Cold War, the song also addresses the fears of the nuclear age. By deconstructing the entire refrain, the claim about its meaning is not as strange as it might seem, especially when considered alongside the martial nature of the other songs on the album. Because *We Work the Black Seam* was preceded by two songs which primes the listener to think militaristically, a song about a missile strike and the aftermath was not out of the question. Additionally, since there was no video for the song that could provide an officially sanctioned interpretation, listeners were left to decode the song utilizing their own cultural context.

The refrain of *We Work the Black Seam* opens with the line “One day in a nuclear age,” an innocuous line that could go into either reading and spoke to setting up the context of the world

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Especially when considered with the other two lines. These three lines it might be argued were meant to show that the remains of nuclear power would be around long after the people who made it were gone. In this type of reading the line “They build machines that they can't control,” would be talking about nuclear reactors. This seems especially relevant when one considers that the Three Mile Island accident in 1979 was a relatively recent event. However, I would argue that this type of reading was primed by the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl in 1986. Even though Chernobyl occurred after the song was written, which strengthens the dangers of nuclear war reading, Chernobyl did occur before the song was released as a single, and as such, the Chernobyl accident was fresh in the minds of Europeans and to a lesser degree Americans, which fostered an analysis through an anti-nuclear energy or dangers of nuclear energy lens.

<sup>156</sup> Sting, “We Work the Black Seam” track 6 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.



in 1985. This contextual line is followed by, “They may understand our rage.”<sup>157</sup> Although both of these lines fit within the dominant reading of the song, a more oppositional interpretation was that the lines were a lyrical way to explain the increasingly hostile rhetoric that was coming out of the United States at the time. However, it was in the third line of the refrain where the dominant, and oppositional readings deviate, and where that deviation becomes pronounced.<sup>158</sup> An oppositional reading of the refrain, one focused on a nuclear strike, means other lines in the song take on new meanings. For example, the line “bury the waste in a great big hole,” takes on a new and more ominous meaning. In this reading the “hole” represents an impact crater and “bury the waste” means the remains of the target city that were now at the bottom of the crater.<sup>159</sup> The next two lines of the song add to this imagery as they represent a post-apocalyptic world: “Power was to become cheap and clean” is a reference to the destruction of the societal infrastructure which includes a loss of the power grid, or it is another reference to the line “They build machines that they can't control” which means what was supposed to be man’s greatest salvation ends up leading to mankind’s utter destruction, a concept supported by lyrics like “Grimy faces were never seen” which alludes to the extinction of the human race, though a more probable interpretation is that with the infrastructure destroyed, society would devolve into the nightmare worlds depicted in the post-apocalyptic films popular at the time, such as *Mad Max*. In either case, civilization as the survivors know it is over and continued existence becomes the main

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<sup>157</sup> Sting, “We Work the Black Seam” track 6 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

<sup>158</sup> The split occurs when Sting sang, “They build machines that they can't control.” (Sting, “We Work the Black Seam” track 6 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.) While this could reference nuclear power plant accidents, the Chernobyl accident was still in the future, and the accident at Three Mile Island was not the same magnitude as Chernobyl, so this type of reading seems less definitive. (see footnote 155) This meant that the case that the line was referring to nuclear warheads was equally as plausible. This type of analytical reading, like the analysis of *Love is the Seventh Wave*, benefited from historical hindsight, but considering how close the world came to World War III and nuclear Armageddon in 1983, this type of reading was possible. The line could just as easily be talking about the proliferation of nuclear warheads or that once the warheads detonated there was no way to control where the blast went or what it destroyed.

<sup>159</sup> Sting, “We Work the Black Seam” track 6 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

focus of society. The penultimate unique line in the refrain “Deadly for twelve thousand years is carbon fourteen” refers to how long the destruction from the nuclear strike would last, and if humanity was to survive how long it had to deal with the consequences of the Cold War escalation into World War III.<sup>160</sup>

The final line of the refrain “We work the black seam together” is repeated twice and in the dominant reading about nuclear power it is a metaphor for a coal seam. However, in the oppositional reading the imagery is a metaphor for the swath of destruction created as society is burned away in the firestorm that follows a nuclear detonation. Which reinforces the idea of how destructive a nuclear war would be and that the listeners were justified in fearing that World War III would start. The “we” that Sting referred to are the survivors of the detonation who have to comb through the wreckage of civilization and work together to ensure the survival of the human race. Depicting the danger of letting World War III happen, but more importantly illustrating what would happen to American society if it did start.

When the song is considered alone, and within a vacuum, the refrain and other lyrics act as evidence of the dominant reading’s strength. However, when considered within the context of the entire album, an oppositional reading explains how the song fit into the overall theme of *The Dream of the Blue Turtles*, especially when this song was considered alongside other singles such as *Russians* or *Children’s Crusade*. This argument is also corroborated when the song is considered within the larger context of the Cold War era. When read this way, the track does connect to the fears of nuclear annihilation of the late Cold War period, due to the increased hostility found in Reagan’s Cold War rhetoric. It also worked as a commentary on the danger of unchecked nuclear proliferation as the precursor to nuclear Armageddon. Throughout *The Dream*

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<sup>160</sup> Sting, “We Work the Black Seam” track 6 on *Dream of the Blue Turtle*, Blue Wave Studio, 1985, CD.

of the *Blue Turtles*, various compositions convey imagery that spoke to the fear of the world devolving into another World War. These fears were never very far under the surface thoughts of late Cold War Americans, as demonstrated by the music of the time, and especially in Sting's debut album. Through the portrayal of this fear the album also, albeit extremely subtly, depicts the *us vs. them* binary.

Even after tensions started to lessen the message did not go away. The 1986 music video for Genesis' *Land of Confusion* is an example of a song that continues to reinforce the *us vs. them* binary message of World War III. *Land of Confusion* is the third single from the group's thirteenth and highest rated album. With the song making it to the number four spot on Billboard's top 100 list, this became Genesis' fourth-most-successful song.<sup>161</sup> The video is performed by caricatured puppets and opens with a shot of Ronald and Nancy Reagan getting ready for bed. In the bed with the Reagans is a monkey, a nod to Reagan's 1951 movie *Bedtime for Bonzo*. As Reagan falls asleep he starts dreaming. In the dream more caricature puppets are seen by the viewer, although most are quickly shown in a group, the viewer can recognize notable Cold War personas including Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Leonid Brezhnev, and Margaret Thatcher.<sup>162</sup>

While the lyrics themselves do not imply a nuclear war there is still a martial nature to them. For example when the song proclaims "But I can hear the marching feet," "they're moving into the street," the lyrics conveys the sense the song is about a military invasion rather than a nuclear war.<sup>163</sup> The closest the song comes to a portrayal of a nuclear war is in the fifth stanza where the

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<sup>161</sup> Billboard.com, "Billboard 200 chart history Genesis," accessed March 26, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/artist/1496517/genesis/chart?f=305>; Billboard.com, "Top 100 Billboard Chart history Genesis," accessed March 26, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/artist/1496517/genesis/chart>.

<sup>162</sup> Youtube.com, "GENESIS - Land of Confusion (1986)," accessed March 26, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHmH1xQ2Pf4>.

<sup>163</sup> Genesis, "Land of Confusion," track 3 on *Invisible Touch*, The Farm, 1986, CD.

last two lines of the stanza declare “The men of steel, the men of power,” “Are losing control by the hour.”<sup>164</sup> The first line alludes to the idea of men sitting in steel bunkers waiting to launch their missiles. The second has two possible interpretations. The first is that the rhetoric of hostility continues to build and as people begin to believe this rhetoric it takes on a life of its own and is likely to lead to World War III. The second interpretation is that someone, somewhere, unbeknownst to those in power launches a missile and with the initial launch all the missiles would soon be in the air. It is however, when the lyrics are considered in conjunction with the music video, that the connection to nuclear war becomes apparent. Throughout the video there are subtle hints to the debate of nuclear war, including a nod to the Strategic Defense Initiative, colloquially known as Star Wars.<sup>165</sup> The video ends with Reagan waking up, and as he attempts to call for a nurse he accidentally hits a button titled “nuke” instead, thus launching the start of World War III.<sup>166</sup>

Whether fear of nuclear annihilation, or that the American way of life would end due to Soviet deviousness, culminating in an invasion of the United States, this cohort heard the message that World War III, whether a conventional war or a nuclear war, was always just a hairsbreadth away. By the late 1980s, the power of the media as a way of educating the American population and influencing various aspects of society was recognized by a variety of people. Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor, and former National Security Council

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<sup>164</sup> Genesis, “Land of Confusion,” track 3 on *Invisible Touch*, The Farm, 1986, CD.

<sup>165</sup> Star Wars was a defense initiative proposed by Reagan. The plan was to deploy space platforms housing lasers that in the event of a nuclear missile launch would use the lasers to destroy the missiles. The reference occurs early in the video. In the scene a bird is flying in front of a window that Nancy Reagan and the Monkey are looking out of. There is a bright light (a trick used at the time to represent a laser focused on an object), an explosion, and a cooked bird (reminiscent of a cooked turkey complete with tag) continues its flight. While a complete analysis of the meaning of this scene is outside the scope of this dissertation, the scene indicates that the bird was zapped by something above it with enough energy to cook it.

<sup>166</sup> Youtube.com, “GENESIS - Land of Confusion (1986),” accessed March 26, 2016.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QHmH1xQ2Pf4>.

official Lincoln Bloomfield citing Thomas Jefferson stated “that democracy works but it depends on education.” Bloomfield then went on to state that “the most powerful educator ever invented [was the television camera] and the [television screen].”<sup>167</sup> Television’s power of education was also exhibited when the Soviet Union asked ABC for a copy of the mini-series *Amerika*, because it believed it would show the “Soviet people how the American mass media are educating their audience.”<sup>168</sup> The repeated exposure across various mediums meant the members of the final Cold War generation were socialized into the *us vs. them* binary without the conscious knowledge that they were being socialized.

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<sup>167</sup> Donald R. Beck, *The Storm Over Amerika*, February 15, 1987 Los Angeles: April Films YouTube, accessed February 20, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=US-Kz26kyvQ> ().

<sup>168</sup> Bill Keller, “Soviet TV Asks for ‘Amerika’ Series” *New York Times*, January 13, 1987.

## CHAPTER 5: WE HAVE SEEN THE ENEMY AND IT IS NOT *US*

As the final Cold War generation cohort aged it became better able to process abstract messages embedded within mass media. No longer was the message focused only on American greatness. While the idea of American Exceptionalism was an important component of socializing the final Cold War generation, it was not the only way this cohort was socialized. American exceptionalism worked to reinforce the similarity between the different parts of American society, thereby establishing the “us” in the *us vs. them* binary.<sup>1</sup> To establish the “them” various film and television offerings worked to convey how different the Soviet Union was from the United States. They worked to make the Soviet citizens a strange and different other. Othering was a way of vilifying the enemy, but it also served as a way of coping with fear. Othering allowed “us” to individually address those aspects of the enemy’s society that caused fear in “our” society. As the period of the *détente* ended, and there was a new need to demonstrate the Soviet Union was an Other, the old forms of othering were dusted off and put to use again.

Media producers, specifically in film and television utilized different tricks to subtly vilify the Soviet Union, thereby portraying it as dangerous. For media with a visual component, such as television or film, these tricks included using darker lighting to depict scenes in the Soviet Union, like shooting exterior scenes in overcast weather, or using muted lighting for indoor scenes. This kind of representation produced certain beliefs about the Soviet Union, and what life was like there for the viewer. Based on the representation of the Soviet Union he saw, author

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<sup>1</sup> Like in chapter 4 words such as *us*, *we*, or *our* that are used to represent the *us* side of the *us vs them* binary are found contained in quotes. Words such as *they*, or *their* that represent the *them* side of the equation are also enclosed by quotes. These words are not used to represent American society in the United States vs. the Soviet Union binary, but rather to represent the larger idea of an enemy that is different from the originating society.

Sam Keen wrote “from American media I would never have guessed that the sun often shines on Red Square.”<sup>2</sup> *Red Heat* was a film that demonstrated this phenomenon.

*Red Heat* was a typical buddy movie.<sup>3</sup> Arnold Schwarzenegger plays Ivan Danko, a tough and serious Soviet policeman who has to work with James Belushi’s cocky and chaotic, Art Ridzik, a Chicago police detective. While most of the film takes place in Chicago, the opening and closing credits along with the first twenty-five minutes of the movie takes place in the Soviet Union. In these shots the sky is overcast and there is noticeable snow on the ground. In case the viewer miss that hint one of the Soviet Union scenes involve Danko wearing not much more than a loincloth having a fight in the snow, an odd juxtaposition when compared against Belushi’s line that Chicago was experiencing an abnormally hot August.<sup>4</sup> This establishes the difference between the Soviet Union and the United States environment, and becomes a surrogate for each country’s temperament.

Similar production techniques were used in *The Hunt for Red October*. As the film opened the viewer is introduced to the location of the shot, an inlet in northern Russia. The scene opens with Sean Connery, who plays Captain Marko Ramius, bundled up in a heavy coat with a voice from off screen saying “Cold this morning.” To which the Captain agrees that it is “cold.” The film then cuts back to the geography where for seven seconds the snow-swept and barren mountains are shown before returning to Ramius who pauses for a couple of more seconds to think. After which he adds “and hard.”<sup>5</sup> This type of framing demonstrates not only the climate

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<sup>2</sup> Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 47.

<sup>3</sup> These types of movies popular in the late 1980s and usually involved rule following partner and a loose cannon or maverick partner. While initially the difference in style was the source of comedic tension the partners come to like and trust each other. *Lethal Weapon* (1987) became the most iconic representation of this type of film

<sup>4</sup> *Red Heat*, directed by Walter Hill, (1988; Culver City CA: TriStar Pictures, 1997), DVD.

<sup>5</sup> *The Hunt for Red October*, directed by John McTiernan (1990; Hollywood CA: Paramount Pictures, 2003), DVD.

and geography of the Soviet Union but was used as a way of establishing why the Soviets were so different from the Americans and how hard the lives of the Soviet citizens were.

This type of imagery sets an ominous mood and helps to build tension, but it was not just reserved for Moscow and the Soviet Union. Other areas behind the Iron Curtain were often represented in the same way. It was not only in films that had dedicated Cold War themes where this occurred. The comedy film *Stripes* and the action movie *Gotcha*, while not focused on the Cold War, certainly touch on it. In both of these films whenever the characters cross behind the Iron Curtain, either intentionally or by accident; when they are in a communist controlled section of the world, the sky darkens or the weather is shown as less than ideal, usually with some sort of precipitation present either in the form of rain or snow.<sup>6</sup> Even though these scenes do not occur in the Soviet Union, they do occur in what was portrayed as Soviet-controlled spaces, which are depicted as just as harsh and barren as the Soviet Union, thereby reinforcing the difference between East and West.

In addition to utilizing visual cues, producers also utilized darker and more foreboding music on their soundtracks to indicate a Soviet presence on screen. One example of this was in *Rocky IV*, when the viewer is first introduced to Rocky's opponent for the movie, Ivan Drago, played by Dolph Lundgren, a transition made all the more jarring as the scene immediately before his introduction was a tender moment between Rocky, played by Sylvester Stallone, and Rocky's wife Adrian, played by Talia Shire, to set the mood between husband and wife, there is soft music with a piano and woodwind instruments. The scene stops with them kissing and then fades to a triptych of Drago gracing a *Sports Illustrated* cover with the headline "Russia Invades U.S. Sports." As the scene disappears the music shifts from the soothing sounds of the previous scene

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<sup>6</sup> *Stripes*, Extended cut, directed by Ivan Reitman (1981; Culver City CA: Colombia Pictures, 2005), DVD; *Gotcha*, directed by Jeff Kanew, (1985, Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 2010), DVD.



to the harsher mechanized sound of a synthesizer that morphs into the sound of a jet engine. This use of more mechanized tones also occurs as Drago enters the arena for the final fight. Here there is more brass and occasionally cymbals are struck to give the music a more jarring quality, representing a more chaotic and vastly different culture from what the audience was used to.<sup>7</sup> Demonstrating tonally that even if Drago and by extension the Soviet Union seems calm they are not.

