Hanover and the Hot War

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Introduction

As legal historian Mary Dudziak writes, wartime is understood as a state of exception to normal life, but it "leads us to ignore the persistence of war."[1] This fundamental idea about how wartime is defined and how *it* defines American life is central to this research paper. I often find myself both fascinated and disturbed by how the United States has the highest military spending of any nation-state, but that those living in what would be called the "mainland" U.S. have been exempt from the many realities that come with living in a militarized location in which war is physically waged. With this in mind, I was particularly curious about how those on Dartmouth College's campus "experienced" the Korean War, a war that is often interpreted as a great ideological conflict between democracy and communism that was the result of the Cold War. How were the political tensions and institutional shifts post-World War II experienced at a personal level, and how were they exacerbated or diminished by the onset of the Korean War in June of 1950? When asked whether the United States was at war later that month, President Truman famously responded "we are not at war."[2] Yet, by examining how various actors at the university responded to the Korean War, it becomes clearer that wartime as experienced during the Cold War was not merely about ideological conflict, but was often about local concerns relevant to the campus at the time.

This paper is an attempt to capture some important features of Dartmouth's campus during the Cold War — more specifically, near and during the Korean War period — but it is not a fully comprehensive survey of the post-WWII environment. Instead, this paper is a rather informal exploration of two main aspects of the campus after WWII: Part I characterizes Dartmouth as a Cold War University, delving into the curricular changes as demonstrated by the Great Issues Course and responses to the Korean War at the institutional level. Part II is a close reading of student responses to the Korean War in The Dartmouth, the undergraduate newspaper, as well as a glimpse of the experience of a Korean international student in the class of 1953. This

[1] Mary Dudziak, *War Time: An Idea, Its History, Its Consequences, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013),* 4.
[2] Harry S. Truman, The President's News Conference, June 29, 1950.

research, conducted over the summer of 2024, utilized primary source documents at the Rauner Special Collections Library at Dartmouth College, primary source scans from the Special Collections and Manuscripts Library at Ohio State University, and secondary sources by historians of the Cold War and Korean War in U.S. history. Ultimately, I found that when we do a close analysis of experiences during the Korean War on Dartmouth's campus, it is evident that responses to the Cold War vary significantly even within one localized context and that this moment in history should be reexamined with more nuance on individual motivations and public perception, beyond the narrative of freedom versus communism typical of the Cold War history books.

Pt. I: Dartmouth as a Cold War University

The Great Issues Course

Figure 1. A Great Issues Course lecture photographed by Life Magazine.[3]

In October of 1946 President Dickey met with the Steering Committee of the proposed Great Issues Course (GI Course) that was amid development. In the tower study of Baker Library

[3]Life Magazine, *Great Issues,* 2015, Dartmouth College Photographic Files. https://collections.dartmouth.edu/archive/object/PhotoFiles/PhotoFiles-Icon1647-0923-0000028?ctx=PhotoFiles#?start=96&length=12&view=list&rdat_only_u=no&rdat_u=yes&col=PhotoFiles&oc_0=main-title&od_0=a&sv=Great+Issues&page=Icon1647-0923-0000028A.

and in front of the six appointed professors of the steering committee, he explained the Great Issues concept and the Carnegie Corporation's agreement to finance the program. The meeting consisted of all the basic preliminary topics of discussion required for curriculum planning, including budget, the title of the course and its contents. The committee's executive secretary Mr. Clark was to prepare a press release about the Great Issues Course and the appointment of the steering committee, omitting reference to the Carnegie Corporation in the statement.[4]

The financial and cultural development of university programs after WWII is known to have been substantially dependent on philanthropic foundations and influenced by government agencies.[5] For instance, as historian Jeremi Suri writes, from 1953 to 1959 the Ford Foundation granted $1 million to Harvard for national security programs, providing similar grants to MIT, Princeton, the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, and the University of Wisconsin. In the early 1950s the International Seminar at Harvard, which was directed by the notorious Henry Kissinger, was also funded by the CIA. The Rockefeller Foundation supported similar research and training at Harvard and Princeton, as well as at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institute. These programs in the social sciences and humanities were joining a growing culture in academia after WWII which sought to reorganize research around the imagined Cold War.[6]

With its inception in 1946 and reliance on the initial years of funding from the Carnegie Corporation, Dartmouth's GI Course was one of the earliest versions of the "liberal internationalist" program characteristic of academia during the Cold War.[7] Liberal internationalism wasn't a new concept, but it became increasingly popular amongst intellectuals after WWII as it theorized how best to organize the world system, with "progress" defined specifically in terms of diplomacy between nation-states, international organizations like the United Nations, and the spread of a liberal democracy — in other words, increased harmony and cooperation between political entities. Movement towards this vision of progress was what was

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[4] Great Issues Steering Committee Meeting Minutes, 14 October 1946, DA-12, box 1387, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[5] Jeremi Suri, "The Cold War University" in *Henry Kissinger and the American Century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007).
[6] Ibid.
[7] Great Issues Steering Committee Meeting Minutes, 21 October 1946, DA-12, box 1387, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

considered modern in academia, and it was accepted as the "objective," "universalistic" way of thinking.[8]

As a pioneer of liberal internationalism in the classroom, the GI Course was often described as "experimental," and a July 1949 New York Times article even wrote that the course was "believed to be the first of its kind in a major institution of higher learning."[9] Notably, GI would "stress the importance and responsibility of citizenship in the atomic age," as "the atomic bomb has brought with it a sense of urgency that did not exist in the past."[10] In this way, American universities like Dartmouth never "demobilized from wartime footing" since WWII, but rather increased the allocation of resources to respond to perceived threats, such as that of the atomic bomb as internalized during the war.[11] Despite that the war was over, wartime concerns continued to inform the decisions of the university, so much so that it motivated the new curricula in a reactionary manner. It was this post-war socio-political atmosphere that prompted influential philanthropic organizations to be more involved in academia than ever. As Suri argues, "foundation funding was the bridge between the needs of the government and the intellectual talent at universities."[12] The Carnegie Corporation would go on to provide almost $1.5 million in grants to other universities of the Cold War for academic programs like the GI Course. At the same time, organizations like the Carnegie Corporation could only be legitimate actors in the overlapping realms of philanthropy and knowledge production because they kept a level of independence from government.[13]

The basic structure of the GI curriculum involved a series of speakers that were regularly scheduled throughout the term according to the week's theme. The earliest versions from the planning phases in 1946 included subtopics such as "American responsibility in the Far East" and "Government responsibility for individual security," as well as an entire three week portion

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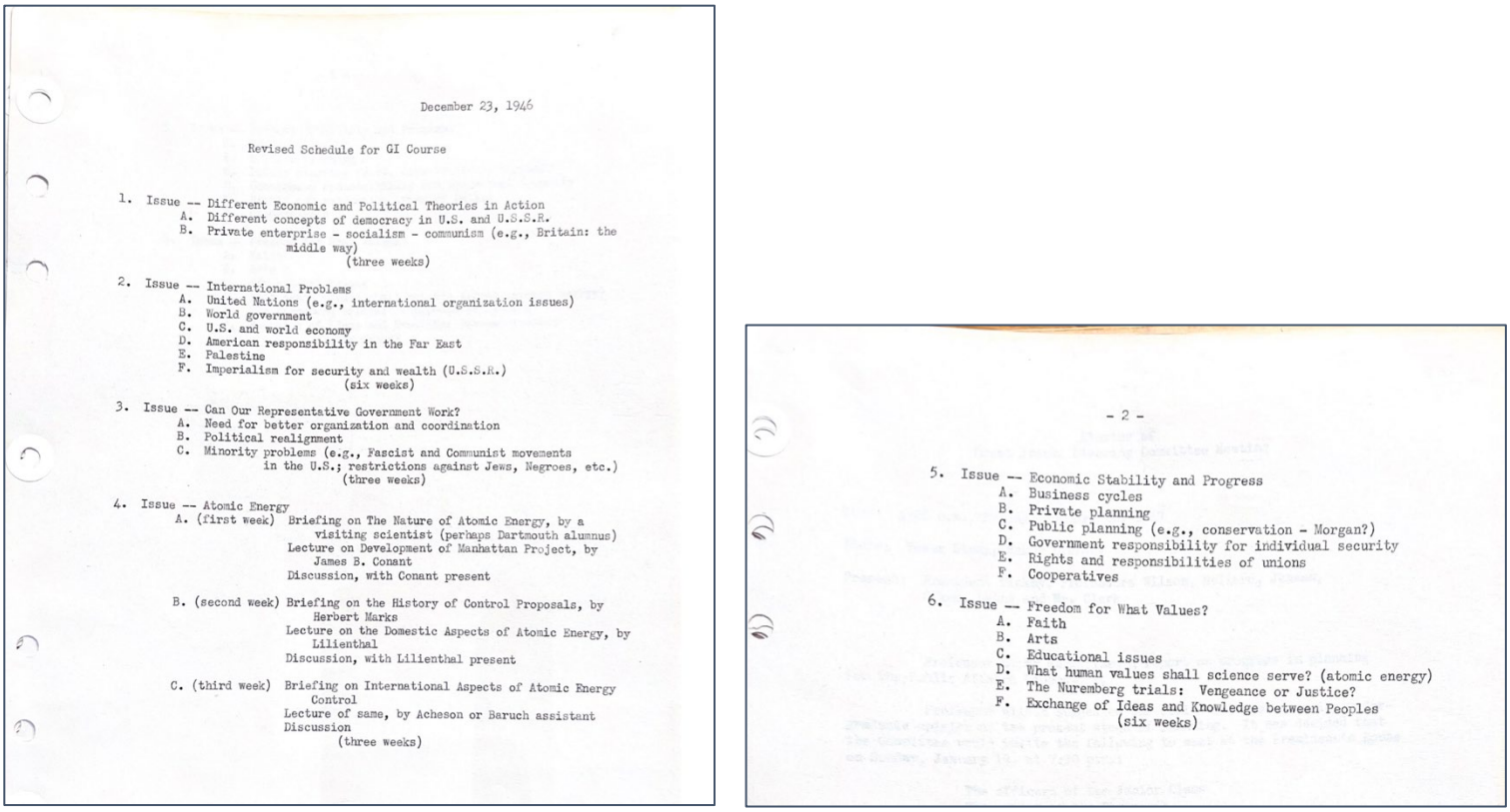
[8] Duncan Bell, "liberal internationalism," Encyclopedia Britannica, 29 November 2016, https://www.britannica.com/topic/liberal-internationalism.
[9] Reprint of New York Times Article by Benjamin Fine titled "Dartmouth to Set Up 'Great Issues' Course As a Requirement for All Seniors, 6 July 1947, DA-12, box 1387, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Suri, "The Cold War University."
[12] Ibid.
[13] Tim B. Mueller, "The Rockefeller Foundation, the Social Sciences, and the Humanities in the Cold War," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 108-135.

