

# Teaching the History of the Cold War through the Lens of Immigration

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HISTORIANS of American foreign relations are continuing to expand the ways in which they approach the Cold War.<sup>1</sup> The range of perspectives has evolved thanks to the influence of emerging fields and new emphases in history. The variety of historical perspectives increased dramatically soon after the Cold War ended, with the release of previously classified historical documents. The end of the Cold War revealed the many ways in which the conflict was a protracted *global* war. But it also brought a renewed focus on the *domestic* implications of Cold War foreign policy for the United States, with researchers delving into topics such as the impact of Cold War policies on state and local governments, the national economy, politics, culture and society, and race relations.<sup>2</sup> This opening of new historical perspectives provides teachers and faculty with an opportunity to approach teaching the Cold War with new pedagogies.<sup>3</sup>

One area that has yet to be explored in great depth, even though it goes to the heart of an enduring feature of U.S. foreign relations, is the close association between foreign policy and immigration policy.<sup>4</sup> Venturing into this territory promises to tell us a great deal

about U.S. foreign affairs, about the Cold War, about the centrality of immigration in the nation's history, and about shifting notions of U.S. identity and changing attitudes toward "the other." This article outlines a pedagogical approach that explores the ways in which U.S. immigration legislation was shaped by the ideological and political context of the early Cold War era. The modules and sources included herein are aimed primarily at eleventh- and twelfth-grade students of U.S. history-social science (including government and civics) and undergraduate students of U.S. history.<sup>5</sup>

Teaching about the history of the Cold War through a lens of immigration underscores the notion that immigration policy is inexorably linked to foreign policy and that the diversity of the U.S. population is a consequence of U.S. global interventions and policies. From 1945 to 1965, changes in immigration legislation reflected the changing attitudes toward the Soviet Union and what was perceived to be an existential Communist threat. During the early Cold War, U.S. foreign policies and actions directly shaped the identity of Americans. The U.S.-Soviet rivalry and the multiple proxy wars that were fought in the name of anti-Communism had a direct impact on the increasingly diverse population of the United States.

### **Immigrants and the Bomb**

The stage for the Cold War was set by the development of the atomic bomb, which was the product of immigrant ingenuity. Discussion of the development of the bomb is thus a good place to begin to introduce the relationship between immigration and the Cold War, as students are often unaware of the multinational team that made the Manhattan Project possible.

The first scientist to begin to articulate the need for the United States to develop the bomb in order to counter a German weapon was Italian-born physicist Enrico Fermi, a winner of the Nobel Prize for Physics, who fled Fascist Italy shortly after receiving the award.<sup>6</sup> Fermi was joined by Hungarian-born scientist Leó Szilárd, who then contacted the German-born Albert Einstein. Einstein, Szilárd, and Russian-born Alexander Sachs drafted a letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt to warn him that the Germans had the potential to develop an atomic bomb.<sup>7</sup> This correspondence is often said to have launched the Manhattan Project.<sup>8</sup> The letter serves as an excellent

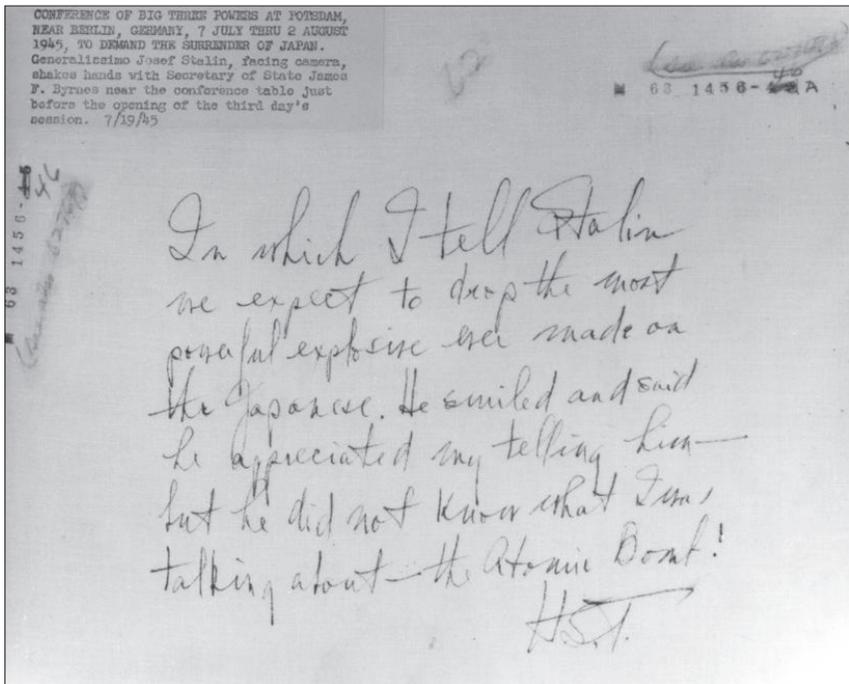
primary source document for analysis. The scientists bring to the attention of the administration the dangerous potential of “a nuclear chain reaction in a large mass of uranium” and recommend that the administration maintain contact with the physicists who were exploring this technology.<sup>9</sup>

Even before this historic conversation that would change the world and define the arms race as a central aspect of the Cold War, the theoretical groundwork for the Manhattan Project had been laid by European refugees who had immigrated to the United States between 1930 and 1937. Among the group of immigrant scientists who made the most significant contributions were Eugene Wigner (Hungary), George Gamow (Russia), Felix Bloch (Switzerland), Hans Bethe (Germany), Edward Teller (Hungary), and Victor Weisskopf (Austria). Collectively, their theoretical work opened the door for Niels Bohr (Denmark) and Enrico Fermi to make their breakthrough with respect to nuclear fission.<sup>10</sup>

What set these particular scientists apart? Of course, they were among the most brilliant physicists in the world, acknowledges Laura Fermi, daughter of Enrico Fermi, in *Illustrious Immigrants* (1968). But she also asserts that the scientists’ immigrant status had a tremendous impact on their tenacity and commitment to the project:

The determination to defend America at all costs spurred the newcomers no less than the Americans, and the European-born may have come to this determination somewhat earlier than the native-born, driven by stronger personal emotions. The picture of their country under Nazi power in the event of a German victory was something the Americans could imagine only with difficulty.... And if America failed them, where would they go? It was not only gratitude to the country that had offered them asylum or pride in their new citizenship but also the fear of dictators that drove them to work to the limit of their physical and mental endurance.<sup>11</sup>

The Atomic Heritage Foundation has launched a major project to identify and describe the approximately half-million people who were involved in the Manhattan Project, and provides a set of lesson plans for teaching about the atomic bomb more generally.<sup>12</sup> Directly relevant to teaching the Cold War through the lens of immigration are oral histories posted at the Atomic Heritage Foundation website that capture the voices of the European refugees who worked on the project.<sup>13</sup> Providing students with an opportunity to recognize the



**Figure 1:** “Truman’s Handwriting on the Back of a Potsdam Photograph Describing Telling Stalin about the Atomic Bomb,” photograph (of postcard), July 19, 1945, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, Truman Library Photographs, Accession Number: 63-1456-46A, <<https://www.trumanlibrary.org/photographs/view.php?id=14584>>. The Truman Library description reads: “In which I tell Stalin we expect to drop the most powerful explosive ever made on the Japanese. He smiled and said he appreciated my telling him—but he did not know what I was talking about—the Atomic Bomb! HST.”

crucial role that immigrants played in development of the atomic bomb—and thus in defining the Cold War from the very beginning—allows for an immediate and obvious connection between the Cold War and immigration. This point of departure works well to frame the remainder of the discussion as it transitions into the Cold War era.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s death in April 1945 left Vice President Harry Truman at the helm at a crucial moment in world history. It was Truman who would ultimately decide to drop two atomic bombs on Japan in August 1945. And, although historians debate the origins and chronology of the Cold War, most agree that the Cold War began during the Truman administration.