This type of tonal change and change in instrumentation is also demonstrated in the film *The Right Stuff*. Though the film is about the burgeoning American space program this shift occurs in the two scenes where the audience sees the Soviet space program. The first scene follows a more upbeat musical score that is trying to promote American ingenuity and success. When the scene switches to Star City Russia and the site of the *Sputnik* launch, the music loses the higher and lighter tempo in favor of a slower one that is spelled out with lots of brass. This shift gives auditory clues to the audience that this is not a good thing. The sounds coupled with the darker lighting meant the audience could tell what was thought of this historic event.<sup>8</sup>

Films such as *The Hunt for Red October*, *Stripes*, and *Top Gun* also had changes in music when the Soviet presence came on screen. Changes in sound and lighting were just some of the techniques used to show the dangers characters from the Soviet sphere presented. American media producers joined these technical tricks with casting tricks as they worked to depict Soviets as flawed global citizens.

The idea of othering worked to lessen the overall fear represented by the enemy's society while still working to keep "our" society alert to the dangers posed by the enemy. Sam Keen

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<sup>7</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

<sup>8</sup> *Right Stuff*, directed by Philip Kaufman (1983; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 1998), DVD.

explored this idea, that he termed the psychology of enmity.<sup>9</sup> He believed that “propaganda precede[d] technology.”<sup>10</sup> What he meant by this was long before one starts to invent weapons, one must create the need for those weapons. To manufacture this need, one must create an Other that was different enough from “us” that “we” feared them and did not feel guilty about destroying them. Keen outlined thirteen different strategies for othering the enemy. These thirteen categories worked to demonstrate that the enemy, in this case the Soviet Union, was less than human. Each category fit into a good vs bad binary and demonstrated how the enemy was found lacking. Whether the comparison was morality, intellectual, or how civilized the enemy was they always came up short and consistently could be categorized as making the bad or evil choices. The United States by its exceptional nature made the correct choice and was always having to fight to make things right when other countries made poor choices. Keen’s othering techniques demonstrated that in the binary of good and evil there was a need for one to win out over the other, a message that was played out in Cold War media.

Due to the rhetoric of Reagan’s re-ignited Cold War, various types of media displayed the shifting concerns of American society. These concerns showed the need to address the “national malaise” and shifting gender roles of the 1970s.<sup>11</sup> These mass media offerings did this by redefining what both sexes needed to do to succeed in the Cold War fight. Media producers not only displayed “existing societal relations” but their work also reflected the ideal gender roles of Western society.<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Traube argued that the films of the late Cold War period not only

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<sup>9</sup> Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 10-12.

<sup>10</sup> Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 10.

<sup>11</sup> A. Susan Owens, Sarah R. Stein, and Leah R Vande Berg, *Bad Girls: Cultural Politics and Media Representation of Transgressive Women* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. 2007), 22.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Renov, *Hollywood’s Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology* (Ann Arbor MI: UMI research Press, 1988), 96

worked to reinforce traditional gender roles but were also a response to the emasculation of men in the media that was produced in the post-Vietnam era.<sup>13</sup> While there was not an overt connection between the media industry and those in power, Michael Renov argued that even though media producers at times displayed “relative autonomy” in “periods of profound ideological crisis” the media industry reflected and worked to maintain the hegemonic principles of society.<sup>14</sup> Renov claimed that the modern trend began during World War II. Because there was no appreciable time between the end of World War II and the start of the Cold War it was no surprise this trend continued through the late Cold War period, a claim reinforced by the findings of Rekha Sharm, who looked at the shift in cartoon enemies from the Nazi and Japanese in World War II to the Soviet Union in the Cold War, a trend that followed in other forms of media as well.<sup>15</sup>

“I must break you.” That was what the 6’5” Ivan Drago tells the 5’9” Rocky Balboa just before they begin their fifteen-round grudge match. The fight between these two characters from *Rocky IV* is not only a surrogate for a battle between the United States and the Soviet Union, but also representative of the masculine nature of the animosity American media displayed between the two superpowers. The majority of media representation during the late Cold War period focused on the confrontation between Americans and Soviets and featured male bodies and characters. These majority of the characters in these depictions were white heterosexual males, that represented the hegemonic ideal of American society. By utilizing these representations the unspoken message of the time was this was who was going to ensure that American society

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<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth G. Traube, *Dreaming Identities: Class, Gender, and Generation in 1980s Hollywood Movies* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), 24, 26, 18-9

<sup>14</sup> Michael Renov, *Hollywood’s Wartime Women: Representation and Ideology* (Ann Arbor MI: UMI research Press, 1988), 96-7.

<sup>15</sup> Sharm, Rekha. “Drawn-out Battles: Exploring War-Related Messages in Animated Cartoons.” In *War and Media: Essays on News Reporting, Propaganda and Popular Culture*, eds. Paul M. Haridakis, Barbara S. Hugenberg and Stanley T. Wearden, (Jefferson NC: McFarland & Company Inc. 2009)

would continue to survive and prosper. Films such as Chuck Norris' *Missing in Action* series, the second and third *Rambo* films, and *Top Gun* were just a few examples of this male-driven animosity. Not only did these characters allow for the re-masculinization of the American male, but these depictions also overtly vilified Soviet men as a way of othering them. While film and television depicted the *us vs. them* binary it was primarily demonstrated through the conflict of men. Women had their part to play in the ideological fight as well; however, their roles were portrayed more subtly. Throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, mass media offerings not only pushed the political boundaries but also set where those boundaries were within society.<sup>16</sup> One of the boundaries that was set by the media industry was what acceptable gender roles were. While Soviet citizens were presented as an Other, the members of this cohort also received instruction on how to be good Cold War citizens. The men of this cohort were socialized to be strong and ready to fight. The women were socialized with the message that while it was good to be strong and independent, but this should happen only in a particular context. When it came to the Cold War fight the members of the cohort needed to place the needs of the country over their own.

Where Soviet women were presented as a strange and different other in the late Cold War media, American women were revealed as important players in the Cold War fight. The depiction of Soviet women as flawed was especially prominent when Soviet women and American women were pictured together in the same films or television shows. Media productions that centered on the Cold War fight, and contained women, showed American women as demonstrating not only ideal bodies but also exemplary character traits. In film and television where both were shown, American and Western women were shown in a more

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<sup>16</sup> A. Susan Owens, Sarah R. Stein, and Leah R Vande Berg, *Bad Girls: Cultural Politics and Media Representation of Transgressive Women* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc. 2007), 5.

nurturing and supportive light. Robert J Corber has argued that film was “one of the most powerful ideological apparatus in American society for reproducing normative gender and sexual identities.”<sup>17</sup> One way that Soviet women were othered was the idea they transgressed against western ideals of womanhood. The portrayal of American women as nurturing and supportive presented them in more acceptable gender roles. This not only served to differentiate Western women from Soviet women, but also by mediating what expected roles were, the media industry fulfilled its historic role of working to keep American women from becoming transgressive.<sup>18</sup>

Since the beginning of the Cold War, American society recognized the importance of women in the fight to show its ideological superiority over the Soviet Union, a fact argued in what Historian Elaine Tyler May believed was “one of the most noted verbal sparring matches of the century.”<sup>19</sup> The debate did not include typical concerns of the day such as missiles or bombs, rather the ideological debate was framed wholly within a woman’s sphere of the home.<sup>20</sup> Vice president Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev debated the merits of washing machines, and various other appliances in what became known as the “Kitchen Debate.” According to Elaine Tyler May, “the kitchen debate was one of the major skirmishes [of] the Cold War.”<sup>21</sup> The debate reinforced the idea of traditional gender roles. It had men on the front line earning a living showing that democracy was successful and relegated American women to a

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<sup>17</sup> Robert J Corber, *Cold War Femme: Lesbianism, National Identity and Hollywood Cinema*, (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 5.

<sup>18</sup> A. Susan Owens, Sarah R. Stein, and Leah R Vande Berg, *Bad Girls: Cultural Politics and Media Representation of Transgressive Women* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2007), 5.

<sup>19</sup> Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 19.

<sup>20</sup> Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xi-xiii.

<sup>21</sup> Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 19.

secondary support position. The debate also indicated that women were best able to help contain the spread of communism by being homemakers.<sup>22</sup>

Within the context of the East vs. West binary of the early Cold War period the idea of a stay at home wife was a distinctly western idea. The prevailing popular image of the time was that the majority of Soviet women worked, while American society allowed American women a life of ease as a homemaker. By staying home and being a homemaker women revealed the superiority of the American system since they could stay at home and did not have to work. A well-kept home also provided a bulwark against the dangers posed by nuclear weapons. According to May a home filled with children not only provided a place of safety, and sanity in the increasingly chaotic world, but also was a way to ensure the American way of life continued in the event of a nuclear war.<sup>23</sup>

The threat of nuclear war also presented American women in the early Cold War period with another role. In this period it was the woman's job to make sure the family survived in the event of a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. The women of this era were not only expected to be prepared and make sure the family had what was needed to survive but were also expected to be the voice of calm and reassurance.<sup>24</sup> The expectation was that when the world dissolved into chaos the women of America would step up and support the remaining men in returning America to its previous greatness. The idea of women as caregivers and nurturers of American society

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<sup>22</sup> A point made in a speech by Democratic presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson to the "graduating class of Smith College" as the women were leaving childhood and entering the world of adulthood. These women would be the next generation of American women doing their part to contain communism. (Robert J Corber, *Cold War Femme: Lesbianism, National Identity and Hollywood Cinema*, (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 5-6).

<sup>23</sup> Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 26, 106; Robert J Corber, *Cold War Femme: Lesbianism, National Identity and Hollywood Cinema*, (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 11.

<sup>24</sup> Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 99,101-2.

would continue into the late Cold War period. Accompanying this expectation was the unspoken idea that women were still subordinate to males in the Cold War fight. Whether the women were Soviet or American, their role was one of giving support to the men.<sup>25</sup> Placing women in this supporting position relegated them to second class status, and was a form of symbolic annihilation.<sup>26</sup> Media representation in this time period, especially within Cold War themes, reinforced the idea that women were less than men.<sup>27</sup> This was in fact the premise of the late Cold War period television show *Remington Steele*. Since no one would take her seriously, Laura Holt, played by Stephanie Zimbalist, invents the fictitious Remington Steele in order to get clients for her detective agency. She then has to deal with the ramifications of this invention when Pierce Brosnan appears and claims to be Steele.<sup>28</sup> This reinforced the idea that American women were not fighting on the front lines but rather were helping the men in their fight.

*Top Gun* was a film that played up the importance of women in supporting roles during the Cold War fight.<sup>29</sup> It is the story of a pilot who attends the Navy's Fighter Weapons School, though the naval aviators call the school "Top Gun" since the pilots who attend are "the best of the best." Pete "Maverick" Mitchell, played by Tom Cruise, is selected to go to the school by his commanding officer at the start of the film. The film co-stars Kelly McGillis, as Charlotte "Charlie" Blackwood, the love interest of Cruise. McGillis' character is central to the story and initially is more powerful than Cruise's character, a point reinforced when Maverick and the rest

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<sup>25</sup>Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory" *Theatre Journal* 40, No. 4 (December 1988): 528.

<sup>26</sup> Even though Gaye Tuchman examined media representation from before the late Cold War period, media from this time period continued this trend, and did not show a major shift in the portrayal of women.; Tuchman, Gaye. "Introduction: The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media." in *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, eds. G. Tuchman, A. K. Daniels, & J. Benét (New York: Oxford University Press. 1978), 3-45.10.

<sup>27</sup> Cecilia Ridgeway, *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 127.

<sup>28</sup> *Remington Steele*, "License to Steele," directed by Robert Butler (1982; Studio City, CA: MTM Enterprises).

<sup>29</sup> *Top Gun*, directed by Tony Scott (1986; Hollywood, CA: Paramount, 1998), DVD.

of the pilots are told in a briefing that “the Pentagon listens to [her] about [the pilots] performance.”<sup>30</sup> Several early scenes in the movie work to demonstrate that Charlie is a strong, independent woman. One such example is shortly after Maverick and his flying partner Goose, played by Anthony Edwards, enter a bar and classify the women there as targets to be acquired, even going so far as to say they were easily acquired.<sup>31</sup> Charlie is the one woman in the bar who is not easily acquired. In fact, she is portrayed as strong and knowing what she wants. Charlie is not afraid of her sexuality and makes sure she gets what she wants. Normally this would signify Charlie as transgressive, however, because she does not pursue pleasure for pleasure's sake she does not transgress against accepted expectations. While the viewers know that Charlie is strong and comfortable with her sexuality they also knew that if she desires sex she would pursue it. However, she is not going to demean herself with a sexual liaison unless it means something to her. The fact that Charlie has the power to rate Maverick and the other pilots, and that she spurns Maverick's advances demonstrates that Charlie is a woman able to hold her own and has more power than the men. The power dynamic between the two does not remain, and as the movie progresses the balance shifts back in favor of Maverick. This reinforces the idea that women were in supporting roles even though initially Charlie appears like she could fight Cold War battles herself. In fact, her job working with the Pentagon conveys the impression she is on the front line, though the movie reminds the viewers that this was not so and that it is up to American women to support the men who are actually fighting. By relinquishing her power Charlie maintains the Cold War gender dynamic of men fighting and women supporting. Since a powerful woman challenged the accepted ideals that women should be less than men, this also meant that she is not transgressive and is seen as a positive representation of American

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<sup>30</sup> *Top Gun*, directed by Tony Scott (1986; Hollywood, CA: Paramount, 1998), DVD.

<sup>31</sup> *Top Gun*, directed by Tony Scott (1986; Hollywood, CA: Paramount, 1998), DVD.



womanhood, a reminder to the women of this cohort which reinforced the idea that even strong women, supported men in the Cold War fight.

There are other points in the movie where Charlie comes close to being transgressive but she is able to refrain from crossing that line. Early on Charlie's power and drive to get a promotion indicates a possibly ambitious nature. Her calculation of how to use the information Maverick possesses from his earlier encounter with Soviet Migs paints her as cold and calculating. If Charlie maintains both the assertiveness and the ability to control her emotions then Charlie would move into the transgressive category, however as the movie progresses these characteristics become less dominant in Charlie's personality. After her initial confrontational interaction with Maverick she starts to lose her confrontational nature. As the movie progresses she demonstrates a more passive or defensive nature, mirroring the socially accepted idea that men were the aggressive ones in society. Several times during the movie, before she becomes romantically involved with Maverick, she chastises him for being too aggressive. This includes both an overt conversation of Maverick's flying, and a conversation that contains the subtext that his pursuit of her is also too forward. This change in behavior reinforces the idea that men were the pursuers and that Charlie returns to what was expected of her by society. Early on in the movie Charlie's continually works to control her emotions this means that she is transgressing against the stereotype of women as emotional beings, and not able to control their emotions. Had this depiction continued Charlie would have become representative of the transgressive ice queen trope.<sup>32</sup> While Charlie avoids this characterization, part of that is due to her following the

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<sup>32</sup> According to Tvtrypes.org, "the Ice Queen is a major character archetype which is somewhat hard to define. Her signature characteristic is that she is cold; the ambiguity comes from what "cold" means. She has a cold heart, a frosty demeanor; she attracts but will never be wooed. The Ice Queen is considered dangerous to love because she will not (or cannot) love back. She's not much for friendship either, preferring to be alone." ("Ice Queen" Tvtrypes.org, accessed April 3, 2015. <http://tvtrypes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/IceQueen>.)

standard representation of this character type in that her interactions with Maverick warms her heart and she falls for him. However, unlike a true Ice queen, who is incapable of showing empathy, once she opens up and becomes Maverick's love she also becomes his emotional support. Where Maverick, as a military male, is unable to show his emotions at the loss of his friend, Charlie and Goose's widow, Carol, played by Meg Ryan, could provide the emotions the viewers knew Maverick is feeling but has to smother. Because the women demonstrate the emotion, viewers can still see these important emotions without detracting from Maverick's masculinity. Because Carol and Charlie are able to properly display these emotions, it frees Maverick to focus on fighting against the enemy. Carol's last line in the movie, where she tells Maverick that if the tables had been turned Goose would have continued the fight, serves a dual purpose. Not only is Carol trying to support Maverick by taking on the emotional burden, she is subtly reminding Maverick, and the viewer, that the fight must go on no matter the cost. Because Maverick is required to contain his emotion and Charlie and Carol are able to display their emotions the cohort was reminded that in American society "boys don't cry" and that women are emotional, reinforcing society's idea of acceptable gender roles to the cohort.