designated for atomic energy.[14] GI's early years also included opinion surveys which students would take at the beginning and end of the course, and they were used as a measure of the curriculum's effectiveness. The surveys included around ninety questions that would be answered on a 1 to 5 scale from "agree" to "disagree," most of them oddly specific and directly referring to international Cold War discourse such as: "If the Soviets successfully developed atomic bombs, they will have an enormous advantage over the United States, because it is inconceivable that the United States would strike the first blow."[15] Another example is: "A result of better means of communication will be better understanding of each nation by its neighbors and consequently a lessening of the danger of war."[16] Other questions referred to domestic issues such as: "In times of national crisis it is proper to suppress minorities who desire to criticize the government," "Unions should be required to oust all members who are communists," or "Most negroes are not qualified to take jobs better than they now hold."[17]

[14] Great Issues Steering Committee Meeting Minutes, 23 December 1946, DA-12, box 1387, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH (hereafter cited as GI Steering Committee Minutes, 23 Dec. 1946).
[15] Great Issues Opinion Survey, DA-12, box 1385, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.



December 23, 1946

Revised Schedule for GI Course

1. Issue -- Different Economic and Political Theories in Action
   A. Different concepts of democracy in U.S. and U.S.S.R.
   B. Private enterprise - socialism - communism (e.g., Britain: the middle way)
   (three weeks)

2. Issue -- International Problems
   A. United Nations (e.g., international organization issues)
   B. World government
   C. U.S. and world economy
   D. American responsibility in the Far East
   E. Palestine
   F. Imperialism for security and wealth (U.S.S.R.)
   (six weeks)

3. Issue -- Can Our Representative Government Work?
   A. Need for better organization and coordination
   B. Political realignment
   C. Minority problems (e.g., Fascist and Communist movements in the U.S.; restrictions against Jews, Negroes, etc.)
   (three weeks)

4. Issue -- Atomic Energy
   A. (first week) Briefing on The Nature of Atomic Energy, by a visiting scientist (perhaps Dartmouth alumnus)
   Lecture on Development of Manhattan Project, by James B. Conant
   Discussion, with Conant present

   B. (second week) Briefing on the History of Control Proposals, by Herbert Marks
   Lecture on the Domestic Aspects of Atomic Energy, by Lilienthal
   Discussion, with Lilienthal present

   C. (third week) Briefing on International Aspects of Atomic Energy Control
   Lecture of same, by Acheson or Baruch assistant
   Discussion
   (three weeks)

- 2 -

5. Issue -- Economic Stability and Progress
   A. Business cycles
   B. Private planning
   C. Public planning (e.g., conservation - Morgan?)
   D. Government responsibility for individual security
   E. Rights and responsibilities of unions
   F. Cooperatives

6. Issue -- Freedom for What Values?
   A. Faith
   B. Arts
   C. Educational issues
   D. What human values shall science serve? (atomic energy)
   E. The Nuremberg trials: Vengeance or Justice?
   F. Exchange of Ideas and Knowledge between Peoples
   (six weeks)

Figure 2. Early version of the GI curriculum, Dec. 23, 1946.[18]

We can see that the GI curriculum was designed to implement and cultivate precisely the liberal internationalist thinking that was becoming increasingly expected of modern academia. Specifically, it addressed world issues in terms of the needs of the nation-state and with the purpose of providing education on applied policy. Parts of the curriculum such as the opinion survey above also indicate the desire for academics to resist popular anti-communist discourse to a certain extent, though still within a rigid liberal internationalist framework. To illustrate, anti-communist campaigns in the country often involved the conflation of left leaning sentiments and overlapping attacks on African Americans, civil rights activists, feminists, gays and lesbians, and labor activists.[19] Importantly, it was not that all of the individuals in these groups were actually members of the communist party; instead, they were all groups that were perceived to be

[18] GI Steering Committee Minutes, 23 Dec. 1946.
[19] Masuda Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

"destabilizing old social norms and existing hierarchies," hence receiving backlash in a post-war nation that narrowly defined what activities were "American" and clumped everything else as "disturbances" in the recovery of order in society.[20] In many ways, the GI curriculum can be understood as an attempt to modernize students' thinking so that it embraced the intellectualization of the Cold War, along with the "objective" approaches to examining the threat of communism, but also so that it maintained at least a surface-level acceptance of progressive ideals such as civil rights.

This can be clearly illustrated through the individuals that were invited to speak at the GI course. For example, in the Fall term of 1951, the lineup of invited speakers included Emil Rieve — the president of the Textile Workers Union of America — whose lecture was titled "Responsibilities of Labor in a Free Society."[21] That same term, Crawford H. Greenewalt — the president of the DuPont Company — was invited to speak about "Individual Incentive and National Development," and U.S. Senator Leverett Saltonstall was invited to lecture on "The Responsibility of the Opposition in Our Government."[22] The very next term, Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP spoke on "Civil Rights in America" and Senator James W. Fulbright spoke on "Ethics in Public Life."[23] In that school year alone, the leader of a worker's union, the leader of a wartime manufacturer, two U.S. senators, as well as a Black civil rights lawyer spoke to Dartmouth students under the designated overarching theme "American Issues and Democratic Values."[24]

Considering the variety in the speakers' occupations and the institutions they represented, each evidently had different priorities for what they considered to be "American Issues", and each also carried a distinct perspective on how best to preserve the nation's democracy. Therefore, through the lecture series, we can see that an outcome of the GI Course's strict liberal internationalism was not *necessarily* a violent indoctrination into an articulated "western" ideology, but rather the solidification of the idea that there *is* such a society that is undeniably western, democratic, and free — and that societies that don't resemble or adopt the style of

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Article titled "Great Issues' Series: Whittemore, Schlesinger To Speak At Dartmouth" in the Manchester Union Leader, 14 November 1951, DA-12, box 1387, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

western institutions are objectively unfree. As historian Masuda Hajimu writes about national anti-communist politics in the U.S, "What was really achieved in these truth-making campaigns was not necessarily the forging of consensus but merely clarification of dividing lines among populations between 'us' and 'them.'"[25] Similarly on the university campus, the required GI Course entrenched the idea that the internationalist framework was modern in nature, and that communist nation-states were the serious threats to American freedom and needed to be studied in higher education.

Intellectualizing the Korean War

On December 16, 1950 President Truman declared a national emergency, beginning the announcement: "Whereas the recent events in Korea and elsewhere constitute a grave threat to the peace of the world," going on to warn the population of "communist imperialism."[26] The existence of a national emergency meant tangible things, like that local institutions were obligated to fully cooperate with the military and federal defense agencies and that all production efforts needed to be towards the "common good" of the nation.[27] Yet noticeably, Truman's announcement heavily appealed to a collective identity of American citizens who needed to "make a united effort for the security and well-being of our beloved country" and "be loyal to the principles upon which our Nation is rounded."[28] December of 1950 was roughly two and a half months after President Truman, his Secretary of State Dean Acheson, and Secretary of Defense George Marshall gave General MacArthur the green light to cross the 38th parallel on the Korean peninsula — into North Korean territory.[29] Since then, the war increased in significance not only in terms of military escalation, but also in the "solidification of the 'Cold War' framework, destroying any possibility for meaningful diplomacy between East and West."[30] Consequently, there was little room to understand the Korean War beyond this paradigm.

Back on campus in Hanover, Truman's announcement prompted the creation of The Committee on Emergency Adjustments (CEA). Its membership consisted of co-chairmen

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[25] Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible.*
[26] Harry S. Truman, Proclamation 2914: Proclaiming the Existence of a National Emergency, December 16, 1950.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible.*
[30] Ibid.