One of the turning points in U.S.-Soviet relations is the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, where Truman encountered Soviet leader Josef Stalin. Truman later recounted that he had bragged to Stalin that “the world’s most powerful bomb” had been developed by the United States. Truman’s notes on the back of a postcard sent from the Potsdam meeting (**Figure 1**) is a useful primary visual source for student analysis because it underscores Truman’s confidence in the bomb’s ability to intimidate. After learning more about the conference, however, students will recognize that such confidence was misplaced.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, Stalin knew about the Manhattan Project as early as 1941—before Truman did.<sup>15</sup> The diplomatic encounter between Truman and his Soviet ally at Potsdam reminds students that the U.S.-Soviet relationship would erode quickly in the years immediately following the end of the war. Most historians concur that by 1947, the United States had transitioned from a Soviet ally to a rival.

### **Cold War Immigration Policy in the Truman Era**

As a direct consequence of World War II, the first immigration legislation adopted in the Cold War era was the **Displaced Persons Act of 1948**, which was designed to admit displaced refugees who had been forced to flee persecution from totalitarian regimes during the war. The law set a quota of 200,000 refugees to enter the United States over two years.<sup>16</sup> The 1948 law related primarily—but not exclusively—to refugees who were displaced by war and were fearful to return to their home countries of Germany, Austria, and Italy—but also to Communist-dominated nations, such as Czechoslovakia.<sup>17</sup> Harry Truman reluctantly signed the bill, calling it “flagrantly discriminatory.” Students would benefit from reading Truman’s statement to Congress regarding the president’s profound disappointment in the bill because of the apparent bias against, and thus exclusion of, Jewish refugees displaced by Fascism and Catholic refugees displaced by Communism.<sup>18</sup> The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 was an early indication of post-war U.S. immigration policy: by 1950, as the Cold War intensified, the focus on immigration to the United States had shifted from protecting people from Fascism to protecting them from Communism.

Provoked in large part by the North Korean invasion of South Korea, the **Internal Security Act of 1950** marked the flowering

of “anti-red” sentiment and a concern to combat the Communist threat from within.<sup>19</sup> This act, also known as the **McCarran Act of 1950** (it is best not to refer to this legislation as the “McCarran Act” so as to avoid confusion with the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, described below), required all Communist organizations in the United States to register with the United States Attorney General. The **Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950** (Title I of the Internal Security Act of 1950) established the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) to investigate persons suspected of engaging in subversive activities or otherwise promoting the establishment of a “totalitarian dictatorship.”<sup>20</sup>

The wording of the SACB’s mandate provides an excellent primary source for interpretation. Take, for instance, the following excerpt:

(e) It shall be the duty of the Board—

(1) upon application made by the Attorney General under section 13 (a) of this title, or by any organization under section 13 (b) of this title, to determine whether any organization is a “Communist-action organization” within the meaning of paragraph (3) of section 3 of this title, or a “Communist-front organization” within the meaning of paragraph (4) of section 3 of this title; and

(2) upon application made by the Attorney General under section 13 (a) of this title, or by any individual under section 13 (b) of this title, to determine whether any individual is a member of any Communist-action organization registered, or by final order of the Board required to be registered, under section 7 (a) of this title.<sup>21</sup>

Provided with additional scaffolding, students can discuss the differences between a “Communist-action” and “Communist-front” organization. The Internal Security Act was generally concerned with organizations “established and utilized in various countries, acting under such control, direction, and discipline, [that] endeavor to carry out the objectives of the world Communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments by any available means.” More specifically, “Communist-action organization” was defined as “any organization in the United States...[which] is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization controlling the world Communist movement...[and] operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement.” A

“Communist-front organization” was defined as “any organization in the United States...[which] is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization...[and] is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement.”<sup>22</sup>

Students can be invited to analyze the text of the act further, focusing on the language that pertains directly to the threat of Communism and to the perceived need to restrict immigration:

(12) The Communist network in the United States is inspired and controlled in large part by foreign agents who are sent into the United States ostensibly as attachés of foreign legations, affiliates of international organizations, members of trading commissions, and in similar capacities, but who use their diplomatic or semidiplomatic status as a shield behind which to engage in activities prejudicial to the public security.

(13) There are, under our present immigration laws, numerous aliens who have been found to be deportable, many of whom are in the subversive, criminal, or immoral classes who are free to roam the country at will without supervision or control.

(14) One device for infiltration by Communists is by procuring naturalization for disloyal aliens who use their citizenship as a badge for admission into the fabric of our society.<sup>23</sup>

Through analysis of this primary source document, students can consider the perception of the immigrant’s worthiness to become American as conveyed in this legislation, paying particular attention to the meaning of the phrase “subversive, criminal, or immoral classes who are free to roam the country at will without supervision or control.”

Students might also discuss the democratic legitimacy of requiring registration of political activism with the SACB.<sup>24</sup> The historical pattern of government curtailment of civil liberties during war is repeated in the case of the early Cold War. Students will learn that, once identified and found guilty by association, members of the groups accused by the Board could not become citizens; in some cases, they were prevented from entering or leaving the country. Moreover, American citizens who were identified as members of these groups could be “denaturalized”—stripped of their citizenship.

# WILL YOU



## REGISTER

### *Under the McCarran Act?*



**REMEMBER THE NAZIS — They started with outlawing Communists, then trade unions, church groups— and ended with wholesale persecution.**

**THE McCARRAN ACT**, originated by the House Un-American Activities Committee, passed over Truman's veto, fought in the courts for 11 years and finally upheld by the Supreme Court in June, 1961—in the name of requiring registration of Communists—could lead to the same kind of wholesale persecution.

Perhaps you have held views similar to those held by Communists?  
 Maybe your activities in your union are considered "radical"?  
 Have you been too "impetuous" in your work for integration?  
 Have you been contemptuous of fall-out shelters?  
 Do you reject rubber-stamp thinking?  
 Do you belong to an organization that works for change?

## The McCarran Act — Today's McCarthyism

- registers organizations and their members—not only "Communist Action," but also "Communist Front" and "Communist Infiltrated"—so designated by an appointed board of the Federal Government (SACB).
- prohibits travel—by withholding passports from members of designated organizations.
- requires labeling as "Communist" all mailed material.
- endangers right of association—the Board can designate trade union and other groups as "Communist Infiltrated."
- threatens detention in concentration camps when the President declares an "emergency."

**IMPOSES FINES OF \$10,000 AND FIVE YEARS IN JAIL FOR EACH DAY of noncompliance**

## The Supreme Court By-passed the Constitutional Issue

Chief Justice Warren said . . . "I believe that the Act does constitute a violation of the Fifth Amendment." Justice Douglas said . . . "The great injustice of what we do today lies in compelling the officials of the party to violate the law before their constitutional claims can be heard and determined." Justice Black said . . . "When the practice of outlawing parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end."

**THE SUPREME COURT JUSTICES AND OTHER EMINENT LEGAL AUTHORITIES HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT REGISTRATION MEANS SELF-INCRIMINATION AND DESTROYS THE PRECIOUS GUARANTEE OF THE FIFTH AMENDMENT.**



**THE FIGHT  
HAS  
JUST BEGUN**

**WHEN THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS WERE VIOLATED** by Alien and Sedition, Fugitive Slave and anti-New Deal Supreme Court decisions, Presidents Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt asserted their power and responsibility under the Constitution to reverse the Court's action.

**PRESIDENT KENNEDY CAN DELAY PROSECUTIONS UNDER THE McCARRAN ACT** until the Constitutional issues have been resolved.

**PRESERVE YOUR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS BY REGISTERING PROTESTS, NOT ORGANIZATIONS**

Issued by: Delaware Valley Committee for Democratic Rights

**Figure 2:** "Will You Register Under the McCarran Act?" poster, Delaware Valley Committee for Democratic Rights, circa 1961, Wikipedia, <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:61-mccarranact-poster.jpg>>.

A very different source reading that represents a creative critique of the Internal Security Act is a poem by Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Richard Wilbur, titled “Speech for Repeal of the McCarran Act” (1951). The poem is critical of the legislation, especially because of its restrictions on intellectual freedom:

...Let thought be free. I speak  
Of the spirit’s weaving, the neural  
Web. The self-true mind, the trusty reflex.<sup>25</sup>

Wilbur, a World War II veteran, depicts the Cold War as a non-traditional, opaque war that is stealthily undermining individual freedoms in the United States.