Charlie's knowledge of her sexuality also brings her close to transgressing against accepted ideals. However, because she initially does not succumb to Maverick's advances and once she does yield to him it was because she has fallen in love, means she is kept from transgressing. Goose's widow Carol also skirts the line of transgressing in regards to her sexuality but like Charlie she frames her sexuality in such a way as to keep her from crossing that line. Like Charlie, Carol is not afraid of her sexuality, but frames it in such a way that Goose's masculinity is not threatened. In fact when she is taking control of her sexuality she does so in a way that reinforced the idea of Goose as a virile, and masculine man. She accomplished this in what is

one of the few lines delivered by Ryan in the film, when she told her husband “Goose you big stud, take me to bed or lose me forever!”<sup>33</sup> Here Carol tells Goose that she wants sex but she does it in such a way as to be non-threatening. Her desires does not detract from Goose, in fact she is putting the onus on Goose because he has to perform the action as she waits passively to submit to him. Carol is directing her desires by framing them in such a way that they are only fulfilled by Goose’s desire. The fact that Carol is married to Goose further keeps her from becoming a transgressive woman as the sex is between a monogamous married couple. This scene serves two purposes. First it reminds viewers that while it was ok for women to recognize that they are sexual beings their sexuality needs to take a back seat to men’s desire and egos. Secondly it demonstrates that while sex outside the bounds of matrimony has become acceptable as demonstrated by the Charlie-Maverick liaison, the underlying implication is sex between these two is acceptable because these two individuals are in love and will ultimately reach a relationship similar to the Goose-Carol relationship, a point hinted at when Charlie repeats Carol’s line after her and Maverick were alone later that night. While Charlie and Maverick seem to be transgressive in actuality they are not because they end up in a committed relationship.

Charlie and Carol are the two women with the most screen time as the movie has few other female roles. Of the three women that Maverick has interactions with, two are married and are also mothers. Motherhood was an important role for women during the Cold War. Unlike Carol and the other woman, Charlie, as a single woman, does not have children, but as Maverick’s love interest the possibility of her conceiving is not out of the question. While Charlie performs a prominent role in the film, her and the other female characters’ purpose in the film is to demonstrate a nurturing and supportive nature for the men. This role means the few women who

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<sup>33</sup> *Top Gun*, directed by Tony Scott (1986; Hollywood, CA: Paramount, 1998), DVD.

are shown represent the preferred ideals of womanhood. It also means they set a standard to which Soviet women could be compared and as will be discussed shortly, demonstrate that the Soviet Union was different thereby making them an Other. Movies like *Top Gun* demonstrated to this cohort how the American military had returned to an exceptional fighting force, and that America no longer needed to hang its head in shame after the humiliating defeat in Vietnam, it also demonstrated to the cohort how each gender was supposed to perform within the context of the Cold War fight against the Soviet Union. By utilizing the Charlie character the film demonstrates that women could be strong and independent but that when the men, who were fighting the Cold War, needed them they need to rein back that independence and take on more supportive roles. By returning to these traditional gender roles, characters like Charlie showed, women were doing their part to help the United States win its Cold War fight.

While Charlie represents the ideal woman of the *us* side of the equation, Soviet women were depicted as transgressive placing these women in the *them* category. The media industry shows Soviet women in an unflattering light, often by presenting them as being flawed, either physically, morally, or due to their temperament. The othering of Soviet women in Cold War media was accomplished by depicting them as hypersexualized femme fatales, cold and emotionless machines, or as hag characters. Susan Bordo argued that “the body is a medium of culture,” where “we learn the rules [of culture] directly through bodily discourse,” through its portrayal of behaviors, words, and deeds. As such, the depiction of Soviet women reinforced their otherness, because their bodies were shown as transgressing against accepted western cultural ideals.<sup>34</sup> By representing Soviet women in this way American media audiences and this cohort were trained to see all citizens of the Soviet Union as an Other.

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<sup>34</sup>Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2003), 165.

Sam Keen identified thirteen ways that an Other was created. Though Keen's initial examination focused on the creation of a male Other, by utilizing his framework some of his classifications can be used to identify a female other. Mass media represented this othering through the depiction of women's bodies. Because Keen's research focused on how men were othered and ignored women, fewer of his categories pertain to the othering of women. Even so Keen's othering techniques created a framework with which to observe American media othering Soviet women. Certain Soviet stereotypes from the time also reinforced the idea of othering these women.

Soviet women were depicted in one of three ways: as a hypersexualized femme fatale, a cold and emotionless machine, or a hag. Each of these stereotypes fell into an accepted media trope. The media industry utilized the first two classifications in its characterization of both main and supporting characters, this was especially true in the film medium. Various media offerings also utilized hag characters as background characters, though the hag classification featured most prominently in television. This category tended to play off of stereotypical thinking of the time. Sometimes Soviet women were characterized as being part of multiple categories, which allowed the various offerings to show the worst traits of each category. This effectively classified Soviet women as grotesque. As defined by Justin Edwards and Rune Garland, grotesque meant "peculiar, odd, absurd, bizarre, macabre, depraved, degenerate, [or] perverse" in addition to manifesting itself physically on the body. While Edwards and Garland focused initially on the body as grotesque, they also associated behaviors with the grotesque, which included taking things to excessive levels.<sup>35</sup> By representing Soviet women in this way, not only did these media offerings projected the idea of Soviet women as an Other to the cohort, but these classifications

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<sup>35</sup> Justin D. Edwards and Rune Garland, *Grotesque* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1, 4.

also served as a cautionary tale to the women watching. If the women of the cohort behaved in a similar fashion they would be considered outsiders in American society, and because they are behaving in a un-American fashion they make it more difficult to fight the Soviet Union.

The hypersexualized femme fatale character fits within the “Sensual Slav” trope.<sup>36</sup> This characterization is not just utilized for Soviet women but for all Slavic women, because the Eastern Bloc countries were under dominion of the Soviet Union and became surrogates for the Soviet Union in media.<sup>37</sup> This is most common when Soviet women are main characters in Cold War media. The femme fatale character highlights the dangers women pose to men. These women are formidable, especially where their sexuality is concerned, as they are, according to David Geven, typically “agents of [their] own desire.”<sup>38</sup> These women are usually exposed as spies who use their femininity and sexuality to accomplish their missions. Even when the character is not a traditional spy Soviet women’s enjoyment of sex highlights their sensuality. Women who demonstrate this group’s characteristics, but who are not spies, often become the love interests of the Western hero. They accomplished this by rejecting Soviet ideology. By renouncing their wicked ways, they became as lovely on the inside as they are on the outside.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> In its description of the “Sensual Slav” trope, TvTropes writes, “Women from Central and Eastern Europe tend to be sultry Femme Fatales, Pole dancers, or both. The Femme Fatale version arose in the UK during the Cold War. Tales abounded of the glamorous, alluring Russian woman who would throw herself at a visiting British businessman, seducing him into wild, unrestrained sex acts. Later, after he’d returned home to their families, the businessman would learn that the tryst had been filmed and that pictures would go to his wife and to the government if he didn’t comply with whatever demands the blackmailers made—and that the sexy vixen he’d bedded was a full colonel in the KGB.” (“Sensual Slavs” TvTropes.org, accessed April 3, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/SensualSlavs>.)

<sup>37</sup> In an effort to minimize tensions, movies often depict Warsaw Pact nations as surrogates for the Soviet Union, especially since they are seen as the same by American audiences.

<sup>38</sup> David Geven, *Representation of Femininity in American Genre Cinema: The Woman's Film, Film Noir, and Modern Horror* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 67.

<sup>39</sup> Even though it was produced after the Cold War ended the film *Goldeneye* provided excellent examples of this representation. While outside of the scope of this dissertation the film was one this cohort would have seen, but also demonstrated that the belief actually outlasted the Soviet Union. Both female leads in the film can be considered Soviet femme fatales Xenia Onatopp, played by Famke Janssen, was an ex-Soviet fighter pilot, and the main female antagonist who works for the Janus crime syndicate. Natalya Simonova played by Izabella Scorupco, was the main love interest of Bond in *Goldeneye*, who was not above using her sexuality to get her way. While the Simonova character did not have to give up Communism she still had ties to the ex-Soviet regime

The cold and emotionless machine character falls under the “Ice Queen” trope.<sup>40</sup> This characterization while not specifically reserved for Soviet women, applies to many of them. Because there were many different ways to utilize this depiction, there were multiple sub-classifications for this group. The baroness is one such subcategory usually represented as “attracted to power” and dedicated to her cause, physically attractive, but with an iron core of discipline this character knows what she wants and will do what is necessary to get it.<sup>41</sup> One permutation of the baroness trope is as a pairing of the Ice Queen and the Sensual Slav. This pairing allows the emotionless woman to strategically use her sexuality to get her way: because she is emotionless, sex is just a means to an end.

The baroness and other ice queens are typically women who have walled off their emotions or are in such rigid control of their emotions they seem more machine than human. Occasionally this rigid self-control, or the walls the character has erected will crack, usually when the hero had wormed his way into her heart and he is threatened. It is at this time she realizes there is more to life than what she had experienced. A lot of the time this realization is accompanied by the

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that she could sever. In media women who receive prominent roles, are considered to represent society’s ideal of classic beauty. Since both the Simonova and Onatopp characters feature prominently in the movie, they can be considered examples of classic beauty, however only the Simonova character has an inner beauty to match her exterior beauty.

<sup>40</sup> The “Ice Queen” is a super trope in that it is made up multiple sub tropes though there is a commonality to the character type where “Much like a Tomboy, the Ice Queen is a major character archetype which is somewhat hard to define. Her signature characteristic is that she is cold; the ambiguity comes from what “cold” means. She has a cold heart, a frosty demeanor; she attracts but will never be wooed. Scorned men are likely to call their failed conquests Ice Queens (after all, normal women would have given in to them). Due to the Double Standard, the Ice Queen is (almost) always female. Being an Ice Queen is purely about personality. An Ice Queen requires at least one “cold” personality trait that gets her labeled as an Ice Queen.” (“Ice Queen” Tvtropes.org, accessed April 3, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/IceQueen>.)

<sup>41</sup> “The Baroness” according to TVtropes is “A female baddie with a chilly disposition and more than a touch of the dominatrix about her. In Darker and Edgier versions, this will often mean a love of (other people’s) pain and suffering. Softer portrayals reduce this to a fervent militarism and devotion to the ideals of whichever totalitarian bunch she works for. Naturally, she will usually be seen sporting a German or Russian accent, along with either a natty military uniform or something black and form-fitting. Whether or not she is vulnerable to good-guy seduction and subversion is highly variable. However, she’s invariably attracted to power (which the hero lacks and the Big Bad has).” (“The Baroness” tvtropes.org, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/TheBaroness>.)

realization she can sacrifice herself to save the hero. Depending on the story and her connection to the hero, the ice queen is either redeemed through the sacrifice or dies with the hero lamenting that her change came too late to save her. Bridget Nielsen's Ludmila Drago character from *Rocky IV* is an example of an ice queen. However, she does deviate from the standard representation of this trope in that she is not the love interest of the main character.<sup>42</sup> In the *Night Court* episode "Russkie Business," Comrade Ludmila Federova, played by Irena Ferris, exhibits this standard characteristic. While Federova demonstrated some emotion when she displays her interest in Judge Harry Stone, between those periods she quickly returns to being a cold bureaucrat as they discuss the plight of another character, much to the frustration of Stone. The underlying subtext is that Federova is a cold and emotionless woman whose heart of ice begins to melt thanks to the boyish charms of Stone.<sup>43</sup>

The hag, with her masculine strength and other physical traits, transgress against western ideals of beauty. This characterization tends to be an amalgamation of the "Repulsive Russian," the "Husky Russkie," and the "Brawn Hilde" tropes.<sup>44</sup> The combination of these three

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<sup>42</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

<sup>43</sup> *Night Court*, "Russkie Business," *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

<sup>44</sup> "Eastern Europe is subject to a lot of generalizations in foreign eyes. Basically, everyone from Slavic, Eastern European, Belarussian or Russian countries are pigeonholed as the same people. A young/middle aged muscled, mannish worker and/or athlete, usually with moustache hairs and/or heavy eyebrows. She may even wear a uniform and is generally unable to laugh. An old wrinkled troll-like hag, wearing a "babushka" (a grandma headscarf) tied below the chin. She may have moustache hairs and heavy eyebrows too." ("Repulsive Russians" Tvtrape.org, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtrapes.org/pmwiki/discussion.php?id=4kub4718j5o7fk6wm6c3lj5g>); Strong, brutish, big, strong, not so bright "Because Mozzer [sic] Russia Makes You Stronk.[sic] Apparently it has been common stereotype in Western film for Russian men to be depicted as large, boorish "bears" who are speakink [sic] in broken English. If you went back to Seventies and asked someone what Husky Russkie was beink, [sic] would assume you were ferrink [sic] to woman." ("Husky Russkies" Tvtrape.org, Accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtrapes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/HuskyRusskie>); "Brawn Hilda is, essentially, a strong, mannish, usually foreign woman (particularly German, Russian, or Scandinavian). However, she's not an Amazonian Beauty, her strength is seen as unattractive, as she usually (purposely or not) "emasculates" the hero by beating him up or outdoing him in "manly" activities (such as arm wrestling, boxing, hot dog eating, pretty much anything unfeminine really...) She usually has a thick stereotypical accent, a masculine face, and is often a stereotypical female immigrant (maid, mail-order bride, etc....) or some sort of hardcore Olympic-esque athlete.



characterizations yielded strong, masculine women who were viewed negatively, because according to Laurie Schulze a “deliberately muscular woman disturbs the dominant notion of sex, gender, and sexuality.”<sup>45</sup> This goes against accepted western ideals that women should be weak and delicate. In addition to masculine strength, the hag’s features are also masculine; described as having facial hair, a squat brow or a short and stocky manly frame.<sup>46</sup> Due to the prevalence of these stereotypes the hag character is probably the most familiar of the Soviet female classifications, considered visually unappealing the character is the one stereotype of the three, that is visually portrayed the least in film and television. Due to their perceived unattractiveness, these women are typically described rather than shown in media offerings. This becomes a running joke on *Night Court* whenever guest star Yakov Smirnoff played the recurring role of Russian immigrant Yakov Korolenko. It is in the first episode that the Korolenko character establishes Soviet women as manly. In the episode “Some Like it Hot” the viewers were introduced to Smirnoff’s Korolenko character, and in what becomes a running gag for later episodes, Korolenko presents Judge Harry Stone a picture of his wife Sonja.<sup>47</sup> The first time Stone sees the picture, he asks Korolenko why he has a picture of Leonid Brezhnev in his

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Basically, the Brawn Hilda is the Fat Girl on steroids.” (“Brawn Hilda” Tvtrape.org, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/BrawnHilda>).