President Dickey and Professor of English Anton Raven, in addition to two deans and five other professors from various departments.[31] In January, the national emergency prompted President Dickey to be in contact with the president of Yale (who was also in contact with the president of Harvard) about accelerating the undergraduate degree to a three-year program, but there was concern that the decision would affect the "liberal arts tradition" too significantly. [32] Nevertheless, the presidents also noted that "these colleges must avoid allowing the public to draw any wrong conclusions as to 'ivory tower' attitudes."[33] It is evident that public perception was a persistent point of concern and that these institutions were indeed "self-consciously elite universities" that cared tremendously about their reputations in the McCarthy era.[34] Further, at one point the GI steering committee was going to cancel the GI course due to the national emergency, but ultimately decided not to in part because it had brought Dartmouth "academic distinction."[35] Undoubtedly, public perception played a significant role in Cold War politics and decision making for the university.

During one meeting in the March following Truman's announcement, Professor of Government Dayton McKean proposed a special course in his department titled "Problems of National Security" which was to be offered only during the national emergency.[36] It was described as "definitely a liberal arts course, not a technical course nor a course in indoctrination, but would be particularly appropriate in a period such as the present."[37] Though the course was only up for consideration, it's an example of how the Korean War was treated as a period of exception on the campus, in which these kinds of courses were considered necessary and professors had more say in curricular changes. Similarly, about a year later in May of 1952, a faculty committee submitted an over forty page proposal for an improved "Public Affairs

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[31] Announcement of the Committee on Emergency Adjustments, 22 January 1951, DP-12, box 7121, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[32] Committee on Emergency Adjustments Meeting Summary, 22 January 1951, DP-12, box 7121, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Suri, "The Cold War University."
[35] Letter from GI Steering Committee to the CEA, 13 March 1951, DP-12, box 7121, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[36] Committee on Emergency Adjustments Meeting Summary, 5 March 1951, DP-12, box 7121, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[37] Ibid.

Program" at Dartmouth.[38] The proposal's purpose was to examine the current program in public affairs and find aspects for improvement, particularly by establishing a closer connection between the university and the federal government so that preparation for careers in public service could be better facilitated. This included field trips to government centers, student internships with the government, and supporting student clubs and conferences in public affairs. It also highlighted more visits to campus from "leaders in public affairs" beyond the GI Course, including by national, state, and local government officials.[39]

This desire for more proximity to the government can be interpreted as a reaction to the post-WWII moment these academics believed themselves to be situated in. The proposal´s first line wrote, "Our nation's need for service by its citizens in the public interest is incredibly great and grows steadily greater. The oft-repeated saying that history is a race between civilization and catastrophe was never truer than it is today in this atomic age."[40] Later on, the proposal wrote that "…improvements in the training of good citizens in the last generation have lagged behind improvements in the training of scientists," also citing "the traditional goals of a liberal arts college in connection with its long-run duties to the democratic society in which it is located."[41] In this way, there was not only the genuine belief of a distinct period of time that was the post-WWII world, but there was also a sense of genuine obligation to contribute to the nation's needs as a university. Just like how the GI Course was perceived, the improved Public Affairs Program was understood to be training the generation of future leaders of the world who would be responsible for protecting democracy.

Furthermore, it was not uncommon for professors and college administrators to think of their students in this way. For the most part, there was an earnest belief that this elite group of students — at notably white, male academic institutions — needed to be nurtured to prioritize applied policy and the internationalist framework, with a full understanding of and belief in the ideals of American democracy.[42] A 1953 newspaper article featuring the GI Course quoted the College's statement of purpose, which said:

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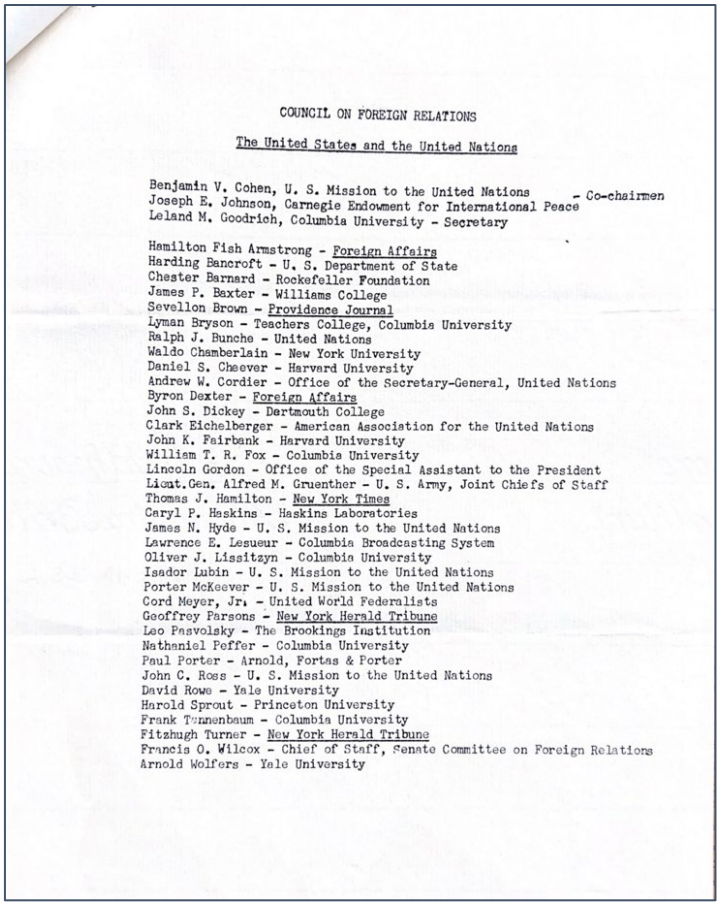
[38] Report of Ad Hoc Committee titled "A Public Affairs Program for Dartmouth College," May 1952, DP-12, box 7115, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Suri, "The Cold War University."

> "Dartmouth expects that its students and graduates will have the strength of character and convictions consistent with the ideals of free men. Dartmouth recognizes that provincialism — geographical, economic, racial, religious — is a deterrent to straight thinking, and therefore seeks and welcomes students from all geographic areas, all economic stations, all races and religions…toward a greater understanding of man's personal and collective problems."[43]

In the McCarthy era, this statement was a reflection of the liberal internationalist thinking that the university believed it needed to cultivate. And from the perspective of the professors who proposed the revised Public Affairs Program, students needed first-hand observation and participation in the modern governmental institutions of the nation so that they were more interested in joining them and better prepared to upon graduation. As Suri writes, during the Cold War individuals in the faculty and administrator positions had fewer limits on power and were able to allocate resources with minimal oversight. Furthermore, producing research and knowledge that was explicitly intended to serve practical governmental purposes was rewarded.[44] In this way, there was a real blurring of academic work and policy work, as those in leadership "self-consciously bridged the worlds of scholarship and policy, professors and politicians."[45]

[43] Newspaper article by John C. Mearns titled "'Great Issues' Course Hailed; Newspapers the Textbooks," DA-12, box 1387, Dartmouth College, Public Affairs, Great Issues Course, Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[44] Suri, "The Cold War University."
[45] Ibid.



COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The United States and the United Nations

Benjamin V. Cohen, U. S. Mission to the United Nations - Co-chairmen
Joseph E. Johnson, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Leland M. Goodrich, Columbia University - Secretary

Hamilton Fish Armstrong - Foreign Affairs
Harding Bancroft - U. S. Department of State
Chester Barnard - Rockefeller Foundation
James P. Baxter - Williams College
Sevellon Brown - Providence Journal
Lyman Bryson - Teachers College, Columbia University
Ralph J. Bunche - United Nations
Waldo Chamberlain - New York University
Daniel S. Cheever - Harvard University
Andrew W. Cordier - Office of the Secretary-General, United Nations
Byron Dexter - Foreign Affairs
John S. Dickey - Dartmouth College
Clark Eichelberger - American Association for the United Nations
John K. Fairbank - Harvard University
William T. R. Fox - Columbia University
Lincoln Gordon - Office of the Special Assistant to the President
Lieut.Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther - U. S. Army, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Thomas J. Hamilton - New York Times
Caryl P. Haskins - Haskins Laboratories
James N. Hyde - U. S. Mission to the United Nations
Lawrence E. Lesueur - Columbia Broadcasting System
Oliver J. Lissitzyn - Columbia University
Isador Lubin - U. S. Mission to the United Nations
Porter McKeever - U. S. Mission to the United Nations
Cord Meyer, Jr. - United World Federalists
Geoffrey Parsons - New York Herald Tribune
Leo Pasvolsky - The Brookings Institution
Nathaniel Peffer - Columbia University
Paul Porter - Arnold, Fortas & Porter
John C. Ross - U. S. Mission to the United Nations
David Rowe - Yale University
Harold Sprout - Princeton University
Frank Tannenbaum - Columbia University
Fitzhugh Turner - New York Herald Tribune
Francis O. Wilcox - Chief of Staff, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations
Arnold Wolfers - Yale University

Fig 3. Members of President Dickey's Study Group.[46]

Aside from the professors at Dartmouth, President Dickey himself very much participated in the overlapping worlds of academia and government. For example, back in September of 1950 (only a couple months after the start of the Korean War), Dickey received a letter from the director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations inviting him to a study group focusing on "United States policy in the United Nations on Korea and Formosa."[47] According to the letter, its purpose was to examine how U.S. and U.N. policy influenced each other and to compare their policies in Korea and Formosa (now Taiwan) to other case studies, ultimately assessing "the adequacy and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of collective security."[48] The