According to the **Emergency Detention Act of 1950** (Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950),<sup>26</sup> the president could “declare an ‘Internal Security Emergency’ in the event of an invasion of the territory of the United States or its possessions, a declaration of war by Congress, or insurrection within the United States in aid of a foreign enemy, where the president deemed implementation of the measures ‘essential to the preservation, protection and defense of the Constitution.’”<sup>27</sup>

President Harry Truman attempted to veto Title II of the Internal Security Act, but his veto was overridden by Congress. Another extraordinary primary source for students to analyze is Truman’s speech criticizing the legislation. In his rejection of the law, Truman asserted, “We need not fear the expression of ideas—we do need to fear their suppression.”<sup>28</sup> Students can be invited to analyze a primary visual source in conjunction with discussion of the Internal Security Act: a 1961 poster that protests against the law, proclaiming that the act violates civil liberties (**Figure 2**). This poster will help provoke discussion regarding the tensions between government’s provision of civil defense and government’s guarantee of civil liberties.

Two years later, the **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952**, also known as the **McCarran-Walter Act of 1952**, was passed.<sup>29</sup> This important legislation demonstrates clearly the relationship between the Cold War and immigration policy. Indeed, the Office of the Historian in the U.S. Department of State describes the domestic political tensions apparent in the legislation: “Situated in the early years of the Cold War, the debate over the revision of U.S. immigration law demonstrated a division between those interested in

the relationship between immigration and foreign policy, and those linking immigration to concerns over national security.”<sup>30</sup>

Proposed by a Republican senator from Nevada, Pat McCarran, and a Democratic representative from Pennsylvania, Francis Walter, the law represented a comprehensive reform of 1924 immigration and naturalization legislation.<sup>31</sup> As summarized in classroom materials on immigration provided by the Library of Congress, “the act also reaffirm[ed] [the] national origins quota system, limit[ed] immigration from the Eastern Hemisphere while leaving the Western Hemisphere unrestricted, establish[ed] preferences for skilled workers and relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens; and tighten[ed] security and screening standards and procedures.”<sup>32</sup> This reform of the 1924 immigration legislation was intended to protect the United States from the Communist threat posed by immigrants coming from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Asia.

Senator McCarran’s speech to the Senate on March 2, 1953 in defense of the legislation provides another valuable primary source for student analysis. In this excerpt, McCarran defends the law:

I believe that this nation is the last hope of Western civilization and if this oasis of the world shall be overrun, perverted, contaminated or destroyed, then the last flickering light of humanity will be extinguished. I take no issue with those who would praise the contributions which have been made to our society by people of many races, of varied creeds and colors. America is indeed a joining together of many streams which go to form a mighty river which we call the American way. However, we have in the United States today hard-core, indigestible blocs which have not become integrated into the American way of life, but which, on the contrary are its deadly enemies. Today, as never before, untold millions are storming our gates for admission and those gates are cracking under the strain. The solution of the problems of Europe and Asia will not come through a transplanting of those problems en masse to the United States.<sup>33</sup>

Students can be invited to consider what political, economic, and social factors led McCarran to proclaim that “untold millions are storming our gates for admission and those gates are cracking under the strain.” What was the number of immigrants entering the country in 1952? And from which nations were they originating? What evidence exists to suggest that the gates were “cracking under the strain” of immigration?

President Truman vetoed the 1952 immigration bill, as he had done with the Emergency Detention Act of 1950. Once again, Truman's veto was overridden by Congress (in a vote of 278 to 113 in the House, and 57 to 26 in the Senate).<sup>34</sup> Truman's denunciation of the legislation is yet another stimulating source for analysis. He begins by acknowledging that the ostensible purpose of the legislation is to protect the nation against being flooded by immigrants from Eastern Europe. But Truman rejects this claim as preposterous:

We do not need to be protected against immigrants from these countries. On the contrary we want to stretch out a helping hand, to save those who have managed to flee into Western Europe, to succor those who are brave enough to escape from barbarism, to welcome and restore them against the day when their countries will, as we hope, be free again....In no other realm of our national life are we so hampered and stultified by the dead hand of the past, as we are in this field of immigration.<sup>35</sup>

In January 1953, prior to leaving office, Truman would endorse a specially commissioned report entitled "Whom Shall We Welcome?" that called for reform of the national origins immigration policies established in 1924.<sup>36</sup> Although President Truman praised the report, it was strongly repudiated by members of Congress. Nonetheless, the report would prove valuable in the following decade, serving as a solid foundation for the immigration reform legislation of 1965.

### **Cold War Immigration Policy in the Eisenhower Era**

Under President Dwight D. Eisenhower's leadership, the **Refugee Relief Act of 1953** was passed.<sup>37</sup> The intended effect of the law was distinctly different from that of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, even though only five years separated the two pieces of legislation; for this reason, students would do well to compare and contrast the two laws, and ask what political and sociocultural changes might explain their differences. Eisenhower's characterization of the 1953 legislation provides an opportunity for students to identify ways in which the law is situated in the context of the Cold War:

In enacting this legislation, we are giving a new chance in life to 214,000 fellow humans. This action demonstrates again America's traditional concern for the homeless, the persecuted and the less

fortunate of other lands. It is a dramatic contrast to the tragic events taking place in East Germany and in other captive nations.

This legislation also offers encouragement to the other friendly nations which are today affording asylum to refugees and escapees. It is my hope that, in our action, by our direct participation with them in this great humanitarian work, we are giving them cause to continue their efforts with renewed enthusiasm.<sup>38</sup>

The law invites comparison with contemporary U.S. refugee policies, given the current humanitarian refugee crisis. Students might respond to an essential question such as “What are the similarities and differences to the current international refugee crisis?”

Eisenhower’s attention was also focused on Asia, particularly Korea. The United States is home to the largest Korean population in the world, outside of Asia. Yet the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 did not apply to North Koreans seeking refuge from Communism. According to the 1951 Convention Related to the Status of Refugees issued by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), “the term ‘refugee’ shall apply to any person who:”

(1) Has been considered a refugee under...[previous specified conventions];

(2) As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.<sup>39</sup>

According to Article 1 A (2), paragraph 2 of the 1951 convention, in order for dual nationals to be considered refugees, they must have a well-founded fear of persecution in both countries.<sup>40</sup> North Koreans were also citizens of South Korea, and because they could not claim a well-founded fear of persecution in South Korea, were not classified as refugees.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to his focus on Communist Europe and on Asia, Eisenhower was also concerned about American borders. **Operation Wetback** is the name given to the 1954 policy issued by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to control illegal

movements across the U.S.-Mexico border. Discussion of the policy invites students to make connections between national security, border security, the globalization of the Cold War to contested areas outside of Europe, and Cold War attitudes within the United States toward immigration. It also offers an excellent opportunity to discuss contemporary government policies toward Mexico and Mexican immigration to the United States.