<sup>45</sup> Laurie Schulze, “*On the Muscle*,” in *Fabrication: Costume and the Female Body*. eds. Jane Gains and Charlotte Herzog (New York: Routledge, 1990), 59.

<sup>46</sup> “Repulsive Russians” has generally been replaced by the Russian Hag but the description is the same “A young/middle aged muscled, mannish worker and/or athlete, usually with moustache hairs and/or heavy eyebrows. She may even wear a uniform and is generally unable to laugh. An old wrinkled troll-like hag, wearing a “babushka” (a grandma headscarf) tied below the chin. She may have moustache hairs and heavy eyebrows too. Usually she is crooked, searches twigs to make a fire and mumbles in herself. In some cases she may even be a Wicked Witch in disguise. As with most stereotypes about people it is difficult to find out where these images came from, though the Wicked Witch from Slavic Mythology Baba Yaga is an example from within the culture itself, down to her headscarf. This is largely a Forgotten Trope after the end of the Cold War, though old Slavic ladies (YMMV whether you find them ugly or just charming) still pop up in tourist brochures. Nowadays it’s mostly been replaced by the Sensual Slavs portrayal.” (“Repulsive Russians” Tvtrape.org, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/discussion.php?id=4kub4718j5o7fk6wm6c3lj5g>); “Husky Russkies” Tvtrape.org, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/HuskyRusskie>; “Brawn Hilda” Tvtrape.org, accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/BrawnHilda>).

<sup>47</sup> *Night Court*, “Some Like it Hot,” directed by Jay Sandrich, *Night Court: The Complete First Season* (1984; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2006), DVD.

wallet; each subsequent time Korolenko visits he shows Stone the picture and Stone asks “Are you sure that is not Brezhnev?” In the episode “Dan’s Escort” Korolenko states that “Brezhnev does not have [a] mustache.”<sup>48</sup> This implies that not only does Sonja look like a man, but also has mannish features such as facial hair.

When shown, the hag typically is a supporting or background character, and her mannishness tends to be exaggerated. This characterization of women is based on a stereotype of life in the Soviet Union; the brutality of eking out a living in a harsh desolate area creates an indelible mark on Soviet citizens, manifested by physical strength. As long as a hag character is not seen this is not a problem, however in the episode where the viewer is finally introduced to Sonja this now becomes an obstacle to be addressed. Now that Sonja is to be shown on screen she can no longer be depicted as having a hag-like appearance. To get around this, the show’s writers had Sonja, who Korolenko believes is a KGB spy due to her radically different look, claim she was in an accident. Sonja then wails that she is now “scarred”, “mutilated” and “a hideous monster.”<sup>49</sup> Her comments reinforce the idea that not only are Soviet women different from beautiful American women, but that Soviet men and women see this haggishness as their culture’s version of beauty.

The hag character presented women not only as masculine, but also spoke to the monstrosity of these women’s character, because they transgressed accepted gender roles. Rather than conforming to society’s ideal feminine characteristic, these women behaved more like a man. For example, the characterization of the Baroness and her desire for power could place her into this category. Elizabeth Traube explained, “unlimited ambition in women,” could be construed as a danger to the natural order of things. The threat that women categorized as a baroness

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<sup>48</sup> *Night Court*, “Dan’s Escort,” directed by Jeff Mealman, *Night Court: The Complete Third Season* (1986; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2010), DVD.

<sup>49</sup> *Night Court*, “Dan’s Escort,” directed by Jeff Mealman, *Night Court: The Complete Third Season* (1986; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2010), DVD.

represented required either their submission or their expulsion. In either case, aggressive ambition allowed for women to be demonized in various media offerings.<sup>50</sup> Though Traube was careful to write that “the independent woman as a demonological symbol [was] not an invention of the 1980s,” however she does state it was one of two dangers found in 1980s movies.<sup>51</sup> The other danger present in these films was the threat to Western society that communism posed. Thus, Soviet women who exhibited any type of ambition became a double threat to Western ideals.<sup>52</sup>

For those characters with a prominent place in the storyline who need to be aesthetically pleasing, the negative manifestation of this trope are implicit rather than explicit. The Ludmila Drago character in *Rocky IV*, played by Bridget Nelson, also displays hag characteristics. While Ludmila is not the typical haggish character, she is shown as having some of the qualities of a hag which takes her body from a classical beauty and moves it into a classification of a grotesque body. Ludmila is represented as an Olympic swimmer which gives her character strength to match that of her husband. This plays into the Brawn Hilda trope of strong Soviet females. Nelson’s height also contributes to her classification as a grotesque body. Several shots within the film revealed Nelson towering over other male characters; in fact, the only male character taller than Ludmila is the six-foot five-inch Ivan.<sup>53</sup> This haggishness also shows up in Ludmila actions as well as being displayed by her body. Although in most of the scenes she is in, she is typically depicted as a cold, emotionless machine, she does have emotions, but they are buried so deeply that it takes a lot of provocation for them to show, which means her emotions only appear

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<sup>50</sup> Elizabeth G. Traube, *Dreaming Identities: Class, Gender, and Generation in 1980’s Hollywood Movies* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1992), 97-8.

<sup>51</sup> Elizabeth G. Traube, *Dreaming Identities: Class, Gender, and Generation in 1980’s Hollywood Movies* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1992), 120.

<sup>52</sup> Elizabeth G. Traube, *Dreaming Identities: Class, Gender, and Generation in 1980’s Hollywood Movies* (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1992), 97-8.

<sup>53</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

on her face twice during the film. Both times, her inner hag shows through. The first is early in the final fight, as she is watching Drago pummel Rocky. In this scene she looks over at Rocky's wife Adrian, who is justifiably worried; the scene reveals Ludmila with a self-satisfied smile. This enjoyment of another's pain, both Rocky's physical pain and Adrian's emotional pain, play into the baroness trope of preferring others' pain to giving pleasure.<sup>54</sup>

The other time the Ludmila character loses control of her emotions is at the end of the fight. Unlike in her earlier emotional display, where her control is not wholly lost, but rather is displayed as a momentary slip where it is allowed to bubble to the surface and hints at the pleasure she is deriving from the pain of others. This second emotional slip is a total loss of control, and the haggishness of her Soviet soul comes out. This transformation is demonstrated on Ludmila's body as her usually coldly beautiful face turns into one that is an unattractive screaming harriidan.<sup>55</sup> This shift demonstrates that even though she can be considered as a beautiful woman the ugliness of her Soviet soul cannot be contained.

While these classifications differentiated Soviet women, from Western women, they did not truly make them an Other. The repeated use of all three of these tropes make Soviet women transgressive and there by an Other, through their representations as strangers. This transgressive nature is demonstrated both through action and behavior. The three characterizations of a hypersexualized femme fatale, a cold and emotionless machine, or a hag, played into the idea of strangeness. The hypersexual femme fatale character was a stranger because she displays her sexuality, either through the pursuit of sexual pleasure or through her straightforward desire for

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<sup>54</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD; "The Baroness" [tvtropes.org](http://tvtropes.org), accessed April 5, 2015. <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/TheBaroness>.

<sup>55</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

sex. This aggressive pursuit of sex by a woman was seen as different from accepted Western cultural ideals, where women were expected to hide or deny their enjoyment of sex.

While Western women were expected to downplay their enjoyment of sex, they were not expected to suppress their emotions. Western cultural thinking labeled women as the emotional gender. Men were supposed to contain their emotions; young males were often told “boys don’t cry.” Women on the other hand were expected to show their emotions. When women transgress the expected gender roles and actually contained their emotions, their rebellious nature placed them in a different category, making them strangers in Western society. This is where the emotional machine characterization did its work, because Soviet women transgressed accepted gender roles. Once this occurs it is easy for Americans to categorize Soviet women as strangers. This lack of emotion is one of the prime traits of Ludmila Drago in *Rocky IV*. She is a woman who has her emotions under tight control most of the time. Whether she is watching her husband Ivan Drago fight or speaking to reporters about her fears for her husband’s life, Ludmila is characterized as a cold and distant person. In most of the scenes she is a part of, her face is shown as coldly beautiful, a face devoid of emotions. She goes through the movie like a machine incapable of emotion. While the men around her express anger or antagonism, she remains aloof and shows no reactions to the heightened emotional state of the men.<sup>56</sup>

The cold emotionless nature of Soviet women is also seen in the *Night Court* episode “Russkie Business,” Korolenko is back in court, this time in front of Stone for starting a fight at the Soviet Consulate because he is not allowed a visa to return to the Soviet Union to see his sick mother.<sup>57</sup> Ludmila Federova is represented as a cold bureaucrat while she and Stone discuss the

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<sup>56</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

<sup>57</sup> *Night Court*, “Russkie Business,” *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

plight of Korolenko. When a superior eventually overrules Federova's decision, she leaves Stone's office and enters the courtroom. Sitting in the courtroom she tells Stone to leave her alone, asking him "Can't you see I am upset?" Even though she had walked out of Stone's office and claimed to be upset, her body language and her words were at odds. Her body language reveals her as a person who is keeping her emotions tightly under control as she is trying to return to the dispassionate, in control woman she was before meeting Stone. Both the *Rocky IV* and *Night Court* examples demonstrated to viewers the strangeness of Soviet women, by representing them as women who do not have emotions. This also implies that if Soviet women are incapable of emotion, unlike American women, then unlike American men who have emotions but keep them under tight control, Soviet men must be unfeeling monsters.

The hag characterization also plays off of perceived differences from accepted gender body types. While Western ideals of women portray them as petite and men as muscular, the hag characterization depict Soviet women with a masculine body type. Because Soviet women are frequently depicted as having strong muscular bodies, typically characterized as broad and lacking the usual curves associated with femininity this makes them strangers to American ideals of beauty. In the movie *Top Secret* (1984), the hag character is utilized for comedic effect by using bulky male actors to play the East German Women's Olympic team, who present medals to visiting dignitaries.<sup>58</sup> These "women" are not only physically strong, but also tower over the actors playing the dignitaries, a subtle reminder of their monstrosity. In an effort to minimize tensions, *Top Secret* utilizes East German "women" rather than Soviet women. Audiences respond to the scene as funny because humor is a way of dealing with the dissonance created when women who have masculine traits are seen as "transgress[ing the]

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<sup>58</sup> *Top Secret*, directed by Jim Abrahams, David Zucker, and Jerry Zucker (1984; Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures, 2006), DVD.

established notions of what a woman was ‘supposed to look like.’”<sup>59</sup> The “women” in *Top Secret* defy cultural norms that convey the idea that a woman should be petite, and that they should not be stronger or larger than a man. In addition to being represented with male bodies, Soviet women are also attributed as having other masculine characteristics. Excessive hair, either bodily or facial, is one such characteristic. In “Russkie Business” when Stone meets Federova for the first time, her attractiveness was a surprise to Stone, as she was unlike the other Soviet woman the judge had just met. Federova is not “a big Russian bear” and after introducing himself as Harry, Stone comments that he imagines Federova is “not [hairy], unlike a lot of Russian women.”<sup>60</sup> Both the bear comment and the hairy comment plays into the hag characterization as describing the other Soviet woman and Soviet women in general as mannish. When media stereotypes Soviet women in this way, it is easier to identify the Soviet women as being outside of accepted Western beauty ideals, thereby making it easier to classify them as a strange and different Other. Their classification as an Other reinforced their peculiarity by placing them within the context of a stranger to Western cultural values.

Another form of othering Soviet women face is by presenting them as hostile. This means they demonstrate aggressive rather than defensive behaviors which helps to reinforce the idea that the enemy always provokes a response, and that the United States and its citizens only act in defense. This is an idea reinforced several times in *Rocky IV*, both in the opening sequence and in the final fight scene. The defensive nature of America’s reaction helps to vilify the Soviet Union by playing up its combative nature, such as was seen in chapter four, and when this is added to other media offerings where the Soviet Union or its citizens are shown in this way, the

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<sup>59</sup> Laurie Schulze “On Muscle.” in *Fabrication: Costume and the Female Body*, eds. Jane Gains and Charlotte Herzog (New York: Routledge, 1990), 60.

<sup>60</sup> *Night Court*, “Russkie Business,” *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

idea becomes reinforced through repetition. These scenes also reinforce the idea that the Soviet Union lacks honor reinforcing the moral correctness of the “our” side of the binary. The multiple representations of these ideas in various forms becomes a foundation for continuing the *us vs. them* binary mentality. This belligerence is at odds with Western cultural norms where men were expected to be the pursuers. Western women are expected to be chased, not do the chasing.

The transgression between gender roles that allow for the hag to be characterized as an enemy aggressor. Since the hag character is typically portrayed as having mannish physical traits, the manifestation of masculine behavioral traits is also possible. The haggish character can be portrayed as hypersexualized as she has a man’s sexual desires and thus might show the same behavior patterns as a hypersexualized femme fatale. Since most of the hag characters placed in this category due to their body type and exaggerated strength, accompanying this more masculine physique was a more masculine and belligerent attitude. Occasionally media productions show women who demonstrate these masculine traits. In order to ensure the audience understands the masculine nature of these women other characters make sure to point this out. One example is in “Russkie Business,” where the second Soviet woman shown on the episode is Marina Obelosskiva, which producers categorize as more masculine. Obelosskiva is the consul clerk who denies Korolenko’s visa application. When Stone says Marina “is an interesting name,” Assistant District Attorney Dan Fielding said “it’s Russian for “leatherneck,”” equating Obelosskiva to a Marine.<sup>61</sup> Fielding makes the observation as a commentary on Obelosskiva’s body type and personality. Obelosskiva thus transgresses into the masculine realm due to her lack of feminine curves and sternness. Even the court clerk, war veteran, Mac

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<sup>61</sup> *Night Court*, “Russkie Business,” *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.



Robinson is intimidated by Obelosskiva's fierceness, as he declares he does not want to contradict her after she gives him a stony-faced glare, indicating that he is afraid of her.<sup>62</sup>

Sometimes the assertive attitudes of Soviet women end up depicted by the media as sexual aggressiveness. The hypersexualized femme fatale's sexuality puts her squarely in this category, as her body becomes a weapon in her search for sexual pleasures. This character puts men on the defensive as she works to seduce the unwitting Western males. This depiction is especially true when the character in question is a Soviet spy. In this case, a Soviet woman is lying for one of several reasons, such as stealing government secrets or to get close to someone in an assassination attempt. To accomplish this mission, the Soviet woman uses her body to seduce someone who can give her access to secrets, or to get her closer to her target. In both scenarios, the spy is in the position to strike a blow for the Soviet Union with the United States having to react to the Soviet's action.

Even when the hypersexualized character is not playing a femme fatale, the blatant pursuit of sexual pleasures not only demonstrated her strangeness but also puts her in the aggressive camp as well, as she actively pursues men in an effort to find sexual gratification. This active role in seeking out sexual gratification places her outside of Western cultural ideals. Because men are typically seen as the primary initiators of sex, the character's pursuit of sex also transgresses accepted gender roles. When a woman becomes the hunter, she transgresses into masculine territory, making her morality questionable. When it comes to sexuality, women end up placed into one of two camps that can be described as either a Madonna/Whore, or Virgin/Vamp dichotomy. The questionable morality of Soviet women places them in the whore or vamp part of the dichotomy, where their behavior could be seen as contrasting the women from the *us* side

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<sup>62</sup> *Night Court*, "Russkie Business," *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

of the *us vs. them* binary, who were understood to be innocent and virtuous in that they had no desire for sex other than for procreation. By looking for their own sexual gratification, Soviet women were firmly in the whore camp and as such transgress typical female expectations of submitting their sexuality to the man by following his lead. This too became an unspoken warning to the viewers. As previously discussed the Charlie character from *Top Gun* demonstrated it was acceptable for a woman to desire and be aware of her sexuality, however once a woman actively sought out sex she transgresses and becomes morally questionable. The unspoken implication of this was that the United States would only be able to beat the Soviet Union by maintaining its moral superiority.