[46] Ibid.
[47] Letter from Percy W. Bidwell to President Dickey, 28 September 1950, DP-12, box 7097, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[48] Ibid.

two chairmen of the study group were the former counsellor of the State Department and the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, while the secretary was a Columbia University Professor.[49] The members of this study group were also in leadership positions of institutions in the government, military, academia and research, journalism, and philanthropy.[50]

It was not that this kind of study group was particularly secret or that university administrators were under suspicion for collaborating with the government, though the contents of their meetings remained confidential. Rather, Dickey's connections with the government were widely known as he had worked in the State Department before becoming Dartmouth's president. And by remaining involved in these circles, Dickey was also maintaining Dartmouth's reputation and keeping the university's name relevant amongst the nation's most powerful men. In this way, personal interactions with people like the members of the Korea and Formosa study group were vital and could be capitalized upon during the Cold War. It was also typical for these self-contained groups of elites to view themselves as intellectuals and protectors of the nation's freedom, and their activities had surprisingly direct consequences on campus life.[51]

One confidential proposed work plan for another one of Dickey's study groups — called "Strengthening Democratic Leadership Abroad" — stated that its first priority was the production of area studies and that "emphasis in launching new ones should be upon Communist areas."[52] Another goal was to research "the problem of developing a more dynamic statement of democratic ideology for indoctrination purposes," and to conduct a study on "Chinese refugee potential," particularly ones in the U.S. so that the western-educated refugees could be put into leadership in China.[53] With that, the work plan firmly stated at the beginning, "We should try to give the most direct possible assistance to government and private agencies that are actually conducting operations in our field. Without getting into operations ourselves, we should make a greater effort to stimulate needed operational activities."[54] The idea of Dartmouth's president

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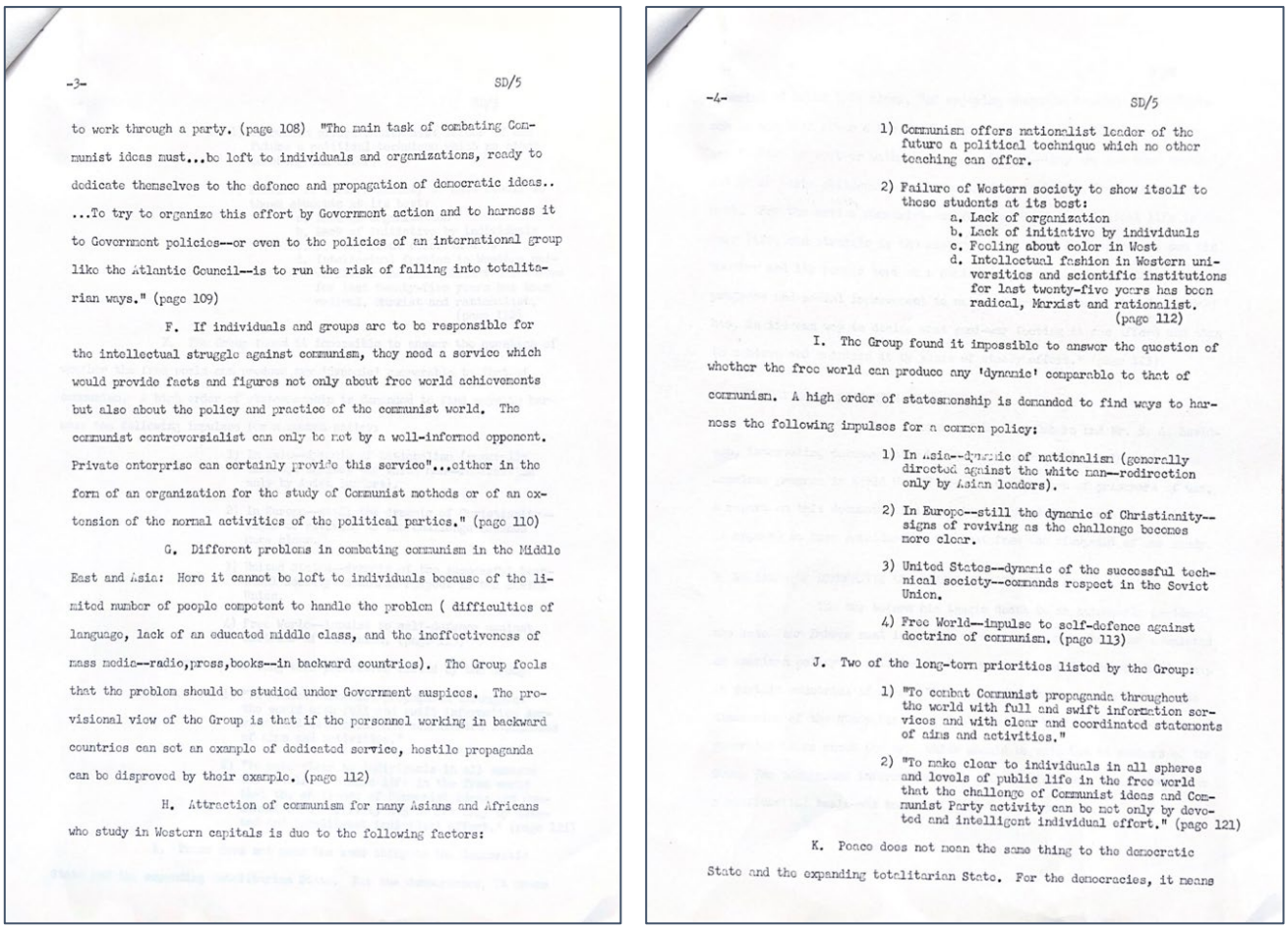
[49] Ibid.
[50] Members of the study group "The United States and the United Nations," DP-12, box 7097, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[51] Suri, "The Cold War University."
[52] Proposed work plan for "Strengthening Democratic Leadership Abroad," 28 May 1951, DP-12, box 7097, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.

participating in research explicitly about spreading western ideals of democracy and for the benefit of the federal government may seem absurd, but such activities were quintessential of the growing overlaps between the elites of academia and policy-making.



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to work through a party. (page 108) "The main task of combating Communist ideas must...be left to individuals and organizations, ready to dedicate themselves to the defence and propagation of democratic ideas.. ...To try to organize this effort by Government action and to harness it to Government policies--or even to the policies of an international group like the Atlantic Council--is to run the risk of falling into totalitarian ways." (page 109)

F. If individuals and groups are to be responsible for the intellectual struggle against communism, they need a service which would provide facts and figures not only about free world achievements but also about the policy and practice of the communist world. The communist controversialist can only be met by a well-informed opponent. Private enterprise can certainly provide this service"...either in the form of an organization for the study of Communist methods or of an extension of the normal activities of the political parties." (page 110)

G. Different problems in combating communism in the Middle East and Asia: Here it cannot be left to individuals because of the limited number of people competent to handle the problem (difficulties of language, lack of an educated middle class, and the ineffectiveness of mass media--radio,press,books--in backward countries). The Group feels that the problem should be studied under Government auspices. The provisional view of the Group is that if the personnel working in backward countries can set an example of dedicated service, hostile propaganda can be disproved by their example. (page 112)

H. Attraction of communism for many Asians and Africans who study in Western capitals is due to the following factors:

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1) Communism offers nationalist leader of the future a political technique which no other teaching can offer.

2) Failure of Western society to show itself to these students at its best:
   a. Lack of organization
   b. Lack of initiative by individuals
   c. Feeling about color in West
   d. Intellectual fashion in Western universities and scientific institutions for last twenty-five years has been radical, Marxist and rationalist. (page 112)

I. The Group found it impossible to answer the question of whether the free world can produce any 'dynamic' comparable to that of communism. A high order of statesmanship is demanded to find ways to harness the following impulses for a common policy:

1) In Asia--dynamic of nationalism (generally directed against the white man--redirection only by Asian leaders).

2) In Europe--still the dynamic of Christianity--signs of reviving as the challenge becomes more clear.

3) United States--dynamic of the successful technical society--commands respect in the Soviet Union.

4) Free World--impulse to self-defence against doctrine of communism. (page 113)

J. Two of the long-term priorities listed by the Group:

1) "To combat Communist propaganda throughout the world with full and swift information services and with clear and coordinated statements of aims and activities."