A provocative way to begin the discussion is to spotlight the name of the law. The term “wetback” was apparently first published in a news report by *The New York Times* on June 20, 1920. The article, titled “Welcomed Mexican Invasion: Thousands of Families Crossing the Border to Till the Soil and Otherwise Build Up the Southwest,” celebrates the influx of Mexican immigrants into Texas, crediting that state’s booming agricultural economy to much-needed and much-appreciated Mexican labor. The report quoted the word “wetback,” as it was used in Texas, explaining, “In the Laredo district alone, a speaker at a business men’s dinner recently estimated that between 10,000 and 15,000 of these ‘wetbacks,’ as they are called because of their method of entry, had crossed into Texas in that time.”<sup>42</sup> The fact that this term was used thirty years later as the official name of President Eisenhower’s immigration policy should give students pause. The use of this racial slur is a telling indication of the social attitudes that prevailed toward Mexican immigrants in the 1950s in spite of the Bracero Program (1942-1964), which legally invited Mexican seasonal workers into the United States (see **Figure 3**).<sup>43</sup>

Little evidence exists to explain Eisenhower’s motivations for launching Operation Wetback. One theory is that, because of general concerns raised by Senator J. William Fulbright and others with regard to “unethical behavior” in government, a subcommittee was established to promote government-wide ethics changes.<sup>44</sup> In the context of discussing unethical behavior in government, Eisenhower sent a letter to Fulbright in which he referred to a March 27, 1951 article in *The New York Times* that reported on illegal immigration (and again employs the slur). The article begins, “The rise in illegal border-crossing by Mexican ‘wetbacks’ to a current rate of more than 1,000,000 cases a year has been accompanied by a curious relaxation in ethical standards extending all the way from the farmer-exploiters of this contraband labor to the highest levels of the Federal Government.”<sup>45</sup> The presidential election year was approaching and



**Figure 3:** “Mexican workers recruited and brought to the Arkansas valley, Colorado, Nebraska and Minnesota by the FSA (Farm Security Administration), to harvest and process sugar beets under contract with the Inter-mountain Agricultural Improvement Association,” photograph, May 1943, Farm Security Administration - Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <<https://www.loc.gov/item/2017872353/>>. Below the men, the writing on the railroad car reads, “*de las democracias sera la victoria*”—which is translated literally as “from the democracies will be the victory.”

Eisenhower was setting the stage for an administration that would come to be known for its rigorous ethical standards—including halting illegal immigration that benefited big business.

But another rationale for Eisenhower’s crackdown on illegal immigration into the United States was the threat posed by Soviet “red spy rings” (which were believed to be facilitated via the Soviet embassy in Mexico City) and by Communism in the Americas at

large, particularly in Guatemala.<sup>46</sup> In June 1950, in the first of a six-part series on the growing Communist threat in Central America, *The New York Times* reported, “Thus far, only in Guatemala...has the Communist party succeeded in entrenching itself....But in all the other Central American republics there exists an underground Communist network tied to Guatemala and through it to Communist Latin American headquarters in Mexico City and Havana, which, through the Soviet Communist party’s Communist Information Bureau, are linked to Moscow.”<sup>47</sup>

Eisenhower responded to such fears with Operation Wetback, which was launched in May 1954. Eisenhower appointed retired General Joseph Swing, a former West Point classmate, to become the Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner. The INS claimed the program was responsible for more than one million illegal immigrant apprehensions, though the number is disputed by historians.<sup>48</sup>

Eisenhower’s decision to take quick action to tighten the border and to deport illegal immigrants from Mexico in 1954 is a policy that invites analysis from a different perspective when we consider the global context of the Cold War. But it also provides—yet again—an opportunity to discuss current immigration policies and attitudes toward Latino immigrants in the United States. Students can be invited to draw comparisons with contemporary deportation policies (including by the Obama administration) and rhetoric (including by President Donald Trump) in the context of a national security threat or domestic instability.<sup>49</sup>

The impact of the Cold War on American culture in the 1950s is another topic examined by Cold War historians and is appropriate for student exploration. Scholars have revealed how science fiction films of the 1950s convey the threat of a foreign invasion, typically understood to be the ideological threat of Communism. Examples include *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *The Thing from Another World* (1951), *Them!* (1954), and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956).<sup>50</sup> But such films might also have reflected and reinforced attitudes toward immigrants, with new Americans being regarded as “other,” and thus no less threatening than Communists to the unity, conformity, and harmony of American life. The film *The Crimson Kimono* (1959) will provoke students’ thinking about American attitudes toward immigrants as “other” in the Cold War.

The noir film depicts the close relationship between a Japanese American, Joe Kojaku, and his best friend (who is white), Charlie Bancroft. The men share a lot in common: they both work for the Los Angeles police department, they both are Korean War veterans, and they both are in love with the same woman. Students will be able to identify an underlying theme that addresses the fundamental question of identity for immigrants into the United States, captured in Joe's statement: "I was born here. I'm American, but what am I? Japanese, Japanese American, Nisei? What label do I live under?" The film's writer, producer, and director, Samuel Fuller, is credited with being "ahead of his time" in the ways in which the film portrays interracial relationships and romance in 1950s America. Even so, the movie captures the racial tensions and prejudices that persist in a period of American history that prioritizes and promotes homogeneity—including ethnic and cultural homogeneity. Students can examine how popular culture as expressed through such films did—or did not—reflect official U.S. policies of the era.

### **Cold War Immigration Policy in the Kennedy Era**

President John F. Kennedy famously characterized the United States as a refuge for the world in his book, *A Nation of Immigrants*, which was written in 1958 and published in 1964.<sup>51</sup> Kennedy reminded his readers that the nation was founded on the premise of welcoming immigrants to its shores: "With such a policy we can turn to the world, and to our own past, with clean hands and a clear conscience."<sup>52</sup> Kennedy was asked to write the book by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and was later honored with an award from the ADL for his liberal attitudes toward immigrants—and toward Jewish immigrants in particular.<sup>53</sup>

In June 1963, in an address to Delegates of the American Committee on Italian Migration, Kennedy described the existing quota system as "nearly intolerable," asserting:

We hope the Congress of the United States will accept these recommendations and that before this year is over we will have what we have needed for a good many years, which is the recognition that all people can make equally good citizens, and that what this country needs and wants are those who wish to come here to build their families here and contribute to the life of our country.<sup>54</sup>

This quotation provides an opportunity to ask students about Kennedy's Cold War policies and his attitudes toward immigration. Given that Kennedy was equally as anti-Communist as his predecessors in the White House, what motivated him to push for more moderate immigration legislation?<sup>55</sup> Students might surmise that Kennedy was motivated by the Cold War context to use immigration as an ideological (and psychological) tool against the Soviets. Opening the borders was a move taken with American foreign policy in mind—it was an attempt to demonstrate to the world that the United States was indeed a land of opportunity, fully prepared to welcome the huddled masses—especially if the masses were suffering under authoritarian Communist regimes.

Kennedy's policies toward Cuba and Fidel Castro sought to reinforce this message. U.S.-Cuban relations have attracted considerable scholarly attention in recent decades, especially around the fortieth anniversary in 2002 of the Cuban Missile Crisis and the release into the public realm of previously classified documents about that episode.<sup>56</sup> Kennedy's reputation as a "Cold War Liberal" has only grown as historians have examined his specific policies toward Cuba. **Operation Peter Pan**, also known as **Operation Pedro Pan** or the **Cuban Refugee Children Program**, is a prime example.

From 1960 to 1962, the U.S. government, in collaboration with the Catholic Welfare Bureau under the leadership of Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh, organized an airlift by commercial airlines of some 14,000 Cuban children from Havana; this became "the largest recorded exodus of unaccompanied minors in the Western Hemisphere."<sup>57</sup> Children were placed into foster care in "over 100 cities in thirty-five states."<sup>58</sup> Parents in Cuba sent their children to the United States to receive an American education and to avoid "indoctrination" by the Cuban government.<sup>59</sup> Students would benefit from reading excerpts and analyzing the images in "Cuba's Children in Exile: The Story of the Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children's Program," a 1967 pamphlet produced by the U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare<sup>60</sup> (see **Figure 4** and **Figure 5** for sample images).

The Kennedy administration decided to create a government propaganda film, *The Lost Apple*, for the airlifted children to watch when they arrived in the United States.<sup>61</sup> The film, produced by the United States Information Agency, is an excellent example of Cold War propaganda. Students can reflect on the ways in which



**Figure 4:** Image from page 6 of “Cuba’s Children in Exile: The Story of the Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children’s Program,” pamphlet, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Services, Children’s Bureau, 1967, University of Miami Library, Cuban Heritage Collection, Cuban Refugee Center Records, <<https://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/ref/collection/chc0218/id/156>>. A young girl holds her doll as she arrives in the United States as part of Operation Pedro Pan, circa 1960-1962.