The moral decay and wanton attitude of Soviet women is demonstrated in the *Night Court* episode “Russkie Business,” Obelosskiva is a woman in pursuit of sexual satisfaction. Where the Federova character implies she and Stone are destined to have sex, Obelosskiva explicitly states that is what she is looking for, as she propositions Fielding offering him a quid pro quo deal, or as Fielding puts it “You scratch my back, I shave yours.”<sup>63</sup> The scene indicates not only her mannish sexual appetite, but also her lack of femininity. Throughout the episode, Obelosskiva relentlessly pursues Fielding in an effort to find sexual gratification. Another problem with Obelosskiva’s quest for sex is not just that she is the pursuer but that she is willing to trade a favor in order to get it, further bringing her morality into question. Eventually bailiff Bull Shannon acquiesces to her demands in an effort to secure Korolenko his visa. When Shannon’s actions are discovered Stone tells Shannon “say it ain’t so,” which due to Stone’s body language and facial expressions imply that a sexual act with Obelosskiva was unpleasant.<sup>64</sup> Here,

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<sup>63</sup> *Night Court*, “Russkie Business,” *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

<sup>64</sup> *Night Court*, “Russkie Business,” *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

Obelosskiva breaks from the normal portrayal and is shown as satiated as the scene ended. Even with this deviation her pursuit and subsequent realization of her goal means Obelosskiva transgress against Western ideals making her an Other in the eyes of the viewer.

Of the three characterizations, the emotionless machine character is the one that fit into the enemy as an aggressor the least. Due to the majority of these representation displaying a lack of emotion, almost all iterations of this archetype avoid feeding into this classification. Although the ice queen subset of the baroness could arguably be included in that, the baroness' desire for power could be seen as an act of aggression. While the typical baroness character is not the pinnacle of power in her evil organization, her desire to be in the upper echelon demonstrates her ruthlessness. This desire for power is another example of the hag character displaying a masculine trait, as the drive to achieve power is typically associated with men. When a hag character or a baroness character actively seeks power, these archetypes are exposed as transgressing against the cultural ideal of feminine passivity. As active participants in the struggle for power these women become masculine, and by demonstrating masculine personality traits, Soviet women turn out to be aggressive and as such become othered.

One of the othering techniques harder to show in television and film was the concept of the enemy as faceless. Usually this characterization took place as a discussion between characters rather than being shown in mass media of the time. By describing this character media of the time played off of stereotypes that fulfilled the idea of the faceless masses. The idea that most Soviet women were interchangeable and were of a similar body type meant one Soviet woman could be replaced by another. Since the hag character was universally described as mannish, this also meant Soviet women could be exchanged with Soviet men. In 1985, Wendy's restaurants ran an advertisement showcasing a Soviet Union fashion show. One of the devices used by this

commercial was that no matter what type of outfit the announcer was describing, the women walking the runway were all wearing the exact same dress.<sup>65</sup> This commercial also played into the hag character in that the actress portraying the Russian models was not proportioned like a typical fashion model. Though there was only one woman being shown, the idea was there were multiple models wearing various outfits. The subtext of the advertisement was not only were all Soviet outfits the same, so were all Soviet women. This highlighted to the viewers that one of the benefits of being an American was that being unique was a good thing and that as a nation we celebrated individuality.<sup>66</sup>

Because the media stereotyped Soviet women as sharing a similar masculine body type, this seems at odds with the idea behind the hypersexualized femme fatale characterization the comparison was that femme fatale character were the exception that proved the rule. The fact they were so beautiful was seen as an aberration and made them different not only to Western culture but to Soviet society as well. Though not a physical trait, the character's machine-like lack of emotion contributed to the ability to substitute one Soviet woman for another. The media's portrayal of Soviet women as lacking emotions meant there was nothing to differentiate one woman from another, and by removing their emotions and making them machines they became faceless cogs easily replaceable. By portraying Soviet women as similar one could dehumanize and marginalize them making it easier to disrupt their lives in the event of war.

By framing Soviet women as an Other, television and film reinforced the *us vs. them* binary. If the women of the Soviet Union were as different as the men, then the United States was

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<sup>65</sup> ThreeOranges, "Wendy's Commercial - Soviet Fashion Show," YouTube.com, accessed July 12, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5CaMUfxVJVQ>.

<sup>66</sup> While the idea of individual was an important part of the American identity, there were limits as to how much individuality was appropriate. While each cog could be different they all worked towards the same goal. In other words it was okay to not be identical to every other American but each American should work together to help make America prosper and beat the Soviet Union.

justified in having the Soviet Union as an enemy. By applying the same lens to Soviet women that Keen applied to the idea of the enemy, one could see that the entirety of Soviet society was corrupt. As such the United States would be justified in destroying it in the worst case, and working to convert it to democracy in the best. The classifications of Soviet women as the hypersexualized femme fatales, cold and emotionless machines, and hags, not only portrayed their personalities, but also utilized in late Cold War media to characterize the bodies of Soviet women.

When Russian women were compared to their American counterparts, the categorizations of Russian women as being flawed, was even more pronounced. In media productions that contain both American and Russian women, the American women demonstrated not only ideal bodies but also an exemplary character. This made the Russian women even more grotesque by comparison. Even without the side-by-side comparison, the behavior of Soviet women showed that no matter what the characters look like, their true nature would show through their words or actions. This reinforced the old saying “beauty is skin deep, but ugly goes clean to the bone,” this meant that if one was grotesque on the inside it would show on the outside.

*Rocky IV*'s Ludmila Drago is an example of the differences between Soviet and American women. Her cold emotionless state is especially pronounced when her reactions are compared to Adrianne's. Throughout the movie while Ludmila shows no emotions Adrianne does. While the two women have little screen time together the nature of their emotional state does receive onscreen attention. Though the women are relegated to supporting roles in the movie, Adrianne offers far more support to Rocky than Ludmila does to Drago. This becomes even more poignant when one considers that the film's portrayal of the women follows an atypical focus, in which

Nelson's Soviet character gets more screen time than Shire's American one.<sup>67</sup> Both white women receive substantially more screen time than the African-American actress Sylvia Meals who plays Apollo Creed's nameless wife. Because Meals' character is virtually invisible it falls to Shire's Adrianne to not only be the voice of reason to Rocky and Apollo, but she also demonstrates concern for Apollo's well-being. Thereby demonstrating two different ways she is being protective of those she cares about.

Being protective of the family unit is a traditional role assigned to women. This protective nature is demonstrated early in the movie when Apollo decides he is going to fight Drago, and Adrianne tries to be the voice of reason, by talking him out of the fight. Because Adrianne voices concern she demonstrated the nurturing nature expected of women especially once they are mothers. Adrianne extends her maternal concern outside of her family with the inclusion of Creed. Adrianne's concern becomes a surrogate for Creed's invisible wife. The depiction of this concern is also meant to demonstrate feelings that Adrianne had for those she considers her family. Unlike Ludmila who shows no emotion when she discusses her concern for Drago's safety, Adrianne displays an emotional range as she tried to talk Apollo and Rocky out of fighting the Russian. Adrianne also demonstrates strong emotion after Apollo was killed and Rocky tells her he is going to fight Drago in the Soviet Union.<sup>68</sup> In these scenes Adrianne is fulfilling both a supporting role and demonstrating traditional gender roles.

While Adrianne follows traditional gender roles by showing emotion, this was also the one scene where she transgresses expected roles. This occurs when she does not unquestioningly

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<sup>67</sup> This could be due to the burgeoning romance between Stallone and Nelson, but that type of speculation is outside the scope of this paper. However, the atypical portrayal does present itself for an examination of why the character of a younger Soviet woman is getting more screen time than an older American character, in the middle of the Cold War.

<sup>68</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

support Rocky. Once she voices this lack of support, she not only creates a rift between herself and Rocky, but she also undermines Rocky's belief in himself after she emotionally shouts, "You can't win."<sup>69</sup> By not supporting Rocky she deviates from the expected role of women during the Cold War. A deviation that could have fatal ramification for Rocky's Cold War fight. As will be discussed later, this transgression does not last; however, until the time that it is resolved it continues to inflict emotional damage on Adrianne. By transgressing, Adrianne creates dissonance within herself which is shown in the emotional pain she demonstrates as she watches Rocky leave for the Soviet Union. This pain serves two purposes for the viewer. First it presents another obstacle that Rocky has to overcome because Adrianne no longer demonstrates unquestioning support now that Rocky's success is in question. This works as a subtle reminder to the viewers and the cohort that doubt leads to defeat. Second it also reveals how important it is for women to support men in their fight against the Soviet Union, which reinforces the idea of how women help to fight the Cold War.

One way that women provide this support is by demonstrating what are seen as traditional gender roles, showing their concern for the men and displaying emotion. In these scenes Adrianne's concern for Rocky is always close to the surface. When compared to the cold dispassionate way Ludmila described her concern for Drago's safety, it reinforces the differences between American women and Soviet women. This difference is especially noticeable since the scene where Adrianne loses faith in Rocky is presented shortly after Ludmila's scene where she voices her concern for Drago. This comparison proves that American women are not emotionless machines, but rather caring individuals who sometimes let their emotions get the better of them thereby demonstrating them to be compassionate humans. It is this compassion that keeps

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<sup>69</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

American women, in this case Adrianne, from moving into a haggish classification like Ludmila does. The support and compassion of American women indicate ideologically that inside and out these women are beautiful. During the fight between Drago and Rocky, Adrianne exhibits emotions, a stark contrast when juxtaposed alongside the cold emotionless Ludmila. The emotions that Adrianne displays continued to reinforce her caring nature. Immediately before and during the fight Adrianne reveals emotions which demonstrate concern for Rocky. Throughout the fight Adrianne wears these emotions on her face. As the tide shifts and Rocky starts to gain the upper hand the emotions that Adrianne exhibit shift to excitement and pride. Here she demonstrates not only her belief in Rocky but becomes a stand in for the audience as she shows the emotions that it should feel, as good triumphed over evil, and the American way of life proves superior to the Soviet way.

In addition to showing the viewing audience how women are supposed to act emotionally, Adrianne also demonstrates traditional gender roles. These roles tied back to May's description of how women helped to fight the Cold War. In the movie Adrianne's supportive and nurturing nature is indicated in two ways. The first occurred very early in the movie when Adrianne provides a warm and caring home environment. Not only does Adrianne take care of Rocky and their son, but she also takes care of her brother Paulie who lives with them.<sup>70</sup> This is in contrast to Ludmila, though not explicitly spoken of, it was inferred that Ludmila and Drago were childless, and that they were focused on their respective pursuits at the cost of family. The portrayal of Adrianne as a mother and as caring for her family establishes her representation as an ideal woman. This characterization not only confirms Adrianne creates a caring and nurturing environment, but also subtly reinforced the idea that capitalism works. It accomplishes this by

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<sup>70</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.



demonstrating that Adrianne has a nice home and she does not have to work. The amount of leisure time Soviet and American women had is a point of difference between each system as well. Adrianne is now living a life of leisure that encapsulated the American dream.<sup>71</sup> This reinforces the American cultural myth that anyone can succeed if they have the desire and drive to flourish. Rocky and Adrianne confirms that by behaving in traditional gender roles not only can the American dream be achieved, but the communist menace can be defeated.

In addition to providing a stable home environment, Adrianne also demonstrates her supportive and nurturing nature when she surprises Rocky at the cabin he lives in as he trains to fight Drago. This scene builds off the earlier scene where Rocky is hurt that Adrianne does not support his decision to fight Drago. With Adrianne's arrival and her admission that "[She] couldn't stay away anymore. [She] missed [him]," and that she is with him to the end, means that Rocky's training can now progress at a rate that seemed to be lacking prior to Adrianne's return.<sup>72</sup> By offering Rocky support in his fight, not only is Adrianne supporting Rocky but she is also freeing him to focus on the upcoming battle. This has the advantage of fortifying him in his fight against communism, a role that has been relegated to women - one they have been performing since the beginning of the Cold War. This contrasts with the dynamic between Ludmila and Drago. Where Adrianne's support becomes part of Rocky's training Ludmila's support is separated from Drago's. Where Ludmila has no need of emotions, Drago's training, which takes place in a sterile laboratory atmosphere, has no need for sentimentality. The difference between the training of the two men represent the difference in the emotional make-up of the women. Shire's portrayal of Adrianne in the movie serves two purposes, and for the

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<sup>71</sup> This message became even stronger when one considered the economic conditions that Rocky and Adrianne lived under in the original movie.

<sup>72</sup> *Rocky IV*, directed by Sylvester Stallone (1985; Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1997), DVD.

relatively short amount of screen time Shire receives, they must make sense to the viewing audience because it must be able to decode the intended message quickly. In this case Adrienne represents the ideal of motherhood and as such she represents not only the girl next door, but also the ideal woman. This contrasts with the Ludmila character who has forgone the role of motherhood. The importance of children in the American dream narrative is another reminder of what it was that Rocky was fighting for.

Television shows of the time also made comparisons between Soviet and American women. With a running time of 22-24 minutes per episode, television shows were limited in the amount of time each episode could devote to these comparisons. This meant that the producers of the show were constrained in what they could incorporate, which was especially true when compared to the longer format found in film. While films had the luxury of preforming character development within the narrative, and did not have to worry about a fluctuating cast of characters, television series did not have this luxury. Television shows had to rely on slowly building their socializing messages. Unlike *Rocky IV*, *Night Courts* portrayal of the Cold War fight was over a series of episodes that aired over years.

This format also affected the nature of how the characters were portrayed. Because *Night Court* had a large ensemble cast, in an individual episode these characteristics may not be prominently displayed, however since the audience could see the characteristics of the characters exhibited over time, it was implied they were part of the character make-up in every episode. Another problem of an ensemble cast was that for any given storyline a character may not be the primary focus of the episode, relegating them into a supporting role for the main story line requiring the viewer to make inferences about their nature and how the character's past was influencing their decisions in the current episode.

Female sitcom characters have to demonstrate their supportive and nurturing nature over time and depending on the focus of the story might do it explicitly in some episodes and implicitly in others, but the audience's understanding is always evolving. One such character is the public defender Christine Sullivan, played by Markie Post. The Sullivan character joins the show in the third season and is there for the majority of the Soviet themed shows. In the third season's episode "Dan's Escort" Sullivan meets Korolenko for the first time. Though Sullivan is a relatively new character to the viewers, by the time the episode airs they have had half a season to get to know some of Sullivan's foibles. In this episode Korolenko's wife, the aforementioned Sonja, is coming to America and he is very excited. When Sullivan first meets Korolenko she states she is "excited for him" Korolenko took this the wrong way thinking that Sullivan was interested in having sex with him. While the audience realized what Korolenko means when he says he "can wait a couple more days" Sullivan is clueless.<sup>73</sup> Sullivan as sexually innocent and naïve, is portrayed very differently than a hypersexualized Soviet woman. Because Sullivan is portrayed as an innocent and inexperienced, which makes the difference between Soviet women and their masculine appetite for sex very noticeable. Not only does this reinforce the othering of Soviet women, it also reinforces gendered beliefs that women do not enjoy sex for sex but rather have sex for the purpose of eventually becoming a mother.