2) "To make clear to individuals in all spheres and levels of public life in the free world that the challenge of Communist ideas and Communist Party activity can be met only by devoted and intelligent individual effort." (page 121)

K. Peace does not mean the same thing to the democratic State and the expanding totalitarian State. For the democracies, it means

Fig 4. Excerpt from a summary of the "Defence in the Cold War" report.[55]

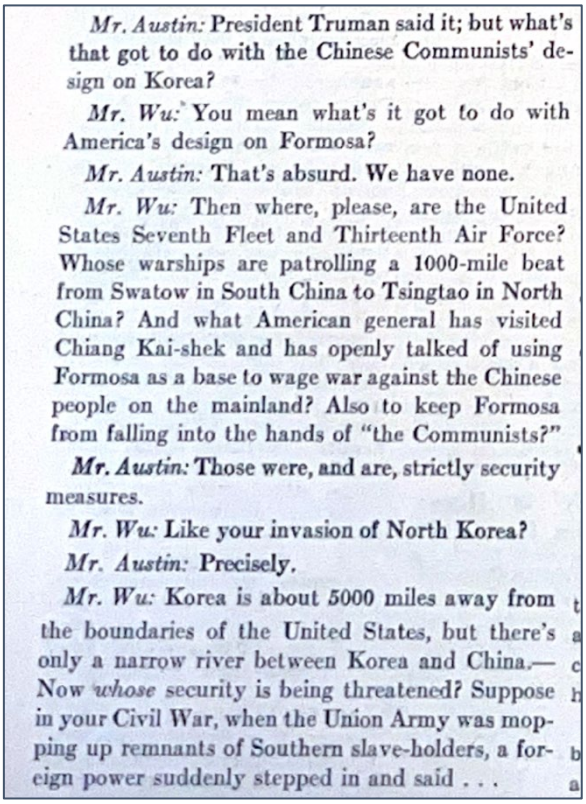
After the start of the Korean War, Dickey was also receiving reports from other study groups in the Council on Foreign Relations. For instance, in January of 1951 a summary of a report titled "Defence in the Cold War" by the Study Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs was sent to all of the members of Dickey's group, which was to utilize and consider the findings in its own research (excerpt above). The findings of the summarized study

[55] Letter to members of study group from E.L. Taylor, 3 January 1951, DP-12, box 7097, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

utilized language very much stemming from liberal internationalist reasoning. For instance, it described efforts against communism as "an intellectual struggle" and wrote definitively in the binary logic of an existing free world that contrasted the communist world.[56] In particular, it wrote of the problems in "backwards countries" and the "attraction of communism for many Asians and Africans who study in Western capitals."[57] Although Dickey did not write these words himself, the document gives us a sense of how higher-ups understood the nation along "objective" racial lines and how this world view would also have affected the ways in which individuals — like the racial minorities the document writes of — were perceived locally.

Pt. II: Student Experiences and Responses

The Dartmouth **and its satire**



Mr. Austin: President Truman said it; but what's that got to do with the Chinese Communists' design on Korea?

Mr. Wu: You mean what's it got to do with America's design on Formosa?

Mr. Austin: That's absurd. We have none.

Mr. Wu: Then where, please, are the United States Seventh Fleet and Thirteenth Air Force? Whose warships are patrolling a 1000-mile beat from Swatow in South China to Tsingtao in North China? And what American general has visited Chiang Kai-shek and has openly talked of using Formosa as a base to wage war against the Chinese people on the mainland? Also to keep Formosa from falling into the hands of "the Communists?"

Mr. Austin: Those were, and are, strictly security measures.

Mr. Wu: Like your invasion of North Korea?

Mr. Austin: Precisely.

Mr. Wu: Korea is about 5000 miles away from the boundaries of the United States, but there's only a narrow river between Korea and China.— Now *whose* security is being threatened? Suppose in your Civil War, when the Union Army was mopping up remnants of Southern slave-holders, a foreign power suddenly stepped in and said . . .

Fig 5. Clipping from the editor's column of The D, Nov. 30 1950.[58]

[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] The D editorial staff, "Ne'er the Twain," *The Dartmouth*, November 30, 1950.

While activities in higher circles were taking place, some students were reacting to the Korean War and the subsequent institutional changes in their own way. From the onset of the war, The Dartmouth (also known as The D) was able to keep it very relevant in its publications. It included a clipping from the Associated Press about an update on the Korean War in essentially each of its publications since the Fall of 1950. What's more interesting is that The D published many satire pieces that school year critiquing the U.S' and Dartmouth's political and foreign policy stance. These articles would be published in the editor's section.

The piece from November of 1950 pictured above is a fictionalized New York Times interview between Mr. Warren Austin, the interviewer, and Mr. Wu Hsiu-Chan, an Asian man who was a real person in Chinese history. Wu was a Chinese Communist and was a government official in the PRC, so considering the campus context, this was a very provocative choice by The D. The piece itself criticized the U.S' decision to cross the 38th parallel into North Korea. In the excerpt, Mr. Wu describes the U.S. intervention as an invasion, and he questions whose security is being threatened, calling the Korean War a Civil War. The article was reactionary to the times, as the idea of the U.S. military moving north of the 38th parallel was actually highly contested within the federal government. In the end, the State Department decided to give the green light because it viewed crossing into North Korea as connected to America's "credibility" as a world power. And, with the crossing of the 38th parallel, there was a significant shift in the entire stance of U.S. foreign policy. That is, rather than the "containment" policy popularized in the 1940s, it set a precedent of a much more militarized, aggressive approach in combating communism.[59]

At the same time, amongst the American public, U.S. military intervention on the Korean peninsula had a relatively high approval rating, and it wasn't uncommon for the start of the Korean War to be interpreted as the start of World War Three. So, it's not surprising that The D's criticism of the U.S' invasion into the North received backlash. One reader submitted a letter to the editor, arguing that the paper belonged to the student majority and was supposed to represent the popular opinion of the campus. The reader, who was a senior in the class of 1951, claimed in a scathing tone that outside readers of The D would not know that it was operating independently from the majority perspective on campus, and that because of the misconception that it did represent the campus, everybody including President Dickey "must bear the brunt of public

[59] Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible.*

indignation due to your irresponsibility."[60] The letter ended by asserting that The D must "make it worthy of the name it bears."[61] Public perception was indeed a returning theme of the Cold War. Here, the reader not only took the article personally and was concerned that he and others would be associated with The D's opinions, but he also felt compelled to call out the newspaper publicly and understood himself as part of a majority at Dartmouth who disagreed with it.

That same school year, in February and March of 1951, The D also heavily criticized the GI Course through a three-part series in the editor's column. Notably, the second publication of the series titled "To Flay a Dying Horse – The Four Great Fallacies of Great Issues: II" scrutinized the course's attempt to portray certain perspectives as objective, calling it "The Fallacy of Objectivity."[62] It argued that by maintaining biases against newspapers the students had to analyze such as the Chicago Tribune and Daily Worker, whilst portraying others like the New York Times and Time Magazine "as more or less objective norms, the course reinforced old prejudices without awakening any fresh insights."[63] We can understand this to be an explicit response to the Cold War curricular changes and the liberal internationalist framework that the GI steering committee was developing and implementing. That is, for the writers of this article, the idea of an objective, universalistic analysis of international affairs wasn't possible, despite that the GI Course tried to assert otherwise. The article also claimed that "GI's approach to Civil Rights has been mostly in terms of 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments, about as pertinent to our times as the Runaway Slave Question," arguing that the civil rights part of the curriculum was sufficiently lacking and not relevant to the current context.[64]

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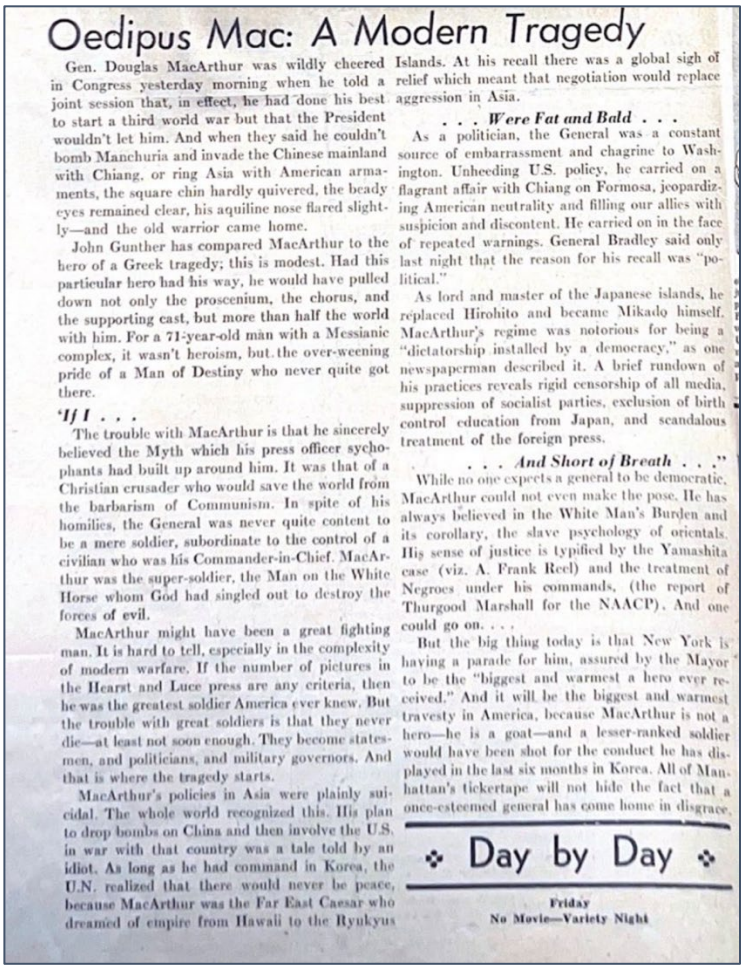
[60] Chester F. Colter, letter to the editor, "Cotter Notes 'Worker' Reprint, Suggests Paper Change Name or Edit Practices," *The Dartmouth,* December 13, 1950.
[61] Ibid.
[62] The D editorial staff, "To Flay a Dying Horse — The Four Great Fallacies of Great Issues: II," *The Dartmouth*, March 1, 1951.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

Ted Laskin: Beef with the President



Oedipus Mac: A Modern Tragedy

Gen. Douglas MacArthur was wildly cheered in Congress yesterday morning when he told a joint session that, in effect, he had done his best to start a third world war but that the President wouldn't let him. And when they said he couldn't bomb Manchuria and invade the Chinese mainland with Chiang, or ring Asia with American armaments, the square chin hardly quivered, the beady eyes remained clear, his aquiline nose flared slightly—and the old warrior came home.