**Figure 5:** Image from page 8 of “Cuba’s Children in Exile: The Story of the Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children’s Program,” pamphlet, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social and Rehabilitation Services, Children’s Bureau, 1967, University of Miami Library, Cuban Heritage Collection, Cuban Refugee Center Records, <<https://merrick.library.miami.edu/cdm/ref/collection/chc0218/id/42>>. Cuban boys riding a sled in Columbus, Ohio, circa 1963.

the administration portrayed itself as welcoming the “huddled masses”—through this immigration program, the administration granted the children visas and a path to citizenship—while sending a clear message to the Castro regime that the United States would do what it could to disrupt the Communist “indoctrination” of young Cubans.

In addition to viewing *The Lost Apple*, watching the documentary film *Operation Peter Pan—Flying Back to Cuba* (2010) can inspire debate regarding the historical facts and, in particular, the extent to which the Central Intelligence Agency was involved in the operation.<sup>62</sup> With regard to relevant literature on the experience of the Cuban children who were affected by Pedro Pan policies, two books stand out because of their depictions of Cuban teenagers’ struggles to define “home” while they are suspended between dual identities and nations. *The Red Umbrella* (2010) by Christina Diaz Gonzalez describes the experience of a fourteen-year-old girl; and *Waiting for Snow in Havana: Confessions of a Cuban Boy* (2003) by Yale historian Carlos Eire describes the experience of a Cuban boy.<sup>63</sup> Given the recent changes in U.S.-Cuban diplomatic relations and the death of Fidel Castro, students might also benefit from reading contemporary news stories about Cubans who, as children, were subject to the Pedro Pan policy.<sup>64</sup>

### Cold War Immigration Policy in the Johnson Era

Although the Kennedy administration launched the legislative effort that culminated in the **Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act, or Hart-Celler Act of 1965**,<sup>65</sup> it is President Lyndon B. Johnson who is remembered—and lauded—for the law that “changed the face of America.”<sup>66</sup> The **Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965** amended the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 by dissolving the origins quota system once and for all.<sup>67</sup>

Students would benefit from a close reading of the speech that Johnson gave on October 3, 1965 at the signing of the legislation.<sup>68</sup> Especially given contemporary debates about immigration reform and policies, Johnson’s speech is a reminder of the long history of tensions in the nation with regard to immigration—and immigrants. In the speech, Johnson characterizes the quota system that had defined immigration to the United States since 1924 as undemocratic

and un-American. Moreover, in one of the more eloquent statements linking immigration policy to U.S. foreign relations, Johnson celebrates the diversity of the United States as a characteristic that makes the nation uniquely prepared to relate to the rest of the world:

Our beautiful America was built by a nation of strangers. From a hundred different places or more they have poured forth into an empty land, joining and blending in one mighty and irresistible tide.

The land flourished because it was fed from so many sources—because it was nourished by so many cultures and traditions and peoples.

And from this experience, almost unique in the history of nations, has come America's attitude toward the rest of the world. We, because of what we are, feel safer and stronger in a world as varied as the people who make it up—a world where no country rules another and all countries can deal with the basic problems of human dignity and deal with those problems in their own way.<sup>69</sup>

Johnson and his advisers—and, it is fair to say, the majority of Americans—did not foresee the full impact of the 1965 legislation. Indeed, when Johnson first presented the bill to Congress in January of that year, the president reassured Congress that the possibility of “abrupt changes in the pattern of immigration from any nation [would be] eliminated” by a gradual, five-year transition to the new reform, and thus “the total number of immigrants would not be substantially changed.”<sup>70</sup> The president was mistaken.

The massive influx of immigrants to the United States would fundamentally change the identity of Americans. Whereas most immigrants had previously originated from Europe, the law removed the national origins quota system, thus allowing immigration from non-European nations. As History.com summarizes:

In the first five years after the bill's passage, immigration to the U.S. from Asian countries—especially those fleeing war-torn Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia)—would more than quadruple. (Under past immigration policies, Asian immigrants had been effectively barred from entry.) Other Cold War-era conflicts during the 1960s and 1970s saw millions of people fleeing poverty or the hardships of communist regimes in Cuba, Eastern Europe and elsewhere to seek their fortune on American shores. All told, in the three decades following passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, more than 18 million legal immigrants entered the United States, more than three times the number admitted over the preceding 30 years.<sup>71</sup>

In the fifty years following the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, approximately 59 million immigrants entered the United States—more than the entire number of immigrants who entered the nation in the waves of immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>72</sup> “Between 1965 and 2015, new immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren accounted for 55% of U.S. population growth. They added 72 million people to the nation’s population as it grew from 193 million in 1965 to 324 million in 2015.”<sup>73</sup> Given that 2015 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the act, students would benefit from news stories that describe the transformative impact of the 1965 legislation on U.S. national identity.<sup>74</sup> Students would also benefit from a conversation about the legislation’s relationship to the Civil Rights Movement—and to ethnic and racial equality, more broadly speaking.

From another perspective, students can be invited to look more closely at the historical record and recognize that, although the law has been applauded for repealing racial discrimination against immigrants, exclusionary policies persisted in the Cold War era. An appropriate example would be to examine the case of George Fleuti in *Rosenberg v. Fleuti* (1963).<sup>75</sup> Fleuti was a Swiss immigrant who had migrated to the United States in 1954. In 1956, he went to Mexico for a two-hour trip. Three years later, he was formally identified for deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The standing Immigration and Nationality Act (McCarran-Walter Act) of 1952 had prohibited entry of “Aliens afflicted with a psychopathic personality, epilepsy, or a mental defect.”<sup>76</sup> The INS concluded that Fleuti possessed a “psychopathic personality” because he was “afflicted with the desire for sexual relations with members of [the same] sex.”<sup>77</sup>

Fleuti appealed the District Court decision, and “the Ninth Circuit sided with Fleuti...holding that the law was void for vagueness and violated constitutional due process guarantees.”<sup>78</sup> As a consequence, in response to the Supreme Court case, Congress revisited the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952,<sup>79</sup> changing the exclusion of “Aliens afflicted with psychopathic personality, epilepsy, or a mental defect” with an amendment “deleting the word ‘epilepsy’ and substituting the words ‘or sexual deviation.’”<sup>80</sup> This aspect of the 1965 legislation provides another opportunity for students to discuss the ways in which the Cold War society prioritized conformity and

perpetuated fear of “the other.” Students can be invited to consider how the definition of homosexuality has changed historically, and the impact of the Cold War on that changing definition, focusing on the words “deviant” and “subversive” as a starting point.<sup>81</sup>

### Conclusion

During the two decades between 1945 and 1965, U.S. presidential administrations—Republican and Democrat alike—enacted major immigration legislation, introducing laws relating to refugees as a consequence of the Cold War in Europe and, later, in Asia and Latin America (including the Caribbean). These Cold War policies altered the face of the nation.

Teaching the Cold War through the lens of immigration helps to achieve four primary student learning objectives that resonate beyond the Cold War timeframe. One of the overriding student learning objectives is to reveal the many ways in which U.S. foreign policy has a direct relationship to domestic policy, and vice versa. Whereas this might seem an obvious relationship, it is surprisingly understudied and often dismissed entirely. In the same way that students can be reminded that immigration policies shape the ethnic composition of the national populace, so too can they be reminded that immigration policies determine the ethnic composition of the American electorate. As Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan asserted in 1975:

Without too much exaggeration it could be stated that the immigration process is the single most important determinant of American foreign policy. This process regulates the ethnic composition of the American electorate. Foreign policy responds to that ethnic composition. It responds to other things as well, but probably *first of all* to the primal facts of ethnicity.<sup>82</sup>

Teaching about the Cold War and immigration will remind students that U.S. foreign relations have direct implications for domestic life—potentially affecting national political party platforms, the economy, culture, and, as this pedagogical approach reveals, the very makeup of the population.

A second lesson learned from approaching the Cold War in this manner is the perceived threat posed by immigrants as “alien” or “other” to the dominant culture in periods of heightened national security. When U.S. administrations perceive the country to be

threatened by external attack by a national enemy (e.g., the fear of an atomic attack by the Soviet Union), and a simultaneous attack by a foreign ideology or culture that is defined as diametrically opposed to the liberal democratic capitalism of the United States (e.g., the fear of Communism), the historical precedent established in the Cold War period is to protect the homeland by restricting immigration policies. What is of utmost importance to remind students is that the immigration legislation that sets quotas or restrictions does not correlate with sheer figures of incoming new Americans, for fear that “too many” immigrants are seeking new lives in the United States, but rather the immigration policies are linked to characterizations of entire ethnic or religious or national groups, such that these groups are deemed unworthy of becoming potential new Americans. The historical record demonstrates that perceived threats to national security and values provoke nativism.