This difference in sexual appetite between Soviet and American women is displayed later in the episode when Korolenko has an extended sexual encounter with Sonja. Sullivan's naïveté is explored during this scene when she is waiting with most of the main cast outside of the office where Korolenko and his wife are, and Sullivan commented "at least the moaning has

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<sup>73</sup> *Night Court*, "Dan's Escort," directed by Jeff Mehlman, *Night Court: The Complete Third Season* (1986; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2010), DVD.

stopped.”<sup>74</sup> In this instance, and building off the naïveté established in earlier episodes, Post reveals Sullivan as having no clue as to what is going on behind the closed door. In the same episode Sullivan’s prudish morality when it comes to sex, also established in earlier episodes, appear. In an earlier scene, when Assistant District Attorney Dan Fielding, played by John Larroquette, is propositioned, she expresses shock that he is considering prostituting himself. The series depicts Fielding as lecherous and constantly in search of sex. With this type of consistent characterization, the fact that Fielding is considering the proposition should really come as no surprise to the virginal Sullivan. In the episodes up to this point the show defines Sullivan as an innocent, which is done as a counterbalance to Fielding’s masculinity and lechery.<sup>75</sup> Where Soviet women transgress into this masculine role, the portrayal of Korolenko’s wife as insatiable when compared to Sullivan’s morally outstanding behavior reinforces Sullivan’s, and by proxy American women’s, as the ideal examples of feminine virtue.

The difference between Soviet and American women’s pursuit of sexuality is further portrayed in the episode “Russkie Business” In this episode all three stereotypes of Soviet women make an appearance, and Sullivan acts as their counterpoint. Though Sullivan’s sexuality is not addressed verbally, her attire helps reinforce the premise that she is not sexually promiscuous. Sullivan’s clothing was more modest than Federova’s clothing. Where Sullivan’s blouse is a high collared affair that goes to her neck, conveying the primness demonstrated in earlier episodes, Federova’s blouse is low cut displaying cleavage, a subtle way to attract Stone’s attention.<sup>76</sup> Though Sullivan’s skirt is actually shorter than Federova’s, the latter’s tighter fitting,

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<sup>74</sup> *Night Court*, “Dan’s Escort,” directed by Jeff Mehlman, *Night Court: The Complete Third Season* (1986; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2010), DVD.

<sup>75</sup> *Night Court*, “Dan’s Escort,” directed by Jeff Mehlman, *Night Court: The Complete Third Season* (1986; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2010), DVD.

<sup>76</sup> *Night Court*, “Russkie Business,” *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

leather skirt subtly reinforces her sexuality.<sup>77</sup> Although both women are blonde representing an American beauty ideal, their dress characterizes them differently. Sullivan's dress, and the personality of her character, reinforces the idea of the girl next door. Sullivan became the representation of the ideal of what we are fighting to protect, while reinforcing the ideal of the perfect woman. Because Sullivan does not transgress against Western ideals and instead demonstrates restraint, civility, and passivity, she becomes the antithesis of the Soviet women in the episode. Though Sullivan is hurt by a comment Stone makes early in the episode, her support of Stone's effort on Korolenko's behalf upholds the idea that only by being unified can America triumph over the Soviet Union.

Finding a way to keep American women from transgressing is something the producers of the film *Gotcha* had to deal with. Because the film deals with this dichotomy the film is a good example for a side by side analysis of how Eastern and Western women are portrayed differently. UCLA student Jonathan Moore, played by Anthony Edwards, meets Sahsa Banicek, played by Linda Fiorentino, while on spring break in Europe. Banicek tells Moore that she is a Czechoslovakian born in Prague who now lives in America and is a graduate student working as a courier to pay her tuition.<sup>78</sup> Moore and Banicek become romantically involved which leads Moore to change his travel plans in order to accompany Banicek to Berlin for work. In reality Banicek is Cheryl Brewster from Pittsburgh who works for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Once Moore and the audience discover this the personality traits of the character shift. Nevertheless, prior to this reveal the Banicek character exhibits many of the character flaws viewers saw in other media depictions in their representation of Soviet women. The character's

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<sup>77</sup> *Night Court*, "Russkie Business," *Night Court: The Complete Fifth Season* (1988; Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers, 2011). DVD.

<sup>78</sup> *Gotcha*, directed by Jeff Kanew, (1985, Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 2010), DVD.

Eastern European accent means that in the media she is cut from the same cloth as a Soviet woman, and thus portrayed in the same way Soviet women were. However once the truth of her deception comes out the Brewster character exhibit many of the same desirable traits that are seen in other media portrayals of American women.

While viewers think the character is of Eastern European descent her mannerisms play into all three Soviet stereotypes, that of the hypersexualized *feme fatale*, the cold and emotionless machine and even a hag. However, as her nationality transforms, so too does her personality. Since Brewster is an American, these stereotypes can no longer stand and she needs to be portrayed in such a way as to support American ideals. Once the truth is exposed, Brewster no longer exhibits the same strong personality that Banicek did. Where Banicek takes the lead and is the dominant partner in the Banicek-Moore relationship, she became the more submissive one in the Brewster-Moore pairing. Immediately after Moore finds out she is an American by they are attacked by a Russian KGB agent, one that followed them in East Berlin, and even to America. After her deception is uncovered Brewster is no longer the strong and decisive woman that the viewers saw when she was pretending to be Banicek. After the reveal Brewster acts hesitant and defers to Moore, an interesting development considering Moore's only espionage experience is limited to his actives in his campus' version of the assassination game, known in the movie as *Gotcha*. This shift from strong and capable to deferential and uncertain is especially interesting considering that the viewer has already seen Banicek behave as a spy while in Europe. The shift seems to have negated her CIA training as she is now uncertain how to react when back on American soil. Brewster's relationship to her sexuality also changed with her transformation. While in the Banicek persona not only does she know what she wants when it came to sexual partners, she is also not above using her body to get her way. In addition to knowing what she

wants sexually, she is also the one teaching Moore about pleasing a woman and teaching him to be a man of the world. This places Banicek in control and since this is Moore's first sexual experience it also puts Banicek in a position of power. Because Moore is characterized as only a boy, he is portrayed as willing to do anything to continue the relationship. At the end of the movie the power dynamic between Brewster and Moore has changed with Moore taking the lead and being the one to define the relationship between the two. Brewster is portrayed as needing to be with Moore and has shifted to supporting Moore in his fight against the Soviets.

By watching these and other media offerings the final Cold War generation was reminded that Soviet women were a strange and different other, and they were a danger to American society and its values. The portrayal of American women juxtaposed against these Others not only told the cohort that American women had an important place in the Cold War fight, but also showed the group, through these representations, what the gender ideals of western society were. These ideals allowed American women to be portrayed as strong capable women, but in the fight between the Soviet Union and the United States, while still important to the fight, women still had limited roles, roles that had not changed from the early Cold War period. American women were never expected to be in the thick of the fight. Society expected them to stay behind the lines and deal with both the domestic sphere and the emotional one, so the men could focus on the physical side of the battle, thereby enabling the United States to defeat its enemy.

Like film and television, music also contributed to the othering of the Soviet Union. This othering often occurred by portraying citizens of the Soviet Union as less civilized than citizens of the United States or other western nations, which in essence made the Soviet Union a de-civilized state. Making the Soviet Union an Other was only part of creating the *us vs. them* binary as it only reinforced the *them* part of the equation. If there was a *them*, then there needed

to be an analogous *us*. One song that spoke explicitly to the *us vs. them* binary was the song *Ivan Meets G.I. Joe*, by The Clash from their album *Sandinista*. *Ivan Meets G.I. Joe* was released in December 1980, a year after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, just as the Cold War was heating back up. *Sandinista* is a distinctive album in that it consisted of 36 songs with a variety of musical genres.<sup>79</sup> For an album by a British band that was considered experimental it did well on the American charts, peaking at number twenty-four while spending twenty weeks on the Billboard Top 200 chart.<sup>80</sup> Even though the Clash is a British band the value in examining this song is twofold. First because it did well it means the album resonated with American audiences.<sup>81</sup> Second it also shows that during the late Cold War period the idea of the *us vs. them* binary transcended international borders.<sup>82</sup> *Ivan Meets G.I. Joe* was the fourth track on side one of the album and reflects the increasingly heated language of the Reagan/Thatcher Cold War era. The song plays up the devious nature of the Soviet Union. Throughout the song there is never an explicit statement that Ivan was slang for the Soviet Union, however it is strongly implied, especially when compared to G.I. Joe which was a slang term for American soldiers.<sup>83</sup>

Each term was generally understood within the World War II and Cold War context; this means the Clash did not need to state the connection explicitly as it was inherently understood by listeners of the time to represent each nation. The song describes a dance contest between a

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<sup>79</sup>Informal interview Mike Kneisel March 29, 2016; John Piccarella. "Review Sandinista" Rolling Stone March 5, 1981, accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.rollingstone.com/music/albumreviews/sandinista-19810305>; "'Sandinista' the Clash," Allmusic.com, accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.allmusic.com/album/sandinista!-mw0000649984>

<sup>80</sup>Billboard.com, "The Clash chart history," accessed January 5, 2018. <https://www.billboard.com/music/the-clash/chart-history/billboard-200/song/313748>.

<sup>81</sup>It is how this audience decoded and interpreted the music that is important and why the song has been included in the study

<sup>82</sup>An examination of England's Cold War politics is outside the scope of this dissertation; however, both Thatcher and Reagan who came to power around the same time had similar views about communism, the Cold War, and the Soviet Union.

<sup>83</sup>It is important to note that in film and television when a Soviet male was given a name in most cases his name was Ivan, and if the main Soviet character was not named Ivan one of his henchman name was and that henchman would be named.



Soviet and an American, and like many contests the competition between the two super powers became an analogy for the larger Cold War. While there is no direct exposition on who is performing what acts, there are markers within each stanza that allow the listener to understand who is acting. Whether it is “He tried his tricks- that Ruskie bear” in the second stanza or “The Vostok Bomb- the Stalin Strike” in the third, the remainder of the lyrics in each stanza paints the person in a less than flattering light. The lyrics reinforce Soviet otherness when compared to the lyrics describing the American.<sup>84</sup> There was only one stanza that describes the American actions, which implies the listener acknowledge the superiority of the American. This superiority is further reinforced by the use of the words “cool and slow” in the second line of the stanza. The use of these words implies that the American and by proxy American society, is controlled by reason and logic.<sup>85</sup>

Even though this album is one of The Clash’s more popular albums, the band’s failure to release the song as a single, and the sheer number of songs on the album, weakens the track’s ability to convey the Cold War message acknowledging an *us vs. them* binary to a broader audience.<sup>86</sup> However, because the album contains a direct comparison between the two super powers, and the fact that the song is on the same side as two of the album’s singles, dose increase the likelihood that the song will be heard by fans. While American audience’s exposure to *Ivan Meets G.I. Joe* would invariably be less than songs that are released as singles and make it to the popular music charts. The song’s inclusion on this particular album acts as an example that the *us vs. them* binary was an important part of the population’s understanding of the world during the time period. While the song itself was a weak socializer of the cohort, *Ivan Meets G.I. Joe*

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<sup>84</sup> The Clash, "Ivan Meets G.I. Joe," track 4 on *Sandinista*, Epic, 1980.

<sup>85</sup> The Clash, "Ivan Meets G.I. Joe," track 4 on *Sandinista*, Epic, 1980.

<sup>86</sup> “The Clash chart history,” accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/artist/394493/clash/chart?f=305>.

contributed to the overall socialization of the cohort as it was one more vector for the messages to come through, and be built upon.

While *Ivan Meets G.I. Joe* was a direct comparison of surrogates, other songs make their comparisons more subtly. Genesis' *Land of Confusion* was the third single from the group's thirteenth and highest-rated album. With the song making it to the number four spot on Billboard's top 100 list, this is Genesis' fourth-most successful song.<sup>87</sup> While the lyrics alone do not hint at this comparison the music video does. The video accomplishes this by playing up the idea of how good America is then juxtaposing a representation of the Soviet Union. One sequence of the video includes various world leaders inciting their followers on a large video screen. These leaders include caricatures of Mikhail Gorbachev and Muammar al-Gaddafi while Reagan is dressed as Superman. Within the framework and centered around the "basic antagonism" of the *us vs. them* binary is the inclination to "split everything into polar opposites."<sup>88</sup> This lends itself to the creation of a good vs evil categorization as a way to simplify the differences between *us* and *them*. As president of the United States Reagan becomes a symbol of the United States. Superman as a character is supposed to represent all that is right with America. Gary Engle wrote "Superman is the great American hero. ...interweaving a pattern of Belief... cultural traditions of the American people more powerfully and more accessibly than any other cultural symbol of the twentieth century, perhaps of any period in our history."<sup>89</sup> With Reagan dressed as Superman the video symbolically links the idea of the United

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<sup>87</sup> Billboard.com, "Billboard 200 chart history Genesis," accessed March 26, 2016.

<http://www.billboard.com/artist/1496517/genesis/chart?f=305>; Billboard.com, "Top 100 Billboard Chart history Genesis" accessed March 26, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/artist/1496517/genesis/chart>.

<sup>88</sup> Sam Keen *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 18.

<sup>89</sup> Gary Engle. "What Makes Superman so Darned American?," in *Signs of Life in the U.S.A.: Readings on Popular Culture for Writers*, eds. Sonia Maasik and Jack Solomon (Boston MA: Bedford St. Martians Press, 1994), 309-10.

States to the ideas represented by Superman. By having the President of the United States running around as Superman, there is a tacit acknowledgement that American society views itself as the best. This also creates a strong representation for the good side of the binary, which further widens the gap between the Soviet Union and the United States. By visually linking Mikhail Gorbachev to Muammar al-Gaddafi and others who are considered enemies of the United States, Gorbachev is by association made evil which implies he was an enemy of the United States. This connection makes Gorbachev a stranger which leads to the Soviet leader being considered an Other, because he was the symbol of the country he led, the Soviet Union was as well.

Another song that explicitly compares the Soviet Union to the United States towards the end of the Cold War is Billy Joel's *Leningrad*, which appears on his eleventh studio album, *Storm Front*, in 1989, and released as a single the same year. Though never popular on the U.S. pop charts, it does enjoy a modicum of success on other charts around the world.<sup>90</sup> The song is unusual in a couple of ways. The first was that it was released after the fall of the Berlin Wall, yet was written and recorded while the symbol of the Cold War still stood. The second interesting element about the song is that Joel wrote it after a tour in the Soviet Union, about a Soviet citizen he met during that time. While the tour and writing took place in a period of lessened tension, the song still conveys a difference between the Soviet Union and the United States. This difference is more muted than other songs, probably due to when Joel wrote it, but still portrays differences that othered a citizen of the Soviet Union.

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<sup>90</sup> It never broke into the top 100 so that it was not tracked.; Billboard.com, "Billy Joel Chart History," accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/artist/284376/billy-joel/chart>; According to "ultratop.be-Billy Joel-Leningrad," ultratop.be, accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.ultratop.be/nl/song/1b89/Billy-Joel-Leningrad> it peaked at number 14 on the German. Charts, Number 15 on the Dutch charts and number 17 on the Belgium charts. In other Western countries the song never rose above 50 getting as high as 53 according to "Billy Joel Full Official Chart History," officialcharts.com, accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.officialcharts.com/artist/16696/billy%20joel/> on the UK charts.

*Leningrad* compares the life of Joel and a Soviet citizen named Viktor.<sup>91</sup> The song examines the difference between how the two men grew up. While the othering techniques in other forms of media were not present, the song still portrays Viktor as an Other, in that it implies the enemy is a stranger.<sup>92</sup> The song plays up the differences in Viktor's upbringing compared to a typical American upbringing. The first stanza of the song examines Viktor's life. The stanza uses various couplets: "Went off to school. And learned to serve the state," "Followed the rules. And drank his vodka, straight," "the only way to live. Was drown the hate." to paint life in the Soviet Union.<sup>93</sup> The penultimate line sums up Viktor's life, "a Russian life, was very sad."<sup>94</sup> Which reinforces the negative stereotypical view that Americans in the 1980s have of Soviet citizens. These lyrics work to play up the differences between Viktor's life and a typical American's upbringing. The words implied a child's life in America was better than it was in the Soviet Union. Which helps to prove the point that the Soviet Union was a truly strange place.