John Gunther has compared MacArthur to the hero of a Greek tragedy; this is modest. Had this particular hero had his way, he would have pulled down not only the proscenium, the chorus, and the supporting cast, but more than half the world with him. For a 71-year-old man with a Messianic complex, it wasn't heroism, but the over-weening pride of a Man of Destiny who never quite got there.

'If I . . .

The trouble with MacArthur is that he sincerely believed the Myth which his press officer sycophants had built up around him. It was that of a Christian crusader who would save the world from the barbarism of Communism. In spite of his homilies, the General was never quite content to be a mere soldier, subordinate to the control of a civilian who was his Commander-in-Chief. MacArthur was the super-soldier, the Man on the White Horse whom God had singled out to destroy the forces of evil.

MacArthur might have been a great fighting man. It is hard to tell, especially in the complexity of modern warfare. If the number of pictures in the Hearst and Luce press are any criteria, then he was the greatest soldier America ever knew. But the trouble with great soldiers is that they never die—at least not soon enough. They become statesmen, and politicians, and military governors. And that is where the tragedy starts.

MacArthur's policies in Asia were plainly suicidal. The whole world recognized this. His plan to drop bombs on China and then involve the U.S. in war with that country was a tale told by an idiot. As long as he had command in Korea, the U.N. realized that there would never be peace, because MacArthur was the Far East Caesar who dreamed of empire from Hawaii to the Ryukyus Islands. At his recall there was a global sigh of relief which meant that negotiation would replace aggression in Asia.

. . . Were Fat and Bald . . .

As a politician, the General was a constant source of embarrassment and chagrine to Washington. Unheeding U.S. policy, he carried on a flagrant affair with Chiang on Formosa, jeopardizing American neutrality and filling our allies with suspicion and discontent. He carried on in the face of repeated warnings. General Bradley said only last night that the reason for his recall was "political."

As lord and master of the Japanese islands, he replaced Hirohito and became Mikado himself. MacArthur's regime was notorious for being a "dictatorship installed by a democracy," as one newspaperman described it. A brief rundown of his practices reveals rigid censorship of all media, suppression of socialist parties, exclusion of birth control education from Japan, and scandalous treatment of the foreign press.

. . . And Short of Breath . . ."

While no one expects a general to be democratic, MacArthur could not even make the pose. He has always believed in the White Man's Burden and its corollary, the slave psychology of orientals. His sense of justice is typified by the Yamashita case (viz. A. Frank Reel) and the treatment of Negroes under his commands, (the report of Thurgood Marshall for the NAACP). And one could go on. . . .

But the big thing today is that New York is having a parade for him, assured by the Mayor to be the "biggest and warmest a hero ever received." And it will be the biggest and warmest travesty in America, because MacArthur is not a hero—he is a goat—and a lesser-ranked soldier would have been shot for the conduct he has displayed in the last six months in Korea. All of Manhattan's tickertape will not hide the fact that a once-esteemed general has come home in disgrace.

❖ Day by Day ❖

Friday
No Movie—Variety Night

Fig 6. Clipping from the editor's column of The D, Apr. 20, 1951.[65]

There was one individual who was blamed for the publications in the editor's column during the 1950-51 school year. Franklin "Ted" Laskin, who was in the class of 1951, was the editor-in-chief of The D during his entire senior year at Dartmouth. He was from Los Angeles and was a WWII veteran, and by his senior spring, he was well known for publishing the harsh, satirical articles in the campus paper.[66] However, in April of 1951 there was one particular article that caused uproar within the Dartmouth community. The title was "Oedipus Mac: A Modern Tragedy", and the "Mac" here wasn't referring to the mythical Greek king of Thebes. Rather, it

[65] The D editorial staff, "Oedipus Mac: A Modern Tragedy," *The Dartmouth*, April 20, 1951.
[66] DA-80, box 10506, "Laskin, Franklin Theodore" Dartmouth College, Registrar Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

referred to General MacArthur, who was considered a hero from WWII and was now leading the U.S. military in Korea. Although he was nationally popular, The D chose to publish a piece criticizing both MacArthur's policies and character in satire form, even writing "as long as he had command in Korea, the UN realized that there would never be peace, because MacArthur was the Far East Caesar who dreamed of empire from Hawaii to the Ryukyus Islands."[67] While directly critiquing U.S. military in Asia as "empire", the article called out MacArthur's belief in "the White Man's Burden and its corollary, the slave psychology of orientals" as well as "the treatment of Negroes under his command," citing Thurgood Marshall's report for the NAACP.[68]

We can see that topics such as civil rights and racial discrimination, which are often discussed as domestic issues removed from the Cold War, were in fact inseparable from responses to the Korean War for students like Laskin. This is made even more apparent in the community responses to the D article. Many alumni were outraged and decided to write to President Dickey, with one going as far to write a letter to the editor of the Alumni Magazine expressing his "rage and disappointment" towards not only Laskin, but also the college administration for allowing this taint to Dartmouth's name.[69] As I wrote in my blog post, this alum questioned, "can Dartmouth men take pride in recent news stories which indicate an active sympathy with Russian Communism?"[70] Though The D didn't actually refer to "Russian Communism" in its article, this response can be well-contextualized in the emerging notion of "common sense" in 1950s American society. That is, communists, socialists, and leftists were all believed to be under the control of Stalin; and with the onset of the Korean War, this perspective crystalized for millions. The growing advocacy for civil rights and labor rights were also perceived to be destabilizing existing social norms and hierarchies, further inflaming and conflating American "anti-communism".[71] In this way, we can see how a critique of General MacArthur, during a time when the U.S. was at war in Korea, was reduced to a "sympathy for Russian Communism" through the logic of one reader.[72]

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[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] T.C. Wellsted, letter to the editor "Freedom of the Student Press," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, June 1951.
[70] Ibid
[71] Hajimu, *Cold War Crucible.*
[72] Rachel Kahng, "The 1951 'Oedipus Mac' article: A Student Response to the Korean War," Rauner Special Collections Library Blog, August 2, 2024, https://raunerlibrary.blogspot.com/2024/08/the-1951-oedipus-mac-article-student.html.

Fig 7. Franklin "Ted" Laskin, Class of 1951.[73]

President Dickey wrote a piece for the June 1951 issue of the Alumni Magazine in response to the alumni complaints. He asserted that The D was indeed a problem but argued that freedom of press is "a core principle of American life," making the issue about the ideals of American life and the "price for this freedom" whilst characterizing the students as irresponsible and childish.[74] Laskin, expectedly, took issue with Dickey's piece and directly wrote him a seven page letter explaining the unfair characterizations of The D, more specifically about Dickey's statement that a "normal relationship of communication, let alone cooperation" was unable to be achieved with the editor of The D.[75] In the letter, Laskin pointed out the contradictions in Dickey's claims about freedom of press and relationship with the administration, also firmly asserting that The D had rarely represented the majority campus and administration views:

> "But in spite of a good or bad 'democratic example,' — and some day, I think it will be considered 'democratic' in this country to suppress minority voices… I think it remains for the President to stand firm in his belief in the necessity of a free undergraduate press,

[73] Photo of Franklin "Ted" Laskin, DA-80, box 10506, "Laskin, Franklin Theodore" Dartmouth College, Registrar Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[74] John S. Dickey, "President Dickey's Views," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine,* June 1951.
[75] Letter to President Dickey from Ted Laskin, 5 June 1951, DP-12, box 7110, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

> even if he has to stand alone in the face of the Trustees, the alumni, the faculty, the students, and all the unreasoning weight of public opinion."[76]

President Dickey wrote back, clarifying what he meant by "cooperation" and by criticizing Laskin's claim that undergraduate press is the only "free press" left in the U.S. and the world.[77] In response to *that,* Laskin wrote another letter — this time one page long — defending The D and questioning Dickey's points in an even more scathing tone.[78] Here, what is fascinating is that one student's public response to the Korean War ended up turning into an interpersonal conflict between him and the president of the college. The back and forth was not even about the Korean War itself, but it started off as about the freedom of student press on campus and eventually became an argument about what constituted free press.

Thomas Song: Korean at Dartmouth

Fig 8. Thomas Song, Class of 1953.[79]

During the Korean War period, there was also a Korean student attending Dartmouth College, which was rare at the time. Thomas Song was in the class of 1953 and was an international student, but he had only actually lived in Korea for a few years. He came from a

[76] Ibid.
[77] Letter to Ted Laskin from President Dickey, 20 June 1951, DP-12, box 7110, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[78] Letter to President Dickey from Ted Laskin, 19 July 1951, DP-12, box 7110, Dartmouth College. Office of the President (1945-1970: John Sloane Dickey), Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[79] Thomas Gregory Song Family Exhibit. https://amdavis.org/Song-Family/life-in-the-united-states/.

family of established aristocracy, known to be Korean collaborators of Japanese colonialism, which is why Song was born and raised in Japan. Near the end of WWII, when he was living in the colonized region Manchuria, Song and his family had to flee to South Korea once the Soviet Union invaded.[80] According to his oral history interview from 2013, he couldn't speak Korean and decided to work for the U.S. military which was occupying the southern part of the peninsula. While working, he became close with an American soldier whose older sister ended up getting Song a scholarship to Newman Prep School, which is a private high school in Boston.[81] Here, it's clear that Song's proximity to the U.S. military and English proficiency gave him direct access to opportunities like going to a preparatory high school in America.