Teaching the Cold War through a lens of immigration is a reminder to students that contemporary attitudes toward immigration and immigrants—especially since 9/11—demand evaluation and can be seen more clearly when examined with an appreciation of Cold War attitudes.<sup>83</sup> President Donald J. Trump’s immigration policies and their relationship to his administration’s foreign policy is a case in point. At the time of publishing this article, President Trump had issued three executive orders with regard to banning immigrants—and in every case, the justification for the order was tied to securing the nation.<sup>84</sup> Many observers have criticized the nativism, noting the impact on American foreign relations. For example, in a *U.S. News and World Report* article titled “Trump’s Immigration Order Is Bad Foreign Policy,” published shortly after Trump assumed the presidency, David FitzGerald and David Cook Martín make an explicit connection between U.S. immigration policies and the impact that these policies can have on American foreign relations, concluding, “History shows that humiliating national or religious groups on the world stage by restricting their entry makes it harder to keep our allies. It can create new enemies. This ban may put the United States at risk.”<sup>85</sup> Other commentators have pointed to the close relationship between the Trump administration’s foreign policy and Trump’s emphasis on “protecting America’s borders.”<sup>86</sup> Many foreign policy experts have outspokenly opposed Trump’s immigration bans.<sup>87</sup> Students

would benefit from analyzing the different ways in which Trump does and does not view immigration as affecting foreign policy, and vice versa. The president's effort to explicitly tie immigration to national security without also recognizing the impact that such legislation has on U.S. relations with the world—and on the nation's diverse citizenry—is reminiscent of Cold War era policies.

Finally, approaching Cold War history by exploring immigration policies invites a re-evaluation of preconceived notions of what it means to be American. It forces reconciliation between foreign policy, immigration policy, and an ever-changing population. One of the most significant learning outcomes for students is thus dispositional: it involves a heightened cultural sensitivity toward who Americans are as a citizenry (native born, naturalized, and residents), and how the population of the United States came to be this way. When students come to recognize the dialectic relationship that exists between foreign policy and immigration policy, they can also acknowledge the ways in which this relationship has resulted in a continual re-conceptualization and re-accommodation of American identity.

## Notes

1. Michael F. Hopkins, "Continuing Debate and New Approaches in Cold War History," *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 4 (December 2007): 913-934.

2. Two outstanding examples are Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011); and Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).

3. A growing number of new teaching resources are also available. See for example, Michael Gonchar, "Teaching the Cold War with The New York Times," The Learning Network, *The New York Times*, 11 December 2012, <<http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/12/11/teaching-the-cold-war/>>; and "Cold War," Educational Resources, Miller Center, University of Virginia, <<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/educational-resources/primary-resources/cold-war>>.

4. A handful of books about the Cold War—and, conversely, about immigration—relate the two. See, for example, Odd Arne Westad's analysis of the "foreigner" in the context of America's rise to global power in *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge,

MA: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), especially Chapter 6, “The Cold War and Immigration.” Although the Cold War is not a specific topic of analysis, Donna R. Gabaccia considers the relationship between immigration and U.S. foreign policy more broadly in *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

5. For History-Social Science Standards that are relevant to the teaching modules described in this article, see the Appendix.

6. Laura Fermi explains that the Nobel Prize provided a perfect opportunity to flee Italy without being suspect. Laura Fermi, *Atoms in the Family: My Life with Enrico Fermi* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

7. The letter was written by Leó Szilárd and signed by Albert Einstein, and sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt on August 2, 1939. The letter and background information is available at “Einstein’s Letter (1939),” The Manhattan Project: An Interactive History, U.S. Department of Energy, Office of Scientific and Technical Information, <[https://www.osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history/Events/1939-1942/einstein\\_letter.htm](https://www.osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history/Events/1939-1942/einstein_letter.htm)>. The letter also has a Wikipedia entry, “Einstein–Szilárd letter,” Wikipedia, <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Einstein–Szilárd\\_letter](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Einstein–Szilárd_letter)>.

8. Stuart Anderson, *Immigration*, Greenwood Guides to Business and Economics Series (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Publishing Group/ABC-CLIO, 2010); Stuart Anderson, “A Veterans Day Story: Immigrants and the Atomic Bomb,” *Forbes*, 11 November 2011, <<https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2011/11/11/a-veterans-day-story-immigrants-and-the-atomic-bomb/>>.

9. “Einstein’s Letter (1939).”

10. Anderson, “A Veterans Day Story.” See also “Scientist Refugees and the Manhattan Project,” Atomic Heritage Foundation, 20 June 2018, <<https://www.atomicheritage.org/article/scientist-refugees-and-manhattan-project>>; and Kimber Craine, “What the Manhattan Project can Teach Us About Scientific Collaboration,” The Aspen Institute, 26 January 2017, <<https://www.aspeninstitute.org/blog-posts/manhattan-project-can-teach-us-scientific-cooperation>>.

11. Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-41*, second ed. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 187-188.

12. “Lesson Plans,” Atomic Heritage Foundation, <<https://www.atomicheritage.org/educational-resources>>.

13. “European Refugees,” Voices of the Manhattan Project, <<https://www.manhattanprojectvoices.org/subject/european-refugees>>.

14. “Student Activity: Harry Truman and the Potsdam Conference,” Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, <<https://www.trumanlibrary.org/teacher/potsdam.htm>>.

15. “Potsdam and the Final Decision to Use the Bomb,” The Manhattan Project: An Interactive History, U.S. Department of Energy, Office of Scientific

and Technical Information, <[https://www.osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history/Events/1945/potsdam\\_decision.htm](https://www.osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history/Events/1945/potsdam_decision.htm)>. The U.S. Department of Energy hosts a concise, yet engaging, website that explains the chain of events with regard to the Manhattan Project. See The Manhattan Project: An Interactive History, U.S. Department of Energy, Office of Scientific and Technical Information, <<https://www.osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history>>.

16. “Displaced Persons Act of 1948,” (PL 80-774, 25 June 1948), 62 *United States Statutes at Large*, pp. 1009-1014, <<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/80th-congress/session-2/c80s2ch647.pdf>>.

17. *Ibid.* Although not addressed in this article, Chinese refugees were also affected by the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and by successive immigration legislation of the Cold War. See Madeline Y. Hsu, “The Disappearance of America’s Cold War Chinese Refugees, 1948-1966,” in *Journal of American Ethnic History* 31, no. 4 (Summer 2012): 12-33.

18. Harry S. Truman, “142. Statement by the President Upon Signing the Displaced Persons Act,” 25 June 1948, Public Papers of Harry S. Truman: 1945-1953, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, <<https://trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=1688>>.

19. “Internal Security Act of 1950,” (PL 81-831, 23 September 1950), 64 *United States Statutes at Large*, pp. 987-1031, <<https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/81st-congress/session-2/c81s2ch1024.pdf>>.

20. Although a “totalitarian dictatorship” could be either Fascist or Communist, judging by the charge of the SACB, Communism was conceived to be the more dangerous threat.

21. “Internal Security Act of 1950,” p. 997.

22. *Ibid.*, 989-990.

23. *Ibid.*, 988-989.

24. See *Communist Party of the United States v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, 351 U.S. 115 (1956). Full text of the decision is available at the Legal Information Institute at Cornell Law School, <<https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/351/115>>. Summary and background information accessible to students is available at Wikipedia, “*Communist Party v. Subversive Activities Control Board*,” Wikipedia, <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist\\_Party\\_v.\\_Subversive\\_Activities\\_Control\\_Board](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist_Party_v._Subversive_Activities_Control_Board)>.

25. Originally published in 1951 in the avant-garde magazine *Origin*, the poem can be found in Richard Wilbur, *New and Collected Poems* (San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace, 1989), 268.