Another way Viktor is made to seem strange is that he becomes a circus clown. This was not a profession that most Americans aspire to, and clowns in American society have the unenviable position of being both adored and despised. While the emotions one feels when one thought about clowns was personal, the selection of a circus clown as a chosen profession categorizes one as strange to most of American society, and the fact that Viktor becomes one just reinforces his otherness, to American audiences. In *Leningrad* while the American perspective is still grounded in Cold War events, however Joel's point of view as an American, and the

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<sup>91</sup> Billy Joel, "Leningrad," track 7 on *Storm Front* Right Track Recording 1989, CD.

<sup>92</sup> Sam Keen *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 16.

<sup>93</sup> Billy Joel, "Leningrad," track 7 on *Storm Front* Right Track Recording 1989, CD.

<sup>94</sup> Billy Joel, "Leningrad," track 7 on *Storm Front* Right Track Recording 1989, CD.

experiences he sings about, focus on American culture. Because the song presents an American perspective it minimized the differences between Joel and the listeners. Even if the listener is removed in time from Joel's experience, it means Joel and the listener still share common background.

*Leningrad's* video has three visual themes. The first is that of Joel playing a piano and singing. These visuals periodically appear throughout the song, typically as a transition point between the other two visual themes. The other two themes are made up of archival film footage of Cold War events and personalities from both the United States and from within the Soviet Union. While the footage from the Soviet Union switches from black and white to color, most of the American footage is black and white until the very end. The shots at the end of the American scenes are from Joel's 1987 tour of the Soviet Union, and also indicate a switch from Cold War themes to those that are more Joel focused. While the clips from the United States have a more a militaristic theme, there are few shots of American soldiers. This contrasts early scenes in the video when the song is talking about Viktor's early life, as there are numerous shots of the Soviet military and people in Soviet uniforms. This song demonstrates even though tensions are dwindling there are still songs and videos that portray the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union by focusing on its military.

By 1990, as the last of the cohort was leaving high school, the end of Cold War was in sight. While the Soviet Union seemed to be making changes to its society, there was still an underlying level of distrust, in the American population, that the change would be permanent. The increasingly acrimonious rhetoric of the late Cold War period had come after seventeen years of détente; it was not implausible that tensions could flare up again. As America entered a new decade there were songs that still played to the idea of the *us vs. them* binary, and like

*Leningrad* these songs did not have the overtly aggressive nature of the early 1980s music. However, unlike the earlier songs that were released as singles and spent time on the chart, these songs never made it off the album, though that did not mean they were not on the radar of the cohort. *Mother Russia* on Iron Maiden's 1990 album, *No Prayer for the Dying*, was one such song.<sup>95</sup> While the song was never released as a single, the album peaked at number seventeen, making it the eighth highest performing album for Iron Maiden.<sup>96</sup> Since the song was never released it did not receive the wide distribution of more popular songs. However, for Iron Maiden fans, the song's inclusion on the album exposed them to the underlying message of the differences between American and Soviet society. Though the album's release preceded to the end of the Cold War, it came after the fall of the Berlin Wall, this along with the inclusion of the couplet "Now it has come Freedom at last" acknowledged the change the Soviet Union was undergoing. The song demonstrated this change through the use of lyrics such as "Now it has come, Freedom at last," "Turning the tides of history, And your past," in the third stanza, to represent this change, despite the fact the lyrics acknowledged that there is a change, it also prompts to listener understand that under the old system the people of the Soviet Union are miserable and now that they are enjoying a modicum of freedom it is the only time they could truly be happy.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Iron Maiden, "Mother Russia," track 10 on *No Prayer for the Dying*, Barnyard Studios, 1990, CD; Since the song was not officially released as a single there was no official music video to accompany it however there were fan videos set to the music of the song. For an example look here, sgportugal, "Mother Russia - Iron Maiden," Youtube.com, accessed March 26, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gLhC2eTkVCM>.

<sup>96</sup> According to All music which had a listing for all of Iron Maidens albums the Album peaked at number 17 on the billboard 200 chart.; Allmusic.com, "Iron Maiden," Allmusic.com, accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.allmusic.com/artist/iron-maiden-mn0000098465/awards>; Billboard chart history also shows the position of the album in comparison to other Iron Maiden albums.; Billboard.com, "Iron Maiden Chart history," Billboard.com, accessed April 2, 2016. <http://www.billboard.com/artist/303893/iron-maiden/chart>.

<sup>97</sup> Iron Maiden, "Mother Russia," track 10 on *No Prayer for the Dying*, Barnyard Studios, 1990 CD.

Even though *Mother Russia* did not directly compare the two societies, the song depicts an Imperial Russia that is closer to the ideals of the Western world than the Soviet Union is. The first two stanzas are where the song established that the Soviet Union is different than what those in the West are used to. These stanzas play up different stereotypes that are common in other media portrayals of the Soviet Union. Because these stereotypes are prevalent in other forms of media the cohort is primed to associate Russia and winter in a certain way.<sup>98</sup> Utilizing words such as winter and snow prepare the listener to think about cold and bleak terrain in Siberia, a location long associated with the repressive nature of the Soviet state. Words like “Czar” and “great empire” create images in the listeners mind that recall images associated with the Kremlin, including such iconic sights as Saint Basil's Cathedral and Red Square, two places intimately tied with the governance of the Soviet Union.<sup>99</sup> By keying to this space the idea of the Other was reinforced. This differentiation of the Soviet Union was so prevalent in other media that, as referenced above, Sam Keen’s belief that the sun never shone on Red Square was understandable.<sup>100</sup> The memory of Red Square and dismal weather and the non-Western architecture of Saint Basil's Cathedral reinforced the idea of Soviet otherness. This meant when songs like *Mother Russia* brought up the history or leadership of Russia, the audience was already primed to associate the Soviet Union with a different other, in the event the changes displayed by the Soviet Union failed to stick.

Throughout the late Cold War period, various types of media reminded the members of the final Cold War generation that the citizens of the Soviet Union should be considered a strange

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<sup>98</sup> Priming is an idea studied by social psychologists and is “the process by which recent experiences increase the [likelihood that existing mental structures are used to make judgments and interpret situations].

<sup>99</sup> Saint Basil's Cathedral has arguably become more representational of the kremlin than the actual kremlin.

<sup>100</sup> Sam Keen, *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 47.

and different Other and as such the Soviet Union was a de-civilized state. By portraying the Soviet Union in this way, the media industry helped to reinforce the *us vs. them* binary. Television, film and music presented consumers the messages that Soviet men and women had values and behaved in ways that differentiated them from United States citizens. As the Cold War heated back up this mentality served to dehumanize the enemy, and with the possibility that increasing tensions would lead to war, it told the cohort it had no need to feel bad about obliterating the enemy, as they deserved to be destroyed.<sup>101</sup> As American society approached the end of the Cold War, and even as hostilities between the two superpowers continued to lessen, almost fifty years of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union were hard to put aside. Though the United States and Soviet Union (later Russia) started to work together the level of distrust generated by the message of othering ensured that the members of the final Cold War generation would always have doubts as to the intention of their former opponent.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Sam Keen *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination the Psychology of Enmity* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publisher, 1986), 18-9.

<sup>102</sup> See footnote 39.



## CONCLUSION: THE WALL COMES TUMBLING DOWN

In 1989, Cold War tensions began to lessen as the domino theory proved true, but in an unbelievable way.<sup>1</sup> The dominos started to fall, but in reverse, as one by one the communist nations of the Warsaw Pact began to break away from Soviet control. On 9 November 1989 the ultimate symbol of the Cold War fight cracked, and the division between East and West crumbled as the Berlin Wall fell. The fall of the Berlin Wall was a tangible symbol that the end of the Cold War was nigh. After almost fifty years of tension between the United States and the American-led West, and the Soviet Union and the Soviet-led East, the Cold War was ending. A little over two years later the final domino would fall in Moscow, on 25 December 1991 as the Soviet flag that had long flown atop the Kremlin slowly made its way down the flagpole. The flag's slow descent signaled the demise of the Soviet Union and the definitive end of the Cold War. After nearly seventy years of existence, the Soviet Union was no more.

The end of the Soviet Union was a pivotal moment. This is true not only in world history but also in American history. The Cold War had been such an integral part of America's social fabric that its end required a systemic shift in how Americans viewed the world, and themselves. This shift was especially poignant for the final Cold War generation, as it would require them to overcome the socialization they had been subjected to since the beginning of their formative years. The radical changes in the world, that there was no longer an East or West Germany, that Russia was no longer synonymous for the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet Union had in fact ceased to exist, created dissonance in this cohort demonstrated in the fraction of a second it took

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<sup>1</sup> The domino theory was an early Cold War theory that stated that if one country came under control of communism other countries in the area would also fall. This belief led to the Truman doctrine and the strategy of containment and was responsible for getting the United States embroiled in numerous proxy wars from the 1950s to the 1980s.

members of to recognize this new reality. The cohort's position at this moment in history is what makes it unique and is what differentiates it from other cohorts born during the Cold War.

Those American citizens born between 1965 and 1971 made up the final Cold War generation. This cohort's historical position is part of what defined this cohort and makes it unique out of all the other Cold War cohorts. The way the members of the cohort were socialized created a set of shared experiences that not only worked to reinforce the *us vs. them* binary but also created a shared commonality that still connects the cohort together today. The final Cold War generation as a group falls outside of the traditional Generation X descriptors. This is due to the ways the members of this group was socialized and homogenized with a narrative that worked to create a common American identity by reinforcing the *us vs. them* binary. This cohort similar to other birth cohorts share a set of events that shape who its members are. For this group the Cold War was an integral part of its identity and when it ceased to be the members of the group needed to reassess who they were within American society and the new world reality.

From the period of the *détente* to the end of the Cold War, the final Cold War generation experienced three distinct messages designed to reinforce the idea of the *us vs. them* binary. These messages included an emphasis on American exceptionalism, a manufactured and heightened fear of World War III, and the othering of the Soviet Union and its people.

The cohort entered elementary school in a period of lessened Cold War tensions. The cohort's introduction to the idea of American exceptionalism as part of the *us vs. them* binary occurred here. Its members were familiarized with people, places and things upheld as symbols of what it meant to be an American or perpetuate the notion of American ideals, in other words icons that populated key positions of the American mythos. The group was also initiated into the

ritualistic calendar that helped to create a sense of unity between members of this cohort and to society at large. These icons and rituals cover a wide range of categories that allows a civil mythology that more closely resembles a traditional religion, thereby becoming what Robert Bellah identified as American civil religion.

The 1976 bicentennial of the American Revolution also reinforced American exceptionalism with this cohort. Bicentennial celebrations at the federal, state, and local level abounded, and their focus was to encourage Americans from all over the country and from all walks of life to come together to celebrate the founding of the nation as well as the ideals America stood for. At a time when the nation was experiencing more internal pressures, rather than external ones, such as economic uncertainty, strained race relations, and a lack of faith in the federal government, the bicentennial offered a way to lessen the tension between various factions of the American population. It provided a celebration that not only played up the commonality of the American people but also embraced the concept of individuality and highlighted the differences between the various sections of the population.

As the members of this cohort entered their teenage years, tensions between the United State and Soviet Union began to increase, just as the cohort members began to change how they interacted with the *us vs. them* binary messages. While the elementary school ideas of American exceptionalism primarily consisted of learning about how great the United States was, in high school the lesson of American exceptionalism evolved. High school textbooks reinforced early lessons of America's greatness; however, the idea evolved in that there were more complex social issues involved then what had been introduced in elementary school. Because this cohort was older and could process more complex ideas, some ideas such as Manifest Destiny changed to reflect this more multifaceted interpretation. This change in understanding introduced the

cohort to the idea that not everyone benefited from the early Americans westward expansion and that the concept of Manifest Destiny was not wholly positive, that the concepts that were touted as good in elementary school had a more nuanced meaning of what it meant to be an American. This adjustment in the idea of American exceptionalism was not the only place where the cohort experienced change. Whether the cohort was watching television, going to the movies, or listening to music, these forms of media provided new or compound messages to its members. Because the types of media that the cohort consumed altered as its members aged, the messages embedded in these new types of media reflected their ability to handle this new complexity, as well.

With American exceptionalism as a constant backdrop, this cohort learned that World War III was a real and present danger. Two scenarios conveyed this message, and both presented the Soviet Union and communism as a threat. The first scenario was that American society would end in a nuclear conflagration physically destroying American society as the cohort knew it. The second scenario portrayed the Soviet Union as envious of the American way of life. As such, it would invade and ideologically destroy the United State and remake the North American continent in its own image. Movies, television, and music each depicted this fear in different ways, yet consistently reinforced the idea that it would be up to the next generation to make the sacrifice that would maintain, or if need be restore the status quo.

To ensure that the cohort knew what it was fighting, the final message conveyed in the media during this cohort's impressionable teenage years was that the Soviet Union was not to be trusted. Not only was the Soviet Union believed to be a military and cultural threat, but also its citizens were depicted as a strange and different *other*. Othering in this way defined the beliefs and behaviors of the *them* side of the *us vs. them* binary, but also had the benefit of reinforcing

for the members of this cohort what beliefs and behaviors were expected to be part of the *us* side. This cohort needed to differentiate between prescribed “good” and “bad” American behaviors. This kept its members vigilant against the Other as well as unpatriotic or anti-American ideas, and taught them what to do to maintain or restore American ideas if the Cold War turned suddenly hot. This ensured that even if the divisiveness of the 1960s and 1970s surfaced again there would be a framework of points with which to pull the fractured nation back together. Little did anyone know or expect that as this cohort left high school and was making the transition to adulthood the need for Cold War warriors would soon become a moot point.

This dissertation shows the connection of media to the Cold War. In its own way, this dissertation builds on the work of Michael Curtin, Michael Kackman, Thomas Doherty and Tony Shaw. The evidence presented within this work shows Curtin’s assertion that media was a product of its time and that it helped shape public opinion occurred across all forms of mass media and was consistent throughout the Cold War era. It also builds on Kackman’s idea that there was a connection between specific television offerings and the creation of identity, however it demonstrates that it requires more than just on specific genre on one specific type of media. As the research has shown, there was a cumulative effect that various forms of media built off each other creating stronger connection to Cold War messages by repeating the messages across multiple mediums. While this work contends that there was a strong correlation between media consumption and identity formation, a comparative study between the early Cold War period and late Cold War period would be beneficial. A study of this type would expand our understanding of the how important the media was within the two periods, and demonstrate its evolving nature as the Cold War evolved. While the work presented here supports Doherty’s contention that there was an almost codependent relationship between the Cold War and

television though this work would argue it connects to all forms of mass media. This work challenges his idea that television made America more tolerant. This is due to this dissertation's agreement with "conventional wisdom" and Shaw's argument that it was a conflict of peoples.<sup>2</sup> While arguably, Doherty's claim of tolerance might work when narrowly applied to a specific period and within a very narrow context.<sup>3</sup> The portrayal of the *them* in the media especially during the late Cold War period created a level of animosity that was directed at individual citizens that transcended the ideological message and worked against the idea of tolerance, and was aimed at individual citizens. Further proof of Shaw's argument is in that the animosity lasted even after the Soviet Union had ceased to exist.