Song arrived at Dartmouth in 1949, opting for a math major — though he actually wanted to do sociology — because math was the "safest" subject and no politics were involved.[82] During his oral history interview, he also recalled:

> "…once North Korea attacked [South Korea] – the war broke out. [The] Typical McCarthy thing came in. That side or this side. Either this side or that side. And [my] response is, What the hell do you mean? You cut up our country, north and south without consulting us. Korea is one. It makes no difference. Hah! That's [a] pro-North statement."[83]

This quote is particularly fascinating because it demonstrates that with Song's layered identity, he not only had strong emotions about the Korean War itself, but also about the way people were discussing the war in America. Though born into a family of collaborators, Song wouldn't have been considered Japanese, and in both North and South Korea he would've been considered a traitor. In the U.S, he was not necessarily racialized as an ethnic Korean but most likely as Asian, a foreigner, and he was also gay, though not openly until later in life — all of which would've influenced the way in which he identified with the Korean people during the war. Regarding Song's background, it seems that his undeniable position of privilege as a Korean person and as a student attending an elite university was complicated by his individual racialized experiences in

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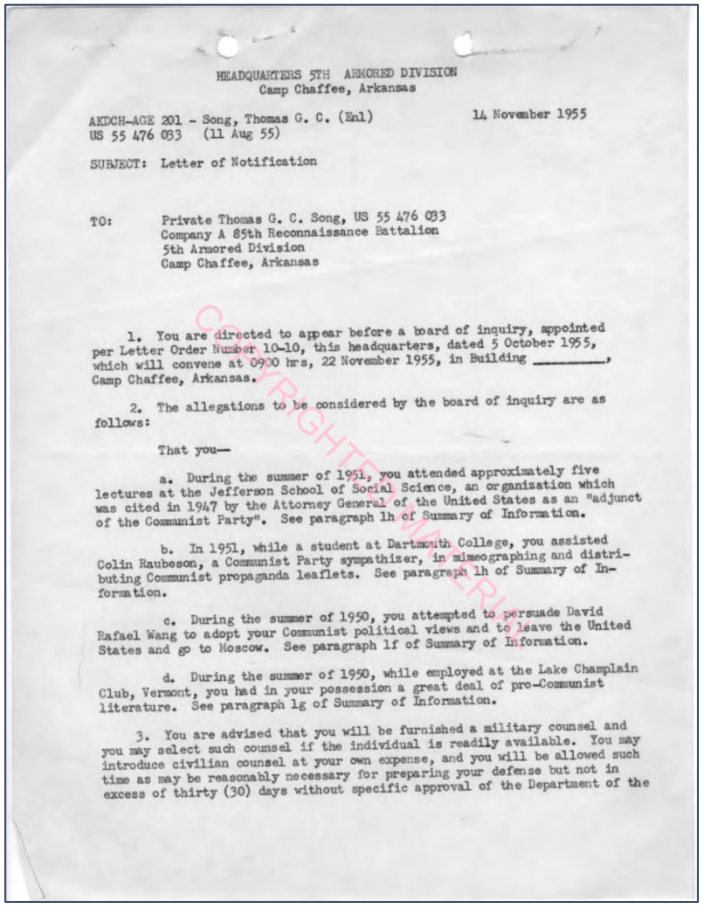
[80] Thomas Song, "Thomas Song, Class of 1953," by Mary Donin, Dartmouth College Oral History Program, June 20, 2013.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

the United States and the loneliness he felt at Dartmouth due to his racial identity.[84] By no means did Song represent all racialized people, Koreans, or Asian Americans. Yet, what we can take away from this is that the college campus during the Korean War period was a socially isolating place for those who were perceived to be, or identified with, the subaltern.

After graduating in 1953, Song served as a private in the U.S. Army. However, in 1955 while he was serving, he was accused of being "a security risk due to communist sympathies and participation in alleged Communist or pro-Communist organizations."[85] The allegations pertained to Song's activities as an undergraduate at Dartmouth, and they were all retroactively enforced. Below is the letter of notification Song received regarding the allegations:



HEADQUARTERS 5TH ARMORED DIVISION
Camp Chaffee, Arkansas

AKDCH-AGE 201 - Song, Thomas G. C. (Enl) 14 November 1955
US 55 476 033 (11 Aug 55)

SUBJECT: Letter of Notification

TO: Private Thomas G. C. Song, US 55 476 033
Company A 85th Reconnaissance Battalion
5th Armored Division
Camp Chaffee, Arkansas

1. You are directed to appear before a board of inquiry, appointed per Letter Order Number 10-10, this headquarters, dated 5 October 1955, which will convene at 0900 hrs, 22 November 1955, in Building _____, Camp Chaffee, Arkansas.

2. The allegations to be considered by the board of inquiry are as follows:

That you—

a. During the summer of 1951, you attended approximately five lectures at the Jefferson School of Social Science, an organization which was cited in 1947 by the Attorney General of the United States as an "adjunct of the Communist Party". See paragraph 1h of Summary of Information.

b. In 1951, while a student at Dartmouth College, you assisted Colin Raubeson, a Communist Party sympathizer, in mimeographing and distributing Communist propaganda leaflets. See paragraph 1h of Summary of Information.

c. During the summer of 1950, you attempted to persuade David Rafael Wang to adopt your Communist political views and to leave the United States and go to Moscow. See paragraph 1f of Summary of Information.

d. During the summer of 1950, while employed at the Lake Champlain Club, Vermont, you had in your possession a great deal of pro-Communist literature. See paragraph 1g of Summary of Information.

3. You are advised that you will be furnished a military counsel and you may select such counsel if the individual is readily available. You may introduce civilian counsel at your own expense, and you will be allowed such time as may be reasonably necessary for preparing your defense but not in excess of thirty (30) days without specific approval of the Department of the

Fig 9. Allegations against Song in a letter of notification.[86]

[84] Ibid.
[85] Letter to professors from William W. Kilgarlin, 1955, SPEC.RARE.0195, box 8, folder 3, Thomas Gregory Song Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Ohio State University.
[86] Letter of notification to Thomas Song, 14 November 1955, SPEC.RARE.0195, box 8, folder 3, Thomas Gregory Song Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Ohio State University.

It isn't unrecognized that the 1950s was a moment of evolution in the racialization of Asian Americans. On the one hand, they were perceived to embody the potential of American democracy, yet on the other hand, they were put under surveillance due to perceived disloyalty to the United States. In this way, notions of "good" and "bad" Asian Americans emerged, in which one was assimilated into American society and tied to noncommunist Asia, while the other was an alien whose ties to communist Asia made them a national security threat.[87] As historian Erika Lee writes, "These two stereotypes of Asian Americans coexisted during the Cold War because of persistent beliefs that Asian Americans remained directly connected to Asia, regardless of their citizenship status, place of birth, or length of stay in the United States…The lines between good and bad, however, were not always clear and could shift without warning."[88] This context helps us explain how the accusations against Song came to be, especially considering his status as part of Korean aristocracy in Japan and as a student in elite circles in the U.S, because it allows us to grasp the very real implications of the widespread racial understandings of communism and nation for Americans at the time.

Interestingly, Song's defense counsel requested for his former professors to provide letters of reference to potentially be used in the defense, particularly on his involvement in the Thomas Jefferson Club and Dartmouth Liberal Forum while he was an undergraduate student. Any information regarding Song's "unpatriotic statements about the United States" and distribution of alleged communist propaganda leaflets was also requested.[89] According to one individual who responded to the request, Stearns Morse who was the Dean of Freshmen, most members of the Thomas Jefferson Club "were far from being Communist sympathizers," but the club quickly became inactive once communists were found to be dominating it, with the Dartmouth Liberal Forum having "a similar short-lived history."[90] More importantly, Dean Morse wrote that he believed it was true that Song participated in the distribution of *anti-Korean War* leaflets. It isn't necessarily surprising that a conflation of anti-Korean War sentiments and pro-communist sentiments contributed to the accusations against Song.[91] Yet, it is demonstrative

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[87] Erika Lee, *The Making of Asian America: A History*, (Simon & Schuster, 2016).
[88] Ibid.
[89] Letter to professors from William W. Kilgarlin, 1955, SPEC.RARE.0195, box 8, folder 3, Thomas Gregory Song Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Ohio State University.
[90] Letter to William W. Kilgarlin from Stearns morse, 28 November 1955, DA-80, box 12098, "Song, Thomas Czetong" Dartmouth College, Registrar Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[91] Ibid.

of the consequences that one faced if they didn't see the war as part of an inevitable fight to protect western freedom.

The Thomas Jefferson Club, though apparently short-lived, attempted to make strong political statements through its platform. As early as February of 1950, the students of the Thomas Jefferson Club invited prominent speakers to campus separate from those of the Great Issues Course that the college was inviting. The club's speakers included Black anthropologist and civil rights activist Eslanda Robeson, who was also the wife of the activist Paul Robeson. Other speakers included the leader of the Civil Rights Congress William L. Patterson, lawyer Harry Sacher who was known to represent those accused of communist sympathies, and lawyer Clifford Durr who was a prominent civil rights lawyer (and who would eventually represent Rosa Parks in 1955).[92] The Thomas Jefferson Club's speakers provided an explicit perspective stemming from civil rights and racial equality, which was what was lacking in the GI Course's speakers. The fact that participation in this club was part of Song's allegations on communist sympathies is just one more example (along with The D's "Oedipus Mac" article) of how civil rights activism was demonized under the label of communism on Dartmouth's campus.