26. “Internal Security Act of 1950,” pp. 1019-1031.

27. Jennifer K. Elsea, “Detention of U.S. Persons as Enemy Belligerents,” Congressional Research Service, 23 January 2014, 36, available through the University of North Texas Digital Library, <<https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc227744/>>. “Internal Security Act of 1950,” p. 1021.

28. Harry S. Truman, “254. Veto of the Internal Security Bill,” 22 September 1950, Public Papers of Harry S. Truman: 1945-1953, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, <<https://trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=883>>.

29. "Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952," (PL 82-414, 27 June 1952), 66 *United States Statutes at Large*, pp. 163-282, <<https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/granule/STATUTE-66/STATUTE-66-Pg163/content-detail.html>>.

30. "The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act)," Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations, Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, <<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/immigration-act>>.

31. Students may find it useful to review the landmark National Origins Act of 1924 (Immigration Act of 1924). The Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, offers a detailed description that concludes, "In all of its parts, the most basic purpose of the 1924 Immigration Act was to preserve the ideal of U.S. homogeneity." "The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)," Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations, Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, <<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>>.

32. "Immigration...Timeline," Teachers: Classroom Materials, Library of Congress, <<https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationsandactivities/presentations/immigration/alt/timeline.html>>.

33. Pat McCarran speech to the U.S. Senate, 2 March 1953, as quoted in Ken Hechler and Robert P. Watson, "Cold Warrior and Civil Libertarian: Truman's Attempt to Manage the 'Second Red Scare,'" in *Civil Liberties and the Legacy of Harry S. Truman*, ed. Richard S. Kirkendall (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2013), 212-213.

34. *Ibid.*, 213.

35. Harry S. Truman, "182. Veto of Bill To Revise the Laws Relating to Immigration, Naturalization, and Nationality," 25 June 1952, Public Papers of Harry S. Truman: 1945-1953, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, <<https://trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=2389>>.

36. Harry S. Truman, "364. Statement by the President on Report 'Whom We Shall Welcome' by the Commission on Immigration and Naturalization," 5 January 1953, Public Papers of Harry S. Truman: 1945-1953, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, <<https://trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=2084>>.

37. "Refugee Relief Act of 1953," (PL 83-203, 7 August 1953), 67 *United States Statutes at Large*, pp. 400-407, <<https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/granule/STATUTE-67/STATUTE-67-Pg400/content-detail.html>>.

38. Dwight D. Eisenhower, "160 - Statement by the President Upon Signing the Refugee Relief Act of 1953," 7 August 1953, The American Presidency Project, University of California, Santa Barbara, <<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=9668>>.

39. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Text of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees," in *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (Geneva, Switzerland: UNHCR Communications and Public Information Service, 2010), 14, <<http://www.unhcr.org/1951-refugee-convention.html>>.

40. *Ibid.*

41. In 2004, Congress issued the North Korean Human Rights Act (NKHRA). “North Korean Human Rights Act of 2004,” (PL 108-333, 18 October 2004), 118 *United States Statutes at Large*, pp. 1287-1297, <<https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/granule/STATUTE-118/STATUTE-118-Pg1287/content-detail.html>>. Notably, however, fewer than 130 North Koreans have resettled in the United States since the passage of the legislation. Many observers are convinced that a blatant obstacle to increasing the number of North Korean refugees to the United States is the persistent fear of North Korean espionage.

42. The term referred to the Mexican immigrants’ having to cross the Rio Grande to get to Texas. Gerald B. Breitigam, “Welcomed Mexican Invasion; Thousands of Families Crossing the Border to Till the Soil and Otherwise Build Up the Southwest,” *The New York Times*, 20 June 1920, 6. This is not to suggest that the article is without racial and ethnic prejudices. The cultural “psychology and character” of the Mexican people—including “the underlying trait of cruelty handed down from those ancestors who practiced human sacrifice to their gods”—are described by the reporter as qualities to be “reckoned with.”

43. “Depression, War, and Civil Rights: Hispanics in the Southwest,” Hispanic Americans in Congress Exhibitions and Publications, History, Art, and Archives, United States House of Representatives, <<https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/HAIC/Historical-Essays/Separate-Interests/Depression-War-Civil-Rights/>>.

44. U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Ethical Standards in Government*, committee print, 82<sup>nd</sup> Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1951).

45. Gladwin Hill, “Southwest Winks at ‘Wetback’ Jobs; Ethics Cast Aside as Growers Accept Peonage Idea and Bridle at Interference,” *The New York Times*, 28 March 1951, 31.

46. The U.S.-orchestrated ousting of Jacobo Árbenz in 1954, following the Guatemalan leader’s attempt to nationalize land and decentralize the control of United Fruit Company, did not immediately lead to Guatemalan migration flows to the United States. But there is no question that the ensuing civil war (1960-1996) did indeed affect migration patterns of Guatemalans to the United States, especially in the late Cold War period (1980s).

47. Will Lissner, “Soviet Agents Plotting to Ruin Unity, Defenses of Americas,” *The New York Times*, 22 June 1950, 1.

48. Kelly Lytle Hernández, “The Crimes and Consequences of Illegal Immigration: A Cross-Border Examination of Operation Wetback, 1943 to 1954,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 421-444; Joanna Griffin, “Operation Wetback,” in *Mexico and the United States, Volume 1: Acapulco, Guerrero – Film in Mexico* (Tarrytown, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2003), 609.

49. See, for example, Matt Ballinger, “From the Archives: How the Times covered Mass Deportations in the Eisenhower Era,” *Los Angeles Times*, <<https://documents.latimes.com/eisenhower-era-deportations/>>; Anna O. Law, “Lies, Damned Lies, and Obama’s Deportation Statistics,” The Monkey Cage (blog), *The Washington Post*, 21 April 2014, <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/04/21/lies-damned-lies-and-obamas-deportation->

statistics/"; and Kate Linticum, "The Dark, Complex History of Trump's Model for His Mass Deportation Plan," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 November 2015, <<https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-trump-deportation-20151113-story.html>>.

50. Trailers for these films are hosted by the official YouTube Movies channel, with the full versions available for purchase. "The Day The Earth Stood Still (1951) – Trailer," YouTube video, 1:03, posted by YouTube Movies, 9 October 2014, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-OjjM3jRAfo>>; "The Thing from Another World," YouTube video, 1:53, posted by YouTube Movies, 9 February 2018, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c8djrAHKe-I>>; "Them!" YouTube video, 3:15, posted by YouTube Movies, 5 October 2017, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2Zw\\_qnOIVg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2Zw_qnOIVg)>; "Invasion of the Body Snatchers – Trailer," YouTube video, 2:23, posted by YouTube Movies, 9 October 2014, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYrcyROSjl0>>.

51. John F. Kennedy, *A Nation of Immigrants*, revised and enlarged ed. (New York: HarperPerennial, 2008). Drafted in 1958 when Kennedy was a senator, he was in the process of revising the book for publication before his assassination. The publication was released to the American public in 1964.

52. *Ibid.*, 50-51.

53. "John F. Kennedy's *A Nation of Immigrants*: For Educators," Education Resources, Anti-Defamation League, <<https://www.adl.org/education/resources/tools-and-strategies/jfk-nation-of-immigrants-guide>>. Students can watch a YouTube video of Kennedy receiving the ADL Award in 1963, "John F. Kennedy ADL Address, 'We Are A Nation of Immigrants,'" YouTube video, 4:50, posted by Anti-Defamation League, 18 April 2013, <[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewk\\_9wQVVz4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewk_9wQVVz4)>. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 is evidence of Kennedy's attitudes toward the existing immigration legislation. Although the law would be signed by Lyndon B. Johnson after Kennedy's assassination and would not be implemented until 1968, students would benefit from knowing that Kennedy was pushing for reform of both the 1924 immigration quota system and the 1952 legislation.

54. John F. Kennedy, "Remarks to American Committee on Italian Migration," 11 June 1963, Papers of John F. Kennedy, Presidential Papers, President's Office Files, Speech Files, John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, <<https://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/Archives/JFKPOF-045-003.aspx>>.