Just because the Soviet Union was gone did not mean the tensions played up in movies, television and music disappeared. Some of the messages used to socialize the cohort had remarkable staying power. While the messages that warned and created fear of an impending World War III became nearly nonexistent, American exceptionalism and the idea of an Other were still rampant even as the members of this cohort adjusted to a new world order and moved on with their lives. By virtue of the fact that the United States was the last superpower standing in the Cold War fight, this cohort and the American public saw the idea of American exceptionalism as being proven right. An idea made popular by Francis Fukuyama's "End of History" lecture.<sup>4</sup> The American public could point to the demise of the Soviet Union as proof of a failure of the Soviet system of government. Simultaneously, Americans could continue to tout

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Doherty, *Cold War Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 2.

<sup>3</sup> To be fair Doherty claim of more tolerance seems to be directed more internally than externally. As he claims that, "the expansion of freedom of expression and the embrace of human differences must be counted among its salutary legacies." (Thomas Doherty, *Cold War Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 2)

<sup>4</sup> Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, *America between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11: The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 21-3.

their core American beliefs and system of government as being, as they had been socialized to believe, exceptional. As more and more countries moved from communism to some form of capitalism, American citizens began to believe that as the lone superpower the United States was not only untouchable, but also it was the example to which most other nations aspired.<sup>5</sup> A belief reinforced by Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier who said “the end of the Cold War made many Americans and their leaders believe the world had become benign.”<sup>6</sup>

Like the message of American exceptionalism, the message of Soviet citizens as an Other had remarkable staying power, though in a new evolved form. Because there was still some skepticism by the American population that the Soviet Union was truly gone, Russia became the new *them* to America’s *us*, resulting in the othering Russian citizens.<sup>7</sup> While the United States and Russia were on friendly terms, the almost seventy years of tensions could not be wiped away overnight. The relationship between the two countries could be described in the modern vernacular as “frenemies.”

Films of that era commonly portrayed this uneasy tension. For example, in 1995 MGM studios released the seventeenth James Bond film, *Goldeneye*. While historical hindsight allows historians to trust, the collapse of the Soviet Union is permanent, at the time of *Goldeneye*’s production there was still some question as to whether the “Evil Empire” had truly collapsed or

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<sup>5</sup> These ideas came up during the 2000 election, in a debate between George W. Bush and Al Gore. While there was an acknowledgement that there was a fine line between seen as arrogant and to continue America’s role as protector of what is right. One of the complaint leveled against George W. Bush was that in the days leading up to the 9/11 attack his administration lacked the sense of alarm found in the Clinton Administration. In Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, *America between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11: The Misunderstood Years Between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 281-3, 310.

<sup>6</sup> Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, *America between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11: The Misunderstood Years between the Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Start of the War on Terror* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 316.

<sup>7</sup> A point demonstrated in the nineteenth episode of the ninth season of the Simpson titled *Simpson Tide*. Though the episode is a parody of the 1995 Gene Hackman movie *Crimson Tide*, there is a scene where tension between the United States and Russia mount resulting in the revelation that the Soviet Union had not truly gone away. Video of the reveal can be found at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFNRLvEh7ok> ; MilitusAeternaum, “Return of the Soviet Union (NovoUSSR),” Youtube.com, Accessed, November 4, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yFNRLvEh7ok>.

was just hibernating and undergoing a metamorphosis. Because of this skepticism and that it was easier to keep familiar villains, media kept the American people informed of the duplicitous nature of the Russians.<sup>8</sup> As such, othering of ex-Soviet citizens in film was commonplace. This occurred in a manner similar to what was done during the late Cold War period. In both periods, this was particularly true for Russian women. Just like earlier media offerings *Goldeneye* depicted Russian women as hypersexualized femme fatales, cold and emotionless machines, or as hag characters. Xenia Onatopp, played by Famke Janssen, was an example of a Soviet femme fatale character. Because the Soviet Union was no longer around, Onatopp was the main female antagonist who works for the Janus crime syndicate and the movie producers portrayed her as an ex-Soviet fighter pilot. This connection not only kept her connection to the Soviet Union intact, but also reinforced the idea that the Soviet or now Russian population has significant character flaws.

The movie portrayed Onatopp as a hypersexualized femme fatale, by highlighting her sensuality and high, not to mention devious, sex drive, depicted as deriving pleasure from killing her sexual partners during coitus.<sup>9</sup> Onatopp is also an example of a cold emotionless machine character.<sup>10</sup> Her portrayal of these stereotypes demonstrate the post-Cold War shift these tropes underwent as American film producers tried to reconcile the new world order with long held

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<sup>8</sup> Up until the collapse of the Soviet Union the term Soviet Union, Soviets, and Russians would be used interchangeably as such it was ingrained that the terms Russians and Soviets were synonymous because of this by othering the Russians media would also be othering the hidden Soviets.

<sup>9</sup> Throughout the movie Onatopp continually switches between trying to make out with and then trying to kill Bond, sometimes within the same scene.; *Goldeneye*, directed by Martin Campbell (1995, Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 2002) DVD; The sexual aggressiveness of the Onatopp character would be parodied four years later in the second Austin Powers' film, *The Spy who Shagged Me*, character Ivana Humpalot. (*The Spy who Shagged Me*, directed by Jay Roach (1999, Burbank CA: New Line Cinema, 2006) DVD) The trope's move from action to comedy movies demonstrated how deeply held this stereotypical belief was.

<sup>10</sup> Onatopp's failure to be seduced by Bond or any man is a typical example of the Ice queen trope. However because she uses her sexuality the character can be considered an amalgamation of the femme fatale and the ice queen making Onatopp a perfect portrayal of the baroness trope.



belief. The film also depicts Soviet women as the hag stereotype. Throughout the film, Russian female characters do not physically manifest haggish characteristics but rather show their haggishness in other ways. Onatopp displayed most of the haggish behavior; early in the film her drinking, gambling and cigar smoking demonstrated her transgressive nature.<sup>11</sup> Even though she was a woman, her behavior was very masculine, especially when coupled with her sexual aggressiveness. If her masculine behavior was not enough to classify her as a monster then the connection of Onatopp's sexual gratification to her creation of death and destruction was.<sup>12</sup> Throughout the 1990s, as demonstrated in various media offerings, the American population feared that the Cold War had not ended and that the Soviet Union was not truly gone. This mistrust in the permanence of the demise of the Soviet Union was what led to the othering of Russian citizens, especially Russian women, in media of the time. By portraying the Onatopp character in this way the director and writers of *Goldeneye* demonstrate that the even though the

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<sup>11</sup> Though Onatopp is the primary example there are other examples of Russian women displaying haggish behavior. In a scene where Bond goes to visit ex-KGB agent Valentin Dmitrovich Zukovsky at his club, a Russian woman is singing in the background. While Zukovsky's henchmen surround Bond, Bond asks, "Who is strangling the cat?" implying the woman, Zukovsky's mistress, might be lovely to look at, she has an inherent defect that renders her unable to carry a tune. This is further reinforced when Zukovsky tells her to leave and she makes an obscene gesture towards Zukovsky, hinting at the fact that she is no lady. Even Bond's love interest, Natalya Simonova, played by Izabella Scorupco, has her masculine moments, displaying aggressive hostility when she orders Bond to get them out of the train they have been trapped in, to which Bond replies "Yes Sir!" This reinforces the idea that aggression is a masculine trait, and that even good Russian women who might appear soft and delicate are actually more in line with a male temperament, putting her in the haggish classification. The idea of a Russian woman with a male temperament is shown again, as Simonova is giving Bond directions to a secret base, though this time it is shown in a more comedic light. Since the two just spent the night together having sex, there is no question of Simonova's femininity. Both of these scenes however show that even those Russian women who are supposed to be considered good still have some haggish tendencies.

<sup>12</sup> Within the first thirty minutes of the movie she was responsible for three deaths and stealing a helicopter, by the thirty-four minute mark she was responsible for a massacre in a secret government facility. If that was not enough all the while she was murdering the workers she was wearing the pleasure she felt on her face. As she experienced and exhibited her pleasure from killing, even the evil ex-Soviet general was horrified by her display of orgasmic pleasure. (*Goldeneye*, directed by Martin Campbell (1995, Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 2002)) The question was, was he showing displeasure due to the carnage she had wrought or could it be that even after all of the killing, she did not seem to be satisfied and he knew she would going in search of more pleasure. No matter the answer, either would be enough place her in the monster category. Because the morally questionable, evil ex-Soviet general showed his revulsion, Onatopp was doubly damned, as being worse than the worst Soviet male. This damnation proves Onatopp and other Russian females were beyond redemption and if the women were this corrupt then how bad was Russian society?

Soviet Union was gone the suspicion fostered during the Cold War still continued and that the othering that was focused on Soviet citizens in the Cold War found a new target in the post-Cold War world. *Goldeneye* demonstrates that even though the Cold War had ended the message of the Soviets, now Russian as an Other had remarkable staying power even if it was not explicitly expressed.

While it is easy to dismiss this concern as a product of its time, in that the demise of the Soviet Union was a historically recent development at the time of *Goldeneye*'s production, the distrust that the Soviet Union was gone and not hibernating lasted well into the twenty-first century. One example that demonstrates how this idea, skepticism that the Soviet Union was truly gone, manifests in to the twenty-first century is in the way various people respond to international tensions between the United States and Russia. Even more than a quarter of a century after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the end of the Cold War, whenever tensions flair between the United States and Russia it is inevitable that someone speculates that it might be the start of a new Cold War. This assertion plays into the fear that the Soviet Union is not truly gone but that this has been a secret period of *détente*, which the Soviet Union has used to lull the American public into complacency before it strikes out to destroy capitalism. The fact that this occurs so long after the demise of the Soviet Union demonstrates how strongly ingrained this idea was in American society.

As American society moves through the twenty-first century, the experiences of the final Cold War generation will continue to influence events of the new century. As the members of the cohort age, they become the generation in power. Two Republican candidates vying for the 2016 Republican Party presidential nomination were part of this cohort, and as this group continues to age, the amount of power that it waxes within American society will increase.

The experiences this generation had during its formative years will shape not only how its members react on the world stage, including their attitudes towards Russia, but also within the context of the War on Terror. Though there are similarities between the global War on Terror and the Cold War, there are differences as well. It is the differences that shape the socialization of younger generations.

At 9:59 a.m. on September 11, 2001, the twin towers of the World Trade Center started on their fateful steps to become the newest holy icon in American civil religion. As the towers fell, and dust clouds billowed from ground zero, America entered a new age. On this day the United States experienced what Jan Assmann would describe as a foundational event.<sup>13</sup> 9/11 was the first foundational event of the 21st Century, and at that moment American society changed. Like the Cold War before it, the War on Terror became thoroughly entwined into the American way of life, in both obvious and subtle ways. America again had an enemy to fight and was in need of a new round of national identity building. Though the primary target of this identity building has shifted, some of the same socialization methods found during the late Cold War period can be seen in the War on Terror. Television, movies and music again play a role in socializing the American population, by utilizing messages that strengthen the idea of the *us vs. them* binary.<sup>14</sup> These messages include the othering the enemy and reinforcing the idea of American exceptionalism. This demonstrates not only what America is fighting for but also how the population should act to support this new fight. Socialization in the post-9/11 era is different from what occurred in the late Cold War period. This is primarily because the final Cold War generation was the last subcultural group to experience a

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<sup>13</sup> Astrid Erll. *Memory in Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 32.

<sup>14</sup> While an in-depth comparison of the two is outside the scope of this dissertation, it is important to acknowledge that there is a similarity between the two time periods.

concerted hegemonic message against a single definable enemy. The final Cold War generation had a concrete *them* to be pointed to, making the *us vs. them* a true binary rather than the more nebulous *them* fought against in the War on Terror. While this distinction helps to define, the final Cold War generation, in order to address the multi-ethnic, and multi-national enemy of the War on Terror socialization messages of the twenty-first century, had to change to meet these new circumstances. Even if the targets changed, the ideas behind messages such as American exceptionalism and othering the enemy remained the same. However, due to the limited capabilities, and reach of this new enemy the message conveying fear of World War III was no longer viable. This meant the old fear morphed into a new anxiety. No longer was there a fear of a world-destroying war but rather a limited scale attack. Even with this alteration some of the foundational beliefs of the original message remained.

The idea of a nuclear attack or an invasion by the enemy endured, however the scope of these attacks shifted. The modern fear has transformed to focus on one more geographically limited. The use of a dirty bomb, or biological weapons contained to a densely populated urban area, has replaced the global destruction generate by a Cold War nuclear attack. Rather than a full-scale invasion by the enemy, the invasion narrative for the War on Terror focuses on small groups that penetrate American borders and wreak havoc on society's infrastructure and damage rather than destroy the American way of life. In both of these scenarios, the damage caused while disruptive and possibly even debilitating does not produce the wholesale destruction of the United States and its way of life that the Cold War fear of World War III engendered. Even though some of the messages have changed, there is enough of a similarity between them to make comparisons between the War on Terror and the Cold War. One comparison made is between the battles fought during the War on Terror and the proxy wars,

such as Korea and Vietnam, fought during the Cold War. In both instances, these battles showed that that America was fighting the good fight that it was again fighting to make the world safe for democracy. Because there is still a similarity between, the new and old messages they still demonstrate how a new generation is socialized into a society altering conflict.<sup>15</sup>

Further exploration of the similarity and differences between the socialization methods of the War on Terror and the late Cold War period would be beneficial especially as the events of 9/11 move further back in the historical narrative. An exploration of this topic could be the starting point for in-depth research as to how American society reacts in times of stress especially when it is not involved in largescale warfare. This dissertation can also be the starting point for further research on how various segments of the American population are socialized and what messages each segment learns within their socialization. Further examination of this topic can yield a greater understanding on the interactions between population segments and provide a more complete picture of American society. There are also several other possible avenues for further research suggested by this dissertation. While uniquely situated within the Cold War narrative, the cohort's positionality within the larger historical chronology also provided its members other distinctive experiences. These experiences make this cohort one of a kind and provide opportunities for further study. The cohort's experiences with personal computers and video game systems are two possible avenues for further study as the cohort's members were the first group to experience the digital age in that the group was the first one to use the two systems similar to how they are

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<sup>15</sup> This new generation, which does not have an official name, would be the millennials or what some scholars are calling the iGeneration. In either case, this cohort would be made up of individuals whose births occur around the turn of the twenty-first century.

utilized today. While the cohort's Cold War experience is an important part of the generational make-up it is only one part of a more complex equation that creates the generational identity. By examining the cohort's experiences with video games and personal computers, a more complete picture of this cohort could be developed however; a study like this would also show how contemporary American society was formed. This dissertation also provides a starting point for more research into the idea of birth cohorts as transitional generations.<sup>16</sup> The current generational subsets are problematic in that some generations such as the Baby Boomers are large and those born at the beginning of the generation had very different experiences from those born at the end. For other generational subsets, such as Generation X, it is harder to define the start and end dates for these generation. Further examination of birth cohorts as transitional generation might be a way of dealing with those individuals that seem to be on the fringes of the more traditional generational definitions and make defining generational cohorts more streamlined.

Through the examination of the final Cold War generation and the messages of the *us vs. them* binary that its members were exposed to, this dissertation provides insight into how the experiences that occurred during this group's formative years forged it into a unique and identifiable cohort. By examining the cohort's experiences, and providing examples of media its members interacted with, it is the author's intention that the reader gains insight into what the Cold War was and what it meant to grow up during this time period.

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<sup>16</sup> By transitional generations, I mean small grouping of individuals that would have more in common with each other than the generation they are assigned. For example, Generation Y might be a transitional generation that falls between Generation X and the Millennials. This would be a cohort whose members don't fit with in either group and yet have some of the same experiences as those on the end of each categorization such as having their formative years occurring after the end of the Cold War but prior to 9/11.

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