In addition, the Thomas Jefferson Club hosted a Student Peace Conference in April of 1950, inviting students from other universities and organizations to participate including Quaker groups, National Student Associations (student governments), Young Progressives, and around a dozen others. Those leading the three day conference included student delegates and professors from Dartmouth, Harvard, Smith College, Goddard College, Suffolk University, Boston University, MIT, with the only prerequisite to participation being "an earnest desire to achieve peace."[93] The conference itself was divided into four discussion sections: Student Action for Peace, Economic Bases of Peace, Academic Freedom and Peace, and Common Grounds for Peace Between the U.S. and U.S.S.R, and each group was expected to write an original proposal according to the section's topic. Notably, the conference also took on an explicit stance in opposition to atomic warfare, as presented below in a report written after the conference:

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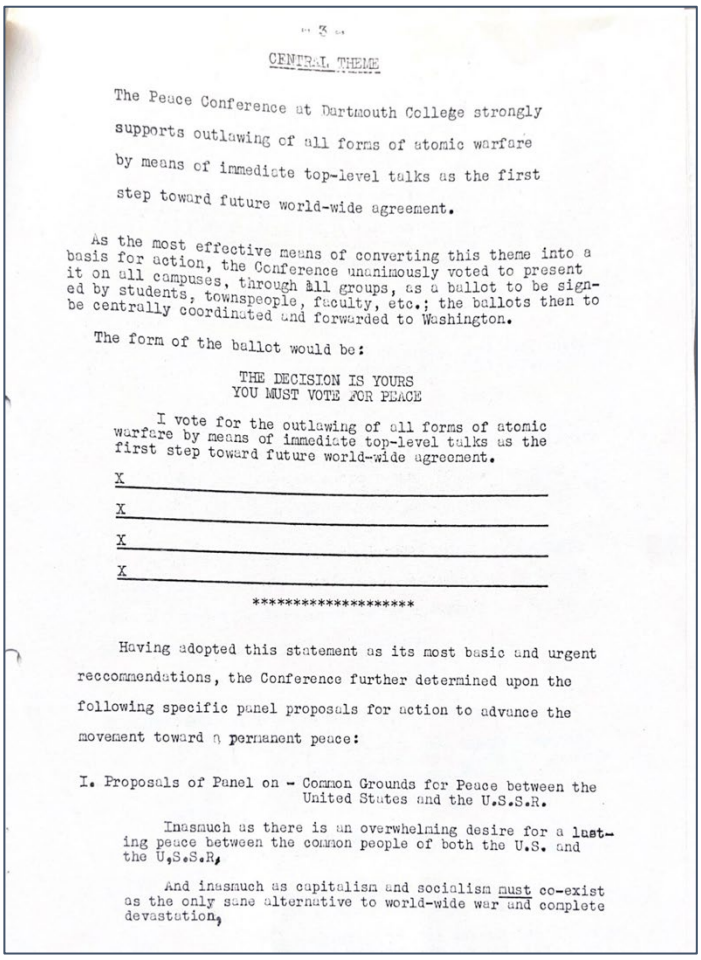
[92] News article titled "Mrs. Robeson Due to Speak at Dartmouth," 21 February 1950, DA-8, box 2558, Dartmouth College, Dean of the College Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.
[93] Report of the Student Peace Conference at Dartmouth College," 1950, DA-8, box 2558, Dartmouth College, Dean of the College Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.



- 3 -

CENTRAL THEME

The Peace Conference at Dartmouth College strongly supports outlawing of all forms of atomic warfare by means of immediate top-level talks as the first step toward future world-wide agreement.

As the most effective means of converting this theme into a basis for action, the Conference unanimously voted to present it on all campuses, through all groups, as a ballot to be signed by students, townspeople, faculty, etc.; the ballots then to be centrally coordinated and forwarded to Washington.

The form of the ballot would be:

THE DECISION IS YOURS
YOU MUST VOTE FOR PEACE

I vote for the outlawing of all forms of atomic warfare by means of immediate top-level talks as the first step toward future world-wide agreement.

X _____

X _____

X _____

X _____

****

Having adopted this statement as its most basic and urgent reccommendations, the Conference further determined upon the following specific panel proposals for action to advance the movement toward a permanent peace:

I. Proposals of Panel on - Common Grounds for Peace between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Inasmuch as there is an overwhelming desire for a lasting peace between the common people of both the U.S. and the U,S.S.R,

And inasmuch as capitalism and socialism must co-exist as the only sane alternative to world-wide war and complete devastation,

Fig 9. Excerpt from the report on the Student Peace Conference.[94]

According to Song's defense counsel, the charge itself was that Song was merely a member of The Thomas Jefferson Club, which carried out these activities while he was a student at Dartmouth (it is unclear whether Song himself participated). Furthermore, according to Dean Morse's letter, while at Dartmouth Song received a letter from a relative informing him that his parents had been murdered by Americans or South Koreans in the war and urging him to join the North Korean side. However, Song soon discovered through another relative living in the U.S. that his parents were in fact alive and that the communists had deliberately lied to him to persuade him to join their cause. Dean Morse claimed that "he returned to Dartmouth, having acquired from this period of emotional and intellectual turmoil a firm belief in the democratic way of life," also writing that "for him to be given a dishonorable discharge as a result of this

[94] Ibid.

unfortunate period of his life would be a gross miscarriage of justice."[95] This anecdote alongside the allegations provide a sense of how his racial identity was taken advantage of in two different ways during the 1950s. On the one hand, Song's Korean identity — despite his relatively detached experience from Korea itself — made him seem emotionally susceptible to being recruited into political agendas based on what was happening in the war. On the other hand, it was also Song's Korean identity and the very thoughts he had about the war as a Korean person that made him a perceived threat during the 1950s Red Scare.

Concluding Thoughts

Over the course of the summer it became clear to me that each of the subsections of this paper is worthy of being developed as its own research topic. In particular, what I think has immense potential for future research is how civil rights activism was interpreted during the *early* Cold War. Existing scholarship on civil rights at Dartmouth focuses on the 1960s, when the Civil Rights Movement was likely the most prominent political topic both on campus and in national discourse.[96] However, I couldn't help but notice that the history of Dartmouth during the 1950s is severely underwritten about. It is also telling that in the archives I often came across those who outwardly supported civil rights, despite that I was searching for those who expressed opinions on the Korean War. This research has demonstrated that there weren't clear cut lines between such political issues and that more research has to be done about the kind of responses those in the struggle for civil rights and Black rights received on Dartmouth's campus by the institution itself and by peers.

Importantly, a few aspects of this research are highly applicable to today's political atmosphere. For instance, The D's article critiquing General MacArthur received backlash from all parts of Dartmouth's community, and one alum even labeled it as representative of "Russian Communism" despite that the article was not promoting communist ideology, but was criticizing U.S. militarism in Asia and MacArthur's racist attitudes. One former Dartmouth student of Korean descent came under suspicion for distributing pro-communist propaganda leaflets as an

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[95] Letter to William W. Kilgarlin from Stearns morse, 28 November 1955, DA-80, box 12098, "Song, Thomas Czetong" Dartmouth College, Registrar Records, Rauner Special Collections Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH.

[96] "The 1960's at Dartmouth," The Dartmouth Vietnam Project: Learning Oral History In a Digital Age, Dartmouth Libraries, https://course-exhibits.library.dartmouth.edu/s/HIST10_20F/page/Mortenson02.

undergraduate even though the leaflets were notably anti-Korean war, which was a highly racialized individual experience in the 1950s. Recently at Dartmouth, in May of 2024, there was a peaceful encampment protest for Palestine on the campus green.[97] The protesters have subsequently been compared to the Ku Klux Klan by one faculty, with another even questioning, "What happens if people come in from outside with guns? Or there's a bomb in the tent?" which is yet another undeniably racialized and racist characterization of people who were expressing their solidarity with Palestinians in the Middle East.[98]

It is not that these events across time and space are perfectly parallel. Yet, we can still notice that in each of these moments, there was a deliberate effort to demonize students for their activism opposing war and opposing violence against racialized peoples. This research has shown that social conflicts on the campus in the 1950s were often not actually about the democratic or communist ideologies, despite the avid attempts to paint the discourse as such, but they actually stemmed from different views on the status quo. Therefore, if we are to take "historical accountability" sincerely, a close examination of the reactions to the Korean War on Dartmouth's campus can reveal that many aspects of the institution shouldn't actually be historicized or interpreted in terms of isolated, exceptional periods — but rather, that the processes and bureaucracy for the "exceptions" of wartime were always in place and can be exercised at any moment of convenience.

[97] Vidushi Sharma, "Police arrest 89 individuals at pro-Palestinian protest," *The Dartmouth,* May 2, 2024, https://www.thedartmouth.com/article/2024/05/police-arrest-90-individuals-at-pro-palestinian-protest.
[98] Frances Mize, "Dartmouth administration faces fierce criticism over protest arrests," *Valley News,* May 7, 2024, https://www.vnews.com/Dartmouth-faculty-convene-following-arrests-55037336.

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