55. For further reading on this question, see Mae M. Ngai, "A Nation of Immigrants': The Cold War and Civil Rights Origins of Illegal Immigration," Institute for Advanced Study, Occasional Paper, no. 38 (April 2010), <<https://www.sss.ias.edu/files/papers/paper38.pdf>>.

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62. *Operation Peter Pan—Flying Back to Cuba*, directed by Estela Bravo, 57 min., Bravo Films, 2010.

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65. “Immigration and Nationality Act, Amendments of 1965,” (PL 89-236, 3 October 1965), 79 *United States Statutes at Large*, pp. 911-922, <<https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/granule/STATUTE-79/STATUTE-79-Pg911/content-detail.html>>.

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67. Although the law would mark a “watershed” for Asian immigration to the United States, it is not directly linked to the Vietnam War. In contrast, the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975 passed during the Ford administration was aimed at providing refuge to displaced persons from Southeast Asia, as a direct result of American intervention in Vietnam. “Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975,” (PL 94-23, 23 May 1975), 89

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73. *Ibid.*

74. See, for example, Tom Gjelten, "The Immigration Act that Inadvertently Changed America," *The Atlantic*, 2 October 2015, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/10/immigration-act-1965/408409/>>; and Muzaffar Chishti, Faye Hipsman, and Isabel Ball, "Fifty Years On, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act Continues to Reshape the United States," Migration Policy Institute, 15 October 2015, <<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/fifty-years-1965-immigration-and-nationality-act-continues-reshape-united-states>>.

75. *Rosenberg v. Fleuti*, 374 U.S. 449 (1963). Full text of the decision is available at the Legal Information Institute at Cornell Law School, <<https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/374/449>>.

76. "Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952," p. 182.

77. As quoted in Atticus Lee, "Sexual Deviants Need Not Apply: LGBTQ Oppression in the 1965 Immigration Amendments," in *The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965: Legislating a New America*, ed. Gabriel J. Chin and Rose Cuison Villazor (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 257.

78. *Ibid.*, 257-258.

79. *Ibid.*, 258.

80. "Immigration and Nationality Act, Amendments of 1965," p. 919. In 1990, Representative Barney Frank (D-Massachusetts), "craft[ed] the comprehensive immigration exclusion amendment that define[d] the reasons for denying entry into the U.S. – and simply le[ft] out the sexual preference exclusion." "LGBT Immigration Highlights," Out4Immigration, <<https://www.out4immigration.org/history.html>>.

81. Although not directly related to immigration policies during the McCarthy era, the "Lavender Scare," "what some journalists derided as the 'panic on the Potomac' and some politicians defended as the 'purge of the perverts' resulted in the dismissal of nearly six hundred federal civil servants." The association of homosexuality with deviant and subversive behavior—and thus

with communism—reinforces the language maintained in the 1965 immigration legislation. David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2. For further analysis of immigration policies as they pertain to gender and sex in the mid-twentieth century, see Margot Canaday, “‘Who Is a Homosexual?’: The Consolidation of Sexual Identities in Mid-Twentieth-Century American Immigration Law,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 28, no. 2 (Spring 2003): 351-386; and Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).

82. Nathan Glazier and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 23-24. Glazier and Moynihan go on to lament the fact that the U.S. State Department had largely overlooked the significance of immigration policies with regard to foreign policy, concluding, “The fact that immigration policy *is* foreign policy is a seemingly inexplicable thought in Foggy Bottom” (p. 24). The State Department has shifted its view dramatically since 9/11, as evidenced by the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security. Still, the relationship between immigration and foreign policy continues to demand further scrutiny.

83. See, for example, David Bier, “The Cold War’s Lesson for Immigration Policy,” Opinion, CNN, 24 August 2016, <<https://www.cnn.com/2016/08/23/opinions/cold-war-immigration-bier/>>.

84. On January 27, 2017, President Trump issued an executive order titled “Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States.” Executive order available at <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states/>>. The order “bars admission to the U.S. of all people with non-immigrant or immigrant visas from Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen for 90 days. It also bars entry to all refugees from anywhere in the world for 120 days, and places an indefinite ban on Syrian refugees.” Gloria Riviera, Candace Smith, Durrell Dawson, and Sally Hawkins, “In First 72 Hours of President Trump’s Travel Ban, Refugees, Asylum Seekers Describe Chaos, Confusion,” ABC News, 31 January 2017, <<https://abcnews.go.com/US/72-hours-president-trumps-travel-ban-refugees-asylum/story?id=45167179>>. The order was immediately criticized by both sides of the political aisle in Congress, and was challenged by the courts soon thereafter. On March 6, the administration issued a second revised order that echoed the first, suspending immigration from the original nations identified, but removing Iraq from the list. Executive order available at <<https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states-2/>>. The legal challenge to the first order was settled on August 30, 2017; by court decision, individuals who were banned by the order could seek to reapply to enter the United States. See Nicholas Kulish, “Challenge that Blocked First Trump Travel Ban Is Settled,” *The New York Times*, 31 August 2017, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/31/us/trump-travel-ban-lawsuit-settlement.html>>. In December 2017, the Supreme Court “allowed the third version of the Trump administration’s travel ban to go into

effect while legal challenges against it continue.” Adam Liptak, “Supreme Court Allows Trump Travel Ban to Take Effect,” *The New York Times*, 4 December 2017, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/04/us/politics/trump-travel-ban-supreme-court.html>>.

85. David FitzGerald and David Cook Martín, “Donald Trump’s Immigration Order Is Bad Foreign Policy,” *U.S. News & World Report*, 30 January 2017, <<https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2017-01-30/donald-trumps-immigration-order-is-bad-foreign-policy>>.

86. Ishaan Tharoor, “Trump’s Real Foreign Policy Stops at U.S.’s Borders,” *The Washington Post*, 4 August 2017, <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/08/04/trumps-real-foreign-policy-stops-at-u-s-s-borders/>>.

87. Lara Jakes, “Trump’s Revised Travel Ban is Denounced by 134 Foreign Policy Experts,” *The New York Times*, 11 March 2017, <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/11/us/politics/trump-travel-ban-denounced-foreign-policy-experts.html>>.

## Appendix

### Related History-Social Science Standard

The lessons described in this article can be implemented to meet eleventh-grade History-Social Science Standards in the State of California, including the following:

11.9: Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II.

11.9.3: Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following:

The era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting

The Truman Doctrine

The Berlin Blockade

The Korean War

The Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies

The Vietnam War

Latin American policy

11.9.4: List the effects of foreign policy on domestic policies and vice versa (e.g., protests during the war in Vietnam, the “nuclear freeze” movement).

11.11: Students analyze the major social problems and domestic policy issues in contemporary American society.

11.11.1: Discuss the reasons for the nation’s changing immigration policy, with emphasis on how the Immigration Act of 1965 and successor acts have transformed American society.

11.11.7: Explain how the federal, state, and local governments have responded to demographic and social changes such as population shifts to the suburbs, racial concentrations in the cities, Frostbelt-to-Sunbelt migration, *international migration* [emphasis added], decline of family farms, increases in out-of-wedlock births, and drug abuse.

Although not yet incorporated into the California State Standards, the State Board of Education adopted the History-Social Science Framework on July 14, 2016. This new Framework offers guidance to eleventh-grade teachers with regard to more in-depth discussion of immigration, posing the question: “How did the United States’ population become more diverse

over the twentieth century?” and offering the following description of how teachers might meet this learning objective:

Another key topic that Americans wrestled with in recent decades has been immigration. Students can examine census data to identify basic demographic changes: How has the composition of the U.S. shifted between 1950 and 1980 and between 1980 and today, for example? By exploring quantitative immigration information, students notice significant changes in the national origins of immigrants to the United States.

As with their studies of immigration from the beginning of the twentieth century, students can analyze push-and-pull factors that contributed to shifting immigration patterns, but they should also learn about changes in immigration policy.

Sources:

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California Department of Education, *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools: Kindergarten through Grade Twelve* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Education, 2017), 429, <<https://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/hs/cf/documents/hssfwchapter16.pdf>>.